

## NOTES.



**POCKET COMPANIONS.**—The Library at Freemasons' Hall, Leicester, has an unusually good collection of *Pocket Companions*, and the list printed at xlv., p. 205, requires to be supplemented accordingly, as this information was not available when it was compiled. They are Nos. 1 (two copies), 3 (two copies), 5, 6, 8, 14, 16, 19, 22, 23 (four copies) 24, 26, 29, 30, 37. There is also now a copy of No. 15 in this country, in private ownership, but it misses the dedication.

**Whitney and the Sanabal verses.**—In Mr. Hamer's article on Naymus Grecus, at p. 67. I am sorry that by an unfortunate oversight the name of the author of the *Devises Heroiques* was given as Claude Plantin. It should have been Claude Paradin. But the error was only detected when it was too late to correct it. Mr. Hamer has now consulted the original work in its various editions, and he finds that the device is not there accompanied by anything that corresponds to Whitney's verses, but merely by a statement in prose of the circumstances of the rebuilding of Jerusalem, in which, however, the names of Sanballat and Nehemiah do not occur, and an allegorical application of this to the Christian Church, which is also to instruct the ignorant and repel its enemies. Accordingly it would appear that the verses are of Whitney's own devising; but he applied the lesson, not to the Church, but to his country. L.V.

**Royal Arch Masonry : The Present-day Ritual.**—Enquiry is often made when did the form of the present ritual come into use. Under what circumstances? Who was the author?

It has been suggested by one or two writers that the Reverend George Adam Browne wrote this ritual. But who was this celebrated Companion?

First of all, he is known in connection with the Craft as occupying in 1815 the position of Grand Chaplain to the United Grand Lodge of England, and in the year 1825 he acted as Provincial Grand Master of Cambridge and Hunts. Included in the "Proceedings" of Grand Lodge, after the date 4th December, 1816, there is a printed extract of

## AN ODE

written by

The Rev. George A. Browne,  
Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to  
His Royal Highness The Duke of Sussex.

Sung by Mr. Bellamy  
at Free-Masons' Hall, London,  
on the 27th January, 1817,  
at the

Masonic Celebration of the Birthday  
of His Royal Highness  
The Duke of Sussex. K.G. &c. &c. &c.  
M.W. Grand Master  
of the

United Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons of England.



The final verses of which are given:—

“ I mark, he cry'd, the threefold tye  
Of Friendship, Love, and Charity:  
I see their banners broad unfurl'd,  
Proclaiming peace to all the world.  
Learning revives—and in her train  
Each Social art returns again.  
Yes, Masonry, to you 'tis given  
To lull discordant jar;  
Your Sons, the favourites of Heaven,  
Bind up the wounds of war.”

“ And right I ween, what business now  
Of joyous import fills each brow;  
No common theme excites their lays,  
No common gratitude their praise,  
A name to every Mason dear,  
Bursts forth upon the raptur'd ear;  
Pleas'd I behold the faithful band,  
Their willing homage pay;  
Around their lov'd Augustus stand,  
And hail his natal day.”

Secondly, according to the Minutes of the Supreme Grand Chapter of the Royal Arch, under date 10th May, 1810, he was appointed Provincial Grand Superintendent for the County of Cambridge, at that time being the First Principal of the Chapter of Plato, and he appears to have been a fairly regular attendant at Grand Chapter. Among the list of Grand Officers appointed on 17th May, 1813, he is included as “Grand Orator”.

In the Minute Book of the United Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons it is recorded on the 2nd May, 1832, that the M.E.Z. owing to indisposition has requested M.E. Comp. the Rev<sup>d</sup>. G. A. Browne, Provincial Grand Superintendent for Suffolk and Cambridge, to occupy his post. Comp. Browne acted as M.E.Z., and at this meeting the Marquis of Salisbury, the Marquis of Abercorn and Lord Monson were exalted.

On the 15th June, 1833, it was resolved that, pursuant to a notice of motion, a Committee be appointed to take into consideration the ceremonies for the Installation of Principals as well as the various other ceremonies of the Order, and that such Committee consist of nine members. On 5th February, 1834, the names of the Committee were announced:—

The Three Grand Principals, H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, M.E.Z.,  
Lord Dundas, M.E.H., John Ramsbottom, M.P., M.E.J., and the  
following Companions:—

Earl of Durham, Prov.G.Supt. for Durham,  
C. K. K. Tynte, .. Somersetshire,  
Rev<sup>d</sup>. G. A. Browne, .. Cambridgeshire,  
William H. White, G.Scribe E.  
J. C. Burckhardt, P.& Prin. Soj.,  
Thomas F. Savory, P.G. Standard Bearer.

It was not until 5th November, 1834, that the Committee were prepared to report to Grand Chapter the result of their labours, “which had met with the entire concurrence and approval of H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, M.E.Z.” When this report was submitted it was resolved:—“That the M.E.Z. be requested to order that the members of the Grand Chapter be summoned in classes to consider separately such portions of the ceremonies as their qualifications and advancement

in the Order and Craft entitle them to participate". At the Special Convocation (Rev. Browne acted as H.) the meeting consisted of such members only of the Grand Chapter who are of the rank of the first Chair of the Order and who also have been regularly installed as actual presiding Masters of warranted Lodges, and which had been convened in conformity with the resolution passed at the last Quarterly Convocation as the "first" class to which the result of the labours of the Special Committee should be submitted. The entire report as approved and signed by the M.E.Z. was then read, and the matter connected with its subject fully explained. The Companions present then signified their entire and unanimous approval of the various ceremonies as arranged by the Committee.

Later, at a further Special Convocation, held on the 25th November. M.E. Comp. Rev. Browne presiding as Z., the report of the Committee was submitted to the Excellent Companions in portions according to their several and respective ranks and fully explained. Some few amendments were suggested and adopted unanimously. It was then moved that this Grand Chapter approves and confirms the arrangements of the several ceremonies as submitted by the Special Committee to the various classes. Passed unanimously. "The meeting then expressed their thanks to the M.E. Companion, the Rev. G. A. Browne, for his attention to the welfare and interest of the Order".

Having gone so far in endeavouring to identify the Rev. G. A. Browne as a person having the necessary qualifications, attainments, opportunity and experience to enable him to arrange the revised ritual, this small article may be regarded as incomplete without further reference to what was finally determined on in regard to the proposed alteration of the ceremonies.

The Minutes of the 4th February, 1835, record that a Warrant was issued by the M.E.Z. for a Special Chapter of Promulgation. The existing Committee to be increased to 27 members, to form and be a Committee or Chapter for Instruction and Promulgation in the several ceremonies of the Order. The names are announced in the Warrant as follows:—

Now know ye that we being desirous of carrying into full effect the object and intent of the said last resolution do nominate and appoint the afternamed G. Companions to be added to the nine Companions originally named on the Committee by

Simon McGillivray,	Prov.G.Supt. for Canada,
Lord H. John Spencer Churchill,	„ „ Oxfordshire,
David Pollock, one of the G. Assistant Sojourners,	
William W. Prescott, G. Treasurer,	
Richard Percival, Past G. Assistant Sojourner,	
William Stradbolt,	} respectively
John Bott,	
Sir Fred <sup>k</sup> . G. Fowke, Bart.,	} Past G. Sword Bearers
Philip Broadfoot, Past G. Standard Bearer,	
being nine Grand Officers, and	
William R. G. Key, of the Chapter No. 7,	
Benjamin Lawrence,	„ 8.
John Fortune,	„ 12.
Charles Baumer, •	„ 21,
Arthur L. Thiselton,	„ 49.
Henry Phillips,	„ 109,
Lawrence Thompson,	„ 196.
Samuel Staples,	„ 218,
Samuel M. Briggs,	„ 580.

being nine Principals or Past Principals of the Chair  
Z. not being Grand Officers.

Their attendance was especially enjoined that uniformity of practice may prevail throughout the several Chapters of the Order. Finally, on the 4th November, 1835, it was resolved:—"Some misconception having arisen as to what are the ceremonies of our Order it is hereby resolved and declared that the ceremonies adopted and promulgated by Especial Grand Chapter on the 21st and 25th November 1834 *are the ceremonies of our Order* which it is the duty of every Chapter to adopt and obey". This was approved by the Grand Principal Z. and finally adopted by the Grand Chapter.

Such is the official evidence of the authorised alteration in the ritual prior to 1834. In the Grand Lodge Library are two manuscripts, one of which purports to show the "alterations in the ceremonies November 1834 as approved by the Sup.G.Chapter", and the other "Alterations adopted by the Grand Chapter of R.A. Masons in the Ceremonies of Exaltation and Installation A.D. 1835".

There is a manuscript ritual kept under lock and key by the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of England which it has been declared was written at the direction of the Duke of Sussex and is formally approved of by him in his own handwriting. Did the man of whom the Duke thought so highly and whom he knew had the necessary ability to execute the work—M.E. Comp. Rev. George Adam Browne—did he compose this ritual? I venture to suggest that he did.

E. A. KENT,

P.Z., Australasia Chapter No. 1, Melbourne.

**Quotations from Evelyn.**—In 1699 John Evelyn, the Diarist, brought out his work *Acetaria; a discourse of Sallets*. The quotations from it that follow have perhaps no more than an accidental similarity to certain phrases that we are familiar with; but they do not seem to have been previously noticed.

(The long dedication is to the Rt. Hon. John Lord Somers of Evesham, Lord High Chancellor of England and President of the Royal Society.)

P. 6 of Ded.:—"But Solomon built the First Temple and what forbids us to hope that as great a prince may build Solomon's House as that great Chancellor . . ."

(The reference may be to a scheme of Evelyn's for the building of a sort of Monastery in the Country where men of science might retire to pursue their studies without the distractions of the World.)

"Thus whilst King Solomons Temple was consecrated to the God of Nature . . . The Royal Society whose business it is to make a profound and through penetration into the recesses of Nature would lead men to the knowledge and admiration of the Glorious Author . . ."

"The Greatest Princes have thought it no disgrace not only to make it their diversion but their care and to promote and encourage it in the midst of their weightiest affairs" (J.E. Natural History). (The reference is now to Horticulture.—F.J.U.)

"To verify this how much might I say of Gardens and Rural Employment preferable to the Pomp and Grandeur of other Secular Business and that in the estimate of as Great Men as any Age has produced. And it is of such great souls we have it recorded; that after they had performed the Noblest Exploits for the Publick, they sometimes changed their Scepters for the Spade, and their Purple for the Gardeners Apron."

The body of the book is concerned with green salads and their cultivation and contains nothing that could be considered interesting from our point of view except perhaps such a phrase as "When Time shall be no more." F.J.U.

## REVIEWS.

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### THE HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY IN TASMANIA; ISSUED FOR THE GRAND LODGE.

*By A. R. Wiseman, P.D.G.M.*



THE centenary of Tasmanian Operative Lodge, originally No. 345 I.C., has afforded an opportunity to Bro. Arthur R. Wiseman, P.D.G.M., to compile a complete history of Freemasonry in Tasmania which has now been published by the Grand Lodge. It gives us a remarkable insight into the difficulties the Craft had to contend with in the early days of the settlement. In his Preface the author deplores the want of records and stresses the importance of depositing old minute books and other records in the Libraries at either Hobart or Launceston, where they would be better protected from loss by fire or other causes than if they were exposed to the vicissitudes to which local Masonic halls are always liable.

Tasmania itself was first settled in 1803 in the South, and 1804 in the North, and a detachment of the 46th Regiment was stationed at Hobart Town in 1814. This was the first of four regiments to be sent to the island, each of which had attached to it a military Lodge under an Irish Warrant, Nos. 227, 218, 284 and 33. But of the work of the first three of these in Tasmania, no records are available. The regiments on their departure took their Lodges with them, with the exception of No. 33. This was in the 21st Royal Fusiliers, which came to Hobart Town in 1836. But in 1839, on the departure of the regiment for India, the Warrant was left behind in the custody of the Master, Angus McLeod, as there were no longer sufficient masons in the regiment, and in 1839 it was revived as a stationary Lodge. It did not actually recommence work, however, till the arrival from Dublin of the duplicate Warrant in 1842. It only lived ten years.

In the meantime three stationary Lodges had been founded, all under the Irish Constitution. It is clear that the military Lodges had made masons from among the settlers, and possibly some individuals had taken their discharge and become settlers themselves. In any case, in 1828 a civilian Lodge at Hobart Town obtained a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Ireland as Tasmanian, No. 313. The names of a few officers and Brethren are known, but it had ceased to work by 1847, and in 1863 the Warrant was returned.

A second Lodge was founded in 1831, or 1832, Brotherly Union, No. 326 I.C. But once more we have a fairly long list of names, but nothing else, and by 1840 it was in low water. Several of its members united in 1844 to form Tasmanian Union, under the English Constitution, but the Lodge itself now ceased to function and the Warrant was returned in 1860. In the meantime, however, we find in 1832 that these two civilian Lodges were constituted a Province, under the surgeon of the 63rd Regiment, William Bolian, as Prov.G.M. Exactly how the Warrants of these two Lodges were obtained does not appear, but the next Lodge in the list introduces us to an interesting piece of Irish Masonic procedure.

In 1834, Lodge No. 313 granted a dispensation to certain Brethren to form Tasmanian Operative Lodge, which became No. 345 I.C. Bro. Lepper informs me that at this time certain overseas Lodges, but not all, were authorised

to grant these dispensations in anticipation of the issue of the Warrant. But apparently No. 313 was not one of these specially empowered Lodges, and the Brethren made a supplementary application to Lodge No. 260, which was working at Sydney, N.S.W. This Lodge was authorised to issue the necessary dispensation, which it did in March, 1834. But in fact the Lodge had already begun work on February 26th of that year, and it has continued till now, when it is No. 1 on the registry of the Grand Lodge of Tasmania.

In 1834 some Brethren at Launceston applied for a similar dispensation to Tasmanian, No. 313, which was granted, but not acted upon. (Once more I am indebted for my information to Bro. Jepper.) But in 1842 a joint dispensation was granted by the three Irish Lodges in the Colony, Nos. 313, 326 and 345, and St. John's Lodge was founded, at Launceston, and duly received its Warrant with the number 346. This Lodge also is still flourishing, and is No. 2 on the register of Grand Lodge.

A further instance of this system of special dispensations occurred in 1846, when certain Brethren of No. 346 applied to the Lodge that had originally been in the Royal Fusiliers, No. 33, for authority to open another Lodge in Launceston. Apparently the Warrant was actually issued (the number is not stated), but it was then discovered that one of the petitioners was not a Mason! Naturally the document was at once cancelled, and we hear no more of the proposed new Lodge.

Another Lodge was formed at Hobart Town in 1844, Tasmanian Union, No. 781 E.C. It was in fact, as its name implies, a fusion of the members of Tasmanian, No. 313, and Union, No. 326, both of which were by this time derelict. It is now No. 3. A second Lodge appeared at Launceston in 1851, the Lodge of Hope, which was formed under the English Constitution by authority granted by the Provincial Grand Master of New South Wales. To-day it is No. 4. It had two sisters, Faith, No. 992 E.C., and Charity, No. 989 E.C., but both came to an untimely end. But the Lodge of Faith introduces us to another interesting feature of Tasmanian Masonic history, the practice of reviving dormant Warrants. The Lodge itself had ceased to work by 1868. In 1881 the Warrant was revived, with the same name and number—it was now No. 691 of the 1863 List—for a Lodge at Campbell Town. But this Lodge had passed out of existence within five years.

A Lodge was consecrated at Longford in 1857, as the Lodge of Peace, No. 1021 E.C. Once more the Lodge perished, this time within two years, and the Warrant was transferred to a new Lodge at Stanley. By 1864 this in its turn was defunct, and the Warrant was dormant until revived in 1879 for a Lodge at Forth. This Lodge had better fortune, and has survived to become the present No. 7.

Derwent Lodge, No. 800 E.C., was the last of the Lodges the Warrants of which were in abeyance. This was founded in 1859 as No. 1102, becoming No. 800 at the renumbering in 1863. But by then it had apparently already ceased to function.

The Warrant was revived for a Lodge which in 1883 took the name South Esk, but retained the number. This Lodge ceased work within five years. The entry in Lane (1895, p. 318), that it is now on the register of the G.L. of Tasmania, is an error. And it should be observed that Lane, in each case, treats these revived Warrants as mere changes of the place of meeting, the Lodge being looked on as continuing. But they were all in fact new constitutions.

The present No. 5, Pacific Lodge, was also under the E.C. originally, being founded in 1860. An Irish Lodge formed at Oatlands in 1873, Midland Pastoral, No. 347, only lived ten years. The present No. 6 was originally a Lodge under the Scottish Constitution, St. Andrew, No. 591 *bis*, founded in 1876.

From now onwards the Lodges that came into existence had fewer difficulties to contend with, and yet one or two had but a brief existence. But they belonged to three different constitutions, each with its own District or Provincial Grand Lodge, and in 1890, after protracted and sometimes difficult negotiations, they all came into the proposal to constitute a Grand Lodge of Tasmania, which was happily effected on June 26th, 1890, the number of Lodges concerned being eight under the English, nine under the Irish and five under the Scottish Constitutions.

The English Lodges had been formed into a Province in 1857. But by some extraordinary mismanagement, the application to be erected into a Province had been made only by three Lodges at Launceston, Tasmanian Union at Hobart Town being ignored. When the Lodge found itself under a Provincial Grand Master, as to whose appointment it had never been consulted, there was trouble, naturally. The authorities suggested to the Provincial Grand Master that his patent should only cover the North of the Island. To this he objected and forthwith resigned, and the Provincial Grand Lodge, in accordance with the rule in the B. of C., as it then stood, thereupon automatically ceased to exist. The whole Island became a District under the E.C. in 1875. Launceston was a Province under the I.C. in 1884, and a Scottish District in 1885.

Since the formation of the Grand Lodge, masonry has continued to prosper. The original 22 Lodges have now become 46, four of the founding Lodges having dropped out, one indeed within a year. But the removal of these weaker Brethren has only served to strengthen the body as a whole.

The compiler of the history has not thought it necessary to deal at any length with degrees other than the Craft, and these are all compendiously disposed of in two pages. The R.A. Chapters are, however, of some interest. No. 33 I.C., the Lodge attached originally to the Royal Fusiliers, had a Chapter, which presumably perished with the Lodge itself in the fifties. No. 313 I.C. had a Chapter at this same time, of which nothing more is known. There were Chapters attached to two other Irish Lodges, Nos. 345 and 346. The former appears to have lapsed about 1866, and the latter about 1893, after the formation of Grand Lodge. A Chapter attached to Lodge of Hope, No. 901 E.C., was formed in 1855, but ceased to work in 1891. Tasmanian Union, 781 E.C., established a Chapter, also in 1855, and this was the third Chapter to be still at work at the date of the formation of Grand Lodge. There was also a Chapter associated with St. Andrew, 591 *bis* S.C., and another connected with Concord, No. 687 S.C., at Latrobe. What happened in the interval is not clear, but in 1908 a District Grand Chapter was erected under the Scottish Constitution which to-day includes the Chapters associated with Tasmanian Union, St. Andrew and Concord, and three others of later date. The two other Chapters under the E.C. merely passed out of existence. Their Warrants have never been returned to the Grand Chapter of England, and what became of the Warrant under the E.C. held by Tasmanian Union, now No. 238 (R.A.) Scottish Constitution, does not appear, but, at all events, that also has never been returned.

The history as now set before us is well arranged; the careers of the individual Lodges can be followed without difficulty, and there is a useful index. There is also a Roll of Honour, and a series of photographs of Grand Masters, and other prominent Brethren. The whole work is a fitting tribute to an occasion of great importance in the Masonic history, not only of the Lodge directly concerned, but of the Island of Tasmania as a whole.

December, 1935.

L.V.

UN THAUMATURGE AU XVIII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE: MARTINES DE  
PASQUALLY. SA VIE, SON ŒUVRE, SON ORDRE.

Par Gérard Van Rijnberk. Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan. 1935.

For all students of the history of those societies which, during the latter half of the eighteenth century availed themselves of outward and visible forms of Masonic organisation in order to recruit and instruct their novices, Gérard Rijnberk's book is of first-rate importance. Thirty years ago the present reviewer contributed to *A.Q.C.*, vol. xix., a description of the mysterious operations—*la Chose* and *Ies Passes*—attempted by Martines and his adepts in their temples, and for that purpose he relied on the excellent works of Matter (the grandson of Rudolph Saltzman, a disciple of Martines and a supporter of Cagliostro), Adolph Franck, E. S. Penny's selections from the Correspondence of Saint Martin with Kirchberger, and Dr. Gérard Encausse's ("Papus") book on *Martinésisme*. That the account given of Martines' amazing operations is true to fact can require no better proof than that Bacon de La Chevalerie, who carried personal resentment beyond the Master's death, and spoke of himself as "effrontément trompé par un fripon", never disputed the efficacy of the "fripon's" invocations. Rijnberk's attitude to these facts is the only one that can be called scientific. The facts may or may not be capable of explanation, but to deny that they are facts because we cannot explain them is mere *à priori* dogmatism. To Papus we must be grateful for the documents he has given us, but Papus was a past master in the art of building bridges to connect genuine truths with statements which have no basis in history. To Paul Vulliaud we are similarly indebted, but his flair for derision discounts his value as a biographer. Rijnberk, on the other hand, has spent many years in absorbing himself in his subjects, visited the Hague, Darmstadt, Lyons, etc., to ransack the archives for materials, and has given us a book which is of an objective character, and in which, if he expresses an opinion where the evidence does not admit of a decision, he is careful to say so. An instance of this will be found in his treatment of the question whether or no Martines had not, before his departure for San Domingo, removed Bacon de La Chevalerie from the office of Substitute-General: or, again, when Papus, unsubstantiated statement that Martines was initiated in London by Swedenborg is before our author, he rebukes Le Forestier for saying without proof, "Pasqually n'a jamais été à Londres".

M. Gustave Bord, in whose *La Franc-Maçonnerie en France* there are only fewer historical blunders than misprints, has produced a vast amount of information, professedly based on original documents, which would be of far greater value if of scientific documentation M. Gustave Bord were not so innocent. It seems that zeal took M. Bord to search the parochial register of Grenoble for the record of the Baptism of Martines. The result of his inquiry was that he found at St. Hugh's entries between the years 1711-1727 of the baptisms of three daughters and one son born to Jean-Pierre Pascalis, a professor of Latin. The son died in 1727, aged three. But, writes M. Bord: "M. Franz von Baader prétend que Pascalis est né à Grenoble, paroisse Saint-Hugues (Notre Dame) en 1715, et que c'était un simple ouvrier en voiture" (p. 247). Combining what he believed to be Baader's statement as to the date with the result of his supposed discovery, M. Bord concluded: "On peut supposer que celui qui nous occupe est né en 1715 dans les environs de Grenoble, et que son nom est tout simplement Martin Pascalis". Rijnberk points out that the statement is not Baader's, but comes from the introduction to the French translation of his book, and that M. Bricaud, relying on a document sent by Martines to the Grand Lodge of France, has affirmed that Martines' father was born in 1671 at Alicante, in Spain, and Joachim Martinez Pasqualis himself was born at Grenoble in 1710.



That in religion Martines was a Catholic is certain: that he was by race a Jew is probable. Our author shows that it is highly probable that early in life Martines visited China.

It is of interest to notice the connection between Martines and the Régiment de Foix. In the years 1762-63 the Regiment was stationed at San Domingo. In 1767 Martines married Marguerite-Angelique de Colas, the daughter of Major Pierre Colas, who had risen from the ranks, and who became a Chevalier de St. Louis in 1751. Saint-Martin (born Jan. 18, 1743) had entered the Regiment in July, 1765, and in 1771 resigned and devoted himself for some years to work for Martines. Grainville, Champoléon, and Caignet, all ardent disciples, were officers in that Regiment. At San Domingo, Martines died in 1774. Martines, who claims to have inherited his office from his father, had "ordained" his infant son: but at the end of his life approved of Caignet de Lestère, who resided at San Domingo, to succeed to him as Grand Sovereign of the Order. After two years of office Caignet died and was succeeded by Sébastien de Las Casas. In 1780, after the Orients at La Rochelle, Libourne and Marseilles had returned to the observance of the Grand Lodge of France, Las Casas recommended eight Orients to dissolve themselves and deposit their archives with the Philaethes under Savalette de Lange. Saint-Martin had some years since turned away from exterior operations. Willermoz, at Lyons in 1778, had modified the Templar system and instituted the *Chevaliers bienfaisants de la Cité Sainte*, and instituted the two grades of *Chevaliers Profès et Grands Profès*. These last grades, though based on Martines' *Traité de la Réintégration*, give the go-by to magic operations. That is to say the instructions incorporated by Willermoz were taken from the Order of *Elus Cohens* in the degrees inferior to that of Grand Architect. Our author, in a valuable appendix of documents, gives selections from a letter of Willermoz to Prince Charles of Hesse-Cassel, dated 12 October, 1781, which fully explains these changes. He concludes his volume with a useful bibliography.

We are rejoiced to hear that a work on Willermoz may be expected from our author. In the present case he has followed after Le Forestier, whose *La Franc-Maçonnerie occultiste au XVIII<sup>e</sup> et l'Ordre des Elus Coens*, published in 1932, he describes as an "œuvre magistrale—mais aucune documentation originale"—in the latter case he will have to win the laurels from M. Dermingham.

February, 1936.

W.K.F.

## FRENCH PRISONERS' LODGES.

By John T. Thorp.

*Second Edition. Augmented. Published by the Lodge of Research, No. 2429. Leicester. 1935. 12s/6d.*

No memorial to a great Freemason could be more fitting than this posthumous edition of *French Prisoners' Lodges* by our late Brother John T. Thorp. Shortly before his death in 1932 he had completed the revision and augmentation of this his magnum opus (first published in 1900), and the book is now printed just as he left it ready for the press, but with two notable additions, an introductory preface by Brother L. Vibert and a short appendix from the same well of information containing additional facts discovered just too late to be welcomed by Brother Thorp himself. The result is a handsome volume with no less than 41 illustrations explanatory of the text.

The purpose of the book is, of course, to give a full account of what is known about the Masonic Lodges established, mainly during the Napoleonic era, by French prisoners of war in Great Britain. In the first edition twenty-six of



these bodies were catalogued, the subsequent labours of over thirty years had enabled our Brother to discover twenty-four more, and he died convinced that the list would be further augmented in the course of time. He was too big a man to imagine or claim that by his own work alone he could ever say the last word on such a subject, and the future is always pregnant with further revelations, but his is all the honour of having assimilated every document available up till the day of his death; any further discoveries of the kind will serve merely to enhance the tribute we offer to the memory of the Master—a tribute of gratitude, honour, and, if it may be so, emulation.

The earliest reference yet discovered to French Masons as Prisoners is of their being admitted as joining members of an Irish Lodge in 1746; but not till 1756, so far as we know, did French prisoners in this country form a Lodge of their own, which met at Basingstoke, and later in Petersfield and Leeds. This seems to have been a non-regular body, authorised by neither Grand Lodge nor Masonic custom. However, regularity was not lacking when in 1762 the Grand Lodge of All England issued a Warrant to several French officers who were then living in York on parole, attaching to the grant a stipulation that they should not initiate any British subject, a matter wherein the French Lodge at Leeds had given cause for scandal.

From 1793 till 1814 an immense number of French prisoners were resident in Great Britain, 67,000 being sent home in the later year, and among this population of the unfortunate brave sprang up the vast majority of those Lodges whose memorials are recorded in this book.

It is not obligatory or desirable in a review of this length to attempt a summary of their labours or a synopsis of their distribution and influence; those who desire such knowledge can go to the book itself and be certain of profit and pleasure as a result; so what space remains available will be better devoted to dealing with the human rather than the historic, much less the esoteric, side of the picture.

Be the conduct of a war never so horrible, be the feelings that brought it about never so deep-seated, the sympathy of a brave people will always go out to their brave enemies who have fallen into captivity; so it is no surprise to find on record here stories redounding to the honour of British Masons, who visited and consorted with their French Brethren, and even succeeded in turning a blind eye on those unorthodoxies of ritual to which in those days was attached an importance, perhaps exaggerated.

As for the French prisoners themselves, they were a mixed bag. Stevenson in *St. Ives* has told us in his own charming way about the lawlessness, the intriguing, the duels, the plottings for escape that attended the congregations of the baser sort. This book is, however, concerned mainly (such is my belief) with those of a different kidney, the best type of soldier produced by the French Revolution, which produced such men as Lazare Hoche, fanatics for Liberty, Fraternity, Equality, no doubt, but with thoughts of no mean stamp in their heads, and with fires generous enough in their hearts to give them a presentiment of ultimate goals higher than *La Gloire* and *La Patrie*. Men such as these congregated themselves "by the Waters of Babylon", to borrow their own phrase, into Lodges properly constituted, according to French usage, if one of the Brethren happened to be a *Chevalier d'Orient*, and if such a magnate were not available—well, the Lodge was formed anyhow, and met wherever happened to be most convenient, the cheap room of an inn, the hut of a labour-camp, the fetid lowest deck of a prison-hulk. In such restricted surroundings they proceeded to work many degrees of many rites, exotics transplanted to English soil, even as they had been carried before in the triumphal wake of the French

armies to Naples or Seville, where indeed some of them took root, became indigenous, and later had to be eradicated, not without coruscations.

These poor prisoners become something more than mere names to us, when we think of them marshalling themselves in those mean Lodge-Rooms against enemies more inexpugnable than any met in the flesh, against the overwhelming forces of Untruth, Disgraceful Compromise, Prejudice, Poltroonery, and that most mighty antagonist of all enlightened men, Stupidity. They might indeed have taken as their own the swan-song of the immortal Gascon:—

C'est inutile? Je le sais.

Mais on ne se bat pas dans l'espoir du succès.

Non! non! c'est bien plus beau lorsque c'est inutile . . .

Ah! je vous reconnais tous mes vieux ennemis! . . .

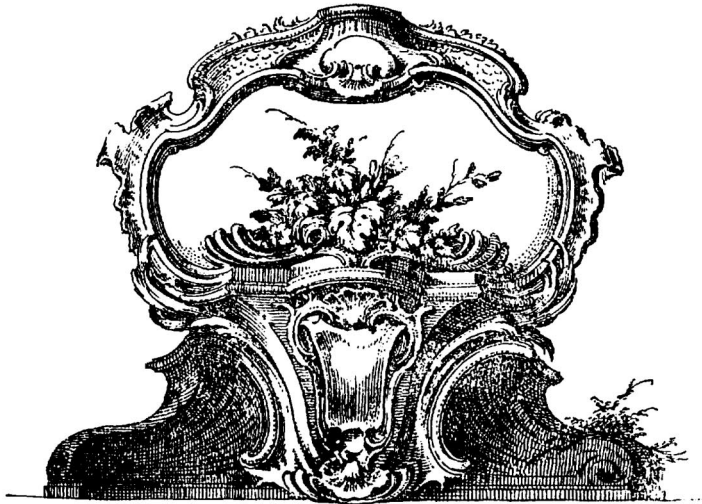
Je sais bien qu'à la fin vous me mettez à bas;

N'importe: je me bats, je me bats, je me bats!

No unworthy epitaph for our Brethren the prisoners, nor yet for that great lover of truth and searcher after knowledge, their historian.

April, 1936.

J. HERON LEPPER.



## OBITUARY.



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

**Cecil William Annis**, of Chichester, on 3rd March, 1933. Our Brother was a member of St. Richard's Lodge No. 4469, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1925.

**Archibald Anderson Ballard**, of Kelowna, B.C., on 29th January, 1933. Bro. Ballard was P.M. of Lodge No. 41, and Sc.E. of Chapter No. 17. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1931.

**William Thomas Barber**, of Thorpe Bay, Essex, on 21st April, 1933. Our Brother was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1920.

**H. J. Barton**, of London, S.W., in October, 1932. Bro. Barton had attained the honour of L.R., and was a P.M. of Edward Terry Lodge No. 2722. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1908.

**William Leonard Bayley**, F.C.I.S., of Broadstairs, on 25th December, 1932. Our Brother had attained the honour of L.R., and was P.M. of Hornsey Lodge No. 890. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1912.

**Sir James Bruton**, of Gloucester, on 27th February, 1933. Bro. Bruton held the office of Prov.G.M., and had attained the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1890.

**John Frederick Buckley**, of London, N., on 12th April, 1933. Our Brother was a member of Grove Park Lodge No. 2732, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

**Beaumont Clark**, of Dewsbury, on 25th December, 1932. Bro. Clark was a member of Trafalgar Lodge No. 971, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1913.

**Samuel Widgery Culley**, of London, S.W., on 31st January, 1933. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.Treas., S. Wales, and was a member of Glamorgan Lodge No. 36. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1912.

**Ralph Fennell Daffern**, of Canton, on 26th January, 1933. Bro. Daffern was a member of Star of Southern China Lodge No. 2013, and of the Jubilee Chapter No. 2013. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1931.

**William Thomas Dillon**, of London, N.W., on the 5th March, 1933. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Pursuivant. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

**George Frederick Ely**, of Croydon, on 6th February, 1933. Bro. Ely was a P.M. of St. Mary Abbott's Lodge No. 1974, and P.Z. of Hiram Chapter No. 2416. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1919.

**Frank Ford**, of Beverly, Ohio, on 6th August, 1932. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge No. 37, and P.H.P. of Chapter No. 108. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1928.

**Edwin Fox**, of London, W., on 24th January, 1933. Bro. Fox had attained the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1899.

**Hugh Learmonth Graham**, of Auckland, N.Z., on the 3rd October, 1931. Our Brother, who was formerly of Falkirk, was a member of Lodge No. 16 (S.C.), and of Chapter No. 210 (S.C.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1922.

**Ivan H. Haarbarger**, of Bloemfontein, on 18th January, 1933. Bro. Haarbarger held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, England, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1895.

**John Joseph Hall**, of Monkseaton, on 23rd April, 1933. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and P.Pr.G.H. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1932.

**William M. Hamilton**, of Pittsburgh, U.S.A., on 13th March, 1932. Bro. Hamilton had held office as Grand Master. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1931.

**Richard John Hennings**, of London, S.W., on 13th February, 1933. Our Brother had attained L.R., and that of P.Pr.G.D., Essex. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1904.

**John Holt**, of Yarm-on-Tees, on 3rd March, 1933. Bro. Holt held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.H., Durham. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1900.

Capt. **George Howatson**, of Booligal, N.S.W., on 12th February, 1933. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge No. 57 (W. Australia), and he had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1915.

**W. Young Hucks**, of London, N., on 20th January, 1933. Bro. Hucks was a P.M. of Benevolentia Lodge No. 2549. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1914.

**Evan Parry James**, of Bristol, on 30th November, 1932. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and was P.Z. of Whitson Chapter No. 2943. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

**Frederic Johns**, F.J.I., of Adelaide, S. Australia, on the 3rd December, 1932, at the age of 64. Bro. Johns, who was a prominent Australian journalist, held the rank of Past Grand Warden, S. Australia, and was Local Secretary for many years in that State for our Correspondence Circle, of which he had been a member since November, 1891.

**John Blackburn Jowett**, of Leeds, on 4th May, 1933, in his 80th year. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge of Fidelity No. 289, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1914.

**Hans Kjaer**, M.A., of Copenhagen, in 1932. Bro. Kjaer was P.M. of Nordstjernen Lodge. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1922.

**Alan McDougall**, of Alderley Edge, Cheshire, in November, 1932. Our Brother was P.M. of Travellers Lodge No. 1253, and P.Z. of Social Chapter No. 62. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1932.

Dr. **Herant Baron Matteossian**, of Philadelphia, on 4th April, 1932. Bro. Matteossian was a P.M. of Lodge No. 51. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1928.

**William Allan Milton**, of Buxton, on 5th January, 1933. Our Brother was a member of the Phoenix Lodge and Chapter of St. Ann No. 1235. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

Dr. **William Mitchell**, of Bradford, on 14th February, 1933. Bro. Mitchell was a P.M. of Pentalpha Lodge No. 974. He joined our Correspondence Circle in October, 1919.

**George Herbert Monson**, of London, W., in May, 1932. Our Brother had attained L.R., and L.C.R. He was a member of Priory Lodge of Acton No. 1996, and of the Earl of Carnarvon Chapter No. 1642. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1930.

Lieut.-Col. **Henry Walters Morrieson**, of London, S.W., in May, 1933. Bro. Morrieson held the rank of Past Deputy Grand Director of Ceremonies (Craft and R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1908.

**George P. Nash**, of London, S.W., on 26th November, 1932. Our Brother had attained L.R. He was a P.M. of Mendelssohn Lodge No. 2661, and P.Z. of Great City Chapter No. 1426. He was an old member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1907.

**Gustas Claes August Nassen**, of London, in May, 1933. Bro. Nassen was a member of Bifrost Lodge (Swed.C.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1930.

**A. J. Neall**, of Hove, on 8th April, 1933. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.Reg., and P.Pr.G.J. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1911.

**Hamilton Neil**, F.R.I.B.A., of Glasgow, on the 7th December, 1932, as the result of an accident. Bro. Neil was a P.M. of Lodge No. 129 and G. Architect of Chapter No. 76. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1930.

**Frank Organ**, of Stratford-on-Avon, on 19th August, 1932. Our Brother was a member of the Swan of Avon Lodge No. 2133. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

Major **Oliver Papworth**, V.D., of Cambridge, on 3rd February, 1933. Bro. Papworth held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., P.Pr.G.Sec., and P.Pr.G.H. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1894.

Commander **Charles R. Peploe**, R.N., of Havant, Hants., in February, 1933. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1926.

**Benjamin Fowler Pierce**, of Providence, R.I., on 23rd January, 1933, in his 69th year. Our Brother was a P.M. and Sec. of Redwood Lodge No. 35, and a member of Providence Chapter No. 1. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1916.

**Henry Drew Piper**, of Swindon, on 7th August, 1932. Bro. Piper was a member of the Royal Sussex Lodge of Emulation No. 355, and of the Wiltshire Chapter No. 355. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1927.

**Clement Vaughan Poole**, of Norwich, in 1933. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.Treas. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 1902.

**Robert Sawle Read**, J.P., of St. Ives, Cornwall, on 14th November, 1932. Bro. Read was P.M. and Treas. of Tregenna Lodge No. 1272. He had for many years been a member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1895.

**Walter William Robinson**, of Hereford, on 25th April, 1933. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and was P.Z. of Palladian Chapter No. 120. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1914.

**Richard W. Rylands**, of Worsley, Manchester, on 19th September, 1932. Bro. Rylands held the rank of P.Pr.Dep.G.R., and P.Pr.G.R. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1911.

Dr. **James Shaw**, M.D., of Aylesbury, on 11th March, 1933. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.W. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1911.

**Walter Shephard**, of Grimsby, in September, 1932. Bro. Shephard held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.So. He was one of the senior members of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1889.

**John Wesley Tauranac**, of Ilford, on 22nd December, 1932, at the age of 82 years. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Assistant Grand Pursuivant, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1917.

Lieut.-Col. **Frederick Stephen Terry**, of London, N.W., on 8th April, 1933, in his 95th year. Bro. Terry was a member of Morning Star Lodge No. 552. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1918.

**Arthur William Turton**, of Hull, in May, 1932. Our Brother joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1926.

**James Vroom**, M.A., of St. Stephen, N.B., in October, 1932. Bro. Vroom held the office of Grand Master, and was Past Grand King. He has been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1907.

**William Oakley Welsford**, of Ashstead, on 22nd May, 1933. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1900.

**John White**, of London, E.C., on 8th May, 1933. Bro. White held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He had for many years been a member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1898.

**Henry Whittington**, of Morley, Yorks., on 25th September, 1932. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge of Integrity No. 380, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1928.

**Ernest Benjamin Young**, of Woking, Surrey, on 26th March, 1933. Bro. Young was a member of Upton Lodge and Chapter No. 1227. He had been associated with our Correspondence Circle since March, 1909.

# —‡: Ars ‡— Quatuor Coronatorum

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



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

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Ars

Quatuor Coronatorum



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## ERRATUM

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

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## St. John's Day in Harvest

SATURDAY, 24th JUNE, 1933.



THE 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.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M., as S.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Supt.W., P.M., D.C.; and George Elkington, P.A.G.Supt.W., J.D.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. Douglas Elkington, Jas. W. Senior, *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., as S.D.; A. J. Barter, T. H. Carter, C. F. Sykes, Ernest J. Marsh, as J.W.; R. L. Randall, H. Hadow, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, L. M. Moss, H. W. Martin, A. N. Brushfield, Fredk. Spooner, H. Bladon, P.G.St.B., as I.G.; H. F. Mawbey, W. Barrett, W. Brinkworth, R. Girdlestone Cooper, G. D. Hindley, Duncan Sinclair, T. F. Hurley, S. J. H. Prynne, S. W. Hills, R. A. Horsnell, R. W. Strickland, F. A. Greene, G. Kennedy Barnes, Lambert Peterson, A. H. Crouch, *Major* Cecil C. Adams, P.G.D., A. Thompson, Max Infeld, Lewis Edwards, John I. Moar, J. F. H. Gilbard, A. E. Gurney, S. A. V. Wood, J. Gaskill, A. F. Ford, C. A. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg., F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., and Wm. E. Bull.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Henry T. Eddy, Portsmouth Temperance Lodge No. 2068; Ed. H. Powis, Lux in Tenebris Lodge No. 3856; A. H. Wolfenden, P.M., Imperial Lodge No. 1694; and R. S. Morris, Sir Walter Raleigh Lodge No. 2837.

Apologies for non-attendance were reported from Bros. S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., S.D.; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Ch.; F. W. Gölby, P.A.G.D.C.; *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, I.G.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., S.W.; George Norman, M.D., P.G.D., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; John Stokes, M.A., M.D., P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; and B. Ivanoff.

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

Upon Ballot taken:—

Bro. *Major* CECIL CLARE ADAMS, M.C., F.S.A., residing at 31, West Heath Drive, London, N.W.11, Secretary R.M. Benevolent Institution. P.M. of Pentangle Lodge No. 1174. Mid-Kent Masters Lodge No. 3173 and Connaught Army and Navy Lodge No. 4323. Past Grand Deacon. Past Assistant Grand Sojourner, England. Author of *The Freemasons' Pocket Companions of the Eighteenth Century*, a

paper read in Lodge. *Ahiman Rezon, the Book of Constitutions*, paper to be read at this meeting. *The Vampire of European Legend*, a paper read before the S.R.I.A., and various technical papers which have appeared in the Royal Engineers' Journal. Editor of *Masonic Notes*, 1918-1920;

and

BRO. BORIS IVANOFF, residing at 3, Palace Gardens Mansions, London, W.8. Company Director. Member of Ionic Lodge No. 227. Author of *Cagliostro in Eastern Europe (Courland, Russia and Poland)*, *A.Q.C.*, xl., 1927. A Review of *Cagliostro and his Egyptian Rite of Freemasonry* in *A.Q.C.*, xlii., 1929. Also important comments on papers: *Russian Freemasonry* in *A.Q.C.*, xxxviii., 1925. *Swedish Freemasonry in Russia* in *A.Q.C.*, xxxix., 1926, and *J. A. Starck and his rite of Spiritual Masonry* in *A.Q.C.*, xli., 1928, and author of various papers read before the S.R.I.A.

were regularly elected Joining Members of the Lodge.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. R. H. GOUGH SMALLWOOD, of Wrexham.

Die for Seal of Lodge Royal Artillery No. 156.

(Antients; Lane. p. 127; met at Colchester 1809 to 1814 or later; erased 1828.)

Jewel, French Prisoners' work, made up as a brooch.

Pierced Jewel, Silver, circular. Inscriptions:—

Amor Honor et Justitia

Sit Lux et Lux fuit.

No date, but probably about 1800 or so.

By Bro. MENDAY.

Iron Fireback, heptagonal, with Masonic devices. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. WASHBOURN.

Summons, the Royal Theatre Lodge, 3 February 1833. Engraved, with blanks filled in in MS. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. Dr. R. T. Halliday.

Three aprons, linen, and embroidery, one in silk, the others in wool. Late XVIII. Elaborate designs including emblems of various degrees.

From the Grand Lodge Library. *Ahiman Rezon*, Dublin 1760.

From the Lodge Library. Thirteen copies of *Ahiman Rezon*, of various dates.

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

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BRO. CECIL ADAMS read the following paper:—



## AHIMAN REZON, THE BOOK OF CONSTITUTIONS.

BY BRO. CECIL ADAMS, M.C., F.S.A., P.G.D.

## INTRODUCTION.



UCH has been written concerning the history of the Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institution, but I cannot find that any writer has attempted to examine, at all fully, the Book of Constitutions printed for its use. This publication, to which its author, Laurence Dermott, the Grand Secretary, gave the picturesque title of *Ahiman Rezon*, is worthy of serious study, for it throws considerable light on the Masonic events of the period.

This enquiry was started by the late Bro. G. W. Daynes, and it is greatly to be regretted that he did not live to finish it; a paper from his pen on this subject would certainly have been a valuable contribution to our *Transactions*.

A few words regarding the early history of the 'Antient' Grand Lodge will not be out of place. So far as we can ascertain, six Lodges, independent of any higher authority, or control, formed themselves into a collective body in 1751, and assumed the style of the Grand Lodge "of the Old Institution." There were, at first, not more than eighty members, many of whom were Irish, and most were mechanics, or shopkeepers. They never implied that any of their Lodges were older than those of the premier Grand Lodge, but as their intention was to preserve certain of the ancient features of the Craft which had been altered by that assembly,<sup>1</sup> they assumed the title in their earliest records of 'Antient Masons,' and the members of the older body came to be called the 'Moderns.'

The earliest record left to us by the Antient Grand Lodge is known as *Morgan's Register*. It is so named after John Morgan, the Grand Secretary, who was responsible for its compilation, the greater part of the book being a register of members. It begins with an index, and there follows a series of eighteen Rules and Orders headed

Rules & Orders to be Observed By the Most Ancient and Honble Society of Free and Accepted Masons. As agreed and Settled by a Committee appointed by a General Assembly held at the Turk's Head in Greek Street, Soho, on Wednesday, the 17th day of July, 1751. And in the year of Masonry, 5751. By Philp. McLoughlin, Saml. Quay, James Shee, Josph Kelly & Jn Morgan, Gd. Secrety. Vizt. For the Grand.

Sixteen Rules then follow, one was added on the 6th April, 1752, and another on the 1st July of that year. There is no reference to any previous Rules, and we can assume that they were the first which the younger English Grand Lodge drew up for its own use. There is, I think, no doubt that these Rules were not intended to cover all the procedure of Grand Lodge and private Lodges. I suggest that the Antients considered themselves bound by James Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1738, and the Rules of 1751 were intended to cover matters not dealt with in that book, or to amend certain regulations to meet the

<sup>1</sup> See Mackey's *Encyclopædia of Freemasonry*: Ancient or Antient or Atholl Masons; also Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 498.

requirements of their own Grand Lodge. In the Minutes of the Grand Committee of the Antients for the 5th February, 1752, there is a reference to the "General Regulations" which seems to imply the printed *Constitutions* of Anderson (which bore that name) rather than Morgan's Rules and Orders.

There is no object in examining Morgan's Rules and Orders in detail, but I should like to call attention to two phrases. The first rule begins:

That the Masters and Wardens do meet on the First Wednesday of every month . . .

This is interesting, as the Grand Lodge of the Antients kept up this custom, and always held its regular meetings on the first Wednesday of the month. The rival body met on various days, sometimes at the beginning and sometimes at the end of the month. At the Union, the dates of the Antients were adopted, and our present meeting days for Quarterly Communications of Grand Lodge are a survival of the procedure first adopted by the Antients in 1751. Also, I will quote the concluding paragraph of the Rules, as it emphasises the object which these Brethren had in mind when they established themselves as rivals to the existing Grand Lodge:—

lastly, this our Regulation shall be Recorded in our Registry, to show posterity how much we desire to revive the Ancient Craft upon true Masonical principles.

#### LAURENCE DERMOTT.

The first Minute Book of the Grand Committee of the Antient Grand Lodge starts with the record of a meeting on the 5th February, 1752, held at the Griffin Tavern, Holborn, London, when

Brother John Morgan, Grand Secretary, Informed the Committee that he being lately appointed to an Office on board of one of His Majesty's Ships, he rec<sup>d</sup>. Orders to prepare for his departure, and therefore advised the Grand Committee to chuse a new Secretary immediately. Upon which Brother John Morris, past Master of No. 5, and Brother Laurence Dermott of No. 9 and 10 and past Master No. 26 in Dublin were proposed and admitted as Candidates for the Office of Grand Secretary.

And Grand Secretary Morgan was Ordered to Examine the Candidates separately & report his Opinion of their Qualifications.

After a long & minute Examination Relative to Initiation, passing,<sup>1</sup> Instalations, and General Regulations &c. &c. &c. Brother Morgan declared that Brother Laurence Dermott was duly qualified for the Office of Grand Secretary. Whereupon the Worshipful Master in the Chair, put up the Names of John Morris, and Laurence Dermott separately, when the latter was Unanimously chosen Grand Secretary: and accordingly he was installed (in the Ancient Manner) . . .

So we are introduced to Laurence Dermott,<sup>2</sup> a great, perhaps even the greatest character in the Craft history of the eighteenth century. A journeyman painter, born in Ireland in 1720, he was initiated in Lodge No. 26 in Dublin, on the 14th January, 1740,<sup>3</sup> in which Lodge he served all the Offices, including that of Secretary, and was installed Master on the 24th June, 1746.<sup>4</sup> He claimed to

<sup>1</sup> No mention of raising.

<sup>2</sup> For further information see *Notes on Laurence Dermott*, W. M. Bywater; and *Masonic Facts and Fictions*, Henry Sadler.

<sup>3</sup> Register, Grand Lodge of Antients.

<sup>4</sup> Minutes, Grand Lodge of Antients, 2nd March, 1757.

have joined the Royal Arch at an early date, for against his name in the Royal Arch Register of the Antients there is noted No. 26 Dublin, and the year 1746. Evidently, he became a Royal Arch Mason in his Irish Lodge. We do not know why, or when he came to England, but it was probably about 1747-48, as on p. xxiv. of the 1764 edition of *Ahiman Rezon* he states that "about sixteen or seventeen years ago" he was first introduced into the Modern society. It has been suggested that he only paid a visit,<sup>1</sup> but the wording seems to imply that he actually joined. We know no more of this, but the Modern Lodge evidently did not suit him, and in 1752 he joined Antient Lodge, No. 9, which he left after a short time to join No. 10.

The new Grand Secretary soon began to busy himself. On the 1st April, 1752, the By-Laws of private Lodges came up for discussion, as a draft set had been compiled by the former Grand Secretary and Philip McLoughlin. Laurence Dermott produced a copy of the By-Laws of his Dublin Lodge and

The latter being deem'd the most correct, it was Unanimously Resolved, that the most Correct Copy should be received & Acknowledged as the only Bye-laws for private lodges in future. And public thanks given to Bro<sup>r</sup>. Philip Mc Loughlin and J. Morgan for their good intentions, and trouble in drawing up the former bye laws.

A set of Lodge By-Laws of this period has been reprinted in *A.Q.C.*, xxxii., 114. These are dated the 2nd October, 1753, and are probably a copy of those produced by Dermott. This becomes almost certain when we discover that they are practically the same as a type set published in 1771 by the Antient Grand Lodge for Lodge use. Several of these are in existence,<sup>2</sup> and are headed

Copy of the By-Laws furnished to each Lodge by the Grand Lodge of the Old Constitutions. In the Year of Masonry, 5771.

First, then, the Antient organisation agreed to Rules and Orders to supplement and in some particulars, to take the place of Anderson's 1738 *Constitutions*. Then, special By-Laws for private Lodges were adopted. The final step was to replace the Modern *Constitutions* by a new book, written especially for the needs of the newer, but now important organisation. This task was undertaken by the Grand Secretary, and in 1756, the first edition of *Ahiman Rezon* was published.

#### THE FIRST EDITION—1756.

Dermott, who, as we shall see later, had some knowledge of the Hebrew language, selected a picturesque name for his book, and one which appears to be of Hebrew origin.<sup>3</sup> Probably he wished to avoid confusion with the *Constitutions* of the rival Grand Lodge, and he may have thought that a mysterious and uncommon title for his book would add to his own prestige, as well as that of his organisation. The name must have caused difficulties; as late as 1838 we find it referred to in a Lodge inventory as "A. H. Iman's Reasons."<sup>4</sup> The following advertisement is in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1756:—

2. A Himan Rezon; or, a book of constitutions for free masons. 3s sew'd. Bedford.

We shall see that later editions were much more expensive than this. The advent of this book is not mentioned in the Minutes of the Grand Lodge, presumably

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellanea Latomorum*, xvi., 122.

<sup>2</sup> See *Some account of the Percy Lodge of Freemasons*, George Cowell, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> For suggestions as to the meaning of *Ahiman Rezon* see *A.Q.C.*, xxiii., 162; *Miscellanea Latomorum*, xv., 16, 61, 78 and 94; Mackey's *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry*; *Ahiman Rezon*; and *Notes on Laurence Dermott*, W. M. Bywater, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Miscellanea Latomorum*, ii., 30.

because it was Dermott's personal property, but in the Grand Secretary's accounts for 1756, and also 1757, at the end of the Minutes, there is an item "Constitution Book" and in the latter year "Ahiman Rezon" in brackets. It adds "London price *pro tempore*," but no price is stated. This implies a different price outside London. It was issued by subscription, but later became a profitable venture.

The publisher showed good sense in making his book with much smaller pages than the *Constitutions* of the Modern Grand Lodge, which would be too large for the pocket. The page is about 8 in. by 5 in., so that although it was printed as a quarto book, it is not at all cumbersome, or inconvenient for handling and carrying. If the Moderns had adopted this size, the authorities would perhaps not have been so troubled by the pirates who produced the *Freemason's Pocket Companions*.

Dermott, whose origin was probably very humble, does not show finished literary style, but his book is not poor in that respect, as only a small part is the author's personal work. He states that he was in possession of the earlier *Constitutions* of the English and Irish Grand Lodges, as well as *Pocket Companions*, and he made use of these books. The greater part of *Ahiman Rezon* is taken from Spratt's *Book of Constitutions*, printed in Dublin in 1751, and Dermott uses this whenever he can do so, even rather than the English books in his possession, which were the originals. He probably had a pride in his Irish Masonic parentage, and no doubt wished to avoid using the official publications of his rivals. In 1756, the Antient Grand Lodge was not a big or firmly established organisation, and in this first edition, Dermott, no doubt, thought it wise to avoid any direct reference to the older society. He usually expresses his thoughts openly, but in his earliest venture, he was more discreet than in later editions, in which he does not hesitate to say what he thinks of the Moderns.

The work was primarily a Book of Constitutions, and as such, I regard the Regulations in it as the most important part, although they are not of great interest, as little in them is original. The real feature of the book is that portion which in later editions came to be known as 'Ahiman Rezon.' This, no doubt, was written by Dermott; it occupies some twenty-four pages, and is in the nature of a Charge regarding the Duties of members of the Craft. This was copied in all the later English editions, and appears in others, until well on in the nineteenth century.

We must now examine the book in detail. This is the only complete English edition with no Frontispiece. The Title-page is printed in red and black, and, in accordance with the custom of the time, it gives a full description of the contents. The imprint states that it was sold by "Brother James Bedford, at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard." This Brother Bedford was one of the subscribers for the publication. He was the victualler at the Crown,<sup>1</sup> and we hear of him as the Junior Warden at the Constitution of Lodge No. 20 (Antient) on the 9th July, 1753. We do not know when or where he was initiated, but perhaps it was in No. 3 (Antient), which seems to have been the only Lodge meeting at the Crown at this time. He was re-elected Junior Warden of No. 20 on the 17th December, 1753, and became Master on the 17th June, 1754. His last payment in the accounts of the Lodge was on the 15th December, 1755. In the Minutes of No. 20,<sup>2</sup> it is recorded that on the 2nd December, 1754, Nos. 3, 20 and 36 agreed

That each Lodge shall dine at Bror. Bedford's next St. John's day and No. 20 St. John day following & at Bror. Hutchins after.

On the 14th March, 1754, at a Grand Committee of Masters it was resolved, on the recommendation of the Grand Secretary, to hold at the Crown a monthly Committee of Masters to be called the Committee of Inspection, and to consider

<sup>1</sup> *Morgan's Register*.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xxxii., 114.

the merits of petitions for charity. Clearly Dermott must have been well acquainted with Bedford, and the Minutes of No. 20 show that he frequently visited that Lodge.<sup>1</sup> The printer of *Ahiman Rezon* was probably one Ensign Laughlan (or Lachlan) McIntosh, the Junior Grand Warden, who is recorded in *Morgan's Register* as

Printer Crow in paul's Alley St. Pauls Church Yard.

The address is obviously a clerical error for 'Crown'; McIntosh subscribed for the book, and as he was living with the seller, it seems likely that he printed it.

Dermott started his book with a somewhat flowery Dedication, printed in two colours, to the Earl of Blesington, in which it is stated that his object is

to let the young Brethren know how they ought to conduct their Actions, with Uprightness, Integrity, Morality, and Brotherly Love, still keeping the ancient Land-Marks in View

and the book is also designed

to shew the mistaken Part of the World, that the true Principles of Free-Masonry are to love Mercy, do Justice, and walk humbly before GOD.

Lord Blesington was already well-known as a Free-Mason. The first reference that we have to him is in the Modern Grand Lodge list of 1731, where, as Viscount Mountjoy, he appears as a member of the Lodge at the Bear and Harrow in the Butcher's Row. He attended the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1733,<sup>2</sup> was elected their Grand Master in 1738, and again in 1739. In 1756, he was living in London, and in writing this dedication, no doubt Dermott had him in mind as a likely Grand Master. Probably Lord Blesington's favourable reception of *Ahiman Rezon* led to his invitation to become Grand Master, but he does not seem to have been over zealous regarding his duties, for he never attended a meeting of Grand Lodge. The dedication mentions that

The Year 1740 has recorded so much of Your Lordship's Goodness and extensive Love to Mankind, that there is no Room left to say more than that I know Nothing to recommend this Work so much as prefixing your Lordship's Name.

In January of that year, when Grand Master of Ireland, Lord Blesington organised a house-to-house collection in Dublin to raise money for food and coal for the poor. In July of the same year, he distributed oatmeal to poor persons at a penny a pound.<sup>3</sup> The concluding words of the dedication are interesting:—

Your Lordship's Most oblig'd Most humble, and Most obedient Servant  
And faithful ———, Lau. Dermott.

In the Irish *Constitutions* of 1751, which Dermott was using, the dedication ends:—

Your Lordship's, most obliged, most obedient, true, and faithful  
Edward Spratt.

But why are we treated to a 'dash' after the word faithful? It has been suggested that this is to take the place of the words 'Ahiman Rezon,'<sup>4</sup> but this is questionable. It is more probable that he did not feel justified in saying 'faithful secretary' or 'faithful brother' to the Earl who had not yet joined the Antients.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He was at the Constitution, paid four other visits in 1753, eight visits in 1754, six visits in 1755 and three visits up to March, 1756, when the Minutes cease.

<sup>2</sup> Lepper and Crosslé, i., 90.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> i.e., Faithful Brother Secretary.

<sup>5</sup> To his dedication to the *Engraved List of Lodges* (Antients) of 1753, he subscribes himself as "most Obedient Servt. and faithful Brother Lau. Dermott. Sec." See *A.Q.C.*, xix., 94.

An Introduction to the book by Dermott signed with his initials, occupies some thirteen pages, and is headed with the words "The Editor to the Reader." He seeks to justify his temerity in appearing in print, by pointing out that many famous historical characters were poor men and of mean parentage. He gives examples of this, dealing with no less than thirty-two cases, all of which probably came from some contemporary article.

There was one great difficulty which Dermott had to overcome at the outset, for he could not follow the example of Anderson and William Smith by giving the legendary history of the Craft from the Creation up to the time of writing, without either mentioning the premier Grand Lodge, or leaving a gap from 1717 to 1751. He prepares the reader for what is coming, by the following significant footnote at the end of the first paragraph:—

Quere, Whether such Histories are of any Use in the secret Mysteries of the Craft.

He then states that he purchased most of the *Constitutions*, *Pocket Companions* and so on, and with their help wrote the first volume of a History. He then relates that he had a dream of Shallum, Ahiman, Akhub and Talmon, the four porters of I. *Chronicles* ix., 17. Ahiman is the spokesman of the story, and for that reason, Dermott may have given his name to the book. There are quotations in this account from the Geneva Bible. On waking, Dermott finds that a dog has eaten most of his manuscript; this he takes to be a bad omen, so he does not rewrite the history, and this is his excuse for the omission.

The books mentioned by Dermott as his Masonic authorities form an interesting list. He says:—

I placed the following Works round about me, so as to be convenient to have Recourse to them as Occasion should require, viz. Doctor Anderson<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Spratt<sup>2</sup> directly before me, Doctor D'Assigny<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Smith<sup>4</sup> on my Right-hand, Doctor Desagulier<sup>5</sup> and Mr. Pennell<sup>6</sup> on my Left-hand, and Mr. Scott and Mr. Lyon behind me: A Copy of (that often called) the Original Constitutions (said to be in the Possession of Mr. John Clark,<sup>7</sup> in Paris), and another Copy of the same Magnitude handed about in England, together with the Pamphlet printed at Frankfort in Germany,<sup>8</sup> I tied up in the Public Advertiser of Friday, October 19, 1753,<sup>9</sup> and threw them under the Table.

Bro. Gilbert Daynes made an interesting suggestion that these books are grouped in pairs, and this seems to be the case. In front of the writer were placed the latest English and Irish *Constitutions* on which the book was based. On his right hand are two Irish books which he used; on his left were the earlier English and Irish *Constitutions* which he did not require, while he also made no use of the books behind him and under the table.

<sup>1</sup> Evidently the *Book of Constitutions*, 1738.

<sup>2</sup> *Book of Constitutions*, Dublin, 1751.

<sup>3</sup> *A Serious and Impartial Enquiry*, Dr. F. D'Assigny, Dublin, 1744.

<sup>4</sup> Probably *Freemason's Pocket Companion*, William Smith, Dublin, 1735; Dermott took several songs from this book, which is more likely than the London edition of the same year.

<sup>5</sup> This refers to the *Book of Constitutions* 1723, which had a Dedication signed by Dr. Desaguliers.

<sup>6</sup> *Book of Constitutions*, Dublin, 1730.

<sup>7</sup> Corrected to "Mr. John Collins" in the 3rd edition. This appears to refer to the Leland-Locke MS. which begins: "My Lord, I have at length by the help of Mr. C—ns procured a copy of that manuscript in the Bodleian Library . . ."

<sup>8</sup> *An Apology for the Free and Accepted Masons, Occasioned by their Persecution in the Canton of Berne*, Frankfort, 1748. This was reprinted in the *Pocket Companion*, London, 1754. Or, possibly the Frankfort pamphlet of 1748, from which the Leland-Locke MS. is said to have been copied, is intended.

<sup>9</sup> Containing the Leland-Locke MS., copied from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the previous month.



# AHIMAN REZON:

O R,

A Help to a Brother;

Shewing the

EXCELLENCY of SECRECY,

And the first Cause, or Motive, of the Institution of

FREE-MASONRY;

T H E

PRINCIPLES of the CRAFT,

And the

Benefits arising from a strict Observance thereof;

What Sort of MEN ought to be initiated into the MYSTERY,

And what Sort of MASONS are fit to govern LODGES,

With their Behaviour in and out of the Lodge.

Likewise the

Prayers used in the *Jewish* and *Christian* Lodges,

The Ancient Manner of

Constituting new Lodges, with all the Charges, &c.

Also the

OLD and NEW REGULATIONS,

The Manner of Chusing and Installing *Grand-Master* and *Officers*,

and other useful Particulars, too numerous here to mention.

To which is added,

The greatest Collection of MASONS SONGS ever presented to  
public View, with many entertaining PROLOGUES and EPILOGUES;

Together with

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE an ORATORIO,

As it was performed for the Benefit of

F R E E - M A S O N S.

By Brother LAURENCE DERMOTT, Sec.

L O N D O N :

Printed for the EDITOR, and sold by Brother *James Bedford*, at the  
Crown in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*.

MDCCLVI.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, London, 1756.

From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.



Frontispiece, *Aliman Rezon*, London, 1764.

*From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.*



"Mr. Lyon" evidently refers to Jacob Jehuda Leon (c. 1603—c. 1680) who wrote a description of Solomon's Temple, of which he had a model.<sup>1</sup> Dermott in the second edition, stated that he saw this model when it was exhibited in 1759-60. At first glance, one would take "Mr. Scott" to refer to the 1754 *Pocket Companion* of Jonathan Scott, but it is quite likely that the intention is another interesting character, who would naturally be linked with Leon, namely, Councillor Schott. This individual also wrote a description of the Temple, and had a model which was on view in London about 1725.<sup>2</sup> The name is incorrectly spelled, but the same applies to Leon. As Dermott was a hard-working journeyman painter,<sup>3</sup> he may well have taken two years or more in preparing his book, in which case, Jonathan Scott's *Pocket Companion* would not have been published when he started to write. The song, *Wake the Lute and quivering Strings* which is in *Ahiman Rezon* seems to have been taken from Scott's book, but this may have been added shortly before publication.

The next four pages are occupied by the names of 217 subscribers, including Edward Vaughan, Grand Master, and many Grand and Past Grand Officers, including L. McIntosh, the Junior Grand Warden, who has been suggested as Dermott's printer, and James Bedford, the seller of the book. Three persons took two copies each, and ten ladies are mentioned, three of whom did not have husbands among the subscribers. The name of the Earl of Blesington is not included, and it may be, therefore, that he was not approached by Dermott before the publication. James Quin,<sup>4</sup> the actor, was a subscriber, but not Thomas Grinsell, his half brother. We shall hear more of this pair when we come to the third edition. As one would expect, a number of Irishmen subscribed, and there is also a very definite Jewish element, for the names Levi Hart, Abraham Jacob, Mordecai Isaacs, Lion Solomon and Israel Wolfe are included. The list of subscribers is followed by four pages of Contents, and then the main part of the book with new pagination.

This is a dissertation on the Duty of Freemasons, but it consists of a number of sections strung together by the author and containing a great deal of material collected from various sources. The first part is on the Excellency of Secrecy, showing how pleasing that quality is to God. Several illustrations are given from the Classics—Cato the Censor, and the story of Alexander and his friend Hephestion,<sup>5</sup> both of which are from Plutarch's *Lives*<sup>6</sup>; a story from the *Attic Nights* of Aulus<sup>7</sup> Gellius, which is also found in the *Saturnals* of Macrobius; the account of Anaxarchus, who bit off his tongue<sup>8</sup>; the Athenian Statue of Brass; the Egyptian god Harpocrates; the Roman goddess Angerona; the story of the servants of Plancus and Cato; the account from Quintus Curtius of the hiding of King Darius when defeated by Alexander.<sup>9</sup> Extracts are given from the writings of Horace, Pythagoras, Aristotle, St. Ambrose and King Solomon. Except for the last, Dermott probably made use of contemporary essays.

The next section is on the Character of a just and stedfast Man, and this is demonstrated by a metrical translation from Horace. Then we have a section on the Superiority of Free-Masons in concealing Secrets. It is stated that

the most cruel Punishments could never extort the Secret (even)  
from the weakest Member of the whole Fraternity.

<sup>1</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, xii., 150.

<sup>2</sup> See *Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry*, W. J. Hughan, 1909 edit., p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> He said that he worked 12 hours a day. See Minutes, Grand Lodge of the Antients, 13th July, 1753.

<sup>4</sup> See *D.N.B.*

<sup>5</sup> "Ephestion" in *Ahiman Rezon*.

<sup>6</sup> In the eighteenth century, Dryden's translation was probably the only one available; there is a London edition of 1727 in the British Museum.

<sup>7</sup> "Alius" in *Ahiman Rezon*.

<sup>8</sup> Pliny, Book vii., ch. 23.

<sup>9</sup> The British Museum has: *Quintus Curtius, his History of the Wars of Alexander*, Translated by J. Digby, London, 1747.

There is a section on the Cause of the Institution of Free-Masonry, and this is followed by an account of its Use to the World. The latter is in verse, and most of it is translated from D'Assigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry*.<sup>1</sup> One of the subscribers for this book was Lawrence McDermott, who was apparently our author. The first ten lines follow D'Assigny very closely. Then, there is "history" from D'Assigny and the Old Charges, the Ark, the Rainbow (called "An heav'nly Arch"), David, Solomon's Temple, with finally, twenty more lines from D'Assigny.

The next six pages are D'Assigny, almost without alteration, and these contain sections on the Principles of the Craft, the Benefits arising from a strict Observance thereof, and What sort of Men ought to be initiated into the Mystery. After Advice to some who may have an Inclination to become Members, and What Sort of Masons are fit to govern Lodges, Dermott finishes with hints on Behaviour in and out of the Lodge, which is practically from the Ancient Charges of the Constitutions, as given a little further on in the book. For example, on p. 22,

he is to pay due Respect, and be obedient (in all reasonable Matters) to the Master and presiding Officers

while on p. 30,

you are to pay due Reverence to the Master, Wardens and Fellows, and put them to worship.

Or, again, on p. 22,

nor behave himself ludicrously, nor jestingly, while the Lodge is engaged in what is serious and solemn

and on p. 30,

nor act ludicrously while the Lodge is engaged in what is serious and solemn.

His remarks regarding Freemasonry and Religion are interesting:—

And I honestly recommend . . . regular Lodges, as the only Seminaries where Men (in the most pleasant and clearest Manner) may hear, understand, and learn their Duty to God; and also to their Neighbours. And this without the Multiplicity of spiteful and malicious Words, long Arguments, or fierce Debates; which have been made Use of, among mistaken Mortals, upwards of a thousand Years past: And instead of uniting Men in one sacred Band (as the Servants of God, and Brethren of the same Houshold) have divided them into as many different Opinions, as there were (not only Languages, but even) Men at the Confusion of Babel

and in the last paragraph there are some striking words:—

These few Hints may serve to put the Brethren in Mind of the Duty incumbent on them as Free-Masons; and likewise, how to behave themselves in such a Manner as may be acceptable to God, agreeable to the Principles of Masonry, and much to their own Honour: . . .

So far, the book is largely in Dermott's words, but the remainder, except for a few songs, was taken by him from other sources. The Charges are clearly copied with a few verbal alterations from Spratt's *Constitutions*, but the explanatory footnote to "Noachida," which was omitted from the Irish book, reappears here. The word "Prentices" used by Anderson and Spratt is now replaced by "Apprentices." This spelling continues in later parts of the book, and was

<sup>1</sup> A *Serious and Impartial Enquiry*, Dr. F. D'Assigny, Dublin, 1744, p. 23.

employed by Entick in the 1756 English *Constitutions*. In the fourth Charge, an apparent inaccuracy in the Irish book has been corrected, and this looks as if Dermott checked his book with the 1738 original of Anderson.

The Short Charge To a new admitted Mason, which follows, is not from the *Constitutions*, but from a *Pocket Companion*, probably the Dublin edition of 1735, the wording of which it seems to follow, rather than that of the 1754 London edition of Jonathan Scott.<sup>1</sup> Referring to the familiar phrase "He is not to neglect his own necessary Avocations for the Sake of Masonry," we are given a new footnote which, however, has not, so far as I am aware, persisted in our modern Ritual. It is as follows:—

Here you are to understand that a Mason ought not to belong to a Number of Lodges at one Time, nor run from Lodge to Lodge; or otherwise, after Masons or Masonry, whereby his Business or Family may be neglected; but yet every Mason is subject to all the Bye-Laws of his Lodge, which he is strictly and constantly to obey;—for the Attendance and Dues of one Lodge, can never prejudice neither him nor his Family.

The Manner of Constituting a new Lodge is taken from Spratt's *Constitutions*, the main alteration being the suggestion of some installation ceremony. The word "installed" is introduced by Dermott, and instead of "With some other Expressions that are proper and usual on that Ocasion [*sic*], but not proper to be written," we now find "after some other Ceremonies and Expressions that cannot be written." There seems to be no doubt that at this time, the installation ceremony for the Master was peculiar to the Antients.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the Constitution, thanks to the Grand Master are to be given "according to the Custom of Masters," and a new clause gives instructions for a "Proclamation":—

Then the Grand-Secretary, or some Brother for him, (by the Grand-Master's Order) in the Name of the Grand Lodge, declares and proclaims this new Lodge duly constituted No.           , &c.

Four Prayers are here inserted in the book. The first is said to be used by Jewish Free-Masons at the Opening of the Lodge, &c., but I cannot trace its appearance in any previous Masonic work. There is a footnote referring to the Preface to the Mishna, giving a description of the method by which Moses taught the Explanations of the Laws to the Israelites without writing. The second prayer is the well-known invocation to the Trinity which is given at the beginning of most copies of the Old Charges. Then follows a prayer from Spratt's *Constitutions* "which is most general at Making or Opening." Finally, we have a prayer "repeated in the Royal Arch Lodge at Jerusalem." This is headed "Ahabath Olam," meaning "Eternal Love," from the opening words "Thou hast loved us, O Lord our God, with eternal Love." There is a footnote "See Dr. Wootton [*sic*] on the Mishna."<sup>3</sup> Having referred, in the heading of this last prayer to the Royal Arch, Dermott warns his Brethren against an impostor who had been improperly communicating the secrets of that branch of Masonry:—

Having inserted this Prayer, and mentioned that Part of Masonry commonly called the Royal Arch (which I firmly believe to be the Root, Heart, and Marrow of Free-Masonry) I cannot forbear giving a Hint of a certain evil Designer, who has made a Trade thereof for some Time past, and has drawn in a Number of worthy, honest

<sup>1</sup> See p. 244 *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> A note on page xliii. of the 3rd edition of *Ahiman Rezon* states that the two societies "differ exceedingly in makings, ceremonies, knowledge, masonic language, and installations."

<sup>3</sup> This prayer is from *Miscellaneous Discourses Relating to the Traditions and Usages of the Scribes and Pharisees In our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ's Time*, W. Wotton, D.D., London, 1718, vol. i., p. 180.

Men, and made them believe that he and his Assistants truly taught them all and every Part of the above-named Branch of Masonry, which they soon communicated to the worthy Brethren of their Acquaintance, without being able to form any Sort of Judgment whereby they might distinguish Truth from Falshood [*sic*], and consequently could not discern the Imposition: but, as the wise Seneca justly observes, it fares with us in human Life as in a routed Army, one stumbles first and then another falls upon him; and so they follow, one upon the Neck of another, till the whole Field comes to be but one Heap of Miscarriages. This is the Case of all those who think themselves Royal Arch Masons, without passing the Chair in regular Form, according to the ancient Custom of the Craft: To this I will add the Opinion of our Worshipful Brother Doctor Fifield D'Assigny, printed in the Year 1744.

He then quotes from the *Serious and Impartial Enquiry* to support his assertion that the Chair of a Craft Lodge is an essential qualification for the Royal Arch:—

Some of the Fraternity (says he) have expressed an Uneasiness at this Matter being Kept a Secret from them (since they had already passed through the usual Degrees of Probation) I cannot help being of Opinion, that they have no Right to any such Benefit until they make a proper Application, and are received with due Formality: And as it is an organised Body of Men who have passed the Chair, and given undeniable Proofs of their Skill in Architecture, it cannot be treated with too much Reverence; and more especially since the Characters of the present Members of that particular Lodge are untainted, and the Behaviour judicious and unexceptionable: So that there cannot be the least Hinge to hang a Doubt on, but that they are most excellent Masons.

After this quotation from D'Assigny, Dermott again returns to the subject of the "evil Designer" and trusts

that God may guide him back, out of his present Labyrinth of Darkness, to the true Light of Masonry; which is, Truth, Charity, and Justice.

He adds that he has no "evil Design" against this person, any more than had Hesiod against his Brother Perses, and then ends with a quotation in English from Hesiod's *Works and Days*.<sup>1</sup>

Here we come to the most important part of *Ahiman Rezon*, the General Regulations, for it was in order to publish these regulations that the book came into being. They are taken from Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751, with such alterations as Dermott found necessary. The introductory note giving the name of the Grand Master of Ireland, and the approval of the Irish Grand Lodge are omitted, as well as the reference to the 1738 *Constitutions*, which is given by Spratt. Naturally, Dermott would not refer in any way to an official publication of the premier but rival Grand Lodge. These regulations follow the system adopted by Spratt from Anderson, of printing the Old and New Regulations in two parallel columns. There are 27 regulations arranged in this way, finishing with "The End of the old Regulations." Then follows Regulation No. xxviii. in one column only, headed "New Regulations," with ten numbered paragraphs giving the procedure in Grand Lodge. Then we have "The End of the new

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Hesiod Translated from the Greek*, Mr. Cooke, London, 1728, vol. i., p. 94.

Regulations," followed by two Biblical quotations run together and taken from *Proverbs*, iii., 1, and xxii., 28. These should read:—

My Son, forget not my Law; but let thine Heart keep my Commandments, and remove not the ancient Land-Mark which thy Fathers have set. Solomon.

The last word refers to the author of the passages, but by a misprint, the full-stop prior to that word was omitted, and the sense thereby changed. This was not corrected until the publication of the third edition in 1778. These Biblical quotations were not in the *Irish Constitutions*, nor was the following passage with which Dermott concluded this part of the book:—

Though the foregoing are called new Regulations, yet they are of many Years standing, and have been wrote at different Times, by Order of the whole Community, as Amendments or Explanations of the old Regulations; for we are not to break in upon the ancient Rules of the Fraternity, as before mentioned in New Regulation xxvii.

Several minor alterations were made by the author of *Ahiman Rezon* in copying Spratt's *Irish Constitutions*, and many of these do not call for comment. We find that the word "Masonry" has been replaced by "Free-Masonry," and "Masons" by "Free-Masons."<sup>1</sup> Dermott ensured that his own Office was entitled correctly "Grand Secretary," the word "Grand" being added in several places.<sup>2</sup> The necessity for reference to London instead of Dublin required some corrections,<sup>3</sup> while the widespread organisation visualised by the energetic Grand Secretary called for an alteration in *New Reg.* xx. Anderson required the presence of a Grand Officer for an official visit, or for constituting a Lodge. This was copied by Spratt, but Dermott added:—

except Places at too great a Distance from the Grand Lodge, and in such Case some faithful Brother who has passed the Chair, &c. shall have a proper Deputation, &c. under the Grand Lodge Seal for the Constitution of such new Lodge or Lodges, in distant or remote Countries, where the Grand Officers cannot possibly attend.

In *Ahiman Rezon*, there are several alterations in those regulations referring to the election and installation of the Grand Master. At the end of *Old Reg.* xxiv., Anderson's *Old Reg.* xxxiv., has been added. This gives the procedure when the nomination of the Grand Master is not unanimously approved. It was omitted from Spratt's *Constitutions*, and this indicates that Dermott did not rely entirely upon the Irish book, but made use of the older *English Constitutions* when he needed them. To this same regulation, Dermott inserted an interesting footnote referring to the ceremony of installing the Grand Master:—

This is a most noble and grand Ceremony, but cannot be described in Writing, nor ever known to any but Master-Masons.

This seems to infer that only Master Masons could attend Grand Lodge, or possibly that the secrets of the Chair were known to Master Masons. The *New Reg.* xxiv. refers to the corresponding *Old Reg.*, and begins with the words "This is the general Practice of Grand Lodges, for they seldom or never disapprove the Choice." This is followed at the foot of p. 80 by the catchword "xxv. I.A." which is the correct beginning of *New Reg.* xxv. on p. 82.

<sup>1</sup> *New Reg.*, xxvii., and xxviii., 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Old Reg.*, xxiii., and *New Reg.*, iii., v. and xiv.

<sup>3</sup> *Old Reg.*, xxii., and *New Reg.*, viii. and xxiv.

But on p. 81, another paragraph of *New Reg.* xxiv. is given, stating the reason for leaving the *Old Regulation* in the book. Evidently, this was inserted by Dermott when he read the proofs. In *Old Reg.* xxiii., where Spratt, referring to the installation of the Grand Master, says "shall proclaim him aloud," Dermott inserts the word "thrice." Installation of Grand Masters by proxy is in *New Reg.* xxvi., and the names of some 'Modern' Grand Masters are given without comment, as in Anderson's and Spratt's *Constitutions*. Dermott has added a new sentence:—

But the Grand Installation is not performed until the real new Grand-Master is present.

It is interesting to remember that the first Grand Master of the Antients, Lord Blesington, was installed by proxy on the 27th December, 1756, and again in 1758. There are several alterations in the regulations regarding attendance at Grand Lodge. Spratt's regulation that all members of the Grand Master's Lodge can attend meetings of Grand Lodge, has been omitted from *Ahiman Rezon*.<sup>1</sup> A regulation permitting a past Officer to take the place of a Lodge Officer who cannot attend Grand Lodge, has been altered by a stipulation that the substitute must have held "that or a higher Office."<sup>2</sup> When a Grand Officer is also the Officer of a Lodge, he deposes a member of his Lodge to act in Grand Lodge as the Lodge Officer, but *Ahiman Rezon* requires the substitute to be a past Officer.<sup>3</sup> In Grand Lodge, every member is to keep his seat, and in *Ahiman Rezon* the words "(according to the No. of his Lodge)" are added.<sup>4</sup>

Dermott's regulations for Masonic clothing are of interest. He has omitted from *New Reg.* ii. the 'Modern' rule (copied into the *Irish Constitutions*) that Masters and Wardens may line their aprons with white silk and hang their jewels on white ribbons, and we find all the 'Antient' requirements in *New Reg.* i. There, Anderson (1738) stated that Grand Officers only might wear gold jewels on blue ribbons, and that they and Past Grand Officers might wear white aprons with blue silk. This was copied by Spratt (1751), but Dermott altered it to the effect that "Some Grand Lodges" ordered that Grand Officers only "should" wear these distinguishing marks, and he adds a footnote stating that Grand Officers only should wear gold jewels, but he is certain that every Member of "the Grand Lodge" has a right to wear purple, blue, white, or crimson. There are some interesting alterations which Dermott made in order to distinguish his Grand Lodge from their rivals. In *New Reg.* vi., the earlier *Constitutions* permit the admission of a visitor to a Lodge when there are not more than three ballots against him. In *Ahiman Rezon*, there is a new paragraph:—

I shall not mention the Cause of the above new Regulation being made, but certain it is that real Free-Masons have no Occasion for any such Regulation, they being able to distinguish a true Brother, let his Country or Language be ever so remote or obscure to us; nor is it in the Power of false Pretenders to deceive us.

Evidently the Antients were the "real Free-Masons," and the same expression occurs in *New Reg.* xi. Spratt's *Constitutions* read "The same Usages, for Substance, are actually observed in every Lodge," but in *Ahiman Rezon*, the wording is "every regular Lodge (of real Free and Accepted Masons)." In *Old Reg.* xxii., which refers to the meeting of Brethren at the Annual Feast, Dermott ensures that only his particular organisation is included, by speaking of "regular Lodges" instead of "Lodges," and in the corresponding *New Regulation*, after the words "Brethren around the Globe" he adds "(who are true and faithful Members of the ancient Craft)."

<sup>1</sup> *New Reg.*, xxviii., 1.

<sup>2</sup> *New Reg.*, xii.

<sup>3</sup> *New Reg.*, xvii.

<sup>4</sup> *New Reg.*, xxviii., 4.

The General Regulations are followed by those for the Committee of Charity, which, however, call for little comment. The introduction tells us that they are

as they have been approved of and practised by the Grand Lodge of Ireland since the Year 1738, when our Right Worshipful and Right Honourable Brother WILLIAM STUART, Lord Viscount Mountjoy (now Earl of Blessington) was Grand-Master. Also the Regulations of the Stewards Lodge, or Committee for Charity, as they have been approved of and practised by the ancient York-Masons in England since the Year 1751.

These regulations are in two parallel columns, the Irish from Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751 on the left, and those of the Antients (here called the York-Masons) on the right. The latter do not appear to date from 1751, as Dermott claimed, for the formation of the Committee of Charity, and the rules governing it, are first mentioned in the Grand Lodge Minutes of the 14th March, 1754. There, it is stated

That such committee shall be renewed every Kalendar Month and that such Committee shall meet on the 3d Wednesday in Every month . . .

These days of meeting still remain with us for the Board of Benevolence; in fact, many of the regulations governing that Board can be traced to those given for the Committee of Charity in the first *Ahiman Rezon*. There is one textual mistake which should be noted. In the Dublin Regulation 3, the editor has used the word "Treasurer" instead of "Secretary"; this was corrected in the second edition.

Here we come to the end of the more serious part of the work, and the remainder, following the example of most of the Masonic books of the period, comprises songs and poems. There is a second Title-page:—

A CHOICE  
COLLECTION  
OF  
MASONS SONGS,  
With several ingenious  
PROLOGUES and EPILOGUES.  
To which is added,  
Solomon's Temple,  
AN  
ORATORIO,  
As it was performed at the  
Philharmonic-Room in Fishamble-Street,  
DUBLIN,  
For the Benefit of sick and distressed  
FREE-MASONS.

LONDON:  
Printed in the Year MDCCLVI.

There are sixty Songs, the first thirty-two of which come from Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751. Thirty-three songs are in that book, but Dermott for no apparent reason has omitted *Grant me, kind heav'n*. These are followed by two songs which were in the Dublin *Pocket Companion* of 1751, and No. 35, *Pray lend me your Ears my dear Brethren awhile*, appeared in Cole's *Constitutions* in the same year. No. 40, *'Tis Masonry unites Mankind*, comes from H. Roberts' engraving of 1736, and was in the Edinburgh *Pocket Companion* of 1752. No. 50, *Wake the Lute and quivering Strings*, was in Scott's London *Pocket Companion* of 1754; I have already called attention to this, as it is



uncertain whether Dermott made use of that book.<sup>1</sup> The last song, *Come ye Elves that be*, was first, I believe, in Cole's *Constitutions* of 1731. The remaining twenty-two songs are original to *Ahiman Rezon*, and in many cases, the names of the authors are given. Three are by Bro. "L—— D——," obviously Dermott, and there are two by Alexander Kennedy, "Shoolmaster." Bro. John Jackson, the Senior Grand Warden, provided a song, another is by Bro. Alexander Dixon, and two are by Brother "E—— P——." The only Antient Mason with these initials in *Morgan's Register* is Edward Power, also called Richard Power, a "Taylor." This trade seems to have been productive of song writers, for John Jackson, and one of the two Brethren named Alexander Dixon in that Register are "Taylors." Robert Hall, who wrote a song for the 1778 *Ahiman Rezon*, seems to have been a shoemaker. Three of the songs were by John Cartwright, of Salford in Lancashire, who was quite a Masonic character. In the second edition of *Ahiman Rezon* he is described as "Of Cheadle," so he must have moved to that place prior to 1764. The Minutes of the (Antient) Lodge No. 39<sup>2</sup> show that John Cartwright of Cheadle was a watchmaker and a member of that Lodge, which met at St. Ann's Church and Mitre at Manchester. Lane shows this Lodge as meeting in Cathedral Yard, but this seems to have been a mistake as there was no Cathedral at the time.<sup>3</sup> Cartwright was Secretary in 1757, became Junior Warden in December, 1760, Senior Warden in the following June, and Master on St. John's Day, the 28th December, 1761, and again the following June. There is a note in the Antients' Register:—

July 3d 1762. John Cartwright Master of this Lodge was granted Liberty to Make and Admit Masons at discretion.

He left the Lodge in December, 1763, and later, gave lectures to the Lodge Benevolence, No. 83 (Antient), at Stockport, becoming their Master in 1774. When he resigned in 1776, he was elected an honorary member, because he was "A Mason of extensive knowledge and experience in the Art."<sup>4</sup>

As in the 1751 *Constitutions*, which served as Dermott's model, the Master's song and the Warden's song are given with the last verse and chorus only, and the Entered Apprentice's Song appears with the "Ladies'" verse without any explanatory note. Dermott had to make several alterations to songs which contained the name of a Grand Master. In the Warden's song of the 1738 *Constitutions*, there was the phrase "To great Caernarvon now our Master Grand"; Spratt substituted "Kingsborough," and in *Ahiman Rezon* we find "To the King and to our Master grand." In the song *Hail Masonry! Thou Craft divine!* Anderson gave "From Adam to Caernarvon<sup>5</sup> down," and this was reworded by Dermott "From Adam down until this Time." The toast at the end of this song is (as in the 1751 *Constitutions*) "To his Imperial Majesty (our Brother) Francis, Emperor of Germany." In the fifth and sixth songs respectively instead of "Caernarvon's<sup>6</sup> mild Reign" and "Let Great Caernarvon's<sup>7</sup> Health go round," we have "Great George's mild reign" and "Let ancient Masons Healths go round." In *Come follow, follow me*, Dermott has introduced a favourite subject, for he has substituted "Arch-Mason" for "Free Mason." The fourth verse of *On you who Masonry despise* is now obsolete, as the allusions to the newspapers must have been forgotten. Instead of

Then let us laugh, since we've impos'd  
On those who make a Pother,  
And cry, the Secret is disclos'd  
By some false-hearted Brother,  
The mighty Secret gain'd, they boast,  
From Post-Boy, or from Flying Post. With a fal, &c.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 247 *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> Now in possession of the Lodge of Friendship, No. 44.

<sup>3</sup> See *Transactions of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research*, vol. xi.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> "Kingsborough" in the Dublin 1751 *Constitutions*.

<sup>6</sup> "Kingsborough's" in the Dublin 1751 *Constitutions*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*



Dermott has given us a poor substitute:—

Some of our Rules I will impart,  
But must conceal the rest;  
They're safely lodged in Mason's Hearts,  
Within each honest Breast:

We love our Country and our King;  
We toast the Ladies, laugh, and sing; With a fa, la, la, &c.

The toasts at the end of the songs have, in some cases, been altered to suit the changed conditions, and there are many new ones. In the Irish 1751 *Constitutions* the toasts finish with song No. 11, but in *Ahiman Rezon* they continue to No. 39. The toast after *The curious Vulgar could never devise* is "To the ancient Sons of Peace," which is usually included in Toast lists of this period. After *Ye ancient Sons of Tyre*, the toast is "To the memory of P.H.Z.L. and J.A.," evidently referring to Principals Haggai, Zerubbabel and Joshua.<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested,<sup>2</sup> but seems improbable, that the key is "*Propheta*, Haggai, Zerubbabel, *Legislator*, and *Jeshua*, *Armiger*." In the same song, "Columns" are said, in a footnote, to refer to Grand Officers in the phrase "Our Temple now rebuilding, You see grand Columns rise." It is the song *As Masons once on Shinar's Plain*, which contains the expression "The horn'd Buck and Gallican,"<sup>3</sup> and to this there is a note:—

Here is meant a certain Club who call themselves Antigallic Masons, and not the laudable Association of Antigallicans,<sup>3</sup> whom I esteem as an honourable and useful Society and worthy of Imitation.

No. lii. and No. lviii. in the book under consideration were incorrectly numbered lvii. and lix. respectively. The third verse of song No. xxv. has been numbered ii. owing to a misprint; this error persists in the second edition, but has been corrected in the third.

All the five Prologues and Epilogues given by Spratt reappear in *Ahiman Rezon*, two are original, one comes from the Dublin *Pocket Companion* of 1751, and *While others sing of Wars and martial Feats* is, strangely enough, from *Book M* of Newcastle (1736). The book ends with the Oratorio *Solomon's Temple* which, so far as I know, had not been previously printed. It occupies nine pages, the heading being:—

# SOLOMON'S TEMPLE,

an

## ORATORIO,

As it was perform'd

At Philarmonic-Room, in Fishamble-Street, Dublin,

For the Benefit of sick and distress'd

FREE-MASONS.

The Words by Mr. James Eyre Weeks.

The Music compos'd by Mr. Richard Broadway,  
Organist of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Dramatis Personæ.

Solomon, the Grand Master.

High Priest.

Hiram, the Workman.

Uriel, Angel of the Sun.

Sheba, Queen of the South.

Chorus of Priests and Nobles.

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellanea Latomorum*, xii., 39 and xv., 58.

<sup>2</sup> See *Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry*, Hughan, 1909 edit., p. 100, note.

<sup>3</sup> See *Miscellanea Latomorum*, ii., 9.

## THE SECOND ENGLISH EDITION—1764.

The second edition of *Ahiman Rezon* was issued in 1764. It has rather more pages than Dermott's first venture, but there are not many alterations of importance. By this time, the Antients were a firmly established organisation, and Dermott has now no hesitation in disparaging the rival Grand Lodge, which he mentions frequently. The printer is unknown, but the book was sold by Robert Black, a book-binder and stationer and a member of Lodge No. 31 (Antient), who in 1756 joined No 7 (Antient). The Title-page of this edition is engraved, and there is also an engraved Frontispiece by Bro. Larken, who was almost certainly the same person as Peter Larkin, also a member of Lodge No. 31. He engraved the frontispiece for *Multa Paucis*, which was published about the same time as the book under consideration, but the engraving in that book is very crude.

The Frontispiece depicts two sets of armorial bearings. Those above are described as

The Arms of y<sup>e</sup> most Ancient & Honorable Fraternity, of Free and Accepted Masons.

These are the Lion, Ox, Man and Eagle, with the Ark as crest and the Cherubim as supporters. They were, in fact, those which Dermott appropriated for the Grand Lodge of the Antients, and as they are mentioned in another part of the book, I shall refer to them again. Below, were engraved

The Arms of the Operative, or Stone Masons.

These were being used by the Moderns, and Dermott mentions this in the text, but he does not attempt to ridicule them in any way. The arms of the Masons' Company were: "Azure, on a chevron between three castles argent, a pair of compasses somewhat extended of the first." In this engraving, if the usual conventions were used, the tinctures have been reversed, for there is an azure chevron on an argent field. The Company had no supporters to their arms, but a castle was used as a crest. Dermott has substituted here the crest found on the earliest Irish Grand Lodge seal,<sup>1</sup> a bowed arm holding a trowel. The supporters shown on this frontispiece appear to be cats, or leopards, and not the beavers, which were later adopted by the Moderns. The Arms of the United Grand Lodge were marshalled after the Union by the impalement of these two coats.

This edition has no Dedication, and the book starts with "The Editor to the Reader." This now contains a note on the subject of "Exposures." The author of *Three Distinct Knocks* is said to be one Daniel Tadpole, who was helped by his friend Balthazar Amraphel.<sup>2</sup> There is also a note about the author of *Boaz and Jackin* [*sic*]. There are a number of small variations, including the omission of the Emperor Valentinian, the son of a Rope Maker, from the catalogue of historical characters of mean parentage. Dermott did not, in this edition, give his initials at the end of this introduction.

Seven new pages appear at this point with "A Philacteria For such Gentlemen, as may be inclined to become Free-Masons," giving qualifications, method of proposing candidates, and so on. The proposal of a candidate must be made in "lodge hours":—

That is from the vernal to the autumnal equinox, between seven and ten o'clock in the evening, and from the autumnal to the vernal equinox following, between six and nine o'clock.

<sup>1</sup> *Coementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. I.

<sup>2</sup> The Title-page states that the book is by W——o V——n.

The initiate is to pay whatsoever sum the brethren shall think proper, but not less than two guineas,<sup>1</sup> and "cloath" the lodge if required. To this, there is a footnote:—

By cloathing is meant white aprons and gloves, not only for every member in the lodge, but also for all their wives and sweethearts.

In the "Philacteria," the author states that he is a "faithful guide, who has made free masonry (both antient and modern) his constant study for twenty years," and he concludes "Your faithful and obedient servant, Laurence Dermott." This part of the book received official recognition a few years later, for on the 17th May, 1769, at the Stewards' Lodge, a complaint was heard against L. McIntosh,<sup>2</sup> Grand Warden, for making Masons clandestinely. Whereupon, it was resolved:—

That the person or persons made or pretended to be made by the said McIntosh and his Associates without the Grand Master's Warrant or Dispensation are incapable of obtaining a Warrant or Dispensation or Admittance into any Regular Lodge, Untill he or they are initiated upon the terms, prescribed in the Philacteria in the Book of Constitutions intituled Ahiman Rezon.

"Having taken my leave of the strangers, I now beg leave to address myself to the Gentlemen of the most antient and honourable Fraternity." With these words, Dermott starts a new chapter, a large part of which is devoted to a comparison between the two rival societies. He says "I had the like curiosity myself, about sixteen or seventeen years ago, when I was first introduced into that society." This would have been about 1747, or 1748, and, no doubt, this is correct, as 1748 is actually mentioned in the 3rd edition. The wording here seems to imply that he joined a Modern Lodge, and was not merely a visitor,<sup>3</sup> but no further particulars have come to light. The author says:—

I have not the least antipathy against the gentlemen members of the modern society; but on the contrary, love and respect them, because I have found the generality of them to be hearty cocks and good fellows (as the bacchanalian phrase is) . . .

Here follows a series of questions and answers showing the difference between the two societies. The following is worthy of remark:—

Q. "What Art or Science has been introduced and practised in London without receiving the least improvement?"

A. "Freemasonry."

This does not seem to be happily worded, and evidently Dermott came to think likewise, for he omitted it from all subsequent editions. From these questions we learn that exaggeration was a weakness of the author, for he says "The number of antient masons, compared with the moderns, being as ninety-nine to one . . ." After these questions, there is an interesting reference to

the Right worshipful and very worthy Gentlemen of America, who for their charitable disposition, prudent choice of members and good conduct in general, deserve the unanimous thanks and applause of the masonical world . . .

He talks of the lethargy of the Craft in England owing to the age of Sir Christopher Wren when he was the Grand Master:—

<sup>1</sup> Approved by Grand Lodge, 2nd September, 1761.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 243 *ante*. Probably the printer of the 1756 edition.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 241 *ante*.

Notwithstanding this state of inactivity in London, the lodges in the country, particularly in Scotland and at York, kept up their antient formalities, customs and usages, without alteration, adding or diminishing, to this hour, from whence they may justly be called the most antient &c.

He proceeds to give his account of the rise of the Moderns in 1717, and a fantastic description of various Modern practices, stating that "they seized on the stone masons Arms, which that good natured company has permitted them to wear to this day," and there is a footnote:—

The operative or stone masons are the 30th company in London, they were incorporated by Charles the second, and have a hall in Basinghall street, the number of their livery men about seventy, and the livery fine five pounds.

He states that there is in a Modern Lodge "in my neighbourhood" a large piece of iron scrole work, ornamented with foliage &c. painted and gilt (the whole at an incredible expence) and placed before the master's chair, with a gigantic sword fixed therein." In the 3rd edition, this is said to be at Wapping, and there is no doubt that it refers to the "Sword of State" which is still the property of Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18.<sup>2</sup> Still speaking of the Modern Lodges:—

Nor is it uncommon for a tyler to receive ten or twelve shillings for drawing two sign posts with chalk &c. and writing Jamaica rum upon one, and Barbadoes rum upon the other, and all this (I suppose) for no other use, than to distinguish where these liquors are to be placed in the lodge.

All this no doubt had some reference to the ceremonies of the Moderns. This part of the book concludes with:—

And hope, that I shall live to see a general conformity and universal unity between the worthy masons of all denominations. This is the most earnest wishes and ardent prayers of,

Gentlemen and Brethren,

Your most sincere friend,

Obedient Servant,

and faithful brother,

Laurence Dermott, Secretary.

There is to my mind, no doubt that Dermott would have welcomed a union even as early as this, on terms favourable to his own society. A united Grand Lodge was freely spoken of in his time, but he died in 1791, some years before it was consummated.

A note inserted at this point tells us that the arms in the upper part of the frontispiece were found in the collection of the "famous and learned hebrewist, architect and brother, Rabi [*sic*] Jacob Jehudah Leon,"<sup>3</sup> and it is very likely that he was, actually, the author of the coat. Information is given regarding Leon's model of King Solomon's Temple,<sup>4</sup> and the heraldic description of the arms. In the frontispiece to this edition, the arms are complete with crest, supporters and motto, all of which are mentioned in the description. In the 3rd edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, the full description remains, although the shield alone appears on the frontispiece, and it is not until the issue of the 1801 edition that the full coat of arms reappears. In the transliteration of the motto, the Unpronounceable Name יהוה has been rendered as "Adonai," for

<sup>1</sup> Dermott lived for some years at King Street, Tower Hill. *Notes on Laurence Dermott*, W. M. Bywater, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ancient Freemasonry and the Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18*, Arthur Heiron, p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 245 *ante*.

<sup>4</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, x., 161, and xii., 150.

we have *Kodes la Adonai*—Holiness to the Lord. This is, perhaps, an indication that the writer was an erudite Hebrew scholar. Dermott, although a journeyman painter, was no dunce. In the Minutes of the Stewards' Lodge<sup>1</sup> of the 21st March, 1764, we read:—

The petition of George Joseph Frange an Arabian Mason with whom the Gd. Sec. conversed in the Hebrew Language &c.

There is no list of Subscribers, or Contents, in this edition, but the section entitled "Ahiman Rezon" here follows, and the remainder of the book varies but little from the first edition. In the "Ahiman Rezon," in two places, the writer has for some reason not easily determined, replaced the name "Papirius" by "Papius." Horace as a lawgiver is supplanted by "Lycurgus," an alteration more easily understood. Part of the quotation from D'Assigny has been omitted, and there are several small alterations, made no doubt, in order to improve the poetry. Dermott has now adopted the spelling 'antient' instead of 'ancient'; also, some remarks regarding candidates are omitted, as the sense of these has been given in the "Philacteria." In the Regulations, there are few alterations of importance in this edition. A new paragraph to *New Reg.* xiii. gives the duties of the Pursuivant, an officer appointed by the Antients in their earliest days. *New Reg.* xxiv. is in error numbered xxv. The examples of installations of Grand Masters by proxy have now been omitted, as well as the sentence "But the Grand Installation is not performed until the real new Grand-Master is present." One is not surprised to find the names of Modern Grand Masters excised, and the omission of the reference to the Grand Installation is reasonable, when one remembers that the Earl of Blesington, their first Grand Master, never attended Grand Lodge. The word 'Hammer' has been replaced in *New Reg.* xxviii. by the now more familiar 'Gavel,' and Anderson's instruction that it is "always to be repeated by the Senior Grand Warden" has been omitted, probably because it contained no reference to the junior of the Principal Grand Officers. At the end of this same regulation, the use of counters and a balloting box in Grand Lodge are enjoined when occasion requires "in order to preserve harmony." Part of the heading of the Regulations of the Committee for Charity, giving the name of the Grand Master of Ireland in 1738, has been omitted, and there is a footnote giving the reason for the Antients having the title of York-Masons:—

They are called York-masons, because the first grand lodge in England was congregated at York A.D. 926 by prince Edwin, who (at the same time) purchased a free charter from king Athelstan, for the use of the fraternity.

The size of the Committee has now been increased, for in addition to the Grand Officers, there are ten instead of eight Masters of Lodges. The period of subscription to qualify a Brother for help has been increased from six to twelve months, and a 'sojourner' who is not subscribing, may be relieved "if certified." A petitioner must now go to his own lodge for the signature of the master, or a warden, and the brethren attesting are now required to certify "that the petitioner has been formerly in a reputable or at least in tolerable circumstances." All this indicates that there had been considerable imposition, and that more strictness had become necessary.

A second Title-page still precedes the Songs, etc. Eight new songs and an unnumbered ode are inserted after No. lviii., so that there are, altogether, sixty-nine in the book. One of these new songs comes from the Dublin, 1761, *Pocket Companion*, and three were in the *Pocket Companion* of 1763. All the others seem to be original. The ode *With grateful hearts your voices raise* was

<sup>1</sup> Written by L. Dermott.

by Edward Fenner, who was initiated in (Antient) Lodge No. 2 in 1763. Two songs were by Robert Hall, who perhaps was a shoemaker, of (Antient) Lodge No. 16. Another Brother of the same name appears in the returns for 1771 for Lodge No. 13 (Antient) meeting at Deptford. Song No. i. is now called the Grand Master's song instead of the Master's song. The final toast of No. viii. "To the Deputy Grand-Master" has been omitted. Song No. viii. previously had a short note regarding Captain Porteous, from No. 563 of *The Craftsman*.<sup>1</sup> The following is added to the note in this edition:—

The Affair was thus, Captain Porteous having committed Murder, was tried, convicted, and ordered for Execution at Edinburgh; but his Friends at Court prevailed on the Queen to reprieve him; this gave Umbrage to the People, who assembled in the Night, broke into (and took him out of) the Prison, from thence to the Place of Execution, ordered him to kneel down, which was also done by the whole Company, who joined him in Prayers for a considerable Time, and then all of them laid hold on the rope and hawled him up as they do on board a Man of War. It is remarkable that they all wore white leather aprons, which (by the by) is a certain Proof that they were not Free-masons.

Song No. xxii. contains the words

'Tis true we once have charged been,  
With disobedience to our queen,

so a footnote had been added from Spratt's 1751 *Constitutions* about Queen Elizabeth's attempt to break up the meeting at York in 1561. The authors of Song No. xli., *Once I was blind and cou'd not see*, and No. xlvii., *How bless'd are we from ignorance free'd*, are not given in this book; in the first edition, they were said to be by Alexander Kennedy and Alexander Dixon respectively. It seems as if the first of these omissions was intentional, for in the first edition, Song No. xli. was said to be "By Bro. Alexander Kennedy," and No. xlii. "By the foregoing Hband." In the second edition, no author is given for the first, and the second is "By Brother Alexander Kennedy." In No. lxiv., the words "The Gregs" and the Gallics" occur, and there is a footnote: "See the Note to the 36th Song," which note refers to "The horn'd Buck and Gallican." The Prologues, Epilogues and Oratorio are unchanged.

The publication of this book in 1764, occasioned a reply in the following year, which evidently came from a Modern source. This was entitled:—

A Defence of Free-Masonry, As practised in the Regular Lodges, Both Foreign and Domestic, Under the Constitution of the English Grand-Master. In which is contained, A Refutation of Mr. Dermott's absurd and ridiculous Account of Free-Masonry, in his Book, entitled *Ahiman Rezon*; and the several Queries therein, reflecting on the Regular Masons, briefly considered, and answered.

This was a most virulent and scurrilous production, and probably did more harm to the Modern cause than to its rivals. Perhaps it came from the pen of John Revis, who had been Grand Secretary and Deputy Grand Master of the Modern Grand Lodge, or possibly even of Samuel Spencer, who was their Grand Secretary when the book was printed.<sup>3</sup> Four of the songs from *Ahiman Rezon* are given, with some variations. One of these, which has seven verses in *Ahiman Rezon*, has eight in the *Defence*, with a note at the end: "N.B. The above Song being printed in an imperfect and execrable Manner, in Mr. Dermott's Collection, is the Occasion of its being reprinted in this."

<sup>1</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, xviii., 203.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.*, the Gregorians. See *A.Q.C.*, xxi., 91.

<sup>3</sup> See *Masonic Reprints and Historical Revelations*, H. Sadler, p. xlv.

THE THIRD AND FOURTH ENGLISH EDITIONS—1778 and 1787.

Laurence Dermott was Deputy Grand Master from 1771 to 1777, and the third edition of *Ahiman Rezon* of 1778, was stated on the Title-page to have been written by him, but it was published by James Jones, the Grand Secretary, and sold by Peter Shatwell in the Strand. Shatwell was Grand Steward of the Antients in 1769, and Junior Grand Warden in 1772. The book evidently came out towards the end of the year, for in the Grand Lodge Minutes of the 3rd June, 1778, we find:—

The Rt. W.D.G.M.<sup>1</sup> requested of the Grand Lodge (in behalf of the G.Secy.) for leave to print the Laws of the society in the present Edition of the Constitution Book now printing; which was accordingly unanimously agreed to

And at the election of Grand Secretary on the 3rd March, 1779:—

The Deputy Grand Master having declared Brother Bearblock duly Elected . . . As a small remark of his gratitude he begged leave to present the Grand Lodge with one of the Third Edition of the Books of Constitution lately printed.

The price of this book appears to have been five shillings, for that was the sum paid for it to Bro. H. Westley, the Grand Pursuivant, by the Founders of Lodge No. 31 in 1783.<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt that the corrections for this edition were made by Laurence Dermott, and very numerous they were. He profited by his considerable experience, and introduced alterations and explanatory paragraphs throughout the book, usually as footnotes.

A new Frontispiece has been engraved for this edition by M. A. Rooker from the design of Dermott, and illustrates a Doric Temple with nine statues. These are named as follows:—

Above:	BAZEL:	MOSES	AHOLIAH
Dexter:	HIRAM AB:	HIRAM	SOLOMON
Sinister:	HAGGAI	ZERU:	JOSHUA

Below the statue of Moses, are the arms which had been adopted for the Antients, but without crest, supporters, or motto. These were re-introduced when the frontispiece was re-engraved for the 6th edition. On the three columns of the temple nearest to the reader are tied aprons charged with the arms of England, Scotland and Ireland respectively, and on the central pedestal are the names of the Grand Masters of those countries:—

John Duke of Atholl	(3rd Duke was G.M., 1771-1774; 4th Duke was G.M., 1775-1781)
Will: Lord Vis: Dunluce	(G.M., Ireland, 1772-1773)
Patrick Earl of Dumfries	(G.M., Scotland, 1771-1772)

Evidently this plate was engraved about 1772, and probably it was originally intended to publish the book at that time. The engraved Dedication to the third Duke of Athol supports this theory, but on p. xl., it is stated that the book was written in July, 1778. The Title-page of this edition is printed from type, and has a list of *Errata* on its reverse. There was no Dedication in the second edition, but it was revived for the third, which is dedicated to the 3rd Duke of Athol, Grand Master, although the 4th Duke was the Grand Master at the time of publication. The Athol arms head the page, the wording partly follows the 1st edition and there is still a 'dash' in the subscription which reads: "Most Obligated Most Obedient And Faithful ——— James Jones, Grand Secretary." Then follows an Explanation of the Frontispiece, with the full

<sup>1</sup> William Dickey.

<sup>2</sup> *The Mount Moriah Lodge*, No. 34, F. Howkins, p. 18.



description of the arms, including crest, supporters and motto, which were not depicted in this book. There are four pages of Contents, no list of which was given in the last edition.

Several alterations have been made to the introductory chapter "To the Reader," from which the note on the "Exposures" added in 1764, has been omitted. In the account of the editor's dream, there appears in the early editions, an "old gentleman" wearing a breast-plate, which is described in the text. In the third edition there is a note "Such was the breast-plate, worn by the High-Priest at Temple." After the account of the dream, there are nine pages of new material regarding the history.

I do not wish to offend the persons or names of writers of historical truths. My intention being only to expose ridiculous innovations, and fabulous accounts of Grand Masters, whose Masonical authorities never existed.

There follows a statement that St. Austin, St. Swithin, St. Dunstan and other legendary Grand Masters, instead of patronising the Craft, would have been more inclined to excommunicate and curse its members. Then there is an account of the proceedings of the four Lodges which met together in 1716, taken from the 1738 *Constitutions*. The editor alleges that the new Grand Lodge was irregular, being self-created and defective in numbers, for:—

To form (what Masons mean by) a Grand Lodge, there must have been the Masters and Wardens of five regular lodges, that is to say five Masters and ten Wardens.

In this edition, *New Reg.* xii. has been altered to require this *quorum* at Grand Lodge, and this is obviously a device which was introduced to make the proceedings of the Moderns appear irregular. It is interesting to note that, according to *Multa Paucis*, six Lodges were represented at the revival in 1717. This book was published about 1764, and so it is unlikely that it has any bearing on this point. Dermott states here that the Moderns spoke of the revival of the Grand Lodge, but if there had been no innovations or alterations, their ceremonies would agree with those in Ireland and Scotland, which was not the case. He quotes from the *Free Masons' Calendar*<sup>1</sup> to infer that instead of a revival, Antient Masonry was discontinued:—

The Ancient York Constitution, which was entirely dropt at the revival of the Grand Lodge in 1717.

The next item is an account of the treatment of William Carroll, an Irishman, who applied to Samuel Spencer, the Grand Secretary of the Moderns, for relief, when he was told<sup>2</sup>:—

Your being an Ancient Mason, you are not intitled to any of our Charity the Antient Masons have a lodge at the five Bells in the Strand, & their Secretary's name is Dermott. Our Society is neither Arch, Royal Arch or Ancient so that you have no Right to partake of our Charity.

A footnote in *Ahiman Rezon* states that the original reply to Carroll is in the author's possession. This "Certified Sojourner" was assisted at the Grand Lodge of the Antients by a private subscription. The events are stated to have occurred about fourteen years previously, and this would make the year of writing appear as 1774. It will have been noticed that numerous indications

<sup>1</sup> 1777 edition, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes, Grand Lodge of the Antients, 5th December, 1759.



# AHIMAN REZON:

O R A

*Help to all that are, or would be*

## Free and Accepted Mafons.

(With many ADDITIONS.)

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The THIRD EDITION.

---

By LAU. DERMOTT, D. G. M.

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“As for his Works, in Verse or Prose,  
“I own myself no Judge of those;  
“Nor can I tell what Criticks thought ‘em,  
“But this I know, all People bought ‘em.”

SWIFT.

---

PRINTED FOR  
JAMES JONES, GRAND SECRETARY;

And Sold by

PETER SHATWELL, in the STRAND.

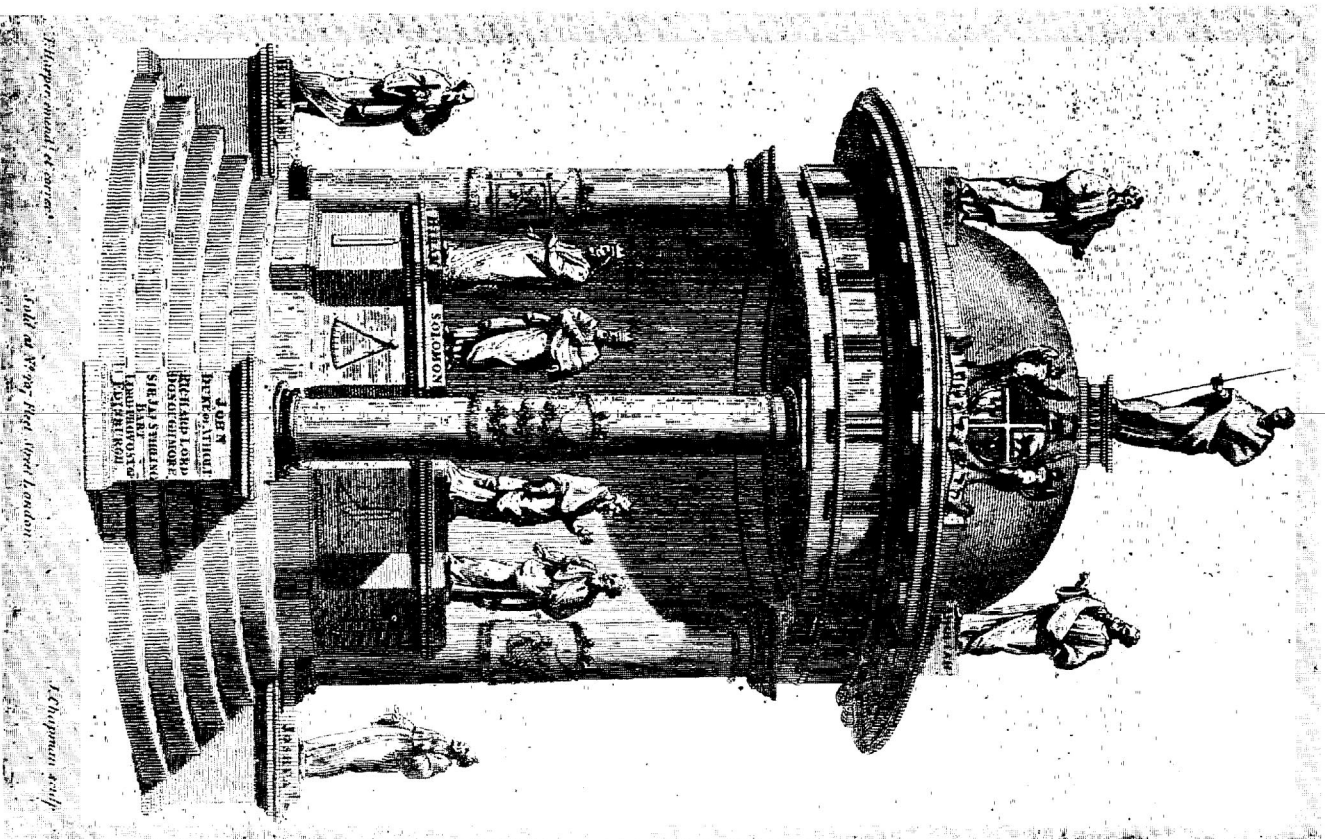
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LONDON, 1778.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*. London, 1778.

*From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.*

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.



Frontispiece, *Ahiman Bezor*, London, 1801.  
*From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.*

suggest that preparations for this edition were made some years before its publication in 1778. The editor then returns to the *Free Masons' Calendar* of the Modern Grand Lodge:—

In the aforesaid Calendar,<sup>1</sup> amongst other things which I am to suppose were extracted from the records of modern Masons, I observed a censure passed (in the year 1755) on persons for calling themselves Ancient Masons.

This was Modern Lodge No. 94 meeting at "Ben Jonson's Head" in Pelham Street, Spitalfields, the members of which, Dermott pointed out, were censured, not for assembling as Antient Masons, but, being a Modern Lodge, for practising 'Antient' Masonry. This seems to have been the first official notice that the Modern Grand Lodge took of its rivals. Here is the account as it is given in *Ahiman Rezon*:—

Some of them had been abroad, and received extraordinary benefits on account of Ancient Masonry. Therefore they agreed to practise Ancient Masonry on every third lodge night. Upon one of those nights some Modern Masons attempted to visit them, but were refused admittance: the persons so refused laid a formal complaint before the Modern Grand Lodge, then held at the Devil Tavern, near Temple-Bar. And the said Grand lodge, though incapable of judging the propriety or impropriety of such refusal (not being Ancient Masons) ordered, that the Ben Johnson's lodge should admit all sorts of Masons without distinction.

They did not comply, and the Lodge was erased. They then, according to Dermott, drew up and published a Manifesto and Masons' Creed, sold by Owen in Fleet-street. This is doubtful, as there was a notice of this publication in the *Public Advertiser* of the 26th June and the 8th July, 1754, the year before these events occurred.<sup>2</sup> Part of the preface is reproduced in *Ahiman Rezon*, but no copy of the Manifesto is known. Dermott says that the brethren censured had no connexion with the Antient Grand Lodge at that time nor since ". . . and the names of the ingenious Marigeot,<sup>3</sup> Cheetham, Cornish, &c. &c. will be long remembered with esteem and veneration . . ." We cannot say what ceremonies were practised by this Lodge, but it has been suggested that it refers to the Royal Arch, and the necessary changes thereby required in the third degree.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Oliver has, however, other ideas<sup>5</sup>:—

some of the brethren of the Lodge No. 94, meeting at the Ben Jonson's Head, Spitalfields, had been on the continent, and had brought from thence the rituals of the Ecossais, the Elu, and Ramsay's Royal Arch, which they practised secretly every third Lodge night, under the designation of ancient Masonry. This was soon whispered abroad, and Dr. Manningham,<sup>6</sup> with a few other Brethren, in the course of their visitations, called at the Lodge on one of its peculiar nights, and were refused admittance.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> See *Miscellanea Latomorum*, xviii., 12.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently *recte* Merigeot. He was stated in the Minutes of the Modern Grand Lodge, 24th July, 1755, to have been a Warden. Perhaps Cheetham and Cornish were the Master and other Warden.

<sup>4</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, iv., 221.

<sup>5</sup> *Revelations of a Square*, Dr. G. Oliver, pp. 89 and 433.

<sup>6</sup> Then Deputy Grand Master.

<sup>7</sup> Probably this is quite incorrect; he made the complaint to Grand Lodge on the 20th March, 1755, but from the Minutes of the 24th July, 1755, it appears that Bros. Jackson and Pollard were refused admission.

A copy of the ritual supposed to have been worked in this Lodge was in Dr. Oliver's possession, and is now in the library of the Grand Lodge of Iowa. The Master's degree contains the essentials of the Royal Arch.<sup>1</sup> As this came from Dr. Oliver, I am afraid it must be regarded as extremely unreliable. Dermott has yet another complaint about the 1777 *Free Masons' Calendar*, for it contains<sup>2</sup> an Anthem said to be by H.D. and sung after the Dedication Ceremonies of the new Masonic Hall. This begins

To heaven's high Architect all praise,  
All praise, all gratitude be given,

and he points out that it comes from the Oratorio *Solomon's Temple* which was written by James Eyre Weeks, an Antient Mason of Dublin, and was, of course, published in 1756 in the first *Akiman Rezon*. In *Masonic Miscellanies*, it is ascribed by Stephen Jones to Henry Dagge, who was Junior Grand Warden (Modern) in 1775, and a member of the Hall Committee. The editor says that he would not have taken so much notice of the *Calendar*, but the title-page says that it is "published under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of England."

He mentions that some of the Moderns are respectable gentlemen, and he is sorry that they have been so incautious as to sanction these falsehoods. They have, however, omitted one true and memorable transaction, namely, the petition of the Moderns for a Charter of Incorporation on 1st April, 1770.<sup>3</sup> This failed, and the Speaker of the House of Commons is reported as saying that if the petition were granted, he "made no doubt the chimney sweepers would soon apply for a charter."<sup>4</sup>

The Philacteria is almost the same as in the previous edition, but Dermott here subscribed himself "Late Deputy Grand Master," so that this part of the book, at any rate, must have been written after 1777, when he resigned. The Address to the Gentlemen of the Fraternity is very much longer than in the 2nd edition. There are several small alterations, and some footnotes have been added. There is a new note, stating that some of the Moderns have been extremely malapert of late:—

Not satisfied with saying the Ancient Masons in England had no Grand Master, some of them descended so far from truth, as to report the author had forged the Grand Master's hand writing to masonical warrants, &c. Upon application his Grace the most Noble Prince John Duke of Atholl, our present Right Worshipful Grand Master, avowed his Grace's hand writing, supported the ancient Craft, and vindicated the author in the public news papers.

The handwriting of the 3rd Duke of Athol<sup>5</sup> was in fact avowed by the 4th Duke of Athol.<sup>6</sup> Bro. Lionel Vibert has had a search made in the newspapers of the time for this vindication but without success.<sup>7</sup> This story had evidently been going round, as we have in the Antient Grand Lodge Minutes of 3rd December, 1777:—

The Master 193 reported that several members of His Lodge was very refractory, . . . declaring that the Duke of Atholl was not Grand Master but only represented so to the Fraternity . . .

<sup>1</sup> See *Trans.*, Lodge of Research, No. 2429, 1911-1912, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> On p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Recte*, 1772.

<sup>4</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, xlv.

<sup>5</sup> Grand Master, 1771-74.

<sup>6</sup> Grand Master, 1775-81.

<sup>7</sup> *Miscellanea Latomorum*, xv., 123, and xvi., 24.

To an account of the proceedings of 1717, there is an interesting footnote<sup>1</sup>:—

Brother Thomas Grinsell, a man of great veracity, (elder Brother of the celebrated James Quin.<sup>2</sup> Esq.) informed his lodge, No. 3, in London (in 1753) that eight persons, whose names were Desaguliers, Gofton, King, Calvert, Lumley, Madden, De Noyer, and Vraden, were the geniusses to whom the world is indebted for the memorable invention of modern masonry. Mr. Grinsell often told the author that he (Grinsell) was a free mason before modern masonry was known. Nor is this to be doubted, when we consider that Mr. Grinsel [*sic*] was an apprentice to a weaver in Dublin, when his mother was married to Mr. Quin's father, and that Mr. Quin himself was seventy three years old when he died in 1766.

The first sentence is incorrect, and so the "great veracity" is doubtful. It is taken from the 1738 *Constitutions*,<sup>3</sup> where there is an account of an Occasional Lodge at Kew Palace on 5th November, 1737, held by these eight persons (with their names in the same order) to initiate Frederic, Prince of Wales. The truth of the remainder of the quotation is doubtful. Had he known of this, Dermott would, surely, have included it in an early edition.

Continuing the description (?) of the Modern revival:—

Hence it was ordered, that every person (during the time of his initiation) should wear boots, spurs, a sword and spectacles.

There is a new footnote to this:—

This may seem a very ludicrous description of making free-masons. But Mr. Thomas Broughton, master of the lodge, No. 11, London, declared that he was present in a modern lodge, not one mile from the Borough of Southwark, when two or three persons dress'd in liveries with shoulder tags, booted and spurr'd, &c. &c. were initiated into modern masonry; and upon enquiry who they were, he was told that they were servants to Lord Carysfort, then Grand Master of modern masons.

Also, there is a new note regarding the "form of walking" adopted by the Moderns:—

After many years observations on those ingenious methods of walking up to a brother, &c. I conclude, that the first was invented by a Man grievously afflicted with the Sciatica. The Second by a Sailor, much accustomed to the rolling of a Ship. And the third by a man, who for recreation or through excess of strong liquors, was wont to dance the drunken Peasant.

There may here be some allusion to the ceremonies in which the two Grand Lodges differed. The note on the City Company of Masons has been altered considerably, and the statement that they were incorporated by Charles the Second has been omitted. The following is new, and of interest:—

They were originally incorporated in the year 1410. by the name and style of the society of free-masons. And William Hankflow or Hankstow, Clarencieux King at Arms (in the year 1477,) granted them their arms, which the modern masons have usurped as well as that of their title. For the said Company is the only society in the kingdom who have a right to the name of free-masons of England.

<sup>1</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, xxix., 389.

<sup>2</sup> An actor 1693-1766. Grinsell was his half brother. *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> p. 137.

Nor did the Accepted Masons of old ever claim such a title; all they assumed was that of Free and Accepted Masons; but the present Moderns, have been hardy enough to assume the title of free-masons of England, and got their lodge room foisted into Harrison's new history of London, under the name of Free-Masons Hall. But those who admitted Tenducci and Madam D'Eon<sup>1</sup> may do anything.

The sword "in my neighbourhood" is now stated to be at Wapping. Possibly, this was altered, because Dermott may have left King Street, Tower Hill, by this date. I do not know the year of his removal, but certainly by 1770 when he made his Will he was living in the Parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate. Later still, he moved to Mile End Old Town, Stepney, where he died in 1791.<sup>2</sup> As Aldgate is not far from Wapping, it is suggested that he reached Mile End before he wrote the 1778 *Ahimian Rezon*. The remainder of this section of the book is new, and is intended to show "the apparent state of ancient and modern masonry in England at the time of this present writing, i.e. July 1778." The Free Masons are not protected nor prohibited by law, and this lenity has given birth to many societies mainly for eating, drinking, singing, smoking, etc. The names of thirty-eight are given, two of which, the Never Frett Club and the Kill Care Club, are stated to have been founded by the author.<sup>3</sup> These tippling clubs have existed for many years, so no wonder freemasonry should meet with encouragement

as being the only society in the universe which unites men of all professions (believing in the Almighty Creator of all things) in one sacred band. And at the same time carrying in itself, evident marks of its being not only coeval with the scripture, but in all probability prior thereto.

This last sentence would be more suited to the pen of Dr. G. Oliver than that of the practical Grand Secretary of the Antients. The author then mentions that, in no European country, has a true history of masonry been written. This, he concludes, is due to the bigotry and superstition, which associated the Craft with the black art. Naturally, therefore, the brethren concealed their knowledge and meetings, and this will be clear by reading the Leland-Locke MS., which follows this part of the book. "In this light we are to view the fraternities of ancient and modern free masons, who are become two great communities now in England." He proceeds by pointing out that they are quite distinct, names their Grand Masters, and states that the present Antient Grand Master was installed in the presence and with the concurrence and assistance of the Grand Masters of Ireland and Scotland "an honour never conferred on Modern Masons. These are sterling truths, from whence the impartial reader will draw the natural inference." This part of the book is signed "The Author," instead of "Laurence Dermott, Secretary," which graced the 1764 edition. The two pages regarding J. J. Leon, and the Free Masons' arms are naturally omitted from this edition, as the frontispiece has been replaced by one, in which the arms are not prominent.

At this point, the book contains some new items. First the Leland-Locke MS. is given in full, with the Glossary. The end of Locke's letter, however, with his signature, is out of place, and appears as part of Note 19 on "Universelle Longage of Maconnes." A large part of Note No. 9 on "Wyse-acre" is omitted, by a printer's error. This was not corrected in the list of *Errata* at the beginning of the book, but it appears in the *Errata* of the 1787 edition. There is a new footnote of interest, which evidently refers to the so-called Masonic Cyphers:—

<sup>1</sup> See p. 266 *post*.

<sup>2</sup> *Notes on Laurence Dermott*, W. M. Bywater, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> In *A.Q.C.*, iii., 161. Bro. R. F. Gould states that he thinks that this list comes from *Clubs and Societies of London and Westminster* by Edward Ward. There seems to be no doubt of this, as the clubs are in the same order in both books.



In the Queries relative to Ancient and Modern Masonry, page xxxi., the author of Ahiman Rezon has said, that he could convey his mind to an Ancient Mason in the presence of a Modern Mason, without the latters knowing whether either of them were Masons. He now positively asserts that he is able (with a few Masonical implements, i.e. Two squares and a common gavel or hammer) to convey any word or sentence of his own (or the immediate dictations of a stranger) to skillfull or intelligent Free-mason of the ancient order, without Speaking, Writing, or Noise. And that to any distance where the parties can see each other and at the same time be able to distinguish squares from circles. But as Mr. Locke observed this is not the case with all Masons (Note, there were no Modern Masons in his time) few of them are acquainted with this Secret.—The writer of this note has known it upwards of 30 years' and never taught it to more than six persons, of which number our R.W. and very worthy Deputy Grand Master, William Dickey, Esq. is one, and Brother Shatwell, the publisher of this book, another.

Dermott.

After the Leland-Locke MS., there is a page of poetry on the Seven Liberal Arts and Sciences. Then follow some records of correspondence with the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, intended to show the harmonious relations existing between them and the Antients. First, an extract from the proceedings of the Grand Lodge (Antients) of the 2nd September, 1772, when a letter from the Deputy Grand Secretary of Ireland to Laurence Dermott was read, setting forth the state of Masonry in Ireland. It was then resolved to establish fraternal relations with that Grand Lodge, and also with that of Scotland. We are then given the proceedings of the Irish Grand Lodge of the 5th November, 1772, with the resolutions which had arrived from the Grand Lodge of England (no mention of the word 'Antient'), and of the Scottish Grand Lodge of the 30th November, 1772, with the resolutions from the Grand Lodge "according to the old Institution." Both Grand Lodges agreed to the proposals. There is a curious misprint in this part of the book, as two consecutive pages are numbered lvi., and this results in the right-hand pages continuing with even numbers until the end of this chapter, when the Arabic system of pagination begins.

The remainder of this edition has no new features, but unimportant verbal alterations occur throughout. In "Ahiman Rezon," the editor gives us a Latin quotation in the paragraph about Angerona, the Roman goddess of silence, who was depicted with her finger on her mouth, for, says he, "Hence the Latin sentence *linguam digito compesce*." On the subject of secrecy, he also quotes from *Ecclesiasticus*, ch. xxvii. In the Charges, there are two new and interesting footnotes. At the end of Charge ii., after

though a brother is not to be countenanced in his rebellion against the state, yet, if convicted of no other crime, his relation to the lodge remains indefeasible

there is a note:—

That is, he is still a Mason, although the brethren may refuse to associate with him: However, in such case, he forfeits all benefits from the lodge.

And in Charge iii., to the words "no woman, no Eunuch," the following note has been added:—

This is still the law of ancient masons, though disregarded by our brethren (I mean our sisters) the modern-masons, who (some years ago) admitted Signiour Singsong, the Eunuch, T—and—ci, at one

of their lodges, in the Strand, London. And upon a late tryal at Westminster, it appeared, that they admitted a woman called Madam D'E——.<sup>1</sup>

The Short Charge requires no comment. There are new footnotes to the Manner of Constituting a Lodge. One of them provides for cases when the Grand Officers cannot attend. And the new Master

calling forth his senior-warden, a fellow-craft (master-mason)

has the note:—

They were called fellow-crafts, because the Masons of old times, never gave any man the title of Master-mason, until he had first passed the chair.

Another note states that the Grand-Wardens generally install the Wardens of the new Lodge. The Prayers remain unchanged, but to the remarks about the "evil designer" which follow, there has been added a note:—

I am sorry to find he has a second in iniquity, but as they are both overwhelmed with years and poverty, e'en let them die in ignominy and silent contempt.

Suggestions as to the identity of these malefactors would be very welcome.

Considerable alterations have now been made to the General Regulations, due, no doubt, to Dermott's experience in these matters. Many are unimportant, but perhaps the following are those which call for most attention. *New Reg.* iii. formerly contained the words "precedency of lodges is grounded on the seniority of the constitution." This has been omitted, as the Antients had for many years allowed Lodges to obtain by purchase a higher position on the Roll. An interesting new footnote has been added to *New Reg.* xi., which stated that the same usages were observed in every regular Lodge:—

It is a truth beyond contradiction, that the free and accepted Masons in Ireland, Scotland, and the ancient Masons in England, have one and the same customs, usages, and ceremonies: But this is not the case with the modern Masons in England, who differ materially not only from the above, but from most Masons under Heaven.

It will be remembered that ere this, fraternal correspondence between the Antients and the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland had been opened.<sup>2</sup> *New Reg.* xii. has already been mentioned,<sup>3</sup> as it now states the *quorum* necessary for Grand Lodge, namely, the masters and wardens of five Lodges, together with one or all of the Grand Officers. The rule provides for substitutes for those who cannot attend, and there is a footnote permitting the presence of Past Masters who are still members of Lodges.<sup>4</sup> A footnote to *Old Reg.* xiii. has become of great importance on the other side of the Atlantic. This contains the words:—

the Right Worshipful Grand Master has full power and authority to make (or cause to be made in his Worship's presence) free and accepted Masons at sight, and such making is good. But they cannot be made out of his Worship's presence, without a written dispensation for that purpose. Nor can his Worship oblige any warranted Lodge to receive the persons so made if the members should declare against him or them; but in such case, the Right Worshipful Grand Master may grant them a warrant and form them into a new lodge.

<sup>1</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, xvi., 229. These names were printed in full, earlier in the book, see p. 264 *ante*.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 265 *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 260 *ante*.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 267 *post*.



It is from this note, that the power to "make Masons at sight" has been taken, in the United States of America, to be the prerogative of the Grand Master. In *New Reg.* xiii., referring to lists of new members of Lodges, there is a fresh paragraph:—

These lists are brought to the grand lodge every quarter, *viz.* on the first Wednesday in March, June, September, and December.

This is the first mention in the regulations of the dates of Quarterly Communications. They had been settled at Grand Lodge on the 6th November, 1754, and have remained unchanged up to the present day. In the same regulation, referring to Lodge charity, attention is called to the special Regulations for Charity on p. 92; this, however, is a misprint for p. 102. This note was evidently inserted on the proofs, as an incorrect catchword "Another" still appears on p. 73.

In *New Reg.* xviii., we are now told that if Grand Lodge wishes for a new Deputy Grand Master, the members must choose a new Grand Master, as by this action, the Deputy's chair becomes vacant! *New Reg.* xx. refers to the constitution of a new Lodge by a Grand Officer, but in distant places, a Past Master may be given power to act by a deputation under the Grand Lodge seal.<sup>1</sup> There is a new footnote:—

The grand master or his deputy may use their private seals; but if the order is made in their absence, the grand lodge seal must be affixed thereto.

*Old Reg.* xxiii. has a new footnote regarding titles:—

The masons of old addressed their grand masters by the title of Right Worshipful; but the modern masons (by a refinement peculiar to themselves) give the title of Right Worshipful to every master of a private lodge. And that of Most Worshipful not only to their grand master, but even to the deputies of provincials.

The Antients retained the title of Right Worshipful for the Grand Master until the Union. The Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, which is of 'Antient' origin, bears that title to-day. *New Reg.* xxviii. has been misprinted xviii., and in the first paragraph, the membership of Grand Lodge has been altered to include Past Masters. This inclusion was implied in a Minute of the Antient Grand Lodge of the 6th November, 1754:—

That the past and present Grand Officers, the Grand Secretary & Treasurer, with the Masters and Wardens of all Warranted Lodges under this Constitution, with their past Officers as prescribed by the Regulations are the only proper Members of the Grand Lodge.

It was not, however, definitely laid down until the 4th September, 1765, when we find in the Minutes:—

All and every Regular pastmaster while a Member of any private Lodge under the sanction of this Grand Lodge, shall be a Member of this Grand Lodge, also. And shall have a vote in all cases except in making New Laws. Which power is vested in the Masters and Wardens, as being the only true Representatives of all the Lodges according to the Old Regulation the Tenth.

Then follow the Regulations for Charity. These have been entirely rewritten, and the Dublin Regulations are now omitted. A footnote states that The stewards for distributing the charity, were meeting at the Half-Moon Tavern, Cheapside, London. In earlier days, they met at the Crown, St. Paul's Church-yard.

<sup>1</sup> This is in previous editions.

Five of the Songs which first appeared in Dermott's 1756 edition, have now been omitted, including the two which had been written by Alexander Kennedy. There is one new song, *Ye sons of great science, impatient to learn*, which comes from Trewman's *Principles of Freemasonry*, 1777. The toast after the Song *Hail Masonry! thou craft divine!* was formerly "To his Imperial Majesty (our Brother) Francis, Emperor of Germany." Francis, who was initiated when Duke of Lorraine, had died in 1765, and the toast has been replaced by:—

To the Right Worshipful Grand Masters, Atholl, Dulce, Dumfreys,<sup>1</sup> and Dalhousie.

'Dulce' should be 'Dunluce,'<sup>2</sup> and Dalhousie, who was Grand Master of Scotland, 1767-68, was probably included, because he was in the Chair when the Grand Lodge of Scotland agreed to open a fraternal correspondence with the Antients.

A new verse and chorus of *King Solomon that wise projector* are given in this edition, with a note that they were composed "by another hand." Formerly, in the Song *From the depths let us raise*, the verse about the advance to the River Jordan, and the Canaanite wars, came after that about King Solomon, but this has been rectified. The Song *Begin, O ye muses, a free-mason's strain* has a new footnote of interest:—

The highest person in the lodge is upon a level with the lowest (the officers excepted) but when out of the lodge, all due distinction is strictly observed; and free masons are so far from taking any liberty with noble brothers on account of masonical familiarity, that they pay them more homage than the rest of mankind.

There are many misprints, and the numbers of Songs iv., lvii., and lx. are given as viii., lvi., and lix. in error. Two new Prologues by Laurence Dermott are in this edition. The first of these was "Spoken in the character of an Irish Free-mason, at the Theatre-Royal in the Hay-market." In the text, it tells us that "this night is the day, Appointed for L'Estrange's benefit play," and it contains the words "Were Yankees free-masons, and the Britons too, They'd hearken to reason, old friendship renew." The second new prologue was said to be "Spoken in the character of a Teague [*i.e.*, an Irishman], for the benefit of an English Free-mason in distress."

Seven years later, most of the 3rd edition had, so it seems, been sold, for in Grand Lodge on the 31st January, 1785:—

It was afterwards proposed for the Consideration of the Grand Lodge to print another addition of Ahiman & R. for the Benefite of the Grand Charity & agreed to be taken into further Conson. upon the 1st Wedy. in March.

Possibly Dermott, who was Deputy Grand Master for another term, pointed out that *Ahiman Reason* was his property, for no further action was taken in March. The subject was not forgotten, for at Grand Lodge on the 29th September following:—

Resolved: That the Books of Constitutions in Mr. Jones<sup>3</sup> and Shatwel's<sup>4</sup> possession shall be purches'd, and that invested in the D.G. Master to treat for them. Resolved: That a Vote of thanks be given to the Deputy Grand Master for his Condisention in giveing up his property of Ahiman Razon to the Charity.

<sup>1</sup> Grand Master, Scotland, 1771-72.

<sup>2</sup> Grand Master, Ireland, 1772-73.

<sup>3</sup> Grand Secretary.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Shatwell, the bookseller.

And on the 7th December, 1785:—

Agreed by the Gd. Lodge that the D.G.M. shall Draw upon the Treasurer for the mony to pay for the Books of Constitutions at the price he agreed for

In 1787, these remainders, and there were probably not many, as they are very rare, were issued with a new Title-page. The Frontispiece remains unchanged, but the next four pages are new, replacing the four unnumbered pages in the 1778 edition. This is known as the fourth edition, although it is not so entitled. On the Title-page, Dermott is given his rank as Deputy Grand Master, and as he had given up all claim to profit from the book, it is

PRINTED FOR  
The BENEFIT of the GENERAL CHARITY,  
AND SOLD BY  
Brother JOHN FEA KINS, *Grand Treasurer*,  
Earl-Street, Blackfriars.

---

London, 1787.

On the reverse is a new Dedication

To the Most noble, sublime, and illustrious Princess, Charity.

It states that the author thinks himself amply paid by the sale of three former editions, and desires to give this and future editions to the charitable fund. There are small alterations on the next page, which is the Explanation of the Frontispiece, and in referring to Lord Dunluce, whose name is engraved as the Grand Master of Ireland, there is a note:—

Lord Viscount Dunluce, then grand master of Masons in Ireland, is now (1787) Earl of Antrim, &c. and grand master of the Ancient Craft in England.

The list of *Errata* has been corrected, and is on the following page. The rest of the book has no alterations, and is, page for page, the same as the 3rd edition.

#### THE FIFTH AND SIXTH ENGLISH EDITIONS—1800 and 1801.

Laurence Dermott died in 1791, and the remaining English editions of *Ahiman Rezon* were revised by Thomas Harper, a jeweller. Harper was Senior Grand Warden of the Antients from 1788 to 1790, Deputy Grand Secretary from 1795 to 1800, and Deputy Grand Master from 1801 until the Union.

During the forty-four years which had elapsed since the publication of the first edition, the power and prestige of the Grand Lodge of the Antients had increased enormously. In 1756, they were a small, almost unknown body of Freemasons with no history, and we have seen that the author of *Ahiman Rezon* was compelled to invent an excuse for omitting a history from his book. By the end of the century, things were different. In England, instead of five Modern Lodges for every Antient Lodge, the ratio was about five to two, and although the Antients were still much the smaller body, they had gained vastly in importance and prestige, and had made a history of their own. There was, then, no necessity for the continuation of Dermott's elaborate fiction, and in the 1800 edition and those which followed, much of Dermott's writings was omitted.

The revision of *Ahiman Rezon* was discussed in 1794, for we find in the Grand Lodge Minutes of 3rd September of that year:—

The R.W. Deputy Grand Master<sup>1</sup> moved That a Committee of all present and past Grand Officers with the Nine Excellent Masters<sup>2</sup> be appointed to Assist the R.W. Deputy Grand Master in preparing revising and Publishing under the Authority of this Grand Lodge a New Edition of the Laws and Constitutions of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and accepted Masons of England according to the Old Institutions and that Copies thereof so revised and Corrected be sent to the respective Lodges in and adjacent to the Cities of London and Westminster.

This was to be considered at the December meeting, but no further action was taken at that time. The book, however, appeared early in 1800, and was advertised for sale at 6s. 6d. in the printed Proceedings of Grand Lodge of the 5th March, 1800, but this seems to have been incorrect, for in later Proceedings the price is given as 7s. 6d. It is known as the 5th edition, but no indication of this is given in the book itself.

It opens with a short Half Title and the engraved Frontispiece from the 3rd edition follows. The Title-page bears the imprint:—

LONDON  
PRINTED BY T. BURTON, LITTLE QUEEN-STREET,  
FOR THE EDITOR.

1800.

Thomas Burton was initiated on the 4th December, 1782, in Antient Lodge No. 195, and, later, he joined No. 128. The editor was Thomas Harper, but his name is not here mentioned. The Explanation of the Frontispiece remains with a few verbal alterations. In the 1787 edition, a footnote was added to explain the obsolete allusion to Lord Dunluce in the engraving, but this has now been dropped, as the names of both the Irish and Scottish Grand Masters are incorrect. There is no list of *Errata*, and the Dedication to Charity has been omitted, but we have a new Dedication to John 4th Duke of Athol. This is engraved and headed by the arms of the Duke from the plate which was used for the 3rd edition. The Antients managed to effect some economies by keeping a Duke of Athol at the head of affairs. Instead of "James Jones, Grand Secretary," the subscription is now "Thos. Harper, Past S.G.Warden." The introduction "to the Reader" is much abbreviated, for Dermott's account of his writing a history of the Craft, his dream, and the consumption of his manuscript by a dog, are omitted. The account of the formation of the Modern Grand Lodge remains, as well as Dermott's reasons for its illegality. The episode of William Carroll, the petitioner from Ireland, is still related as having occurred about fourteen years previously. The Philacteria is unaltered, but some of the more disparaging parts have been omitted from the Address to the Gentlemen of the Fraternity, for example, the statement that the number of Antient Masons, compared with their rivals, "being as ninety-nine to one." The list of clubs has been omitted, as the majority had been extinct for many years. The Duke of Manchester is still referred to as the Grand Master of the Moderns, although the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., had held that office for ten years. That part of the Leland-Locke MS. which had been misplaced in the

<sup>1</sup> William Dickey was D.G.M., 1794-1800.

<sup>2</sup> The Nine Excellent Masters are mentioned at the beginning of the first Royal Arch Register of the Antients and in the Royal Arch Regulations, in the 1800 edition of *Ahiman Rezon*. See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 451.

3rd edition, has now been corrected. The contents then follow those of the last edition, but a new final sentence has been added to the Short Charge, which is worth quoting as, in effect, it remains with us to-day:—

From the attention you have paid to the recital of this charge, we are led to hope that you will estimate the real value of Free-masonry, and imprint on your mind those dictates of truth, honour, and justice, which it so forcibly enjoins.

After the Prayers, there follow the familiar remarks regarding the "evil designer" who is still, as he was in 1778, "overwhelmed with years and poverty."

There are a few new features in the General Regulations. *Old Reg.* iv. limited the number of candidates to five, and the age of a candidate to twenty-five. The corresponding New Regulation stated that this was not strictly observed, and a new sentence has been added:—

Full and mature age has been long considered at full twenty-one years, (who must be his own Master) and some respectable occupation in life.

This change was made by the Moderns in their 1767 *Constitutions*. In *Old Reg.* vii., the more modern "Treasurer" has replaced the "cashier" of a Lodge. *Old Reg.* xv. formerly decreed that when the Wardens of a Lodge acted as Grand Wardens, their places in Grand Lodge were taken by "two fellow-crafts, or master masons of the same lodge." In this edition, the "fellow-crafts" are omitted. *New Reg.* xxii. provided for the election of Grand Officers at the December Quarterly Communication, but this was found inconvenient, and there is an addition:—

but for many years past it has been on the first Wednesday in September, there being a law for that purpose.

A resolution to this effect was passed in Grand Lodge on the 2nd September, 1778. At the end of the Regulations, there follow about three pages of laws passed at various times between 1761 and 1794. They are headed:—

#### ADDITIONAL REGULATIONS,

Extracted from the Proceedings of the Grand  
Lodges, which have been ordered to be observed.

They concern, *inter alia*, the payment of fees by candidates, public processions, and the work of the Grand Secretary. Candidates must pay on initiation at least two guineas.<sup>1</sup> The paragraph regarding fees to be paid to the Grand Fund of Charity for the registration of initiates by Country, Foreign and Military Lodges, is dated the 5th March, 1794, which was the date of the confirmation of the law by Grand Lodge. The subject first came before Grand Lodge on the 5th December, 1792, and was approved on the 3rd December, 1793. The proceedings of the 29th September, 1785, are incorrectly transcribed, and some of the duties of the Grand Secretary have been omitted. In *Ahiman Rezon*, it states that it was resolved:—

That the Grand Secretary and his Deputy together shall attend and regulate all Masonic processions, wherein all, or the major part of the Grand Officers shall walk,

but this is not in the Grand Lodge Minutes. The next resolution is extracted from those Minutes and this reads:—

That the Grand Secretary, or his Deputy, shall attend and regulate all funeral processions, ordered by the Grand Master, or his Deputy, according to the regulations of July 13th, 1753.

<sup>1</sup> Also given in the Philacteria.

On the latter date, a Grand Committee of Emergency fixed the order of a Masonic funeral procession, but the duties of the Grand Secretary in such affairs were not settled until the 18th October.

These Additional Regulations are followed by *New Reg.* xxviii.<sup>1</sup> for the Government of Grand Lodge, after which come the Regulations for Charity. The Stewards have left the Half-Moon Tavern, Cheapside, and are now at the Crown, near St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street. There are a few minor alterations, but nothing of importance.

At this point we are treated to a record of friendly correspondence with the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which is reported to be recorded in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the Antients of the 27th December, 1791. Referring to those Minutes we find:—

The Grand Secretary reported to the Grand Lodge that he had lately received a letter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland—the same was brought up and being Read in Grand Lodge—Ordered that the same be Recorded as part of the Minutes of this Grand Lodge.

This letter is not inserted, but there is one from the Grand Secretary of Ireland. Following the Scottish correspondence in *Ahiman Rezon* are the following paragraphs:—

The same good understanding also subsists with us and the Grand Lodges of Ireland Canada, Pensilvania, Maryland, South Carolina, New York, New England, Nova Scotia, Gibraltar, and most of the Provinces and Islands in the East and West Indies, &c. &c. &c. from whom we receive the most friendly and regular communications.

At the particular request of the Ancient Masons of Canada, a grand warrant was given on the 7th of March, 1792, to his Royal Highness Prince Edward, (now Duke of Kent), as Grand Master of Canada.

Actually, the Duke of Kent was never appointed Grand Master of all Canada, but only of the Lower Province. On the 7th March, 1792, Warrants were ordered for Alexander Wilson to be Substitute Grand Master for Lower Canada, and William Jarvys (or Jarvis) to be Substitute Grand Master for Upper Canada. Before the former Warrant was sent, a letter of 27th December, 1791, arrived from Quebec stating that Prince Edward had agreed to become Provincial Grand Master of Upper and Lower Canada. William Jarvys, who was then in England, had received his authority for Upper Canada, and evidently was not inclined to hand it back. The only thing then was to appoint Prince Edward to Lower Canada, and the Grand Secretary had to write to Alexander Wilson to explain matters.

Here follow the

Rules and Regulations for the Introduction to and Government of the Holy Royal Arch Chapters under the Protection of and supported by the Ancient Grand Lodge of England, made at several Times.. Revised and corrected at a General Grand Chapter, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, London, October 1, 1794.—Confirmed in Grand Lodge, December 3, 1794.

These regulations tell us that Masonry consists of four degrees, and

It follows, therefore, of course, that every regular warranted Lodge possesses the power of forming and holding Lodges in each of those several degrees; the last of which, from its pre-eminence, is denominated among Masons a Chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Unnumbered in this edition.

The members are referred to as "Excellent Masons," and the Principals are "Chiefs." A candidate must be twelve months a Master Mason<sup>1</sup> as well as an Installed Master.<sup>2</sup> A form for making returns to the Grand Scribe concludes with the words "Given under our hands and Masonic mark in Chapter." At the end of these regulations is a note:—

The General Grand Chapter, held in October in each year, shall elect nine Excellent Masters<sup>3</sup> to assist the Grand Officers in visiting Lodges, &c. that the general uniformity of Ancient Masonry may be preserved and handed down unchanged to posterity.

The next item is "An Address delivered by a Noble Brother to his Son, on his first Initiation into Free-Masonry," which finishes with a quotation from a poem by Edward Young. This address was published separately,<sup>4</sup> under the Title "A Royal-Arch Mason's Admonition to his Son." It is also in the Dublin 1817 edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, where it is headed:—

The following Discourse, (Translated from the original French) was pronounced at Brunswick, Lower Saxony, When Prince Ferdinand was Grand Master, By the Comte T . . . , at the Initiation of his Son.

The date is given in *Use and Abuse of Freemasonry*, 1783, as the 29th November, 1773, and in the *Institutes of Freemasonry*, 1788, the author is stated to be "de Toloda." This is followed by "The Free-Mason's Memento," by Brother T.M. of Southton,<sup>5</sup> which is a description of the Craft in acrostical form. It was in the *Freemason's Repository* of about 1787. Then, there are six verses on the subject of "Love," the last being in a poem entitled "Deity" by Samuel Boyse, and they bring this part of the book to an end.

The Songs are, as usual, preceded by a separate Title-page, which states that it is a "selection" of songs, instead of a "collection," as formerly. Evidently this was a late alteration, for the catchword on the previous page is still "A COL——." The heading of the songs has the same alteration. The toast to the Fellow Craft's song is now "To the Right Worshipful Grand Masters. Atholl, Donoughmore<sup>6</sup> and Huntley.<sup>7</sup>" The song *Begin, O ye muses, a Free-Mason's strain* has a footnote about the "Gregs and the Gallics" as in former editions, which refers to song xxxvi. This was correct for the 3rd edition, but is incorrect here, as the song to which reference is intended is now xxxv. Edward Fenner's ode, *With grateful hearts your voices raise*, previously unnumbered, has now been given No. lix., which is misprinted as liv. Two of the old songs are omitted, but there are nine new ones. One of these, *Grant us, kind Heav'n, what we request*, is given elsewhere in the book and so is duplicated, seven are well known Masonic songs from other books, and No. lxi., *Long hath the curious world with prying eye*, seems to be original. The two last lines of this song are:—

Spite of the tales of Pritchard, Plot, and Slade,  
They ne'er can know how a Free-mason's made

referring to Dr. Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire*, 1686, S. Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, 1730, and A. Slade's *Freemason Examined*, 1754. One of the Prologues, which had a reference to the American War of Independence (now

<sup>1</sup> A regulation which remained unchanged until 1893.

<sup>2</sup> They are referred to as "Geometric Master Masons," which seems to mean Installed Masters.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 270 *ante*.

<sup>4</sup> A copy is in the Library of Grand Lodge, bound up with the printed proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the Moderns.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably 'Southampton.'

<sup>6</sup> Grand Master of Ireland since 1789.

<sup>7</sup> Grand Master of Scotland, 1792-93.



finished) is naturally omitted. There is, in this edition, no separate Title-page for the Oratorio, but following it is a new Epilogue, *Oh! pray pardon my hurry,—indeed I'm so heated!* from the *Principles of Freemasonry*, 1777.

The 1800 edition was re-issued in the following year with a new Frontispiece and Title-page, and this is known as the 6th edition. The 5th edition was advertised in the Grand Lodge Proceedings up to June, 1801, but in September of that year the wording changes:—

Price, bound, 7s. 6d. or printed on fine Wove-Paper, hot-pressed, bound in Calf, and gilt, Price 9s. 6d.

and this continues until December, 1803. It is probable, therefore, that the remainders, which were published in 1801, were issued about September of that year. Some writers have thought from the advertisement in the Grand Lodge Proceedings of the 27th December of 1803, that a List of Lodges was sometimes bound up with this re-issue. This advertisement is:—

The Constitution of Freemasonry: or, *Ahiman Rezon*: Revised, corrected, and improved, with Additions, From the Original of the late Lawrence Dermott, Esq. D.G.M. May be had of the Grand Secretaries; Price, bound, 7s. 6d. or printed on fine Wove-Paper, hot-pressed, bound in Calf, and gilt, Price 9s. 6d. also,

A correct List of the Lodges of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. &c. Printed for Robert Leslie, Grand Secretary, London; and Sold by Richard Barry, No. 106, Minorities.

It is certain, however, that the Lodge List was a separate publication, for it was advertised separately in the Proceedings of March and June, 1804. It seems to have been used for the Dublin 1804 *Ahiman Rezon*.<sup>1</sup> In the 1801 *Ahiman Rezon*, the Frontispiece has been redrawn, but the design has been very little changed. The Ark of the Covenant has been added to the Arms as a Crest, and there are the two Cherubim as Supporters, with the Hebrew motto below. The names on the central pedestal have been brought up to date:—

JOHN  
DUKE OF ATHOLL  
RICHARD LORD  
DONOUGHMORE<sup>2</sup>  
SIR JAS. STIRLING  
BART  
LORD PROVOST OF  
EDINBURGH<sup>3</sup>

The imprint of the plate reads: "T. Harper, emend<sup>t</sup>. et correx<sup>t</sup>. J. Chapman sculp. Sold at No. 207 Fleet Street London." A John Chapman was initiated in Lodge No. 195 in March, 1781, and it seems likely that this was the engraver, as this is the Lodge of Thomas Burton, the printer. The address given is that of Harper. The main Title-page has been altered by the omission of the initials "D.G.M." after Dermott's name, and the addition of the words "By Thomas Harper, Deputy Grand-Master." The date of publication is given as 1801. The alterations on this Title-page give us the probable reason for the withdrawal of the 5th edition and the re-issue of the same book almost at once. In 1801, Thomas Harper became Deputy Grand Master, and he determined that his work should bear his name and his new rank. No other alterations were made in the text of the book, but in the later copies, four pages numbered 1 to 4 with the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 289 *post*.

<sup>2</sup> Grand Master of Ireland since 1789.

<sup>3</sup> Grand Master of Scotland, 1798-99.



imprint of T. Burton at the end were inserted between pages 128 and 129. As these recall an interesting quarrel, which had some bearing on the Union of the two Grand Lodges later, it will be worth while giving a short summary of the events.

The focus of the trouble was Francis Columbine Daniel,<sup>1</sup> a well-known figure, both in Masonic circles and outside, who in later years received a knight-hood. He was initiated in Antient Lodge No. 3<sup>2</sup> in 1788, but according to the Register of the Moderns his initiation took place in that year in Modern Lodge No. 344. In any case, he joined the United Mariners Lodge, No. 23 (Antient),<sup>3</sup> in 1789, and the Royal Naval Lodge, No. 57 (Modern),<sup>4</sup> meeting at Wapping, in the year 1791. He eventually obtained complete control of the latter Lodge, occupied the Chair from year to year, and evidently attempted to make it independent of either of the Grand Lodges. In fact, he went as far as to issue certificates to his initiates similar to those granted by the Grand Lodge of the Antients. This behaviour caused Antient Lodge, No. 290, which also met in Wapping, to complain to Grand Lodge. The Stewards' Lodge heard this complaint on the 21st January, 1801, and on the 18th February of that year, Daniel was excluded, an action which was confirmed by the (Antient) Grand Lodge on the 4th March.

At this time, many of the prominent Freemasons belonged to Lodges under both authorities, and it was a simple matter for Daniel to plan a revenge. Accordingly, on the 10th April, 1801, he lodged a complaint at the meeting of the Committee of Charity of the Moderns that five Brethren encouraged irregular meetings and infringed on the privileges of the Modern Grand Lodge. These were Thomas Harper, the Deputy Grand Master of the Antients, the two Grand Wardens of that organisation, Richard Barry of the Royal Naval Lodge who probably objected to Daniel's activities,<sup>5</sup> and Francis Green of (Antient) Lodge No. 31<sup>6</sup> which met at Wapping. This complaint was followed by a violent circular<sup>7</sup> issued by Daniel on the 15th April. On the 20th November, 1801, the complaint was considered by the Committee of Charity. Harper was asked to renounce the Antient Grand Lodge, and he requested an adjournment, so that he could consult others with a view to terminating the differences between the two Grand Lodges. A decision was then postponed, and on the 5th February, 1802, the Committee of Charity suggested the appointment of a Committee to negotiate with the Antients. It was left to Harper to make arrangements, and in view of this, the complaint against him was dismissed. During the next few months, it seems that Harper changed his mind, and instead of trying to effect a union he began to work against it. It may be that he did not wish to lose his position as a Deputy Grand Master, or perhaps he was afraid that his sales of Masonic jewellery would suffer.<sup>8</sup> Another very probable reason for this change of attitude was that he had formed the opinion that the Moderns were engineering a union to help their funds, which had been depleted by the building of Freemasons' Hall. His own story<sup>9</sup> was that an expelled Antient Mason, who also belonged to the Moderns (presumably F. C. Daniel) issued "violent and libellous publications," for which he perhaps thought that the Modern Grand Lodge authorities were, in some way, responsible. Whatever the reason may

<sup>1</sup> See A.Q.C., xxiii., 152; and *An Address to His Grace the Duke of Athol, On the Subject of an Union*, 1804. It appears from p. 11 of the *Memoir of Sir F. C. Daniel, Knt., M.D.* (n.d.) that he was the author of this Address.

<sup>2</sup> Now St. George's and Cornerstone Lodge, No. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Now United Mariners Lodge, No. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Now Royal Naval Lodge, No. 59.

<sup>5</sup> He also belonged to United Mariners (Antient) Lodge, No. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Now Mount Moriah Lodge, No. 34.

<sup>7</sup> A copy is in a scrap-book in the Grand Lodge Library.

<sup>8</sup> See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 497.

<sup>9</sup> *Ahiman Rezon*, 1807, p. 121.

have been, he took no steps to help the *rapprochement*, and the Moderns became anxious. The Committee of Charity on the 19th November, instructed the Grand Secretary to write to him, and the letter, with his reply, are given in the Grand Lodge Minutes of the 24th November. These letters are not very enlightening, as he merely gives the cause of his inactivity as "some untoward Circumstances." The Moderns then issued a broadsheet, apparently as a warning, stating that the consideration of the conduct of the miscreants was postponed until the following February.<sup>1</sup> So negotiations ended, and on the 1st December, 1802, a letter for publication was, apparently, approved by the Grand Lodge of the Antients, although it is not mentioned in their Minutes. It is, however, reproduced without any explanation in the printed Proceedings of the 27th December, 1802, and it is copied in the *Ahimian Reason* of 1807,<sup>2</sup> where the date is given incorrectly as 1st December, 1801.

The letter does not mention the Moderns by name, but

in the love of change (a thing to which all institutions, however sacred, are subject) Masonry has not totally escaped the rage of innovation. When men once suffer themselves to depart from the purity of original principles, they are liable to run into the wildest extravagance

and so on. And there is a suggestion of the debts of the Moderns, on account of their Building Scheme:—

The Ancient Grand Lodge of England, without one Shilling of debt, has a clear ascertained income of more than £500 a Year . . .

And the following is interesting:—

We have too much respect for every Society that acts under the masonic name, however imperfect the imitation, to enter into a war of reproaches; and, therefore, we will not retort on an Institution, established in London for some years under high auspices, the unfounded aspersions into which a part of their body have suffered themselves to be surprised. Their own sense of propriety will soon make them ashamed of having listened to the falsehoods of an unworthy individual; who, having attempted to prostitute Masonry into a gainful trade, was expelled from the Ancient Grand Lodge of England for mal-practices.<sup>3</sup>

The Moderns did not like this, and on 9th February, 1803, Thomas Harper was expelled "for countenancing and supporting a Set of Persons calling themselves Antient Masons." They then issued another broadsheet publishing this expulsion, and this gives a list of some of the Antient, and all the Modern Lodges.<sup>4</sup> In the Antient list there is:—

277 † Virginia Coffee-house, on Pell's Street, Ratcliff-High-way, called the Mariner's L. (*Very Notorious*)

and there is a footnote:—

† six of Mr. H——s Colleagues (four of whom are Principals in the Irregular Lodge, No. 277,) was excluded April 8, 1803.

But Harper had not yet finished. The Antient Grand Lodge on the 2nd March, 1803, approved another edict directed definitely against the Moderns, and the

<sup>1</sup> A copy is in Grand Lodge Library, Broadley Collection, *Miscellanea*, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 280 *post*.

<sup>3</sup> Obviously this refers to F. C. Daniel, and his profitable exploitation of the Royal Naval Lodge No. 57.

<sup>4</sup> A copy is in Grand Lodge Library, Broadley Collection, *Miscellanea*, vol. i.

beginning makes it clear that the former letter was on the same subject. It starts:—

It was represented to this Grand Lodge, that notwithstanding the very temperate notice which was taken, in the last Quarterly Communication, of certain unprovoked expressions used towards the Fraternity of Ancient Masons, by a society generally known by the appellation of the Modern Masons of England, that body has been further prevailed on to make declarations, and to proceed to acts at once illiberal and unfounded with respect to the character, pretensions, and antiquity, of this institution.

The statement asserts that the Moderns had altered the old established forms of the ceremonies, quoting from the Modern Constitutions,<sup>1</sup> and then mentions the Grand Lodges which were in friendly correspondence with the Antients, Scotland and Ireland and later, the Grand Lodges of America, and the East and West Indies. The Grand Lodge Minutes refer to this edict, but it is not itself printed therein, although like its predecessor, it is published in the Proceedings. It is this last edict which was printed on four pages and bound up with some copies of the 6th edition of *Ahiman Rezon*. The heading is:—

Crown and Anchor Tavern, London.  
In  
Grand Lodge,  
Wednesday, the 2d of March, 1802.<sup>2</sup>

and bears the signature: R. Leslie, G.S. It refers to *Ahiman Rezon* by name, and so was evidently, at first, published separately. These events had the effect of making the Union impracticable for the time being, and they help us to understand the difficulties which had to be faced.

#### THE SEVENTH ENGLISH EDITION, 1807, AND ITS ABRIDGED VERSION.

The advent of the next edition is proclaimed by an advertisement in the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the Antients of the 2nd September, 1807:—

Just published A new Edition, being the Seventh, price, bound. Eight Shillings. The Constitution of Freemasonry, or Ahiman Rezon;  
. . . A few Copies are printed on fine Wove Paper, price, bound in Calf, Half a Guinea.

This book is printed in better type and more modern style than those which preceded it, there are no catchwords, and short *esses* replace the troublesome long letter of the earlier editions. A great part of the work is still Dermott's, but some of the wording has been considerably altered. It has, in fact, been thoroughly edited.

The Title-page tells us that Thomas Harper, the editor, was keeping work in his family, for it is printed by T. Harper, junior. This is the first edition since that of 1778, which has the number of the edition on the Title-page. It is said to be the seventh, and this agrees with the books as we know them. The imprint reads:—

London:  
Printed by Brother T. Harper, jun.  
Crane Court, Fleet Street.  
For the Editor, No. 207, Fleet Street.

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1807.

<sup>1</sup> 1784 edition. p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> A misprint for 1803.

The Frontispiece has not been changed, but its explanation has been re-worded; for example, "aprons" have become "badges." There is an allusion to the compact made between the Antients and the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland in 1772. There are depicted five steps leading up to the Doric Temple, and in the explanation

The ascent to the building, alludes to the five Orders in Architecture, and also to the summit and perfection of Ancient Masonry.

The motto on the engraved arms is correctly copied in Hebrew, with the English translation "Holiness to the Lord." The words *Kodesh la Adonai* of former editions have been omitted. The Dedication is unchanged, but the Athol arms at its head have been re-engraved and slightly altered. The "Editor to the Reader" is now entitled an "Introduction." It has three pages dealing with the origin of science after the Fall of man. In describing the formation of the Grand Lodge of the Moderns, there is now a reference to the 1784 *Constitutions* instead of to Anderson's book of 1738. The editor points out that if this had been a revival of the ancient Craft, the Masons of Ireland and Scotland would agree with their secret language and ceremonial, but such is not the case. America has now been added to the list of countries in amity with the Grand Lodge of the Antients. The episode of William Carroll, which occurred in 1759, is now stated to be about thirty years previously, an error of nearly twenty years. The Philacteria is omitted, but part of its subject matter comes later. Dermott's Address to the Fraternity is dated July 1778, and at the end, we have the name of Laurence Dermott instead of "The Author." The poem on the Seven Liberal Arts and Sciences has vanished from this edition. The wording of the part entitled "Ahiman Rezon" has not been greatly altered. In the story of Anaxarchus, we are now given the name of Nicocreon, who tried to discover his secrets. Inserted in this part of the book we have:—

Here it may be necessary to put in a word of advice to those who have an inclination to become members of this ancient and honourable Society.

Then follows part of the Philacteria which is omitted from this edition. The minimum initiation fee has been increased from two to two and a half guineas, and this agrees with the Regulations which come later. "Ahiman Rezon" ends on page 28, and the Charges begin on page 31, so that two pages are missing from the numeration. The folded sheets of which the book is composed are complete, and the mistake is probably unintentional. The wording of some of the Charges has been altered, and footnotes are omitted. At the end of Charge iii., there is a new paragraph to the effect that a Lodge shall not make more than five Brethren without Dispensation, and Candidates must be proposed at a meeting held prior to their initiation. These rules occur in *Old Regulations* iv. and v. This book continues with the usual contents, but the order of the Prayers has been changed, and the remarks regarding the Royal Arch and the "evil designer" have been omitted. Surely that malefactor must have been dead for many years.

In the General Regulations, a thorough revision has taken place, but of the verbiage rather than the subject matter. It will only be necessary here to call attention to the more important and interesting features. In previous editions, we have had regulations dealing with "private" and also "particular" Lodges, both words having the same import. The word "private" is now used throughout. In *New Reg.* viii., we now have the phrase "London and its suburbs" appearing for the first time, indicating the changes which had taken place in the Metropolis. According to *Old Reg.* xii., the Deputy Grand Master in Grand Lodge must now be seated on the right, instead of on the left of the Grand Master. In *New Reg.* xiv. and xv. "former" Grand Officers are referred to as Past Grand Officers, so, no doubt, the more familiar phrase came into use

at this time. The *Old Reg.* xix. which gave the procedure "If the Grand Master should abuse his great power" has been omitted, and to fill the gap, *Old Reg.* xviii. has been divided into two parts. The corresponding paragraph of *New Reg.* xviii. has also been added to *New Reg.* xix., but by a misprint, the number xix. has been omitted. The former *New Reg.* xix.:

The Freemasons firmly hope, that there never will be occasion for such a regulation

still remains, but it means nothing, as the old regulation to which it referred has been omitted. *New Reg.* xx. deals with official visits to private Lodges, and formerly stated that Master Masons must on such occasions act as Wardens if the Grand Wardens are absent. This edition requires the rank of these substitutes to be Masters, or Past Masters. *Old Reg.* xxi. stated that if the Grand Master is not present, his place in Grand Lodge is taken by one of his predecessors or, failing them, the Deputy Grand Master, "or if there be no Deputy, then the oldest Mason the present Master of a Lodge." These last words, inserted by Dr. Anderson, probably to regularise the proceedings of 1717, are now omitted. *New Reg.* xxii. required Grand Lodge to meet at the place appointed "till they have built a place of their own." These last words have now been dropped, probably because they called attention to the fact that the Moderns had had a home of their own since 1777, whereas the Grand Lodge of the Antients was still meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand. In *Old Reg.* xxiii., the sarcastic remark in the footnote regarding the use of the titles "Most Worshipful," etc., by the Moderns, is omitted, possibly in deference to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which gave and still gives the title "Right Worshipful" to the Master of every Lodge. After the election of the Grand Master, *New Reg.* xxiii. required "the Secretary" to inform him, but this duty is now given to the Deputy Grand Master, as, no doubt, Thomas Harper considered it his prerogative. Many new Additional Regulations have been added to the list which follows the General Regulations. The raising of the minimum initiation fee to two and a half guineas has already been mentioned.<sup>1</sup> This change was made in Grand Lodge on the 4th December, 1805, and it is entered here twice, once as a footnote to the old regulation, and then again separately. There is a new regulation dated the 7th March, 1798, to the effect that money granted by the Stewards' Lodge must be paid personally to the Petitioner. Actually, this was approved by the Stewards' Lodge on the 21st March, 1798, and confirmed by Grand Lodge in the following June. The Charity Regulations are now headed "Regulations for the Stewards' Lodge, or Committee of Charity." The old misprint in *Reg.* xiv. referring to *Reg.* x., instead of *Reg.* xi. has now been corrected. The Royal Arch Regulations in this book precede the extract which deals with sister Grand Lodges. They are "Revised, approved and amended in General Grand Chapter, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, London, 1st April, 1807." The correspondence with Scotland and Ireland is changed but little. The letter from William Mason, Grand Secretary of Scotland, refers to "His Grace's attachment to the Craft, both in England and Scotland" alluding to the Duke of Athol, and there is a footnote "His Grace, having been Grand Master of Scotland." The last paragraph of Mason's letter, giving their Grand Officers for 1791 has been omitted. Massachusetts has been added to the list of Grand Lodges "from whom the most friendly communications are constantly and regularly received." There is a paragraph on the Act of the 12th July, 1799, "for the more effectual suppression of Societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes, and for preventing treasonable and seditious practices." It is stated that the Duke of Athol obtained exemption for Masonic Lodges. The next item deals with the attempt to assassinate King George III. on the 15th May, 1800, in Drury Lane

<sup>1</sup> p. 271 *ante*.

Theatre. A special meeting of Grand Lodge was called on the 24th June, 1800, when an address expressing congratulations on his escape was approved, which address is here given in full. Then we have the circulars of the 1st December, 1802, and the 2nd March, 1803,<sup>1</sup> issued after the dispute with the Moderns.<sup>2</sup> This part of the book ends with the Address by Comte de Toloda, the Free-Mason's Memento and the Poem, which is now entitled "Charity or Love, a Principle necessary to every Free-mason."

There is a general improvement in the tone of the Songs, and the coarser verses and songs have been omitted, as well as those which are chiefly concerned with drinking. Explanatory footnotes have been omitted, as well as some of the long songs, while others are shortened by the omission of verses. Song No. vi. is new, and although it begins *Genius of Masonry, descend*, it is not the Ode by Mr. J. Banks, for the second line is *And with thee bring thy spotless train*. It is here called "the Master's Song" and was in the 1775 edition of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*. Bennett's *Modern Free Masons Pocket-book* of about 1774 has evidently come to the notice of the editor, for he has given us seven new songs from it. There are two songs from *Masonic Miscellanies*, 1797, and one *Hail Masonry! thou sacred art*, which I cannot find before 1791, when it appeared in the *Oriental Masonic Muse* of Calcutta. *Unite, unite your voices raise* is printed twice in this edition. Several of the songs are incorrectly numbered. One hymn, two anthems and five odes are collected together at the end of the songs, after which there are the Prologues and Epilogues, two of which have been omitted, and finally the Oratorio.

At the end of the book there is a new and important feature, a List of Grand Officers and Lodges "according to the Old Constitutions." This has new pagination and a separate Title-page:—

A  
LIST OF LODGES  
OF THE  
MOST ANCIENT AND HONOURABLE FRATERNITY  
OF  
FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS,  
Granted by, and held under the Sanction  
OF THE  
GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND,  
ACCORDING TO THE OLD CONSTITUTIONS.

Alphabetically arranged.

LONDON:  
PRINTED BY BROTHER T. HARPER, JUN.  
Crane Court, Fleet Street.

1807.

The Grand Officers do not occupy much space. There are but eleven, including the Grand Master, Grand Pursuivant and Grand Tyler. The first list of Lodges is arranged alphabetically by the Towns in which they meet. There are 170 in this list, including the Military Lodges, which are duplicated later. Under Liverpool, there is a local Committee of Relief, London has 49 Lodges, as well as Grand Lodge, Grand Chapter and the Grand Stewards' Lodge. The days of meeting of all the London Lodges and some others are given. The Foreign list has 105 Lodges, including Provincial Grand Lodges, as well as some Lodges in Jersey and Guernsey which were also in the English tables. There are Provincial

<sup>1</sup> Still incorrectly printed as 1801 and 1802 respectively.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 276 *ante*.



Lodges with their own numeration in Gibraltar, Halifax and Jamaica. The 48 Military Lodges conclude the lists. In the English tables, Lodge No. 74 Portsmouth is a misprint for No. 79. The Foreign List includes No. 183 Tortola, which is a misprint for No. 108. Two Madras Lodges are entered twice. Harmony Lodge, No. 28, at Halifax is not known, and Lane thinks that this refers to No. 28 on the Provincial Register of Nova Scotia. The Military List includes No. 18 in the 17th Regiment Foot, which, it appears, was never on the English roll of Lodges.<sup>1</sup> No. 213 should be No. 9, as it had taken that number many years before. The title of the regiment of No. 312 is given incorrectly, for it should be the Prince of Wales' Fencible Cavalry, and not that of the Princess. The youngest Lodge on the English list seems to have been No. 157 of Whitehaven, which was constituted on the 14th March, 1807, but No. 168 of Hythe was constituted the previous day, although it had a Warrant dated the 9th April, 1771. There is no Foreign Lodge of as late a date in the tables, but Military Lodge No. 339 is included, and this was constituted on the 11th July, 1807. So far as I have been able to estimate, 42 Lodges in the lists had previously lapsed, 4 had never been constituted, 6 had joined other Grand Lodges abroad and 1 had joined the Moderns, making altogether 53. No doubt the circumstances of some of these were not known at headquarters, but it appears that as many Lodges as possible were retained on the list, in order to enhance the prestige of the Grand Lodge of the Antients.

An abridged version of the seventh edition appeared a few years later. It contained but forty pages, and seems to have been intended as a pocket-book. As it was not printed by T. Harper, jun., it was probably unofficial, although from a statement on the Title-page that it has been corrected from the last Quarterly Return, it seems that the editor must have had access to official documents. The book begins with a list of Military Lodges which has been taken from the 1807 edition with very little change. Lodge No. 215 in Anspach's Hanoverian Regiment had lapsed, and on the 9th October, 1807, the number was given to the Lodge of the Royal Cumberland Militia. This change is recorded here, and No. 216, which follows it, is by a misprint allocated to the Last<sup>2</sup> Devon Regiment Militia. This list is followed by a selection from the Charges, the Short Charge to Initiates, some of the Prayers, twenty-three Songs and finally the English and Foreign Lodges. This List is prefaced by the following:—

Although the Printer and Publisher of this Abridgment of the Constitution of Ancient Free-Masonry, has taken a great deal of pains to correct the Second Edition of the following List of Lodges, he is perfectly aware, it is not so correct as he could wish, owing to the Removal of different Lodges, reviving Old, and issuing New Warrants, changing their regular Lodge Nights, &c. He, therefore, respectfully acquaints the Craft in general, that any Communication, correcting those Errors, or any Information respecting Lodges of Instruction, left, or addressed, post paid to C. Goodchild, Printer, No. 8, Cloth-fair, West Smithfield, will be gratefully received, and punctually attended to in a Third Edition.

This seems to imply that the Lodge List in the 1807 *Ahiman Rezon* was the first edition, and that a third edition is to be expected later. There is no trace of any such work, unless indeed, it be the list of Lodges incorporated in the *Ahiman Rezon* of 1813. The Military Lodges have been removed from these lists to avoid the duplication which occurred in the 1807 *Ahiman Rezon*. I have examined the details carefully. There are some obvious mistakes in the abridged *Ahiman Rezon*, but so far as I can judge, the list was corrected in the latter part of the year 1810, and the book, therefore, was probably published at that time.

<sup>1</sup> See *Masonic Records*, John Lane, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> *Recte* East.



The move of Lodge No. 245 from Barbican to the Princess Royal, Paul Street, Finsbury Square, is included, and this is stated by Lane to have been made in 1811. I am, however, inclined to believe that Lane has made a mistake about this, and that the move really took place late in 1810, as many new Lodges constituted late in 1810 and early in 1811 are not included in this book. Bro. Lewis Edwards is the fortunate owner of the only copy of this book that I have been able to trace.

#### THE EIGHTH ENGLISH EDITION—1813.

The last English edition of *Ahiman Rezon* was intended for publication in 1812, for there was an advertisement of it in the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the Antients on the 2nd September of that year, which read "now in the Press and will be ready for delivery in about three weeks." There must have been some delay, for in the Proceedings of the 2nd December, we are told that it would be ready on the 15th February, 1813. Probably it appeared, for the Proceedings of the 3rd March tell us "now published . . . Price, bound, 10s.; and on fine Paper, hot pressed and bound in calf, 13s." The Frontispiece is unchanged, and the Title-page gives the following particulars:—

Revised and corrected with considerable additions, brought  
down to the present time, from the original of the late  
Laurence Dermott, Esq.

by  
Thomas Harper, D.G.M.

---

Eighth Edition.

---

London:

Printed by Brother T. Harper, jun.  
Crane Court, Fleet Street,  
For the Editor, No. 207, Fleet Street.

---

1813.

The Explanation of the Frontispiece has been re-worded, and instead of "Ancient Lodges" they are described as "Lodges of the old constitution." The second Temple at Jerusalem is now "the Grand and Royal Lodge," a phrase which is familiar. Now that we have lost Laurence Dermott with his knowledge of Hebrew, a misprint appears in the Hebrew words.

A separate Title-page is used for the Lodge List, and as this list has its own pagination, it was probably intended to be published separately. The Grand Officers are given for 1813, followed by the days of meeting of 58 London Lodges, none of which meet on the 1st or 3rd Wednesdays, the days appropriated for Grand Lodge and the Grand Stewards' Lodge respectively. The following note appears at the foot of the page:—

Information relating to Removals, or the stated time of Meeting, or any addition which may occur to the subjoined List, will be thankfully received by the D.G. Secretary, and duly noticed in the next publication, if transmitted before 27th Dec. 1813.

The Lodges are numbered consecutively from 1 to 354, eight numbers being omitted. Two of the Lodges are stated to be "withdrawn," and there are, therefore, 344 active Lodges in the list, and of these, 70 are in London, 154 in the Country, and 120 Foreign. The list in many respects resembles that in Downes' *Ahiman Rezon* published in Dublin in 1804, and both include many Lodges which had lapsed and are not in the 1807 London edition. It is

extremely inaccurate; in fact, it is really useless to examine it in detail. The list was probably compiled between January and April, 1813, as, in the latter month, the numbers of Lodges Nos. 15, 27 and 36, which were formerly allotted to London Lodges, were given to Lodges in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Gateshead and Hastings respectively. In this list, all are "London." No. 355, constituted on the 29th April, 1813, is omitted, but Lodge No. 217 of the 6th January of that year is included. There are several obvious inaccuracies, for example, No. 141 is said to meet at Minorca "West Indies," and No. 274 of Montreal, Lower Canada, is said to meet in Upper Canada. Seventy-nine Lodges in the list had lapsed, eight are probably fictitious Lodges which never existed, nine had left the Antients and joined Grand Lodges abroad, one had joined the Moderns, and there are four which are entered twice with different numbers. It seems probable that the list was purposely inflated in order to enhance the prestige of the Antients, and give them influence at the Union which was now almost in sight.

The remainder of the book proceeds along the usual lines. In the Introduction, the affair of William Carroll (1759) is still stated to be "about thirty years ago." The substance of the Address to the Fraternity is unchanged, but Dermott is now stated to be the author. There are three new explanatory pages at the end of the Leland-Locke MS. At the end of the Resolutions regarding Scotland and Ireland, there is a note that fraternal contact has been established with all the Grand Lodges of America, and the East and West Indies. "Ahiman Rezon" is rather larger than in the last Edition. There is a dissertation regarding unworthy persons who join the Craft, but who are powerless to injure it. The minimum fee for initiates was increased to three guineas on the 4th March, 1812.<sup>1</sup> The Charges are somewhat altered, and in Charge v. we are told that the hours of work are 7—10 from the 25th March to the 29th September, and 6—9 for the remaining six months.<sup>2</sup> There is a new footnote to the Short Charge:—

This very old charge is continued with very trifling alterations; and is in general use throughout the ancient Craft. To alter it therefore, would lessen its value.

In the Manner of Constituting a Lodge, there are new regulations for submitting a petition, the form for which is given. It must be signed by at least seven Master Masons, recommended by the nearest Lodge and sent with the fees to the Grand Secretary. If approved, a Warrant, Book of Constitutions and a By-Law Book "filled up in a proper manner" are issued. A footnote describes the Warrant and its uses. A new paragraph in this chapter gives the meanings of Ample Form, Due Form and Form in the opening of Grand Lodge. The words "yet with the same authority," which are in the *Constitutions*<sup>3</sup> of to-day, are not there, for the Antients held that the authority was not the same. In the ceremony of Constituting, the new Master and Wardens are to be "yet among their Fellows," the phrase in earlier editions having been "yet among the Fellow-crafts." The closing of the Lodge after its Constitution is now by the Deputy Grand Master, instead of by the Senior Grand Warden. The Prayers which follow are those which have appeared in previous editions.

In the Regulations, the following addition to *New Reg.* vi. is the only alteration of interest:—

The local laws of each Lodge must guide them in this respect, some Lodges admit of one black ball only against, others two, but if three, no candidate can be admitted on any pretence whatever under the authority of this Grand Lodge.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 284 *post*.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 254 *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> Rule 61.

The Additional Regulations have been brought up to date. The following passed by Grand Lodge on the 1st June, 1757, has been included:—

That if any . . . Person . . . shall admit . . . any  
Member or Visitor not strictly an Ancient Mason . . . such Lodge  
so transgressing, shall forfeit their Warrant . . .

The rule of the 4th March, 1812, increasing the minimum fee for initiates to three guineas, is given, as well as a footnote with the same information. There is a new rule of the 3rd June, 1812, ordering 5s. from London Lodges and 2s. 6d. from Country, Foreign and Military Lodges, for each registration, to go to the "Institution for Clothing and Educating the Sons of Deceased and Indigent Ancient Freemasons." Every regulation passed by Grand Lodge did not get into *Ahiman Rezon*. On the 4th March, 1807, it was decided in Grand Lodge that a Master of a Lodge must be one year registered a Mason, and in 1811, a requirement of twelve months' service as a Warden was enacted, and twelve months' service in the Chair to qualify as a Past Master. None of these rules is incorporated in *Ahiman Rezon*. There are two pages on Masonic Charity, dated the 3rd July, 1798, which refer to the work of the Masonic Boys' School. It started with six pupils, and had fifty at the time of writing. The Regulations for Grand Lodge and the Stewards' Lodge are changed but little. In the latter, a footnote states that the Lodge was meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand at seven o'clock. This was also the meeting place of Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter. In the Royal Arch Regulations, the duties of the nine Excellent Masters, or "Skilful Royal Arch Masons" are given more fully than in the last edition. The Extracts from the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge are amended, and the long circulars issued at the beginning of the century and directed against the Moderns have been omitted, probably in order to produce a better feeling. The Comte de Toloda's Address, the Freemasons' Memento, and the Verses on Love remain unchanged.

The faulty numeration of the Songs has been rectified in this edition. Mr. J. Bancks' Ode has been omitted; also, one song which was previously duplicated, and *Of all the places in the town*. This contained the expression "The Wardens sitting in the West." There are six songs which were not in the previous edition, three being from *Masonic Miscellanies*, 1797. One of these is Robert Burns' *Farewell* to the Brethren of St. James' Lodge, Tarbolton. It was the first of his important Masonic poems, and was recited in 1786, when he was leaving with the intention of going to the West Indies. Another new song was by Robert McCann, P.M. of Lodge No. 244. In July, 1810, he was a member of the Committee of the Antients, appointed to formulate the Union. He was Grand Sword Bearer in 1813, and was elected Junior Grand Warden in December, 1813, just before the Union took place.

Within a year of the publication of this last English edition, the Union of the rival Grand Lodges was effected, and *Ahiman Rezon* became little more than a name. The eight books throw considerable light on the history of the Antients, and are invaluable as a mirror in which we can read something of the mind of the Freemason of a century and a half ago.

#### THE IRISH EDITIONS.

We have seen that, in England, *Ahiman Rezon* was an official publication. It was not long after the first edition of 1756 that the book was reprinted in Ireland, for in 1760, a Dublin edition appeared, and this was followed by a number of others, not only in Dublin, but also in Belfast and Drogheda. They continued long after the Union in England had put an end to the name in this country, and it was not until 1858 that the last Irish edition appeared. A table of these Irish books is given in Appendix III., which also shows the probable source of each. Although the contents of the first Irish editions vary but little

from the English original, the books have one great difference—they were not official publications, and it was only after 1803 that the Irish *Ahiman Rezon* had official sanction and became the Book of the Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751 was not reprinted, and, no doubt, was out of print by 1760. *Ahiman Rezon*, it will be remembered, was based on that book, and, therefore, was doubtless issued in Ireland with the idea of taking its place. It had, in fact, much the same objects as the *Freemason's Pocket Companion*, an edition of which was published in Dublin in the following year. It is interesting to notice that the early Irish *Ahiman Rezon* was a much smaller book than the English official publication, and so could be fairly described as a portable pocket book. These books appeared, as one would expect, when the *Pocket Companions* were out of print. In 1760, both Spratt's *Constitutions* and the Dublin *Pocket Companion* of 1751 were almost certainly unobtainable, and the first *Ahiman Rezon* appeared in that city, but it must have been a very small edition, as it is now extremely rare, and a new *Pocket Companion* appeared in the following year. There were no more Dublin *Pocket Companions*, and after Wilkinson's unofficial *Constitutions* of 1769 was out of print, a new *Ahiman Rezon* was published in 1780, and thereafter, these books held the field. In Belfast, the first *Ahiman Rezon* appeared in 1782 after the disappearance of the *Pocket Companions*.

The Dublin edition of 1760 is practically a reprint of Dermott's first book, and it is evident that no revisions have been made from Spratt's 1751 *Constitutions*. The "Editor to the Reader" is now signed "LAU. DERMOTT," instead of "L.D." The List of London subscribers is, of course, omitted, and at the end of the book is a new list of 101 persons, who altogether subscribed for 106 copies. The list includes Mr. Mi. McDermott, Mer. of L. 340 in Stokestown, Co. Roscommon. There were fourteen subscribers from that Lodge, whose meeting place was not far distant from that of L. Dermott's mother Lodge. It is possible, and has been suggested,<sup>1</sup> that Dermott was known in the neighbourhood, and that these subscribers were for that reason interested in his publication. The poetry paraphrase from D'Assigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry* has been revised, and is now headed "The Excellency of Masonry described." It ends:—

By thee inspir'd, Hibernia's Sons advance,  
Uprear the Sword, and point the glitt'ring Lance.  
Against the Foe with martial Ardor run,  
And take that Vengeance which they seek to shun.

After the General Regulations, the full-stop, missing from the 1756 edition, has been inserted, and the passage now reads correctly ". . . which thy Fathers have set. Solomon." The second Title-page has no imprint, and there is no alteration to the Songs, except that the names of their authors have been omitted.

The next Dublin *Ahiman Rezon* that I have been able to trace is the 4th edition of 1780. This was printed by Dillon Chamberlaine, who also printed the 1st Dublin edition, and this, also, is a great rarity. Evidently, this printer produced a series, but I have not been able to trace any copies of the 2nd or 3rd editions. No doubt, there were not many copies put on the market. It might be imagined that the 4th edition is from the London 3rd edition of 1778, but such is not the case. The Dublin 4th edition hardly varies from the 1st, but it has, of course, been re-set, and there is no List of Subscribers. At the end of the book there is a new Epilogue "Address'd to the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick. By Mr. Brooke." Evidently, soon after printing, the book was found to be of little use, as it did not incorporate the Irish Regulations of 1768.<sup>2</sup> It was taken off the market, and the remainders used for a new 5th edition in the same year.

<sup>1</sup> Lepper and Crosslé, i., 238.

<sup>2</sup> See *Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. iii.

This 5th Dublin edition of 1780 was really the 4th edition with certain extra pages, and it was issued with two alternative Title-pages, the imprints reading:—

(I.)

Dublin:

Printed by D. Chamberlaine, No. 5, College-Green, and W. Rainsford, No. 22, St. Andrew-Street.

MDCCLXXX.

(II.)

Dublin:

Printed by D. Chamberlaine, No. 5, College-Green, and T. Wilkinson, No. 40, Winetavern-Street.

MDCCLXXX.

William Rainsford, a leading member of Lodge No. 584, lectured on Masonry in 1785, having been authorised by Grand Lodge.<sup>1</sup> This is probably the book which Wilkinson advertised at page 60 of the 3rd edition of *Hiram: or the Grand Master-Key*, "A Himan Reason or Help to a Brother, bound, 2s. 2d." After the Title-page, four new unnumbered pages have been added, the first having "Some Toasts used in Lodges," and the remainder furnishing a list of the Contents, so that there are two such lists in this edition, but the earlier contains references to the new material which has been inserted. The next addition is eight pages after the Regulations for Charity on page 62. These are numbered 33\* to 40\* and contain the "Rules, Orders and Regulations" which were approved on the 3rd November, 1768. In one copy of this book which I know, these Rules precede the Dedication. Pages 135 and 136 have been removed, and in their place, new pages 135\* to 156\* have been added, but the last page of these does not bear any number. These pages have ten additional Songs and a Knights Templars' Prayer "Used in the High Knights Templars Lodge, Dublin." Two of these songs have already appeared earlier in the book, five are from the 1775 edition of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, and two I have been unable to trace in any earlier book, namely, *Excuse my weak untutor'd Muse*, and the Knights Templars' song, *God bless the royal Band*. The other song is *Adam the first of all*, which was in the 1723 *Constitutions*, and it is here stated to be "By Dr. ANDEREON." This misprint indicates that the book was produced hurriedly, but it is a mistake which proves to be useful in tracing future editions of which this was the original.

These Dublin books served as models for editions printed elsewhere, the earliest of which seems to have been published in Drogheda in about the year 1780. This was printed by John Fleming, who was in business as a printer from 1772 until he died in 1785.<sup>2</sup> It is said on the Title-page to be the fourth edition, and appears to have been copied from the Dublin 4th edition of 1780 with certain parts from the Dublin 5th edition of the same year. It was, therefore, probably printed in that year, or very soon afterwards. It is possible that the model for this edition was the Belfast *Ahiman Rezon* of 1782,<sup>3</sup> but I think that this is unlikely, for several reasons. The spelling of "Pekin" in the Belfast book has not been copied here, and we find "Pequin" as in the Dublin edition. Also, the mis-spelling of Dr. Anderson's name in the Belfast book does not occur here. There seems, on the other hand, no doubt that this Drogheda edition did not serve as a model for any others. There are mistakes in the book, which do not appear elsewhere: for example, on p. 15 a note<sup>4</sup> has been omitted,

<sup>1</sup> Lepper and Crosslé, i., 250.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i., 241, note.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 287 *post*.

<sup>4</sup> "See New Regulation VIII."

but this omission only occurs in this edition. The book in general appearance, strongly resembles those from Dublin, and I am of opinion that it was based on the 4th edition, but some corrections were made later from the 5th edition. The Irish Regulations of 1768 are included, as well as the song *God bless the royal Band* from the Dublin 5th edition. The song *Once I was blind and could not see* is duplicated as in that book, and there are some other well-known Masonic songs which were not in the earlier Dublin editions.

A Belfast *Ahiman Rezon* of 1782 entitled the 5th edition was doubtless based on the Dublin 5th edition, which it strongly resembles. It, and the 6th and 7th editions of 1795 and 1803 respectively, were printed by James Magee, and these books are textually almost identical. It is probably the 1795 book which was purchased by the Downpatrick Lodge No. 367 (I.C.) for 3s. 3d. (*i.e.*, 3s. British) in March, 1798.<sup>1</sup> The book begins with a Half Title stating that it is addressed to the Belfast Orange Lodge, No. 257. The imprint on the Title-page is:—

Belfast:  
Printed by James Magee, (for the Editor)  
at the Bible and Crown, in Bridge-  
street. M,DCC,LXXXII.

but there is an alternative second line found in some copies "Printed for the Editor, by James Magee." After the Dedication to the Earl of Blesington there is, in this book, a new Dedication

To the Right Worshipful  
Past MASTER †, MASTER \*,  
WARDENS and BRETHREN  
of the  
Orange Lodge of BELFAST, No. 257.

(*Footnote:*) † Amyas Griffith, Esq;  
\* John Brown, Esq; Major of the Belfast Battalion.

which contains the words: —

you who have confessedly constituted and established one of the first  
Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons, in the three kingdoms; a Lodge,  
that (since September, 1780, "when it was last revived") has been  
productive of the most munificent Acts of Charity and Benevolence.  
... you have been the glorious Means of reviving the Royal Craft  
all over this Province; . . .

Belfast,  
May 25th, 1782.

The Editor.

The Editor seems to imply that it was owing to this "revival," that the printing of the book became necessary, and he is grateful to the members for giving him the opportunity of turning an honest penny. As he relies on them to buy the book, he evidently considers that a little flattery would not be out of place.

After the "Editor to the Reader," there is a page of Toasts which is full of interest. One of these is "The memory of old Cymon" which at first seems a puzzle. The solution is found in a song at the end of the book, which contains the phrase "Let's toast Cymonic Masons," for there is a footnote "*Vide* the Knights Templars Song," in which there are references to "Simon." Possibly "Cymon" was adopted as a cryptogram for the more familiar name. At the end of the book is another and different list of toasts, but "Old Cymon" appears again, as we have in this list "The Memory of old ———." Here are two toasts which are worth quoting:—

<sup>1</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, xlvii., 28.



May the virtuous Resolutions of Ireland be imitated by Great-Britain; and may the two Nations ever go Hand in Hand, united in patriotic Pursuits and liberal Sentiments, to the Glory of our Brother the King, the Exaltation of our Country, and the certain Overthrow of our combined Foes.

The Memory of our Sister, Allworth, of New-Market.

There follow particulars of the five Lodges then meeting in Belfast, Contents, and then a List of the Members of the Orange Lodge, No. 257. There are eighty-nine names, some of the members being "Esq." and some simply "Mr." John Brown, the Master is not here described as a Major, but there are fourteen of Military rank. Amyas Griffith, the Past Master, is also Captain General of the Knights Templars, and there is a High-Priest in the List. The Lodge Officers are the Master, two Wardens, Chaplain, Secretary and two Deacons. At the end of this list, in some copies of the book, an extra page has been inserted, dated October 1783, giving the names of 52 new members "since this Edition of Ahiman Rezon was printed." A fair increase in under two years! Many of the Songs are incorrectly numbered, and some of them are new. Two are composed for the Orange Lodge, No. 257, and the music of one of these was first published in *Walker's Magazine*, February, 1782. One new song, *There is a Lodge in Skibbereen*, was written for the Carberry Lodge, No. 504, which was in Downes' Lodge List of 1804, and met at Skibbereen in County Cork. Dr. Anderson's name which appeared as "Andereon" in the Dublin 5th edition has now become "Anderson." There is a new Knight Templar Prologue in this book. In the Belfast 1795 edition, many of the misprints in the last book have been corrected, including the numeration of the songs and the spelling of Dr. Anderson's name; the 1803 edition<sup>1</sup> is textually practically identical with the last.

The next book which we have to consider is somewhat of a curiosity in many respects. It is a Dublin *Ahiman Rezon*, published by Thomas Wilkinson,<sup>2</sup> who was concerned with the 5th Dublin edition. It has the extravagant alternative title *Fratrimonium Excelsum*, and bears no date. Strangely enough, its contents have been copied mainly, not from the previous Dublin book, but from the Belfast edition of 1782. The name of Dermott has been omitted throughout. The Frontispiece is a poor imitation of that in the English 1723 *Constitutions*, or perhaps the Irish 1751 version. It is partly reversed, several figures have been omitted, the engraving is poor, and it bears the imprint:—

Printed by Thos. Wilkinson No. 40, Winetavern St. Dublin.

The Title-page is very long,<sup>3</sup> stating that the book is by "a Worthy Brother" and it is "Printed for all the Lodges in England, Ireland and America . . ." The Dedication in the Belfast edition has been copied with a few alterations, so that it is now to the "Right Worshipful Past Master, Master, Wardens and Brethren of the Grand Lodge of Ireland." The Dedication to the Earl of Blesington follows, and in this, the date 1740 has by a misprint become 1770. There is then a list of the Grand Officers of Ireland for 1790, and this is followed by the Officers of the Grand High Knight Templar and Early Grand Knight Templar Encampments, as well as a list of twenty-eight Dublin Lodges with their names, principal Officers, dates and places of meeting. Then we have a report to the Grand Lodge of Ireland by a Committee appointed at the request of several Armagh Lodges to investigate irregularities in that County. This Committee reported on the 11th November, 1790.<sup>4</sup> There is no Introduction to the Reader, but the Toasts are taken from the Belfast edition, and after a list of Contents,

<sup>1</sup> Title-page reproduced in Lepper and Crosslé, i., 241.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson advertised it in his *Solomon's Temple spiritualiz'd*: "Fratrimonium Excelsum, or a new Ahiman Rhezon . . ."

<sup>3</sup> Reproduced in Lepper and Crosslé, i., 307.

<sup>4</sup> See Lepper and Crosslé, i., 394.



we have "Ahiman Rezon," and the book continues along the usual lines. The misprint "Dr. ANDERON" is still found, and there are four new songs. After these, and before the second list of Toasts, is a copy of the Charter of Incorporation, which was proposed in England, but never granted.<sup>1</sup> This may have been copied from Wilkinson's unofficial *Constitutions* of about 1769, which is advertised at the end of the book. From the list of Grand Officers, the date of publication appears to be about 1790-1791, but the book could not have been issued prior to the 11th November, 1790, that being the date of the publication of the report of the Armagh Committee. The date can be fixed rather more accurately by a reference to the Lodge list. All the officers of the Lodges appear to be those for the period 24th June to the 27th December, 1790. In no case, have I been able to trace that any are for the period beginning the 27th December, 1790. One may reasonably suppose from this, that the book was published between the 11th November and the 27th December, 1790.

The next Dublin *Ahiman Rezon* was that printed by Joseph Hill in 1803. This was taken mainly from the Dublin 5th edition of 1780, but a large part of it is from *Masonic Miscellanies*, 1797. Hill also printed the Dublin edition of *Masonic Miscellanies* in 1800, and it is frequently bound up with *Ahiman Rezon*. For that reason, no doubt, this edition has no Songs, for they are included in the former book. The emblematic Frontispiece,<sup>2</sup> some Prayers, Charges for the Second and Third Degrees and Toasts and Sentiments are copied from the original *Masonic Miscellanies* by Stephen Jones. Dermott's name still remains in this edition, and there is his Introduction, which is followed immediately by "Ahiman Rezon," the Charges, a new selection of seven Prayers, the Charges of the three Degrees and the Regulations. The Irish Regulations of 1768 have been brought up to date, there is a note on the formation of the Grand Master's Lodge on the 3rd January, 1749, and, finally, a list of Toasts and Sentiments, many of which have been taken from the songs of the previous edition. *Masonic Miscellanies* was definitely a Modern book, and included a list of the Modern Grand Masters, and the ceremony of installation without reference to any esoteric work. It was for this reason that Hill's *Ahiman Rezon* was objectionable to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which was in amity with the Antient organisation in England. In July, 1803, Hill wrote a violent letter to Charles Downes, a rival printer, who no doubt led the attack on Hill's book, and this letter was printed and distributed. Downes asked Grand Lodge to arbitrate, with the result that Hill was suspended for one year. It has been suggested that Hill was also the author of an attack on the Deputy Grand Treasurer in an anonymous circular issued in May, 1804.<sup>3</sup>

Charles Downes, having satisfactorily disposed of his rival, at once published an edition of his own, which had not the Modern features that made Hill's book so objectionable to the Irish Brethren. The author made no use of the 1803 *Ahiman Rezon*; in fact, it is doubtful whether it was published before Downes' book was written. He based his work on the earlier Dublin 5th edition of 1780. When the book was in the press on the 2nd February, 1804, he took the precaution of obtaining official sanction by the Grand Lodge of Ireland. This, then, was an official publication, and so became the approved Book of Constitutions of Ireland. In this, it differed from the earlier Irish editions, all of which were unofficial handbooks. All the subsequent Dublin books were official. This book was sold at 3s. 9½d.<sup>4</sup>; it is frequently bound up with a list of Lodges,<sup>5</sup> the price of which was given on the Title-page of that list as 2s. 2d. It has no Frontispiece, and after the *Imprimatur* and Title-page, there is a Dedication signed by C. Downes to the Earl of Donoughmore, Grand Master of Ireland. There is no mention of

<sup>1</sup> See p. 117 *ante*, and Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 472.

<sup>2</sup> Imprint: Published by Brother Joseph Hill—Dublin 1800.

<sup>3</sup> See Lepper and Crosslé, i., 332 *et seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xvii., 158.

<sup>5</sup> See Lepper and Crosslé, i., 307, 413, *et seq.*

Laurence Dermott here, or elsewhere in the book. It continues with "Ahiman Rezon" and the usual contents, but there is, naturally, no reference to Dermott's "evil designer." The *New Regulations* are now printed on the pages opposite to the *Old Regulations* to which they refer. The notes regarding the Grand Master's Lodge are given, and the 1768 Regulations are followed by the newer laws, continuing up to July, 1803, after which are Regulations for the Irish Masonic Female Orphan School. Then come the Songs, etc., most of which were in the Dublin 5th edition. Four songs and a prologue come from *Fratrimonium Excelsum*, one song from *Masonic Miscellanies* and the last song, which begins *Right worshipful master*, I have not traced prior to its publication by Gavin Wilson in his *Edinburgh Collection of Masonic Songs* in 1788. After the songs, we have the Free-Masons' Memento, which was in the London 1800 edition, and finally a list of Toasts, many of which are from the songs of previous editions.

Downes' Second Edition was published in 1807, and differs but little from that of 1804. The date of the Grand Lodge permission is not now given, and on the Title-page, the printer is now described as "P.M. 141." The Dedication is slightly altered, the Regulations contain no amendments subsequent to July, 1803, there are a number of new Songs and the Free-Masons' Memento has been omitted.

In a footnote to Vol. i. of Lepper and Crosslé's *History*, on page 309, it is stated that another un-dated edition of *Ahiman Rezon* appeared between 1807 and 1817. Bro. P. Crosslé has written to tell me that this is a mistake, and the book in question has been found to be one of the 1817 edition, with the date carefully erased from the title-page.

After the Union in England, the Constitutions had to be re-written, and those of the Irish Grand Lodge were also altered in order to conform. A new *Ahiman Rezon* embodying these alterations was brought out in 1817, but an abridged edition of this appeared in the previous year. This contained only a Title-page, the new Constitutions, a *pro forma* for returns to be made by Lodges, and an Index. The same sheets of the Constitutions were used for the full edition of 1817, and the remainders were subsequently issued with a new Title-page in 1820. At the end of one section of the Constitutions, on page 9, is a small ornamental tail-piece. This was evidently altered during the printing, for two alternative designs appear in both 1817 and 1820 books on that page.

For his third edition of 1817, Downes made considerable use of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, and from a careful textual examination, I am of opinion that he worked from the 11th edition of 1804, and not the 1812 edition. Preston's book was, of course, 'Modern,' but after the Union in 1813 the Grand Lodge of Ireland would not object to that. This edition was dedicated to the Duke of Leinster, and the contents follow the usual lines as far as the Prayers, some of which have been omitted. Then follow the Masonic Funeral Service, the Ceremonies of Constitution and Installation and the Leland-Locke MS. with Preston's notes, all taken from the *Illustrations*. After this, there is the Address of the Comte de Toloda from the London 1800 edition, and this is followed by a list of Remarkable Occurrences taken from the *Free Mason's Calendar and Pocket Book* (1815), which was originally compiled by William Preston.<sup>1</sup> Then follows the 'History,' also from Preston, and the new Irish Constitutions which appeared in the book of 1816. The second Title-page, prior to the Songs, contains the familiar words "to which is added Solomon's Temple," but the editor probably found that he had no room for that Oratorio in the book, for it is not there! There are a number of changes in the Songs. The remainders of the 1817 edition, with a new Title-page, were published as a fourth edition in 1820. The Dedication was re-set, but there are no other alterations in the book. According to the title-page, this edition was "Sold by William F. Graham and Son, 35, Capel-Street, and 16, College-Green."

<sup>1</sup> Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 423.

We must now turn our attention again to Belfast, where an unofficial *Ahiman Rezon* was published in 1818. This was based on Downes' Dublin book of 1817, which it closely resembles. It has a Frontispiece similar to that in Hill's edition of 1803, but it was probably copied from the original in *Masonic Miscellanies*. The Title-page reads as follows:—

AHIMAN REZON:  
OR  
CONSTITUTION  
OF  
FREE MASONRY.  
TO WHICH IS ADDED,  
A SELECTION OF THE MOST APPROVED SONGS & TOASTS.

REVISED AND CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.  
*With the addition of all the New Rules and Regulations, up to the  
Present Year.—1818.*

*Dedicated to the Belfast Masonic Committee.*

[Masonic wood-cut]

BELFAST:  
PRINTED AND SOLD BY GEORGE BERWICK,  
No. 1, North-Street.

Price, 3s. 4d.

Following the Title-page is a list of thirty-nine Belfast Lodges, which differs considerably from the lists in the earlier editions. The Songs have been changed a great deal, and there are no Prologues or Epilogues in this edition.

There are three more Dublin editions of *Ahiman Rezon*, but these do not call for much comment. The 1839 edition does not mention either Dermott or Downes, and the Title-page is much shorter than that of any of its predecessors:—

The  
Constitution  
of  
Freemasonry;  
or,  
Ahiman Rezon:  
To which are added,  
Certain Lectures,  
Charges,  
and  
A Masonic Ritual.  
Dublin:  
Printed by Brother William Underwood,  
Eden-Quay.  
M.DCCC.XXXIX.

This book begins with the Grand Officers, which, by the way, are for 1840. The Regulations are followed by those for the Royal Arch, Knights Templar and Council of Rites. Then there follows "The Masonic Ritualist and Lecturer" with a separate Title-page. This section contains notes, lectures, etc., on the three degrees, and is taken principally from Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* and Dr. G. Oliver's *Star in the East*. This part is by Archdeacon W. B. Mant, who is well known as the author of the *Pocket Companion* of 1831 under the

pseudonym "a Brother of the Apollo Lodge." He was Provincial Grand Master of Carie and Dunluce at this time, and in 1858 he was given the Province of Belfast and North Down. In later copies of this book, after a third Title-page, there is an account of the Proceedings at the Dedication of Free Masons' Hall, Dublin, on the 19th March, 1840, and an *addendum* brings the Regulations up to date. The Leland-Locke MS. has been omitted from this edition and there are no Songs.

The 1850 edition is very similar to that of 1839. The Title-page has the words "Published by the Grand Lodge of Ireland." The dissertation entitled "*Ahiman Rezon*," which was written by Dermott for his first book, has been omitted from this edition after appearing in all those issued previously, both in England and Ireland. The Leland-Locke MS. is back again after being omitted in 1839. The list of Remarkable Occurrences still ceases at the year 1813, but a few special Irish items have been added.

The last Irish *Ahiman Rezon* is that of 1858, and in this, the order of the contents has been altered. The Funeral Service and the Comte de Toloda's Address have been omitted. Several new items have been added to the list of 'Occurrences.' It is recorded here that in B.C. 1264, the Phœnicians settled in Ireland, and Masonry was introduced there by Heber and Heremon! The last entry is dated 1857 and is "A new edition of the Irish Constitutions of freemasonry printed by order of the Grand Lodge of Ireland."

After this publication, the title *Ahiman Rezon* was dropped in Ireland, and, thereafter, there was a *Book of Constitutions*. These Irish books form a long series, they are of great interest, and their contents are of a much more variable character than those of the English editions.

#### THE AMERICAN EDITIONS.

In North America, there were many Lodges under the Antient Grand Lodge, and these naturally made use of Dermott's *Ahiman Rezon* as their official Book of Constitutions. In the course of time, when independent Grand Lodges were formed, the new official books were based on those which the Lodges had been using. The result of this has been that a number of editions of *Ahiman Rezon* were printed in North America, the first dated 1783, and these have continued up to the present time. Although there is to-day little resemblance between these books and Dermott's first *Ahiman Rezon*, it is interesting to find that the name given to his Book of Constitutions has survived across the Atlantic, although it disappeared from the British Isles over seventy years ago.

Perhaps the most interesting of these American editions is that published in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1786, and this is also one of the rarest. There was an Antient Provincial Grand Lodge in Halifax with a number of subordinate Lodges, and this book had the sanction of that authority. It was "published by the Consent and Direction of the Grand Lodge of This Province." This was not an independent Grand Lodge, for the sovereign authority in that Province did not come into being until late in the nineteenth century. This book is based on the 3rd English edition of 1778, and it has several local features including a Dedication to John Parr, the Governor and Provincial Grand Master, an account of Masonry in Nova Scotia, a Charge given at Provincial Grand Lodge, Provincial Regulations, Provincial Grand Officers, and a list of Lodges.

The first *Ahiman Rezon* to be published in the United States seems to have been issued in 1783 in Philadelphia. There were Antient Lodges in the State of Pennsylvania, and no doubt they were tending to become independent at this time, although the sovereign Grand Lodge was not formed until 1786. This edition is derived from the English second edition of 1764, and is dedicated

to George Washington.<sup>1</sup> The Province of Pennsylvania (Antients) had subordinate Lodges in Maryland and Virginia, and this accounts, no doubt, for the editions published in Baltimore and Richmond, although in these cases and in all others that I have been able to trace, the books were not published until after the formation of the sovereign Grand Lodges. The Baltimore edition of 1797 is probably the rarest issued in the United States. The next edition of 1817 contains several pages from the writings of William Finch, the notorious charlatan, but these were omitted from later Baltimore editions. This 1817 *Ahiman Rezon* was translated into Spanish, and printed in two volumes at Philadelphia in 1822.

The Antient Lodges in South Carolina and New York account for the editions published in Charleston and New York City after independent Grand Lodges had been formed in those States. The renowned Dr. Frederick Dalcho edited the Charleston books. These contained a well-known address *We are now about to quit this sacred retreat* . . . which was copied from the Massachusetts *Constitutions* of 1792.<sup>2</sup> The following "Constitutional Rules founded on the Ancient Land Marks," which are in these books, are of interest:—

Any five regular Lodges can form and constitute a Grand Lodge, in a state, kingdom or nation, where no Grand Lodge is already established; . . .

No candidate can receive more than two degrees in one night . . .

Every applicant for initiation must be born of free white parents

The Grand Lodge of North Carolina and Tennessee issued an *Ahiman Rezon* in 1805, but the contents do not justify the name, for it does not seem to have been derived either directly or indirectly from any of the editions of Dermott. Probably it has nothing 'Antient' except the title. Particulars of the best-known American editions are given in Mackey's *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry*.<sup>3</sup> Those issued up to 1850, which I have been able to trace, are listed in Appendix I.

### CONCLUSION.

There is but little more to say. Our examination of these books tends to confirm the idea of the strong personality and character of Laurence Dermott. His words and phrases were carried by them all over the English-speaking world, and some are still found in the *Book of Constitutions* of to-day. All the English and Irish *Ahiman Rezens* that I have been able to trace, as well as the earlier American versions, are noted in Appendix I., and this, by giving the libraries where they are to be found, affords some idea of their rarity. It is curious that no *Ahiman Rezon* was published in Scotland. There was no official *Book of Constitutions* in that country in the eighteenth century, and the Mason must have relied on the various *Pocket Companions*.

I have been given great help in preparing this paper by many friends to whom I must express my gratitude. First and foremost, our own Treasurer and Secretary and Bro. Gordon Mills, the Librarian of Grand Lodge, have given me facilities to consult the books in their care, as well as valuable advice. For information regarding the Irish editions, my thanks are due to Bros. Philip Crosslé, W. Jenkinson and our Belfast veteran, Bro. S. Leighton. It has been an interesting study, but I feel sure that my work is very incomplete, and it is greatly to be hoped that others will be able to supplement my efforts.

<sup>1</sup> Part of this was reproduced in *The Freemason's Companion, or Pocket Preceptor*, John Phillips, Philadelphia, 1805.

<sup>2</sup> See *Miscellanea Latomorum*, i., 66, 90.

<sup>3</sup> Subject: Ahiman Rezon.

## APPENDIX I.

Libraries to which reference is made:—

1. Grand Lodge of England.
2. „ „ „ Ireland.
3. „ „ „ Scotland.
4. „ „ „ Iowa.
5. „ „ „ Massachusetts.
6. „ „ „ New York.
7. „ „ „ Pennsylvania.
8. Grand Orient of the Netherlands.
9. Quatuor Coronati Lodge.
10. Supreme Council, 33°, England, etc.
11. Supreme Council, 33°, S.J., U.S.A.
12. Masonic Library, Birmingham.
13. „ „ Worcester.
14. „ „ York.
15. „ „ Belfast, Northern Ireland.
16. „ „ Lahore, India.
17. „ „ of F. H. Marquis, Mansfield, Ohio.
18. British Museum.
19. Masonic Library of Harold V. B. Voorhis, N.J.

Index Number.	Page of Text.	Place.	Date.	Libraries.	Remarks.
<i>English Editions.</i>					
1	241	London	1756	1.2.3.4.5.7.8.9.11.12.13. 14.16.17.	
2	254	London	1764	1.2.4.5.8.9.10.11.13.14. 15.16.17.	
3	259	London	1778	1.2.4.5.8.9.10.11.13.14.16. 17.18.	
4	259	London	1787	1.4.5.9.13.14.17.	Remainders of 3.
5	269	London	1800	1.2.4.5.8.9.10.13.14.16.17.	
6	269	London	1807	1.2.4.5.9.11.13.14.16.17.	Remainders of 5.
7	277	London	1801	1.2.3.4.5.9.11.12.13.14.16. 17.19.	
8	281	London	c.1810	Private Ownership, London.	Abridged Edition of 7.
9	282	London	1813	1.2.3.4.5.9.11.13.14.17.	
<i>Irish Editions.</i>					
10	285	Dublin	1760	1.2.	
11	285	Dublin	?	—	2nd Edition. Un- discovered.
12	285	Dublin	?	—	3rd Edition. Un- discovered.
13	285	Dublin	1780	9.	4th Edition.
14	286	Dublin	1780	4.17.	5th Edition. Chamber- laine & Rainsford.
15	286	Dublin	1780	2.	5th Edition. Chamber- laine & Wilkinson.
16	288	Dublin	c.1790	1.2.5.9.11.13.14.17.	Fratrimonium Excelsum.
17	289	Dublin	1803	1.2.4.5.6.9.11.14.16.17.	
18	289	Dublin	1804	2.5.9.11.13.14.15.16.17.	First official Irish Edition
19	290	Dublin	1807	1.2.5.9.11.17.18.	
20	290	Dublin	1816	1.	Abridged Edition of 21.
21	290	Dublin	1817	1.2.9.11.15.16.	
22	290	Dublin	1820	1.2.9.11.14.	Remainders of 21.
23	291	Dublin	1839	1.2.5.15.17.	
24	292	Dublin	1850	2.10.15.	
25	292	Dublin	1858	1.2.10.13.14.15.	
26	286	Drogheda	c.1780	11.15.16.17.	
27	287	Belfast	1782	1.4.5.6.9.11.14.15.17.18.	
28	287	Belfast	1795	1.2.3.4.5.9.18.	
29	287	Belfast	1803	1.2.4.5.6.11.13.15.17.18.	
30	291	Belfast	1818	1.2.11.15.	

## American Editions prior to 1850.

Index Number.	Page of Text.	Place.	Date.	Libraries.	Remarks.
31	292	Halifax, N.S.	1786	18.	
32	293	Baltimore, Md.	1797	4.5.11.17.	
33	293	Baltimore, Md.	1817	1.4.5.11.17.	
34	293	Baltimore, Md.	1826	4.5.11.17.	
35	293	Charleston, S.C.	1807	1.4.5.6.8.11.17.19.	
36	293	Charleston, S.C.	1822	1.5.11.17.	
37	293	Newbern, N.C.	1805	4.	
38	293	New York, N.Y.	1805	4.5.6.11.17.19.	
39	292	Philadelphia, Pa.	1783	4.5.6.7.8.9.11.14.16.17.	
40	293	Philadelphia, Pa.	1822	10. (Vol. II. only).	2 Volumes in Spanish.
41	293	Philadelphia, Pa.	1825	1.4.5.7.9.17.19.	
42	293	Richmond, Va.	1791	4.5.6.17.	
43	293	Richmond, Va.	1818	4.5.9.17.	
44	293	Richmond, Va.	1847	4.5.	

## APPENDIX II.

Collations of the various British editions:—

F. Frontispiece.

T. Title-page.

Index  
Number.

1. 4to. T. (black and red), *verso* blank; (i.) (black and red); (ii.)—xvii., *verso* blank; 8 pp. n.n.; (1)—96; second T., *verso* blank; (99)—(209), *verso* blank.
2. 4to. Engraved F.; Engraved T., *verso* blank; (i.)—xxxvi.; (1)—96; second T., *verso* blank; (99)—224.
3. 8vo. Engraved F.; T., Errata on *verso*; Engraved Dedication, *verso* blank; 2 pp. n.n.; (i.)—iv.; (i.)—lxii.; (lxiii.) blank; (1)—106; second T., *verso* blank; (109)—232.
4. 8vo. Engraved F.; T., Dedication on *verso*; 2 pp. n.n.; (i.)—iv.; (i.)—lxii.; (lxiii.) blank; (1)—106; second T., *verso* blank; (109)—222; third T., *verso* blank; (225)—232.
- 5, 6. 8vo. Half T., *verso* blank; Engraved F.; T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; (vii.)—xii.; Engraved Dedication, *verso* blank; (i.)—lxii.; (1)—130; second T., *verso* blank; (133)—245, *verso* blank.
7. 4to. Half T., *verso* blank; Engraved F.; T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; Engraved Dedication, *verso* blank; 6 pp. n.n.; (i.)—l.; (1)—134; 2 pp. n.n.; second T., *verso* blank; (139)—234; third T., *verso* blank; (3)—16.
8. 4to. T., *verso* blank; (3)—40.
9. 4to. Half T., *verso* blank; Engraved F.; T., *verso* blank; 2 pp. n.n.; (i.)—vi.; second T., *verso* blank; (3)—16; (i.)—liv.; (1)—133; (134) blank; third T., *verso* blank; (137)—234.
10. 6to. T., *verso* blank; (i.)—(xiv.); (1)—62; second T., *verso* blank; (65)—(152).



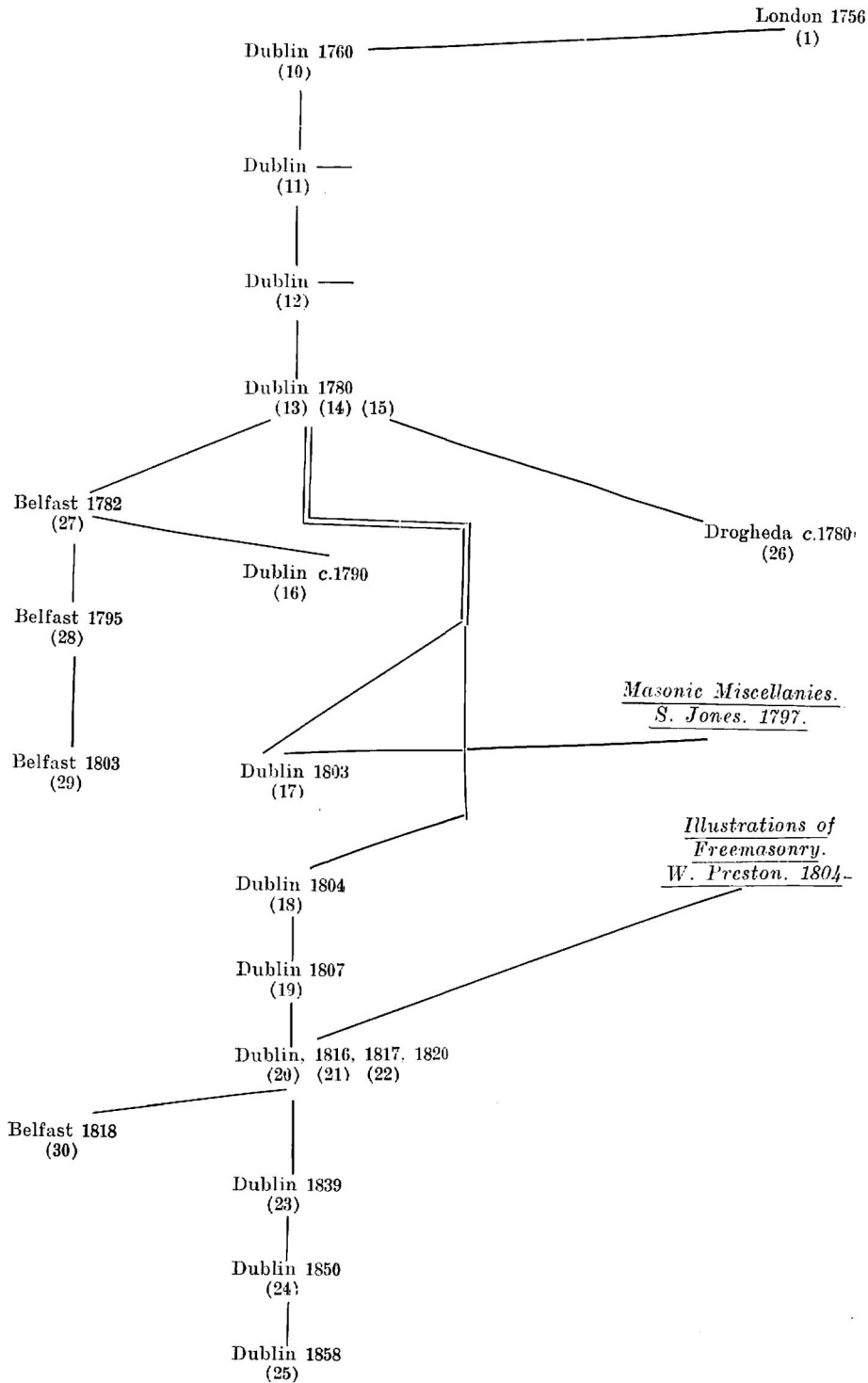
Index  
Number.

13. 12mo. T., *verso* blank; (iii.)—(xvi.); (1)—62; second T., *verso* blank; (65)—152.
- 14, 15. 12mo. T., *verso* blank; 2 pp. n.n.; (i.)—(xvi.); (1)—62; 33\*—40\*; second T., *verso* blank; (65)—134; 135\*—(156\*); 137—152.
16. 6to. F.; T., *verso* blank; (iii.)—xxiv.; (1)—70; second T., *verso* blank; (73)—203; 1 p. advertisement n.n.
17. 12mo. F.; T., *verso* blank; (1)—78.
18. 4to. Half T., 1 p. n.n.; T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; (i.)—vi.; (1)—88; 89\*—90\*; second T., *verso* blank; (89)—216.
19. 4to. Half T.; 1 p. n.n.; T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; (vii.)—xii.; (1)—90; second T., *verso* blank; (93)—220.
20. 4to. T., *verso* blank; (1)—9, *verso* blank; 11—23, *verso* blank; 25—43, *verso* blank; 6 pp. n.n.
- 21, 22. 4to. Half T.; 1 p. n.n.; T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; 9 pp. n.n., *verso* blank; (i.)—lxxix., *verso* blank; lxxxi.—cli., *verso* blank; (1)—9, *verso* blank; 11—23, *verso* blank; 25—42; second T., *verso* blank; (45)—128.
23. 4to. T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; (v.)—xii.; (1)—78; second T., *verso* blank; (81)—108.
24. 4to. Half T., *verso* blank; T., *verso* blank; (v.)—xvi.; (1)—165, *verso* blank.
25. 4to. Half T., *verso* blank; T., *verso* blank; 2 pp. n.n.; (1)—197, *verso* blank.
26. 4to. T., *verso* blank; (i.)—xii.; (1)—71, *verso* blank; second T., *verso* blank; (75)—(185), *verso* blank.
- 27, 28, 29. 12mo. Half T., *verso* blank; T., *verso* blank; (v.)—(xxv.), *verso* blank; (1)—70; second T., *verso* blank; (73)—192.
30. 12mo. F.; T., *verso* blank; (1)—2<sup>1</sup>; (3)—192.

<sup>1</sup> Printed "4" in error.

## APPENDIX III.

Diagram to show the probable sequence of the Irish editions. The "Index Numbers" from Appendix I. are given in brackets.



A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Adams for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. Flather, seconded by Bro. de Lafontaine; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, G. W. Bullamore, G. Y. Johnson, Lewis Edwards, J. Heron Lepper, Sam. Leighton, and C. F. Sykes.

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Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

Our newly-admitted Brother, Cecil Clare Adams, is certainly to be congratulated on having prepared so exhaustive an examination of the various editions of *Ahiman Rezon* to be read on the night of his election.

I am, therefore, sorry that I am not able to be present to hear a synopsis of the paper, which I am sure is all our author will have the opportunity of presenting in the time at his disposal.

I hope I may be forgiven if I submit a few remarks in writing, not by way of criticism, but purely in the way of comment.

It seems to me unfortunate that the peculiar title and its possible meaning should have been summarily dismissed in a footnote.

One fact alone is clear, that the title is two proper names taken from the V.S.L. Why Dermott should have adopted these names is a puzzle many Brethren have attempted to solve. It does seem evident that the compiler of the book was well acquainted with the Genevan Version of the Bible and probably with that particular edition of it which contains the Table of Proper Names with their interpretations.

The attempts of Mackey, Crucefix, Oliver and others to rig up Hebrew words having some resemblance to the title and to place interpretations on them which suited their purpose may be swept aside as useless.

Bro. the Rev. Morris Rosenbaum, with rather more acumen, endeavoured to show that the words *might* have been understood by Dermott to bear the meaning "Faithful Brother Secretary". He did not attempt to prove that this was a correct translation of the words, and this point cannot be too strongly insisted on. The meanings given in the Genevan Version are:—

AHIMAN, a prepared brother, or brother of the right hand, or brother mine, what? One of the *sonnes* of Anak.

REZON, small, lean, secret, or a secretarie or a prince.

So that a good many other feasible explanations could be arrived at; -even the sub-title, "A Help to a Brother", being quite a possible one. A secretary ought certainly to be a help! and princes in our day are more than useful.

But I submit my own attempt to show that the whole thing might be a cryptogram on the words Free Masonry (although the theory did not meet with any general acceptance) was not altogether wide of the mark when Dermott's predilection for cyphers and ambiguities is considered.

It is strange, too, that Bro. Adams should have been able to write so much about Dermott and his work without making frequent reference to William Preston, who was his great antagonist on behalf of the rival Grand Lodge.

There is also no mention of the special value of the *Ahiman Rezon*, particularly of the second edition, from the point of view of knowledge of many eighteenth century details of Craft working.

These few comments in no way lessen my appreciation of Bro. Adams's paper, and I heartily support the vote of thanks which I am sure will be accorded to him.

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BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

In his introduction Bro. Adams suggests that the Antients, prior to the drawing up of rules on 17th July, 1751, "considered themselves bound by James Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1738". This is a debateable question. Personally, I am inclined to regard the Antients as the legitimate descendants of the mediæval freemasons and to look upon the Moderns and James Anderson as an irregular body.

I think it likely that the original organisation of the Freemasons was an oligarchy which granted power to individuals to form lodges of masons, the power being conveyed by means of copies of extracts from the constitutions. These extracts were known as the old charges, and without the master and his old charges no lodge was possible. When the rebuilding of London after the fire had been completed, certain lodges of operatives that had been meeting regularly were no longer summoned by their masters. Honorary members of these lodges continued to meet on their own initiative and eventually gave rise to the G.L. of the Moderns. In 1725 Verno Commodus tells us that "the doctor pretends he has found out a mysterious Hocus-Pocus word". Dr. Desaguliers was prominent in the Modern organisation, and about this date we get copies of the Old Charges in the handwriting of William Reid, Secretary to the Grand Lodge of the Moderns. I note that Rawlinson, "the non-juring titular Bishop of London" as Pennant calls him, was a member of four lodges and that his lists of members contain names which are not recorded in Grand Lodge. Many lodges seem to have held masters' lodges.

It is interesting to note that at a later date a Modern lodge held a meeting of its Rose Croix Chapter and stated that the Duke of Cumberland was Grand Master in place of Charles Stewart. It makes one wonder if it was purely coincidence that the standard of the Old Pretender was a pelican in her piety.

Bro. Adams speaks of the crest, "a bowed arm holding a trowel", as though it could be definitely regarded as an invention of Dermott derived from the seals of the Irish Lodges. This crest has always interested me, as a similar crest is common among trade companies, the bowed arm being used in conjunction with some implement appertaining to the trade. Mottoes and Crests in Heraldry are liable to alteration, and I have wondered whether this innovation might not have come through Londonderry from the London Company. The original grant of arms of 1477 was sable, three castles argent, etc. The castle is depicted as a crest, but is not mentioned in the wording. Later the ground colour is changed to azure, but the reason or authority, if any, are unknown. The modern G.L. used a dove as a crest, and beavers were added as supporters. Randall Holmes gives pillars as supporters, and the triple towered castles degenerate into towers similar to the chess rook or castle. The motto also varies in different examples. As Dermott had nothing to do with these other variations there is just a possibility that the Irish Seals were derived from a coat of arms and that Dermott described this variation of the Heraldry.

A hand holding a trowel as a thrusting implement is depicted on an old Irish building stone with the date 1738. This may have some ceremonial significance, and it would be interesting to know whether it was the forerunner of the bowed arm of the seal or was suggested by it.

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BRO. S. LEIGHTON writes:—

I sincerely congratulate Bro. Cecil Adams on his most comprehensive analysis of the work of that doughty Irish Mason L. Dermott, as revealed in the

detailed and fascinating study of the various books of *Ahiman Rezon*, which he has given to the Lodge of Quatuor Coronati this evening. It is the first time the subject has been handled in such detailed form, and the research work which the essayist has put into the preparation of his paper, deserves the highest commendation.

Dermott stands out as the most vilified and misunderstood freemason in history. After a hundred years of obloquy, it fell to the lot of Henry Sadler to demonstrate to the world the great Masonic principle, "Magna est veritas et praevalebit" as exemplified in the case of Laurence Dermott.

Bro. Adams has to-night extended our knowledge, and it is with the greatest pleasure I acknowledge his right to stand on the same platform with Sadler and Bywater, as having contributed a valuable addition to the literature of the subject, and thereby helping to reveal Dermott, not only as an earnest and sincere freemason, but also a man of great personality and forceful character.

The eight English editions of *Ahiman Rezon* have been admirably analysed and described by the essayist, and from my own personal study of them in the Grand Lodge Library (by favour of the courteous librarian, Bro. Gordon Hills) I can sincerely compliment Bro. Adams on his careful and accurate analysis, and cordially approve of his deductions.

With regard to the Irish editions, I would respectfully offer some few comments from an Irishman's point of view.

It may be interesting to point out that, the "Orange Lodge" No. 257, Belfast, which Dermott favoured with a complimentary letter, was not an "Orange" Lodge as generally understood at the present time. It was a true "Masonic" Lodge, Warranted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and is still working in Belfast.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Ireland was in the throes of rebellion, and religious feelings ran high, but it was not till the year 1795 that the first political "Orange" Lodge was formed at a little place called "Loughgall" "after the model of Freemasons", by a number of men who were refreshing themselves at an inn after they had fought the Battle of the Diamond.

Orange and Blue were Protestant party colours, and many Orangemen were also Freemasons. Masonic Lodge No. 272, warranted in 1756, is one of our oldest lodges still working in Belfast. It was first called "New Blues", which subsequently became "True Blues", carrying a similar meaning as the word "Orange".

The letter of Dermott is addressed to the "Right Worshipful Past Master, Master, Wardens and Brethren of the Orange Lodge of Belfast No. 257".

It will be noticed that the P.M. comes first; a footnote tells us that his name was "Amyas Griffiths Esq.—Captain General of Volunteers".

He was a well-known man in Government Service, and one of the founders of Lodge No. 257.

The W.M. was "John Brown Esq. Major of the Belfast Batt. of volunteers".

He belonged to a well-known Belfast family, and was "Sovereign" of the town for several years; this office was the same as what is now known as "Mayor".

The Volunteers were formed for the defence of the country against the threatened invasion of the French, and the newspapers were full of advertisements from Masonic Lodges, offering their services to King and country against their enemies.

The Irish edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, 1760, was first mentioned in an old copy of the *Belfast News Letter*, 2nd December, 1758, when an advertisement appeared:—

Proposal for printing by subscription "Ahiman Rezon or help to a brother".

BY BROTHER LAURENCE DERMOTT SEC.

— CONDITIONS. —

1. That this book will be printed in an octavo volume containing 210 pages, on good Dutch paper and large type.
  2. That the price to Subscribers will be three British sixpences: one British sixpence to be paid at Subscribing, and the remainder on delivery of the book, sewed in blue paper.
  3. The subscribers names shall be printed if required: and the work put to press as soon as 200 copies are subscribed for.
- Subscriptions are taken in by the undertakers.

Here follows a list of booksellers in Belfast Newry, Armagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, Newtonlimavady, Coleraine, Ballymoney and Downpatrick.

Inside the cover of the copy in the Grand Lodge Library there is an autograph letter from Bro. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, LL.D., addressed to Bro. A. M. Broadley, congratulating him on "having hit on a rare edition of A.R." which, he says, is "the rarest of all Irish editions". Lodge CCIX is stamped on the cover. Inside the cover of the Irish edition of *circa* 1790, are two interesting autograph letters pasted, one from Bro. G. W. Bain and the other from Bro. G. W. Speth, discussing the possible date of publication, etc.

These letters testify to the interest taken in the books; they also give an added interest to the copies in Grand Lodge Library.

On the page opposite the title of the copy of the English 4th Edition of 1787, in the same collection, there is an interesting note; possibly written by Bro. Crucefix:—

This copy was for many years used by the Grand Lodge of the "Ancients" or Atholl Masons—up to the very last meeting of that society—it is also the identical copy upon which the Duke of Sussex was obligated when he became a member of that society.

Presented to Bro. Crucefix in 1833 by Edward Harper.

On the blank page inside the cover is written:—

DERIVATION OF "AHIMAN REZON"

A corruption of three Hebrew words:—

ACHH          MAN          RATZON

Signifying the thoughts or opinions of a true and faithful brother.  
"Fellows exposition of Mysteries".      Note on P. 233.

Bro. Adams has placed us under an obligation of gratitude for his patient research work, which will be a valuable reference for the future, and be the means of spreading the knowledge of the contents of these historical and interesting volumes, whilst at the same time, giving at firsthand, a true estimate of their brilliant and masterful author, Laurence Dermott.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS writes:—

Bro. Adams states that the prayer to be used by Jewish Free-Masons at the opening of the Lodge cannot be found by him in any previous Masonic work. Further than this, save for its restriction to Old Testament references, there

seems to be little or nothing therein reminiscent of the Jewish liturgy, and it was probably an *ad hoc* compilation of Dermott's. In striking contrast to this, the prayer "repeated in the Royal Arch Lodge at Jerusalem" is an integral and well-known part of the Modern, as it was of the Ancient, Jewish Service. It is a confirmation of Dr. Wotton's statement that it is "very ancient", that it is stated on page xlix. of the Historical and Explanatory Notes to the Authorised [Jewish] Daily Prayer Book, 12th Edn., that "the Ahabah prayer—one of the most beautiful in the liturgies of the world—probably belonged already to the Service of the Temple". We read in the Jewish Encyclopædia (art. Ahabal Rabbah; Ahabah Olam) that in the controversy regarding the prayer and its variant form, it was claimed that the latter was "recited by the priests in the Temple at the morning Service . . . The benediction itself . . . is very old and probably dates from the time of the institution of the Shema [the proclamation of the Unity] by the founders of the Synagogue (the men of the Great Synagogue)". It is interesting, even if the fact is no more than a coincidence, to note that the period of the Great Synagogue dates from the time of Ezra.

With regard to Wilkinson's *Fratrimonium Excelsum*, I have in my possession two copies of that work, one in boards and one in leather. In spite of the statement on the title-page, the former has no frontispiece, nor are there any signs in the binding or sewing that it ever had one; the latter has a frontispiece, but it is a folding one of a tracing board with Wilkinson's name and address thereon. The copy in boards in the Lodge Library is similar to my own, while the leather-bound one has the copy of the 1723 frontispiece. In these circumstances, it seems likely that there not being enough copies of the 1723 frontispiece, Wilkinson did not issue any with the copies in boards, and that as the supply was not enough even for all the leather-bound copies, he issued some of the latter with the tracing-board frontispiece. If this is so, it is only consistent with what we know of Wilkinson's vagaries.

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Bro. C. F. SYKES writes:—

I extend to Bro. Cecil Adams my thanks for his interesting paper. After reading it a first time I certainly felt I had made my day's 'advancement in Masonic knowledge', and further acquaintance with the paper demonstrates its value to the Craft in general.

There is only one point on which I desire to comment. It refers to clothing the Lodge noted in the 2nd Edition.

Bro. Gould, writing on the subject of gloves, gives examples from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the presentation of gloves to operative workmen. He points out that according to the Schaw Statutes of 1599 the gift was to be made in the opposite direction, that is, by the candidate to the members of the Lodge.

Dr. Plot, in his account of Freemasonry, alludes to the custom of candidates presenting gloves, not only to the 'Ancients of the Order', but to their wives.

Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 state that new brethren were, "decently to cloath the Lodge—that is, all the Brethren present".

The 2nd Edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, 1764, states that the initiate is to clothe the Lodge if required, and the footnote explains that, "By cloathing is meant white aprons and gloves, not only for every member in the lodge, but also for all their wives and sweethearts".



I have lately read a French Ritual by J. N. Ragon, published about 1860. Towards the close of the Initiation ceremony the Venerable or W.M. presented two pairs of gloves to the candidate, one pair for his own use and the other pair he was requested to present to the woman highest in his esteem.

Considering that Freemasonry according to Ragon was introduced into France by some partisans of the Pretender in 1725, Anderson's *Constitutions* of two years earlier would probably be known to them. The 2nd Edition of *Ahiman Rezon* shows that the English custom for the Candidate to present gloves to the Lodge, remained.

It is curious, therefore, to note that the French usage nearly a century and a-half after Anderson's *Constitutions* and a century after the 2nd Edition of the Antients' *Constitutions*, should have been more in accordance with the practice of mediæval operative days, that is, the presentation was made to the candidate and not to the Lodge.

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BRO. G. Y. JOHNSON writes:—

I have read through the paper *Ahiman Rezon, the Book of Constitutions*, by Bro. Cecil Adams, with great interest and should like to congratulate him on an excellent paper. The more we learn about Laurence Dermott the more we know of eighteenth century Freemasonry.

I agree that there is every possibility of other Irish editions or issues being in existence, as there is a signed letter at York from Bro. Chetwode Crawley which states that:—"Thos. Wilkinson's publications were issued between 1780 and 1800, he had originally printed off a large number which he kept by him in sheets and issued from time to time with new title pages, introductions or additions, sometimes even with a frontispiece of a haphazard character. Also he seems to have supplied sheets to local booksellers in other Irish towns who published them with local title pages to suit themselves".

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BRO. J. HERON LEPPER writes:—

I regret that I am unable to hear the delivery of this paper, which is such a monument of Masonic erudition and research, and to congratulate Bro. Adams on taking that seat in our Inner Circle which he has so fully earned. We shall all join in wishing our Brother long and happy years to enjoy this new Masonic honour, and to devote his fine talents to the future advantage of the Craft, wheresoever dispersed.

All the comments I have to offer are trifling, and will merely aim at making a very complete masterpiece yet more complete.

There is, I think, a small error of fact in describing the earliest Irish Grand Lodge seal. A *facsimile* of this will be found at page 224 of the *Bicentenary History*. It was simply a hand and trowel (no arm shown), and was in vogue till 1759. A new form was adopted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1760, and this was taken by Dermott as the crest for the frontispiece of his second edition.

I should now like to make an incursion into more debatable ground and discuss the meaning of Dermott's allusion to his encounter with the Moderns (in 1747-8). His words are: "I had the like curiosity myself, about sixteen or seventeen years ago, when I was first introduced into that society"; and of course the whole question is, did he attend the Modern Lodge as a visitor, or as a member? I have not the least doubt in my own mind that he went as a visitor. It was the natural course for an Antient Mason to adopt. When away from

home in a strange place, he exercised his "right of visit", attended the Lodge or Lodges sitting in his new domicile, and only after such inspection would he seek membership in such Lodge as appealed to him most. It would be needless to go into details about how he proved his *bona fides*. The "right of visit" is a privilege still prized and exercised by all Master Masons of the Constitution that brought Laurence Dermott to true Masonic light. I am confident he exercised it on coming to England in 1747; the more so, because he tells us that his motive was curiosity. He naturally wanted to see what the English Craft was like; nor was he the type of man to join a Lodge before being certain that he would feel at home in it. Then he says he "was introduced into that society", and I take the verb to mean that he was introduced as a visitor; if he had joined, I should have expected him to use another verb, "received, or admitted, or affiliated" as a member. However, we might go on breaking such philological lances all night without getting much forrarder.

I now wish to make a suggestion about the missing 2nd and 3rd Dublin editions of the *Ahiman Rezon* (index numbers 11 and 12), which is, that they never had any existence; that the so-called 4th Dublin edition (number 13) was labelled thus by Dillon Chamberlaine because he had either heard of, or seen the 3rd English edition, and wished to make his own publication seem the very last word in *Ahimans*. This is a mere conjecture of mine, based on experience of the devious ways of publishers at all times and in all nations, and some lucky discovery may, of course, knock out of it any bottom it may possess.

I have now to offer what I hope is more constructive material to be applied to the Belfast edition of 1782. There is not the least doubt, I think, that Amyas Griffith<sup>1</sup> was responsible for its seeing the light.

The Masonic and public career of this worthy would make a paper in itself, but it will be enough to put on record here a few notable facts in his life history. He was an excise officer by profession, a pamphleteer by predilection, a politician to his own confusion, and an active Mason wherever he happened to be. The first track of his Masonic footprint is found on the 3rd December, 1764, when he was registered as a M.M. in Lodge No. 244 held in the 2nd Regiment of Foot. He was probably so registered because he was returning to civil life, as did so many Irish soldiers at the end of the Seven Years' War. Apparently he then obtained a post in the Excise in Munster, for we find him registered as a member of Lodge 71, Tralee, in June, 1766. In September, 1770, he joined Lodge No. 96, Clonmel. In October, 1770, he was one of the founders of Lodge No. 484, Fethard. (Incidentally, he seems to have taken possession of the Warrant, and carried it with him to Belfast.) On the 3rd December, 1772, he joined Lodge No. 492, Dublin. On the 5th August, 1773, he was a founder of Carberry Lodge No. 504, Skibbereen, Co. Cork. On the 27th January, 1781, he was registered a member of Orange Lodge No. 257, Belfast. This was an old Lodge, dating from 1755, which had fallen into arrears with its payments to the Grand Lodge. Griffith actually joined it some time in 1780, because he joined in its petition to Grand Lodge in December of that year that three guineas be accepted in lieu of all arrears. It was the Volunteer era in Ireland, and the northern citizen soldiers seem to have flocked into the resuscitated Orange Lodge, hence the many military titles. The names of all the leading men of the period will be found in its list of members. It was also a time of violent political movement, and to his sorrow Griffith put his finger in the pie and got it scalded. He was dismissed from his post in the excise in Belfast, and returned to Dublin penniless and without a position. On the 20th April, 1786, he joined Lodge No. 202, Dublin, and was from this time on a frequent visitor at Grand Lodge. On the 5th June, 1788, he was appointed a member of the Grand Lodge

<sup>1</sup> The name is also found written Griffiths. He himself used no terminal s.

Committee to enquire into and report on the Higher Degrees. Then, on the 2nd January, 1790, we find another notice concerning him in Grand Lodge Minutes, which I venture to think helps to elucidate one of Bro. Adams's unsolved problems; on that date "Brother Griffiths was ordered to print Brother Darling's proposals, which are to be sent to all the Lodges". When in Belfast, Griffith had owned a private press, which he used for printing electioneering squibs, *etc.*, and plainly when fallen upon evil days in Dublin he was ready to turn an honest penny by typography. So now, I think we can hazard a shrewd guess who helped Wilkinson with the publication of his *Fratrimonium Excelsum*, and why that book was based on the 1782 Belfast *Ahiman Rezon*. Though not strictly necessary, may I add the details that in April, 1792, a theatrical performance was given in the Theatre Royal, Dublin, "for the benefit of Amyas Griffith P.M. of Lodge 202 Dublin . . . and now a prisoner in the Four Courts Marshalsea"—for debt. Griffith emerged from the house of bondage, and on the 27th December, 1799, presided over Grand Lodge when "Grand Officers were saluted according to Masonic Form and ancient Custom". And last extract of all (from the *Belfast News-Letter*, 4th September, 1801):—"Died early on Saturday morning [29th August] Amyas Griffiths Esq., St. James's Street, Dublin. His death was remarkably sudden, as he appeared to be in good health the preceding evening".

Perhaps I should add that Amyas Griffith has left us an account of his own life printed in Dublin in 1788. The details of his Masonic career I have collected from various other sources. They illustrate and annotate to a remarkable degree the additions made to the 1782 Belfast *Ahiman Rezon*, and if I refrain now from dotting all the i's and crossing the various t's, it is not from lack of inclination, but consideration for the patience of my readers.

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Bro. CECIL ADAMS writes, in reply:—

It has been very gratifying to find that my paper, which expresses more facts than theories, has evoked so many interesting comments. The chief criticism appears to be that I have omitted dealing in full with certain matters which the commentators consider of importance. I think that my readers will realise, as no doubt my hearers realised at the Lodge meeting, that the paper is already long, and any additions would have made it unwieldy.

My paper is intended to be a bibliographical study, and I have kept as far as possible to the books themselves. Bro. R. H. Baxter wished me to deal more fully with the meaning of the words "Ahiman Rezon". As this has been discussed by many qualified writers, I could see no object in stating their arguments anew, particularly as I had nothing to add. William Preston would naturally occupy a large part of a paper devoted to the Masonic history of the latter part of the eighteenth century, but I can find very little reason for references to that worthy in dealing with Dermott's books. I quite agree with Bro. Baxter that I might have written much more on the details of Craft working as exemplified in the second edition. My excuse must be that I could not deal fully with everything, and further, that this is a subject which it is almost impossible to treat properly in a printed paper.

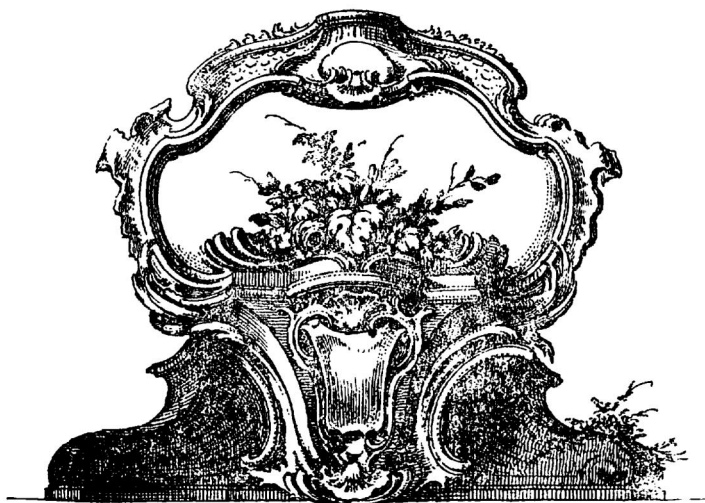
The theory propounded by Bro. G. W. Bullamore is certainly interesting, and I am very glad that he has given us these notes. I am also grateful to Bros. S. Leighton and Lewis Edwards for their useful comments. All of them have given valuable explanatory notes on points regarding which they are specially qualified to write, and very useful items have also been furnished by Bros. C. F. Sykes and G. Y. Johnson.

I hope that I may, without making any invidious distinction, call especial attention to the remarks of Bro. J. Heron Lepper, whose comments are by no means trifling, as he so modestly suggests. I am grateful to him for pointing out my mistake regarding the Irish seal, but I am afraid we shall not agree as to the meaning of the word "introduced" as used by Laurence Dermott, when he attended his first Modern Lodge. Had he only paid a visit, the appropriate word would seem to be "visited", and to my mind "introduced" means something more than that. Bro. Lepper has, in my opinion, given satisfactory solutions to two problems which baffled me, and concludes with an interesting account of Amyas Griffith. I am most grateful for his kind and useful remarks.

Very little is, I think, known about the private life of Dermott. Recently I have found references to him in the records of the Bishop of London. It appears that he obtained two marriage licences at an interval of about twelve months, both the ladies were described as widows, and as he himself was, on both occasions, denoted a widower, he was probably married altogether at least three times. The following are the particulars of these licences:—

- (1) 2nd November 1765. Laurence Dermott, widower, of Shadwell, Middlesex, to Mary Windell, widow, of S<sup>t</sup>. Clement Danes, Middlesex.
- (2) 12th November 1766. Laurence Dermott, widower, of S<sup>t</sup>. Clement Danes, Middlesex, to Elizabeth Merryman, widow, of Bethnal Green, Middlesex.

The paper has been given a generous reception, and I must conclude by expressing my sincere gratitude to all who have been kind enough to express their appreciation.



## SUMMER OUTING, 1933.

## EAST KENT.



T was in the very early days of the Lodge, in 1893, that the one day of which the Summer Outing then consisted was devoted to Canterbury, which will be found described with numerous photographs in *A.Q.C.*, vi. Under present conditions Canterbury itself is quite impracticable as the headquarters for our party as it possesses no hotel that could possibly house so large a number. But the Brethren of the East Kent Masters Lodge came to our aid, and suggested that if we were to make Folkestone our headquarters it would be a simple matter to include in our Itinerary not only Canterbury but Dover, Richborough and Barfreston, having regard to modern transport facilities, to say nothing of Folkestone itself. Months previously Bro. Klein, of Folkestone, had formed a local committee, consisting of himself, Bros. Atkinson, White and Helmsley at Folkestone, Col. Hayward at Dover, and Bros. Westron and Biggleston at Canterbury, to work out a programme for us, and he and his committee were untiring in the trouble they took to ensure that we should see everything under the best possible auspices.

Accordingly on Thursday, 6th July, our party assembled at Charing Cross Station for the 2.30 train, and by the courtesy of the Southern Railway officials our coach was specially detached at Folkestone Junction, and sent down to the Pier Station, from which to our headquarters, the Royal Pavilion Hotel, was but a step. The party consisted of :—

Bros. Dr. E. Allan, Barrow-in-Furness, P.M., 1021 ; Wm. N. Bacon, London, P.A.G.D.C. ; Lieut.-Col. J. G. A. Baillie, Ramsgate, P.Dep.G.S.B. ; R. H. Baxter, Rochdale, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 2076 ; A. Blackhurst, Grange-over-Sands, P.M., 4765 ; H. Bladon, London, P.A.G.D.C. ; F. J. Boniface, London, P.M., 2694 ; Geo. W. Bullamore, Newbury, Berks., 441 ; G. S. Collins, London, P.A.G.D.C. ; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, Wisbech, P.A.G.Ch., P.M., 2076 ; Dr. A. J. Cross, Dalton-in-Furness, P.G.D. ; H. C. de Lafontaine, London, P.G.D., P.M., 2076 ; H. K. Duckworth, Grange-over-Sands, P.Pr.A.G.D.C. ; S. Duckworth, Grange-over-Sands, P.M., 1715 ; Wm. S. Ellis, Newark, P.Pr.G.D.C. ; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., Hampton Court, P.G.Ch., S.W., 2076 ; David Flather, Maltby, Yorks, P.A.G.D.C., W.M., 2076 ; J. F. H. Gilbard, London, 56 ; F. W. Golby, London, P.A.G.D.C., 2076 ; W. Barry Gregar, Westcliff, P.Pr.G.D. ; John W. Hall, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W. ; Dr. R. T. Halliday, Glasgow, J.G.D. (Scot.) ; Thos. Hart, Glasgow, G.Marshall, Pr.G.M., Renfrewshire East ; Wallace E. Heaton, London, P.G.St.B. ; Rev. J. L. E. Hooppell, London, P.A.G.Ch. ; J. P. Hunter, Sheffield, P.Pr.G.Sup.W. ; G. Y. Johnson, York, P.Pr.G.W. ; H. Johnson, Guildford, L.R., P.M., 2191 ; H. C. Knowles, London, P.A.G.Reg. ; Dr. F. Lace, Bath, P.A.G.D.C. ; E. S. Ladds, Kuala Lumpur, 2337 ; W. Laidlaw, Glasgow, Sub.Pr.G.M. ; F. J. C. Lilley, Glasgow, P.M., 103 ; W. F. Morrison, Stenhousemuir, G.Stew. ; C. A. Newman, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W. ; Dr. C. E. Newman, London, 4453 ; T. J. Oldland, London, L.R. ; J. Herbert Parker, Lowestoft, P.Pr.G.W. ; Cecil Powell, Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M., 2076 ; W.

Readman, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, P.Pr.G.O.; J. G. Robertson, Giffnock, G.Stew.; A. P. Salter, London, L.R., P.M., 2932; W. Scott, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, P.Pr.G.D.; Thos. Selby, Eaglescliff, P.Pr.G.W.; C. J. C. Small, Grange-over-Sands, 1715; W. J. Songhurst, London, P.G.D., Treas., 2076; Dr. R. Stansfeld, Hailsham, 4006; Dr. John Stewart, Glasgow, P.M., 772; Dr. John Stokes, Sheffield, D.Pr.G.M., P.M., 2076; R. W. Strickland, Ightham, P.Pr.G.Reg.; E. Tappenden, Hitchin, P.A.G.S.B.; F. J. Underwood, Worcester, P.M., 280; Lionel Vibert, London, P.A.G.D.C., P.M. and Sec., 2076; S. Warhurst, Ulverton, Lancs., P.Pr.G.D.; E. J. White, Bath, P.M., 53, P.Pr.G.St.B., Wilts.; W. J. Williams, London, P.M., 2076; J. A. Worsnop, Halifax, Pr.S.G.W.; A. W. Youngman, Lowestoft, P.A.G.D.C.

Bro. J. H. Kent, Vice-Chairman of the Corporation Parks Committee, had very kindly given each member of the party a copy of a pamphlet on the Roman ruins, and soon after our arrival the Borough Engineer, Bro. A. E. Nichols, P.Pr.G.W., took a party up to the Roman Villa and explained it all to us in a most interesting manner. The note that follows is derived from *Roman Folkestone*, by S. E. Winbolt, M.A., a copy of which was presented to our Master for the Lodge Library by the Brethren of the two local Lodges as a souvenir of our visit.

#### FOLKESTONE: THE ROMAN VILLA.

The heights of Folkestone, commanding as they do a view over the Straits of Dover, extending to the French coast opposite, have always been a position of great strategical importance, and there is good reason for believing that there was a residence here of considerable extent before the Roman occupation. The *Classis Britannica* was organised at some date after A.D. 43, with its headquarters originally at Boulogne, its main duty being to protect the transports carrying across the Channel the supplies for the troops operating in Western and Northern Britain. The chief stations on this side of the Channel were Dover and Lympne; there was a signalling station on the Folkestone cliffs and also a small fort. The archaeological evidence proves that in *circa* A.D. 100 the villa was extensively rebuilt and enlarged, and was from that time until its destruction by the Saxons in A.D. 368, or perhaps twenty years later, in the occupation of a high Roman official associated originally with the fleet. The fleet had ceased to function about A.D. 300, and the Saxon menace was now dealt with by the Count of the Saxon Shore. But the villa continued to be an important residence, and it is significant that it is the only Roman villa along the whole of this coast that is close to the sea. This suggests that the area was a military one, not available for ordinary civilian residence. The villa as now excavated, with its mosaic floorings and other features of interest, has been to a great extent protected by sheds put up by the Borough Council, and the various finds of pottery, ornaments, coins and so on, are exhibited in the Museum.

At dinner every member of the party found by his plate a complimentary ticket for the Leas Cliff Concert Hall, and a copy of the *Folkestone Guide*, a presentation from the Mayor and Corporation, and after dinner we were accorded a Reception by the Officers and Brethren of the two Folkestone Lodges and the East Kent Master's Lodge in the Winter Gardens attached to the Hotel. We were received by the Master of the Temple Lodge, No. 558, Bro. Capt. A. H. Turner, the Master of the Radnor Lodge, No. 2587, Bro. C. H. M. Brooke, and Bro. H. Westron, P.M. and Secretary of the East Kent Masters' Lodge, No. 3931, representing the Master, who unfortunately was unable to be present. The evening's programme, which had been thought out in every detail, was under the direction of Bro. A. Atkinson, Pr.G.D.C.

Bro. Capt. Turner welcomed us in a charming speech, being supported by Bro. Brooke, and they then presented our Master with the copy of Winbolt's work on Roman Folkestone already referred to. After our Master had suitably responded, we were privileged to listen to a musical programme arranged for us by Bro. Greenstreet, and to make the personal acquaintance of many of the local Brethren. The cordial welcome they gave us was but an earnest of the kindness we were to experience during the whole of our visit.

On the Friday morning we went to Canterbury and our first visit was to the Cathedral, where we divided into two parties, one under the guidance of the Revd. Canon Gardiner and the other in charge of the Senior Vesturer, Bro. J. McClemens. Both put fully at our disposal their unrivalled knowledge of their glorious Cathedral, with all its historical features; it is too well known to call for any detailed description here. We then adjourned to the County Hotel for lunch, at which we were joined by the Provincial Grand Master, Lord Cornwallis, and several Provincial Grand Officers. After lunch we found it necessary to divide the party once more. Some of us went to St. Augustine's Abbey, where Dr. Badcock, Fellow and Librarian of St. Augustine's College, took us all over the site and explained it all in a delightful manner.

Another party visited the old Pilgrim's Hospital, where the Master, the Revd. S. Gordon Wilson, acted as our cicerone, and the Castle (now unfortunately the Corporation Gas Works), which was described in detail by the Borough Surveyor, Bro. H. M. Enderby. A smaller party, under the guidance of Bro. H. Biggleston, perambulated the City generally and also went out to inspect the Norman Church at Patricksbourne and the old port of Canterbury, Fordwich, with its ancient buildings, ducking stool and many other features of interest. We reassembled at the Guildhall, where Mr. Wright Hunt very kindly gave us an address he had specially prepared for the occasion. It is printed in the Appendix to this paper.

Eventually we all made our way to the Masonic Hall in St. Peter Street, where we were the guests of the East Kent Masters at tea, and were able to inspect the Provincial Masonic Library and Museum, and admire, and envy, the sumptuous manner in which the Brethren of Kent have been able to arrange and display their many Masonic treasures.

Saturday was devoted to Dover, Richborough and Barfreston. At Dover we first of all visited the College, where Col. F. G. Hayward met us and took us all over the buildings.

Dover College stands on the site and includes portions of the ancient St. Martin's Priory, an important establishment of Benedictines, the foundation of which was laid by Archbishop Corboil in 1132. It was finally dissolved in 1535, and despoiled by Henry VIII.

The site passed into private ownership, but in 1871 the present College was established.

The old Refectory is now used as the College Hall; it still contains traces of ancient paintings. The Gate House now forms the Library, and the Guest House, or Strangers' Hall, is to-day the Chapel. The beautiful College Close now covers a large part of the original site, and still preserves several fragments of the old buildings. (From notes kindly supplied by Bro. Topham).

We then made our way up to the Castle, and once more were indebted to Col. Hayward for our explanations. The Castle, which till recently had been merely a military barracks, greatly to the detriment of its archaeology, had been handed over to the Office of Works two years previously, and is now scheduled as an ancient monument. It is sad to reflect that so recently as 1850 twelfth century towers were destroyed to be replaced by modern batteries; the church became a coal-store; guns were mounted on the summit of the keep, and fire



step parapets replaced the old battlements. The Keep itself was roofed in with brick to support a water-tank. But the Office of Works has done a great deal to restore the Keep at all events to something like its original condition, which involved removing eight feet of earth covering the floor of the basement. There is still some 130 feet of rubbish to be cleared out of the well. Restoration is also in progress at the Constable's Tower. We were able to appreciate the good work that is being done, and also to enjoy the wonderful view from the top of the Keep.

On our way to Deal we had a glimpse of Walmer Castle, and after lunch at Gordon's Hotel proceeded to Richborough, where Mr. W. P. B. Stebbing met us and took us all round the Roman Fort.

#### RICHBOROUGH: THE ROMAN RUTUPIAE.

The Saxon Shore, extending from the Wash to the Isle of Wight, was defended by nine major fortresses (besides minor works), erected originally in all probability by Constantius I., from 296 A.D. onwards, after the insurrection of Carausius and Allectus had been quelled. Each commanded a possible landing place for a hostile fleet, and the duty of protecting these shores from invasion was now taken over by them, having previously been entrusted to the *Classis Britannica*. Rutupiae, the modern Richborough, commanded the southern entrance to the waterway that originally separated Thanet from the rest of Kent, the northern entrance being guarded by Regulbium, now Reculver. Rutupiae had been an important harbour from the very earliest days of the Roman occupation, with wharves and a landing place, and was the starting point of a road which went to Canterbury, always an important centre, and eventually linked up with Watling Street, the principal military road from Dover to London. As a fortress it was the headquarters of the second Legion.

When the British cities were left to defend themselves after the withdrawal of the Roman garrisons in A.D. 409, the fortress appears to have held out for some little time longer, but by 470 A.D. or so it must have fallen, and it was then deserted and left to fall into decay, or to serve as a quarry for the towns that came into existence in the neighbourhood at a later date. To-day it is represented by the enormous quadrangle of the original external walls, which, although largely ruined, are still standing, with their entrance gates, except on the side facing the shore, and by the bare foundations of the original barracks and other buildings that they enclosed. The most striking of these is a massive foundation in the form of a cross, near the centre of the enclosure, as to the purpose of which archaeologists are still unable to agree. (*c.f.* Winbolt *op. cit.*)

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A group photograph was now taken, and our departure was somewhat delayed by the discovery by some of the Brethren of a bungalow which could provide tea, and when we did get under way for Barfreston our progress was still further hindered by level crossings and devious and narrow ways, not well understood by our conductors. But eventually, if somewhat behind scheduled time, we arrived at Barfreston, and the Rector, the Revd. P. J. Boyer, was there to meet us and show us this unrivalled gem of Norman architecture. For the Note that follows I am once more indebted to Bro. Topham.

#### BARFRETON.

Barson, as the place is commonly called, is famous for its beautiful little Norman Church—a gem in stone. The length is only 42ft. 4in. The Nave is 16ft. 8in. wide, the Choir 13½ft. The walls are 2ft. 9in. thick. The building is of Caen stone. It is said to have been erected about 1081 as a thank-offering by a nobleman who nearly lost his life while hunting in the forest.

Both inside and out it is richly decorated by grotesque carvings. The south door is particularly fine: one can note in the inner moulding the two hogs drinking from the same pot, hounds chasing rabbits, &c. At the west end is a very fine Norman arch with zig-zag mouldings. Between the Nave and Chancel is a Norman arch supported by two wreathed pillars. At the foot of the wall are two arched recesses, probably intended for the reception of tombs. Elsewhere are mural tablets to Thomas Boys (d. 1599) and Robert Ewell (d. 1638). The eight-light rose window at the east end is particularly fine. The charming old building has been discreetly restored.

As usual, on the Saturday evening we were At Home after dinner to our hosts, and did our best to convey to them our gratitude for all their kindness. Bro. Wallace Heaton had brought down an oil painting, a portrait of Dr. William Perfect, Provincial Grand Master of Kent in 1794, which he asked our hosts to receive on behalf of the Provincial Grand Lodge. It is now in the Provincial Museum at Canterbury. Bro. W. J. Songhurst read a paper: *Some Notes on Freemasonry in Canterbury*, which was illustrated by exhibits of various rare Masonic prints. It is printed in the Appendix. Cordial votes of thanks brought to its close a most interesting evening.

On Sunday morning we had an opportunity of visiting the Museum, which was specially opened for our convenience, and after lunch we were once more indebted to the courtesy of the Southern Railway officials for allowing our party to board the Boat Train at the Pier Station; we were back at Victoria at 3.30 after an Outing distinguished by exceptional weather, during which we had been able to visit under the most pleasant possible auspices some portion at least of the county which is surely the richest in England in historical and archæological interest.

#### APPENDIX.

The text of Mr. Wright Hunt's address at Canterbury on the Friday is as follows:—

I am privileged for a few minutes this afternoon during your brief visit to Canterbury to give you a few details of history and some information about the Guildhall.

This present Guildhall, though built on the site of a much older building, has not much to recommend it to your notice either historically or architecturally, and to us who have duties here it often proves very inadequate for many of the purposes for which it is required. Besides the monthly meetings of the Council which are held here it also serves as a Police Court. Quarter Sessions and County Courts are also held here, and it is from time to time customary to receive here such bodies as yourselves or other distinguished visitors to our City.

For such purpose this Hall is often found quite inadequate, and we are waiting until some generous benefactor or the time arrives when the City funds will allow, when more convenient and dignified accommodation can be provided for some of our City functions.

Before saying anything more of the Guildhall for the moment may I lead up to it by a very brief outline of the facts regarding the City, its past history, particularly its early history which you may not learn of elsewhere to-day?

We are glad that you have chosen East Kent on this occasion, for S.E. England has in the past been a very important part of our country. It is the great bridge over which peoples and influences from the earliest times have entered the British Isles. Through this county passed the earliest inhabitants while Kent yet joined to France. By this way also came the Romans and the

Jutes and for hundreds of years later the stream of European civilisation. Julius Cæsar, in that great history of his wars which gave us so much trouble in our school days, says of the inhabitants of Britain, "The most civilised of all the nations are those who inhabit Kent"—and so it still remains.

The origin of our City is lost in the mist which envelopes our early history. But it has been said that a settlement existed here as early as 900 B.C., at a time when Ahab was King of Israel and 150 years before the traditional founding of Rome. It is, however, possible that this was merely the flight of fancy of an early writer who hoped to improve on the history of Romulus and Remus to the advantage of Canterbury. There are, however, evidences of a very early settlement on this site, afforded by the fact that through the once swampy marsh of this district here was a ford over which access could be conveniently gained to the other side. Only a few yards from here there is still to be seen on the old Watling Street the site where this ford existed. Tracks through the forest led towards this ford, which later were improved and made into roads during the Roman occupation. Three of these Roman roads converge on Canterbury from the coast, one from Richborough, near Sandwich, one from Dover (the Watling Street) and one from Lympe, near Hythe.

After the time of the Romans all cross-channel traffic passed through the Cinque Ports of Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney and Hastings. Since the port to which a ship came in those days was often an accident of wind or current, a focus was necessary behind them, and this was Canterbury. The Romans made Canterbury a fortified town of considerable size and called it Durovernum, the word probably being derived from the Celtic root *Dur*=water, referring to the river on which the City stood, and it is additional proof that there was an established town here when they arrived. Many Roman remains have been and are often being found during excavations, and a good collection may be seen in the Public Museum a few doors away. They are now found at a depth of 7-10 feet below the surface. The levels of the City are constantly rising, and there are many instances in old buildings where, owing to the rise in the road, steps are found leading down to the interior. In other cases, as in this Guildhall, the old ground floor has become too low, and exists to-day as a basement, the first storey becomes the ground floor and is approached by steps going up. There are evidences of Roman burial grounds on the outskirts of the City, while just across the road on the site of the County Hotel there have been found the massive remains of Roman masonry which are considered to indicate the site of the Roman *Arx* or Citadel.

After the Romans left Canterbury the City suffered severely from attacks by the Danes, and in 1011 they sacked the City, burnt the Cathedral and murdered the Archbishop. Later, however, King Canute, in expiation of the damage done by his countrymen, gave his golden crown to the Cathedral, and a representation of this is shown in the crown which surmounts our City coat of arms.

The three most important events in the history of Canterbury are:—(i.) The coming of the Romans, B.C. 54; (ii.) the arrival of Augustine, 597; (iii.) the murder of Becket, 1170. The first laid the foundations of the City on a definite plan and brought the customs and laws of a more civilised community to it. The second established Canterbury as the ecclesiastical capital of the country, the present Archbishop being the 95th holder of the title of Primate of England. The third event, the murder of Becket, brought Canterbury into repute, and for three centuries his shrine became the most famous in Christendom, bringing thousands of pilgrims to the City to the great enrichment of the Cathedral.

In 1420, one of the Jubilee years, 100,000 pilgrims are said to have been congregated in or about the City; the difficulties of accommodating so large a crowd can only be vaguely imagined.

We have the unenviable reputation of having more licensed houses in proportion to our population than any other county borough in England, and it would be interesting to know how far some of them owe their origin to these pilgrimages. The predominant feature of the history of Canterbury lies in the fact that from being the birthplace of British Christianity and the seat of the Primate of All England it was for many centuries one of the most famous centres of the Roman Church.

It is difficult now to realise the enormous power exercised by the Church in pre-Reformation days. It impressed itself upon every part of the social structure. It was pre-eminent in learning; at the time of Henry VIII. the monasteries held one-third of the total landed estates of the country. The Pope was a mighty King, and men and women were conscious of the power of the Church at every turn. It is not difficult to understand how Canterbury, the seat of an Archbishop the chief representative of the Pope in England, was naturally a place of great importance. Many of the Archbishops were scarcely less important in power than the King himself.

The building of the Guildhall is closely associated with those who administered the affairs of the City. We find that the Romans set up a form of government which lasted long after they had left. The City was then governed by a Bailiff or Prefect. In Saxon times the Kings of Kent had jurisdiction over the City, though they probably appointed their own Prefect. Later the government of the City was divided between the King, as represented by his Prefect, the Archbishop and the Abbot of St. Augustine. Each had his own court and dispensed his own justice. This appears to have led to much confusion, as a criminal crossing over some boundary might escape from the jurisdiction of the power where the offence had been committed and take advantage of the jealousy existing between the three courts of justice to escape judgment altogether. Later the chief officer was known as a Portreeve and later still as the Sheriff. Henry III., for a substantial fee, granted the City a Charter which empowered the citizens to elect as their own officers two Bailiffs. In 1448 the office of Bailiff was abolished and the Mayoralty established.

This Guildhall stands on the site of a much older building, as can be seen by the old basements below. It is recorded that the Guildhall existed on this site in 1453, but was rebuilt in 1495, again rebuilt in 1707, in the reign of Queen Anne, and most of what was then erected remains now. A rather significant entry appears in the records of the rebuilding in 1707:—"That the doorway giving out of the gallery of the guildhall into the forechamber of the Red Lion be blocked up". The beamed roof is probably part of the work done in 1495. It was first known by the name of Guildhall in the reign of Henry VI., from the old English Gild=a Society or Corporation; as its name indicates it was evidently the place where the gilds, who were very strong in Canterbury, held their meetings; previous to this date it was known as Speech House. The first mention of a Speech House in Canterbury refers to a site a little east of this building; for in 1317 it is recorded that a new prison was constructed near St. Andrews Church where also stood the Town Hall or Speech House, part of the same building. Sumner, writing in 1640, says of this: "Very properly did the prison and the Speech House stand contiguously together as well for the safe custody of those that are to be tried as for the easy bringing of them before the judgment seat".

This Hall appears to have served the dual purpose of a Police Court and Town Hall in mediæval times, for Sumner also says: "Here is the Court Hall (vulgarly we call the place the Guildhall) and here is a court kept every Monday throughout the year for Law matters and for the deciding of differences and righting of grievances between party and party. And on every other Tuesday

Court of Burghmote holden besid, for meeting and treating about the affairs and good government of the City ”.

City Mace. The Charter of Henry VI. conferred on the Mayor the right of having a mace borne before him. Several maces have been in existence and altered from time to time, but the present one, of silver gilt, dates from 1680 and was purchased by the City for £62.

The Sword of State was presented to the Mayor by James I. in 1607. The mace is carried before the Mayor, the sword before the Sheriff. When the Mayor goes in procession through the streets of Canterbury to the Cathedral the mace is carried by the Sergeant on his shoulder. But years ago, during the many differences that existed between the City and Ecclesiastical authorities, an agreement was come to whereby on entering the Cathedral precincts the mace is lowered from the shoulder to the arms of the Sergeant. Being anxious for the continuance of some of these old customs, we have recently reverted to this old-time compliment to the Dean and Chapter. The small silver mace dates from 1767.

We also have the custody of the mace that formerly belonged to the Borough of Fordwich, now no longer possessing a mayor of its own.

The Burghmote horn is a very old instrument. Formerly used for the assembly of the Corporation; reference is made to it in the reign of Henry III. It was used for its original purpose down to 1835. It is now customary, once a year, through the skill of one of our Town Sergeants, to greet the Mayor with a few notes on it at the annual banquet.

The pictures are portraits of some former Mayors and benefactors to the City. The Pikes and Matchlocks were brought to the Guildhall in 1641 when the City was fortified at the common charge. Earlier than this, in 1564, it was ordered that every Alderman and Councillor and as many of the inhabitants as the Mayor shall appoint, shall provide one armed pike to be kept for use if needful. At the same time each Alderman, Councillor, or Sheriff had to provide one sufficient bucket at his election in the event of fire. Later the Aldermen had to contribute two buckets, and the Guildhall was strung all over with buckets.

In conclusion, may I say Canterbury, like many other old cities, suffered badly in the past from vandalism. Many historic features were demolished, sometimes to provide the material for other buildings, for widening roads, or for so-called improvements. To-day, however, better regard is being paid to the preserving wherever possible of these old buildings which go so much to make Canterbury, and the local Archaeological Society is constantly educating public and City Council on the value to Canterbury of these old landmarks of the past. We have now, through the Town Planning Act, a technical advisory committee under the Town Council which examines all plans affecting frontages and elevations of buildings. Up to recently their powers were largely moral or persuasive, but now the Town Planning Act has greatly increased them, and we are able to prohibit definitely the erection or alteration of premises which are considered unsuitable or which would conflict with the general appearance of the City. But I am glad to be able to record that in most cases such advice as we offer is readily followed by owners or occupiers of the buildings concerned.

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The following is the text of the paper read by Bro. W. J. Songhurst on the Saturday evening:—

When it was made known that I had promised to read some Notes on Freemasonry at Canterbury, I was asked if I proposed to put before you a dissertation on *The Canterbury Tales*. It is scarcely necessary to say that this is

not my intention. They provide a very excellent 'atmosphere' of the period in which they were written, but I am not aware that they contain many points of Masonic interest. It will, however, be remembered that Chaucer was to some extent connected with Building Construction, for towards the end of his life he received from the King the appointment of Clerk of the Works at Westminster Palace, and then a similar appointment at Windsor and other Royal Palaces. A study of his career does not show that he had acquired any technical knowledge of the Craft with which he thus became connected.

It may be noted also that in mediæval times several Craftsmen from Canterbury held high offices under the Crown. Thomas of Canterbury, in 1326, had charge of the construction of a Chapel in the Palace at Westminster, Walter of Canterbury being apparently engaged on the same building as well as at the Tower, while Michael of Canterbury erected the Eleanor Cross in Cheapside.<sup>1</sup>

As to St. Thomas of Canterbury, an attempt has been made to trace a parallel between the circumstances attending his death and a modern ritual connected with the Hiramite legend.

With none of these, however, I am at present concerned. I propose to deal with a much more recent period in Masonic history, and desire first to call attention to the fact that in the year 1800 there was printed at Calcutta a book entitled *Poems in Three Parts*. The book does not contain the name of the Author, but a copy in the Library of the Q.C. Lodge<sup>2</sup> has an inscription stating that "To Charles Raitt, Esq. Commander of the Earl Spencer, East Indiaman, a man I am sure who has an honest heart, this book is presented by his obedient Servant, The Author, J.H.", and the back label is lettered "Hawkesworth's Poems". We may therefore fairly assume that J. Hawkesworth was the Author of the work.

So far, I have failed to find any further information about the man, though I like to think that he was related to—perhaps a son of—a certain John Hawkesworth who was prominent in English Literary circles about the middle of the Eighteenth Century. He was, for a short time before his death in 1773, a Director of the East India Company, and a little later we find our J.H. at Calcutta. He wrote a History of Captain Cook's voyages, and J.H. inscribed one of his poems to Captain Cook.

These are very slender links, and indeed may be nothing more than coincidence. The point is not of much importance to us; a matter of greater interest would be to ascertain the Masonic record, if any, of our Author, because one of his Poems is called "The English Free Masons".<sup>3</sup> I have searched the Histories and Lists of Members of Lodges in Bengal without finding any mention of his name.

The Poem is described as "a translation from a very elegant Latin Poem which appeared in the Free Masons Magazine. The circumstances it relates happened some years ago in the City of (I believe) Canterbury". Here again my searches have been in vain. I have examined the eleven volumes of the *Freemasons' Magazine* which were published in London under various titles from 1793 to 1798, but have not found our Author's Poem, though there are several other pieces of Latin verse with English translations for which he may have been responsible.

The Poem gives an interesting and amusing description of a procession of Masons on St. John's Day, from a Lodge-room to Church, and back again to

<sup>1</sup> A.Q.C., xliii., 83-85.

<sup>2</sup> Given by Bro. Wallace Heaton.

<sup>3</sup> Part the Third, p. 95.



dinner. After a few introductory lines and an invocation to his Muse, the Author says:—

Behold THE CRAFT, on ST. JOHN'S sacred day,  
Move from THE LODGE in beautiful array,  
The different ornaments each rank express,  
And varying grandeur of each separate dress.  
The ribbands which across their shoulders lie,  
Their silver figur'd pendent medals tie.

\* \* \* \* \*

They don't confus'dly on each other throng,  
But two by two go decently along;  
The Treasurer's here—and here a Romish Priest,  
Next in procession are two Painters plac'd,  
(One *Monsieur Daub* from *Gallia* wafted o'er,  
And *Mr. Patrick* from Hibernia's shore).  
A Barber—honest Taylor—and Divine,  
Dressed in his surplice follow next in line.  
Behold a Toyman next in order pass,  
And next a manufacturer of brass;  
A weather-beaten sailor next is seen,  
And next the jolly Keeper of an Inn,  
With a full pimpled face and saucer eyes,  
And bloated belly of enormous size.  
But next is ONE OF MORE ENGAGING LOOKS,  
A MILD, INGENUOUS PUBLISHER OF BOOKS!

We have a long description of the viands provided for the dinner (which included Pidgeon, Woodcock, Quail, Partridges, as well as Venison and enormous Sirloins), with a note of the Wines and Toasts, and then comes a fairly frank account of the incident represented in the well-known Print "The Free Masons surpriz'd, or the Secret discover'd. A True Tale from a Masons Lodge in Canterbury". This print provides a puzzle which I am unable to solve. A copy in the Q.C. Library was published by T. Wilkins of Rupert Street on 26th December, 1754. Within a month (30th January, 1755) the *London Evening Post* advertised<sup>1</sup> what appears to be the same print, but with the names of three London publishers in addition to "J. Abree at the Printing House in Canterbury". This is the only instance I have come across of a Canterbury man being associated with the publication of the print. I think it is almost certain that there was a still earlier issue, because in 1754 there was no Lodge in active work at Canterbury, and without such a Lodge the print would be pointless. Anyway, even if 1754 be the original date, it is evident that our Author could not have had any personal knowledge of the incident which it depicts. Later in the century another Plate was engraved for Rob<sup>t</sup>. Sayer of Fleet Street, who put

<sup>1</sup> The Advertisement is as follows:—

To the Right Worshipful Masters and Wardens, &c., of all Regular Lodges,  
to be careful to see them well Tiled.

*This Day was published*

Price 6d plain, properly colour'd 1s.

THE FREE MASONS Surprised; or The Secret Discover'd. A very  
humorous Print,  
To which is annex'd, A true Tale, from a Constituted Lodge in Canterbury.  
Printed for Mr Cooper in Paternoster-Row; A. Dodd, Without Temple-Bar;  
B. Dickinson on Ludgate-Hill; and J. Abree at the Printing House in  
Canterbury, and may be had of the Newsmen.



out prints with his own name. Still later the name of John Smith of Cheapside was added.

The print found an echo in 1802 when G. Thompson of Long Lane, West Smithfield, published "The Canterbury Discovery improv'd or the Whole Secrets of Masonry Lay'd Open as Practiz'd at the Mitre Lodge at Chatham". This was the present Lodge No. 20, which met at the Mitre, Chatham, from 1767 to 1770. Two pictures are shown on the wall of the Lodge-room in which this so-called discovery was made, one of them being a rough copy of the Canterbury print. The other—a Shipwreck Scene—is taken from one of a pair of prints called "Keep within Compass", first published by Carrington Bowles of St. Paul's Churchyard in 1784. These last mentioned highly moral prints are said to have been presented by the Governours of the Foundling Hospital to the children when leaving that Institution.

The Lodge of Relief No. 42, at Bury, has a painting of the Canterbury incident, which Bro. W. H. Rylands (*A.Q.C.*, v., 184) considered was copied from the print by a member of the Lodge about 1771-4.

I have said that Hawkesworth could have had no personal knowledge of an incident which occurred in or before 1754, but his description of the *procession* is something quite apart from the print, and it is more than likely that it was written from actual observation if not from participation; and although the Poem is said to have been written while he was in the East Indies, it does not contain any Eastern suggestion. I think, therefore, it might perhaps be useful if our Canterbury brethren were to look through their Lodge records and see if they can find as Members a group of men such as Hawkesworth describes. In particular I suggest that search be made for the "ingenuous publisher of books" whose description Hawkesworth printed in Capital Letters, thereby implying that he was a person of some notoriety. And assuming that he was a Canterbury man, we may ask whether the charlatan William Finch was likely to be the publisher referred to. Round about 1800 Finch was living at Canterbury, where he published (from the press of J. Atkinson of Deal) some of his Masonic books which were dedicated, by permission, to William Perfect, the Provincial Grand Master. We really know very little about Finch, especially before he moved to London, and any information that can be obtained will be welcome.

On 3rd April, 1730, a Lodge was constituted at the Red Lion, in the High Street, Canterbury, and soon afterwards it appears to have aroused the suspicions of the Civic authorities. This we find from a letter which was printed in *The Universal Spectator* of Saturday, 20th May, 1732.<sup>1</sup> The correspondent of this newspaper says that "The Secret of Free Masonry has as much amus'd the Ignorant as it has disturb'd the Malicious, or weaker part of the World, tho' both join in the full cry of the Invectives against what they are strangers to, and some uncommon Incidents have appear'd in Parts distant from London, in which the Royal Craft has suffer'd by slander and been misrepresented". And then he describes how the Mayor of Canterbury had caused the Town Cryer to read the following Proclamation on "several Market Days":—

Whereas a Report runs through Cyte, Town and Country, of an unlawful Assembly of a number of Men that met together at [the Red Lion Tavern] in this Cyte, and their bound themselves under wicked Obligations, to do something that may prove of sad Effect, Therefore the Mare of this Cyte desires any Parson that can, to inform him aright, because the whole Truth ought to be known, that such Dark-Lanthorns may be brought to Light.

<sup>1</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, xxxiii., 186.

The writer of the letter says that this "answered not the designed End, but at last became only the Object of Ridicule, and was burlesqu'd in the following honest tho' Rustick Manner"—

O! Canterbury is a fine Town,  
 And a gallant City;  
 It's governed by the Scarlet Gown,  
 Come listen to my Ditty.  
 The Mayor by his Cryer maketh Proclamation,  
 And thus he begins his Worship's Declaration.  
 Whereas a Rumour round this City runs,  
 And Country too, that certain mighty Dons,  
 Were sent down here, in Coach and Six from London,  
 By whose Arrival we may all be undone.  
 They say the've come Free Masons to create,  
 I wish it prove no Plot against our State:  
 Their Meeting is within a certain Tavern,  
 The Room too is darkned, darker than any Cavern.  
 Now, I having at Heart a super Veneration,  
 For this our rich and antient Corporation,  
 Resolv'd like old Foresight, our Ruin to prevent,  
 And thus to bring them all to condign Punishment.  
 First, I'll my Mirmidons, my Constables assemble,  
 At sight of them this varlet Crew shall Tremble:  
 For who knows what Plagues their Designs are to bring  
 On us at least—if not our Lord the King.  
 Their Magick Arts may prove of sad Effect,  
 May blow up Church and Town, but no new ones erect:  
 I'll thank and reward who can tell me aright  
 How all those Dark-Lanterns may be brought to Light.

Who was this worthy Mayor? It seems a pity that his name should not be "brought to Light". Cannot the Civic records be examined? Possibly they contain some reference to the agitation, and perhaps even a copy of the Proclamation may be found. The Lodge against which the fulminations were hurled was the first Lodge to be constituted in the County. It had a very short life. It soon ceased to make any communications to Grand Lodge, and it was removed from the list in 1754.

As these notes have been concerned mainly with Poetry, or at all events with Rhyme, I will end them by quoting some lines written by one Matthew Garland, and published in his *Masonic Effusions* after his death in 1819. The lines were addressed to the members of the Industrious Lodge at Canterbury, where he was evidently paying a visit:—

Attractive fellowship, my polar star  
 Still wafts me where my boon-companions are.  
 From west to east the impulse wings along,  
 And Canterbury yet protracts my song.  
 Anticipation furnishes the mind  
 With the ideas of what we hope to find.  
 Industrious Brothers, it remains with you  
 To crown the day, and share the honours too;

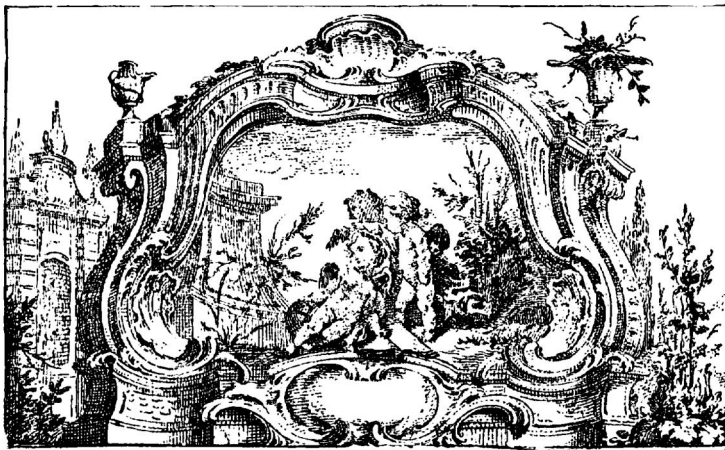
The task is your's—to manage and prepare,  
 And make arrangements that demand your care:  
 Zealous attention leaves you nought to dread,  
 When numbers meet to break fraternal bread;  
 When the full goblet circulates around,  
 And mutual glee and harmony abound.  
 But this exterior bliss, however high,  
 With sacred consolation cannot vie.  
 Merely convivial hours if we enjoy,  
 We suffer bondage, and our peace annoy.  
 Each to the other properly combined,  
 Forms the essential kernel in the rind.  
 The upright Mason knows no guilty sorrow,  
 He acts to-day what he approves to-morrow.

Garland lived to see the Industrious Lodge absorbed by another one, later in constitution but earlier in number, and this is now represented by the United Industrious Lodge No. 31.

We may look upon Garland's lines as heavy and cumbersome, but one judges that he was on the whole not dissatisfied with the reception he received at the Lodge. To the members at Canterbury he said: "The task is yours, to manage and prepare", and now after perhaps 120 years we seem to feel that his exhortations have not been forgotten. The successors of those brethren have certainly 'managed and prepared' for us in a manner which merits full praise, and we all desire to express our gratitude to those who have arranged our Outing and carried out the plans with so much care and forethought.

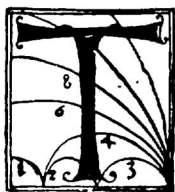
July, 1933.

W.J.S.



## THE SKETCHLEY MASONIC TOKENS: TRIANGLE TYPE.

BY BRO. THE REV. H. POOLE, P.Asst.Gd.Chap.



THESE are the only tokens which have any known or even probable association with James Sketchley of Birmingham. Their vogue can have extended little, if at all, beyond the year 1794; and there is ample reason for supposing that their manufacture passed very early from Sketchley to Lutwyche, also of Birmingham, who probably issued all except perhaps the two earliest types. But a good many misconceptions exist with regard to the whole group; and this note has been drawn up in order to dispel these, and at the same time to give as complete a statement as is possible as to the known types.

Two main errors require correction. In the first place, a good many Masonic accounts of the tokens ascribe to Sketchley a number of tokens with which he can have had no connection, on account of the edge-reading MASONIC HALFPENNY TOKEN MDCCXCIV found on them. This is due to the very random way in which edge-collars were used in Lutwyche's workshop; and the fact that in nearly every case such tokens (with normal edge-readings) are known to have been issued by Lutwyche constitutes a strong proof that Lutwyche, not Sketchley, was the manufacturer of the majority.

Another source of misunderstanding is due to the very large variety of type. Shackles, for instance, gives no fewer than five variants of the edge-reading 'e' (below); while SCRITCHLEY, SCHTCHLEY and other variants have been noted for SCETCHLEY in edges 'h<sup>1</sup>' and 'h<sup>2</sup>' (below). The very simple process of placing such variants alongside normal types and comparing them letter by letter reveals, however, the fact that all are due merely to indifferent striking; and the pieces should be regarded rather as poor specimens than as varieties in the numismatic sense.

Actually three distinct dies for the Obverse were used; two for the Reverse; and thirteen collars for the edge. The following are the various forms:—

Obverse: Within an equilateral triangle is a winged cherub with right hand pointing upwards, the left resting on a plumb rule. Behind are clouds, above is an irradiated letter G, and on the ground are Masonic emblems and implements. Along the sides of the triangle is the legend WISDOM|STRENGTH|& BEAUTY and around the whole SIT LUX|ET LUX|FUIT

Varieties: A: Rays all composed of lines, and descend almost to the ground. Stops after BEAUTY and FUIT

B: Rays composed of lines alternating with lines of dots, which descend below the arms of the cherub. No stops.

C: Rays all formed by lines of dots, and do not descend below the left arm of the cherub. Stop after FUIT

Reverse: The Masons' Arms supported by two beavers; crest, a dove upon a sphere. Motto on scroll below, AMOR HONOR ET JUSTITIA and legend around the whole 24 NOV 1790 PRINCE OF WALES ELECTED G. M.

Varieties: A: No comma after NOV; supporters have ribs.

B: Comma after NOV; supporters have no ribs.

Edge-Readings:—

a: MASONIC TOKEN BROTHER|SKETCHLEY BIRMINGHAM  
FACIT

b: × · MASONIC HALFPENNY|TOKEN MDCCXCIV · × · × ·

- c: PAYABLE AT LONDON | + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +  
d: PAYABLE IN LANCASTER | LONDON OR BRISTOL  
e: HALFPENNY PAYABLE AT THE | BLACK HORSE TOWER-  
HILL . x  
f: PAYABLE AT W. PARKERS OLD BIRMINGHAM WARE-  
HOUSE  
g: PAYABLE AT IOHN CROWS'S COPPER SMITH  
h<sup>1</sup> + . + . + MASONIC TOKEN | I. SCETCHLEY FECIT. 1794  
h<sup>2</sup> x MASONIC TOKEN | I SCETCHLEY FECIT. 1794  
i: o x o x o PAYABLE AT | LONDON OR DUBLIN  
j: MASONIC TOKEN J. SKETCHLEY | R A & P · G · S · BIRMING-  
HAM FECIT \*  
k: PAYABLE AT RICHARD LONGS LIBRARY  
l: HALFPENNY PAYABLE AT DUBLIN CORK OR DERRY

The following combinations have been observed and/or recorded (N.B. Numbers in brackets indicate the Middlesex series of Atkins and of Dalton & Hamer respectively; indications of rarity are from D & H):—

A.Aa	(263a/371a)	6
A.Ab	(263/371)	12
A.Ac	(263b/371b) RR	3
A.Ad	unpub.—2 specimens known	2
B.Ab	(262d/370e)	15
B.Ac	(262c/370d) RR	0
B.Ad	(262b/370c)	6
B.Ae	(262/370)	13
B.Af	(unp./370f)	0
B.Ag	unpub.—a specimen in the British Museum	1
B.Ah <sup>1</sup>	(262a/370b) sc.	15
B.Ah <sup>2</sup>	(262a/370a)	45
C.Ac	(261c/369c)	9
C.Ad	(261b/369b)	6
C.Ae	(261/369)	6
C.Ah <sup>2</sup>	(261a/369a)	14
C.Ai	(261d/369d) sc.	6
CBb	(unp./372b)	20
CBd	(264e/372e) sc.	3
CBe	(264/372)	19
CBf	(264g/372g) RR (very doubtful)	0
CBh <sup>1</sup>	(264a/372a)	55
CBi	(264b/unp.)	0
CBj	(264c/372c)	12
CBk	(264f/372f) RR	0
CBl	(264d/372d) RR (very doubtful)	0
CB-	plain edge (264h/372h) RR	0

268

The above list may probably be regarded as substantially the chronological order of appearance of the types; and the evidence for this will now be reviewed.

In the first place, it is practically certain that only three actual Obverse dies were used, two Reverse dies, and thirteen collars. Both Obverse B and C dies had flaws which seem to prove their respective cases conclusively—the former in an oblique stroke across one limb of the T in **FUIT**; the latter in a

very obvious blotch above the G of STRENGTH. I have not found any such conclusive test for Obverse A, nor for the two Reverse dies; but a minute examination has failed to discover any variation. The edge readings have been compared by placing numbers of specimens together, when complete agreement is found in the spacing, etc.

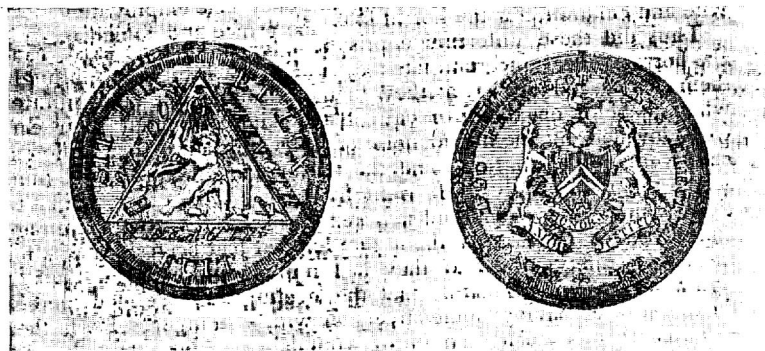
In one respect, however, the last statement requires modification. The collars from which the edge-readings were impressed on the pieces consisted of two semi-circular parts; and the gaps at the ends of each half of a reading may and do vary considerably. A comparison of a number of specimens thus makes it possible to divide the edge-reading as the collar was divided; and all the readings above have been divided accordingly, except those of which I have not seen more than a single specimen.

Our investigation of the history of the pieces may well start with the advertisement which appeared in the *Freemason's Magazine* of September, 1794:—

#### MASONIC TOKENS.

In the course of the past month, some copper pieces newly struck from a die which appears to be executed in a stile superior to any of the Provincial Coins at present in circulation, came to the hands of the Proprietor of this MAGAZINE. On inspection they appear to be called MASONIC TOKENS, and to have been invented by a Brother JAMES SKETCHLEY, of BIRMINGHAM, who intended them to serve as pocket-pieces; but, either from the novelty of the idea, or the excellence of the workmanship, it would appear that many persons have been content to receive them in change as Half-pence, in the same manner as the Liverpool, Norwich, Lancaster, Anglesey, Bungay, Macclesfield, Leak, Manchester, Coventry, &c. coins have acquired credit and currency.

The subjoined Engraving Exhibits the obverse and reverse of the MASONIC TOKEN; and any gentleman desirous of preserving such pieces may receive them in parcels (containing 24) at One Shilling each, by applying at the BRITISH LETTER FOUNDRY, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, London.



From this we gather two facts: first, that the token was originally intended as a Masonic 'curio'; and secondly that it had already had a fairly wide circulation by September, 1794. Moreover, the engraving, which is remarkably accurate, shows a piece of type CB; the edge-reading does not exactly correspond with type 'j', but the latter is often more or less illegible in the "R A & P · G · S ·" portion, and the asterisk at the conclusion seems to establish it as of this type.

Now we know that practically all, if not all, of the edge-readings except 'a' were commonly used by Lutwyche, who may thus be assumed to have

manufactured the bulk of the pieces. The fact that Obv: A is found in combination with the one edge not otherwise known among Lutwyche tokens, and this, moreover, a 'masonic' one attributing the manufacture to Sketchley, points fairly strongly to type A4a having been the original type, and having been made by Sketchley himself. Assuming that Rev: B only came into use after Rev: A had been discarded, and remembering that it is only found in combination with Obv: C, it becomes fairly obvious that the sequence AA—BA—CA—CB is the correct one.

Returning to the AA group: edge-reading 'b' is also found on Lutwyche tokens of Bury, Suffolk (Atk.: 27b) and Lancaster (Atk.: 19a), and also on one of the Howard tokens; while edges 'c' and 'd' are quite common, especially the former. It would thus appear that, while Obv: A was still in use, the undertaking passed into the hands of Lutwyche. Whether or not Sketchley himself ever used edge 'b' is not easy to decide; but type A4a is apt to be the least neatly struck of the whole series; and it is not unlikely that Sketchley, having started the business, handed it over to Lutwyche at an early stage. The latter, at any rate, must either have made all of the A4b type onwards, or taken over Sketchley's dies at that stage; for thereafter each Obv: and Rev: combination is found with well-known Lutwyche edge-readings; while the 'masonic' edge-reading 'b' occurs on other Lutwyche tokens. We cannot determine which of the edge-readings 'c' or 'd' was first used with the Sketchley dies; no doubt both were already in use in Lutwyche's workshop.

Passing to the BA group, we find five new edge-readings, 'e', 'f', 'g', 'h<sup>1</sup>', and 'h<sup>2</sup>', while the original 'a' is not seen again. Edge 'f' in this group is marked by Dalton & Hamer as 'RR', and it is not given by Atkins; but the latter gives it as an edge appearing in conjunction with CB (264g/372g), which is copied by Dalton & Hamer, though the type may perhaps not have existed. Edge 'e' is of interest, as it helps to some extent to verify the sequence of types. When it first appears in the series, in the combination BAe, the terminal × is very clearly visible; but in the following group (CAe) it is usually so completely wanting, even on boldly marked edges, that I was inclined to treat it as a distinct variety until I observed several specimens in which a faint impression of the × is to be seen. Evidently the collar became worn, or defective in some way; and in the fourth group (CBe) also there are comparatively few pieces in which it is well marked.

The two 'h' edges present somewhat of a problem. During the issue of the BA group the Obv: B die cracked: and the result is seen in all stages of development in a pair of cracks, one through the UX of LUX, and the other extending from ET to the G of STRENGTH. These cracks appear in their most pronounced state in the BAh<sup>2</sup> types: less so, and usually absent, in the BAh<sup>1</sup>, and occasionally faintly in the BAd. It would thus seem likely that BAh<sup>1</sup> and BAh<sup>2</sup>, in that order, were the latest of the BA group issued; and the adoption of edge 'h<sup>2</sup>' in place of 'h<sup>1</sup>', suggests that the former had been broken or damaged. Accordingly, edge 'h<sup>2</sup>', but not 'h<sup>1</sup>', is among those carried forward into the CA group, in which only one fresh edge-reading (i), a fairly common one in general circulation, was added. Edge 'h<sup>1</sup>', however, reappears in the final series; and this was so unexpected that I re-examined a fair number of edge 'h<sup>1</sup>' specimens to see if the collars were really identical. The result was interesting; for, although it is difficult, if not impossible, to detect any discrepancies between the edge-readings of BAh<sup>1</sup> and CBh<sup>1</sup> pieces, it is noticeable that very few indeed, if any, of the latter have the date 1794 legible; it is almost invariably overlapped and obliterated by the ornamental crosses and dots; and this does not seem to be entirely due to the fact that these pieces are usually



slightly smaller than the normal. It looks very much as if the 'h<sup>1</sup>' collar had been damaged, and passed out of use; and that for some reason it was later repaired, but in such a way that a good impression of the complete reading was no longer produced. It is interesting to notice that the edge-reading 'h' is recorded by Atkins for tokens of Bath (Som., 22d) and one of the Wilkinson tokens (Warw. 278f); but whether 'h<sup>1</sup>' or 'h<sup>2</sup>' I do not know, as Atkins does not distinguish them. But a similar reading with no date is given by him for tokens of Deal (Kent 11a) and Glasgow (Lanark 4e); and it seems likely that these represent the 'second state' of the 'h<sup>1</sup>' collar.

One fresh 'masonic' edge 'j' was added to the series in the last (CB) group. This, we may surmise, was especially designed at the time when Sketchley attempted to widen his circulation: and, as we have seen, it is almost certainly the one which appears in the engraving in the *Freemason's Magazine* of September, 1794. How successful he was in his attempt we have no means of deciding; the wide distribution of the pieces at the present day cannot be regarded as any indication. I have appended to the table of types (above) the actual numbers of specimens of each which I have observed while examining 268 in all. The relative frequency of the various types gives no indication of the total numbers issued, nor of the success or failure of the venture; though they seem to show that, in this series as in others, although Lutwyche used his collars in a somewhat random way, there were more or less normal combinations which predominated. I suggest that the following types should probably be regarded as the 'normals':—

A4a—Sketchley	
A4b—Lutwyche	
B4h	„
C4h	„
CBh	„
CBj	„

One further point may be of interest. Bro. S. J. Fenton has drawn my attention to the sources whence Sketchley got the ideas for the Obv: and Rev: of his tokens. The former was evidently derived from the figure engraved in the title-page of the *Freemason's Magazine*; while the latter was no doubt suggested



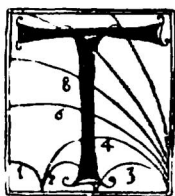
by the fact that Sketchley's Lodge had in 1786 adopted as their crest the Masons' Arms, which they displayed, complete with supporters and motto, in almost exactly the form in which it appears on the tokens.

June, 1936.

## STUDIES IN CONTINENTAL XVIIIth CENTURY FREEMASONRY AND FREEMASONRY SO-CALLED.

### II.—FREEMASONRY IN SAVOY.

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



THIRTY years have gone by since I contributed to *A.Q.C.*, vol. xix., the first of a contemplated series of papers on XVIIIth Century Continental Freemasonry and Freemasonry so-called. Returning to India in 1907, I found myself unable to proceed in this particular kind of research. Since my final return to England, however, I have been able to study much of the literature which has of late years brought the Comte Joseph de Maistre, so famous for his ultramontane claims for the Papacy and for his *Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg*, into prominence as a mason and a "transcendental Christian". In a future paper I hope to deal with the subject of de Maistre as a freemason, but it will be best to prepare the ground by giving an account of the various Masonic bodies which existed in de Maistre's days in his own native land. The reader who will turn to Gould's *History* or Lane's *Records* will at once become aware how little about the history of Freemasonry in Savoy has been known in this country.<sup>1</sup> I must acknowledge my indebtedness to two short works by Dr. François Vermale:—

- (1) *La Franc-Maçonnerie Savoisienne à l'Époque Révolutionnaire*, Published with a Preface by M. Albert Mathiez, as No. VI. of the 'Bibliothèque d' Histoire Révolutionnaire'. 1912. Ernest Leroux. Paris.
- (2) *Notes sur Joseph de Maistre Inconnu*. 1921. Librairie Dardel. Chambéry.

I am also indebted to:—

Emile Dermenghem. *Joseph de Maistre Mystique*. Paris. "La Connaissance". 1923.  
do. do. *La Franc-Maçonnerie: Mémoire au Duc de Brunswick, par Joseph de Maistre*. Paris. F. Rieder et C<sup>ie</sup>. 1925.  
Paul Vulliaud. *Joseph de Maistre: Franc-maçon*. "Bibliothèque des Initiations Modernes". I. Paris. Emile-Nourry. 1926.

<sup>1</sup> Even a French Masonic historian, so well informed as J. E. Daruty (*Recherches sur Le Rite Ecossais*), was much in the dark as to Savoy.

- François Descostes. *Joseph de Maistre. Avant la Révolution.* 2 Vols. Paris. Picard. 1893.
- Ernest Daudet. *Le Roman d'un Conventionnel.* Paris. Hachette et C<sup>ie</sup>. 1904.
- The Marquis Costa de Beauregard. *Le Roman d'un Royaliste.* Paris. Librairie Plon. 1892.
- do. do. *Un Homme d'Autrefois.* Paris. E. Plon et C<sup>ie</sup>. 1877.
- La Princesse de Belgiojoso. *Histoire de la Maison de Savoie.* Paris. Calmann Lévy.
- General F. D. Doppet. *Mémoires Politiques et Militaires.* Paris. Badouin Frères. 1824.
- Ch. Dufayard. *Le Club des Allobroges.* "Revue Historique". T. 50. Paris. Felix Alcan. 1892.

# I.—THE FIRST PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER AND THE LODGE TROIS MORTIERS.

The history of Free Masonry in Savoy in the eighteenth century is a tangled tale, and also, owing to the changeful political vicissitudes of the country, it is a history that might fail to attract attention. Are we to look for the lodges of Savoy under France or Italy? The Count of Maurenne, "gate-keeper of the Alps", becomes Duke of Savoy (1417), King of Sardinia (1720), and is to-day King of Italy, but Savoy is no longer in his kingdom. In the middle years of the eighteenth century, Savoyards, although fully race-conscious, look to France for their culture, and for their government, not to the capital of Sardinia, but to Turin in Piedmont. In a general history of Free Masonry, or in a list of Continental Lodges, under what jurisdiction are we to look for a Lodge at Chambéry or Annecy? Three times in the eighteenth century was Savoy ceded to France, and since 1860 it has been an integral member of the French Republic.

In the "1723" MS. list of Members of Lodges of the Grand Lodge of London appears under the Horne Tavern at Westminster, the Lodge<sup>1</sup> of which the Duke of Richmond was the Master, the name "Marquis Des Marches" (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 5). It appears again in the "1725" list (*ibid.*, p. 28). The Records of the Grand Lodge of England show that in 1739 this brother was appointed Provincial Grand Master of Savoy and Piedmont by the Grand Master, Lord Raymond. A list of members of the Lodge which this brother constituted at Chambéry ten years later has it that the patents granted to "the late T[rés] R[espectable] G[rand] Master Brother Joseph de Bellegarde, Marquis des Marches, gentilhomme de la Chambre de S.M. [the King of Sardinia]" had emanated from "T. R. G. Mre. frère le Prince<sup>2</sup> Charles de Richemonte, Lemoz [Lenox] et d'Aubigny". In what capacity the Marquis was employed in England I have not as yet been able to discover. Very possibly he was the Representative of the King of Sardinia at the Court of St. James. His residence in England must have been a fairly long one, for in 1720 was born in London François Eugène Robert de Bellegarde, who succeeded to the title of Marquis des Marches, and who was installed as Grand Master of Savoy on May 30th,<sup>3</sup> 1774.

<sup>1</sup> Now Royal Somerset House and Inverness, No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke was a grandson of Charles II. by Louise de Querouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth. I would venture to suggest that the Duke's well attested Masonic activities in France may to a considerable extent account for the belief that Masonry in France was derived from the Stuarts. The former Ducs d'Aubigny were Stuarts, and Aubigny had in the middle ages been colonised by immigrants from Scotland.

<sup>3</sup> According to Dr. Vermale, the Marquis Eugène was, not son, but brother to the Marquis Joseph. M. René Johannet (*Joseph de Maistre*, p. 33) wrongly speaks of François de Bellegarde as the importer of English freemasonry into Savoy.

The Château des Marches is situated on the breast of a hill at a point where the valley of Chambéry joins the valley of Graisivaudan, and dates back to the first half of the fourteenth century. Erected to protect Savoy from invaders, it is of enormous size and strength. "From its terraces", writes M. Emile Daudet, "an unrivalled panorama is revealed: in front of it, in the foreground, the mountains of Allevard; above them those of Maurienne and Dauphiné, to the left the *massif* of the Bauges; to the right Mont Granier sets up its ragged summit over the plain of the 'Abymes' which in 1248 it covered with gigantic débris suddenly detached from its flanks, burying with one blow the little town of Saint André, the seat of the deanery of Savoy. In the vast space hollowed out between the heights which crown the château and the higher summits that dominate it, we perceive in an ocean of verdure, the blue sheet of a lake, the old donjon of Bellegarde, the cradle of the family of that name, the Chapel of Our Lady of Myans, the picturesque city of Montmélian, the town of Francin, and lastly the manor of Apremont, which formerly belonged to the d'Allinges, set between two torrents which descend from the mountain on which it rests. In the distance, sometimes lost in the haze, sometimes resplendent in the light, the snowy peaks of the Alps close in the horizon. When one contemplates this scene in the rising dawn or at the decline of day, or when the meridian sun gilds it with fires, it appears enchanting. It seems as if in no other part of the world has nature been able to give a more sumptuous background to constructions built by man".<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1470 Jean Noyel (or Noël), entrusted with the watch over the entrance to Savoy—"la plus belle garde"—assumed the name of "de Bellegarde". His son, François, the representative of Charles of Savoy at the court of the Emperor Charles V., acquired the château. In 1682 Duc Victor Amadeus created Janus des Marches, Marquis des Marches and Comte d'Entremont, his Grand Chancellor.

It was not until May, 1749, that de Bellegarde constituted the Lodge *Saint Jean des Trois Mortiers* at Chambéry. In the Lodge at the Horne Tavern, His Grace the Duke of Richmond had Bro. George Payne as his Deputy, and, save for the period (21st November, 1724, to 28th February, 1726,) during which he was Grand Master, he seems to have been permanently the Master of the Lodge.<sup>2</sup> The Marquis Joseph de Bellegarde seems to have adopted this practice in his Savoyard Lodge, and was probably known as "Maître en survivance". Of the existence of this Lodge *Trois Mortiers* there is no record preserved at the Grand Lodge of England. In 1753 the Marquis was by "raisons d'État" constrained to resign the chair. Pope Benedict XIV. in 1751 had renewed Pope Clement's bull of excommunication, and probably the reasons of State referred to were the *tracasseries policières* to which attendants at Lodge meetings might find themselves liable to be exposed. For some time the Comte de Montjoye occupied the chair, and after that most probably the Lodge was ruled by masters—"Vénérables"—periodically elected. Before his resignation, the Marquis appears in 1752 to have vested the powers received by him from the Grandmaster of England in the Lodge itself: "pouvoir de créer, de constituer des loges dans l'entendue des subdits États [*i.e.*, Savoyard Piedmont], les réprimer et suspendre, nommer, établir son vicaire Grand Maître, ses grands surveillants et autres frères et dignités".

<sup>1</sup> E. Daudet: *Le Roman d'un Conventionnel*, p. 96. The Château in 1904 was converted into an orphanage by Mlle. Costa de Beauregarde, a Sister of the Society of St. Vincent de St. Paul. In the seventeenth century the family spent their winter seasons at their town house in the Rue Croix-d'or at Chambéry.

<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps for this reason that the Duke's name does not appear in the "1725" MS. list of Members of the Horne Lodge. Lodge No. 4 to the present time has an Orator on its list of officers.

Joseph François de Bellegarde.  
Marquis des Marches. Gentleman  
of the Chamber of the King of  
Sardinia.

François Eugène Robert  
Born at London 1720. Marquis  
des Marches and Cursinge.  
Major-General in the service of  
Estates General of Holland.  
Died 1790.

= Marie Charlotte  
Adelaide d'  
Hervilly.

Adelaide Victoire  
1772-1830 ("Adèle")

Césarine Lucie.  
1774-1792.

Françoise-Aurora  
Eléonore.  
1540.

Jean-Françoise de  
Bellegarde.  
General of Infantry, Saxony.  
d. 1769.

Frédéric.  
Who married his  
cousin Adelaide.

= (At Dresden) Antonia de  
Hardick.

Henri.  
Field Marshal in  
the service of  
Austria.

Dr. Vermale writes that Joseph de Bellegarde being dead, his brother Eugène de Bellegarde, "Marquis des Marches, général-major au service de la Hollande, fut élu et installé Grand Maître avec tous les pouvoirs de feu son frère le 30 mai 1774".<sup>1</sup> I admit that I may appear to be impudent when I venture to express my belief that this new Grand Master was the son, and not the brother, of the Founder of *Trois Mortiers*. I shall soon have occasion to speak of two Lady Bellegardes—Adelaide (called Adele) and Aurora. M. Emile Dumas, on p. 100 of his *Roman d'un Conventionnel* gives Adele's *acte de naissance*, extracted from the parochial registers of St. François de Chambéry<sup>2</sup>:—

24 Juin 1772, est née et a baptisée Adélaïde—Victoire, fille de François—Robert—Eugène de Bellegarde, Marquis des Marches et de Cursinge, général-major au service de leurs Hautes Puissances les États-Généraux, et de Marie—Charlotte—Adélaïde d'Hervilly, Marquise de Bellegarde. Parrain: le seigneur Janus de Bellegarde, Comte d'Entremont, général d'infanterie, gouverneur d'Alexandrie: Maraine: dame Adelaïde-Victoire d'Castille d'Hervilly aïeule maternelle.

It is at once apparent that this evidence contradicts Dr. Vermale when he writes (p. 41): "the Marquis de Bellegarde, father of our heroines, was the importer of English masonry into Savoy". The list of members of *Trois Mortiers*, of which list I am about to speak,<sup>3</sup> after referring to the "late Very Respectable Grand Master, Brother Joseph de Bellegarde", enumerates (as "Grand Maître en survivance")—"Très Respectable Frère Eugène de Bellegarde, marquis des Marches, Général-Major au service de la Hollande, assis, établi et reconnu G.<sup>l</sup>. Mre.<sup>l</sup>. de toutes les Loges du Duché de Savoye".

In 1765 Loge *Trois Mortiers* commenced to establish daughter lodges:—

1765. 20th January. A Lodge in the Regiment of Savoy Infantry.  
 „ 11th July. *Vraie Amitié* at Rumilly.  
 „ 27th December. *Mysterieuse* at Turin.

<sup>1</sup> Vermale. *Notes sur Joseph de Maistre Inconnu*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The Marquis de Luchet: *Mémoires authentiques pour servir à l'histoire de Cagliostro*, p. 86, records a visit of this Comte Germain to Chambéry. The Comte sold his alchemical apparatus to the Marquis de Bellegarde. The melting pot when heated produced a material which had "the colour & weight, but not the ductibility of gold".

<sup>3</sup> In an appendix, Dr. Vermale describes only too briefly a document entitled "Réglement de la Grand Maîtresse Loge des Trois-Mortiers du Duché de Savoye et les États de S.M. reçu et approuvé et signé par tous les membres composant l'assemblée du 18 août 1765". The signatures are:—

Jaume de la Valette. <i>Vénérable</i> .	Boufert.
Marquis de St. Maurice: Orateur.	Bourgeois (de Tarentaise).
Comte de Laperouze.	Commandeur de Soyrier.
Desmaisons.	Ducoudray.
Marquis Deville.	Gariod.
„ De Coudrée.	Michaud.
Chevalier Chiesa.	Chevalier de Soyrier.
Boisset.	Comte Lazary.
Croza.	Balland.
Bourgeois (de Chablais).	Dellouilly, 2nd <i>Surveillant</i> .
	Genot.
	Daquin. 1st <i>Surveillant</i> .
Marquis Bellegarde.	Rey.
Dimier (l'ainé).	Perrety.
Capillini.	D'Evieux.
Le Prince de Holstein.	Vernier.
Chevalier d'Arvillars.	Pavy.

The first part is MS. The second, printed and in Dutch, is the "Duties and general regulations of Freemasons set in a new order and approved by the Grand Lodge of the United Provinces of the Netherlands 1761", and the third part is a MS. of the Statuts généraux de la Mère Loge de Lyon, April 9, 1763. See Vulliaud, *Op Cit.*, p. 42.

1768. July 22nd. *Sincère Union*, with the Cavalry Regiment of Piedmont.  
 1774. May 24th. It regularised a *Parfaite Union*, which had for years past been working at Chambéry.  
 1777. July 2nd. *Des Centrons* at Moutiers.  
 1785. October 7th. *Triple Alliance* at Carouge.  
 — — — At Belley (Ain).  
 — — — Grand Orient Sarde, which existed until 1790.

For an Englishman to call into question the interpretation of an original document, which he has not seen, by an acknowledged French authority, may seem an impertinence, but the document described in the index of Dr. Vermale's *La Franc Maçonnerie Savoisienne* as a "Tableau des membres de la Loge des Trois Mortiers en 1752", seems to me to be misdescribed. Here is the opening paragraph (Appendix II., p. 52):—

"Tableau Général des frères qui composent La Très Respectable Grand Maitresse Loge de *Saint Jean des Trois Mortiers* Fondée à l'Orient de Chambéry en 1749, Loge G. Mre. par feu T. R. G. Mre frère Joseph de Bellegarde, marquis des Marches, gentilhomme de la Chambre de S.M. ensuite des patentes à lui émanées de la Grande Loge de Londres, par T. R. G. Mre. frère le Prince Charles de Richemont, Lémox et D'Aubigny, la veille des Ides de juin 1739, qui l'établit Grand Maître dans tous les Etats de S.M. le Roy de Sardaigne, et déposé tous les pouvoirs et son siège de G. Mre. dans la dite Loge des *Trois Mortiers*, l'an. 1752".

My reasons for asserting that the list is misdescribed by Dr. Vermale as dating from 1752, are as follows:—

1st. Dr. Vermale himself states that the Marquis was in 1753 compelled, by "reasons of state" to abandon his high office. The Founder placed the Comte de Montjoye in the chair, but subsequently the lodge was ruled by Masters periodically appointed, until on May 30th, 1774, after the Founder's death, Eugène de Bellegarde Marquis des Marches was installed. In this list we are now discussing the first name given is that of the Grand Maître *en survivance*, "Très Respectable Frère Eugène de Bellegard, marquis des Marches, général-major au service de la Hollande, assis, établi et reconnu G. Mre. de toutes les Loges du duché de Savoye, dans la T. R. G. Messe. L. des *Trois Mortiers*, avec l'assistance des députés des R. L. ses filles, par le concours des frères, le 30 May 1774". The date 1752, therefore, is the date on which the Founder vested his powers in the Lodge, and not the date of a list of members.

2nd. The list contains the names of a number of brethren belonging to the "Prétendue Réforme", i.e., the Strict Observance. We find in it also a number of brethren described as *écossais*. This at least suggests that the brethren so described were not actually members of *Trois Mortiers*, although, of course, it does not prove it. On March 19th, 1778, the Grand Master in the course of an address to the members of *La Parfaite Union* (under the Grand Orient) said: "I ought not to suffer you to forget that you should not adopt any reform, the ephemeral work of a philosophy directed by egoism the tendency of which is to disturb order and society; your works, directed by virtue, are sufficiently essential that you cannot interrupt their exercise or distract it by another plan which would become detrimental to you: this is enough to say to you in order to keep you between the square and the compass".<sup>1</sup> So early as 1752 the Strict Observance could not have existed at Chambéry.

<sup>1</sup> Vermale: *Franc-Maçonnerie Savoisienne*, p. 9, quoting the Minutes of *Parfaite Union*, p. 369.



3rd. In the list appear:—

“Maistre l'ainé,<sup>1</sup> substitut des généraux, maître symbolique, à la prétendue réforme.

“Salteur, substitut des généraux, maître symbolique, à la prétendue réforme”<sup>2</sup>

Joseph de Maistre was born on April 1st, 1753.

In his later work, *Notes sur Joseph de Maistre Inconnu* (Chambéry, 1921), Dr. Vermale refers to a “tableau général des F. qui composent la Très Respectable Grande Maîtresse Loge de Saint-Jean des *Trois Mortiers*”, in which de Maistre and Salteur are described identically as in the “1752” list. He draws the conclusion that the two brethren had passed to the “Prétendue Réforme” from *Trois Mortiers*. The date of this second list is, he here says, September 4, 1778, and it was addressed to *Parfaite Union*. This second list, very similarly to the first, mentions:—

Desmaisons, médecin et maître élu.

Decoudray, secrétaire de Consulat et Maître élu.

Marquis de la Serraz, Maître élu.

Deville de la Malatière, Maître élu.

Pignière du bureau des Gabelles et Maître élu.

De Montfort, officier dans Tarentaise et Maître élu.

Brouilly, bourgeois et Chevalier d'Orient.

Rivoire l'ainé, bourgeois et tous les grades.

Marquis de Chevelu, officier dans Tarentaise et Maître Symbolique.

Picolet neveu, avocat et Maître Symbolique.

I can only conjecture that the second list is not really a different one from the first and that its date is September 4, 1778.<sup>3</sup> The list does not show that the brethren à la prétendue réforme had actually withdrawn from *Trois Mortiers*, but, in point of fact, no doubt they had. By such withdrawals the Mother Lodge of Savoy must have been considerably weakened. Lodges composed of humbler persons than the Senators and military officers of the Mother Lodge could afford to disregard the frowns of Government. It is somewhat difficult to follow this list as it appears in Dr. Vermale's pamphlet, for there the names and titles are printed following on. I will therefore give it in a tabular form. I have marked with an asterisk each member described as ‘écossais’. E denotes ‘Maître Elu’: S denotes ‘Maître Symbolique’:—

Eugène de Bellegard.	Marquis des Marches.			Grand Maître en Survivance
De Soyrier.	Chevalier.	Major du Reg <sup>mt</sup> . Campement.	E.	Vénérable Député G.M.
Sancet fils.		Avocat au Sénat.	E: G.A.	Premier Grand Surveillant.
Pavy.		do.	E: G.A.	Second Grand „

<sup>1</sup> No doubt to distinguish him from his brother Xavier, the author of *Une Voyage autour de ma Chambre*. Joseph de Maistre became Comte de Maistre on the death of his father, January 16th, 1789.

<sup>2</sup> Jeane Baptiste Salteur, son of the First President of the Senate of Chambéry, Substitut de l'avocat général, 27th November, 1773, Senator 15th April, 1785. Decorated by Napoleon with the Legion of Honour. Died 27th October, 1812.

<sup>3</sup> It would ill become me to find fault with a writer to whom I am so much indebted as I am to Dr. Vermale, but I can hardly help drawing attention to faults which are likely to occasion difficulties. For instance, *La Franc Maçonnerie Savoisienne*, p. 31: “*Parfaite Union* à Chambéry, qui venait de se fondre avec sa loge mère par délibération du 10 avril 1770”. Compare p. 19: “Ainsi sombra l'hégémonie de la G.M.L. des *Trois Mortiers*, qui craignant sans doute les manœuvres des Orient rivaux, décida que la *Parfaite Union* cesserait d'avoir des travaux distincts à Chambéry, le 10 Avril 1790”. Or compare the former statement with the date he gives for regularisation of *Parfaite Union*.

- |     |   |  |                    |  |
|-----|---|--|--------------------|--|
| 5.  | Perret fils.<br>Peyssard.<br>Léger.   | Avocat au Sénat.<br>Négociant.<br>Archiviste de<br>S.M.  | E:G.A.<br>S.<br>S. | Orateur. N.B.<br>Secrétaire.<br>Trésorier.                   |
|     | Boisset père.   | Proto-apoticare.   | Chev.<br>d'Orient. | Archiviste.  |
|     | Rey.  | Officier du solde.   | Cadoche.           | Maitre des Cérémonies.                                       |
| 10. | *Vernier père.<br>Perrin.   | Procureur.<br>Capitaine dans<br>la Légion.   | S.                 | Frère Terrible.<br>Maitre d'hotel.                           |
|     | Thiollier cadet.<br>Gariou.<br>Beauregard père.   | Procureur.<br>Commissaire.<br>Secrétaire de<br>l'intendance.   | S.<br>S.<br>S.     | do.  |
| 15. | D'Evieux de la<br>Pérouse.  | Comte.   | Chev. d'Orient.    |  |
|     | *De Commene.<br>Cornuty.<br>Jaume de la Valette.  | Comte.<br>Procureur.<br>Ancien capitaine.  | S.                 | Revêtu de tous le grades.<br>Grand Chancelier de G.M.        |
|     | *De Malines.<br>Comte et<br>Excellence.   |  |                    |  |
| 20. | *De Cravette.<br>Béardé<br>l'ainé.<br>*Béardé cadet.<br>*De Megève.<br>*Marin.                | Comte.<br>Bourgeois.<br>Officier en Allemagne.<br>Sénateur.  |                    |  |
| 25. | *De Viry.<br>Blanzay.<br>*Fleury.<br>Charles Duc.<br>*Piobes.                                 | Comte.<br>Capitaine des<br>gardes de S.M.<br>Commandant à Annecy.<br>Proto-médecin.<br>Capitaine des Dragons.<br>Lieut.-Colonel. | S.                 |  |
| 30. | *De Salons.<br>Veuillod.<br>*De Castellamond.   | Baron.<br>do.<br>Procureur.<br>Capitaine au Reg <sup>nt</sup> . de<br>Piémont.   | S.                 |  |
|     | *D'Andonne.<br>*Vernier père.   | do.<br>Procureur.  | E.                 |  |
| 35. | De Martine.<br>De Barolle.<br>*De St. Maurice.<br>Desmaisons.<br>Gonot.                       | Marquis.<br>Col. du Reg <sup>nt</sup> . de Savoye.<br>Médecin.<br>Avocat.  | S.<br>S.           | Chev. d'Orient à la<br>prétendue réforme.<br>Chev. d'Orient. |
| 40. | Tarin.<br>Armand.<br>*De Chabard.<br>*Deville de<br>Traverney.<br>*Colleony.                  | Chevalier.<br>Baron.<br>Marquis.<br>Comte.   | S.<br>S.<br>S.     |  |
| 45. | Du Roch.<br>De Nom.<br>De La Bâtie.<br>De Ballan.<br>Garella.                                 | Comte.<br>Marquis.<br>Ancien Major.<br>Architecte.   | S.<br>S.<br>E.     | Chev. d'Orient.<br>Chev. d'Orient.                           |
| 50. | De Soyrier l'ainé.<br>Beaud.<br>*De Rochefort.<br>*De Manuel<br>père.<br>*Dalinge du Coudrée. | Bourgeois.<br>Comte.<br>Comte.<br>do.<br>do.   |                    | Grand Architecte.<br>Chev. d'Orient.                         |
| 55. | *De Villette.<br>*De Menthon.<br>De la Val d'Isère.   | Comte.<br>Capitaine en 2 <sup>e</sup> de la<br>Garde de<br>S.M.<br>Commandant.   | Cadoche.           |  |
|     | *Croza.<br>*Gambe de<br>la Pérouse.   | Comte.   |                    |  |

60.	*Bourgeois.	Officier en Allemagne.	
	*Dutour.	Major dans Tarentaise.	
	Capetiny.	Architecte.	S.
	Garin.	Avocat.	S.
	Du Coudray.	Secrétaire de Consulat.	E. à la prétendue réforme.
65.	Dimier Bourgeois.		S.
	De St. Gille. Comte.	Officier des dragons.	Chev. d'Orient.
	De Clermont.	Capitaine dans Savoye.	S.
	Charles Denis.	do. do.	S.
	Roche.	Avocat.	S.
70.	*Charles d'Arvillard.	Capitaine de dragons.	
	*D'Arvillard. Baron.	Cornette des gardes du corps.	
	De Boringe. Comte.		S.
	Dacquin.	Médecin.	E. à la prétendue réforme.
	Revel l'ainé. Bourgeois.		S.
75.	Bourgeois.	Capitaine dans Chablais.	S.
	Bataillard.	Officier du solde.	E.
	De la Serraz. Marquis.		à la prétendue réforme.
	Deville de la Malatière.	Senateur.	E. do.
	Deville de la Croix.	Officier.	E.
80.	Pignière.	Au bureau des gabelles.	E. do.
	De Valérieux. Baron.		S.
	De la Place. Gentil-homme.		S.
	Delouly.	Contrôleur des douanes.	E. do.
	De Monfort.	Officier dans Tarentaise.	do.
85.	Brouilly. Bourgeois.	Chev. d'Orient	à la prétendue réforme.
	Michaud. Bourgeois.		S.
	Riviere l'ainé. do.		Tous les grades, à la prétendue réforme.
	De Ceresole.	Capitaine de dragons.	S.
	D'Avicco.	Maréchal des logis de dragons.	S.
90.	D'Alber.	Officier prussien	S.
	De Cernex. Comte.	Capitaine de cavalerie.	E.
	De Forax. Chevalier.	Capitaine dans Tarentaise.	S.
	De St. Réal.	Officier do.	S.
	Bonne Dezery.	„ au Régmt. aux gardes.	S.
95.	De Charly de Cernex.	Capitaine de dragons.	S.
	Scalengle de Baldassan.	„ Cavalerie.	S.
	Deamasio.	Inspecteur.	S.
	Rey.	Officier dans Chablais.	S.
	De Bissy.	Capitaine des dragons.	S.
100.	Frœsia.	do.	S.
	Berlioz.	Fourrier des gardes du corps.	App. and Comp.
	Blondet. Bourgeois.		do.
	Falletti. do.		do.
	Maistre l'ainé.	Substitut des généraux.	S. à la prétendue réforme.
105.	Salteur.	do.	S. à la prétendue réforme.
	De Chevelu. Marquis.	Officier de Tarentaise.	S. do. do.
	De St. Sulpice.	Officier dans Savoye.	S.
	De St. Romain.	Aide-de-Camp de S.M.	Chevalier de l' Aigle.
	Gabet.	Garde du Corps de S.M.	S.
110.	Damos.	Ecuyer de dragons.	S.
	St. Severin.	Capitaine dans Tarentaise.	S.
	Bernard.	Receveur des gabelles.	S. à Moutiers.
	Picolet neveu.	Avocat.	S. à la prétendue réforme.
	De la Marquis.	Capitaine de dragons.	S.
	Chambre.		
115.	Alen. Milor		S.
	Vicomte.		
		<b>Frères servants.</b>	
	Goy. Bourgeois.		S.
	Jacques Daviet.	Valet de chambre du Marquis de la Serraz.	App. et Comp. à la prétendue réforme.
	Urbain Gros.	Receveur aux Gabelles.	S. à la prétendue réforme.
	Guinchet.	Traiteur.	App. et Comp.

Dr. Vermale in one place at least speaks of a "Loge Prétendue Réforme" as if "Prétendue" were a part of the official designation of Lodge *Sincérité*, but the word as used in a list of the *Trois Mortiers* doubtless implies a negation of *Sincérité's* claim to be "reformed".

It has been seen that *Trois Mortiers* in 1774 "regularised" a lodge which had probably been working without a constitution. Dr. Vermale gives a list of the officers and members of this lodge which in 1781 bore the name of *La Parfaite Union*. I will reduce the list to tabular form:—

Munèry.		Vénérable.
Perret.		1st Surveillant.
Jourdan.		2nd do.
Bincaz.		Orateur.
Delabeye.		Secrétaire.
Gonnet.		Trésorier.
Bellemine.		Archiviste.
Vibert.		Maitre d'Hôtel.
Laraune.		do.
Morel.		Maitre des Cérémonies.
Dupasquier.		do.
Gorin.		Censeur.
Favre.		do.
Lyonnaz.		Frère Terrible.
Vincenty cadet.		do.
Berthier.		Visiteur des malades.
Sébastien. <sup>1</sup>		do. do.
Lard.		do. do.
<hr/>		
Martin.		Négociant à Lyon.
De L'hôpital.	Comte.	
Perrin.		Officier dans Tarentaise.
Bonjean.		Financier.
Pillet cadet.		Avocat.
Mollingal.		do.
Antonios.		do.
Duroch.		Bourgeois.
Garrellaz.		Financier.
Vibert.		Bijoutier.
Berthet.		Négociant.
Corcellet.		do.
Heurteur cadet		do.
Millias aîné.		Chirurgien juré.
Jourdan.		Substitut procureur.
Janin.		do.
Perret Jean-Louis.		do.
Dianand.		Marchand-tailleur.
Heurteur aîné.		Financier.
Bertier.		Ancien garde de S.M.
J. L. Perret.		Financier.
Morel.	Bourgeois.	
Pomel.		Avocat.
Vincenty Cadet.		Orfèvre.
Louis Galley.		Curé à Chevelu.
Forest.		Négociant.
Burnier aîné.		Commissaire.
Silvoz.		Apoticaire.
Pacoret.		Épicier.
Delouly.		
Pavy.		V <sup>ble</sup> . et fils des
Garrellaz.		Trois Mortiers.
		1st Surveillant do.
		Archiviste et 2nd do.
		(Elus par délibération).
Léger.		Commissaire.
Vernier.		Agrégé 20 March, 1775.
Lionnaz.		Praticien.
Bertholus Feyge d'Aiguebelle.		
Vernier.		Avocat.
Boimond.		Secrétaire du Marquis de
		Coudray.
Gorin.		Imprimeur de S.M.
Gonnet.		Marchand.

<sup>1</sup> So in Vermale, but Sébastien is the Christian name of Berthier.

Munéry.	Financier.
Chevallier.	Négociant.
Dupasquier.	Procureur.
Béard.	Négociant à Hiène.
Millios.	Secrétaire des usines de Pesey.
Labeye.	Secrétaire aux archives de S.M.
Viviand cadet.	Negociant.
Garrellaz.	Architecte agréé.
Joseph Poncet.	Notaire à Novalaise.
Michel Andrié. de Chamoin.	
Hyacinthe Guy.	Marchand Drapier.
Etienne Basso.	Entrepreneur.
Jacques Perrier fils.	Charpentier.
F. Servant.	
Tardy.	Procureur.
Buffard.	Notaire.

It will be recollected that Anderson (*Const.*, 1738, p. 196), after giving a list of "Deputations sent beyond Sea", writes: "All these foreign Lodges are under the Patronage of our Grand Master of England. But the old Lodge at York City, and the Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, France and Italy, affecting Independency, are under their own Grand Masters, tho' they have the same Constitutions, Charges, Regulations, &c. for Substance, with their Brethren of England, and are equally zealous for the Augustan Stile, and the Secrets of the antient and honourable Fraternity". The *sancta simplicitas* of a writer who could expect the distinguished Scottish gentry in the English Grand Lodge to swallow whole such a statement about Scottish lodges affecting independency of the Grand Master of England leaves one to wonder. Yet perhaps this passage in an official work may have superinduced the officials at Grand Lodge to forget the extent of the jurisdiction that had been entrusted to the Marquis Joseph de Bellegarde, or perhaps their acquaintance with political geography was but slight. In 1775 the English Grand Lodge granted a constitution to some masons at Turin to form a lodge *S. Jean de la Nouvelle Esperance*, which was No. 479, and remained on the English Register till 1813. (Lane: *Records*, p. 194.) From 1769 to as late as 1776, however, that thorough-paced rascal De Vignoles was holding at Grand Lodge the appointment of "Provincial Grand Master for Foreign Lodges". According to M. Descostes (*Op. cit.* T.I., p. 224) the very lodge at Turin, which had been constituted by *Trois Mortiers*, obtained from the Grand Master of England, Lord Petre, a warrant, dated April 3, 1774, appointing a Provincial Grand Master at Turin. In the Archives of M. André Perrin, M. Descostes found the protest of the Lodge *Trois Mortiers*. Unfortunately he has only published portions of it, for the document is not to be found at Grand Lodge, and anything coming from the pen of De Maistre is indeed a treasure:—

Le 4<sup>e</sup> jour de la 2<sup>e</sup> semaine du 10<sup>e</sup> mois de l'année de la Grande-Lumière  
5774 et de l'ère vulgaire le 13 octobre 1774,

A l'Orient de Chambéry, lieu sombre où règnent la tristesse, le trouble  
et l'inquiétude;

La T. R. Grande-Maitresse Loge des États du Roy de Sardaigne, Saint  
Jean des Trois Mortiers, Au Grand Orient de Londres,

Source de lumière d'où nous attendons la consolation, la justice et la  
paix:

Salut. Salut. Salut.

Sublime Grand-Maitre.

V. P. et S. O. D. M. C.

et A.

Très chers et très dignes frères.

Les chagrins les moins supportables sont ceux qui nous viennent d'une main que nous avons toujours chéri et respecté. Si notre Loge devait être avilie, si tous nos privilèges devaient être foulés aux pieds, nous n'aurions jamais cru que l'orage se formerait à Londres, que vous renverseriez de vos propres mains un édifice que vous aviez pris plaisir d'élever, et que vous jetteriez dans la poussière des enfants qui feraient peut-être honneur à leur mère. Nous vous devons tout, T.C.F., nous l'avouons hautement. Mais pourquoi vous êtes-vous lassés si tôt d'être nos bienfaiteurs, et pourquoi nous avez-vous porté le coup le plus sensible, en donnant un Grand-Maître à la Loge de Turin? . . .

Vous qui n'avez jamais entendu retentir à vos oreilles la voix tonnante d'un souverain absolu! Vous qui pouvez, dit-on, tout ce qui n'est pas injuste! Songe que l'univers est plein d'hommes qui n'ont que la volonté de libre, parce qu'on ne connaît pas de moyen pour l'enchaîner. A Londres, quand le Souverain lève le bras, vous mettez la grande Charte entre vous et lui: son sceptre se brise sur ce bouclier, ou, s'il ne se brise pas, c'est votre faute.

Mais ailleurs, dès que le Maître a parlé, tout ce qui ne plie pas est écrasé et il n'y a plus de remontrances à faire ni de distinctions à proposer; la gloire est dans l'obéissance, et la moindre contravention devient dangereuse . . .

S'agit-il de convoquer une assemblée contre les ordres du Roy? Le franc-maçon, magistrat, militaire ou prêtre, craindra de perdre ses *employs* et sa tranquillité; l'homme qui n'est pas défendu par ses *employs* ne rêve que prison et chaînes, de sorte qu'on ne se détermine que difficilement à se trouver en loge.

Les assemblées, devenues très rares, ne permettent pas de traiter beaucoup d'affaires; les *malheurs* amènent la *nonchalance* et la tête s'endort. N'y aurait-il pas de la dureté, T.C.F., d'exiger d'une société qui gémit dans l'*oppression* autant d'exactitude que si elle jouissait d'un calme inalterable? . . .

Quel est donc le motif de cette nouvelle institution? Qu'est-ce qui peut la rendre légitime? C'est une loi sacrée parmi nous que le dernier des frères ne peut être condamné sans être entendu; les droits d'un individu, sont-ils donc plus sacrés que ceux d'une société entière? N'est-ce pas une chose inouïe qu'une Grande Maîtresse Loge se voye flétrie, dégradée, sans qu'on ait daigné l'avertir des entreprises qui se formaient contre ses intérêts, sans que personne ait paru pour elle, sans qu'on l'ait sommée de venir se *défendre*? Si vous aviez des supérieurs dans notre ordre, et qu'ils vinssent établir une grande loge égale à la votre à Oxford, à Cantorberi, à Cambridge, imaginez quels seraient vos sentiments et vous *auriez* une idée de ceux que nous éprouvons . . .

Une mère sensible pourrait-elle forcer ses enfants à se faire adopter par une étrangère? . . . Chassons cette idée, elle est trop cruelle. Daignez vous rappeler que c'est nous qui sommes votre première conquête dans ces contrées, que c'est un de nos *cythéiens* qui reçut vos pouvoirs à Londres. L'Italie, l'Allemagne, la France nous tendaient les bras; mais nous volûmes tenir la maçonnerie de vos mains, parce que nous vous regardions comme les hommes les plus sages de la nation la plus sage; ne démentez pas l'idée que nous avons de vous; surpassez-la s'il est possible. La justice et l'humanité, le sentiment et la raison, tout vous parle pour nous; rappelez le bonheur que s'obstine à nous fuir; ordonnez lui de se reposer milieu de nous; le

*malheur* nous a rendus dignes de la posséder. Songez surtout, songez que nous allons languir dans une incertitude désespérante, jusqu' à ce jour d'éternelle mémoire qui sera marqué par l'abbatement de la douleur ou par l'ivresse de la joie et les transports de la reconnaissance.

Nous sommes et nous serons éternellement, avec tous les honneurs qui vous sont dus et par les nombres mystérieux et secrets que nous connaissons.

Très chers et très dignes Frères,  
 Vos très dévoués et très affectionnés Frères.  
 Daguin, *Vénérable*.

Le chev. Deville,<sup>1</sup> Comte Salteur,  
*p. le 1<sup>er</sup> surveillant.* *2<sup>e</sup> surveillant.*

Par Mandement de la F.: R.: G.: M.: L.:  
 Maître, *Grand Orateur*.

*Sceau.*

Scellé par nous, Grand Garde des  
 Sceaux et Grand Archiviste.  
 Jaume de la Valette.

The person responsible for the injury done to the Provincial Grand Master of Savoy was doubtless John de Vignoles, who had been appointed in 1769 by the Grand Lodge of London to be "Provincial Grand for Foreign Lodges". In a letter dated 26th July, 1774, the Deputy Grand Master (Roland Holt) wrote to the P.G. Master of St. Eustatius: "De Vignoles is dismissed from his office for various offences not more hon<sup>ble</sup>, than the worst of those recorded in the papers you have transmitted to me relative to M<sup>r</sup>. Duplissis", but on April 5th, 1776, the Grand Secretary wrote to de Lalande: "M. Vignoles has still the regulation of our correspondence with the Foreign Lodges". A more thorough-paced scamp than was this Vignoles could hardly have been found.<sup>2</sup>

Writing in 1794 to his friend the Baron Vignet des Étoles, de Maistre<sup>3</sup> wrote: "I love and esteem the English much more than the French . . . If sometimes you have noticed me inclining to France it is because languages cause prejudices. Had I spoken Piedmontese as long as you have, I would detest the French as much as you do". Whether or no the feelings of resentment which the protest to the Grand Lodge of London so eloquently expressed had anything to do with the withdrawal of three of the signatories to that protest from *Trois Mortiers* we know not. At a time when *Trois Mortiers* had forbidden its members to visit the Grand-Orient *Sept Amis*, we find de Maistre, Daguin, Salteur, and Deville visiting it again and again.

<sup>1</sup> In the list of members of *Sept Amis*, in 1789 Louis Deville, Marquis de Travernay, on April 13, 1770, Officer of the Regiment d'Aoste cavalier en garnison at Chambéry, "membre né et compagnon" of *Vraie-Amitié* at Rumilly is given as a joining member. His name appears in the 1778[?] list of *Trois Mortiers*. In 1791 his name still appears in the list of *La Vraie Lumière* at Rumilly. The 1st Surveillant who signs the Protest to the English Grand Lodge is the Chevalier Hipolite de Ville, one of the senators of Chambéry, who was Hipolitus a Castro in the Strict Observance and President of the College of the Ordre bienfaisant de la Cité Sainte at Chambéry.

<sup>2</sup> See the late Bro. W. Wonnacott's paper *De Vignoles and his Lodge*, in *A.Q.C.*, xxxiv. Heseltine must for some reason have found Vignoles' services too valuable to part with, and trusted to his own sagacity to keep the rascal under control. In 1772 Heseltine had obtained from Vignoles the jewels, etc., of the Provincial G. Lodge of Italy (of which the Duke de la Rocca was P.G.M.), "after a vast number of evasions and excuses for his conduct of a most ridiculous nature", and "not without an incredible deal of trouble and perplexity". It may have been Vignoles' theory that when a resident P.G. Master was appointed to a district "the London P.G. Master for Foreign Lodges made over a part of his jurisdiction to the newly appointed officer, and on such a plea sought to justify his being in possession of the jewels".

<sup>3</sup> De Maistre, J., *Œuvres Complètes*, i., ix., p. 76.



## II.—IN PASSING.

Before proceeding any further with this history, it is necessary to review very briefly the political and social conditions of Savoy in the years preceding its annexation to France. The affection of the inhabitants for its ancient race of rulers, if still dominant among the aristocracy, first began to wane among the subordinate classes, and latterly turned to hatred. In July, 1775, Victor Amadeus, accompanied by most of his family and with little ceremony, visited Chambéry and was enthusiastically received by his Savoyard subjects, but he had come from Italy to return to Italy. De Maistre, despite all his passionate loyalty, held in contempt and detestation the Piedmontese majors,—those “kommandanteurs boches”, who in their prussianised uniforms, policed the country. Although in a moment of exaltation he could apostrophise war as “divine”, his experience of a Piedmontese military domination over his native land drew from him the outcry, “blessed a thousand times are the princes who suffer us a little to forget the art of war”. In Savoy the worst evils of feudalism had already disappeared, vexatious imposts had been abolished, and the nobles were without those privileges which rendered the class so burdensome in France. Victor Amadeus’s policy of abstention from the armed conflicts of the great powers had secured for his kingdom long years of peace during which roads had been improved and bridges constructed. Since 1770 Savoy had possessed a legal code, and, if the extreme penalties of the law were still barbarous, yet probably in no part of the Continent were the unspeakable cruelties of so-called justice so seldom practised or resorted to as they were in Savoy. In his *Lettres d’une Royaliste Savoisiennne*, written in 1793, de Maistre claims: “We were the least taxed people in the universe, and the only people whose taxes had not been increased during the past sixty years . . . What statesman has not heard that celebrated land-survey spoken of which places beneath the eye of every landowner a geometrical representation of his possessions, their precise extent, the nature of the different soils and the tax borne by each glebe? Who could praise sufficiently the assessment of that admirable land tax which we could call ‘unique’, since the *gabelle* was but an imperceptible weight, even before the last law which reduced salt to two sous . . . Perhaps there was nothing in Europe more simple and more perfect than the organisation of our finances”. Of the aristocracy he writes: “The nobility in Savoy had only that tempered lustre which sparkles without dazzling. It could be compared with those architectural ornaments of a sober and elegant character which dress the walls without encumbering them. Never had it injured the people with whom it shared posts and who participated with it in all the honours of the State. It is a known fact that the most brilliant posts in every career were accessible to citizens of the second order”. M. Descostes, who cites these passages, illustrates them by recalling the fact that between the promulgation of the edicts of 1762 and 1771 on the redemption of the personal *taille*<sup>2</sup> and the enfranchisement from feudal rights the vassals exhibited less haste to claim the benefit than the nobles did to surrender them. “The night of August 4th”, he says, referring to the famous night when the French nobility and clergy at the Constituent Assembly renounced their pecuniary privileges, “was accomplished in Savoy, more than thirty years before that of 1789” (*Op. cit.*, 1, p. 279).

De Maistre, however, was looking back to a state of things which belonged to the time when, at the age of twenty, he had returned from the uncongenial social atmosphere of Turin to his patriarchal home in Savoy. “Sorrow’s crown of

<sup>1</sup> The salt tax. In certain parts of France, before the Revolution, every householder was compelled to buy during the year seven pounds of salt for every member of his family.

<sup>2</sup> The *taille personnelle* bore on the profits of the land: the *taille réelle* was assessed on survey and valuation of lands.

sorrow, remembering happy things". From the time of the visit of King Victor Amadeus to Chambéry in 1775 to the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, the love of the people of Savoy for their monarch in Italy was on the wane, and the cleavage between them and the nobility was growing wider and wider. On the occasion of that visit, a little thing in itself but of no small significance illustrates the feeling of vexation. From the beginning of the sixteenth century the townsfolk in Savoy formed Militia 'Compagnies de l'arc, de l'arbalète et de l'arquebuse' for the defence of their country in war time, for sport in time of peace. At the time of the royal visit the bourgeois 'chevaliers tireurs' paid the expences of a ball at which they, but not wives were permitted to be present. When, after the fall of the Bastille, the nobles of Savoy threw their doors open to receive the emigrant French nobles, the pride and overbearing manner of those unfortunate exiles brought the exasperation of the humbler classes of Savoy to the highest pitch.

Lack of employment and even hunger drove the naturally industrious peasants of the mountainous districts, not to the plains of Piedmont, but to France and Switzerland. It was asserted that out of a population of 400,000 people, 30,000 emigrated each year. The industrial classes came to believe that their country, under the heel of Piedmontese police, was being either neglected by their rulers at Turin or else hopelessly exploited. Chambéry was left unprovided with a university, and to Turin the sons of the nobility and the bourgeoisie were compelled to go in order to be equipped for the professional callings. In Savoy the monasteries were overfull, and Chambéry was too full of lawyers to offer openings for students on their return. Towards the close of the eighteenth century Savoy supplied France with gardeners, farm labourers, hewers of wood, dressers of vines, reapers, etc. From his terrace at Ferney, Voltaire saw

L'indigent savoyard, utile en ses travaux,  
Qui vient couper nos blés pour payer nos impôts.

The immigrants crowded into Marseilles, Lyons and Rouen, and could be counted by thousands at Paris, where an 'Œuvre des Petits savoyards', a school for their children existed. A "Société des Savoisiens résidant à Paris" was founded by Savoyards who had made their way in the world of commerce for the relief of their unfortunate fellow country-men.

When the eventful year of 1789 drew near, the lawyer and professional classes had contributed to the stream of immigrants from Savoy, and among them went literary men prepared to give vent to their wounded patriotism. A pamphlet, *Le Premier Cri de Savoye vers la Liberté*, was printed at Paris,<sup>1</sup> but the name of the publisher given on the title-page was Gorin, who was printer to the King at Chambéry and a member of *Parfaite Union*. The writer complains that up to recent times Savoyards were known in France chiefly as migrant and miserable mountaineers, but now the plains are being depopulated. "The towns seem to be peopled only by monks, soldiers, pleaders, the unemployed and beggars. Its greatest scourge is militarism. Lucrative and honourable posts are kept for Piedmontese, and in his own country the young Savoyard has no opening in life before him save in the Church, the war, or the barracks. Government offices, fortresses, convents everywhere, but nowhere are there factories. The people have no representatives at the seat of government". He asks for more liberal laws, national representatives and taxes more equitably assessed and

<sup>1</sup> " *Le Réveil de la Savoie*, par CAA, grenadier, patriote Français, à Annecy, de l'imprimerie de monseigneur l'évêque et prince de Genève, avec approbation de sa Majesté Sarde. 1790 ", was not printed in Savoy! De Maistre writes that the demand for the *Le Premier Cri de Savoye vers la Liberté* was so great that he was only able to examine a copy for an hour.

death duties. The King is not yet denounced as the "tyran Sarde": his "virtue" is appealed to to remember that it is the Savoyards who have supplied the working power of his dynasty. But if this appeal should be cast out by the councillors who surround him, well, "the natural tendency of Savoy appears to be towards France and everything seems to alienate it from Piedmont". The money that passes from Savoy to Italy does not return to it for there is no commerce between the two countries. "What then is there in common between Savoy and Piedmont? Everything separates them, geography, habits, language". Not only had the people been deprived of the presence in their country of their duke, but the duke became king of another land, and had left the country beneath the heads of an alien military police. De Maistre, despite his passionate loyalty, again and again complains of *kommunulanteurs boches*. "Plutôt le Sophi de Perse que les majors piémontais". The insolence of these functionaries in prussianised uniforms, their foreign jargon, their brutal methods, the bastinado, etc., etc., provoked frequent riots. And was it not but natural that the tradesfolk who belonged to French Lodges in Savoy, and on their visits to Lyons or Grenoble were made welcome in French Lodges, should view the disappearance of customs barriers with approval?

After the dramatic fall of the Bastille on July 14th, 1789, commenced the "first emigration" of the French nobility.<sup>1</sup> Hospitably received by the nobles of Savoy, these refugees, animated by the confidence that the revolutionary storm in their native land would soon pass away, by their pride of race and often ill-concealed contempt for the humble classes of the people among whom they found themselves, accentuated the social bitterness at work in the already formidable revolutionary movement.<sup>2</sup>

The story of the occupation of Chambéry by General Montesquiou, on September 24th, 1792, reads more like an agreed-on transaction than a military performance, although Lazari, who commanded the Piedmontese forces, appears to have been duped. Lazari, a relation of De Maistre and perhaps a member of the Lodge *Trois Mortiers*, had been in occupation of the Château Bellegarde. On the morning of the 22nd, he was aroused from sleep by the noise of a fusillade. His out-posts had been captured by the French Maréchal-de-Camp, Laroque, and Lazari's endeavour to rally his forces was frustrated by Montesquiou, who cut the Piedmontese army into two, dispersing one portion in flight in one direction and the other in another. But it is said that the Governor of Chambéry had previously received secret warning, in order to give him time "to clear out his effects and secure post horses necessary for his retreat". Montesquiou entered Chambéry to receive a long ovation by "patriots" welcoming the French as "brothers and liberators".

<sup>1</sup> In a letter written at Strasbourg, July 4, 1790, Saint Martin writes: "Ma soeur qui étoit en Dauphiné dans une maison de mécontents de tout ce qui se passe en France vient de se sauver avec eux à Chambéry". It is in this letter he resigns his "place dans l'ordre intérieur" and asks that his name may be removed from all the registers and masonic lists in which it may have appeared since 1785. Papis: *Louis Claude de Saint-Martin*, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> "The conduct of the emigrés at Turin, so calculated to attract storms to the head of Victor Amadeus, was not the sole cause of recriminations. The French refugees at Chambéry did not give proof of any more common sense or perspicacity. Little by little Savoy was filled with emigrés. There they were at Chambéry, at Annecy, at Aix, at Montemélian, at Bourges, at Saint Genin, at Carouge, as they had been at Niece, Costa and in Switzerland. Everywhere, in Savoy, were they admirably received by the noblesse, the officers, clergy, monks and nuns. But the people and the bourgeoisie scowled at them, especially at Chambéry, where they invaded everything, disdainful and provocative, showing off their luxury, monopolising the pavement, mocking at the old customs of Savoy, the simplicity of its life, the want of elegance of its women, imposing their exigencies on the governor to such a point that, when a conflict broke out between them and the natives, he was always bound to give them the satisfaction". Dumas: *Histoire de l'Emigration*, i., pp. 39-40.

### III.—LODGES UNDER THE GRAND ORIENT, AND OF THE STRICT OBSERVANCE.

On p. 55 of his *Franc-Maçonnerie Savoisienne*, Dr. Vermale gives a list of the members of the "Loge les Independants" of Chambéry. In the table of contents this list is entered as "Tableau de la Loge les *Independants* de Chambéry en 1770". On examining the list we observe that the majority of the members named in it were either initiated or joined in 1785 and 1786. The error made is similar to that which we have noticed in the case of the list of members of *Trois Mortiers*. The date "le 29 Août 1770" in the heading of the list refers, not to the date of this list, but to the date of the re-constitution of the Independents by the Lodge St. Jean de la Parfaite Union<sup>1</sup> at Grenoble. On p. 12 Dr. Vermale has told us that the Independents, through the agency of the Grenoble Lodge, obtained a constitution from the Duc de Clermont, date October 30th, 1769. It was again through the Grenoble Lodge, which itself in the meantime had been re-constituted by the Grand Orient, that the Independents were re-constituted, and obtained the title of *Sept Amis*. The list of members, re-arranged in tabular form, is as follows:—

[E=Maitre Élu. M=Maitre.]

Hugues Rebuffet.	Négociant.	Grand Ecosais.	Fondateur de la Loge; Reçu en 1758.
Gaudin.	Paumier.	E.	Reçu en 1758.
F. Millias.	Chirurgien Juré.	E.	do.
J. F. Berthet.	Négociant.	Chevalier prussien.	Agrégé 1770.
Simplicien Rousseau.	Religieux Augustin.	Tous les grades.	Agrégé 1770.
Vincent Millias.	Substitut Procureur.	E.	1763. Enfant de la Loge.
Guillaume Millias.	Négociant.	M. Bleu.	1768. do.
Marie Dom Gaspard.	Officier en Espagne.	do.	1768. do.
Emile Perrillat.	Religieux Augustin.	Apprenti.	1769. do.
Maxime Bertier.	Ancien garde de S.M.	M. Bleu.	Agrégé 1780.
Hector Dehorme. Bourgeois.		do.	Agrégé 1785.
François Debrit.	Négociant.	E.	Agrégé 1785.
Louis Gruffy.	Notaire.	M. Bleu.	do.
André Villemenet.	Substitut Procureur.	E.	1785. 19 June.
Abraham Faguet.	Praticien.	M. Bleu.	Agrége 1785.
Louis Deglapigny.	Avocat au Sénat.	do.	1785.
Pierre Perrety.	Notaire royal.	M. Bleu.	1785.
Joseph Charles Armenjon.	Contrôleur des Actes.	do.	1785.
Philippi Mayan.	Secrétaire à la trésorerie générale.	App. et Comp.	1785. Enfant de la Loge.
Antonio Mansoz.	Prêtre.	do.	1785. do.
Pierre-Marc Dupuy.	Négociant.	do.	1785. do.
Gapilloud.	Substitut Procureur.	do.	1785. do.
Trouillet.	Révérénd bénéficiér.	App. et Comp.	1785. do.
Dupraz.	Révérénd Curé de St. Jean.	do.	1785. do.
Jean Claude Berthet.	Chirurgien.	do.	1785. do.
François Lacroix.	Commissaire ès droits seigneuriaux.	do.	1786. do.
Nicholas Perrin.	Musicien.	do.	1786. do.
Antoine Magnin.	Substitut Procureur.	do.	1786. do.
Bertrand.	Secrétaire à l'Intendance.	do.	1786. do.
Courtois.	Secrétaire Arch. de la Chambre des Comptes.	do.	1786. do.
David Huguenin.	Négociant à Lyon.	Apprenti.	1786. do.
Jean-François Defresne.	Substitut Procureur.	do.	1786. do.
Barré.	Musicien à Lyon.	do.	1785. do.

<sup>1</sup> Constituted 1 March, 1766. According to Daruty (*Recherches*, p. 152) the Grenoble Lodge was re-constituted by the Grand Orient on 21 September, 1780, but accorded the original date. The Duc de Clermont died June 16, 1771.

Comparing this list with that of *Trois Mortiers* in 1778, we note that in 1785 the following left *Trois Mortiers* and joined *Sept Amis* the Independents, who were to become, under the Grand Orient, Lodge *Sept Amis*:—

F. Millias. Chirurgien juré.

J. Fr. Berthet. Négociant.

Maxime Bertier. Ancien garde de S.M. [the King of Sardinia].

We notice firstly that there are three members described as "reçu" (whatever that may mean) in 1758, viz., Hugues Rebuffet "Grand Ecossais et Fondateur de la loge", Gaudin, and Millias. This may mean that the Independents worked without a constitution before they received one from or through *Parfaite Union* at Grenoble. For the period between 1758 and 1770 six other names appear: and so we have nine names on the list on August the 29th, 1770. Then ten years pass by, and for that ten years we have only the name of a young member, Maxime Bertier, formerly a guardsman of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, but I am tempted to believe that here 1780 is a misprint for 1785. In the June of that year we observe tokens of activity. On June 19th, 1785 (*Op. cit.*, p. 57), François Debrit joins the Lodge, and, as will be seen, is almost at once elected its Vénérable or Worshipful Master. Three or four other masons join the Lodge on the same occasion, and there is an initiation. On the following day André Villemenet is initiated, and will shortly be appointed Orator: Perrety, initiated on July 1st is Maître des Cérémonies. Dehorme appointed Treasurer, is a recently joined member.

There can be but little doubt that a lodge in abeyance has been captured by F. Debrit on behalf of the Grand Orient. Although the date of the Constitution of *Sept Amis* under the Grand Orient was, as Dr. Vermale says, March 1, 1786, the Lodge secured the right to date its origin back to patents granted to it by *Parfaite Union* of Grenoble—August 29, 1770.

On p. 57 of his history, Dr. Vermale gives us another list of members of Lodge *Sept Amis*,<sup>1</sup> which he dates June, 1785:—

Francière Debrit.	Négociant bijoutier.	Aged 34.	Vénérable.
Vincent Millias.	Substitut Procureur.	" 33.	1st Surveillant.
Pierre Gaudin.	Paumier.	" 33.	2nd do.
André Willeminet.	Substitut Procureur.	" 30.	Orateur.
François Berthet.	Négociant-Commissaire.	" 49.	Secrétaire et
			Garde des sceaux.
Hector Delhorme.	Bourgeois.	" 53.	Trésorier.
Abraham Faguet.	Praticien.	" 41.	
Pierre Perrety.	Notaire et substitut	" 40.	Maître des
	procureur.		Cérémonies.
Joseph Armenjon.	Contrôleur des Actes.	" 29.	
Phillipe Mayan.	Secrétaire à l'Intendance-	" 32.	
	générale.		
Pierre Marc du Puy.	Négociant.	" 36.	
Joseph Gassilloud.	Substitut Procureur.		
François Lacroix.	Commissaire.		
Nicholas Perrin.	Praticien.		
Antoine Magnin.	Substitut Procureur.	" 33.	
Pierre Bertrand.	Secrétaire à l'Intendance.		
Jacques Courtois.	Secrétaire archiviste à	" 39.	
	Turin.		
David Huguenin.	Négociant à Lyon.	" 21.	
Joseph François Desfrène.	Substitut Procureur.		
Louis Gruffy.	Praticien.		
François Millias.	Chirurgien Juré.	" 66.	

I cannot doubt that Dr. Vermale has faithfully followed the orthography of the documents he had before his eyes, but neither can I doubt that the 'Joseph

<sup>1</sup> In 1791, when *Sept Amis* ceased to work "officially" and its members were divided into three sections under a "Directory", the following belonged to the "Section du Midi": — Armenjon, Willeminet, Pierre Marc du Puy [Despuis], Desfresne, Pierre Perrety, Mayan, Millias, Joseph Dardel, David Huguenin, etc., are still among the members.

Gassilloud' of the latter document is the 'Gapilloud' of the former, and that the Francière Debrit who is the Master of the Lodge in the second list is the François Debrit who joined the Lodge on June 19th, 1785.<sup>1</sup>

In December, 1786, the *Sept Amis*, in the name of the Grand Orient, instituted the Lodge *Triple Equerre* at Annecy, and in January, 1788, *Trois Temples* at Carouge. The Master of *Triple Equerre* in 1789 was a person of some historical interest—"François Maurice de Sales, Marquis, Écuyer de S.A.R., M<sup>me</sup>. la princesse de Piémont, capitaine de cavalerie, sous-adjudant général des troupes de S.M., T[ous] L[es] G[rades]". This Lodge was very largely composed of noblemen and military officers; it also included a fair number of representatives of the bourgeoisie.

Lodge *Sept Amis*, at Whitsuntide, 1786, invited *Trois Mortiers*, *Parfaite Union*, and *Sincérité* to take part in its Festival. The latter was a High Observance lodge, about which more anon. It accepted the invitation, and appointed as its deputation to *Sept Amis* its Past-Master, the Comte Desery, Comte Salteur, Dr. Desmaisons ("Grand Master of Ceremonies") and de Loully. The following is the reply of *Trois Mortiers*:—

Monsieur.

In reply to the letter you have done me the honour to send me, I am instructed to say to you that no society in the States is recognised other than those which emanate from a primitive point which has long existed here and of that those under your aegis cannot be unaware. There, Monsieur, is that to which my commission is limited. I have the honour to be with the most perfect consideration; your very humble and devoted servant,

Reynaud.

Chambéry, 3 June, 1786.

*Parfaite Union*,<sup>2</sup> through its Secretary (Tardy) replied enigmatically. After about four years of conflict, *Sept Amis* appointed a committee to consider if some understanding could be effected by which masonic "peace, union and concord" might be established. *Trois Mortiers* was ready (May 22nd, 1790) to assent to union, but on the sole condition that the union should bring about an immediate formation of a Grand Orient of Savoy.

Four years after receiving at the hands of the Grand Lodge of London so cruel a blow to its prestige, Mother Lodge *Trois Mortiers* was encountered by a formidable rival in the Lodge *Sincérité*,<sup>3</sup> founded at Chambéry on April 30th, 1778, under the Directory of the Strict Observance at Lyons. In the 1778 list of members of *Trois Mortiers* the names of de Maistre, Salteur and fourteen others are given as belonging to the *Prétendue Réforme*. The

<sup>1</sup> There are several unfortunate slips as to dates in Dr. Vermale's *Franc-Maçonnerie*. For instance, p. 31, line 4, "1770" should be (cf. p. 19) "1790". On p. 55, in the list of members of *Parfaite Union*, we have "François Debrit, négociant, maître bleu, agrégé le 19 Juin 1785": On p. 57, "François Debrit, négociant bijoutier . . . âgé de 34 ans", is given as Vénérable of *Sept Amis* on June 5, 1785.

<sup>2</sup> In a list of members of *Parfaite Union* in June, 1786 (Vermale: *Franc-Maçonnerie*, p. 57), appear "De L'Hopital et Tardy, députés au G.O.P." If by these initials the Grand Orient of Paris is to be understood, it looks as if *Parfaite Union*'s loyalty had been disturbed.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Franc-maçonnerie Savoisienne* (p. 9) Dr. Vermale writes that *Réforme du Nord* was born of a split "que se produisit dans la maçonnerie anglaise et 1761". In his later book he has (p. 14) "la maçonnerie anglaise en Allemagne". On p. 10 of the former work he refers to "crise général que subit le rite anglais dans son pays d'origine et sur le continent avec l'apparition des loges dites écossaises ou se multiplièrent les grades maçonniques". Dermenghem (*Joseph de Maistre Mystique*, p. 57, N. 5) speaks of the "Reforme Ecossaise, schisme de la maçonnerie anglaise, qui avait en pour but de donner aux réunions plus de sérieux". This author, however, has accepted the legends he has found in Gustave Bord's *La Franc-Maçonnerie en France*.



attractiveness of this form of masonry has so often been ascribed by anti-masonic propagandists to its alleged revolutionary and anti-christian character. In a paper on de Maistre I hope to be able to contribute to *A.Q.C.* I hope to show how very far from the truth such assertions are. The men who in Savoy attached themselves to the Strict Observance were mostly sons of noblemen of the robe, ardent Catholics, though indeed bored by the provincialism of a derelict capital ("l'énorme poids du rien"—to use de Maistre's phrase), and dissatisfied with the merely convivial aspect of Freemasonry. At this very time Willemoz at Lyons was adding to the Strict Observance system two new grades intended for the benefit of those who took research into the hidden secrets of nature and art seriously, and he seems to have only preserved the Templar elements in the system in order not to make omissions that might render difficult a re-union between the Grand Orient allegiance and the Strict Observance. No doubt these young intellectualists possess the liberal ideas afloat in the age of the "benevolent despots": some of them may be prepared, as our own Wordsworth was, to accept the feeling of increasing emancipation with joy, but, when the Jacobins enter Savoy in triumph they will emigrate. We have seen that their names remain on the list of the Mother Lodge in 1778. On December 30th, 1778, that Lodge forbade its adherents to attend the "loge prétendue dit de la Réforme". Members of *Sincérité* certainly visited the Grand Orient Lodge *Sept Amis*.

In 1787 the Master of Lodge *Sincérité* was the Comte Frederick de Bellegarde, son of General Jean François de Bellegarde, General of Infantry and Minister of War in Saxony, and brother to Field-Marshal Henri de Bellegarde, who, in the service of Austria, highly distinguished himself in the wars against France. Dr. Vermale (p. 41) quotes from the Minute Book of *Sept Amis* a passage of which the following is a translation:—

The Committee of the L.<sup>o</sup> *Sept Amis*, duly convoked at the instance of the V<sup>ble</sup>. M.<sup>o</sup>. Armenjon, and the labours of apprentice being opened after the manner prescribed, the V<sup>ble</sup>. M. said<sup>1</sup>: "My Brothers. It is the marriage of the Very Illustrious and R[espectable] Brother of Bellegarde, V<sup>ble</sup>. of the R<sup>de</sup>. Lodge of *Sincérité* or of the *Réforme*, with the Illustrious daughter of the Marquis des Marches which occasions this assembly. Will you agree that witness be given to show how much our Lodge takes part in this happy event?" It then appearing fitting and even necessary to all the brothers, it was proposed that Brothers Dupuis, Gaudin, and Magnin should go to compliment the Very Venerable and Respectable Brother the Comte de Bellegarde on his marriage and the Lodge offer a bouquet as a slight token of the real interest that *Sept Amis* takes in the satisfaction of these two illustrious consorts and a sure gage of the sincere wishes they have for their happiness.

The bride was Adelaide ["Adèle"] Victoria, a girl of fifteen, eldest daughter of François Robert Eugénie de Bellegarde, Marquis des Marches et Cursinge, the *Vénérable en survivance* of Lodge *Trois Mortiers*. Between the bridegroom and the bride there was a disparity of fifteen years in age. After the marriage the couple resided with the old Marquis at the Château, but Adèle's husband was frequently absent, being much occupied by his duties as Colonel in the Legion des Campements, which he commanded during the coming forlorn struggle

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Chevalier Gaspard Roze, de Maistre's intimate friend and brother magistrate, does not appear in the 1778 list of members of *Trois Mortiers*. He is described by Descostes as one "of that liberal phalanx, sincerely and unshakeably attached to the religion of his fathers, to the principles of order and authority, but aspiring to reconcile the classes by a more equitable distribution of the advantages and favours of the powers that be" (*Op. cit.*, Tom., i., p. 146). Roze returned to Chambéry in 1816, and was President of the Senate of Savoy in 1821.



with the French. The Marquis died early in 1790, and so did not live to see his Château occupied as the General Headquarters of the French General in September, 1792. Adèle and her beautiful sister Aurora, aged fifteen, had at first joined the crowds of emigrant Savoyard nobility, but, in order to secure their property, they returned. Decked in 'ceintures d'écharpes, tricolores, cocardes à la poitrine, tailles serrées dans carmagnoles, coiffées des bonnets rouges avec sabots aux pieds', the girls mingled with the Jacobin crowds, spoke their jargon, and adopted their manners. Adèle attached herself to the terrible Herault des Seychelles, who, with Gregorie, Jagot, and the Savoyard ex-priest Philibert Simond, as Commissaires en Mission from the French Directory, came to Chambéry. In connection with the last, Aurora gained for herself an unenviable reputation as 'la Simonetta'. When Herault and Simond returned to Paris these misguided ladies went with them. "There is a God who especially watches over pretty women", was the assurance the Marquis Costa Beauregard gave to his commanding officer, Adèle's husband, but to de Maistre he wrote: "Despite the beauty of my argument, avoid, my Friend, running about the world with Constitutional generals or Commissioners of the Convocation, for they are detestable company". At Paris Adèle obtained a divorce from her husband, but the days of her association with Herault were to be short. He accompanied Danton to the guillotine on April 5th, 1794. Simond met with the same fate a little later.

I cannot find that Lodge *Concorde des Centrons*, established by *Trois Mortiers* in 1777, at Rumilly, ever obtained a constitution from the Grand Orient, but I do find the Lodge writing to that body in 1781. "We think that correspondence between true Masons must become more necessary since a pretended reform in France seeks to extend itself in all parts and to sap the foundations of these children of the widow".<sup>1</sup>

It must have been a hard blow for the Mother Lodge *Trois Mortiers* to receive when its own daughter Lodge of Rumilly in 1789, through the channel of *Sept Amis*, approached the Grand Orient. Addressing the Rumilly Lodge on May 5th of that year, the Master argued that a Grand Orient is, not a particular lodge, but a general assembly composed solely of the deputies from dependant lodges. "We see", he said, "that the patents give the T. V. Marquis des Marches power to create lodges and to erect the generality of those which he should have created into a provincial lodge of which he, in absolute dependence on the Grand Master of London, would be the provincial grand master. The said Marquis des Marches is content with constituting a single lodge, that of *Trois Mortiers*: he has not been able to erect it as a provincial lodge, since, according to the tenour of the patents the provincial lodge ought not to be a simple assembly of a particular lodge, such as is *Trois Mortiers*, but a general assembly of the Worshipful Masters and Wardens of all the lodges which have been constituted by the Marquis des Marches. The right which had been accorded him being personal and even limited by the good pleasure of the Worshipful Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge of London, he was not able to cede it or transfer it to the Lodge *Trois Mortiers*: so never has our Lodge had any correspondence with the Grand Lodge of London, and never has it paid to it the tribute of two guineas. . . . It is urgent in every respect for them to secure for themselves this regular existence, by obtaining a new Constitution in a Grand Lodge, recognised

<sup>1</sup> Thory, *Acta*, i., p. 148. Labady had been placed in prison consequent on his refusal to make over the records of the Grand Lodge of France to the schismatically constituted Grand Orient. The Grand Lodge wrote, February 4th, 1781, to the Lodge *Concorde des Centrons* of the founders of the Grand Orient:—"They calumniate their brothers and push their treason so far as to make them prisoners, in the hope of obtaining from one of them the Archives of the Order; but the grandeur of soul of the victim and his firmness has thwarted their projects". Daruty, p. 224.

as such throughout the whole masonic universe according to the most exact instructions. The Grand Orient of France has deserved this preference by the excellence of its regime, by the regularity and perfections of its workings, the national language being the same will obviate translation in correspondence: France moreover is a neighbouring nation with which the civil relations of the inhabitants of this Lodge being very frequent, the brethren of this Lodge would often have occasion to visit fraternally the lodges of France, and further, as one knows, there are already two lodges constituted by the Grand Orient of France which are the admiration of all the others and whose regularity sets them a pattern. They are the lodge constituted by the Grand Orient under the title of *Sept Amis* at Chambéry and the lodge on its recommendation constituted subsequently at Annecy under the distinctive title of *Triple Equerre*".<sup>1</sup>

On February 23rd, 1790, the Grand Orient assigned its reasons for refusing to acknowledge *Trois Mortiers* as a Grand Lodge for the kingdom of Sardinia. It pointed out that the Grand Orient was the fruit of a free and voluntary reunion of a great number of Masters or representatives of lodges, and formed a common centre from which discipline could radiate. "Here there is a legislative body, composed by the universality of the Lodges, avowed by them, and of which the representatives bring to general assemblies the suffrages of their constituents: Here there is a national and independent body which exists solely by the will of those who have the right to form it: and such a Grand Orient should be: that is to say that it is necessary that it should receive from the lodges the power of ruling in order to be able to pretend to exercise that right. Far from having perceived in this Lodge *Trois Mortiers* any of these characters, we have on the contrary remarked that one isolated lodge, dependent on a foreign Orient, although it has accorded a number of constitutions, is not composed of representatives of the Lodges to which it has delivered them . . . these considerations, beloved Brothers, cannot bind us to treat with Lodge *Trois Mortiers* as equal with equal. So at our General Assembly of the 23rd day of the 2nd month of this year, after having taken the advice of our Grand Lodge of Counsel, we have decreed that *we do not recognise the Lodge of Trois Mortiers, at the Orient of Chambéry as Grand Orient of Sardinia, and that we do not accept the correspondence asked for by her*: in consequence we have remitted to her deputy all the documents in which she has dealt with us on this proposition.

Signed. Tanin. *Président*.<sup>2</sup>

De Jonquières. *Premier Surveillant*.

Des Roches. *Orateur*.

Popelin. *Garde des Sceaux*.

Oudet. *Secrétaire General*.

Strangely enough for a Lodge claiming to be English, *Trois Mortiers* founded in 1787 a Sovereign Rose-Croix Chapter of Savoy, and on 4th May it founded a Lodge of Sisters, *la Parfaite Harmonie*, at Casal. Early in 1790, the Marquis Eugene de Bellegarde died.

Randolphe de Maistre in the short biographical notice of his father prefixed to a Lyons Edition of 1883 of the *Considerations*, writes:—"M. de Maistre was suspected of Jacobism and represented at the Court as a spirit inclined to novelties from which he failed to preserve himself. He was a member of the Lodge *Reformée* of Chambéry, a simple *loge blanche* and perfectly insignificant. However, when the revolutionary storm commenced to thunder in France and to tremblingly bestir the neighbouring lands, the members of the Lodge assembled; and judging that all meetings at this epoch might become

<sup>1</sup> Vermale, *La F. Sav.*, p. 15 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> So in Vermale. *Op. cit.*, p. 18. The name is Tassin. The second person is De Jonquières, the Prince de Conti's Intendant.

dangerous or make the government uneasy, they deputed M. de Maistre to convey to the King the word of honour of all the members that they would no more assemble, and this lodge was practically dissolved". De Maistre himself, however, tells another story. "At the commencement of the Revolution", he writes, "His Majesty's august Father having conceived some alarms as to these kinds of meeting, a member of the Lodge called *Reformée* took to him a list of all the names which composed it. The King said, 'There are names which suffice to reassure me: but at this moment every assembly, simply as an assembly, is suspect: one ought not to assemble'. So wise a thing admitted of no reply. The Comte Frédéric de Bellegarde, at that time the Colonel of the Royal Grenadiers, if I rightly remember, was the deputy to give to his Majesty the word of honour of all the members that they would not assemble again save by his permission".<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Vermale tells us that a recorded discussion in the Lodge of Independents show that King Victor-Amedée of Sardinia (1773-1796) was a freemason.<sup>2</sup> The story is told that King Charles-Emanuel (1730-1773) had sent a body of soldiers to invest the Lodge at Turin. In the ante-room the Grenadiers find three ambassadors and one of the King's particular friends. "Go and tell the King", said the latter to the soldiers, "that you have found me here". The soldiers made excuses and departed.<sup>3</sup> The lodge lists show how strongly the Courts and diplomatic corps were at that time represented in Masonry at Turin and Lyons. Yet convinced as the Government must have been that the danger lay not in the Freemasonry practised by persons whose reputation was beyond suspicion,<sup>4</sup> it was prompted by caution to adopt police surveillance in regard to lodges in general. In Savoy the lodges dependent on French Masonic jurisdiction refused to dissolve themselves. Dr. Vermale dwells on certain analogies between the former Masonic assemblies and the civic feasts under the Convention, and the lists of members of lodges come in here to indicate a certain amount of continuity between the French Lodges in Savoy, the Clubs, and then the Lodge again. The goldsmith Debrit of *Sept Amis*, for instance, after the arrival of the French Army at Chambéry, became one of the principal "clubistes". Among the archives of the de Maistre family there is a *Mémoire sur la franc-maçonnerie* sent by Comte Joseph de Maistre to his friend the Baron Vignet des Etoles on April 30th, 1793. This document has unfortunately never been published, but M. Emile Dermenghem was permitted by the Comte Rodolphe de Maistre to examine the "volumes immenses couchés sur mon bureau"—the notes of his studies during thirty years—to which Joseph de Maistre refers in his *Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg*, and in his *Joseph de Maistre Mystique*. M. Dermenghem has provided us with quotations which show that long before the Abbé Barruel wrote his attack on Masons and Masonry, de Maistre, the future arch-propagandist of Papal Infallibility, had laboured to convince his friend that there was nothing in essential Masonry calculated to subvert social order. "La masse, le corps des loges Savoyardes même des plus bourgeoises, aient jamais été tâtés par celles de France pour entrer dans la Revolution". He admitted that certain members of *Sept Amis* were

<sup>1</sup> Albert Blanc, *Mémoires Politiques et Correspondence Diplomatique de Joseph de Maistre*, p. 18. Victor Emanuel's edict prohibiting masonic assemblies in 1814 was issued by Comte F. C. de Bellegarde. Thory: *Acta Lat.*, ii., p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Franc-Maçonnerie Savoisienne*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Descostes: *Joseph de Maistre avant la Revolution*, i., p. 217. The author prints this from M. André Perrin, who supplied him with other information concerning the defunct Lodge *Trois Mortiers*. Anne Maria Demotz (sister of Christine, who was de Maistre's mother) married the Comte Nicholas Perrin d'Aviersieux, and was mother of Martha Perrin (who married de Maistre's younger brother Nicholas). Whether or no the Librairie Perrin (now M. Dardel at Chambéry) is connected with these kinsfolk of the great writer I do not know.

<sup>4</sup> At Turin the Strict Observance was under the direction of Comte Gabriel de Berneze, Majordomo of the King of Sardinia—"Gabriel a Turri Aurea" in the Order.

individually "très mauvais", and he did not deny that it was possible that some of them had been approached by French propagandists, but "les trois grades classiques" were wholly innocuous. "They are purely societies of honest pleasures embellished by acts of beneficence": the other grades are concerned with "objets réels connus de l'Antiquité, et que ne le sont plus de nous. Il peut se faire encore qu'après ces grades symboliques un très petit nombre d'individus possède ou croit posséder des connaissances dignes d'occuper un homme sage et vertueux et qui sont aussi parfaitement inconnues du reste de la société que de vous qui n'en êtes pas". Even in the most suspicious lodges of Savoy, "il n'existe pas le moindre signe qui annonce un but politique dans le principe. Et quant à la loge de la Réforme [to which the writer himself belonged], Je puis vous l'affirmer sur tout ce qu'il y a de plus sacré". When the Abbe Barruel's book appeared, de Maistre wrote a refutation, but unfortunately that little treatise has never been published. In it he pointed out that Barruel's constant method was "de prendre pour la chose la corruption de la chose": following that method, he says, "I might as well say that the clergy of France was a detestable body whose real secret was only known by Cardinal de Brienne<sup>1</sup> and the Bishop of Autun".<sup>2</sup>

*Trois Mortiers* had, on July 2nd, 1777, constituted the Lodge *Des Centrons* at Mortiers. In July, 1790, this Lodge invited Lodge *Sept Amis* to secure for them a constitution from the Grand Orient. The letter is rather open to suspicion, for it is signed by Lacroix, First Surveillant (i.e., Warden) in the absence of Gumery the "ancien vénérable", Gumery, and Durandard "excusant le 2<sup>nd</sup> Surveillant". In it the writers say that "we will assist masters to sustain the masonic level face to face with those aristocrat Lodges or perhaps despots who set snares for the liberty of the true children of the widow, and who ignore the constitutional principles of a true Orient".<sup>3</sup> To understand this outburst of a political feeling, a threefold distinction has to be kept in mind:—

1. Lodge *Trois Mortiers*, constituted by a nobleman who has brought with him his authority from the Grand Lodge is largely composed of aristocratic members. Its policy is to comply with the demands of Government and go into abeyance during the Revolutionary storm.
2. The young members of *Trois Mortiers* who were infected with the liberalism which so many of the Rulers of the time shared. They are intellectualists, and look to the esoteric Masonic teachers of Lyons for guidance. They associate themselves with the Strict Observance and also with Willermoz's Metropolitan College at Lyons. After the Terror they for the most part become royalists and emigrés.<sup>4</sup>
3. The bourgeois element which transfers itself from the "English" Masonic group, or, when directed by *Trois Mortiers* to go into temporary abeyance ("the pitfall") refuse, and seek constitutions from the Grand Orient of France.

<sup>1</sup> When it was proposed to nominate Lommenie de Brienne Archbishop of Paris, Louis XVI. remarked that for that position a man who believed in God was required. The other prelate referred to is Talleyrand.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Dermenghem: *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> That the revolt from the Mother Lodge *Trois Mortiers* was due to masonic rather than political or social causes becomes clear when we see that it was the endeavour to resist the Royal Order to go into abeyance that led to *Concorde des Centrons* refusing to obey.

<sup>4</sup> Thory (*Acta Latomorum*, i., p. 185) writes: "La Grande Loge Écossaise de Chambéry ayant été forcée de suspendre ses travaux par ordre du Gouvernement, les loges de sa juridiction se divisent et passent les unes sous le régime du Grand Orient de France, et les autres sous celui du Grand-Orient de Genève; mais la majorité se range sous les bannières du Grand Directoire helvétique Romand". This statement, although it cannot be reconciled with facts, may perhaps supply a clue to trace the disappearance of Lodge *Sincérité*.

A letter from François, a mason, at Moutiers, dated December 27, 1796, and addressed to Willeminet of the *Sept Amis* relates that a meeting, followed by a banquet had been held at a hidden place. At this meeting the leading aristocrats who happened to be present, agreed unanimously, but amongst themselves only, that no more meetings should be held, the lease of the Temple given up, the furniture sold and the proceeds together with the funds of the lodge distributed among the poor. After a long discussion it was decided that the proposal should be carried into effect, but after the assembly had broken up, four of "the good brothers" remained behind, and resolved: (1) That as there had been no general convocation of the brethren, the action taken had been both informal and illegal; (2) that as some brethren had for a long time past endeavoured to create a schism, they had availed themselves of this occasion to execute their project; (3) that they four would not abandon the project of obtaining a Constitution from the Grand Orient of France.

Dr. Vermale quotes the following from register of *Sept Amis*:—

Le soussigné secretaire de la R.   des 7 amis déclare que les circonstances difficiles dans lesquelles elle s'est trouvé. dès le 7<sup>e</sup> mois 1790 par suite des menées inquisitoriales du Gouvernement Sarde l'aient forcé a abandonner son local et à n'avoir que des assemblées partiales s'étant divisée en sections, ses délibérations dès le N<sup>o</sup>. 129 jusqu'an 149<sup>o</sup>, tour 2 inclus, cette dernière sous-date du 5<sup>e</sup> jour du 4<sup>e</sup> mois 1792 ont été insérées dans un livre d'architecture particulier et en due forme contenant le résumé exact de tous ses travaux pendant les dites tenues.

A l'Or. de Chambéry le 28<sup>e</sup> jour du 10<sup>e</sup> mois 1800.

Chabert, secrétaire, Arminjon vénérable.

Dr. Vermale was unable to trace the records of which Chabert speaks, but he has reproduced in his book (pp. 33-36) the minutes of the "Southern Section" of the Lodge *Sept Amis*, after it had been divided and placed under a "directory". After July 5th, 1792, the Lodge appears to have ceased working, and not to have resumed it till October 28th, 1800. This suspension may have been due to the pressure of political employment.

The Lodge *Parfaite Union*, which had been controlled by *Trois Mortiers*, had several members whose convictions were of a revolutionary kind. On 24th September, 1792, the day when he had without opposition led the French troops into Chambéry, General Montesquieu held a session of the Société des Amis de la Liberté et de l'Égalité, and on October 6th a proclamation of this Society was issued signed by J. Lyonnaz, the Orateur of *Parfaite Union* in 1789, and François Jacquier, an initiate of that Lodge. Of the 27 commissaires the Society sent out to secure votes of the election of members of the Assemblée Nationale des Allobroges the following belonged to Savoyard lodges:—

Bernard. *Concord des Centrons*.

Magnin, chirurgien, Ven. of *La Vraie Amitié* at Rumilly.

Duport. *Sept Amis*.

Jacquier.

Arnaud. do.

Debry [or Dubrit] (Ven.) do.

Lyonnaz. *Parfaite Union*.

Fauvre. do.

Garin. do.

Chablais. do.

Marin. do.

Tardy. do.

Morel. do.

## IV.—MARTINISTS.

In the year 1779 Bro. De Maistre had come into touch with Jean-Baptiste Willermoz, who, after a varied Masonic career, had founded at Lyons the Directoire Ecossaïse de la 11 Province d'Auvergne de la Stricte Observance Templière, of which the Duc Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lunenbourg was the Grand Master. Two years later, at an assembly held at Lyons, the Convent National de Lyon elaborated within the Observance two new grades, the Profès and Grand Profès, Chevaliers bienfaisants de la Cité Sainte. In dependence on the Metropolitan Colleges of Lyons, Colleges were founded at Turin, Naples, Chambéry, Grenoble, Montpellier, Strasbourg, and possibly elsewhere. To the College at Chambéry belonged:—

Hipolites, Chev. de Ville. Sénateur du Sénat de Chambéry and President of the College.	<i>In the Strict Observance.</i> Eques Joannes a Castro.
Max Rivoire aîné. Bourgeois. Dépositaire.	„ Marcus a Leone.
Joseph, Comte de Maistre.	„ Joseph a Floribus.
Jean-Baptiste, Comte Salteur.	„ Baptiste a Cane.

In a future paper I hope to trace De Maistre's Masonic activities more fully, so I must in this place content myself with making the observation that the idea cherished by so many of the older authorities that this organisation had a political character, or that it was militarily anti-ecclesiastical, is an entire fallacy. Among the members of the Metropolitan College at Lyons were:—

Jean-Antoine Castellas, <sup>1</sup> doyen de l'église and Comte of Lyon.	<i>In the Strict Observance.</i> Eques Joannes a Maltco.
Marie Agate de Bernard de Rully, <sup>2</sup> Chanoine de l'Eglise, Comte de Lyon.	„ Ferdinandus a Stella.
Louis Aug. Barbier de Lescoet, do. do.	„ Augustus a Leonè Coronato
Henry de Cordon, do. do.	„ Henricus a Griffone Olato.

At Stutgard we find Karl Eberard de Waecheter, Chamberlain to the King of Denmark, who in the Strict Observance was Eberardus a Ceraso, Chancellor and Grand Prior of Germany. So far from being a revolutionist, de Waecheter was an ardent supporter of the *émigrés* Bourbon princes.<sup>3</sup> At Grenoble we find Comte François Henry Virieu, whose liberalism sent him to the States General and the Convention as an advocate of constitutional reform, but who when he saw the monarchy approaching its fall, proved by his sufferings and his death his steadfast loyalty to his ill-fated King and Queen. The charming and pathetic *Roman d'un Royaliste* by the Marquis Costa de Beauregard is the biography of this most sincere and devout Catholic. Willermoz himself, apart from some of his "transcendental" utterances, was a devout Roman Catholic. In 1790, when Lyons was in the hands of the representatives of the Directory, he was arrested three times, and only escaped death by the generous act of a soldier. He had dared to reproach the Jacobins on the score of their cruelty.

The Baron Jean de Turkheim (*Joannes a Flumine*) was one of the deputies from Alsace to the States General in 1789. He went there "très libéral mais

<sup>1</sup> M. Emile Dermenghem has edited the *Les Sommeils*—a record by Willermoz of healing by hypnotism, etc. In these operations the Dean was expert. It is unfortunate that M. Dermenghem in his introduction has placed so great a reliance on M. Gustave's uncritical and badly documented book.

<sup>2</sup> Rully was working hand in hand with Jacques Umbert-Colomas on behalf of the Bourbons in 1791.

<sup>3</sup> Christian de Parrel: *Les Papiers de Calonne*, p. 48 et seq., says Waecheter, having failed to secure certain reforms in Freemasonry, abandoned it in 1782.



très royaliste", and to return in disgust before the year was ended.<sup>1</sup> In 1821, when Turkheim was still active as a mason, he writes to Willermoz:—"On this occasion I will give you an explanation of the word 'crypto-Catholic', and frankly make my profession to you of my faith in regard to it. I give my assent to the greater part of the dogmas of the Catholic Church which are not adopted by protestants: I regret that the schism took place, albeit you on your side provoked it a little; I observe that this dangerous extension of evangelical liberty has led a large part of protestants to Arianism and even anti-Christian rationalism<sup>2</sup>: I sincerely desire the re-union of the Christian Church in a single flock: I revere the pastor who governs yours to-day, and am certainly well rid of the prejudices of childhood; but I will not imitate the example of Stolzberg, Senft and Haller since my conviction is not yet *entire*, and I dread giving scandal and doing more harm than good, and I see in our Church a nucleus of true Christians attached heart and soul to the essential dogmas of our divine religion (to the fall of man, to the need of a reconciliation which cannot operate solely by human power, but needs the sublime Sacrifice of the God-Man, who has given us His Flesh and Blood for our spiritual nourishment in the Holy Supper, etc.); and I do not wish to scandalise this communion of true Christians by a *démarche* for which other motives would be imputed".<sup>3</sup> As there has been so much misunderstanding in regard to the character of the Masonry at Lyons to which De Maistre, Salteur, etc., at Chambéry, attached themselves, it is not unimportant to correct the fallacious tradition, which Barruel popularised.

## V.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

By decree of the Convention at Paris, on November 27th, 1792, Savoy became the Département du Mont-Blanc. Among the deputies elected to the Convention on February 17th, 1793, we find:—

Anthelme Marin of *Parfaite Union*.

Bernard Jean Maurice Duport,<sup>4</sup> born at Faverges in 1762, Advocate at the Senate of Chambéry, initiated in Lodge *Sept Amis* on April 1, 1789, Jacques Antoine Balmain, Advocate at the Senate, born at St. Sorlin-d'Arve in the Maurienne, 11 April, 1751, initiated together with Duport.

Gumery, Avocat, Master of *La Concorde des Centrons* at Moutiers in 1781.

Under the Directory, in 1795, we find in the *Cinq-Cents*, Marin, Balmain, Duport, and in the *Anciens* Gumery. Dr. M. Masse, in his *Histoire de l'Annexion de la*

<sup>1</sup> Writing to his constituents, Nov. 23, 1789, he complains of the "avocats bavards qui répandaient plus de désordre que des lumières", and the invasions of "les clubs insolents qui siegeaient dans les cafés du Palais Royal s'étaient érigés en juges et en vengeurs des affaires de la nation". He concludes: "What has this hindered the advancement of our affair? I say it in all candour before God and my fellow citizens. It has not been the Nobility which has expiated in a cruel fashion ancient and unjust abuses: it has not been the Clergy who offered voluntarily to support proportionately the imposts, but whom it has been sought to deprive of all their property. No. It was a small body of men who had agreed among themselves to upset everything, and without the support of their categorical mandates, desired to drive into rebellion the twenty-five millions of men who could peacefully and thankfully repose on our labours".—*Revue d'Alsace*, quoted by Maxime de La Rocheterie: *Histoire de Marie-Antoinette*, ii., 43.

<sup>2</sup> Although Bonald, the famous Catholic advocate, in his *Principe Constitutif de la Société* (Cap. xx.), refers to Starck's *Banquet de Theodule*, and describes him as "un des hommes les plus savants de l'Allemagne", and Starck had attacked the latitudinarianism of his time, he had been unorthodox in his earlier writings.

<sup>3</sup> Dermenghem. Jean Baptiste Willermoz: *les Sommeils*, pp. 125-6. Périssé Du Luc *Andreas a Tribus Lunis*, in the Lyons' Strict Observance, was in 1789 a deputy to the Constitutional Assembly; he served as a royalist at the siege of Lyons in 1793, and, after the siege, was condemned to death. Milanese, *Jacobus a Quatuor Patis*, a Martinist, and liberal politician, volunteered as commander of Artillery on the royalist side, and was executed after the fall of Lyons.

<sup>4</sup> He was Commissaire of the Directory at Rouen, and afterwards Minister of Finance of the Roman Republic. On his return he was attached to the Ministry of Justice at Paris, where he died in 1832.



*Savoie à la France*, has traced the cleavage of Savoyards as Girondins and Montagnards. Among the latter are:—

At Chambéry.

François Morel. Master of *Sept Amis* 1785.  
 Claude Girod [or Giraud]. Initiated in *Sept Amis*. Substitut Procureur 1789.  
 24 March.  
 François Jacquier. Advocate. Init. do. 1786. 10 October.  
 Antoine Depasquier. Joined *Sept Amis* from *Parfaite Union* 1787. Jan. 24.  
 Joseph Chabert. Substitut-procureur et notaire royal. Initiated in *Sept Amis*  
 1786. June 29.  
 Debry [Debrit. Debri].  
 Delabey. P.M. of *Parfaite Union*.  
 Lard. *Parfaite Union*.

At Annecy.

Jean Claude Bunod. Procureur Syndic.	<i>Triple Equerre</i> .	Expert preparateur.
Claude Marie Philippe. Advocate.	do.	1 <sup>er</sup> Surveillant.
François Michaud. Maître de Chapelle.	do.	Orateur.
Louis François Ruphy.	do.	Secrétaire.
Bourgeois (also of <i>Sept Amis</i> ).		
Vautier.		

At Rumilly.

Jean Claude Olive. Notaire Royal.	<i>La Vraie Amitié</i> .	1 <sup>er</sup> Surveillant.
Joseph Victor Saxe. Maître en Pharmacie.	do.	Géomètre. Ci-devant Garde des Sceaux

Among the Girondins.

Comte De L'Hopital.	<i>Parfaite Union</i> . P.M.
Lyonnaz. <sup>1</sup> Practicien.	do.
Moras. Médecin Militaire.	do.

In cases where dates of initiation are obtainable, it is observable that many of the persons who were pronounced revolutionaries were not masons of long standing. Some of them indeed had obtained office in their respective lodges so soon after becoming masons that their Masonic experiences could have but ill equipped them to expound the principles of the craft. The fact that from *Triple Equerre* in 1793 five fully fledged Montagnards emerge is compensated by the far more conspicuous fact that many of its members were persons who would have held Jacobinism in all its forms in detestation. It has been suggested that some of the bourgeois lodges which went into abeyance during the Terror had really become Jacobin clubs. It seems to be far more probable that they went into abeyance because the political crisis and the impending war had driven non-political activities out of consideration.<sup>2</sup>

## VI.—AFTER THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

On October 28th, 1800, the Lodge *Sept Amis* resumed its working. Two days later it took into consideration a proposal to unite the different lodges in order to form a single lodge for the commune, and at this meeting it recommended Grand Lodge to grant a constitution for a new lodge, *L'Intimité*, at Aix-les-Bains. On November 10th the Lodge resolved:—

Considering that it is time to put an end to the slumber into which till this day circumstances have thrown the true friends of Liberty and Equality: Considering that to attain this in the most efficacious way, it will be fitting that the members of the Lodge *Trois Mortiers* should reunite themselves to *Sept Amis* to form one single Atelier, they resolve:

<sup>1</sup> Lyonnaz, after the fall of the Gironde, was imprisoned.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Vermale dwells on similarities between the civic fêtes organised by Debri and Bernard, and certain masonic usages. M. Descostes (*Op. Cit.*, T. 1, pp. 236-7) cites the general obligations given in the By-laws of *Parfaite Union* (*Triple Union*?) in 1804. No. 1 concludes: "ne se occuper des objets de politique ou de religion".

Article I. It will be proposed to Lodge *Trois Mortiers* at the Orient of Chambéry to reunite themselves to that of *Sept Amis* in order to form one and the same atelier.

Article II. If there be no obstacle to this re-union, in each Lodge three commissaries will be named charged to define the bases.

The proposal was accepted by the brethren of *Trois Mortiers* on November 20th. It was agreed that: (1) "those hatreds, those bitter and sorrowful memories, inseparable from a great revolution" should be abolished, and (2) that to effect this end the names of the three lodges, *Trois Mortiers*, *Parfaite Union* and *Sept Amis* should be changed for the single name *Triple Union*. The Commissaries, however, reflecting that "the great political crises were still too recent, that wounds still bled, and that man has often need of reflection in order to make private feeling give way to grand views of justice and truth", agreed that a committee of seven or nine masters should select from the number of former members those who should be included in the new Atelier, and that none but those selected by the Committee should be admitted to membership of *Triple Union*.

In the month that *Sept Amis* revived, the Ven. F. Armenjon wrote to the G. Orient of France to inquire if the Government was aware of the activity of that body, and, if not, did the G. Orient think that the Government would disapprove of an assemblage of thirty-four masons, nearly all of them military men, who were about to petition for a constitution as the Lodge *Amis Réunis*. But at last the lodges in Savoy were accorded the favours of the State. Another lodge came into existence at this time—Saint-Jean-des Alpes (*Saint Jean de Maurienne*). It is not clear to me whether *Vraie Amitié* at Rumilly in 1801 is the former lodge of that name or a newly-constituted one.

So by the amalgamation of *Trois Mortiers* with *Sept Amis* in 1800 the last vestige of a connection with the English Grand Lodge has faded out of existence. Not a single name of noble rank is left. Dr. Vermale reports, in the lists of the lodges of Savoy. M. Albert Mathiez has well observed that the freemasonry of Savoy as it existed under the First Consul was very different from the freemasonry of the pre-revolutionary period. The former is unified and patronised by the State: the latter was heterogeneous and split into factions.

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## APPENDIX.

### I.

M. Gustave Bord in his anti-masonic *La Franc-maçonnerie en France* gives a list of lodges in France and in many cases notes as to their officers. From M. Des Costes' *Joseph de Maistre avant la Révolution* he learned of the existence of *Trois Mortiers*, but he knew nothing as to the lodges constituted by that Lodge, or of its Grand Orient rivals. He, however, mentions *Triple Union*. Here is a translation of what he has to say about it:—

*Triple Union et Réunion.*

Under the first title, the G. L. constituted this L. 29th August 1770 to take rank July 5 preceding (Rebold says 1779). This L. has left no traces before the Revolution.

In 1802, it resumed its working with Bataillard, propriétaire, as Vén. et Marie,<sup>1</sup> professor of jurisprudence, as secretary. The last

<sup>1</sup> Probably a misprint for 'Marin'.

was Vén. from 1808 to 1814. Bordas, formerly deputy to the legislative assembly, was his Deputy during the Empire. In 1813 this L. took the title of *Réunion*. (Bord, *op. cit.*, p. 419.)

## II.

The list of members of *Triple Union*, after the amalgamation of the three lodges, shows that membership of *Parfaite Union* had been regarded as equivalent to membership of *Trois Mortiers*. Some of the members:—

Vénérable.	Philibert Bataillard.	Mayor of Chambéry.	<i>Trois Mortiers.</i>
1 <sup>er</sup> Surveillant.	Joseph Armenjon.		<i>Sept Amis.</i>
2 <sup>de</sup> „	Jean-Francis Gabet.	Conseiller de Préfecture.	do.
Orateur.	Anthelme Marin.	Professor de législation.	<i>Trois Mortiers.</i>
Secrétaire.	Jacques Viervil.	do. d'écriture.	do.
	Joseph Chabert.	Notaire.	do.
	Pierre Louis Filliard.	Président du Tribunal Criminel.	do.
	Hyacinthe François Garin.	Commissaire du Gouvernement.	do.
	Charles Munery.	Secrétaire de la Préfecture.	do.
	Marie François Gorrin. père.	Imprimeur National.	do.

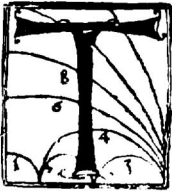
*Vraie Amitié* at Rumilly was working again in May, 1801.

## III.

M. François Descostes (*Joseph de Maistre avant la Révolution*, T. 1, p. 218), writes: “ Des débris épars du batallion débandé de feu le Comte de Bellegarde ont formé à Chambéry la loge de la *Parfaite Union* à la tête de laquelle les frères à la unanimité des voix, placèrent comme Grand-maître le frère marquis des Marches . . . C'est à cette loge que Joseph de Maistre fut affilié à son retour de Turin en 1773. Jean-Baptiste Salteur franchit avec lui le seuil de la *Parfaite Union*, et ils ne tardèrent pas à être élevés, Salteur à la dignité de *second surveillant* et de Maistre à celle de grand orateur ”. De Maistre, for all that is known, may have been made a Mason at Turin, although his age at that time does not favour such a supposition, but Dr. Vermale declares that his name does not appear on any of the lists of *Parfaite Union*. Descostes also confuses the Comte de Bellegarde with the Marquis. He writes (p. 216) “ in 1739, le Comte de Bellegarde, muni des pleins pouvoirs du Grand Orient de Londres, avait installé à Chambéry la loge des *Trois Mortiers*, seule grande maîtresse loge en Savoie et en Piémont ”. On p. 217, “ Charles-Emanuel, qui ne voyait pas d'un bon œil les mystérieux exercices des frères chambériens, commença par enjoindre au Comte de Bellegarde de ne plus paraître en loge ‘ sous peine d'encourir son indignation ’. Le Grand-Maitre, ‘ pénétré de tristesse ’, rendit le marteau, et ne fut remplacé ”. So on p. 218 M. Descostes describes *Parfaite Union* as a new Lodge composed of the “ debris ” of *Trois Mortiers*. On pp. 225-229 he gives the extracts of the protest remitted to the Grand Lodge of London, October 13th, 1774, signed by Salteur as 2nd Surveillant and de Maistre as Orateur of *Trois Mortiers*. He does not suggest that *Parfaite Union* claimed to have succeeded to the powers of *Trois Mortiers*. It seems that the author has made a most curious double blunder, and yet he derived his information from “ une pièce fort curieuse, timbrée du sceau de la Loge des *Trois Mortiers*, laquelle m'a été communiqué par M. André Perrin ”. From Dr. Vermale, who has studied the actual minute books of the Chambéry lodges, we learn that on May 23rd, 1774, *Trois Mortiers* “ donna une forme régulière aux travaux que pratiquaient, depuis plusieurs années, L. la *Parfaite Union* de Chambéry ” (*La Franc-Maçonnerie Savoisienne*, p. 5).

FRIDAY, 6th OCTOBER, 1933.

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THE 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.; B. Telepneff, J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; Geo. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., J.D.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, I.G.; Rev. A. W. Oxford, M.D., P.G.Ch., Almoner; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., Stew.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., Stew.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; and G. Hook, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. R. Girdlestone Cooper, W. J. Mean, F. S. Henwood, H. C. Towers, Ernest J. Marsh, Ed. M. Phillips, L. G. Wearing, W. W. Woodman, Chas. J. Hobden, H. J. van Aller, Reg. F. Baker, C. D. Melbourne, Geo. C. Williams, E. H. Cartwright, P.G.D., Arthur Saywell, P.A.G.St.B., G. W. South, R. A. Wall, C. F. Sykes, Frank Challans, E. Eyles, Jas. Wallis, Lewis Edwards, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., A. Thompson, H. G. Bennett, S. N. Smith, Wm. Lewis, Campbell Lee, W. T. J. Gun, R. W. Strickland, A. F. Ford, Chas. H. Lovell, L. H. Holliday, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., S. Leviten, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, G. Pear, F. Lidstone Found, P.A.G.St.B., J. C. Harvey, W. Brinkworth, and A. F. Cross.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. I. V. Warnor, R.W.M. 36 (S.C.) St. David; Geo. W. Cussons, W.M., Junior Engineers Lodge No. 2913; J. B. Edwards, P.M., Lodge of Assiduity No. 4844; P. Laycock, P.J.G.W., S. Australia; G. M. Sank-Brown, Harpenden Lodge No. 4314; A. S. Wilson, James Speller Lodge No. 3577; J. N. S. Wright, Anglo-Overseas Lodge No. 4886; S. C. Smart, Manchester Lodge No. 179; A. Baron Burn, Clapham Lodge No. 1818; and Jno. F. Nichols, Old Sinjins Lodge No. 3232.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Major C. Adams, P.G.D.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; G. Norman, M.D., P.G.D., P.M.; John Stokes, M.A., P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; and B. Ivanoff.

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Four Lodges, one Reading Club, and Forty-three Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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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 Especial Grand Lodge on 18th July:—Bros. C. Maple-Polmear, Major-Gen. J. D. McLachlan, T. H. Woollen, J. C. Gardner, C. C. Gill, and C. D. Eaton, Grand Deacons; G. T. Boag, T. J. Harding, E. H. Harries-Jones, L. F. Newman, and G. B. Soddy, Past Grand Deacons; Harry Bladon, G. T. Devonshire, and A. T. Penman, Assistant Directors of Ceremonies; G. S. Knocker, Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works; C. H. Clarke, Major E. J. Dunscombe, W. H. Edmunds, J. E. Pickard, G. Reeves-Brown, and W. Lee Roberts, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; J. Ingram Moar and W. Wagner, Past Grand Standard Bearers; A. H. Bowen, C. S. Burdon, and T. L. Found, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearers.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. MEYRICK HEATH.

Old Irish R.A. Certificate, issued by the Encampment No. 36 (with the 36th Regiment of Foot) at Malta on 23rd February, 1819. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. HUGO TATSCH.

Two specimens, one with purple ribbon, the other with green, commemorative medals of the Bi-centenary of the G.L. of Massachusetts. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Perpetual Calendar; engraved plate, the work of an English Prisoner of War (Joseph Bye) at Cambrai in 1813.

A copy of the 1746 *Constitutions*, with both title-pages 1738 and 1746; probably unique.

Original letter from the Duke of Richmond to Martin Folkes, apologising for forgetting the meeting of June 24, 1725. Also referring to a version of the O.C. (Text printed at A.Q.C., xliii., 255.)

Three pamphlets:—

- (i.) A Sermon preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia before the Provincial Grand Master [etc.] on Tuesday 24 June 1755. By William Smith. London: reprinted for R. Griffiths.
- (ii.) *The Excellence and Usefulness of Masonry* . . . A Sermon . . . By the Rev. Thos. Bagnall.
- (iii.) An Oration in honour of Freemasonry delivered before the G.L. of Scotland, 30 Novr. 1763 by David Erskine Baker. Edinburgh 1763.

By Bro. DAVID FLATHER.

Four jewels; French Prisoners' work. Craft.

A Jewel. F.P. work but cast metal, and *Orange*.

By Bro. FENTON.

Photograph of a Certificate issued by the Lodge of St. Albans, No. 176, at Birmingham in 1783.

Three jewels from the Royal Scots Lodge No. 216, Unity, Peace and Concord.

From the LODGE LIBRARY.

The *Constitutions*, 1738.

The re-issue of the 1738 in 1746.

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

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Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS read the following paper:—

## ANDERSON'S BOOK OF CONSTITUTIONS OF 1738.

BY BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS.



IN attempting any appreciation or criticism of a book written at a past date, however recent that date may be, it is necessary in order fairly to judge it, to consider it both in the light of the time and circumstances in which it was composed and also having fully in one's mind the characteristics of the author, his intellectual make-up, his social, religious and political *milieu*, desires, and aversions.

The age in which James Anderson wrote was one of political inquiry, of scientific inquisitiveness, of increasing social amenities. The first is connoted by the names of such political theorists as Hobbes (an early influence), Filmer, Locke, and Bolingbroke. The institution and influence of the Royal Society is the outward and visible sign of the scientific spirit, while the growing popularity of the coffee houses, of social gatherings, and the general spirit of clubability are evidence of the growth of the social spirit, of amenity, of urbanity. Moreover, the rise and prevalence of Deism and of ideas of toleration make the period one of considerable interest in the history of religious opinion. This side, however, may perhaps be more conveniently dealt with in discussing the somewhat tantalising phrasing of the First Charge and its variations in the 1723 and 1738 Editions.

Yet in spite of all this, however much the renaissance of Freemasonry may have been influenced or even inspired by these currents of opinion, it cannot be said that either the form or content of the *Book of Constitutions* show many effects of the spirit of inquiry, of rationalism, or of modern historical method. Indeed, though the first two editions of the *Constitutions* stand at the parting of the ways between the old Freemasonry and the new, and despite the claims of their author, yet it seems that they look backward in form and in spirit to what is popularly considered mediævalism rather than forward to eighteenth century enlightenment and method.

For, consider their characteristics. The reverence for antiquity, for precedent, for the great names of sacred and profane history, the claim to universality, the marks of a *pièce à thèse*, the jumble of facts and dates, the lack of proportion. It cannot be too often emphasised that while the modern mind cherishes material antiquities and tends to scorn old institutions, valuing them merely for their suitability or adaptability to modern needs, the mediæval mind, while accounting material antiquities as mere stocks and stones fitted only for the rude foundations of its own structures, valued ancient institutions as sacred by reason of their very age, and would use age and consonance with precedent as the criterion of perfection, proclaiming for anything new its derivation from the old, and not its novelty, as its title to regard. The smallness of the mediæval world, the idea of a Catholic Church and a Catholic State, was still impressed on men's minds when the conditions and institutions from which they derived had long since passed away. The writing for a purpose, rather than the inquiry without prejudice into the subject matter of the work, *e.g.*, to demonstrate the greatness and the wide extent of architecture, is another characteristic of the mediæval as opposed to the modern mind. The jumble of facts and dates, the lack of proportion, or what seems so to us, is due, not so much to a lack of a sense of chronology and of geography as to the fact that being viewed under a different aspect and from a different angle, events, times, and processes seem to our ideas curiously foreshortened and otherwise distorted.

## THE AUTHOR.

The chief facts in the life of Dr. James Anderson, thanks to the studies of Bros. Crawley, Thorp, Robbins, and Miller, are well-known to the members of this Lodge, and it is unnecessary here to do more than briefly recapitulate them. But there are a few which either from their direct connection with the *Book of Constitutions*, or from the light which they throw on our author's character and opinions, require somewhat detailed treatment.

<sup>1</sup> His father, James Anderson, glazier, was a substantial burgess of Aberdeen, for many years secretary, and for some fifty years a member, of the Lodge of Aberdeen. James the younger was baptised on January the 19th; 1679, and was educated at the Marischal College there, becoming Johnston Bursar of Divinity, and probably leaving on the completion of his studies in 1702. There is no evidence of his presence at Aberdeen after this date, nor of his being licensed by the local Presbytery, but it would seem that he preached for some time thereafter in Scotland without having any definite living, probably being licensed by some other Presbytery. Save for this his history between 1702 and 1709, when he appears in London, is unknown to us. To close this account of his connection with Aberdeen it may be said that he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity there in 1731.

A question which has not yet been settled is the date and place of his initiation. As has been said, his father was a prominent member of the local Lodge (his Mason's Mark has been preserved), and Anderson himself introduces into the *Book of Constitutions* one or two Scottish Masonic terms; although there is nothing in the Lodge records to show that he was a member, yet these records are incomplete for the years during which his initiation may have taken place. And further we may compare two passages, one from the *Book of Constitutions* of 1738 (page 91):—

“The Fraternity of old met in Monasteries in foul Weather; but in fair Weather they met early in the Morning on the Tops of Hills, especially on St. John Evangelist's Day, and from thence walk'd in due Form to the place of Dinner, according to the Tradition of the old Scots Masons, particularly of those of the Antient Lodges of Kilwinning, Stirling, Aberdeen, etc.”;

and the other from the Aberdeen Lodge Rules of 1670 (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., 102 to 103):—

“no Lodge be holden within a dwelling where there is people living in it, but in the open field, except it be ill weather.”

“all entering Prentices be entered in our ancient outfield Lodge.”

The Rules of 1670 enacted that every apprentice and fellow craft, on admission, should provide a dinner, and that, on St. John's Day, twelve shillings should be collected from each member, the money to be spent as the Lodge should think fit for the honour of the Day, which was to be kept as one “of rejoicing and feasting.”

On the other hand, had Anderson been ‘made’ in Scotland, one would have expected him to have interested himself in English Freemasonry earlier than in fact he appears to have done, and it must be admitted that the circumstances just related are quite consistent with his not having been initiated until after he had taken up residence in England. Still, whatever other inference can be drawn, it is quite clear that he grew up with Freemasonry all about him and that whether from within or from without many of the practices and terms of the Freemasons were known to him.

<sup>1</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., p. 86.



<sup>1</sup> Coming to London, as has been said, in 1709 Anderson became the ritualistically inclined minister of a Scotch congregation meeting in Swallow Street, St. James's (opposite the Wren Church in which some 100 years later Gilkes was to be buried) and continued his ministerial duty apparently until his death in 1739, although after a secession or schism he and a part of his congregation removed to another meeting-house in Lisle Street, Leicester Square. He published a few sermons and theological treatises, a voluminous compilation on "Royal Genealogies" (in effect a translation with additions of a German work by Hübner) and two editions of the *Book of Constitutions*, while his "News from Elysium" was published posthumously. He held for a time the position of Chaplain to the Earl of Buchan, a member of a family closely associated with the early days of the Craft.

To his writings cannot be attributed any considerable literary qualities, and his readers generally are agreed that dullness and prolixity are their most characteristic features. In political opinions a staunch Hanoverian, and indeed one who received favours from the reigning House, in religion "a Defender of the Faith," and a foe to "Idolaters, modern Jews and Anti-Trinitarians"—to quote the smiting epithets of his pamphlet on "Unity in Trinity." One whose Masonic origins are—subject to what has been said above—obscure, whose interest in the Craft was seemingly intermittent and not free from motives of profit and glory. One who was careless and inaccurate in his facts and unattractive in his style and who sought that patronage of the great which is so useful an aid to the ambitious journeyman of letters.

This enumeration is not given as what modern jargon calls a mere pen-portrait, but is necessary to a full appreciation of the *Book of Constitutions*, and in particular in any attempt to answer or even to pose certain interesting questions arising thereout. Is there a political bias or basis? Is there a religious? How deep was Anderson's knowledge of the Craft, how large his experience, how sound the basis of his opinion? How far is his treatment affected and either improved or vitiated by qualities or defects of matter or manner?

On the eve of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, Anderson delivered and published the sermon entitled "No King-Killers," in Dr. Crawley's words,<sup>2</sup> "A vigorous repudiation of the charge that the Scottish nation had permitted its commercial instincts to get the better of its loyal sentiments, in selling its King to the Parliament," the Dedication of which is addressed to the Reverend Daniel Williams, D.D., as "a professed and firm friend to Monarchy and Presbytery, and [as one who] ever asserted them to be highly consistent." The *Royal Genealogies* and the second edition of the *Constitutions* are dedicated to the Hanoverian Prince of Wales.<sup>3</sup> In October, 1735, he was granted by the Queen-Consort-and-Regent the sum of £200. Anderson was a loyal and firm adherent and admirer of the Duke of Montagu, a staunch supporter of the ruling house. Clearly then his own sympathies were definitely Hanoverian. On the other hand, there is clear evidence, even to the distortion and misrepresentation of facts, of what in 1738 had become our author's dislike of the Duke of Wharton, the notorious Jacobite. The subject cannot be fully discussed in this paper, nor the evidence considered of the Jacobite Lodge in Rome, or of the suggested political imagery of the legend of the Third Degree. But taking what little has been here said and the description of the Masonic gathering at Stationers' Hall given by the author of the *Praise of Drunkenness*, where "no mention [was] made of Politics or Religion . . . And when the Music began to play, 'Let the King enjoy his own again,' they were immediately reprimanded by a Person of great Gravity and Science," would it be wrong to assume that at about the time Anderson published his first edition there were in the Craft

<sup>1</sup> A.Q.C., xxiii., p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> A.Q.C., xviii., p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> A.Q.C., xxiii., p. 17.

conflicting political currents, and that the recollection of these was yet in his mind at the time he published the second? Point is added to this assumption by the fact to be noted later, that to the second Charge of the 1738 edition (page 144) while inculcating respect and loyalty toward the civil magistrate, he yet adds that "tho' a *Brother* is not to be countenanced in his *Rebellion* against the State; yet if convicted of no other Crime, his Relation to the *Lodge* remains indefeasible." Is this an attempt at a *modus vivendi* between the two parties?

The question of the religious basis of Freemasonry after the Revival is one peculiarly difficult to decide. Begemann would see as its basis, Christianity in the form of the national Church of England. The other school is not unfairly represented by a recent French clerical writer, the late Mgr. E. Jouin,<sup>1</sup> who states that "the dogma is simple: it is that of a universal religion. In its own phrase, it is called Deism. The person who applies the term is certainly not yet an atheist but is travelling on the path of atheism."

In his first edition (p. 50), Anderson says: "A *Mason* is obliged by his Tenure, to obey the moral Law: and if he rightly understands the Art he will never be a stupid Atheist, nor an irreligious Libertine [*i.e.*, Freethinker]. But though in ancient Times Masons were charg'd in every Country to be of the Religion of that Country or Nation, whatever it was, yet 'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that Religion in which all Men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves; that is, to be good Men and true, or Men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever Denominations or Persuasions they may be distinguish'd; whereby Masonry becomes the Center of Union, and the Means of conciliating true Friendship among Persons that must have remain'd at a perpetual distance."

In the second edition (p. 143), he puts the matter thus: "A *Mason* is obliged by his Tenure to observe the Moral Law, as a true *Noachida*; and if he rightly understands the Craft, he will never be a Stupid Atheist, nor an Irreligious Libertin, nor act against Conscience."

"In ancient Times the *Christian Masons* were charged to comply with the *Christian Usages* of each Country where they travell'd or work'd: But *Masonry* being found in all Nations, even of divers Religions, they are now only charged to adhere to that Religion in which Men agree, (leaving each Brother to his own particular opinions), that is, to be Good Men and True, Men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever Names, Religions, or Persuasions they may be distinguish'd; For they all agree in the three great *Articles* of Noah, enough to preserve the Cement of the Lodge. Thus *Masonry* is the Center of their Union and the happy Means of conciliating Persons that otherwise must have remain'd at a perpetual Distance."

Obviously the *prima facie* import of the passages cited is to show a society free from dogma, in which are inculcated only general Theistic and moral doctrines. But what evidence is there either to strengthen or to rebut this *prima facie* view?

It is noticeable, it is perhaps significant, that while many of the Old Charges open with a Trinitarian invocation, as does even the *Roberts* printed version of 1722, there is no such passage in either of Anderson's editions. In 1732 a Jew was initiated, and in the list of early Grand Stewards there occur many Jewish names. <sup>2</sup> The members of the Order are attacked in the First "Letter to a Friend concerning the Society of Freemasons" of 1725 in regard to those "who write themselves S.T.P., which some are apt to imagine, stands for *Sacrosanctæ Trinitatis Persecutores*," and there are the "dust and scandal," unknown but imaginable, referred to in the Preface to the *Roberts* Constitutions.

<sup>3</sup> Stukeley in his Diary refers to Martin Folkes as "in matters of religion an

<sup>1</sup> *Livre des Constitutions Maçonniques* (Paris, 1930), p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Gould, iii., p. 480.

<sup>3</sup> Diary, i., p. 100.

errant infidel and loud scoffer . . . [who] believes nothing of a future state, of the Scriptures, of revelation . . . perverted Duke of Montagu, Richmond, Ld. Pembroke, and very many of the nobility, who had an opinion of his understanding, and who made 'the infidel System' fashionable in the Royal Society." Stukeley's language is so strong as to make us rather doubtful of the truth of his allegation, but it is rather a matter of wonder that within forty years of Bothwell Bridge and "The Killing Time," a society could constitute itself under so non-sectarian and so tolerant a banner as that of the Freemasonry of the Revival.

On the other hand, there seems to be nothing of the sceptic about Anderson himself. We have his Christian references, and even his mention of Jesus as "the Great Architect or Grand Master of the Christian Church." His pamphlet against "Idolaters, modern Jews, and Anti-Trinitarians" has been adduced to show that he would give no countenance to any non-Christian society, particularly one with Jewish members, but is it not plain that the reference is merely a controversial one, more or less synonymous with Anti-Trinitarians, and that there is no necessary inconsistency between such a reference in a theological controversy and meeting Jews in such a society as those who take the non-sectarian view hold Freemasonry to have been? Begemann<sup>1</sup> quotes the decidedly fervent Christianity of the Preface to *Long Livers* in support of the sectarian view, but the enthusiasm and expectancy of its author are much more apparent than any detailed knowledge of the Order.

Such, then, is a *résumé* of the chief evidence on each side, and it is open to anyone to decide this most interesting and most important question for himself. One may say of this as of other conflicts of evidence that we may have occasion to refer to hereafter, that in these trials by written evidence we are under the very great disadvantage of not being able to see the witnesses and note their demeanour, advantages which tell so strongly in a *viva voce* trial since it is often the *imponderabilia* which finally help in a decision. Here the *imponderabilia* are the peculiarities and unconscious predilections of those who judge, which is not nearly so satisfactory. Omitting these, and feeling that whichever side one takes one has some worthy names to support one, it is thought not unfair to put the position thus. As compared with the words of many of the Old Charges, Anderson's First Charge—in both versions—marks a great change of phraseology in a most important particular. It is more reasonable to suppose it deliberate than accidental, and were it accidental and opposed to contemporary feeling in the Craft, however slight may have been the control to which Anderson was subjected, we could scarcely expect it to have passed unchallenged and unamended by Grand Lodge and its advisers.

Perhaps it is possible to suggest a view intermediate between these two extremes. I have particularly in mind what Anderson says on page 23 in speaking of the Zoroastrians: "They are here mention'd, and not for their Religious Rites that are not the subject of this Book: For we leave every Brother to Liberty of Conscience. But strictly charge him carefully to maintain the *Cement of the Lodge*, and the three Articles of Noah." Might it not be that the First Charge attempts only to define not the whole body of religious belief of the members, but that part of the religion of each which is common to all, the highest common factor. Freemasonry admits those of many religions if its adherents admit the necessary minima of the common belief. Their additional articles of faith are irrelevant and indeed should not be discussed, lest an attempt to travel outside should create dissension.

What were Anderson's qualifications as the first Masonic historian? How long was his Masonic experience? How large his acquaintance with Grand Lodge and its proceedings? Much of the answer to this is doubtful. We do not know

<sup>1</sup> Begemann, *Vorgeschichte*, ii., 93.

where or when he was initiated. True he uses Scottish Masonic terms, like Entered Prentice, but he may just as well have learnt them outside the Lodge of Aberdeen as within. Begemann thinks that he did not associate himself with the English Order until it was becoming popular with noblemen and persons of consideration, and it is very probable that had Anderson been a member in the early days of the revival he would have been offered and (can we doubt?) have accepted office in Grand Lodge earlier than his own statements show him to have done. In the matter of his attendance at Grand Lodge, a fair index of his enthusiasm, we are on much surer ground. We have his version of his attendances and that in the Minutes.

As the latter begin only on the 24th of June, 1723, our sole guide—if guide it is—is <sup>1</sup> Anderson's own account of his earlier connection with Grand Lodge, and according to this in September, 1721, he was ordered to digest the Old Constitutions; in December, 1721, a Committee was appointed to examine the work; in March, 1722, they reported that they had perused his manuscripts, and in January, 1722/3 he produced the *Book of Constitutions* and it was again approved. A full discussion of the credibility of these assertions will be found in Bro. Vibert's paper, and I need only say here that Anderson has attempted to make out that what was in reality a private undertaking was the carrying out of the spontaneous orders of Grand Lodge.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson states that on the 17th of January, 1722/3, the Duke of Wharton appointed him as (Junior) Grand Warden, apparently according to him in place of William Hawkins, "for Hawkins demitted as always out of town," at the same time as Desaguliers was made Deputy Grand Master. But the Approbation of the 1723 edition drawn up about the beginning of December, 1722, gives Desaguliers as Deputy and Hawkins as Junior Grand Warden. <sup>3</sup> Further, the earliest extant Minute, that of the 24th of June, 1723, has by Bro. Songhurst been found to have been tampered with. It originally read (as Junior Grand Warden): "The Reverend Mr. James Anderson who officiated for Mr. William Hawkins," but the last six words have been erased, leaving Anderson as Warden *simpliciter*. <sup>4</sup> Moreover, in the list of Grand Wardens for 1722, after the name of Hawkins is added in what is clearly Anderson's handwriting the words "who demitted and then James Anderson A. M. was chosen in his place." Therefore, if one leaves out what Anderson has written and restores what has been erased (and who other than Anderson could have had a motive for erasing it and an opportunity withal to erase as well as to add?), we find that from the Minutes Anderson's only claim to the rank of Junior Grand Warden is his acting as substitute for Hawkins. Further, in the 1756 edition of the *Constitutions*, although Hawkins is given as Grand Warden under date the 24th of June, 1722, his name is omitted altogether on the 17th January, 1722/3, his demission not mentioned, and "James Anderson A.M." is given as (Junior) Grand Warden. By the time the *Freemasons' Calendar* is published in 1775, no mention at all is made of the unfortunate Hawkins in the list of Past Grand Wardens. However, whether or not we can consider Anderson's claim to the Warden's chair as established, there can be no doubt that the subsequent Minutes recognise it, since after Grand Lodge had on the 10th of May, 1727, resolved that Past Grand Wardens should be admitted at all Quarterly Communications, he not only attended, but is noted as a former or late Grand Warden and on several occasions officiated in that capacity. He does not appear to have availed himself of the privilege extended to him in May, 1727, for some three years, although in fairness it must be admitted that the other Past Grand Wardens as a rule do not appear to have been assiduous or

<sup>1</sup> 2nd Edition, pp. 113-115.

<sup>2</sup> p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., p. 49 and plate on p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., p. 196 and plate.

even frequent in their attendances after the expiration of their periods of office. Anderson attended Grand Lodge once in 1730, twice in 1731 (once speaking on a Charity Petition), twice in 1732, and once in 1733. Now if we bear in mind the fact that in 1732 appeared the *Royal Genealogies* with a distinguished array of Freemasons as subscribers or encouragers, we can not unfairly guess the reason of his renewed interest in the Craft. On the 24th of February, 1735, Anderson presented a memorial regarding a new edition of the *Book of Constitutions* and his objection to what must have been Smith's *Pocket Companion*, and after that we find him attending on two other occasions in that year, twice in 1736, once in 1737, and twice in 1738, the year before his death.

It is therefore quite clear that except when concerned to get authority for his literary work or to obtain patronage for his publications, Anderson, if the attendances at Quarterly Communications be a criterion, was no more disinterestedly concerned in the affairs of the Craft than other past Wardens, and Begemann's view that his interest in Freemasonry was that of the discoverer of a remunerative field for literary employment can hardly be said to be unfair.

The Second Edition of the *Book of Constitutions* (1738) consists of:—

- I. Frontispiece and title-page.
- II. Anderson's Dedication to the Prince of Wales (iii.-vi.).
- III. "The Author to the Reader," containing a short introduction and explanation, and a table of contents (vii.-x.).
- IV. The Sanction, with on the reverse the arms of Lord Carnarvon.
- V. The Constitutions (1-139).  
This is divided into three parts, each part being again divided into chapters.  
Part I. The History of Masonry from the Creation throughout the Known Earth; till true old architecture was demolished by the Goths and at last revived in Italy (1-55).  
Part II. The History of Masonry in Britain, from Julius Cæsar, till The Union of the Crowns, 1603 (55-96).  
Part III. The History of Masonry in Britain, from the Union of the Crowns to these Times (97-139).
- VI. List of Grand Masters or Patrons of the Free Masons in England, from the Coming in of the Anglo-Saxons to these Times, who are mentioned in this Book (140-142).
- VII. The Old Charges (143-149).
- VIII. The Antient Manner of Constituting a Lodge (149-151).
- IX. The General Regulations (152-178).  
[The "Old" and the "New" Regulations are set out in an attempt at parallel columns.]
- X. The Constitution of the Committee of Masons Charity first proposed at the Grand Lodge on 21 Nov. 1724 (178-184).
- XI. A list of the Lodges in and about London and Westminster (184-190).
- XII. Deputations of several Grand Masters to Wales, the Country of England and foreign Parts (followed by an historical and rhapsodical appreciation) (190-198).

- XIII. The Approbation (199).
- XIV. Some of the usual Free-Masons Songs (200-215).
- XV. A Defence of Masonry, published A.D. 1730. Occasioned by a Pamphlet called Masonry Dissected (216-226).
- XVI. Brother Euclid's Letter to the Author against unjust Cavils (226-228).
- XVII. Names of Brethren and Lodges who "kindly encouraged" the Author (229-230).
- XVIII. A page (un-numbered) of Corrigenda, with on the reverse the publisher's announcements.

## I. FRONTISPIECE AND TITLE-PAGE.

Unlike the first edition, that of 1738 has no half-title. The frontispiece is the same in both editions, save that in the later the Engraver's name and address do not appear. The title-page of the 1738 edition is printed partly in red, and Anderson's name appears thereon for the first time. "James Anderson, D.D." The title itself is much longer, and may be compared with that of 1723:—"The | Constitutions | of the | Free-Masons | containing the | History, Charges, Regulations etc. | of that most Ancient and Right | Worshipful Fraternity. | For the use of the Lodges. | " (1723). "The | New Book | of Constitutions | of the | Antient and Honourable Fraternity | of | Free and Accepted Masons | containing | Their History, Charges, Regulations, &c. | Collected and Digested | By Order of the Grand Lodge from their old Records, | faithful Traditions and Lodge-Books. | For the Use of the Lodges. | " (1738). We may note the appearance of the description of the Craft which has now become time-honoured, the claim "By order of the Grand Lodge," and the variations of spelling, "ancient" and "antient" in the two editions. The new imprint is that of "Brothers Cæsar Ward and Richard Chandler," of the "Ship, without Temple-Bar," Coney Street York and "Scarborough-Spaw."

It is to be noted that the account of the proceedings of Grand Lodge closes with the Meeting of the 28th of June, 1738; that he mentions the Lodge at Halifax meeting at the Black Bull being constituted on the 1st of August; that he dates his Preface the 4th of November, and that Brother Euclid's letter is dated the 9th of November. From this it is clear that the various parts of the *Book of Constitutions* were completed by Anderson at different dates, but it would appear nevertheless that these were printed consecutively in view of the fact that from the evidence of the catch-words the book was printed as a whole. The probable date of publication we should suggest in common with other authorities to be somewhere in or about February, 1738/9.

With regard to the publishers, Mr. Richard Chandler was a member of the Lodge meeting at the Sun in Fleet Street in 1731.

## II. THE DEDICATION.

The Dedication is addressed to Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, "a Master Mason, and Master of a Lodge," by Anderson himself, and not as before by a third person, *i.e.*, Desaguliers, and the author states that he does so by order of the Grand Master and the Fraternity and in their name, although there is no record of the facts in the Minutes of Grand Lodge. It is interesting to note Anderson's reference to the Royal Art, and his allusion in the spirit of the Old Charges, to respect for the civil magistrate and to liberty of conscience.

Anderson records under date the 5th November, 1737, that an "Occasional Lodge" was held at the Prince of Wales's Palace at Kew, at which, there being present Desaguliers " (formerly Grand Master) Master of this Lodge," William



Gofton and Erasmus King, Senior and Junior Grand Wardens (neither of these brethren being Wardens of Grand Lodge and not even finding a mention in the Q.C. edition of the earlier Minutes), and others, the Prince of Wales "was in the usual Manner introduced, and made an Enter'd Prentice and Fellow Craft, and that he was made a Master Mason by the same Lodge, that assembled there again for that Purpose." There is no reference to Frederick's initiation in the Minutes, but that is accounted for by the fact that what was held appears to have been a meeting of a private Lodge, probably summoned especially for the purpose, and on the lines of the pre-1717 meetings, *e.g.*, that at which Ashmole was initiated. The influence of Desaguliers, who was Chaplain to the Prince, was, we may suppose, not without effect in beginning the connection between the house of Hanover and the Craft.

#### IV. THE SANCTION.

Bro. Vibert takes the view that the Approbation of the 1723 edition was written by Anderson himself, and the same would seem to be the case with regard to the Sanction of the 1738 edition.

There we find his expression in "ample form" which is not given in the Minutes. He states that on 25th November, 1723, Grand Lodge resolved "That no alterations shall be made in their printed Book of Constitutions without leave of the Grand Lodge." It did no such thing, and certainly on no such date. The official record informs us that on the 24th June, 1723, the Sanction of the first edition (at the end of page 91) having been read, it was moved (on the main question) "That the said General Regulations be confirmed so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of Masonry," but that then the question was moved and put, whether the words "so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of Masonry," be part of the question, and this latter resolution was carried. But the main question was not put, and the question was moved "That it is not in the power of any person or body of men to make any alteration or innovation on the body of Masonry without the consent first obtained of the Annual Grand Lodge," which last question was resolved in the affirmative. That is the nearest we can get in words to Anderson's statement. We find that the words are incorrectly given, the version garbled, and the date erroneous, and the whole spirit of the resolution transformed. The condemnation of Smith's *Pocket Companion* in 1735 is fairly represented in the second paragraph of the Sanction, but in the third Anderson goes on to say that Grand Lodge "order'd" him to print the book, whereas what took place was that on his desiring the Grand Master's Commands and the approbation of Grand Lodge, this request was granted him.

The Sanction concludes with a recommendation of the book as the only *Book of Constitutions*, and a rather exhaustive warning against any other books, the compilations of Smith or of any imitators he might have, being no doubt implied.

It is instructive to compare this Sanction with that of the Grand Officers given to Preston's *Illustrations*, where it is much more accurately stated that Preston having compiled his book "has requested our Sanction for the publication thereof" and that having perused the said book, and finding it to correspond with the ancient practices of this Society, the undersigned Grand Officers "do recommend the same."

#### V. THE CONSTITUTIONS.

A criticism of the Constitutions will be attempted later when the whole book has been considered, but, before we consider them in any detail, it will be both fairer and more convenient if we endeavour to adjust ourselves to that angle

<sup>1</sup> Q.C.A., x., pp. 50-1.



of vision, however false, it may seem to modern ideas, from which Anderson saw the things of which he wrote.

He states (p. vii.) that the MS. Constitutions contained not only the "Charges and Regulations, but also the History of Architecture from the Beginning of Time; in order to show the Antiquity and Excellency of the Craft or Art, and how it gradually arose upon its solid Foundation the noble Science of Geometry, by the Encouragement of Royal, Noble and Learned Patrons in every Age and in all polite Nations." He, to continue his explanation, was ordered to digest the old Constitutions "with a just Chronology" in the 1723 edition, and had now published his new edition "about twice as large, having many proper Additions," including the transactions of Grand Lodge since that date. "It had been tedious, and of no great use" to have given his authorities, particularly as most of the facts were to be found in other histories—"only some Authors are quoted as more necessary Vouchers." "But the Omission is well enough supply'd by an exact chronology . . . Some few Genealogies are put in the Margin . . . But the History here chiefly concerns Masonry, without meddling with other Transactions, more than what only serves to connect the History of Masonry, the strict subject of this Book." Such is Anderson's intention. Masonry for him connotes architecture, and his aim is to trace its rise and progress, and to detail its glories and its distinguished patrons and practitioners in every age and in every clime. He has his dislikes and preferences. His ideal architecture is Augustan: the purer and now greatly preferred Greek he has no such esteem for. It is noteworthy that that epoch of all others in English history to which the term Augustan is generally applied should have seen the revival of Freemasonry and in its first historian so great a lover of the Augustan style. As has been pointed out before, Anderson failed to observe that the Gothic period when individual craftsmanship counted for so much, and when classes and crafts were such individualized entities, is that in which the spirit of Masonry probably had its greatest success as an *esprit de corps* among the Operatives.

In order to give an idea of how little originality there was in Anderson's ideas and how these were in strict conformity with contemporary thought it is useful to quote the following passages from a book of reference which had a wide circulation at the time—the *Dictionarium Britannicum* or . . . *English Dictionary* by N. Bailey (Second Edition 1736). (It is noted on the title-page that the Etymological part is by T. Lediard, whom we know as the translator of *Sethos*):—

#### *Geometry*

Geometry originally signified the art of measuring the Earth, or any distances or dimensions on or within it: but it is now used for the science of quantity, extension or magnitude abstractedly considered, without any regard to matter.

It is very probable, that it had its first rise in Egypt where the river Nile, every year overflowing the country, and leaving it covered with mud, laid men under a necessity to distinguish their land one from another by the consideration of this figure; and to be able to measure the quantity of it, so that each man after the fall of the waters might have his portion of ground allotted and laid out to him. After which, it is very likely, a further contemplation of these draughts and figures helped them to discover many excellent and wonderful properties belonging to them, which speculation continually was improving and still is to this day.

Out of Egypt Thales brought it into Greece, and there it received its chiefest proportion. For the geometry of the antients was contained within narrow bounds, and extended only to right lines and curves of the first kind or order: whereas new lines of infinite orders

are receiv'd into geometry which orders are defined by equations, involving the ordinates and abscisses of curves.

The subject of Geometry is the length, breadth and height of all things. It is divided into Speculative and Practical. The former treats of the proportion of Lines and Figures, such as Euclid's Elements, Appollonius's Conicks, etc., and the latter shows how to apply those Speculations to use in life.

Geometry is painted as a lady with a sallow face, clad in a green mantle fringed with silver, and holding a silver wand in her right hand.

#### *Gothick Building.*

A manner of building brought into use after those barbarous people, the Goths and Vandals, made their irruptions into Italy; who demolished the greatest part of the ancient Roman architecture, as also the Moors and Arabs did the Greeks; and instead of those admirable and regular orders and modes of building, introduc'd a licentious and fantastical mode, wild and chimerical, whose profiles are incorrect, which altho' it was sometimes adorn'd with expensive and costly carvings, but lamentable imagery, has not that augustness, beauty and just symmetry, which the ancient Greek and Roman fabricks had: However, it is oftentimes found very strong and appears rich and pompous, as particularly in several English cathedrals.

Free Masons { a very antient Society or body of men, so-called,  
Accepted Masons { either for some extraordinary Knowledge of masonry which they are supposed to be masters of; or because the first founders of that Society were persons of that profession. There are now in all or most nations of Europe; what the end of this society is, yet remains in some measure a secret, unless that they tend to promote friendship, society, mutual assistance and good fellowship.

And Bailey was not alone in his contempt for Gothic, as witness the following quotation from that arbiter of taste, the *Spectator*:—

Let anyone reflect on the disposition of mind he finds in himself at his first entrance into the Pantheon at Rome, and how the imagination is filled with something great and amazing; and at the same time consider how little, in proportion, he is affected with the inside of a Gothic cathedral, though it be five times larger than the other; which can arise from nothing else but the greatness of the manner in the one and the meanness in the other.

*Spectator*, vi., No. 415.

The Old Constitutions had been lax in their chronology, and many versions are not uninfluenced by the historical or literary predilections of the individual scribe, and in their faults Anderson excelled them. Flushed with the success of the first edition and his enlargement on his anonymous predecessors, and conscious of his authorship of the *Royal Genealogies*, Anderson gave free rein to his own fancy and his newly-acquired Chronology. Interpreting the directions of Grand Lodge as he did, as including the patrons of the art, he found himself free to fling his net over every age and over the great names of the civilised world, for all could be brought in, either as Grand Masters, or officers, or as patrons.

And indeed, a whole chapter might be written on Anderson's use of the term "Grand Master" (or "Deputy" or "Wardens") and another on his use of the word "Lodge." There are in the 1738 edition considerably over one hundred instances of the employment of one or other of these words in reference to conditions before 1717, when according to modern usage and with anything

like a close regard for exact nomenclature such a use would be at once ludicrous and unpardonable. To take only a few instances, we have:—

The Israelites . . . having many expert artists in every Tribe that met in Lodges and Societies (p. 9).

Hiram Abbif . . . who in Solomon's absence fill'd the Chair as Deputy Grand Master and in his presence was the Senior Grand Warden, or principal Surveyor and Master of Work (p. 12).

The High Priests of Jerusalem had been Provincial Grand Masters there, under the Kings of Egypt (p. 38).

Herod . . . marshalled them in Lodges under 1000 Priests and Levites that were skilful Architects, as Masters and Wardens of the Lodges, and acted as Grand Master himself with his Wardens Hillel and Shammai . . . (p. 40).

Laurentius I. . . of Florence stiled the Magnificent Grand Master of the Revivers (p. 50).

(*cf.* Laurentius II. . . Patron of the Revivers) (p. 50).

James Sansovino constituted a Lodge of Architects (or Masters) at Venice . . . and fortify'd the whole Republic as Grand Master of Masons (p. 54).

We may conclude our list with Anderson's statement, on p. 81, of a rule, found nowhere else, "Here it is proper to signify the Sentiment and Practice of the old Masons, viz.: That Kings and other Male Sovereigns, when made Masons, are Grand Masters by Prerogative during Life, and appoint a Deputy, or approve of his Election, to preside over the Fraternity with the Title and Honours of Grand Master; but if the Sovereign is a Female, or not a Brother, or a Minor under a Regent, not a Brother; or if the Male Sovereign or the Regent, tho' a Brother, is negligent of the Craft, then the old Grand Officers may assemble the Grand Lodge in due Form to elect a Grand Master, tho' not during Life, only he may be annually rechosen while he and they think fit." If we were here criticising we should have to ask not only what is Anderson's authority for the rule, but also whether the latter portion is not inconsistent with paragraph xix. of both the Old and the New Regulations.

We may discern in Anderson's use of the term at least three meanings of the word "Grand Master," *i.e.*, chief architect, patron of architecture, and prince or ruler. More space may have been given to this point than it seems worthy of, but if it be remembered how often the list of Grand Masters beginning with St. Alban has been found in works on English Freemasonry, and that it is on Anderson's assertions that the list is founded, perhaps justification may be pleaded.

There is a constant tendency, both in the Old Charges and in Anderson, to represent events in contemporary dress or in that of the mediæval operatives. For example, some of the great historical figures are said to have given charges or founded lodges, and if an analogy is sought for this, it may be seen in what was for centuries the universal habit of artists of dressing Biblical or historical characters in the habiliments of the painter's epoch. And the analogy supplies also a warning. One must no more think that because an historical personage is represented as giving charges or founding a lodge that he in fact did so in the form that we would think of or even that Anderson would think of as an historical fact, than we should be justified in thinking of the Madonna as having the features and wearing the dress of a Flemish *bourgeoise* or of an Italian *contadina*.

If my general observations on the Constitutions may seem rather fine-drawn or what is popularly called special pleading, it is because I have in them attempted, as has been said, to see things from Anderson's point of view. If sense and eye have been strained, it has been but to obtain an unusual angle of vision.

V. PART I. THE HISTORY OF MASONRY FROM THE CREATION  
THROUGHOUT THE KNOWN EARTH: TILL TRUE OLD  
ARCHITECTURE WAS DEMOLISH'D BY THE GOTH'S AND  
AT LAST REVIVED IN ITALY.

In view of Bro. Vibert's detailed treatment of the sources of the historical portion of the first edition, it is unnecessary here to do more than to compare and contrast this with the second.

It is a small point, but one significant of the carelessness of Anderson, that even the heading of Part I. as given on page vii. differs slightly from that on page 1, *e.g.*, "good old Architecture," as compared with "true old Architecture." In the second edition Anderson seems to have followed the Scriptures more closely and indeed makes his early account more or less a masonic, that is, an architectural commentary on the earlier portion of the Book of Genesis. The tentative tone of 1723, "Adam must have had the Liberal Sciences, particularly Geometry, written on his Heart . . . No doubt Adam taught his Sons Geometry," becomes in 1738 quite positive, "till his Sons grew up to form a Lodge, when he [*i.e.*, Adam] taught Geometry and the Great Use of it in Architecture." Whereas Anderson had formerly, after mentioning the crafts of Tubal Cain, Jubal and Jabal, added "which last [*i.e.*, Tent Making] is good Architecture," this phrase is now omitted, and we may wonder whether this omission is in deference to the strictures of the "Briscoe" Secret History (p. 30) or is just another meaningless variation. In a footnote to page 3 of the earlier edition Anderson had mentioned Enoch's erecting the large pillars ("tho' some ascribe them to Seth"); but he now adds a new footnote to the effect that "some call them Seth's Pillars, but the old Masons always called them Enoch's pillars, and firmly believed this tradition." Yet, as Begemann points out, in the old versions the children of Lamech are given as the builders according to Masonic tradition. Anderson's apparently meaningless alteration and the vague but misleading statement by which he supports it are but one of many instances to be found throughout the work. Further, in this same footnote our author gives Josephus as the authority for a statement that the Stone Pillar still remained in *Syria* in the latter's time. What Josephus wrote was *Syna* (*i.e.*, Upper Egypt), but the letters as printed in italics in the 1675 edition of the Jewish historian might easily have been misread as Syria.

We are then told that "after the Flood, Noah and his 3 Sons, having preserved the knowledge of the Arts and Sciences, communicated it to their growing off-spring . . . they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar, and dwelt there together as Noachidæ, or Sons of Noah," and Anderson adds as a note to Noachidæ that it is "the first name of Masons, according to some old traditions." The story in the Old Charges of the recovery of the two pillars with the inscriptions thereon is thus dropped, and Anderson gives his own version of the oral transmission of the knowledge of the Craft.

We have also here the first printed use of the term Noachida afterwards so extensively used in Continental Freemasonry, which is also found in Krause's so-called York Constitutions. At a Grand Lodge held on 13th December, 1733,<sup>1</sup> at which Anderson does not appear to have been present, Captain Ralph Winter, Provincial Grand Master of East India, was announced to have sent a chest of arrack for its use and 10 Guineas from the members of his province as a contribution to the Charity, and at the meeting of the 31st March, 1735,<sup>2</sup> which our author attended, the Minutes state that Lord Crauford, G.M., ordered the arrack to be made into punch and distributed among the brethren.

Bro. Chetwode Crawley<sup>3</sup> has discovered in the Rawlinson Collection at the Bodleian a letter of thanks from Lord Weymouth, Crauford's successor

<sup>1</sup> Q.C.A., x., p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Q.C.A., x., p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> A.Q.C., xi., pp. 35-6.

as Grand Master, addressed to the giver of the present, in which the fourth paragraph runs as follows:—"Providence has fixed your Lodge near these learned Indians that affect to be called Noachidæ, the strict observance of his Precepts taught in these parts by the Disciples of the great Zoroastres, the learned Archimagus of Bactria, a Grand Master of the Magians, whose Religion is much preserved in India (which we have no concern about) and also many of the Rituals of the Ancient Fraternity used in his time, perhaps more than they are sensible of themselves. Now if it was consistent with your other Business, to discover in those facts the Remains of Old Masonry and transmit them to us, we would all be thankful . . ." Now on p. 23 our author has a long paragraph dealing with Zoroaster:—

"In his Reign Zoroastres flourished, the *Archimagus* or *Grand Master* of the *Magians* (who worshipped the *Sun* and the *Fire* made by his Rays) who became famous everywhere, call'd by the *Greeks* the *teacher of all human and divine Knowledge*: and his Disciples were great Improvers of *Geometry* in the liberal Arts, erecting many *Palaces* and *Fire Temples* throughout the Empire, and long flourish'd in Eastern Asia, even till the *Mahometans* prevail'd. Yet a Remnant of 'em are scattered in those Parts to this Day, who retain many of the old Usages of the *Free Masons*, for which They are here mentioned, and not for their Religious Rites that are not the Subject of this Book: For we leave Every Brother to Liberty of Conscience; but strictly charge him carefully to maintain the *Cement of the Lodge*, and the three Articles of Noah."

The striking similarities, not only of diction but of thought, between the Grand Master's letter and Anderson's text strongly suggest that the same individual wrote both. It is the case that the original letter is not in Anderson's handwriting. At the very least, Anderson must have seen the letter, in the Grand Secretary's office presumably, and used its ideas and phraseology, including this word Noachidæ, which he also uses in the First Charge. In that case the letter not only takes the use of the word back to some undiscovered originator, but it shows that others at this time shared with Anderson his historical haziness, his desire to prove Masonry universal, and his laxity of nomenclature in the use of the title Grand Master. But the simpler explanation, to my mind, is that the Grand Master's letter to Captain Ralph Winter was drafted for him by Anderson himself.

On page 8 there is a misprint which is corrected in the Corrigenda. The reference for the appointment of Aholiab and Bezaleel as Grand Wardens is given as Exodus xxxii., 6, whereas it is in the thirty-first chapter that these two are named and their qualifications and duties described (although needless to say they are not given as Wardens), and the sixth verse of this latter chapter refers to Aholiab "given with him" (i.e., Bezaleel). The Bible gives Aholiab as the assistant, or at any rate the junior in point of mention, which order is followed in the 1723 edition at page 8, but reversed in the footnote on page 12, whereas in 1738 he comes as the senior, whether for alphabetical reasons or by chance, and it is curious how Masonic ritual always speaks of Aholiab and Bezaleel, reversing the Scriptural order.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> R. E. Swartout in "The Monastic Craftsman" (1932) notes that a comparison with Bezaleel was "A common compliment to metal-workers, lay and monastic, in the Middle Ages" (p. 44, n. 4). Mortet in his *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Architecture* (p. 38) gives the following passage (1005-1030)—"Rursus Rodulfus, in omni arte fusoria peritissimus, velut alter Beseleel," and adds in a note that this surname was given in the Carolingian Palace to Eginhard, the superintendent of buildings under Charlemagne. Dermot in *Ahiman Rezon*, with his not unusual accuracy, in his frontispiece gives Bezaleel a position on the right of Moses as being apparently immediately next to the latter in precedence.

In the 1723 edition the ascription in the Old Charges of the building of the Tower of Babel to Nimrod had been rejected in favour of the posterity of Noah, but in 1738 the old version was restored, for what reason we know not.

In the second, as in the first edition, Anderson gives a long description of King Solomon's Temple, and it is not surprising to find that these descriptions vary one from the other, as they both do from that given in the *Royal Genealogies*.

In view of the fact that to the period between 1723 and 1738 belongs the spread, if not the rise, of the ceremony now known as the Third Degree, it is interesting to compare certain references in the two editions. The earlier (p. 11 and note) states that Hiram or Huram King of Tyre sent his namesake Hiram or Huram "the most accomplished Mason upon Earth," and then gives a long footnote, explaining his origin and that of his name. In 1738 (p. 12 and note), in the corresponding passage the King of Tyre is said to have sent "Hiram Abbif, the most accomplished designer and operator upon Earth, who in Solomon's absence filled the Chair as Deputy Grand Master, and in his presence was the Senior Grand Warden or principal Surveyor and Master of Work," and there follows a footnote to the same effect as before but with verbal variations, in which it is said "as in the Lodge he is called Hiram Abbif, to distinguish him from King Hiram." Our author then goes on to describe the building and completion of Solomon's Temple, and when he comes to the celebration of the Cope-Stone by the Fraternity he says: "But their joy was soon interrupted by the sudden death of their dear master Hiram Abbif, whom they decently interr'd in the Lodge near the Temple according to ancient usage."<sup>1</sup> He describes the consecration "after Hiram Abbif was mourned for," and then adds: "But leaving what must not, and indeed what cannot be committed to writing, we may certainly affirm, that . . . the Royal Art . . . was never perfected till the building of this gorgeous House of God . . .," which passage we may compare with a somewhat similar one in the "Manner of Constitution" and we may wonder whether this is a reference to the esotery of the "Third Degree" or just a piece of pseudo-crypticism.

The vexed question of that name of many aliases and of disputed connotation, Naymus Graecus, Anderson deals with in his own fashion. On page 16, he states that "the old Constitutions affirm, that one called Ninus, who had been at the building of Solomon's Temple, brought the refined Knowledge of the Science and the Art into Germany and Gaul," and at page 61 speaks of "Charles Martel, the Right Worshipful Grand Master of France . . . who had been educated by Brother Minus Graecus."

It were tedious to follow Anderson through the many pages devoted to the history of Greece and Rome, and his attempts to bring into his narrative the great names in the story of both nations, and we will only quote a few of his more surprising passages and then make some observations which will serve to show his preferences in Architecture or Freemasonry, with him synonymous terms. In Greece (pp. 27-28) many excellent painters and philosophers, we are told, are in the list of ancient architects, openly taught Geometry, and being Gentlemen of good repute, "they were generally at the head of the craft, highly useful to the Fellow Crafts . . . and bred them up clever artists: only by a law in Greece no slave was allowed to learn the 7 liberal sciences, or those of the Free-born: so that in Greece also they were called Free Masons, and in their many Lodges, the noble and learned were accepted as Brothers, down to the days of Alexander the Great and afterwards for many ages"—for all the world like the noblemen and gentlemen of eighteenth century England! We may note that the catalogue of the liberal arts and sciences formerly so conspicuous with their names and descriptions in the Old Charges is here relegated to a side-note naming them "according to the Old Constitutions."

<sup>1</sup> The death of Hiram Abbif is not mentioned in Anderson's *Royal Genealogies*.



In the Greek section we have more than one instance of Anderson's quoting the old traditions and the old Masons as authorities for his statements. "Ptolemy, Grand Master, with Euclid, the Geometrician, and Straton, the Philosopher, as Grand-Wardens, built his palace at Alexandria," "according to the traditions and the old Constitutions"; Archimedes was "call'd by the old Masons the Noble and Excellent Grand Master of Syracuse." The surviving Old Charges give no support to these assertions.

Augustus Cæsar, "who patronized the Fraternity as their illustrious Grand Master (so call'd always by the old Masons)" and his successors, Anderson looks upon as the patrons of the Craft at its zenith: "Therefore the present remains of ancient Rome in his time [*e.g.*, that of Augustus], and of some following Emperors, are so accurate, that they are the best patterns of true Masonry extant, the epitome of all the old Grecian architecture, commonly expressed by the Augustan stile: and we now wish to arrive at its glorious perfection in Wisdom, Strength and Beauty."

Anderson passes to Judæa and gives a liberal amount of space to the reign of Herod the Great and the building of the Third Temple.

At the conclusion of the Roman Section, we return to the author's views on the general decline of architecture. With the accession of Totila the Augustan style totally departed in Italy and the West, and with that of the Iconoclastic Emperors in the East "the Augustan style was quite lost and the loss was public"; and the conquering Mahometans had no "Grand Design . . . to cultivate Arts and Sciences . . . so that Architecture in Asia and Africa suffer'd by them as in Europe by the Goths." "For when the Gothic nations, and those conquered by them, began to affect stately structures, they wanted both heads and hands to imitate the Ancients, nor could they do it for many ages . . . yet not wanting wealth and ambition, they did their best: and so the more ingenious gradually coalesced in Societies or Lodges, in imitation of the Ancients, according to the remaining traditions that were not quite obliterated, and hammer'd out a new style of their own, call'd the Gothic."

"But tho' this is more expensive than the old style, and discovers now to us the ignorance of the architect, and the improprieties of the edifice, yet the inventions of the artists to supply the want of good old skill, and their costly decorations, have manifested their esteem for the Royal Art, and have rendered their Gothic structures venerable and magnificent; tho' not imitable by those that have the true high taste of the Grecian or Augustan style."

In the last Chapter of Part I., after observing that "the Royal Art lies dead and buried still in the East, by the wilful ignorance of the Mahometan nations," Anderson goes on to deal with the history of the Renaissance in Italy and with its great names, with a good sprinkling of Masonic terms. Cimaboius and the Pisans "educated many fine Masters and Fellow Crafts" (p. 48); John de Medicis "became the learned patron of the Revivers, or their Grand Master, and carefully supported the said Lodge, or academy of masters and connoisseurs" (p. 49); "Pope Julius II. the learned patron or Grand Master of Rome retained Bramante as his architect and Grand Warden" (p. 51), and finally we are told that "But from the first Revival, the Masons began to form new Lodges (called by the painters Academies or Schools, as all true Lodges ought to be) far more elegant than the former Gothic Lodges; for instructing disciples or Enter'd Prentices, for preserving the secrets of the Fraternity from strangers and Cowans, and for improving the Royal Art, under the patronage of the Popes and the Italian Princes and States, as could be more amply prov'd" (p. 54).

As an instance of Anderson's incurable looseness in the use of terms, I may mention a small point in this chapter, where although there was obviously no purpose to be achieved by a mis-statement, he deliberately or carelessly makes one. The Medici family since the earliest part of the fifteenth century had become by



far the most influential in Florence, and with Lorenzo (d. 1492) had in effect become its rulers, but it was not until the time of Alexander that they were given the title, "Duke of Florence." Yet from the time of John, over one hundred years before, Anderson styles them Dukes of Florence, and to get over the difficulty in Alexander's case states that he was made the first "absolute" Duke.

## PART II.

Here again, as in the case of Part I., and also of Part III., the heading in the table of contents on page viii. differs slightly from that in the book itself.

True to his plan of fitting Freemasonry into history, as he had done in the case of the Scriptural and classical periods, Anderson takes his reader through the whole course of English history, beginning with Julius Cæsar, but sparing us, as some non-Masonic chroniclers have not always done, any connection with classic Troy. In his accustomed manner he goes on to tell of Ostorius Scapula being succeeded by several Roman lieutenants "that soon formed Lodges for building castles and other Forts to secure their conquests." In the 1723 edition Anderson makes no mention of the story of St. Alban. According to Hughan (*Old Charges*, 1895 ed., pp. 131-2) he had become acquainted with the *Spencer* text (either the *Inigo Jones* MS. or a later representative) between 1723 and 1738, and to his account of the proto-martyr he adds a passage quoted from the *Spencer* MS. with a considerable amount of accuracy, with the important exception that to the MS. statement that St. Alban "was thereat himself" (*i.e.*, the Assembly) he adds "as Grand Master." On page 60 we get our first mention of Inigo Jones and John Webb in respect of their opinions of Stonehenge, but with no notice here of their being Freemasons.

We are told on p. 61 of the coming of Austin (*i.e.*, St. Augustine) afterwards to be numbered among the Grand Masters of the Order, though nothing is here said of any architectural works of the Apostle of the English, but we are told how he converted the Anglo Saxon Kings and how they started building and "requir'd many Masons who soon form'd themselves into Societies, or Lodges, by direction of foreigners that came over to help them." Can this be a jumbled reminiscence of Benedict Biscop's importation of foreign artisans?

In their account of Freemasonry in Britain the *Old Charges* jumped from St. Alban to Athelstan and Edwin. Anderson, however, like nature abhorring a vacuum, fills in this gap in the following fashion:—"Ethelbert . . . sent to Charles Martel the Right Worshipful Grand Master of France . . . who had been educated by Brother Mimus Graecus: He sent over from France [about A.D. 710] some expert masons to teach the Saxons those laws and usages of the ancient Fraternity that had been happily preserv'd from the havoc of the Goths: tho' not the Augustan style . . . This is strongly asserted in all the old Constitutions and was firmly believ'd by the old English Masons."

In the 1723 edition is purported to be quoted "a certain Record of Free-Masons, written in the reign of King Edward IV.," which Begemann<sup>1</sup> numbers among those of the Plot family, of which the most conveniently accessible is the *William Watson* MSS. As the question of Athelstan and Edwin is a rather vexed one, and in order to give a good and complete instance of Anderson's method, I shall, following and extending Begemann's example, take the *William Watson* MS.<sup>2</sup> and the relevant portions of the editions of 1723 and 1738, set them out and endeavour to compare and contrast them.

"Which said King Ethelstane and the same Edwin loved well Geometry and applied himself busily in learning that Science and also he desired to have the practice thereof. Wherefore he called unto him of the best Masons that were

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, ii., p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> Hughan's Reprint, p. 16. But I have not thought it necessary to preserve the original spelling.

in the realm for he knew well that they had the practice of Geometry best of any craft in the realm and he learned of them Masonry and cherished and loved them well and he took upon him the Charges and learned the manners and afterward for the love that he had unto the craft and for the good grounding that it was found in he purchased a free Charter of the King his father that they should have such a freedom to have correction within themselves and that they might have communication together to correct such things as were amiss within themselves and they made a great Congregation of Masons to assemble together at York where he was himself, and let call the old Masons of the realm to that Congregation, and commanded them to bring to him all the writings of the old books of the craft that they had out of which books they contrived the charges by the devise of the wisest of Masons that were there, and commanded that these charges might be kept and holden and he ordained that such Congregation, might be called Assembly and he ordained for them good pay that they might live honestly the which charges I will declare hereafter and this was the craft of Masonry there grounded and considered." (*William Watson MS.*)

"That though the ancient records of the Brotherhood in England were many of them destroyed or lost in the wars of the Saxons and Danes, yet King Athelstan, (the Grandson of King Alfred the Great, a mighty architect) the first anointed king of England, and who translated the Holy Bible into the Saxon tongue, when he had brought the land into rest and peace, built many great works, and encouraged many Masons from France, who were appointed Overseers thereof, and brought with them the Charges and Regulations of the Lodges preserv'd since the Roman times, who also prevail'd with the King to improve the Constitution of the English Lodges according to the foreign model, and to increase the wages of working Masons."

"That the said King's youngest son, Prince Edwin, being taught Masonry, and taking upon him the Charges of a Master-Mason, for the love he had to the said Craft, and the honourable principle wherein it is grounded, purchased a free Charter of King Athelstan his father, for the Masons having a Correction among themselves (as it was anciently express'd) or a freedom and power to regulate themselves, to amend what might amiss, and to hold a yearly Communication and General Assembly."

"That accordingly Prince Edwin summoned all the Masons in the realm to meet him in a Congregation at York who came and composed a General Lodge, of which he was Grand Master; and having brought with them all the writings and records extant, some in Greek, some in Latin, some in French, and other languages, from the contents thereof that Assembly did frame the Constitution and Charges of an English Lodge, made a law to preserve and observe the same in all time coming, and ordain'd good pay for working Masons etc." (1723 *Constitutions*, pp. 32-3.)

Anderson in the 1738 edition relates that "Athelstan the eldest son [of Edward the Elder] succeeded tho' only the son of a concubine, and at first left the Craft to the care of his brother Edwin, called in some copies his son: for in all the old Constitutions it is written to this purpose, viz.," and he then goes on to repeat with very small alterations the first of the paragraphs of the 1723 edition just quoted, and continues as follows:—

"That Prince Edwin, the King's Brother, being taught Geometry and Masonry, for the love he had to the said Craft, and to the honourable principles whereon it is grounded, purchased a free Charter of King Athelstan his brother, for the Free Masons having among themselves a correction, or a power and freedom to regulate themselves, to amend what might happen amiss, and to hold a yearly Communication in a General Assembly.

"That accordingly Prince Edwin summoned all the Free and Accepted Masons in the realm, to meet him in a Congregation at York, who came and form'd the Grand Lodge under him as their Grand Master, A.D. 926.

"That they brought with them many old writings and records of the Craft, some in Greek, some in Latin, some in French, and other languages and from the contents thereof, they fram'd the Constitutions of the English Lodges, and made a law for themselves, to preserve and observe the same in all time coming, etc. etc. etc."

Anderson here finishes his quotation and proceeds as follows:—

"But good Prince Edwin died before the King [A.D. 938] without issue, to the great grief of the Fraternity; though his memory is fragrant in the Lodges, and honourably mentioned in all the old Constitutions.

"Some English historians say that Edwin being accused of a plot, the King set him adrift in a boat without sail and oars; that Edwin protesting his innocence, went abroad and jumped into the sea, and that his esquire was drove into Picardy.

"But the historian Malmsbury disbelieves the whole story as grounded only on some old ballad, and because of Athelstan's known kindness and love to all his brothers and sisters; and Huntingdon writes of the loss of Edwin by sea, as a very sad accident, and a great misfortune to Athelstan, who was very fond of him."

Bro. Vibert, in his Introduction to the Facsimile reprint of the 1723 *Book of Constitutions*, pp. xvii., xviii., points out that the passage which occurs in both of Anderson's quotations naming the languages of the old writings and records occurs for the first time in the later versions of the Old Charges, of the Grand Lodge and the Sloane Families, where the mention of Greek is usual. He adds that "some texts [*e.g.*, the Aberdeen of 1670] also mention Hebrew, but Anderson certainly did not come across any of them, for if he had he would not have failed to quote so valuable an addition to his evidence."

But if we consider these portions which deal with the Craft, we are on very uncertain ground. It is obvious how Anderson varied and expanded the *William Watson* version of the Plot Family and how his own two versions differed. The *William Watson* version gives Edwin as the son of Athelstan, the 1723 edition as his youngest son, and the 1738 edition as his brother. Begemann<sup>1</sup> suggests that Plot's objection of 1686 that Athelstan appears to have been unmarried resulted in the change of the Spencer Family to "brother" instead of "son," and that Anderson reading the Cole Constitutions of 1726 (belonging to that Family) made the alteration in his second edition.

We see Anderson again introducing the Masonic terms of the revival into his version of the Old Charges. He changes "Masons" into "Free Masons." The "Charges" of the *William Watson* MS. become the Charges and Regulations of the (foreign) Lodges. The "great Congregation" at York becomes first a "yearly Communication and General Assembly," and then "a yearly Communication in a General Assembly." In the 1723 edition Anderson introduces the phrase Master-Mason. The "Masons" and "old Masons" of the MS. assembled at York, became in 1723 a "General Lodge" of which Edwin is "Grand Master," and in the 1738 edition "the Free and Accepted Masons" constitute the "Grand Lodge" under the former as "Grand Master," with the date A.D. 926 given (without any discoverable authority) for the first, but unfortunately by no means the last, time. It may be noted that, though as Begemann suggests, Anderson read and used Cole's Constitutions, yet he assigns no date to the Charter, although Cole gives it as A.D. 932.

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, i., 394, note.

Further discussion of the alleged Grand Lodge at York would be out of place here, otherwise than to quote Begemann's verdict<sup>1</sup> that "it has no other authority than the Legendary history of the Old Charges, and that fact completely demolishes the myth of the Grand Lodge of York and the 'Ancient York Masons' as they styled themselves."

In justice to Anderson it should be mentioned that Bro. Dring<sup>2</sup> makes him an honourable exception to those Masonic writers of the eighteenth century who "not being able to reconcile the legend with history, have had little compunction in asserting that the Edwin mentioned in the legend was not Edwin son of Edward, but Edwin, King of Northumbria 617 to 633."

He attributes the fact that Edwin is described in the Old Charges as the King's son to (1) the writer of the Cooke MS. in his ignorance of history attributing the obtaining of the Charter to the youngest son and (2) to later copyists, noticing the historical inaccuracy or wishing to emphasise the statement by giving the name, seeing in a charter the words "Edwinus Clito" and taking this to mean the son.

Dring also appositely quotes Freeman's *Mythical and Romantic Elements in Early History*, in which that author discussing the legend of Edwin states "that there is no evidence at all to connect Athelstane in any way with the death of his brother."

The earlier mention of Henry Yevell, "the King's Free-Mason, or General Surveyor of his buildings," becomes in 1738 "Henry Yevell" (call'd at first, in the old Records, the King's Free Mason) the "old Records" being Stow.

A matter is dealt with by Anderson on pages 73-74 which deserves a passing mention. He there quotes the Statute 3 Hen. VI., cap 1., which is directed against the "yearly Congregations and Confederacies made by the Masons in their General Assemblies" whereby the Statute of Labourers is contravened and rendering the frequenting thereof a felony. He quotes the opinion of Chief Justice Coke (whom in the first edition, though not in this, he had claimed as a Freemason by reason of this opinion) that as the Statute of Labourers was repealed by the Act of 5 Eliz: cap 4, *cessante ratione legis cessat ipsa lex*, any act, including the Statute of Henry VI., passed against the contravention of the Statute of Labourers, became by the repealing act, of no effect. He adds that the Statute of Henry VI. was never effective, that the Masons always laugh'd at it, and, with a flourish, that "they ever had, and ever will have their own wages, while they coalesce in due form, and carefully preserve the cement under their own Grand Master; let Cowans do as they please." Begemann took the view<sup>3</sup> that 3 Hen. VI., cap I., did not prohibit the ordinary meetings of the Craft, but was only directed against irregular assemblies, outside the formal organisation, which were aimed at raising wages in breach of the Statute of Labourers. Dr. Cunningham, however, in his *Notes on the Organisation of the Mason's Craft in England* (pp. 6 and 7), was of the opinion that it was the regular assemblies which were rendered illegal under Henry VI., though "there is no reason to suppose that they may not have formed a sort of national organisation of masonry under public patronage in the fourteenth century."

In his *Notes on the Craft Guilds of Norwich* Tingey<sup>4</sup> states that: "The Masons again attracted the attention of the Assembly in 1491 when it appears that no Masters were sworn to make any search for defects of workmanship, and it is stated that by a recent statute masons were merely accounted labourers, and forbidden to cause any gathering for forming regulations upon such defects. Therefore it was agreed, that the mayor, with two or more discrete men of the craft, should have authority to correct such defects, assess fines, and so forth. What statute is here understood is uncertain, but probably an Act of Parliament, for it was unusual to call the local enactments by that name."

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, i., 462.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xxii., 11.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.*, i., 326.

<sup>4</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xv., 197.

But as in Rye's *Extracts from the Records of the Corporation of Norwich* we find that in the fifteenth year of Elizabeth the Corporation granted the Petition of Masons to hold an assembly and approved their regulation it would seem that they had recovered their former rights.

Anderson follows the passages just referred to by a statement that "even during this King's (*i.e.*, Henry VI.'s) minority, there was a good Lodge under Grand Master Chicheley held at Canterbury . . . in which are named Thomas Stapylton the Master and John Morris Custos de la Lodge Lathomorum or Warden of the Lodge of Masons, with fifteen Fellow Crafts, and three Enter'd Prentices all named there. And a Record in the reign of Edward IV. says, the Company of Masons, being otherwise termed Free Masons, of ancient standing and good reckoning, by means of affable and kind meetings divers times, and as a loving brotherhood use to do, did frequent this mutual assembly in the time of Henry VI. in the twelfth year of his most gracious reign, viz. A.D. 1434, when Henry was aged thirteen years." We may note in passing the usual anachronistic use of the term "Grand Master" in the case of Archbishop Chicheley. With regard to the contents of the first sentence of the passage just cited, we may quote Begemann's comments. Anderson in the margin quotes as his authority for his statement about Chicheley a document entitled "*Liberatio generalis Domini Gulielmi Prioris Ecclesiae Christi Cantuariensis Erga Festum Natalis Domini 1429.*"

Begemann<sup>1</sup> states that the actual document is in the Bodleian among the Tanner MSS., but that the contents differ materially from Anderson's account, and that he gives the names incorrectly. Nothing is said therein about Chicheley forming any Lodge; and it is merely a list of the Lathomi of the Loygge who were given clothing by the Priory. There were sixteen Lathomi (not fifteen) and Three Apprenticii, and there is not a word about Fellow-Crafts or Enter'd Prentices. Mapylton (not Stapylton) is styled Magister Lathomorum and Johannes Morys Custos de la Loygge Lathomorum.<sup>2</sup>

With regard to the second portion of our quotation Stow says: "The Company of Masons, being otherwise termed Free-masons, of ancient standing and good reckoning, by means of affable and kind meetings divers times, and as a living Brotherhood should use to do, did frequent this mutual assembly in the time of King Henry the fourth, in the twelfth year of his most gracious reign." In the 1723 edition, this statement is reproduced and attributed to "an old Record of Masons," but Henry V. is substituted for Henry IV. In 1738, as we see, the passage is again reproduced, but the Record becomes that of the reign of Edward IV. (1461-1483)—Stow's dates were 1525-1605<sup>3</sup>; and by an Andersonian progression Henry IV. now becomes Henry VI., while the addition "viz. A.D. 1434 when Henry was aged thirteen years" is our author's own.

Anderson gives on pages 78 and 79 an account of the levelling of the footstone of Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster as follows:—"This Royal Grand Master [*i.e.*, Henry VII.] chose for his Wardens or Deputies, the foresaid John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, and Sir Reginald Bray, Knight of the Garter, by whom the King summon'd a Lodge of Masters in the Palace, with whom he walked in ample form to the East end of Westminster Abbey and levell'd the footstone of his famous chapel on 24th June 1502." Scott, in his *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, quotes Holinshed's version which Stow repeats, Anderson probably basing himself on the latter, as we have seen him do before, but with what additions Scott's quotation will show:—

<sup>1</sup> *Vorgeschichte*, i., p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> See also Knoop and Jones: *Masons and Apprenticeship in Mediæval England—Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. iii., No. 3, p. 362. The authors mention a further entry in 1431 (p. 136) where are named 14 lathomi, 2 apprenticii and 6 cementarii.

<sup>3</sup> Stow (1633 edn.), p. 630; Gould's *History*, ii., p. 177.

"An Reg. 18; 1503 In the eighteenth year, the twenty fourth day of January . . . the first stone of our lady chapel within the monastery of Westminster was laid, by the hands of John Islip, abbot of the same monastery, Sir Reginald Bray Knight of the Garter," etc. We see how our author embellishes his authority, again adding his usual anachronistic Masonic touches—"Grand Master," "Wardens," "Deputies," the summoning of a "Lodge of Masters," "ample form" (as we shall see later one of his own phrases) and in addition his carelessness in the matter of dates.

In the 1723 edition (p. 38, note) a story is given of how Queen Elizabeth, being jealous of the assemblies of Masons,<sup>1</sup> sent an armed force to break up an annual "Communication" at York, how her emissaries were at once admitted to the Lodge, and how being then satisfied of the honourable character of the gathering, they returned to the Queen with a favourable report and so allayed her fears that she left the Craft unmolested. This account is repeated in a somewhat different form in the second edition, and made more definite. The date is given as the 27th December, 1561, and it is there stated that "Sir Thomas Sackville, Grand Master, took care to make some of the chief men sent Free-Masons." Bro. Vibert says that he knows of no authority having yet been suggested for the incident just recorded. It is a curious fact that the scholarship of Sir Sidney Lee (and it is in knowledge of the Elizabethan period that this particularly manifested itself) far from affording us any help in the matter, here fails us in a peculiarly irritating fashion, for an examination of his account of Sir Thomas Sackville in the Dictionary of National Biography shows him to have included the story of the Lodge at York, but to have included it on the authority of Anderson himself. Our author fortifies himself by saying that his account was "firmly believ'd by all the old English Masons," but as we know this carries us no further. In support of Anderson's story there is quoted in *Mis. Lat.* (ii., 58, 59) a portion of an address given by Archdeacon Freer and reprinted in his *Memoirs* (1866) in which a somewhat similar story is related, but with Archbishop Parker in the place of Sir Thomas Sackville; but one cannot give much credit to this evidence in the absence of the Archdeacon's authority for his statement.<sup>2</sup> Bro. Vibert has further considered the matter in his *York and the Craft through the Centuries*, pp. 12, 13, and feels that Anderson must have had some foundation for his story. Can we believe that Anderson deliberately invented the story or that he so dressed it up that it cannot be recognised in any other authority, or that his is the only record that remains to us of an actual incident? Sharing Bro. Vibert's feelings, I can only say that the story may well be true in substance, if not in fact, but that one cannot corroborate it.

We are further told how in the reign of Elizabeth on the resignation of Grand Master Sackville, the Earl of Bedford was chosen in the North and Sir Thomas Gresham in the South. Preston, of course, repeats this account, but adds no other evidence, and in deciding the truth or falsity of this story we must be guided by whatever idea we may have formed of Anderson's credibility, and by our general view of York Freemasonry. We cannot accept the story as told,

<sup>1</sup> In chapter 9 of the rare German book, *Gründliche Nachricht von den Frey-Maurern* . . . Frankfurt am Mayn, 1738, there occurs the following passage, given in the words of the late Bro. J. T. Thorp's translation on page 11 of his Foreword to Leicester Masonic Reprint, xiv.:—"Thus this Samson was at length compelled, by the unshakeable determination of his Delilah, to hand over to her, in order that she might boast of her success in obtaining them, what the great Queen Elizabeth of England had long-ago failed to extort from the Earl of Essex (*sic*)."<sup>2</sup> I have never seen this passage quoted in juxtaposition to Anderson's account, and one would dearly like to know whether the two came from the same source.

<sup>2</sup> In *The Sufferings of John Coustos* (1746 edn.), p. 30, appears the story taken from Anderson, but with "the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of her Kingdom," in place of Sackville, so that Freer's source would appear to be Coustos, and Coustos' source his confused recollection of Anderson—so we are once again at a dead end.



but it is open to us to suppose that, however inaccurately, it may be based on some actual York tradition; but if this were so it is difficult to explain why Drake in his famous oration does not mention the tradition.

We need not linger long over our author's account of Freemasonry in Scotland and Ireland, save for two or three points that stand out in his record.

He relates that Claud Hamilton, Lord Paisley, made King James VI. a Brother Mason. It is a curious fact that James VI. was in fact made a Mason (though not in our modern sense), but not as Anderson supposed. Bro. D. Crawford Smith in his *History of the Ancient Masonic Lodge of Scoon and Perth*<sup>1</sup> says "there can be no doubt of the statement made further on in the Minutes that King James the VI. was by his own desire entered Freeman Mason and Fellow-Craft (there being no Master Mason degree in those days). King James made a state visit to Perth 15th April 1601, on which occasion he was made a Burgess at the Market Cross . . . . We think that it would be on this occasion that the King was entered by his own desire." Hughan in his Introduction to this work supported Crawford Smith and saw "no reason whatever to question the assertion of the ordinance of 1658, though it would have been still more satisfactory had an actual Lodge Minute, or some other contemporary record been preserved of the occurrence." The facts quoted do not of course support Anderson's credibility. It is obvious that he did not have them before him when he wrote, and that it just happens that he hit upon the truth, or an approximation thereto.

With regard to Ireland, stifling a sigh of regret that Anderson did not think it worth while to enquire into what Bro. Crawley's papers and Bros. Lepper and Crosslé's *History* show to have been the interesting beginnings of Freemasonry in that country, I will content myself with noting just two points in our author's account. He states (p. 96) that: "At last the ancient Fraternity of the Free and Accepted Masons in Ireland, being fully assembled in their Grand Lodge at Dublin, chose a noble Grand Master, in imitation of their Brethren in England, in the third year of his present Majesty King George II., A.D. 1730, even our noble Brother James King Lord Viscount Kingston . . . ."

Now Bros. Lepper and Crosslé in their *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland* (vol. i., pp. 53 ff) take the view that the earliest date assignable for its foundation is 1723, and the latest 1724, and quote Begemann's suggestion (in his *Freimaurerie in Ireland*, p. 16) that it may even have been founded in 1721. In addition, they reproduce the issue of *The Dublin Weekly Journal* No. 13 of Saturday, 26th June, 1725, in which there is a long account of the meetings of the Most Ancient and Right Worshipful Society of Free-Masons, at which it was announced that the Grand Lodge had chosen the Earl of Ross Grand Master for the ensuing year. If Anderson could ignore or rather perhaps did not trouble to inform himself of an event occurring at the most some thirteen years before he wrote, we can gain considerable assistance from this fact in any attempt to estimate the general credibility of our author.

On page 95 Anderson gives an impressive account of the laying of the foundation stone of the Parliament House at Dublin on 3rd February, 1728/9, when "Lord Carteret then Lord Lieutenant, the Lords Justice . . . with many Free Masons . . . made a solemn Procession thither, and the Lord Lieutenant, having in the King's Name levell'd the Footstone at the South side, by giving it 3 knocks with a Mallet, the Trumpets sounded, the solemn crowd made joyful acclamations, a Purse of Gold was laid on the stone for the Masons, who drank to the King and the Craft etc." Bros. Lepper and Crosslé (*Freemasonry in Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 72 and 73) state that the story is a fiction, that Carteret was in London at the time and that in his absence the ceremony was performed in the presence of the Lords Justices and that "the only connexion

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 49-52.



of masons of any description with the ceremony was some money given to the workmen to celebrate the occasion." They add that Pennell who was at the time preparing his *Constitutions* and was probably present, describes on page 37 exactly what happened and that Anderson "got hold of Pennell's story, and, being always ready to adorn a tale, proceeded to make it more picturesque and absolutely misleading."

It must strike the most cursory reader of the second edition how the pages positively bristle, not only with dates, but with long genealogical tables. Anderson has remembered only too well his alleged order to "digest the *Constitutions* with a just chronology" (p. vii.) and has been far too modest in his statement (p. x.) that "some few genealogies are put in the margin (not to hinder the reader) that are needful for the connection of the history [*i.e.*, in Part I.]. But in Parts II. and III. they show more distinctly how the Craft has been well encouraged in the several periods and successions of the Saxon . . . Kings of England, down to the present Royal Family."

Anderson had issued Proposals for printing by subscription his *Royal Genealogies* which was in fact founded on the work of John Hübner of Hamburg, and had promised that "the subscribers names" would "be printed as the Encouragers of so useful a work."<sup>1</sup> It is characteristic of his curious use of words that when the book came to be published in 1732, he headed the list of patrons with the words "Subscribers to, or Encouragers of this book," which expression if we had not known the terms of the prospectus might lead us to suppose that some of these patrons were merely honorary. But knowing these terms as we do we must suppose that the more than four hundred names printed at the beginning of the book represent actual subscribers, and a very goodly collection it is, representing distinguished members of the nobility, gentry and the professions, and including many of the early officers of Grand Lodge together with two of the author's brothers. Needless to say, much of Anderson's history in the 1738 edition is repeated from the *Royal Genealogies*, *e.g.*, the account of Herod's Temple, although even here there are such considerable variations as to render the two accounts two different versions in many respects. The reference, "John ii., 20," correctly given in the *Royal Genealogies*, is given in the *Book of Constitutions* as John xi., 20. I shall give just one instance for the purpose of showing how Anderson worked up the materials of his *Royal Genealogies* into Masonic history for the 1738 edition. He had written in 1732: "Rome was now adorned with several noble structures by Agrippa, who also at his own charge, finished the famous Pantheon, or Temple of All Gods, (now the Temple of all Saints) and made curious Aqueducts for the City."<sup>2</sup> He had said of Augustus Cæsar that he "proved an excellent magistrate, reform'd the city and army, renewed the great secular games, and obliged the players to be modest and decent"<sup>3</sup>; but had nowhere spoken of any architectural pretensions of the Emperor. But in 1738 he could write (p. 37): "Octavianus, now called Sebastos, or Augustus Cæsar who patroniz'd the Fraternity as their illustrious Grand Master (so call'd always by the old Masons) and his Deputy Agrippa, who adorned the Campus Martius, and built the Grand Portico of the Rotunda<sup>4</sup> Pantheon, with many more charming piles mention'd in history."

### PART III.

Anderson commences this part with an account of Inigo Jones. He begins with his birth in 1572 (Mr. Gotch, his latest biographer, says the date was 1573) and his education, and tells how James I., "a Royal Brother Mason, and Royal Grand Master by prerogative appointed Jones his general surveyor" and

<sup>1</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xviii., pp. 31-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Royal Genealogies*, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> *Royal Genealogies*, p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> In original misprinted *Routunda*.

approved of his being chosen Grand Master of England, to preside over the Lodges. Anderson (p. 98) gives a circumstantial account of how "the King with Grand Master Jones and his Grand Wardens (the foresaid William Herbert Earl of Pembroke and Nicholas Stone the sculptor) attended by many Brothers in due form<sup>1</sup> and many eminent persons, walked to Whitehall Gate, and levell'd the footstone of the new Banquetting House with 3 great knocks, loud huzza's, sound of trumpets, and a purse of broad pieces of gold laid upon the stone for the Masons to drink 'To the King and the Craft' A.D. 1607." It is an unfortunate fact that, again according to Mr. Gotch,<sup>2</sup> Jones did not obtain the Surveyorship until 1615, "and during the ten or fifteen years of maturity that preceded this event there is no properly authenticated building by his hand." Queen Elizabeth had built a Banquetting House of wood, which James had replaced in 1607 by another and a better one.<sup>3</sup> The building constructed in 1607 was in fact burnt down in 1619, and it was then that Jones as the King's Surveyor was instructed to prepare plans to replace it. Thus Inigo Jones could have had nothing to do with Whitehall in 1607, and as for the procession, whether or not Jones was in it, we have found no other mention of it whatever. It is a coincidence which has been pointed out to me that the year 1607 is also the date which has been written (but not by Anderson) on the so-called *Inigo Jones MS.*; was it anything more?

Elias Ashmole's connection with Freemasonry is not referred to in Anderson's first edition, but is given considerable attention in the second. Bros. Chetwode Crawley and Shum Tuckett have dealt exhaustively with the variations between the MS. version, the two 1717 editions or issues, the second (1774) edition, and Dr. Campbell's article "Ashmole," in the *Biographia Britannica* 1747, and with the discrepancies between these and Anderson's version. In particular, there is the alteration of "were" to "was" and the variation of "by" before "Sir William Wilson," thereby making it appear as though Ashmole was again made a Mason (which is nonsense) and confusing the admission of Wilson with admission *by* Wilson. Anderson's version, although it reads "we" for "were," seems on the whole to follow the MS. more correctly than either the 1717 or 1774 editions so far as the 1682 entry is concerned, although he quotes the printed version of 1717, but he unwarrantably introduces the expression Fellow-Crafts.

Anderson in 1738 gives an account of a General Assembly and Feast of Freemasons held in 1663, and states that Charles II., who had been made a Freemason in his travels, approved of Lord St. Albans as Grand Master and that the latter appointed Denham his Deputy and Wren and Webb Grand Wardens. "According to a copy of the Old Constitutions," this Grand Master held the Assembly on the 27th December, 1663, when certain regulations (set out in full) (pp. 101-2) were made. Roberts in his *Constitutions* published in 1722 had published certain "Additional Orders and Constitutions made and agreed upon at a General Assembly held at . . . on the Eighth Day of December 1663" (pp. 23 ff). Anderson has obviously taken Roberts's account and adapted it in his own fashion. He has changed the date to St. John's Day, 27th December, added the name of the chief English architects of the time as the Grand Officers, and transcribed Roberts's Additional Orders with his customary variations and errors. In Clause one the expression "regular Lodge" is his own, and he replaced "workman" by "craftsman"; in Clause two there is a grammatical error. The change in Clause three is particularly interesting. The Roberts version had said "that no person hereafter, which shall be accepted a Free-Mason,

<sup>1</sup> Henry VII.'s procession was "in ample form"; this is "in due form." and yet on both occasions the Grand Master was present in person. I return to the question of this phraseology later on. For the present it is sufficient to say that, at this stage at all events, Anderson would appear not to have understood his own technical terms.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Gotch: *Inigo Jones*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Gotch, pp. 104-5.

shall be admitted into any Lodge or Assembly, until he hath brought a certificate of the time and place of his Acceptance, from the Lodge that accepted him, unto the Master of that limit or division, where such Lodge *was* kept . . .<sup>1</sup> Anderson altered the regulation to read "unto the Master of that limit or division where such Lodge *is* kept . . ." Roberts was obviously referring to those occasional Lodges, at which *e.g.* Ashmole was admitted, but Anderson by his slight alteration suggested his idea of a permanent and no doubt regular Lodge. In Clause five the word "Grand Master" is an unauthorised and glaring departure from Roberts, who had merely said "shall be regulated and governed by one Master," not "one *Grand* Master." Clause six agrees with Roberts, but Anderson omits Clause seven with the oath of secrecy. Throughout Anderson uses the word "Acceptation" for Roberts's "Acception," of the use of which former word Begemann<sup>2</sup> says it would be hard to find another instance. Almost all the changes from Anderson's authority as we might by now have been sure are in the direction of showing Freemasonry as being in 1663 regularly and definitely organised, with officers, dates of meeting, and qualifications of candidates as at the time at which our author was writing.

The question of Sir Christopher Wren's relation to Freemasonry, although so often debated, is one which must be touched on however inadequately, in an account of Anderson's *Book of Constitutions* as it seems in many respects a crucial test of the author's merits.

In the first edition, the only references to Wren are as the "ingenious architect" who "conducted" the foundation of St. Paul's Cathedral (p. 41), and as "the King's architect" who designed and conducted the Sheldonian Theatre (p. 43 note). But in 1738 things are quite changed. Wren is mentioned as Grand Warden in 1663; Deputy Grand Master in 1666, 1669 and 1673, and apparently from 1674 to 1679 or possibly 1685; as Grand Master in 1685 (and being confirmed in his office by William III.) until 1695, when the Duke of Richmond and Lennox<sup>3</sup> was chosen Grand Master and he became Deputy again until in 1698 he became Grand Master once more. "Yet still in the South the Lodges were more and more disused, firstly by the neglect of the Masters and Wardens, . . . and the annual Assembly was not duly attended. G. M. Wren . . . celebrated the Capstone [of St. Paul's] . . . in July A.D. 1708. Some few years after this Sir Christopher Wren neglected the office of Grand Master: yet the Old Lodge near St. Paul's and a few more continued their stated meetings . . . after the Rebellion was over A.D. 1716 the few Lodges at London finding themselves neglected by Sir Christopher Wren, thought fit to cement under a Grand Master . . .," and then follows the account of the Revival by the four original Lodges. Now Anderson's statements and opinions are quite clear. Wren according to him was intimately and continuously associated with the Craft for some fifty years and it was through his ultimate neglect of his duties that the necessity arose for a revival. Is his statement acceptable and credible? Now we have the fact that although we have Wren playing a great part in the Society, and occupying a pivotal position, Anderson in 1723 while mentioning his architectural authorities and writing a sketch of Freemasonry in England does not think it worth while to connect the two. In spite of many allusions to the Craft in the periodical Press of the time and in pamphlets and other literary forms, we have no reference to Wren as a Freemason (with the exceptions to be mentioned) and nothing in the *Parentalia* or *Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens*. The exceptions are

<sup>1</sup> Begemann, *op. cit.*, i., 418.

<sup>2</sup> *id.*, 419.

<sup>3</sup> The well-known petition of Edward Hall recommended by the Second Duke of Richmond, which according to the Minutes (Q.C.A., x., 216 and note (a)) was read on 2nd March, 1732, will be remembered in this connection, as Hall was said to have been made a Mason by the late (*i.e.* the first) Duke 36 years before that date.

Aubrey's *Memoires of Naturall Remarques of the County of Wiltshire* and two newspapers of the period. In the former occurs the following passage:—

1691 after Rogation Sunday  
Mdm. this day [May the 18th being Monday] is a Great Convention  
Accepted  
of St. Paules church of the Fraternity of the Free-Masons: where  
Sr. Christopher Wren is to be adopted a Brother: and Sr. Henry  
divers  
Goodric:—————of y<sup>e</sup> Tower, and sever others—————  
There have been Kings, that have been of this Sodalitie.

Objection has been taken to the acceptance of this note on the ground of Aubrey's credibility, and the absence of contemporary corroborative evidence, and the great authority of Gould is against it.<sup>1</sup> But Crawley<sup>2</sup> puts the case, it is suggested, not unfairly, by saying that although Gould's argument has demolished Wren's alleged Grand Mastership, yet when his arguments are extended to exclude the possibility of Wren's acceptance they become inconclusive. "Something more than the silence of contemporaries who might have known or ought to have known, or even must have known, is required to invalidate Aubrey's clear report. Aubrey was a gossip; but all the better reporter. His testimony is unexceptionable on the points of honesty of purpose, habitual veracity,<sup>3</sup> and adequate means of knowledge. The MS. was revised by himself, and the particular paragraph was remodelled, as will be seen from the version quoted by Mr. Halliwell. If he had seen any reason to correct the statement, he had an opportunity of doing so. The MS. was submitted to, and annotated by Ray, Evelyn, and Tanner, men conversant with Wren and his associates. If they had thought it worth while to correct the statement, they had an opportunity of doing so."

Among all the newspaper notices of Wren's death there are only two which refer to him as a Freemason. One is in the *Postboy*, No. 5,245, from March 2nd to March 5th: "London, March 5, this evening the corpse of that worthy Free Mason, Sir Christopher Wren, Knight is to be interr'd under the Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral," and the other in similar terms in the *British Journal*, No. 25, March 9th, the latter possibly copied from the former. But it seems on the whole most likely that these two newspapers (and these alone) were not referring to membership of the Society, but were merely using the term as applying to one who was an architect and builder.

Now the position is this. It seems probable that Wren was in fact made a Freemason as in Aubrey's account, which is accepted by Crawley and Begemann, but rejected by Gould. If, however, we accept this account, we cannot credit Anderson's story of the Grand Wardenship in 1663 of a person not admitted until 1691, nor reconcile the silence of Press and literature alike with our author's claim of a fifty years' prominent association with the Craft. As in the case of King James I., Anderson seems by accident to have stumbled on a part of the truth, but in such a way as to throw doubts on rather than to strengthen his own credibility.

The account of the other Grand Masters contemporary with Wren's association with the Craft—Rivers, Arlington and the rest—is altogether unsupported by any other authority (with a possible exception in the case of Richmond) and for this reason we can in no wise accept it, particularly in view of our author's garbled version of the Roberts *Constitutions*. Anderson has

<sup>1</sup> Gould, ii., pp. 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xi., p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> If we think that Crawley's attribution of "habitual veracity" is too flattering in view of Aubrey's credulity, we may still well ask who can have had any object in imposing on the latter?

blundered rather badly in his account of the laying of the foundation-stone of St. Paul's. According to him (p. 103), Charles with a numerous retinue "in due form levell'd the footstone of the New St. Paul's, designed by D.G.M. Wren A.D. 1673, and by him conducted as Master of Work and Surveyor with his Wardens Mr. Edward Strong, Senior and Junior . . ." Valentine Strong had six sons who all followed their father's occupation of builder<sup>1</sup> of whom Thomas the eldest, and three others, including Edward, the fifth son (who compiled a Family Chronicle which, though not published until 1815, was in fact written in 1716), went to London in 1667 to take part in its rebuilding. Now Edward Strong states that it was his brother Thomas who laid the foundation stone; Edward himself was only 23 at the time, so that his son Edward, Junior, being either a baby or yet unborn, could not have been present at the ceremony. Moreover, according to the Family Chronicle, the elder Edward only took up his duties on the work after Thomas's death in 1681. The foundation was in fact laid in June, 1675. Begemann's comment on these facts seems fully justified: "This is one of the innumerable instances of Anderson's fertile imagination, and of the way in which later authors [he refers especially to Preston] have blindly accepted and improved on his assertions. They know nothing at all of the true layer of the foundation stone, Thomas Strong, the Family Chronicle not having been as yet published. But that is no excuse for these fictions, for both the Edward Strongs, father and son, were still alive in Anderson's days."

With the year 1717, we now come to perhaps the most important date in the history of the Craft, and it is at this point that Anderson's narrative should be of extreme value, if we could be at all sure whether it is accurate, or at least, how much of it is accurate.

Anderson says that what were later to be known as the Four Time Immemorial Lodges "finding themselves neglected by Sir Christopher Wren, thought fit to cement under a Grand Master as the center of union and harmony." We have seen that there is no evidence save his earlier statement of Grand Masters before 1717, and how little that statement is to be believed, and how, if we neglect his account of Wren (as we feel bound to do) and rely on Aubrey, there is nothing to connect Wren with either the neglect or the revival of the Craft. So that whatever truth there is in the record of the establishment of Grand Lodge, Anderson's record cannot be accepted nor his preamble admitted.<sup>2</sup> He then goes on to tell how the Four Lodges and some old Brothers met and having put into the Chair the oldest Master Mason (now the Master of a Lodge) they constituted themselves a Grand Lodge *pro tempore* in Due Form, and forthwith revived the Quarterly Communication of the Officers of Lodges (call'd the Grand Lodge) resolved to hold the Annual Assembly and Feast, and then to choose a Grand Master from among themselves, till they should have the honour of a noble Brother at their head.

Accordingly on S. John Baptist's Day in the third year of King George I. A.D. 1717, the Assembly and Feast of the Free and Accepted Masons was held . . . and the Brethren by a majority of hands elected Mr. Antony Sayer Gentleman, Grand Master of Masons . . . Capt. Joseph Elliot, Mr. Jacob Lamball, Carpenter, Grand Wardens.

Sayer, Grand Master, commanded the Masters and Wardens of Lodges to meet the Grand Officers every Quarter in communication . . . He adds two marginal notes:—

"N.B. It is call'd the Quarterly Communication, because it should meet quarterly according to ancient usage. And when the Grand Master is present it is a Lodge in Ample Form; otherwise, only in Due Form, yet having the same authority with Ample Form" (pp. 109-110).

<sup>1</sup> Begeman, *op. cit.*, i., 47 note; Gould, ii., pp. 40 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*, ii., 37.

It is unfortunate that Anderson did not consider it necessary to set out these facts in his first edition. It is generally accounted a matter of suspicion when an historian omits to mention circumstances which should be fresh in his memory until a later date when that freshness has been lost. But it is perhaps possible to excuse him in this case, because by 1738 his plan had been enlarged. Even accepting this, there is much to be doubted in his narrative. He again pursues his favourite plan of reading past events in the light of their successors. He does not make the real organisation of 1717 a new thing as in fact it was, but makes out that it was a revival of the old Masonic administrative system. As we have seen, the office of Grand Master was a new one; and moreover the system of a centralised and permanent Grand Lodge was really an innovation to those who had been accustomed to the spasmodic and occasional meetings of local Lodges having little connection one with the other.

It is probable that the new movement was not universally approved; Sadler has demonstrated that there were probably Lodges in existence in 1717 which did not join in. Anderson's mention of the four Lodges and some old Brothers seems to suggest that there might have been other members of the Lodges to which the old Brothers belonged who did not approve. As far as we know, the distinction between "Ample Form" and "Due Form" is Anderson's invention, since there is no evidence in the Minutes of Grand Lodge up to the date of his second edition of any such distinction as he noted. We see that, in regard to most of the points on which Anderson's narrative can be checked, they find contradiction instead of confirmation, and there is much to be said for Begemann's conclusion that the whole story of the election of the first Grand Master is a myth of Anderson's invention, that the actual choice was made in a much more simple fashion, and that the single fact remaining as established is that Sayer was chosen Grand Master on 24th June, 1717, with Lambell and Elliot associate with him as Wardens.<sup>1</sup> We can perhaps accept the fact and the date of the re-organisation, but in the absence of corroboration reject Anderson's details.

I shall now proceed briefly to comment on Anderson's account of the subsequent assemblies.

24th June, 1718. Payne G.M. is stated to have recommended the strict observance of the Quarterly Communication. This would appear to corroborate what has already been said regarding these, *i.e.*, that they had not yet been regularly established. Payne desired the Brethren to bring "any old writings and records concerning Masons and Masonry," "and this year several old copies of the Gothic Constitutions were produced and collated" (p. 110.) There is no other evidence of this, and conversely, when, according to Stukeley,<sup>2</sup> Payne produced an old MS. of the Constitutions (the Cooke text) on 24th June, 1721, Anderson makes no mention of this fact. But it would be unfair not to point out that apparently the old records had not begun to be interesting and that there is no antecedent possibility against Anderson's statement.

24th June, 1719. "Some noblemen were also made brothers and more new Lodges were constituted." This is at best unlikely, otherwise one of the noblemen would probably have been made Grand Master; and we have no record of so early a series of constitutions.

24th June, 1720. "This year, at some private Lodges several very valuable Manuscripts (for they had nothing yet in print) concerning the Fraternity . . . were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous Brothers, that these papers might not fall into strange hands." Many theories have been built on this note, into

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, ii., 39.

<sup>2</sup> Diary, i., 64.



which we cannot here enter. Begemann notes, for example, that we have no confirmation of this, but that on the contrary many MSS. have come down to us, that there is nothing in them which is secret, and indeed in 1722 Roberts published one of them. It is just conceivable of course that an unreasoning panic seized on some private Lodges, and that through fear and ignorance, the great enemies of written literature, such a holocaust may have been consummated, but it is unlikely. It is however possible that Begemann's view is too severe. With the discovery of such writings as the *Chetwode Crawley MS.*, and the later MSS. whose finding has been chronicled in *A.Q.C.*, it is becoming clear that there were written records of esoteric working, and that it is necessary to distinguish these from the Old Charges which dealt chiefly with the historical and administrative sides of the Craft, and in regard to which Begemann's remarks are apt. But it may be that Anderson was referring to Rituals, and in that case what he stated to have occurred may quite well in fact have happened.

"It was agreed, in order to avoid disputes on the Annual Feast-Day, that the new Grand Master for the future shall be named and proposed to the Grand Lodge sometime before the Feast, by the present or Old Grand Master . . ."

Anderson at the end of his book prints what he calls the Old and the New Regulations, and No. xxix. and the following Regulations deal with this point. The so-called "Old" Regulations say that at the Annual Feast the Master and Wardens of the private Lodges are to consult about the new Grand Master for the ensuing year (if they had not done so the day before) and if the old Grand Master is not to be continued in office, he shall nominate his successor. The "New" Regulation xxix. sets out the resolution of 24th June, 1720 (with the customary inaccuracy).

*Prima facie* it is curious to find that if the resolution so-called of 1720 was passed in that year, the Old Regulation as printed in 1723 does not incorporate it, but is to a different effect and that it only, according to Anderson, becomes part of the system some years after a different regulation had been approved. Further we find that on 24th June, 1723, according to the official Minutes, Wharton is desired to name his successor (in accordance with the old Regulations), in spite of the resolution of 1720. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that Anderson's date of 1720 as given on page 111 is wrong, and that the so-called Regulation of 1720 is really only a New Regulation introduced by Anderson in 1738.<sup>1</sup>

"Also agreed that for the future the new Grand Master as soon as he is installed, shall have the sole power of appointing both his Grand Wardens and a Deputy Grand Master . . ." (p. 111). Old Regulation xxxv. however directs that the in-coming Grand Master shall nominate and appoint his Deputy, and also his Wardens, but that if his choice is not unanimously approved by Grand Lodge, then they shall be balloted for (p. 173). From the Minutes of 24th June, 1723<sup>2</sup> we see that the nominees of the new Grand Masters for all three offices were put to the Lodge and carried, though that of Desaguliers as Deputy only by a majority. At the next meeting of 25th November, 1723, it was expressly put to Grand Lodge and carried that: (1) the Grand Master had power to appoint his Deputy; (2) Desaguliers be Deputy as from the last meeting; (3) that the Grand Wardens appointed at that meeting be confirmed in their office; and on 28th April, 1724, that the Grand Master has power to appoint his Wardens. Thus we see that Anderson's version in his history differs from that in his Regulations, and that moreover as in the preceding quotation he has again antedated events.

<sup>1</sup> I have argued in this from Anderson's own statements and from the subsequent official Minutes. But as we have only Anderson's account of Payne's Old Regulations, which he admits he has recast, the whole matter is very doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 51-2.



25th March, 1721. "Payne Grand Master observing the number of Lodges to encrease" (p. 112). This passage Begemann alleges is another case of ante-dating. He quotes Stukeley's diary under date 6th January, 1721, when the latter was made a Freemason,<sup>1</sup> and the Doctor's comment, "I was the first person made a free mason in London for many years. We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony. Immediately after that it took a run, and ran itself out of breath through the folly of the members,"<sup>2</sup> and also his entry in the third person, "that his curiosity led him to be initiated into the mysteries of Masonry suspecting it to be the remains of the mysteries of the Ancients, when with difficulty a number sufficient was to be found in all London. After this it became a public fashion not only spread over Britain and Ireland, but all Europe."<sup>3</sup> This passage it must be added is, from what we know of the contemporary conditions of the Craft, not altogether clear in its implications. It is scarcely to be taken literally for there must have been in London several Lodges and an appreciable, if an uncertain, number of Masons. It is likely that what Stukeley means is that there could only with difficulty be collected a sufficient number of his own class or that there was a difficulty in assembling a quorum of those qualified to attend the ceremony which we now know as the Third Degree.

Begemann<sup>4</sup> finds it hard to believe that as early as March 25th, 1721, there had been a noticeable increase of Lodges and is doubtful whether the Duke of Montagu was admitted as early as this, since he thinks that his initiation would have been chronicled in the Press, as was his installation on the 24th June. He thinks that Montagu had been initiated only a very short time before his installation. I suggest that here Begemann presses Anderson too hardly. Stukeley says that after 6th January, Freemasonry immediately took a run, and in view of this, and of its becoming "a public fashion," it is not unlikely that enough had occurred in the space of twelve weeks to bring about a considerable increase in the number of members of the Craft, although perhaps not to increase the number of Lodges. No doubt the installation of the Duke of Montagu increased the popularity of the Craft, but it is very probable that the admission of Montagu was also a result as well as a cause of that popularity.

Under date the 24th June, 1721, Anderson gives a long account of a meeting of Grand Lodge, several passages of which are open to comment (pp. 112-3): He says that they made some new brothers including Lord Stanhope. Stukeley in his Diary<sup>5</sup> under the same date notes that the "Masons had a dinner at Stationers Hall, present, Duke of Montague, Lord Herbert, Lord Stanhope, Sir Andrew Fountain etc. etc. Dr. Desaguliers pronounc'd an oration." Now had these persons been initiated at that meeting it is almost certain that Stukeley would have mentioned the fact. Moreover, we have no other instance of an initiation being performed at a Grand Lodge instead of a Private Lodge (the Occasional Lodge of 5th November, 1737, which Anderson mentions, could hardly have been a meeting of Grand Lodge). Anderson further states that the Grand Officers, Past Grand Officers and Master and Wardens met the Grand Master elect at the King's Arms Tavern and marched on foot to Stationer's Hall, and that the old Grand Master made the first and the new Grand Master made the second procession round the hall. In regard to this, as Begemann points out,<sup>6</sup> this statement is inadmissible for two reasons; firstly, because according to the Minutes of Grand Lodge the earliest occasion on which a procession was combined with the formal fetching of the Grand Master was the Duke of Norfolk's installation in 1730, and, secondly, because although the holding of the Feast is mentioned in the contemporary newspapers, there is no mention of a procession which, had it in fact taken place, must have drawn to itself much attention. Further, the processions of the outgoing and incoming Grand Masters round the

<sup>1</sup> Diary, i., 62.

<sup>2</sup> Diary, i., 122.

<sup>3</sup> Diary, i., 51.

<sup>4</sup> *op. cit.*, ii., 68.

<sup>5</sup> Diary i., 64.

<sup>6</sup> *op. cit.*, ii., 50.

Hall are not referred to in the Minutes until several years later, and the old Regulations dealing with the Installation made no allusion to any procession. Here again we have Anderson antedating.

With the mention of the name of the Duke of Wharton, we enter upon a famous episode in the history of Grand Lodge, and as it is also one with which Anderson's veracity, or at least his credibility, is closely connected, it is here necessary briefly to summarise the matter, referring those interested for a full treatment to Bro. Gould's paper (*A.Q.C.*, viii., pp. 114 ff).

Our author tells us that "Grand Master Montagu's Good Government inclin'd the better sort to continue him in the chair for another year [he had occupied it from June, 1721, to June, 1722]; and therefore they delayed to prepare the feast.

"But Philip Duke of Wharton lately made a Brother, though not the Master of a Lodge, being ambitious of the chair, got a number of others to meet him at Stationer's Hall, 24th June, 1722, and having no Grand Officers, they put in the chair the oldest Master Mason (who was not the present Master of a Lodge, also irregular) and without the usual decent ceremonials, the said old Mason proclaimed aloud Philip Wharton Duke of Wharton Grand Master of Masons and Mr. Joshua Timson, Blacksmith } Grand Wardens, but his Grace appointed Mr. William Hawkins, Mason } no deputy, nor was the Lodge opened and closed in due form.

"Therefore the noble Brothers, and all those that would not countenance irregularities, disown'd Wharton's authority, till worthy Brother Montagu healed the breach of harmony by summoning the Grand Lodge to meet on the 17th January, 1722/3," when on his promising to be true and faithful, he was proclaimed Grand Master.

Now in contradiction of Anderson's account there are the following facts:—

1. Stukeley's Diary under date May 25th, 1722, notes that he "met Duke of Queensborough, Lord Dumbarton, Hinchinbroke, etc., at Fountain Tavern Lodge to consider of Feast on St. Johns."
2. The public Press contained announcements of the forthcoming Feast of the Freemasons.
3. The 24th June, 1722, fell on a Sunday, and the Feast was accordingly held on Monday, 25th.
4. The Press records the Election of the Duke of Wharton either unanimously or without referring to any dissent.
5. The author of *The Praise of Drunkenness*, in an account referring probably to the Feast of June, 1722, gives no colour to any suggestion that the installation was without the usual decent ceremonies.
6. Stukeley's mention under date 3rd November, 1722, of the Duke of Wharton and Lord Dalkeith (who in fact succeeded Wharton as Grand Master) visiting his Lodge at the Fountain, shows that at least one of the "noble Brothers" had not "disown'd" Wharton's authority.
7. Desaguliers is mentioned by the *Daily Post* of 27th June, 1722, as having been chosen Deputy Grand Master, and had in fact signed the Dedication of the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions* as Deputy Grand Master, before it was presented to Grand Lodge in January, 1723, and the Approbation of the 17th January, 1722/3, is signed by Wharton as Grand Master and Desaguliers as Deputy, while the Frontispiece shows Wharton and a clergyman (presumably Desaguliers) in those respective positions.

In face of these matters of disproof it seems clear that Anderson was wrong in his account of the proceedings. But there are certain newspaper extracts given by the late Bro. Robbins (*A.Q.C.*, xxii., 67 ff) which tend to show conclusively that there were some discussions among the Masons, but what they were in effect is not clear. We leave the subject with an uneasy suspicion, not for the first time, that although our author has made an untrustworthy entry in his chronicle, although his facts are wrong, yet he is probably dealing with an actual occurrence, even though his method of treatment helps us little in determining its circumstances. However distorted by Anderson's prejudice, fancy, or faulty memory, we still have the smoke, and must presume the fire.

Anderson's account of the meeting of 25th April, 1723, again contains many statements open to challenge. He begins by stating that the Lodge was opened in ample form; as has been said before that was a distinction known at that date only to Anderson himself. Then according to his story there being no Secretary yet appointed (this is probably true, as the first Minute of Grand Lodge informs us that Cowper was not appointed until 24th June, 1723) Grand Warden Anderson called the roll. I have already discussed his claim to be Grand Warden; whether he called the roll may or may not be true—some have doubted it. Then Wharton "proposed for his successor the Earl of Dalkeith (now Duke of Buccleugh) Master of a Lodge, who was unanimously approv'd and duly saluted as Grand Master Elect." But the Minutes of 24th June, 1723, inform us "Then the Grand Master [Wharton] being desired to name his successor and declining to do so, but referring the nomination to the Lodge The Right Honourable the Earl of Dalkeith was proposed to be put in nomination as Grand Master for the year ensuing . . . accordingly the Earl of Dalkeith was agreed to be put in nomination as Grand Master for the ensuing year. The Lodge was also acquainted that (in case of his election) he had nominated Dr. Desaguliers for his Deputy." Desaguliers' appointment as Deputy was then put to Grand Lodge and carried by a majority of one. After dinner Dalkeith was declared Grand Master, and Wharton stating that he had doubts about the number on the division for Deputy proposed that this question be again put, and he and several others withdrew as voting against Desaguliers. In their absence, a written authority from Dalkeith was produced to the effect *inter alia* that he appointed Desaguliers his Deputy, and protest was made on his behalf and on that of the whole fraternity against Wharton's proceedings. On Wharton's return and his being made acquainted with what had taken place during his absence, "the late Grand Master went away from the Hall without any ceremony." If Wharton declined to name his successor in June it is not likely that, as reported by Anderson, he had proposed Dalkeith in April. But further let us see what is Anderson's version of the proceedings in June of which we have just given the official account. He states that Wharton came into the Lodge Room with his Deputy and Wardens and sent for the Masters and Wardens of Lodges and formed Grand Lodge. It was then pointed out to him by some that as Dalkeith was still in Scotland, he should name another successor, but Dalkeith's Wardens declared that he would soon be returning. Then they adjourned to dinner, and afterwards Wharton made the first procession round the tables and proclaimed Dalkeith Grand Master, the Deputy and Grand Wardens being appointed in the latter's name. Grand Warden Sorell was then ordered to close the Lodge. Not a word to suggest the dispute about Desaguliers, and Wharton's resentment. The probably unvarnished statement of the Grand Warden's closing the Lodge (there is no mention whatsoever of any such procedure in any of the Minutes) fittingly closes Anderson's achievement in suppressing the true and suggesting and even expressing the false. Anderson's offence is made the more rank by the fact that we chance to have a letter written by him to the Duke of Montagu on the 29th June, 1723, which includes the following passage:—"Your Grace's company would have been useful, because, though with unanimity they

chose the Earl of Dalkeith the Grand Master, represented by his proxy, the D[u]ke of W[harto]n endeavoured to divide us against Dr. Desaguliers (whom the Earl named for Deputy before his Lordship left London), according to a concert of the said D[u]ke and some he had persuaded that morning to join him; nor will the affair be well adjusted until the present Grand Master comes to London." <sup>1</sup>

Under date the 24th June, 1725, Anderson records a meeting (during Richmond's Grand Mastership) saying that the Grand Wardens were continued 6 months longer (p. 119). The Minutes state that Martin Folkes, Deputy Grand Master, was present (suggesting inferentially that the Grand Master was absent) and that Desaguliers declared for the Grand Master that "it was his Grace's pleasure to continue the Deputy and Grand Wardens in office for the next 6 months" (*Q.C.A.*, x., 62). The hitherto unsuspected explanation of this is to be found in a letter from Richmond to Folkes, dated 27th June, 1725, which is now available in its original form since the recent dispersal of the Folkes Correspondence <sup>2</sup> and which is given only in an incomplete version on page 120 of the present Duke of Richmond's *A Duke and His Friends*, in which the Grand Master apologises to Folkes for the fact that "St. John's Day, being the *great and important day*, was entirely out of my head, so much that I have never since cast an eye upon the report of the Committee upon charity; which I ought to have returned a week ago," that is, Richmond had apparently forgotten to attend Grand Lodge, and Folkes and Desaguliers had to cover his absence as best they could.

A few minor errors of Anderson's may be mentioned parenthetically. Under date the 24th June, 1724, George Payne and Francis Sorell are given as Grand Wardens (p. 118), whereas the Minutes of Grand Lodge gives them in the reverse order.<sup>3</sup> In his account of the procession of the 29th January, 1730 (p. 126), he gives the names of several Grand Masters present, together with those of Desaguliers, Payne, and Sayer. The Minutes of Grand Lodge omit the last three,<sup>4</sup> and if only by reason of the fact that the unfortunate Sayer's mention in the Minutes is only for the recording of disciplinary or charitable action, there is no reason to think that Anderson here again was other than inaccurate. He records under date the 27th March, 1731, the appointment of Brother George Moody <sup>5</sup> as Sword-Bearer (p. 128). But on the 29th May, 1733, the Minutes <sup>6</sup> stated that a memorial on behalf of the Master of the Lodge at St. Paul's Head in Ludgate Street relating to his carrying the Grand Sword at the annual feast being offered to be read, the Deputy Grand Master replied that the Grand-Sword Bearer being an officer of Grand Lodge was therefore to be appointed by the Grand Master, and that the then Grand Master had appointed Moody to that office, and that Brother is in fact given as Sword-Bearer in the Minutes of the following meeting. Anderson therefore is some two years out in his dates. Begemann,<sup>7</sup> who points out this mistake, then goes on to say: "In his description of the procession of 29th January 1729/30 he describes the Book of Constitutions as carried by the Master of the Senior Lodge in contradiction of the minutes themselves"; but Begemann's attempted correction is itself wrong, as the Minutes clearly state "The Book of Constitutions carried on the velvet cushion by the Master of the Senior Lodge." Either Begemann had overlooked this point or wishing to challenge Anderson's account of his alleged procession on 24th June, 1724 (which the Minutes of that date justify his doing), he has

<sup>1</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xii., 106.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 255.

<sup>3</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 58.

<sup>4</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 116.

<sup>5</sup> Anderson had previously mentioned (p. 127) under date the 29th January, 1730/1, that Moody, the King's Sword-Cutler, had been ordered to engrave the scabbard of the sword of Gustavus Adolphus.

<sup>6</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 229-31.

<sup>7</sup> *op. cit.*, i., 444 2.

mistakenly given the wrong date 1729/30, instead of 1724. In effect, what Anderson did was to give an account of a procession in 1729/30 correctly, but also and incorrectly to give one as having taken place in 1724.

There are some general points arising out of Anderson's treatment of contemporary history which require some mention. Begemann<sup>1</sup> deals at length with the figures of Lodges given for the earlier years which by reason of the regular order of their progress, and for other reasons, he finds suspicious, *i.e.*, 12, 16, 20, 24. Bro. Vibert has dealt with the point in his paper to which I have referred,<sup>2</sup> so that it is not necessary again to consider it in detail. He points out in Anderson's favour that with regard to the critical date 1722, Begemann's estimate does not greatly differ from our author's, and that even Begemann's estimate which is based on the list of Lodges signing the approbation of the 1723 edition is not necessarily reliable since that list may not be a chronological one. Briefly to summarise the position, Anderson's figures may be somewhat round, but they are possible, at any rate as a rough estimate; Begemann's objections are not very firmly based, and even if successfully upheld, would not greatly affect Anderson's version at the critical date.

If we examine the dates of the meetings of Grand Lodge as given in the *Book of Constitutions* for its quarterly assemblies from 1720 until June, 1722, we find them to be as follows:—

24th June 1720.	27th December 1720.	25th March 1721.
24th June 1721.	29th September 1721.	27th December 1721,
25th March 1722.	24th June 1722.	

That is, all the meetings given above were held either on the legal quarter-days or on the 27th December, St. John the Evangelist's Day, which was for a time the date of the yearly assembly of the Scottish Lodges, and of those in the North of England. But Begemann<sup>3</sup> points out that an analysis of the dates of meetings as given in the official Minutes shows that on very few occasions did Grand Lodge meet on the quarter day, and that although from 1725-1729 (with one exception) it met on 27th December, yet it did not do so previous to the former year. Moreover, we ought to note a fondness for the 27th December which Anderson has shown in his historical portion. It will be recollected that to that date have been rather arbitrarily assigned by him both Queen Elizabeth's attack on the Order in 1561 and the Earl of St. Alban's Grand Lodge of 1663. (Although Roberts dates the general Assembly as the 8th December.) With regard to the alleged meeting of 27th December, 1721, at which Grand Master Montagu is stated to have appointed "14 learned Brothers" to examine and report on Anderson's MS., and which "was made very entertaining by the lectures of some old Masons," Stukeley<sup>4</sup> has the following notice in his Diary under that date: "We met at the Fountain Tavern Strand and by consent of Grand master present, Dr. Beal [Deputy Grand Master] constituted a new Lodge there, where I was chose Master:" If Stukeley's entry is correct—and there is no reason in the circumstances to doubt it—it is scarcely likely that both the Grand Master and his Deputy would have arranged to attend the consecration of a private Lodge on the day of meeting of Grand Lodge, going from one to the other.

Anderson's historical portion makes use of two famous phrases for which Grand Lodge Minutes afford no authority, which were probably his own invention, and of which one at any rate has been adopted by the Craft, and the other by the 'side' degrees:—

"Brother Payne having invested his Grace's Worship with the Ensigns and Badges of his office and authority, install'd him in Solomon's chair . . . ." 1721, p. 113.

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, ii., 65, *et. seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., 64-6.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.*, ii., 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Diary*, i., 60.

"The Duke [of Richmond and Lennox] having bow'd to the Assembly, Brother Dalkeith invested him with the proper Ensigns and Badges of his office and authority, install'd him in Solomon's Chair . . ." 1724, p. 118.

"and having invested him [*i.e.*, the Duke of Norfolk] and install'd him in Solomon's Chair." 1729/30, p. 126.

"John Beal, M.D. as his Deputy Grand Master, whom Brother Payne invested, and install'd him in Hiram Abbiff's chair . . ." 1721, p. 113.

"Martin Folkes, Esq. his Deputy Grand Master invested and install'd by the last Deputy in the Chair of Hiram Abbiff." 1724, p. 118.

I do not know of any instance of earlier references to these Chairs, and if there is none, Anderson's references are of considerable interest in view of the spread of what we know as the Third Degree.

With regard to the meeting of the 27th November, 1725, Anderson in the historical portion gives it a very short notice, merely mentioning that Lord Paisley was proposed as the new Grand Master, and that "no Stewards being appointed," Brother Heidegger was desired to prepare the feast (p. 119). As a matter of fact, the meeting according to the Minutes<sup>1</sup> was of considerable importance as Grand Lodge then dealt with the arrangements for the Festival, the restoration to private Lodges of the power to make "Masters," the Committee for Charity, and the giving of security by the Grand Treasurer; and though many of these points are dealt with by Anderson in the administrative portion of his Book, we feel that some reference to them might have been made in the historical portion. There is no reference in the Minutes to Heidegger under the date given, but at the next meeting it is recorded that the healths were drunk of the Grand Steward J. J. Heidegger and his two Deputies, Potter and Lambert. Anderson gives the meeting of the 27th December, 1728, as taking place at Mercer's Hall (p. 123); the Minutes<sup>2</sup> as at Stationer's Hall—Preston of course copies the former. Anderson records under date the 25th November, 1729, that Kingston G.M. presented several articles of masonic furniture, a "curious pedestal," a cushion for its top, and a velvet bag and a badge of two gold pens for the Secretary. It is somewhat strange that although mention is made in the Minutes both of the Duke of Norfolk's gifts and of the famous consignment of arrack, Lord Kingston's generosity passed apparently unregarded therein: one wonders whether there is any trace of the gifts in the other records of Grand Lodge. Anderson's accounts of the meetings of the 28th August and the 15th December, 1730 (p. 127), both very short in view of the many matters which the Grand Lodge Minutes show to have been discussed there, make no mention of the attacks on and exposures of Masonry which had been published. Desaguliers at the August meeting<sup>3</sup> had stood up and taking notice of a certain exposure had "recommended several things to the consideration of Grand Lodge" for preventing the admission of false brethren into Lodges, and Blackerby, Deputy Grand Master "seconded the Doctor and proposed several rules to the Grand Lodge to be observed in their respective Lodges for their security against all open and Secret Enemies to the Craft." In December<sup>4</sup> Blackerby took notice of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* and condemned it, proposing that measures should be taken for the strict vouching of any persons visiting a Lodge. It is a remarkable fact that Anderson does not interrupt what by this time has become a perfunctory abstract of Grand Lodge meetings to deal with or even to mention these facts. It cannot be accounted unto him for righteousness that when it comes to matters which in the opinions of many led to a considerable alteration in the Masonic Secrets he apparently ignores them, and this in spite of the fact that at the August meeting he was actually present and acting as Senior Grand Warden.

<sup>1</sup> Q.C.A., x., 63 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Q.C.A., x., 93.

<sup>4</sup> Q.C.A., x., 125 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Q.C.A., x., 131 ff.



Anderson says that the Duke of Lorraine (afterwards husband of Maria Theresa and Emperor of Germany) was made an Enter'd Prentice and Fellow Craft at the Hague, and then he adds, putting this second statement between circumstances related under date respectively the 14th of May and the 24th of June, 1731, that he was made a Master Mason at Walpole's "house of Houghton-Hall in Norfolk," at an Occasional Lodge, by Lovel, Grand Master. According to Bro. Daynes, the Duke did not arrive in England until October and he did not get to Houghton until November. Bro. Daynes was of the opinion that Desaguliers conferred all three degrees at the Hague and that the Royal Mason was not raised at Houghton. Anderson, probably having in mind the introduction into Free Masonry of the Prince of Wales, has either assimilated or confused the two incidents.

## VI. LIST OF GRAND MASTERS OR PATRONS OF THE FREE MASONS IN ENGLAND.

We have already seen that what Anderson was desired to do by Grand Lodge was "to print the names . . . of all the Grand Masters that could be collected from the beginning of time, together with a list of the names of all Deputy Grand Masters, Grand Wardens, and the Brethren that have served the Craft in quality of Stewards."<sup>1</sup> These recommendations he cannot be said to have carried out; his sins were both positive and negative. Grand Lodge had made no mention of patrons in its instructions, but Anderson has, in form at least, extended those instructions, although in spite of not being told to do so, he has limited the list to England. That he extended them in spirit is not so clear. A body which eighteen years after the formation of Grand Lodge and the first use of the term Grand Master asks an author to produce a list of all the Grand Masters who can be "collected from the beginning of time" is to all intents and purposes asking to be supplied with some such fantastic mixture of history and legend, fact and fiction, misnomer and anachronism as that which Anderson so obligingly compiled.

A minor fault of Anderson's is that though he has in the historical portion mentioned the other Grand Officers, yet he has compiled no such list of them as Grand Lodge had ordered him to do.

There is no occasion to deal in detail with the list given on pp. 140-142. Some of the names have been dealt with in considering the historical portion. Suffice it to say, that the list (except of course from 1717) is chiefly one of those whom either history or legend have handed down as patrons of the building art, together with a few craftsmen whose connection with anything like Freemasonry in the modern sense is far from being established.

Although the *Constitutions* of Anderson as has been said found general acceptance, yet even from early days there was an under-current of objection. As far back as the *Briscoe* MS. its author takes serious objection to Anderson's history, points out that he makes the term Freemasonry cover too wide a ground, and as a matter of historical detail points out that there is no record of either Charles II. or William III. having been Freemasons.

And Dermott, in the *Ahimian Rezon* states his view as follows:—

"Query, whether such histories are of any use in the secret mysteries of the craft" p. i.

" . . . I immediately fancied myself an Historian, and intended to trace Masonry, not only to Adam, in his sylvan lodge in Paradise, but to give some account of the craft even before the Creation. And (as a foundation) I placed the following works round about me, so as to be convenient to have

<sup>1</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 251.



recourse to them as occasion should require, viz: Doctor Anderson . . . immediately before me.

" . . . I tied up in the public *Advertiser* of Friday, October 19, 1753, and threw them under the table " p. ii.

## VII. THE OLD CHARGES.

It is proposed only to deal here with the differences between these as given in 1723 and in 1738.

In view of the changes which have taken place in the head-lines, for purposes of comparison I set out those in the two editions and trace the subsequent changes.

*First Edition*: " The | Charges | of a | Free-Mason, | extracted from | the ancient Records of Lodges | beyond Sea, and of those in England, Scotland, | and Ireland, for the use of the Lodges in London: | to be read | at the making of New Brethren, or when the | Master shall order it."

*Second Edition*: " The old | Charges | of the | Free and Accepted Masons, | collected by the author from their old Records, at the | Command of the Grand Master the present Duke of | Montagu.

" Approved by the Grand Lodge, and order'd to be printed in | the first Edition of the Book of Constitutions on 25 March 1722."

*1756 Edition* as in 1738, save that the words " by the author " and " the present Duke of Montagu " are omitted.

*1767 Edition*. Same as in 1756.

*1784 Edition* has merely " Antient Charges: | Collected from Old Records."

*1815 and 1819 Editions* return to a slightly modified form of the 1723 edition:—

" The | Charges | of a | Free-Mason | extracted from | the Antient Records of Lodges beyond Sea | and of those in | England, Scotland, and Ireland | For the Use of Lodges | To be read | at the making of New Brethren, or when | the Master shall order it.

" Now republished by Order of the Grand Lodge."

All the subsequent editions follow the 1819 save that that of 1827 is the only one of them to have the words " Now republished [etc.]" That of 1841 and its successors have merely " published." The expression " old " used in connection with the Charges in 1738 and ever afterwards is something of a misnomer. In the form given they were no older than the first edition, and are in fact nothing more than Anderson's version of the genuine " Old Charges." Each of his two versions, the 1723 and 1738 contains the same seven charges, the " Finally " of the earlier being split up, part becoming a (new) Section Seven of the Sixth Charge, and part a separately numbered and headed Charge " Concerning Law-suits " in the later, but the wording and arrangement are altered in many places.

We have already discussed the religious question arising out of the First Charge, and suggested an origin for the expression Noachida, occurring in the later edition. The statement that in ancient times Masons were charged in every country to be of the religion of that country is amended to Christian Masons complying with the Christian usages. Begemann<sup>1</sup> sees in this only one more of Anderson's myths, since the latter knew no more of foreign Masonry than was to be found in the old texts, or than he had heard of its spread since 1723. He sees in the alteration only a recognition of the practice which had grown up of

<sup>1</sup> *op. cit.*, ii., 206.

admitting non-Christians. With regard to the reference to the "3 great Articles of Noah" which follows, the same authority, working from the reference to Brotherly Love or Love and Friendship in both editions, the emphasis laid on Charity in early Freemasonry, and the frequent references to Truth, and quoting "The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discovered" of 1724, and Drake's Oration of 1726, considers these to be the famous Masonic triad of Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth.

Bro. Vibert's view<sup>1</sup>—a much simpler one—is that we can deduce from Anderson's text "that there was a stock phrase in use in the Lodges; the mason is to be a good man and true and strictly to obey the moral law, and that it is this sentence which is an echo of the text in Genesis 'Noah was a just man and perfect and walked with God' that constituted the Grand Articles of Noah." I confess I prefer this explanation.

Bro. Crawley<sup>2</sup> says that "the subsequent modifications of their language, particularly in that of the Second Charge will serve as an index to the spirit that actuated the Brotherhood. The Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) abandoned the version of 1738 throughout the remainder of the century, and reverted to the version of 1723, which formed the groundwork of the Irish version of 1730. The Grand Lodge of Ireland on the other hand, abandoned the original version of 1730 and adopted, in 1751, Anderson's later version of 1738. This, in its turn, entailed the adoption of the Irish form by the Grand Lodge of the Antients, whose *Ahiman Rezon* follows the Irish *Book of Constitutions* of 1751. The first two editions of the *Ahiman Rezon* reproduced the Charge without comment, but, in the third edititon, 1778, Laurence Dermott appended the following pithy note:—

"That is, he [the Brother convicted of disloyalty] is still a Mason, though the Brethren may refuse to associate with him: However, in such case, he forfeits all benefit from the Lodge."

Immediately after the suppression of the Rebellion of 1798, the Grand Lodge of Ireland, by solemn resolution, decided to omit for the future the concluding clause of the Charge "beginning with the word 'but,' and ending with the word 'indefeasible.' This Resolution continued in force during the nineteenth century. In June, 1899, the Grand Lodge of Ireland reverted to the Old Charges which they had adopted in 1730 . . ."

In the later version the Second Charge is less than one-half that of the earlier, although the effect is much the same. In 1738 the Third Charge is much extended on the whole, though some portion of the earlier version is dropped. The latter had spoken of particular and general Lodges, which would be best understood by attendance, "and by the Regulations of the general or grand Lodge hereunto annexed"; the former omits the reference to general lodges. The 1738 version is much more operative in character. To the qualifications are added, "hail and sound, not deformed or dismember'd at the time of their making . . . no eunuch," and then follows a new paragraph, still with a reminiscence of the old operatives, and a not unskilful mingling of operative and speculative: "When men of quality, eminence, wealth and learning apply to be made, they are to be respectfully accepted, after due examination: For such often prove good lords (or founders) of work, and will not employ cowans when true Masons can be had; they also make the best officers of Lodges, and the best designers, to the honour and strength of the Lodge: Nay, from among them, the Fraternity can have a noble Grand Master. But those Brethren are equally subject to the Charges and Regulations, except in what more immediately concerns operative Masons."

<sup>1</sup> Somerset M.L. *Trans.*, 1927, 110-1.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xxiv., 56.

The Fourth Charge is half as long again in 1723 as in 1738. A comparison of the two versions is interesting as showing the now established position of the Master Mason. Previously Anderson had spoken of a candidate becoming an Apprentice and then a Fellow-Craft, so that if qualified he may be capable in succession of becoming Warden and then Master of a private Lodge, and Grand Warden and, if worthy, Grand Master. He could not become a Warden until he had been a Fellow-Craft, Master until he had been Warden, nor Grand Master until he had been Master. Anderson now says that a Prentice may when of age and expert, become an Enter'd Prentice and on "due improvements" a Fellow-Craft and Master Mason; the Wardens are chosen from among the Master-Masons, and (save in extraordinary cases) every Master must have served as Warden and every Grand Warden as Master. Whereas in 1723, as Anderson states, a Grand Master must have been a Fellow Craft before election and of noble or gentle birth or of personal distinction, in 1738 it is laid down that he must have served as Master of a Lodge. But Anderson's statements with regard to the necessary qualifications for a Master Mason seem not altogether borne out by certain facts we know of. Hughan in *The Origin of the English Rite*, p. 58, says that "There was a disinclination to proceed to the Third Degree manifested by many brethren during the early part of the 18th century, and there seems to have been some little truth, at least, in the assertion made in 1730: 'There is not one Mason in a hundred that will be at the expense to pass the Master's part.' As late as 1752, when the first Provincial Grand Master of Cornwall was installed, the Brother who presided was only a Fellow Craft." Further to our argument, Hughan states (p. 46) that "The two Wardens who were 'passed' as Masters in 1729, had been elected as Wardens previously," so the "Third" was not a prerequisite for office at that time, neither was it for years later, many brethren being content with their status as Fellow Crafts (p. 48). At a lodge meeting on the 3rd December, 1734, Sir Cecil Wray was re-elected Master and nominated his Wardens, but as these and several other Brethren worthy of the Master's degree had not been called thereto, Wray directed that a Lodge of Masters should be held on the 30th inst. at which they were admitted.

The Fifth Charge differs in the two versions, but chiefly in the recognition in the later of the trigadal system, and in the use of new Masonic terms which have since become part and parcel of the Craft. For "the most expert of the Fellow-Craftsmen" from whom the Master is to be chosen, we have "a Master Mason"; "nor shall Free Masons work with those that are not free" becomes "Free and Accepted Masons shall not allow Cowans to work with them."

In the Sixth Charge the second paragraph of the first section is abbreviated in 1738, but on the other hand the second half of the second Section of 1723 is cut off and made a third paragraph to the first Section of 1738. In both editions we get a reference to { The Catholic religion above-mentioned  
the oldest Catholic religion above hinted,  
i.e., to "that Religion in which all men agree" of the First Charge. Sections three to six are substantially the same in both, but differ in phraseology and in length.

The forbidding of the forcing a Brother to eat or drink beyond his inclination in Section two gives Anderson an opportunity of referring it to "the Old Regulation of King Ahasuerus" quoted by him from the first chapter of the Book of Esther on page 24 of the historical portion.

As has been stated, the concluding paragraph of the 1723 version is split up. The exhortation to observe the Charges which begins it is taken out and made the conclusion in 1738, more logically, perhaps. The next portion becomes Section seven of the Sixth Charge, and the remainder is divided and becomes two paragraphs of a new Seventh Charge—in most cases, as we might expect, with many verbal alterations.

## VIII. THE ANTIENT MANNER OF CONSTITUTING A LODGE.

As the 1738 version of this does not greatly differ from that of 1723, and as the "Manner" has been fully treated in Bro. Vibert's paper,<sup>1</sup> there is little that it is necessary to say here. With regard to the later edition he points out that the reference to Wharton in the heading is now omitted, not to be included again until the first post-Union edition in 1815. It is noteworthy that although the Charges, as has been pointed out, show signs of the trigadal system, yet this portion still retains the Fellow-Craft's as, so to speak, the qualifying degree for constitution and installation. Bro. Vibert states that neither "in the Manner nor in the Regulations is it anywhere laid down that the Master shall have served the office of Warden." This is as it stands correct, but one might usefully add that in the Fourth Charge—1723 edition (p. 52)—it is stated that a Brother cannot be a Master until he has acted as a Warden, and in the 1738 edition (p. 145) this is repeated, subject to exception in "extraordinary cases," or when "a Lodge is to be formed where none can be had," for then three mere Master Masons may be constituted Master and Wardens of the new Lodge.

The later edition has a new conclusion (p. 151): "This is the sum, but not the whole ceremonial by far; which the Grand Officers can extend or abridge at pleasure, explaining things that are not fit to be written: though none but those that have acted as Grand Officers can accurately go through all the several parts and usages of a new Constitution in the just solemnity."

This is one of those rather cryptic observations in which Anderson seems occasionally to delight. Bro. Speth<sup>2</sup> has however accepted it as conclusive evidence of a ceremonial and held that to doubt the ceremony of Constitution is "to cast a doubt on the origin of our present system."

## IX. THE GENERAL REGULATIONS.

In view of the lengthy treatment which the earlier version has received at the hands of Bro. Vibert,<sup>3</sup> all that need be done here is to compare the version given in 1738 with that given in 1723.

Once again we see considerable verbal and indeed substantial changes in the headings of the two versions. In particular the later omits the limiting phrase "for the use of the Lodges in and about Westminster" in view of the great extension of the Craft that had taken place meanwhile. Anderson's object was to set out the Old Regulations and to add in a distinct opposite column, as he says, "the New Regulations, or the alterations, improvements and explications of the Old, made by several Grand Lodges, since the first edition." Now the left-hand column should according to this be a verbatim reprint of those published in 1723, but so far from this being the case, throughout the whole thirty-nine I have found only one instance, that of No. 30, where there has not been some variation, even if often only a slight one, between the original and what in effect purports to be an exact reproduction. Moreover, the so-called "New Regulations" are not regulations at all. The Old Regulations were a code, or at least a digest. The New are little more than a jumble of resolutions of Grand Lodge (sometimes appositely quoted in extension, qualification, or amendment of the Old, and sometimes not), foot-notes and pious hopes, their insertion in many cases obviously dictated by the typographical necessity of placing some attempt at a New Regulation in the right-hand column opposite to one of the "Old."

In an Appendix I have brought together the more important changes introduced by Anderson in his 1738 version of the "Old Regulations."

<sup>1</sup> A.Q.C., xxxvi., 62-3.

<sup>2</sup> A.Q.C., viii., 214.

<sup>3</sup> A.Q.C., xxxv., 56-62.

We have now within the limits of our space to consider the alleged "New Regulations."

Old Regulation One had laid it down that the Grand Master had a full right to preside at a private Lodge at which he was present, but that if the Grand Wardens were also present he need not ask them to act as Werdans, but might ask the Wardens of the Lodge or any other Master-Masons: in 1738 Anderson amends this by saying that the Grand Wardens must act, if present. In view of the scantiness of the early Minutes of private Lodges it is difficult to find out exactly what the practice was, but I shall quote two instances which may guide us in our conclusion. On 24th June, 1730, the Duke of Norfolk, Grand Master, and his officers attended the Lodge of Antiquity,<sup>1</sup> and "the Grand Master was received with the Honors of Masonry and every respect shewn to him and his company by the Right Worshipful Master in the chair *who presided during the whole evening.*" (The italics are mine.) Bro. Dixon, in the extracts from the Minutes of Lodge No. 28 given in his *History of Freemasonry in Lincolnshire* (p. 13), quotes the following passage:—"There were present also the Rt. Worshpl. Sr. Cecil Wray Bart. late Deputy Grand Master and the Rt. Honble the Lord Loudon Grand Master did this Lodge the Honour of a visit and they favoured the Society with their company to midnight when the Lodge was closed by the officers of the Lodge." We see that in neither of these cases did the Grand Officers apparently occupy their corresponding chairs in the private Lodge.

It would appear that the procedure varied according to whether or not the visit was "in form." Although it is much later than the period under consideration, an extract from a letter of Dr. Manningham, Deputy Grand Master, under date the 13th July, 1757,<sup>2</sup> seems to show the distinction: "Whenever they [*i.e.*, the Grand Master or Deputy Grand Master] honour a private Lodge with a visit, the Master of such Lodge immediately resigns the chair to them, if they choose to accept it, for they have votes and preside over all Lodges by Virtue of their high Office; when they visit in Form, they always take the chair, but if the visit is private, they accept or refuse it as they think proper; the Grand Wardens never act as Grand Wardens, but when the Grand Master or his Deputy presides." It should be borne in mind that at the time Manningham gave his ruling, the only written authority of Grand Lodge governing the point was a textual re-enactment of Anderson's Old and New Regulations.

In an addition to the Second Regulation, it is noted in the margin "but was neglected to be recorded"; and with this we can compare the entry as part of New Regulation xiii., "tho' forgotten to be recorded in the Grand Lodge Book"—25th November, 1723. This entry rather sets one wondering "where." There are no Minutes existing before 24th June, 1723, on which date William Cowper was appointed apparently the first Secretary. Were there in fact rough notes of the meetings in existence before this date from which Anderson obtained his account of the earlier meetings, or did he rely on his own and his friends' recollection, and if so why does he single out this particular item as omitted from the record? And were they not signed at the time? Bros. Lane<sup>3</sup> and Rylands<sup>4</sup> think it probable there were lists and notes accessible to Anderson or he may have used the recollections of his friends.

In the Third Regulation it is stated that during the Mastership of Dalkeith (1723-4) "a list of all the Lodges was engraven by Brother John Pyne in a very small volume." Now Bro. Lane<sup>5</sup> says that "the other List of 1723 was engraved, and was, probably, the first ever published; but no copy is known to be in

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Rylands: *History of the Lodge of Antiquity*, i., 11.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, v., 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Handy Book to List of Lodges*, pp. 3 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Lodge of Antiquity*, i., 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Handy Book to List of Lodges*, p. 5.

existence; for that in Grand Lodge, generally designated as of the year 1723, is actually a List of 1724 . . . in five small pages . . . at the foot of the fourth page is the imprint 'Printed for and sold by Eman. Bowen, Engraver in Aldersgate Street' manifestly indicating that this was the last page of a former List issued in 1723, to which a fifth page was added in 1724." But Lane has overlooked the fact that the ornamental heading of the List contains not only the words "Earl of Dalkeith Grand Master 1723" but also "J. Pine, Sculp." So that Anderson's statement is perfectly correct, although Bowen may have been responsible for the additional matter in 1724. After this note Anderson gives three resolutions of Grand Lodge, only one of which is even remotely connected with Old Regulation Three.

While the old Fourth Regulation deals with the age of initiation and the number of initiates to be taken at one meeting, the corresponding new Regulation deals with the Number of Lodges a Brother may belong to—quite a different topic.

It may be pointed out that certain resolutions passed by Grand Lodge on the 19th February, 1723, are separated by Anderson, part being given in New Regulation Four, part in Six, and part in Eight.

New Regulation Five is in effect but a note to Old Regulation Five.

New Regulation Six is a revision of Old Regulation Six by making complete unanimity in admitting a new member no longer necessary.

New Regulation Seven contains only a reference to the Account of the Constitution of the General Charity, and a note giving private Lodges power to make their own charitable arrangements.

New Regulation Eight consists of several resolutions concerning clandestine and irregular "makings" and Lodges which cease their functions. We may note this as evidence of the increasing authority of Grand Lodge, and call to mind prosecutions, *e.g.*, that of Sayer, for irregular or clandestine makings.

New Regulation Nine deals with the removal of Lodges, although the corresponding Old Regulation had dealt with ill-conducted and disobedient brethren, quite a different matter.

New Regulation Ten in extension of Old Regulation Ten which limited private brethren to giving their opinion in Grand Lodge through their Master and Wardens, allows them in a "sudden Emergency" to speak on leave being given.

New Regulation Eleven is merely a note to the corresponding Old Regulation.

New Regulation Twelve gives the resolutions extending membership of Grand Lodge to past Grand Officers and also certain resolutions concerning the wearing of jewels.

With regard to New Regulation Thirteen it should be said that Anderson wrongly gives the date of this important resolution as the 22nd instead of the 27th of November, 1725. He states the terms of the resolution as follows:—"The Master of a Lodge with his Wardens and a competent number of the Lodge assembled in due Form, can make Masters and Fellows at Discretion." In fact, as we learn from the reprinted Minutes of Grand Lodge, the real resolution was as follows:—"A Motion being made that such part of the 13th Article of the General Regulations relating to the making of Masters only at a Quarterly Communication, may be repealed, and that the Master of each Lodge with the consent of his Wardens and the majority of the Brethren being Masters may make Masters at their discretion. Agreed Nem Con." Anderson has therefore suggested that there were three classes of Masons instead of two and also, if we take him literally and the old and the new versions together, would have implied that previously the making not only of Masters but also of Fellow Craft was confined to Grand Lodge, which is absurd. Generally it may be said that this



Regulation is that of the whole series which has given rise to most controversy, and, as Bro. Songhurst<sup>1</sup> has said, is the basis of much that has been written on the subject of degrees. He pertinently adds that the alteration, *i.e.*, the restoration of the power to private Lodges, was made immediately after certain brethren who were members of a regular Lodge as well as of the Philo Musicæ Societas had been summoned for making Masons irregularly.

Anderson states in para. 4 of the same Regulation that Grand Lodge appointed Cowper Secretary, but that since then "the new Grand Master upon his commencement appoints the Secretary, or continues him by returning him the books," but we learn from the Minutes that on 17th April, 1728,<sup>2</sup> the Grand Master having appointed Reid Secretary would not insist on the appointment without their unanimous consent—*i.e.*, of Grand Lodge.

In New Regulation Fourteen Anderson states that it is the right of the Grand Wardens to preside in the absence of the Grand Master and his Deputy and that it has been since found that the Old Lodges "never put in the chair the Master of a particular Lodge unless there were no Grand Wardens present." One asks where and how it had been found, and why? He apparently adopts this method of concealing his previous error or inadvertence.

In the Fifteenth Regulation it is stated that "if no former Grand Wardens are in company, the Grand Master, or he that presides, calls forth whom he pleases to act as Grand Wardens pro tempore." One rather wonders whether, if this was so, Anderson's title to Grand Wardenship was due to this rule or practice, and whether Hawkins being absent on the occasion of the meeting of 24th June, 1723, Wharton asked our author to act as the erased entry suggests.

New Regulation Sixteen is a good instance of Anderson's method and of the fact that many of these New Regulations are used merely to fill up space. It runs as follows:—

1. This was intended for the ease of the Grand Master and for the honour of the Deputy.
2. No such case has happened in our Time and all Grand Masters have governed more by Love than Power.
3. No irregular applications have been made to the Grand Master in our Time.

Even as footnotes these observations would be at best perfunctory, but to constitute them a Regulation is absurd.

The Seventeenth Regulation lays it down that if a former Grand Officer is at the moment an officer of a private Lodge, he still sits and votes in the former capacity, and can depute a member of the private Lodge to act as its representative.<sup>3</sup>

New Regulation Eighteen refers to the custom of appointing the Senior Grand Warden to act as Deputy if the latter is absent, and adds two perfunctory notes regarding cases of dissension between the Grand Master and his officers.

New Regulation Nineteen is a mere 'Heaven forbid' to Old Regulation Nineteen.

We are fortunate in finding confirmation of the Twentieth Regulation, which is to the effect that when the Deputy Grand Master visits a Lodge without the Grand Master, he himself acts in that capacity; the Senior Grand Warden acts as Deputy; the Junior, as the Senior. In Bro. Calvert's *History of the Old King's Arms Lodge*,<sup>4</sup> we find an extract from the Minutes under date

<sup>1</sup> Q.C.A., x., 64 note (a).

<sup>2</sup> Q.C.A., x., 85.

<sup>3</sup> There may be mentioned a case where on Lord Weymouth becoming Grand Master, while still the Master of the Old King's Arms Lodge (No. 28), the Chair of No. 23 *ipso facto* became vacant and Sir Cecil Wray was elected in his stead (A.Q.C., xviii., 91).

<sup>4</sup> p. 6.



11th March, 1736, to the effect that a number of Grand Officers including John Ward, Deputy Grand Master, acting as Grand Master; Sir Edward Mansell, Senior Grand Warden as Deputy; Martin Clare, Junior Grand Warden as Senior Grand Warden; and Sir Robert Lawley, Master of the Steward's Lodge acting as Junior Grand Warden *pro tempore* "did the Society the honour of a visit in form."

New Regulation Twenty-One is an extension of Old Regulation Twenty-One.

Regulation Twenty-Two states that on the 25th November, 1723, "it was ordain'd that one of the Quarterly Communications shall be held on St. John Evangelist's Day, and another on St. John Baptist's Day every year . . ." The Minutes<sup>1</sup> put the matter differently and say that the question was put and agreed *nem. con.* "Whether the Master and Wardens of the several Lodges have not power to regulate all things relating to Masonry at these Quarterly Meetings one of which must be on St. John Baptist's Day." Begemann<sup>2</sup> notes that since 1724, Grand Lodge has kept St. John Baptist's Day, and though a resolution to transfer the Festival to 27th December in accordance with Scottish usage was passed on 20th May, 1725, it has rarely been acted on. It may be added that in 1737 the Grand Lodge of Scotland resolved to hold their Annual Election on St. Andrew's Day, instead of St. John the Baptist's.

Anderson's account in Regulation Twenty-Three of the various resolutions passed regarding the choice, duties, &c., of the Stewards is substantially accurate, but as is not unusual he goes wrong in his introductory passage: "The Grand Wardens were antiently assisted by a certain number of Stewards at every Feast, or by some general undertakers of the whole." He has himself noted under date 25th March, 1721 (p. 112) that "the Grand Wardens were ordered, as usual, to prepare the Feast, and to take some Stewards to their assistance, Brothers of ability and capacity, and to appoint some Brethren to attend the tables; for that no strangers must be there. But the Grand Officers not finding a proper number of Stewards, our Brother Mr. Josiah Villeneau, Upholder in the Borrough Southwark, generously undertook the whole himself, attended by some waiters . . ." It is not until the 27th December, 1725, that the Minutes state<sup>3</sup> that a health was drunk "to the Grand Steward, viz., John James Heidegger, and his two Deputies viz. John Potter and Mr. Lambert with thanks for their handsome and elegant entertainment." Anderson's version (p. 119) is that "no Stewards being appointed, Grand Master Richmond desired our Brother John James Heidegger to prepare the Feast in the best manner." (27th November, 1725.) It would appear from the Minutes that the proper arrangements of the Feast and the choice of Stewards developed gradually, and that, at the earlier meetings of Grand Lodge, the appointing of a Steward was somewhat casual. The "anciently" is a mere flourish of Anderson's, and though according to him we have in Villeneau an instance of "some general undertaker of the whole" it is incorrect for him to state with regard even to the earlier period (if in his favour we may so interpret "anciently") that "the Grand Wardens were assisted by . . . Stewards at every Feast."

New Regulation Twenty-Five (p. 169) is a mere note. 17th November, 1725, is apparently a misprint for 27th November, 1725.

In New Regulation Twenty-Six Anderson states that "The Tylers and other Servants, within or without Doors, are now appointed only by the Stewards," this being his amendment of the Old Regulation that the Grand Master appointed "Porters and Doorkeepers." His statement receives confirmation from the account of the proceedings in Grand Lodge on 8th June, 1732,<sup>4</sup> when the Stewards made a complaint to Grand Lodge that they having

<sup>1</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 53.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*, ii., 232 note.

<sup>3</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 69.

<sup>4</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 220-1.

“employed Brother Lewis as an attendant upon them at the last Grand Feast, he had misconducted himself in his office, and on his publicly asking pardon of the Stewards he was forgiven.”

In Regulation Twenty-Eight Anderson states that “In antient times the Master, Wardens and Fellows on St. John’s Day met either in a monastery, or on the top of the highest hill near them, by peep of day.” For this there would seem to be some authority at any rate in tradition. The practice of the Lodge of Aberdeen has been mentioned in dealing with Anderson’s Scottish days, and there is also the legendary gathering at St. Rook’s Hill, Goodwood, of which the most substantial evidence is the entry in the *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer* of the 17th May, 1720 (No. 264):—“A few days since, their Graces the Dukes of Richmond and Montagu, accompanied by several gentlemen, who were all Free and Accepted Masons, according to ancient custom, form’d a Lodge upon the top of a hill near the Duke of Richmond’s seat, at Goodwood in Sussex, and made the Right Honourable the Lord Baltimore a Free and Accepted Mason.”

New Regulation Twenty-Nine explains that the corresponding Old Regulation regarding the election of the Grand Master was inconvenient, and then gives the arrangements made on the 27th December, 1720, which were carried out at the election on Lady Day, 1721. As the Old Regulations of the first edition are stated by Anderson to have been compiled first by Payne in 1720, approved by Grand Lodge on St. John the Baptist Day, 1721, and digested with explanations by himself, why were not these inconveniences and amendments referred to in 1723? Is it not more probable that, as has been suggested earlier, the so-called resolution of 1720 is merely one formulated by Anderson for his second edition?

New Regulations Thirty to Thirty-Five, some dealing with, *e.g.*, the saying of grace, or the seating arrangements at the Grand Feast, others being mere notes, are briefly dismissed by Begemann as idle additions of Anderson’s own. We may note with regard to Thirty-Five, laying it down *inter alia* that a Deputy is appointed when the Grand Master is nobly born, that in Scotland (perhaps Anderson had this in mind when he wrote) an operative mason was appointed as Deputy when the Deacon or Warden was a nobleman or a laird.

New Regulation Thirty-Six deals with proxies.

New Regulation Thirty-Seven is a mere note, as is Thirty-Eight.

Regulation Thirty-Nine is of so remarkable a character in view of the incidents on which it is founded that forgiveness may be had for quoting it in full:—

“On the 24th June 1723 at the Feast, the G. Lodge before dinner made this Resolution, that *it is not in the power of any man or body of men to make any alteration or innovation in the body of Masonry, without the consent first obtain’d of the G. Lodge.* And on 25th November 1723 the G. Lodge in Ample Form resolved that *any G. Lodge duly met has a power to amend or explain any of the printed Regulations in the Book of Constitutions, while they break not in upon the antient Rules of the Fraternity. But that no Alterations shall be made in this printed Book of Constitutions without Leave of the G. Lodge.*

Accordingly:

All the Alterations or New Regulations above written are only for amending or explaining the Old Regulations for the good of Masonry, without breaking in upon the antient Rules of the Fraternity, still preserving the Old Land Marks; and were made at several times, as Occasion offer’d, by the Grand Lodge, who have an inherent power of amending what may be thought inconvenient, and ample authority of making New Regulations for the good of Masonry, without the consent of all the Brethren at the Grand Annual Feast; which has not been disputed since the said 24th June 1721 [? 1723] for the members of

the G. Lodge are truly the representatives of all the Fraternity, according to Old Regulation X.

And so on 6 April 1736

John Wood Esq. D. Grand Master in the Chair proposed a New Regulation of 10 Rules for explaining what concern'd the decency of Assemblies and Communications; which was agreed to by that Grand Lodge"—and then follow the 10 New Regulations.

Bro. Vibert<sup>1</sup> has set out the account that the Minutes give of these incidents, and we shall adopt his translation of them into the language of a modern meeting. It was proposed (?and seconded) that the General Regulations approved on the 17th January, 1723, "be confirmed so far as they are consistent with the ancient Rules of Masonry." An amendment to omit the words "so far . . . Masonry" was negatived. But in place of the original proposition the following resolution was adopted by a majority:—"That it is not in the power of any person or body of men to make any alterations or innovation in the body of Masonry without the consent first obtained of the Annual Grand Lodge." So that in fact the 1723 Constitutions were never fully sanctioned. Brother Songhurst<sup>2</sup> suggests that the apparent dispute "arose in regard to the power of Brethren at a Quarterly Communication to amend or alter the Regulations, for according to Regulation 39 (old version), this could only be done at the Annual Meeting," when the amendments or alterations had to "be offer'd to the perusal of all the Brethren before dinner in writing, even of the youngest Enter'd Prentice." That is, the question was one of the Annual Grand Feast as against the Quarterly Communication.

With regard to Anderson's account of what he claims was the Resolution of 25th November, 1723, the only entry at all relevant in the reprinted Minutes<sup>3</sup> is as follows:—"Whether the Masters and Wardens of the several Lodges have not power to regulate all things relating to Masonry at their Quarterly Meetings. One of which must be on St. John Baptist Day. Agreed Nem. Con." It is relevant to our point that even this Resolution is suggested by Bro. Songhurst to be directed against the attempted enlargement of the Grand Master's power at the expense of Grand Lodge.

How then do the facts appear from Anderson's version and in what way has he used them? There is reason to believe that there was opposition to or at least suspicion of any changes in the "Old Charges." It was to them that a certain sacrosanctity attached. Anderson so to speak throws forward the dispute. He places the conflict as between the *Book of Constitutions* and its revision, whereas it was rather between the "Old Charges" and their revision in the *Book of Constitutions* itself. So little was his printed *Book of Constitutions* held in veneration that it would certainly seem as though Grand Lodge refused to confirm it. He has disingenuously given such a twist to the facts as to raise doubts of his honesty. Taking the resolution against the making of alterations or innovations which was directly against, or at least in limitation or qualification of his own work, he has quoted it as fortifying that work with the traditional sanctity of the Craft. Moreover, in his version of the November resolution he has added a marked reference and an additional protection to his book by adding words which did not appear and which he must have known did not appear in the Minutes, to a resolution which was probably directed to a point irrelevant to the issue which he raised. It is a device ingenious, but which being discovered recoils on its inventor.

To conclude our examination of the "Old" and the "New" Regulations, Anderson's account of what he calls "a New Regulation of 10 Rules" passed

<sup>1</sup> A.Q.C., xxxvi., 60 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Q.C.A., x., 50 note (b).

<sup>3</sup> Q.C.A., x., 53 and note.

on 6th April, 1736, is substantially (though, as might be supposed, not verbally) accurate, save that the official Minutes call them "Laws" (he is still anxious to use his own terms wherever possible) and that they are nine and not ten—our author has divided one of them.

## X. THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF MASONS CHARITY.

On the whole this portion is fairly well and accurately treated by Anderson, and requires little comment.

The fourth resolution of the 31st March, 1734, required only the name of the petitioner<sup>1</sup>; it did not require his calling also, as Anderson states.

Under date the 6th April, 1738, he merely says that "the Treasurer Blakerby, having justly cleared his accounts, and stated the balance, thought fit to demit or lay down his office. Upon which the Secretary Revis was appointed Treasurer [etc.]," and does not mention the incidents preceding Blakerby's resignation. It appears from the Minutes<sup>2</sup> that the Committee of Charity had recommended that the Treasurer should give security for the moneys in his possession, his own bond to be sufficient, apparently. Some brethren however required that some other person should join the Treasurer in the bond, and this proposal being carried, Brother Blakerby, a faithful servant of Grand Lodge, the Housekeeper to the House of Lords, and a man of substance (perhaps partly as in succession the fortunate husband of two rich widows), feeling not perhaps unreasonably that his retention of the office was not consistent with his dignity, forthwith thanked the Brethren and resigned.

## XI. A LIST OF THE LODGES IN AND ABOUT LONDON AND WESTMINSTER.

## XII. DEPUTATIONS OF SEVERAL GRAND MASTERS . . .

Anderson prefaces his list by saying that "Many Lodges have by accidents broken up, or are partition'd, or else removed to new places for their convenience, and so, if subsisting, they are called and known by those new places or their signs. But the subsisting Lodges, whose officers have attended the Grand Lodge or Quarterly Communication, and brought their Benevolence to the General Charity within 12 months past, are here set down according to their seniority of Constitution, as in the Grand Lodge-Books, and the Engraven List." It was not until after some years that the precedence of Lodges was settled and it was only on 27th December, 1727,<sup>3</sup> that the four officers of Grand Lodge were asked to report on the matter with a view to its settlement, and on the 17th April<sup>4</sup> following "most of the Lodges present delivered the dates of the time of their being constituted into Lodges, in order to have precedency in the printed book," although even on 25th June, 1728,<sup>5</sup> there were still some who had not given the required information. Bro. Lane<sup>6</sup> points out that these Metropolitan Lodges occupy a separate portion of the List and are numbered consecutively from 1 to 106, so that the numbering does not agree with that of the official Engraved List. The Lodges are arranged in three columns, for the "Signs of the Houses," "Dates of Constitution," and "Days of Forming" (*i.e.*, of Meeting). The Three Lodges at the end of the List have no dates of Constitution, although their days of meeting are given, and to the first of these three "104, Checker Charing Cross" are added the words "have petition'd to be constituted" (presumably meant to include the second and third also). Now as the Lodge at "the Checker"

<sup>1</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 251.

<sup>2</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 298-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 81-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 83.

<sup>5</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 87.

<sup>6</sup> *Handy Book to List of Lodges*, pp. 35-6

was in fact constituted on 27th January, 1739, Lane is of the opinion that Anderson's second edition was not in fact published until that year. But it is at least possible that the added words merely show that it had not yet been formally constituted. The regular dates of meetings are given, and the Lodge may quite well have met—and on those dates—before Constitution, which ceremony frequently followed at some interval the *de facto* forming of the Lodge.

After the List of Metropolitan Lodges comes the "Deputations of several Grand Masters to Wales, the Country [*i.e.*, the Provinces] of England, and foreign parts." It is to be noted that in the English Section (there are only the two Provincial Grand Masterships in the Welsh) there is a separation between those of the "Deputations" which are directed to individuals appointing them to Provincial Grand Masterships, and the other cases in which the Grand Master is said to have granted Deputations "at the request of some good brothers in cities and towns throughout England, for constituting the following Lodges . . ." In the latter case what is meant is that for reasons of distance or otherwise it being inconvenient for the Grand Master or his Deputy to be present in order formally to constitute the Lodge, he has deputed certain other Brethren to attend on his behalf in order to perform that function. But in the section of those "sent beyond Sea," as Lane<sup>1</sup> points out, the two classes are mixed up indiscriminately. The same authority<sup>2</sup> further states:—

- (1) that Anderson has omitted from his overseas list No. 126 "Boston in New England";
- (2) that the Deputation for Gibraltar was not granted by Inchiquin (Grand Master Feb.-Dec. 1727) but by Kingston (Grand Master 9th March 1728/9);
- (3) The Lodge at the Hague did not appear in the Register until 1735, although Anderson states that Lord Lovel (Grand Master 1731-2) granted the Deputation to make the Duke of Lorraine a Mason.

Lane<sup>2</sup> states as against Anderson that although the Lisbon Lodge "is said in the Grand Lodge Minutes to have been constituted on 17th April 1735," Anderson assigns the grant of the "Deputation to Constitute" to Weymouth, Grand Master, who was not installed as Grand Master until the very same day—17th April 1735—on which the Lodge was constituted at Lisbon. True it is that Weymouth was only installed on the date mentioned, but the Lodge could not have been "constituted at Lisbon" on that date because the Grand Lodge Minutes<sup>3</sup> state that a petition was received from some Brethren "in and about the City of Lisbon" asking for a Deputation to be granted for constituting them into a regular Lodge, that the prayer of that petition was granted, and that it was ordered "that the Secretary make out proper Deputations [*i.e.*, for this and another matter] accordingly." The Grand Lodge record is under date the 17th April, 1735, and the resolution followed Weymouth's installation. So that it would seem that rather unusually Anderson was right and Lane wrong.

There were no written Lodge Warrants under the Moderns until the middle of the century. There was a personal Constitution in London, and there are in existence some two or three authorisations in answer to petitions for Lodges in the Metropolis. For the Provinces and Overseas a Deputation was granted to some local Masonic authority to constitute the Lodge.

We may note among the Deputations one from Lord Weymouth to "noble Brother Richmond for holding a Lodge at his Castle d'Aubigny in France," and

<sup>1</sup> *id.*, pp. 36-7.

<sup>2</sup> *id.*, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 254.

compare and contrast it with the account of another Lodge or Chapter mentioned in the present Duke of Richmond's *A Duke and His Friends*, as evidence of the Second Duke's Masonic activities.

It may be added that Grand Lodge was then as now rightfully insistent on the notification of the removals of Lodges, though not so formal in its requirements. For example, on 25th January, 1737/8<sup>1</sup> it was ordered that the Master or Warden of a Lodge changing its place of meeting should send notice thereof to the Grand Secretary, and on the 13th April, 1739,<sup>2</sup> that every Lodge removing should pay 2/6d., and every Lodge changing its times of meeting, 1/- to Brother Pine for his trouble and expense in making the necessary alterations in the Engraved List of Lodges.

As we have mentioned, Anderson at the end of this section indulges in a further historical rhapsody apropos of Masonry abroad. He mentions "the Old Lodge at York City, and the Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, France and Italy" as independent under their own Grand Masters, but with "the same Constitutions, Charges, Regulations etc. for substance, with their Brethren of England, and are equally zealous for the Augustan Style and the secrets of the . . . Fraternity." He singles out for praise the architectural monuments of the "antient nations of Eastern Asia," but forgetting, or probably ignorant of the glories of their architecture, laments "the horrid devastations made by the Mahometans," although perhaps we cannot in fairness expect him to be in advance of his time in artistic appreciation.

Many attempts have been made to derive Freemasonry from what were considered earlier societies or associations, such as the Rosicrucians, or the religious orders of chivalry. But Anderson, while suggesting a connection, reverses it, however; since, if Freemasonry is an institution dating from Adam, it follows that if there is any question of descent, the paternal position must be occupied by the Craft and not by the other associations. As he says, "in process of time, the Orders or Fraternities of the Warlike Knights (and some of the Religious too) borrow'd many solemn usages from our more antient Fraternity that has existed from the beginning: For each . . . have their Grand Master . . . and other Grand Officers, with their Constitutions, Charges, Regulations, their peculiar Jewels, Badges, and Clothings, their Forms of Entrance, Promotion and Assembling, of their Sessions and Processions, their Communications and Secrets . . ." (pp. 196-7.) He then goes on to demonstrate how Masonry has ever been encouraged by "the better sort of mankind," and how "the Masons thus countenanced by their Royal, Princely, noble and learned Brothers and Fellows, did ever separate themselves from the common Croud of Artisans and Mechanics in their well-form'd Lodges under their proper Officers" until now "their Secrets and Usages are wisely preserved and propagated, the Science and the Art are duly cultivated, and the Cement of the Lodge is made so firm, that the whole Body resembles a well-built Arch of the beautiful Augustan Style." I had at first taken this passage to be a slighting and ungrateful reference to the separation of the Speculatives from the Operatives, but I hasten with thanks to accept Bro. Rippon's view, kindly communicated, that what Anderson is referring to is the fact that while the Masons formed Lodges, the artisans and mechanics of other trades did not. If the words from "thus countenanced" to "Brothers and Fellows" are treated as a parenthesis, we clearly get the sense suggested by Bro. Rippon—correctly as I now think. The reference to the well-built arch is one of Anderson's architectural figures of speech and must not be taken to involve any allusion to the Royal Arch Degree.

<sup>1</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 293.

<sup>2</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 314.



## XIII. THE APPROBATION.

<sup>1</sup> According to the Minutes of Grand Lodge, on the 24th of February, 1735, "Br. Doctor Anderson, formerly Grand Warden, presented a memorial setting forth that whereas the First Edition of the General Constitution of Masonry, compiled by himself, was all sold off, and a Second Edition very much wanted: And that he had spent some Thoughts upon Some Alterations and Additions that might fitly be made to the same, which was now ready to lay before the Grand Lodge for their approbation if they were pleased to receive them.

"It was resolved Nemine con that a Committee be appointed consisting of the present and former Grand Officers and such other Masters Masons as they should think proper to call on to revise and compare the same, that when finished they might lay the same before the Grand Lodge ensuing for their approbation.

"He further represented that one William Smith said to be a Mason, had without his privity or Consent pyrated a considerable part of the Constitutions of Masonry aforesaid to the prejudice of the said Br. Anderson it being his sole property.

"It was thereupon resolved and ordered that every Master and Warden present shall do all in their power to discountenance so unfair a practice and prevent the said Smith's Books being bought by any Members of their respective Lodges."

<sup>2</sup> On the 31st of March, 1735: "Then a Motion was made that Doctor James Anderson should be desired to print the Names (in his New Book of Constitutions) of all the Grand Masters that could be collected from the beginning of time, together with a List of the Names of all Deputy Grand Masters, Grand Wardens, and the Brethren that have served the Craft in Quality of Stewards, which was thought necessary Because it is Resolved: That for the future all Grand Officers (except the Grand Master) shall be selected out of that Body." On the 25th January, 1738, "Bro. Anderson informed the Lodge that he had sometime since prepared a New Edition of the Book of Constitutions with several additions and amendments which having been perused and (after some alterations made therein) approved of by several Grand officers was now ready for the Press and he therefore desired the Grand Masters Command and the approbation of this Lodge for printing the same Which request was granted him.

"Bro. Anderson likewise informed the Lodge that he had with the assistance of Bro. Payne L.G.M. prepared a Law or Regulation relating to the removal of Lodges which (in case the same should be approved of) he intended to insert in the said Book of Constitutions as one of the Laws or Regulations of the Craft When the same being delivered to the Grand Master in writing was read by the Secretary and is as follows" and then follows that which Anderson (with a few verbal variations) gives as No. ix. of the New Regulations.

Anderson's version of these proceedings (p. 133) 24th February, 1735, is that "Brother Anderson, Author of the Book of Constitutions representing that a new Edition was become necessary and that he had prepared materials for it, the Grand Master and the Lodge order'd him to lay the same before the present and former Grand Officers; that they may report their Opinion to the Grand Lodge. Also the Book called the *Free Mason's Vade Mecum* was condemn'd . . ." His account of the proceedings in March states that he was "order'd also to insert in the New Edition of the Constitutions, the Patrons of antient Masonry that could be collected from the beginning of Time, with the Grand Masters and Wardens" etc. He describes the approbation as follows (p. 138): "The Grand Lodge approved of this New Book of Constitutions and ordered the author, Brother Anderson, to print the same, with the addition of the New Regulation ix. See the Approbation below." And in the "Approbation"

<sup>1</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., pp. 244-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., p. 251.



itself there is recited the "order" of February, 1735, and he then states that he submitted his MS. among others to the Duke of Richmond, Desaguliers, Cowper and Payne, "who after making some corrections, have signified their Approbation," and then to the present Grand Officers as directed, who also approved, and it goes on to say that the Grand Lodge then "agreed to order" the publication of the Book, and that it is hereby approved as the only Book of Constitutions. The Approbation is dated the 25th January, 1738, and is signed by Darnley, G.M., Ward, D.G.M., and Lawley and Graeme, Grand Wardens, although according to the Minutes (p. 290) on that date John Ward, the Deputy Grand Master, was absent and his place was taken by Sir Robert Lawley, the Senior Grand Warden. Now it is here apt to recall that the very fact that there are omissions in it indicates that the Approbation of 1723 was signed in open Lodge. Bro. Vibert considers that it was written by Anderson himself; it seems as clear that the 1738 Approbation was also of his drafting. But here Anderson has gone further. He clearly wishes to give the document the appearance of being signed in open Lodge in 1738, and that by the principal officers, so he gives the signatures of them all, forgetting the absence of the Deputy Grand Master. His cleverness this time has overreached itself.

The main difference between Anderson's account of the publication of the Second Edition and that given in the Minutes is that the former represents the work more or less as an official publication of Grand Lodge, from the very title-page itself where "the Constitutions" are stated to be collected and digested "By order" of the Grand Lodge, to the words of the Approbation, while the Minutes show clearly that the publication was a private venture of the author's. Anderson on 24th February, 1735, complained of Smith's infringement of his right in his "Sole Property," the first edition,<sup>1</sup> while the fact that after his death the remainder copies of the second edition were transferred to another publisher and re-issued with a new title-page, shows this also to be Anderson's "Sole Property." Moreover, while Anderson himself constantly uses the word "ordered," the Minutes say "desired," and show generally that the initiative came from the author as a request, not from the Grand Lodge as a command.

It is perhaps here the place to mention that according to Anderson he was ordered to print the names of the Patrons of ancient Masonry that could be collected from the beginning of Time, as well as those of lower office, but that the Minutes offered no Authority for the names of Patrons, only specifying Grand Masters and certain officers of lower rank, but Anderson took upon himself to enlarge his instructions, and if the result was the marvellous historical narrative of 1738, we may indeed say: "The little more; how much it is."

#### XIV. SOME OF THE USUAL FREE-MASONS SONGS.

Those given by Anderson are as follows:—

- |                                     |                                 |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (a) The Master's Song.              | } By "the Author of this Book." |
| (b) The Wardens Song.               |                                 |
| (c) The Fellow Craft's Song,        | by Brother Charles de la Fay.   |
| (d) The Enter'd Prentice's Song,    | by Brother Matthew Birkhead.    |
| (e) The Deputy Grand Master's Song. |                                 |
| (f) The Grand Warden's Song,        | by Brother Oates.               |
| (g) The Treasurer's Song.           |                                 |
| (h) The Secretary's Song.           |                                 |
| (i) The Sword Bearer's Song.        |                                 |
| (j) An Ode to the Free Masons.      |                                 |
| (k) An Ode on Masonry,              | by Bro. J. Bancks.              |

<sup>1</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., p. 244 note (a).

The Master's Song in the 1738 edition is only one-third the length of that in the earlier, our author modestly saying that the full version was "too long"; for the same reason he now prints only two instead of the thirteen verses of the Warden's Song, at the head of which he omits his former reference to the Duke of Wharton, and in the last verse this name is replaced by that of "Great Carnarvon" (Grand Master, April 1738 to May 1739). The six verses of de la Fay's Song appear in both editions, but "from Adam to Carnarvon" is inserted in place of "from Jabal down to Burlington" in verse 6.<sup>1</sup> Birkhead's poem in this edition has the famous ladies' verse inserted. Smith had already printed it in the "Collection of the Songs of Masons" following his *Pocket Companion* and dated 1734.

Thanks to Bro. Chetwode Crawley<sup>2</sup> the authorship of this verse which Anderson includes without any explanation has been traced to Springett Penn, the first Deputy Grand Master of Munster. It may be added that Birkhead did not compose the music of the Entered Apprentice's Song, but fitted the words to an old Irish air.

Only the first four of these songs appeared in the first edition. The Deputy Grand Master's Song is printed with an "additional stanza" by Brother Gofton, of whom all that we know is that he is presumably the Mr. William Gofton who was one of the Encouragers of Anderson's Second Edition, and that, according to our author, Mr. William Gofton, Attorney-at-Law, was appointed as Senior Grand Warden at the Occasional Lodge of November, 1737, at which the Prince of Wales was initiated. It was written "at the time when the Prince was made a Mason, and while the Princess was pregnant":—

Again let it pass to the Royal lov'd Name,  
Whose glorious Admission has crown'd all our Fame:  
May a Lewis be born, whom the World shall admire,  
Serene as his Mother, August as his Sire.

Chorus.

Now a Lewis is born, whom the World shall admire,  
Serene as his Mother, August as his Sire.

To our Brother Frederick, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.  
To our Brother, his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany.  
To the Lewis.

The Prince of Wales was initiated on the 5th November, 1737, and the Princess of Wales gave birth to a son, afterwards George III., on 4th June, 1738.

We cannot trace definitely Brother Oates of the Grand Warden's Song. There was a Mr. Oates, Senior Warden of the Lodge, which met at the Red Lion, Richmond, Surrey, and a Mr. James Oates of that at the Anchor and Baptist's Head in Chancery Lane, Senior Warden of that meeting at the Swan and Rummer, Finch Lane. Bro. Banck's Ode on Masonry appeared in Smith's *Pocket Companion* (2nd edition) 1738, and also in the Collected edition of his verse.

In the Secretary's Song, to the words "In vain would Danvers with his wit our slow resentment raise" is a marginal note "that those who hang'd Capt. Porteous at Edinburgh were all Free Masons, because they kept their own secrets. See Craftsman, 16th April 1736. No. 563." On the 16th April, 1737, not 1736, an article appeared in *The Craftsman*,<sup>3</sup> the pen-name of the Editor of

<sup>1</sup> de la Fay was an Irish Member of Parliament, a member of the Lodge at the Horn, and his mother was Godmother to one of Desaguliers' children—this last in itself a small point, but one which illustrates the social and family connections of the Freemasons of the Revival.

<sup>2</sup> *Cæmentaria Hibernica: The Pocket Companion* (1734-5), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xviii., 207 ff. The article also appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

which was Caleb d'Anvers (in fact Nicholas Amhurst), dealing with the Freemasons. This newspaper was the literary focus of the opposition to Walpole's administration, and among the names of its distinguished contributors were those of William Pulteney and Lord Bolingbroke. In the issue in question appeared an article suggesting that notwithstanding the many influential and well-affected persons who were numbered in the ranks of the Society, yet its manners, customs, and general behaviour strongly suggested that their aims and meetings were of a seditious character, and that in particular the recent lynching of Captain Porteous by the Edinburgh mob was in fact the work of the Freemasons. Although the article prompted a reply and defence by the Abbé Prévost,<sup>1</sup> the author of the *Histoire du Chevalier des Grieux et de Manon Lescant*, in his Journal *Le Pour et Contre*, yet the obvious intention of the writer was satire at the expense of Walpole, and not an attack on the Freemasons. The *Craftsman's* real argument was that the Government like all tyrannies was fearful of sedition and that in its eyes even what appeared to be the most harmless of societies should not be above suspicion. All ordinary persons considered the Freemasons to be a well-conducted and well-affected Society in spite of its secrets; therefore this was the very society for a consistent tyranny to fear and to attack. In effect, the article in d'Anvers' journal was a tribute to the peacefulness of the Craft and to the high standing of its members.

Dr. Crawley has pointed out that the Song and Note dropped out of the English *Book of Constitutions* after 1746, but through Spratt found their way into both the English and Irish *Ahiman Rezon*, the second and later editions of the former having the Note in an expanded form, stating that the Porteous Rioters "all wore white leather aprons, which (by the by) is a certain proof they were not Free-Masons."

#### XV. A DEFENCE OF MASONRY.

On pages 216 and the following pages, Anderson reprints this *Defence* written in reply to the notorious pamphlet *Masonry dissected* of Samuel Prichard. In October, 1730, one Samuel Prichard had published the latter work as an attack on the Freemasons; it immediately had a large sale and was subsequently many times reprinted.<sup>2</sup> The Minutes of Grand Lodge<sup>3</sup> under date the 15th December, 1730, state the Deputy Grand Master "took notice of a pamphlet lately published by one Prichard who pretends to have been made a regular Mason: In violation of the obligations of a Mason which he swears he has broke in order to do hurt to Masonry; and expressing himself with the utmost indignation against both him (styling him an imposter) and his book as a foolish thing not to be regarded." Anderson, however, makes no mention of this condemnation in his account of the proceedings. Prichard's pamphlet was quite probably no mere bid for notoriety but the symptom of a considerable body of feeling against the now increasingly powerful and much altered institution. He may or may not have been, as he claimed, a member of "a Constituted Lodge." If he were not, he was free to attack the institution: and the substance of the attack demands examination; if he were, he was no doubt perjured, and his perjury may necessitate corroboration, but if no corroboration is forthcoming, his attack may need examination nevertheless. Briefly, his case is this. Masonry had been and should be an ancient institution with its Old Charges, confined in its membership to artificers, what we should call really operative craftsmen, with a simple ceremony of admission, at which "some few catechetical questions were necessary to declare a man sufficiently qualified for an Operative Mason," a body

<sup>1</sup> In recent times the article, curiously enough, seems also to have been treated as a serious attack by Bro. Tuckett.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, iv., 33 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Q.C.A.*, x., 135-6.

of simple men meeting together in simple fashion at small cost. But now all had been changed. The operatives were being overwhelmed by an influx of "Lords and Dukes, Lawyers and Shopkeepers, and other inferior tradesmen." An institution for craftsmen, for those who laboured worthily with their hands, was becoming fashionable and was being appropriated by the idlers of the Court, and by the men of the long robe and of the counter. The new-fangled term of Free and Accepted Masons had been devised, and an administration, not heard of, as Prichard says, before 1691, with Constituted Lodges and Quarterly Communications, foisted on the institution. Even its off-spring, the Gormogons, boasted a remoter origin, and if we admit the claims of one, we must admit those of both. Amid these false claims, surely there is to be preferred a Society like that of the Grand Kaihebar (*sic*) which has no high pretensions but consists of responsible people discoursing of trade and business and promoting mutual friendship. We may get an idea of how the case looked to Prichard if we can imagine the feelings of a working man trade-unionist who suddenly saw the ranks of his union swollen and its policy directed by some members of the House of Lords, a few millionaires, fashionable lawyers, and West End Tradesmen, under whose direction its meetings would be held at an expensive London restaurant, and whose assemblies would be prefaced by ceremonies based on High Church ritual infused with mediæval philosophy. At the risk of disproportion, it has been thought but justice thus to put Prichard's case, since as far as I know, perhaps in disgust at its advocate, few attempts have been made to re-state it. Prichard's book having been published there appeared in December, 1730, a pamphlet entitled *A Defence of Masonry; occasioned by a Pamphlet called "Masonry Dissected,"* published by J. Roberts, of the *Roberts Constitutions*. The work as a separate publication is very rare, the Library of Grand Lodge having a copy, however. The work was reproduced in the *Free Mason's Pocket Companion* for 1738, as well as in Anderson's second edition. It is to be noted that while both the pamphlet and the reprint in Smith have the Latin quotations in their original forms, Anderson's version in most cases gives only the English translations.

The researches of Bros. Gould and Dixon at one time led us to suspect that the author of the *Defence of Masonry* might be Martin Clare, but this theory has been seriously shaken by the considerations adduced by Bro. Wonnacott, so that the authorship is at the moment something of a mystery.

The reply to Prichard's strictures is to the following effect:—Where is the impiety, where the immorality, or folly for a number of men to form themselves into a Society, whose main end is to improve in commendable skill and knowledge, and to promote universal beneficence and the social virtues of human life, under the solemn obligation of an oath? And this in what form, under what secret restrictions, and with what innocent ceremonies they think proper. Every Society requires its Members to keep the secrets of that Society: many have oaths of secrecy, and their Masters and Wardens, Constitutions and Orders. Further, if a thing is not unlawful it is not wrong to take an oath to do it. As for the terror of the penalty, a solemn oath is of no more force than a simple oath—the invocation of the Deity is what renders it binding. Finally, any arguments about an oath come not well from the mouth of a self-confessed perjurer, since even if the subject-matter is trivial, an oath still has its obligations.

With regard to Masonry itself, true it is that its pristine purity may be dimmed, yet still much of the good old fabric remains, and its antiquity demands respect. What we should now term its speculative side finds its likeness in the old philosophies and mysteries of antiquity, and for its symbolism, for its legends, and even for the penalties of its obligations we can find parallels in sacred and profane history.

Has the author convincingly answered Prichard? Prepossessions have frequently inspired the answer. Might we attempt to draw an unbiassed conclusion? The author seems to have satisfactorily disposed of some objections,

but I think that one or two not unimportant ones remain. His justification of the objects of Masonry, of its requirement of an oath, of the antiquity and value of its forms and ceremonials, seems adequate. But he does not seem to have answered Prichard's objection that an institution formed for a practical purpose by one social class has been appropriated by another class and used in a different form and with a different object. The unknown author has justified Freemasonry by its spirit, but has not attempted to justify its historical development from Masonry.

#### XVI. BROTHER EUCLID'S LETTER TO THE AUTHOR.

The *Defence* is immediately followed by a letter with the signature of "Euclid" with at its foot the three squares on the sides of a right-angled triangle as in Proposition 47 of Book I. of that geometrician's work, and as given in the frontispiece of the *Constitutions*. The letter is dated the 9th November 1738 "in the vulgar year of Masonry." Bro. Rylands in a letter to the *Keystone* of Philadelphia, 30th August, 1884, referred to by Bro. Gould, points out that if the date of 4th November, 1738, at the end of "The Author to the Reader" may be relied upon, Anderson's second edition was published probably at the close of the year and that as "Bro. Euclid" in one passage (p. 228) almost quotes Anderson's words and in another refers to Part I., chap. vii. of the second edition in addition to thanking him "for printing the clever *Defence*," these facts can only be explained "by the supposition that the latter, *i.e.*, 'Bro. Euclid,' had the use of the manuscript or proof-sheets of the book, or that 'Brother Euclid' was no other than Anderson himself."

There are several phrases in it which lend colour to this latter suggestion, *e.g.*, "true Noachidae," "though without politics or party cause," and it purports to be written from the Lodge at The Horn of which Anderson was a member. The suggestion made in the *Letter* that the author of the *Defence* was not a Freemason, Gould considers as supporting the view which he deduces from the Minutes of the Lincoln Lodge at the Saracen's Head that an endeavour was made to give it greater force by making out that the *Defence* was not the work of a Member of the Craft, but of an unprejudiced outsider. Brother Euclid supplements the argument of the *Defence* by defending the order against the "unjust cavils" of those who accuse it of Satanism; of misogyny, of a false Equalitarianism, etc. He mentions the wild tales of the old woman and the ladder (*c.f.*, the notorious burlesque print) and of "the cook's red hot iron or salamander for making the indelible character on a new made Mason," an early appearance of an old friend, with which we may compare the still earlier reference in the Dublin Tripos of 1688.

#### XVII. "ENCOURAGERS."

#### XVIII. CORRIGENDA.

The list of some 66 names of those who "kindly encouraged" the author includes many of interest, about twelve of whom were also among the Encouragers of the *Royal Genealogies*, among these names being those of the Grand Master and other Officers, seven former Grand Masters, four former Deputy Grand Masters, four former Grand Wardens, and twelve former Grand Stewards. Among the Lodges in the list is that at The Chequers at Charing Cross, the date of whose Constitution has already been discussed. Anderson apparently recognised the possible incompleteness of his Corrigenda, as he has placed at the end of the observation "Accurate reader, pray correct these with your pen, or any others you find."

It would be an interesting task, but one of which the limits of this paper do not allow, to trace in detail the subsequent history of Anderson's Second Edition. Bro. Vibert says with reference to the first edition that it was taken "by the Grand Lodge of Ireland as the model for their Book of Constitutions in 1730. It was reprinted verbatim for use in America by Franklin in 1734. It was printed in London and later in Dublin by Smith in 1735. And its author's reputation was great enough to carry off the History he wrote for his second edition of 1738, and lead the Craft for a century and a half to accept it and reprint it as a serious contribution to the subject." Entick when the edition of 1756 was published dropped altogether the version of the older Charges which Anderson gave in 1738 and reverted to that of 1723, and this version has been reprinted ever since in the various editions as they were published. The last occasion on which the historical portion (with additions bringing it up to date) was given was in the 1784 edition. When after the Union the *Book of Constitutions* was again published, in 1815, the volume purported to be only "Part the Second" and contained the promise that "The First Part containing the History of Masonry, from the earliest period to the end of the year 1815 . . . will be printed with as little delay as possible." It would appear that preparations for the publication of the historical portion in 1815 were considerably advanced—for in fact the Library of Grand Lodge has a copy of the 1815 edition of Part II., to which is prefaced almost the whole of the historical portion of the 1784 edition but with a different pagination from that edition, and also a new frontispiece but no title-page—but it never seems to have been published. The 1815 edition was re-issued with corrected sheets in 1819 and when the 1827 edition appeared that also appeared as Part II., but from 1841 the book appeared as a whole and not as a second part.

It was not until 1829 that the Grand Lodge of Scotland, through a Committee, undertook the task of codifying its enactments, until then not only scattered through its records, but often of a contradictory character,<sup>1</sup> and the task was completed with the publication of its first *Book of Constitutions* in 1836, although Alexr. Lawrie in his *History* (1804) dedicated to the members of the Grand Lodge of Scotland had given in Appendix III. what appears to be its Laws and Regulations, and W. A. Lawrie states in his *History* (1839) at p. 167 that on 30.xi.1819 the draft of the First Edition of the Laws and Regulations was read and unanimously approved of. It seems fairly clear that at any rate in the earlier part of its history, Anderson's *Constitutions* was looked upon as authoritative. Bro. Murray Lyon in his *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh* (1900 edn.)<sup>2</sup> states that this work, i.e., Anderson's *Constitutions*, was in its earlier years regarded by the Grand Lodge of Scotland as an authority on the subjects treated of. Seven unbound copies of Smith's small edition of the *Constitutions* were in 1740 ordered for the use of Grand Lodge, and on page 204 he states that a short time before January, 1724, the Lodge of Dunblane was presented with *The Constitutions of the Freemasons* issued under the auspices of the Grand Lodge of England. D. Crawford Smith in his *History of the Lodge of Scoon and Perth* (p. 88) says that on the 2nd November, 1735, Collector Bethune borrowed a large quarto Book entitled "The Constitutions of the Free Masons, dedicated to the Duke of Montagu."

In view of the use apparently made in the years immediately preceding the formation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736 of Anderson's *Constitutions*, it is interesting to notice how both in substance and in form the Scottish Regulations follow Anderson with the following as some variations and exceptions:—

(1) Each Grand Master to pay towards the general fund "a sum not under" (amount apparently left blank).

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Constitutions* (1836 edn.), Introd., p. vii.

<sup>2</sup> P. 2 note.



In the English Grand Lodge each Grand Master pays 2/6d. at each Quarterly Communication (except at the Grand Feast) and the Grand Master also made a payment in respect of the Secretary.

(2) The Grand Wardens, Treasurer and Secretary to be "fellow craft or master masons."

(3) The Treasurer and Secretary not to speak or vote without permission. In England this disability applies only in the election of the Grand Officers.

(4) If the Grand Master names his Deputy and the other Grand Officers they are not to be members of his own Lodge.

We may contrast this with the preponderance of Members of the Lodge at The Horn in the Lists of English Grand Officers.

(5) The ribbons were to be green.

(6) The Stewards were to be appointed by the Grand Master out of a Committee consisting of one member of each Lodge.

(7) 2/6 to be paid for each entrance and a quarterly return of entrants to be made.

We cannot do more than mention Kuenen's French translation published at The Hague in 1736 and the German translation of this published at Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1741 and de la Tierce's French Editions of 1742 and 1746, all founded on one or both of Anderson's Editions. It is not without interest to notice that although even de la Tierce prints the 1723 version of the Old Charges, Spratt in his Irish Edition of 1751 seems to be the only one who adopted the 1738 version, even copying Anderson's inaccuracies in Irish Masonic history.

#### THE RE-ISSUE OF 1746.

In 1746, Anderson's Second Edition was re-issued with a new title-page. The author had been dead some years and Chandler and Ward had left the scene. According to Bro. Songhurst, "These enterprising brethren, with branches at York and Scarborough, were amongst the foremost publishers of their day, but it would seem that they allowed their ambition to outrun their prudence. In 1744 Chandler found himself unable to pay his debts, and he committed suicide, while in the following year, Ward was declared bankrupt." Presumably, Robinson bought up the remainder copies and published them with a new, and his own, title-page bearing the new date. It may be mentioned as a matter of interest that there is in existence one copy—and so far as is known only one copy—containing both the 1738 and the 1746 title-pages.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Chetwode Crawley after examining copies of the 1746 issue in the original bindings came to the conclusion that some had been originally issued with frontispieces and some had not. Apparently the remainder copies of the engraving were less numerous than those of the letter-press. Save for the title-page, the 1746 issue is the same as that of 1738, Robinson having kept the advertisements of his predecessors on the last page, possibly because it is the back of that containing Anderson's Corrigenda.

<sup>1</sup> This was exhibited at the meeting.



The new title-page is printed only in black, and is much longer and somewhat more grandiloquent than that of 1738. It begins: The History and Constitutions of the Most ancient and honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted MASONS: containing An Account of MASONRY.

The three historical sections are then summarised, and we have next: *To which are added:* and this is followed by eight paragraphs of the further contents. Then comes: By James Anderson, D.D. London: Printed, and sold by J. Robinson, at the Golden-Lion in Ludgate-street. In the vulgar Year of Masonry 5746.

### CONCLUSION.

At the beginning of this paper I tried briefly to place Anderson in his historical perspective, and if we wish only to consider him as a human antiquity, this is all that is necessary. But every author who is still read and every author who is still quoted demands further treatment, and for him a further trial is necessary. If after his death, he still remains a living influence, and if that influence still continues, it is necessary to examine its value, its basis, and its usefulness. Of Anderson's influence there can be no question. We have seen how his history of the Craft was so far treated as authoritative that it continued to form part of the (by now undoubtedly official) Book of Constitutions even as late as the currency of the 1784 edition. But though it no longer figured in the official publication, yet its influence still continued. Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* in the historical portion is based on Anderson, and what is more, some of Anderson's wildest and most unsupported statements are so decked out as to give them a new lease of life, if that were needed. Then Jones edits Preston, as afterwards does Oliver, and if we consider the popularity and the circulation of Preston and Oliver and how much in their time they represented the Craft, we see how great must have been the influence and how strong the authority of Anderson's history in effect up to the time of Hughan and Gould and the rise of that School of Masonic historians who took truth as found by research rather than tradition inspired by sentiment as their guide. And even now only too often the ordinary member of the Craft still gets his ideas of Masonic History from our author. And not only the Freemason. We have seen how in so authoritative a work as the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in a notice by so careful an historian as Sidney Lee, Anderson is quoted as an authority without any attempt at question, and to take another instance at random, Edgecombe Staley in his *Guilds of Florence* quotes the *Constitutions of the Free Masons* which he attributed to Desagulier (*sic*) as an authority in his argument: terming the author "quaint and sententious."

If Anderson's *Constitutions* are to be judged, in whose favour or against whom, as the case may be, is judgment to be entered? As between him and Grand Lodge it cannot be said that he alone is responsible. He wrote the *Constitutions*, no doubt, but it cannot be believed that their contents were printed without some sort of approval by the Craft. We have seen that formal approval was refused, or at least not given, to the first edition, but had that compilation been contrary to the views of the majority, he would not have been entrusted with the preparation of a second. It may be that the Committee of Examination was perfunctory in examining the material for the second edition, as Committees can be, but even so had there been anything seriously in conflict with their views or those of the general body of members, we cannot suppose that the work would have received approval. It has been mentioned before that Anderson was asked to compile a list of Grand Masters that could be collected from the beginning of time, and it must be again emphasized that this is the crucial test as to whether the work was to have a real historical foundation or

whether it was to be in the nature of propaganda; it was in fact an invitation to the author to exercise his imagination or at any rate to "collect" indiscriminately.

In the Preface to Scott's *Pocket Companion* of 1754, it is stated that the management of the 1738 edition at the time was left to Anderson "But from whatever cause it might arise, whether from his want of health, or trusting to the management of strangers, the work appeared in a very mangled condition, and the Regulations, which had been revised and corrected by Grand Master Payne, were in many places interpolated, and in others the sense left very obscure and uncertain. Besides its being loaded with long chronological tables, which in another place might have had their use, but here could answer no other end than to render the Book very difficult to read." This is not unfair criticism, but what is of interest is the attempt to assign a reason for the defects of the work; and from this has arisen a theory that Anderson was not in effect responsible, either from pathological causes or from his work having been done by assistants. But after all is there really much in this? The reasons assigned are alternatives and mere suggestions. We have no other grounds for supposing that his mind was affected at the time of the composition of his book. The assembling of materials for this began before February, 1735, the book was probably published by the end of 1738, and Anderson's death did not take place until five or six months later, and there is no mention of any mental weakness in any literary or newspaper accounts of his death. As for the suggestion of his being assisted by strangers, there is nothing to show that there was more than one mind at work on the book, and if he had had their assistance it seems reasonable to suppose that there would have been more freedom from obvious mistakes rather than less.

As to its general character. I have several times had occasion to point out the anachronistic character of many of the incidents. The object was rather to compile a work *ad majorem gloriam latomorum* than to seek the historical origins of the Craft. Moreover, in Anderson's mind masonry was one with architecture; not that he was singular in this view because the latter in an architectural age played a part in the education of the gentlemen of the time, a copy of Vitruvius might be bought for the Lodge, and Batty Langley could advertise that he was ready to teach the art to the men of education and of fashion of the time; but although the identification of the two was quite common, yet it rather confuses us nowadays in our historical view. We look for the origins of masonry on its speculative side, and for the beginning of the present Masonic organization, and we find historical incidents dressed up in post-revival forms and given the post-revival terminology. If Lodges are said to be founded and opened by Scriptural or Classical characters, how are we to find out when the founding of Lodges did in effect begin, how distinguish fact from fiction, tradition from history?

In regard to details, I have pointed out confusion—whether accidental or deliberate—of dates and facts, omissions, distortions. There is a curiously slipshod character in his terminology, sometimes an equivocation, an attempt by giving a word two meanings to combine the past with the present, a kind of mental thimble-rigging. The instances where old texts have been garbled to bring them into line with the new conditions are almost innumerable, and many have been mentioned in their place.

An unfavourable criticism of Anderson is bound to cause some resentment. So many have been brought up from their earliest Masonic years on his work and that of his followers. He tells us so much of that of which otherwise we should know nothing, particularly with regard to the period between the revival and that of the earliest existing Minutes of Grand Lodge. He had so many opportunities; he lived and worked during the most interesting period of the Craft.

But if our attempt to check that which can be checked has shown anything, it has shown how much his version differed from other and more reliable accounts, and if that is so, how can we trust his unsupported testimony? What he tells us may be true, but in the absence of corroboration it is impossible by the ordinary rules of evidence to accept it without suspicion, in effect, to accept it at all. True he is the sole authority for much, true his opportunities were great; but can we on that account accept his word, any more than we can be called upon to admit the scholarship of a Schoolboy who wins a prize for constant attendance? Much of modern Masonic research has had to be carried on independently of Anderson, and we have seen what slender support it affords to his statements. Must we not regret that one with so great an opportunity of knowing so misused that opportunity, that so vast an influence in time and in extent on Masonic thought has been a bad influence, and that it is now perhaps too late to correct that false view of Masonic history so common in the Craft, so much of which is due to what one is tempted to call the fairy-tales of Bro. James Anderson.

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#### APPENDIX I.

Variations in the *Old Regulations* in Anderson's two editions:—

1723.

1738.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| I. "any true Lodge"   | "Every Lodge"  |
| "any other Brethren he pleaseth"  | "any other Master-Masons"  |
| II. "or in his absence the Junior Warden"   | Omitted.   |
| VII. "which Charity shall be lodged with the Master or Wardens, or the Cashier, if the member think fit to choose one." | "which Charity shall be kept by the Cashier"                       |
| VIII. "with the unanimous consent of that other Lodge to which they go (as above regulated)"                            | Omitted.   |
| "in forming a new Lodge"  | "in forming a new Lodge to be regularly constituted in good time." |
| IX. "and reform what gives them Offence."   | Omitted.   |

XII.	"all the regular particular Lodges."	"all the particular Lodges"
	"A Quarterly Communication about Michaelmas, Christmas, and Lady-day."	"3 Quarterly Communications before the Grand Feast"
XIII.	"Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow-Craft only here."	"Apprentices must be admitted Fellow-Crafts and Masters only here."
	"Who must be a Brother and Fellow Craft."	"who must be a Brother and Master Mason."
XV.	"by two Fellow-Craft"	"two Fellow Crafts or Master Masons."
XVIII.	"May choose any Fellow Craft"	"may choose any Brother."
	"chosen Deputy of the Grand Lodge."	"chosen Deputy at the Annual Feast."
XX.	"The Grand Master, with his Deputy and Wardens."	"The Grand Master, with his Deputy, G[rand] Wardens and Secretary"
XXV.	"Fellow-Craft"	"Brother"
XXVIII.	"4. To receive and consider of any good motion, or any momentous and important affair that shall be brought from the particular Lodges, by their representatives, the several Master and Wardens."	Omitted.
XXXI.	"and must not therefore speak"	"and none of these that are not must speak."
XXXIV-V.	"Proclaim'd, saluted and congratulated"	"proclaim'd, saluted and congratulated."
	"Declar'd, saluted and congratulated"	"proclaim'd, saluted and congratulated."
XXXVII.	"Apprentice"	"Enter'd Prentice."
(It is to be noted that here Anderson leaves the words "Fellow Craft or Enter'd Prentice" without adding Master Mason.)		
XXXIX.	"Apprentice"	"Enter'd Prentice."

## APPENDIX II.

Andersonian phraseology in the present *Book of Constitutions*:—

### *Anderson's Version.*

Every Annual Grand Lodge has an inherent Power and Authority to make New Regulations, or to alter these . . . provided always that the Old Land Marks be carefully preserv'd

xxxix., p. 175 (O.R.)

If the G. Master should abuse his great Power, and render himself unworthy of the Obedience and Subjection of the Lodges, he shall be treated in a Way and Manner to be agreed upon in a New Regulation: Because hitherto the antient Fraternity have had no Occasion for it.

xix., p. 165 (O.R.)

every Member shall keep in his Seat,  
xl., 4. p. 177 (N.R.)

Every one that speaks shall rise and keep standing, addressing himself to the Chair: Nor shall any presume to interrupt him, under the foresaid Penalty; unless the G. MASTER, finding him wandering from the Point in Hand, shall think fit to reduce him to Order; for then the said Speaker shall sit down: But after he has been set right, he may again proceed, if he pleases.

xl., 6. p, 177 (N.R.)

### *Grand Lodge Minutes Version.*

each of the Members . . . be obliged to keep his Seat

4. *Q.C.A.* x., p. 269

Every Member who has anything to offer which may require the Attention of the Assembly, shall rise and keep standing in his Place while he is speaking, always addressing himself to the Grand Master or his Deputy in the Chair Nor shall any person presume to interrupt his Discourse under the penalty before said Unless the Grand Master or his Deputy finding him wandring from the point then under publick Consideration shall think fitt to call him to order In which Case he is to sit down forthwith, and after he has been sett right he may proceed if he sees good.

5. *Q.C.A.* x., p. 269

### *Book of Constitutions, 1926 Edn.*

The Grand Lodge . . . alone has the inherent power of enacting laws and regulations . . . and of altering, repealing, and abrogating them, always taking care that the antient Landmarks of the order be preserved. 4. p. 17

If the Grand Master should abuse his power, and render himself unworthy of the obedience of the Lodges, he shall be subjected to some new regulation, to be dictated by the occasion; because, hitherto, the Antient Fraternity have had no reason to provide for an event which they have presumed would never happen. 17. p. 24

All members shall keep their seats.  
67. p. 44

Everyone who speaks shall rise and remain standing, addressing himself to the Grand Master, and he shall not be interrupted, unless any Brother shall address the Grand Master on a point of order, or the Grand Master shall himself think fit to call the speaker to order, but after he has been set right, he may proceed if he observe due order and decorum.

70. p. 44

*Anderson's Version.*

If in the G. LODGE any Member is twice call'd to Order, at one Assembly, for transgressing these Rules, and is guilty of a 3d Offence of the same Nature, the Chair shall peremptorily command him to quit the Lodge-Room for that Night.

xl., 7. p. 177 (N.R.)

That whoever shall be so rude as to hiss at a Brother, or at what another says or has said, he shall be forthwith solemnly excluded the Communication, and declared incapable of ever being a Member of any Grand Lodge for the Future, till another Time he publicly owns his Fault and his Grace be granted.

xl., 8. p. 177 (N.R.)

The Antient Manner of

Constituting a Lodge,

A New Lodge, for avoiding many Irregularities, should be solemnly Constituted by the Grand Master with his Deputy and Wardens; Or in the G. Master's Absence, the Deputy acts for his Worship, the Senior G. Warden as Deputy, the Junior G. Warden as the Senior, and a present Master of a Lodge as the Junior.

p. 149.

*Grand Lodge Minutes Version.*

Should it happen that any Member of a Quarterly Communication shall be twice called to order in any one Night for offending against any of the Rules before-going, and should be guilty of a third offence of the same Nature he shall at the peremptory Command of the Grand Master or his Deputy be obliged to quitt the Grand Lodge for that Night.

And that none might plead Ignorance herein it was Resolved that these Rules of Conference shall be audibly read by the publick Secretary at every Quarterly Communication after the opening of the Lodge.

6. Q.C.A. x., p. 269

It was also ordered that whatever Member should be so rude as to hiss at what another says he shall be excluded the Quarterly Communication in form and declared incapable of ever being admitted a Member in any Quarterly Communication succeeding.

7. Q.C.A. x., p. 270

*Book of Constitutions, 1926 Edn.*

If any member shall have been twice called to order for transgressing these rules, and shall nevertheless be guilty of a third offence at the same meeting, the Grand Master shall peremptorily command him to quit the Grand Lodge for that meeting.

71. p. 45

Whoever shall be so unmasonic as to hiss at a Brother, or at what he has said, shall forthwith be solemnly excluded, and declared incapable of being a member of the Grand Lodge, until, at another time, he publicly own his fault, and grace be granted.

72. p. 45

In order to avoid irregularities, every new Lodge shall be solemnly constituted, according to antient usage, by the Grand Master with his Wardens; or, in the absence of the Grand Master, by his Deputy. If the Deputy be absent, the Grand Master may appoint some other Grand Officer or Master or Past Master of a Lodge to act as Deputy *pro tempore*.

120. p. 70

When the Grand Master is present it is a Lodge in Ample Form; otherwise, only in Due Form, yet having the same Authority with Ample Form.

Marginal note p. 110.

The G. Master or Deputy has full Authority and Right, not only to be present, but also to preside in every Lodge, with the Master of the Lodge on his Left Hand; and to order his Grand Wardens to attend him, who are not to act as Wardens of particular Lodges but in his Presence and at his Command: For the G. Master, while in a particular Lodge, may command the Wardens of that Lodge, or any other Master-Masons, to act there as his Wardens *pro tempore*. O.R. I. pp. 152/3

That is, only when the G. Wardens are absent: For the G. Master cannot deprive 'em of their Office, without shewing Cause fairly appearing to the G. Lodge according to the Old Regulation XVIII. so that if they are present in a particular Lodge with the Grand Master, they must act as Wardens there. N.R. I. pp. 152/3

And also all the Transactions of their own Lodge that are proper to be written,

O.R. III. p. 154

That the Brothers attesting a Petition for Charity shall be able to certify, that the Petitioner has been formerly in reputable, at least, in tolerable Circumstances.

Resolution of Grand Lodge  
of the 31st March 1735  
2. p. 182

The Grand Lodge is declared to be opened in *ample form* when the Grand Master or Pro Grand Master is present, in *due form* when a Past Grand Master or the Deputy presides, at all other times, only in *form*, yet with the same authority. 61. p. 42

The Grand Master has full authority to preside in any Lodge, and to order any of his Grand Officers to attend him. His Deputy is to be placed on his right, and the Master of the Lodge on his left hand. His Wardens, if present, are also to act as Wardens of the Lodge during the time he presides; but if the Grand Wardens be absent, then the Grand Master may command the Wardens of the Lodge, or any Master Masons to act as his Wardens *pro tempore*. 142. pp. 82/3

Unless the Grand Master be present, the Deputy Grand Master has full authority to preside in any Lodge, the Master of the Lodge being placed on his right hand. The Grand Wardens, if present, are to act as Wardens of the Lodge during the time he presides. 143. p. 83

Minutes of all such transactions of the Lodge as are proper to be written.

172. p. 94

. . . recommendation . . . by the Master, Wardens, and a majority of the members then present, . . . certifying that they know him or have good reasons for believing him to have been in reputable, or at least tolerable, circumstances,

243. p. 129



A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Edwards for his interesting paper on the proposition of Bro. David Flather, seconded by Bro. W. K. Firminger; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. J. Williams, C. C. Adams, Geo. W. Bullamore, C. Walton Rippon, and the Secretary.

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Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS *writes*:—

Perhaps the last recorded words penned by our Brother James Anderson were those at the very end of the Corrigenda to the 1738 Edition:—

Accurate Reader, pray correct these with your Pen, *or any others you find.*

That prayer has at long last been answered. The "Accurate Reader" has now been found and he has used his pen to some purpose and given a larger and fuller response to the petition than the petitioner could have anticipated or perhaps desired or as he might think deserved. Where Dr. Anderson anticipated "motes", Bro. Edwards has detected and exhibited "beams".

The paper prepared by our Brother is a striking example of judicial skill combined with the ministration of patience and assiduity. The work needed to be done, and no one could have done it better.

Although in the process of complying with the expressed wish of Dr. Anderson Bro. Edwards has been compelled to deliver a series of drastic judgments, he has occasionally shown his desire to extenuate the delinquencies of the Author so much, so necessarily, and so thoroughly criticised.

We all who are here present may possibly unite in the statement that no office existed entitled Grand Master of Masons or Freemasons prior to 1717, and yet we ourselves are constantly attributing that title to various dignitaries of past ages, such as Solomon and the two Hiram, and we and our successors will probably continue so to do until time shall be no more. Have we any excuse which would not have availed for Dr. Anderson? How many original Grand Lodges do *we* commemorate, and where were they holden?

We must remember that Dr. Anderson like ourselves was a member of an order which is veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols. That Society in its development or new creation dating from 1717 claimed an antiquity dating back to antediluvian times. But in so doing it only followed in the paths made by their predecessors who framed the Old Constitutions. It was on those lines, and on behalf of a Society making those claims, that Dr. Anderson prepared his 1723 Edition and expanded it in 1738. Once admit those premises and then carry them out to their logical issue and there was no escape from the kind of result which was attained in the 1738 Edition. As a rough version of architectural history through the ages and in many countries the narrative compiled by our Author does produce in broad outline a result which in the main creates a correct general impression, though marred by many inaccuracies in details and by insupportable allegations and encrusted with the unsound suggestions of the existence of Grand Masters and Lodges and certain paraphernalia associated therewith in the post 1717 era, much of which we now find crystallised in our current rituals. If we had attacked Dr. Anderson on that account he would probably have said that by whatever names they were called in the dialects of their respective countries, there must of necessity have been persons ultimately functioning in the same way as Grand Masters, Wardens, Master Masons, Fellowcrafts and Apprentices. Were our Brethren of the 1738 era so dense as to regard the record of matters of that kind as literally true? They were not entirely devoid of intelligence, and I do not think the members of the Craft who then or since have read the History have ever regarded it as

being more than a decorated, distorted and adapted version of plain facts dyed with Masonic tinctures.

Turning to another topic of discussion. It is clear that it frequently happens that the records in the minutes as to new or amended regulations differ from the version given in the 1738 book. It does not necessarily follow that the minutes are precisely correct when these differences occur. Minutes frequently give only what the Recorder considers to be the general effect of what is said or done, and the final form of amendments and new regulations is apt to differ from the minutes in words, though not in substance. The Grand Secretary is not likely to have approved the 1738 version without noticing such variations if they were really unauthorised. The idea that the Grand Secretary and other approvers were mere puppets in the hands of Dr. Anderson is one for which there is no warrant in the evidence.

Dr. Anderson and his co-adjutors must have been at some pains to collect much of the information recorded in the History, even though they paraphrased it on the lines before indicated or mis-copied it. Due credit should be given them for this. Among these items may be mentioned (1) the Register of William Molart in the Bodleian, dated 1429. This refers to Thomas Stupylton as Master whose name should have been recorded as Mapylton. I do not know whether it has previously been noticed that this Thomas Mapylton is almost certainly the same person as the Thomas Mapylton of London who was King's Master Mason at that time as appears by my paper on the King's Master Masons. He is described as late Master Mason of the Works in a Patent granted to Robert Westerley dated 6th January, 1439. Thomas Mapylton's own Patent was issued when the King was at Canterbury.

(2) The reference to Stow as to the Company of Masons. It is noteworthy that Dr. Anderson says so very little about that Company. Its continued existence and operations could hardly have escaped his attention, and the omission seems to have been deliberate.

(3) The new Articles which Anderson incorrectly dates 27th December, 1663, and which ought to be capable of being traced in some City Records unless they were burned in the Great Fire.

(4) The two references to Ashmole's Diary.

(5) The very brief and probably accurate account of the meetings leading to the creation of the 1717 Grand Lodge.

(6) The concise (if occasionally biased) abstract of the meetings of Grand Lodge up to 1738. This abstract must have been a very important help indeed to the whole Fraternity. No really vital errors have been detected in that narration even when passed through the crucible of our severest tests.

(7) and (8) The statements as to the initiation, passing and raising of Frederick Prince of Wales and as to the initiation, passing and raising of the Duke of Lorraine.

The position occupied by these two items seems to indicate that they were inserted in the MS. at a late stage, and it is not at all improbable that they were so inserted at the suggestion of Dr. Desaguliers, who was one of the principal actors in the events referred to. Desaguliers is mentioned in the Approbation as one of those who after making some corrections had signified approbation.

Bro. Daynes in his paper as to the visit of the Duke of Lorraine produced no evidence whatever to shake the statements of Anderson.

Occasionally Bro. Edwards has adopted a somewhat overstressed method of criticism. For instance, he takes exception to Anderson's phrase that Grand Lodge "ordered" him to print the book, whereas what took place was that on his desiring the Grand Master's commands and the approbation of Grand Lodge this request was granted him.

Thus it appears that he was commanded, but must not call it ordered.

Too little weight is given by our critics to the part taken by such men as Desaguliers, Payne and Cowper in the oversight of the 1738 Edition. It was a matter in which they were greatly interested and all three of them were men of ability.

The fact cannot be gainsaid that Dr. Anderson, with all his faults, was the Father of the authentic school in this sense that he regarded the 1717 Grand Lodge as an off-shoot and development of the old operative Lodges and their non-operative associates.

Bro. WALTER K. FIRMINER said:—

I rise to propose a vote of thanks to Bro. Lewis Edwards for his admirable paper, which, though too lengthy to admit of it being thoroughly discussed at more meetings than one, has this advantage that when it appears in *Ars.Q.C.* it will present to the reader nearly all the available evidence, together with judgments, which, if not in every case acceptable, are characterised by close insight and matured reflection. In regard to one point, Anderson's account of the meetings of Grand Lodge on 24th June, 1721, and 1722, Bro. Edwards has overlooked the evidence supplied by Bro. Harry Rylands in his *Records of the Lodge Original No. 1, now the Lodge of Antiquity No. 2*. Bro. Rylands describes a volume known as "the E. Book". Some of the contents of this volume he says are of no historical value, and in saying this he is referring to "notes purporting to be either the original minutes or extracts from an older minute book" which appear from p. 125 onwards. I am tempted to believe that this depreciatory estimate has in effect led the reader to suppose that the other documents of the E. Book are of little or no importance. Bro. Ryland most certainly did not wish to make that impression. The following on page 11 of the E. Book he believed to be of early date:—

At

A Generall Assembly of a Great Number of  
Freemasons Held at Stationers Hall; London  
On the 24th June 1721. The Most Noble

John Duke of Montague=

Was then chosen Grand Master

Dr. John Beale Sub<sup>t</sup>. Master

Mr. Josias Villeneau

Mr. Thomas Morris

} Grand Wardens.

The Most Noble Philip Duke of Wharton

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Ld. Herbert

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Ld. Hitchinbrook

The Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Ld. Hillsborough

Sr. Will<sup>m</sup>. Leman Bar<sup>tt</sup>.

Sr. George Oxenden Bar<sup>tt</sup>.

Sr. Richard Rich Bar<sup>tt</sup>.

Sr. Andrew Fountaine, K<sup>nt</sup>.

John Holt Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Sackville Tufton Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Will<sup>m</sup>. Young Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Will<sup>m</sup>. Stanhope Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Coll. John Cope

Coll. Campbell

P[hilip Lord] Stanhope

Christopher Wren Esq<sup>r</sup>.  
 Rich<sup>d</sup>. Boulton. Gent.  
 Thos. Sayer.  
 W. Weston Esq<sup>r</sup>.  
 James Bateman. Gent.  
 Charles Hedges  
 Jos. Bullock

Dr. Stukeley tells us that "L<sup>d</sup>. Herbert" and "Sr. Andrew Fountaine" were present at the Dinner at Stationers' Hall, and this seems to show that the E. Book is here not based on Anderson. Sir Andrew, by the way, was one of the founders of the Spalding Lodge. The E. Book also provides a list of Grand Lodge Feasts from June 24th, 1717, to February 26th, 1724, and this list, as Bro. Rylands believed, was drawn up about 1724. I extract the following:—

In y<sup>e</sup> year 1721 June y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> at Stationers' Hal  
 was a Generall Assembly held by His Grace  
 Grand the Duke of Montague Master  
 Dupty. Mas<sup>t</sup>. Dr. Beal.  
 Wards. { Josaias Villenav } Chosen for the Year  
           { Thos. Morris. St. Gileses } insuing  
 In y<sup>e</sup> year 1722. June y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> at Merchant Taylors  
 Hall was General Assembly by His  
 Grace the Duke of Wharton the  
 Grand Master  
 Dupty. Dr. Desaunclear  
 Wards. { John Timson } Chosen for the Year  
           { W<sup>m</sup>. Hawkin } insuing

You observe that this document contradicts Anderson in two very essential parts:—(1) It assigns the place of meeting at the Merchant Taylor's Hall, and (2) is contrary to Anderson's statement "his Grace appointed no deputy". The *Daily Post* of June 27th announced: "On Monday last was kept at the Stationers' Hall the usual Annual Grand Meeting of the Most Noble and Ancient Fraternity of Free-Masons (where there was a noble Appearance of Persons of Distinction), at which Meeting they are oblig'd by the Orders to elect a Grand and Deputy Master, in persuance whereof they have accordingly chosen his Grace the Duke of Wharton for their Grand Master in the room of his Grace the Duke of Montagu, and Dr. Desaguliers Deputy Master, in the room of Dr. Beal, for the year coming".

It is remarkable that Anderson should have been so negligent of Grand Master Payne's regulation of 1721, "Here also the Master or the Wardens of each particular Lodge shall bring and produce a List of such Members as have been made, or even admitted in their particular Lodges since the last Communication of the Grand Lodge". In what is for convenience called the 1723 Grand Lodge List of Members, Anderson appears as a Member of the Lodge at the Horn. What has become within quite a short time of the Lodge on whose behalf he, as its Master, signed the Approval of his 1723 *Book of Constitutions*? Only as the present Master or Warden of a Lodge could he have attended a Communication of Grand Lodge in 1723.

Bro. Lewis Edwards has not mentioned a curious fact recorded by our Bro. W. J. Hughan in his preface to our Lodge's Edition of the *Constitutions* of 1738. Bro. Rylands discovered attached to the cover of his copy of the 1738 *Constitutions* a cancelled leaf in which appeared a number of errors such as "Stephen" instead of "Francis, Duke of Lorraine".

I would like to add that some caution requires to be exercised in dealing with Dr. Stukeley's statements, and I would hesitate to say with Bro. Edwards that if such or such an event occurred "Stukeley would have mentioned the facts". The so-called "Diary" was put together by Stukeley at the close of his life. He died in 1765. No doubt he made use of memoranda recorded about the dates given, but he makes reflection on events long after they had taken place. It was quite possible for a brother attending the Annual Feast not to be aware of what had taken place at the earlier Communication of Grand Lodge beforehand. And as for the procession escaping the attention of the Press, the distance between St. Paul's Churchyard and Stationers' Hall is not very great.

The London Library possesses a copy of

The | Generous Free-Mason | or, the | Constant Lady | with the |  
Humours | of Squire Noodle and his Man Doodle | a | Tragi-Comi  
Farcical Ballad | Opera | in Three Acts. | With the Music prefix'd  
to each Song. | By the Author of the Lovers' Opera. | London. |  
Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick Lane and Sold | by the Booksellers  
of London and Westminster. | MDCCXXXI | [Price One Shilling]. |

The printer is he who printed the Old *Constitutions* in 1722. The Opera is inscribed to the Rt. Wor. the Grand Master, Deputy Grand-Master, Grand Wardens and the rest of the Brethren of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons by "Your most Obedient, and Devoted Servant, the Author, a Free-Mason". The title-page of the *Lovers' Opera* (1729) reveals the name "Mr. Chetwood, Prompter of the Theatre", and the Catalogue of the London Library supplies his Christian names, "William Rufus". From the advertisements at the end of the *Generous Free-Mason* I extract:—

Proposals | By Printing by Subscription | the Life, Memoirs,  
Voyages, Travels and Adventures of | William Owen Gwinn  
Vaughan Esq. - - - - - [Subscriptions are taken by the Compiler,  
at the Thea | tre Royal in Drury Lane.] |

It will be remembered that the XVIIth Lodge, which gave its approval to Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, remains unidentified, but that its Officers at the end of 1722 were:—

James Anderson A.M.	} Master.
The Author of this Book.	
Gwinn Vaughan Esq.	} Wardens.
Walter Greenwood Esq.	

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BRO. DAVID FLATHER writes:—

Our sincere congratulations and our grateful thanks are due to Bro. Edwards for his masterly paper.

Frankly, I find it beyond my power to offer any criticism or to add anything of value to it.

Bro. Edwards while confirming the generally accepted opinion as to James Anderson's want of historical truth, throws much light upon his methods and the sources of much of his matter.

I think that Bro. Edwards is perhaps right in suggesting that Anderson's main object was to produce what to-day we should call a "write up" of the

Craft. I venture to suggest that the origin of this idea may have been a definite instruction to produce a book which would assist in widening the scope of organised masonry. The 1723 *Constitutions* throughout convey the impression that they were applicable to a society limited in its range (as in fact it was), to the Cities of London and Westminster.

The 1738 *Constitutions* give me the impression of being an attempt to claim the world-wide and age-long existence of Freemasonry, and to promote the extension of its borders.

With regard to the power of the Grand Master to preside at any private Lodge he may visit, this reminds me of a regular custom which exists in West Yorkshire and probably in other Provinces. It is perhaps hardly a matter which has bearing upon this paper, though it is of interest particularly as the practice might be considered irregular.

The meetings of our Provincial Lodge in West Yorkshire are always held "under the Banner of a Lodge or group of Lodges", and the following is the procedure:—(1) The Lodge under whose banner the Provincial Lodge is meeting, having obtained the requisite Dispensation, is opened by the Master in form. (2) The Provincial Grand Master, etc., etc., demands admission and enters in procession with his Officers, Grand Officers, etc. (3) The Master or the Lodge presents his Gavel to the Prov. Gd. Master, who accepts and takes the Chair—in like manner the Provincial Officers displace the corresponding Lodge Officers. (4) When Provincial Grand Lodge is closed, the P.G.M. returns the Gavel to the Master, the Lodge Officers resume their stations, and the procession retires. (5) The Master of the Lodge then closes his Lodge in the usual form. There has, in effect, been a short adjournment of the private Lodge, and the Provincial Lodge meeting held during that adjournment. It works perfectly well and, indeed, adds to the solemnity of the meeting—but I doubt if it is strictly regular.

"Foundation Stones" are an interesting subject which I am trying to work up.

While accepting Bros. Lepper and Crosslé's conclusion that Anderson's record is a fiction, it does show that in Anderson's mind and probably in general opinion, the idea of a Masonic stone laying was definitely a suitable ceremony. I would like here to call attention to the use in the same entry of the two words "Foundation Stone" and "Footstone", which, I think, will be found to be descriptive of two separate and distinct stones.

With regard to Anderson's initiation, unless the Lodge of which his father was a "prominent member" was exclusively operative, and as he was a glazier, and therefore not an operative mason, it is reasonable to suppose that when James was about to leave Aberdeen his father may, realising the advantages of the Craft, have arranged for his becoming a member of it.

BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

One of my youthful memories is of a Dutch tile which was painted to represent Abraham in the act of offering up his son Isaac. The patriarch brandishes a Turkish scimitar and wears knee breeches and a hat like a Quaker Oat advertisement. As Bro. Edwards suggests, such pictures may be aptly compared with Anderson's writings. There is no desire to misrepresent, but the truth can only be regarded as approximate and must be selected according to our knowledge of the subject.

But when we use negative evidence it is very easy to throw doubt on statements that could have been very easily dealt with at the time by Bro. Anderson. His right to the use of D.D. is an instance of this. And some of the points made by Bro. Edwards against Anderson I should be inclined to regard as unfounded. For instance, on Regulation xiii. "Anderson implied that previously the making not only of Masters but also of Fellow craft was confined to Grand Lodge, which is absurd". But I believe these Regulations to have a basis in the customs of the Livery Companies of the City of London and to have been perfectly sound with an historical basis.

A Livery Company of the City of London was a Gild or Fellowship which governed a body of yeomen or freemen, and where these freemen were a fraternity the Company furnished them with Ordinances, insisted that the master should be of the livery or Fellowship, and collected quarterage without giving them any voice in the government. There was nothing democratic about them, and the master of the Company itself was not elected by the general body but usually by the reigning master and the past masters. The Worshipful Company of Freemasons of the City of London governed the yeomen or journeymen masons, and I think it very unlikely that they allowed these journeymen to appoint to the Livery or Fellowship which governed them. A revival of the system during the rebuilding of London led to a number of honorary masons becoming masterless men after the rebuilding was finished, and it was an attempt to bring these masterless men into an obedience that led to the formation of Grand Lodge. Fellow craft lodges applied to be "Constituted" and led to the repeal of this Regulation for them, but there is no instance of a lodge of modern or first degree masons making fellows or masters. We do know, however, that the Bury Lodge of modern masons evaded the regulation that the master must be among the fellows, for as late as 1768 their master and two past-masters were fellow crafted and raised by the Bolton Lodge.

Then, again, I fail to find that Aubrey is in opposition to Anderson as regards Sir Christopher Wren's connection with Freemasonry. Aubrey having written that Sir Christopher Wren was to be adopted a Free mason in 1691, afterwards corrects it to read the Fraternity of Accepted Masons. The accepted mason appears to have been a journeyman who having been trained in one place was accepted as a mason at another lodge. London must have been full of them at this time. They were workmen, not masters. Aubrey's manuscript does not show that Free mason and accepted mason are interchangeable terms, but that there was a difference which he did not properly understand. If Wren had been, like Ashmole, a member of the Freemasons for many years, it would not prevent his fraternising with the operative masons who were rebuilding St. Paul's Cathedral. Aubrey does not even say that he was to be initiated. He was to be "adopted", which is a term quite appreciable to his joining them although already in possession of their secrets.

Anderson is said to be two years out where he records the appointment of Bro. Moody as sword-bearer on 27th March, 1731. Bros. Edwards and Begemann, relying on the Minutes of Grand Lodge, state that Moody was not appointed until 1733 so Anderson must be wrong. But the copy of the St. Paul's Head Lodge memorial in the *Raulinson* MSS. shows that these memorialists used the words: "Ever since a Sword of State has been carried before the R.W. the Grand Master at the annual Feast, this Lodge (St. Paul's Head) has carried the same except when Bro. Moody carried it in 1732". If we regard this year as commencing on April 1st we get an exact agreement with Anderson.

To my mind, the wording of the memorial suggests that the St. Paul's Head Lodge had carried the sword for several years, long enough, in fact, to



regard it as a right. But this could not be the case if the first procession was in 1730. It would only give them two occasions to the once of Moody. The names of several of their members as given by Rawlinson occur also in the early list of the Queen's Head, Hollis Street, and I therefore identify them with this lodge which was constituted personally by the Duke of Richmond in 1724. They may have carried the sword from 1725 to 1731.

It is fortunate for the Craft that Bro. Anderson was its early historian, but it is probable that many of his absurdities are due to our lack of knowledge and his own lack of clearness. In passing from the accepted Masons of his first *Book of Constitutions* and identifying them with the Freemasons that governed them he has hopelessly muddled and confused the search for our pedigree.

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BRO. CECIL ADAMS said:—

It has always appeared to me that, although a commentary on Anderson's second *Book of Constitutions* has been badly needed, only a brave man would face the task. The book is a troublesome one; Jonathan Scott wrote truly when he stated that it appeared "in a very mangled condition", but there is no doubt that it is of great importance to the Masonic bibliographer. We must remember that this 1738 edition was taken to Ireland and copied by Spratt in 1751, whose book in turn came back to this country in the guise of *Ahiman Rezon* in 1756, and the later editions of Dermott's work take it on to the end of the eighteenth century.

James Anderson could have nothing good to say for the work of William Smith, and for this reason he could hardly appropriate in his second edition that useful address, first published in the *Pocket Companion*, which is now known as the E.A. Charge. But what about the Songs? It seems likely that Anderson borrowed a few of them from Smith, even as Smith, in his turn, had taken other songs from Anderson's 1723 edition. Of the eleven which are printed, certainly two seem to come direct from the *Pocket Companion* and three others are probably from the same source, although they were first printed elsewhere.

The 1738 *Constitutions* has a very modest supply of songs, and one feels that the author regarded that part of his work as of minor importance. Or was it that he did not wish his own songs, now cut to reasonable dimensions, to be lost in a maze of others? Let us give him the benefit of the doubt, and assume that he considered that the "history" and law of Freemasonry should not be confused with things more frivolous.

We must congratulate Bro. Lewis Edwards on his assiduity in giving us a thorough examination of this book, and, at the same time, thank him for his most useful work.

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BRO. EDWARDS writes, in reply:—

I do feel most truly grateful to the Brethren who have assisted me with their criticisms and with the additional information they have supplied, no less than for the kindness with which the paper has been received. I have felt all along that one who deals with the many points arising in a commentary on the 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, even if possessed of a learning and a quality of carefulness to which I lay no claim, must, so to speak, from the large extent of territory he occupies and the dissemination of his forces, expose himself to many attacks, and I feel most gratified that my main positions are still held at the end of the discussion. I have tried to put the relevant and so often seemingly

contradictory facts before the Brethren, and I do not propose to deal in detail with the additional ones brought out in the course of the debate, contenting myself by asking the reader to weigh those brought forward by me with those advanced by my critics, and if he finds in the light of them all that some of my conclusions seems on balance to be erroneous, boldly so to consider them, and I, without any feeling of personal chagrin, will applaud his decision.

With regard to Bro. Firminger's observations I do admit that his points regarding "the E. Book" and also Dr. Stukeley are important factors in considering Anderson's reliability, but how all the various facts are to be reconciled I cannot see. Once again it is a question of the credibility of the witnesses whose evidence is advanced, and as to that each must form his own conclusions. Bro. Flather's remarks are full of interest, and I note with respectful pleasure that he does not appear to disagree with my main conclusions.

I appreciate that Bro. Williams has realised that although I have been compelled to deliver "drastic judgments", I have occasionally shown a "desire to extenuate the delinquencies of the Author". If I set about my task with any object or any prejudice beyond a desire to seek the truth, it was to rehabilitate Anderson and to gratify my patriotism by showing Begemann's strictures to be unfounded, but quite early I found to my regret that save in those cases which I have been careful to point out, Anderson, though his attitude could in many cases be explained, could not be rehabilitated and patriotism had to make way for truth. If in Bro. Williams' words Anderson was "the Father of the Authentic School", how is the adjective to be reconciled with our Brother's view of the *History* as a "decorated, distorted and adapted version of plain facts dyed with Masonic tinctures"?

With regard to Bro. Bullamore's observation, I note his ingenious theory as to that perplexing period before 1717, when there seem to have been both the operative masons of a lower service order and the speculative or (shall we say?) gentlemen masons. I do not think, however, that if Wren had been already a speculative or honorary mason he would have later become, so to speak, an honorary member of the operative craft, and then why so late as 1691? The question of Bro. Moody and the Sword of State, taking into account Bro. Bullamore's objections, seems to be as follows. The Minutes of 29th January, 1781, state that Moody had finished the Sword by that date and had his health drunk for his services, but do not mention his appointment as Sword-Bearer. From this fact and from the memorial regarding St. Paul's Head Lodge not being presented until 29th May, 1733, it would appear that Moody did not receive his appointment in 1731, but at the meeting on 7th June, 1733, as recorded in the Minutes of that date. The Deputy Grand Master in his observations of 29th May, 1733, does not deny that the St. Paul's Head Sword had been carried in previous years, but says that as the new Sword is the Grand Master's it must be carried by the Grand Master's nominee. The position is not, I admit, free from difficulty. On the one hand, if Moody was appointed in 1731, why did not the Minutes say so, and why did the memorialists delay until 1733? On the other, if the Sword was "finished" in 1731, why was not Moody then or soon thereafter appointed, and who carried the Sword (and which Sword?) between 1731 and 1733?

That the subject of the 1738 Edition of *Anderson's Constitutions* required detailed treatment in our *Transactions* I feel confident, and it is as much a pleasure as a duty for me to acknowledge that the paper would never have been written by me, or if written would have shown even more inadequacy had it not been for the inspiration, encouragement and assistance I have had from Bros. Hills, Songhurst and Vibert. Further, Bro. Vibert has eked out my very insufficient knowledge of German by placing at my disposal his unfortunately as yet unpublished translation of *Begemann*.

## Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

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WEDNESDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1933.

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THE 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.* Walter K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., S.W.; B. Telepneff, 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., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., S.D.; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., J.D.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, I.G.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., Stew.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., Stew.; *Major* Cecil C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D.; and G. Hook, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. P. Hunter, R. A. Wall, Ed. M. Phillips, C. F. Sykes, H. C. Towers, H. B. Isaacs, H. C. Knowles, P.A.G.Reg., Geo. F. Pallett, Lewis Edwards, S. A. V. Wood, Hy. Wilson, Albert E. Barlow, K. D. Flather, Chas. H. Taunton, A. F. Cross, Wilfred J. Harrald, Henry G. Gold, Harry Bladon, A.G.D.C., L. G. Wearing, J. Johnstone, A. Thompson, C. K. James, R. M. Strickland, A. H. Wolfenden, H. S. Bell, F. Lacey, P.A.G.D.C., R. Girdlestone Cooper, Alfred G. T. Smith, H. A. Horsnell, F. Welland, F. J. Bryan, Albert Mond, Regd. F. Baker, H. W. Chetwin, G. T. Harley Thomas, P.A.G.S.B., Geo. C. Williams, R. Wheatley, J. C. Harvey, J. F. H. Gilbard, and Wallace Heaton, P.G.St.B.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. G. A. Ogilvie, Pr.G.D., Surrey; P. H. Crozier, P.Dis.G.Chap., Bengal; W. R. Cory, Bolingbroke Lodge No. 2417; G. Mumford, W.M., Old Felstedian Lodge No. 3662; R. G. Kerr, P.M., Marble Craft Lodge No. 3522; H. Dalgarno Robinson, P.M., Lodge of Harmony No. 255; R. R. Newitt, Royal Gloucester Lodge No. 130; Comte Geza Szapary, Semper Fidelis Lodge No. 20 (G.L.Nat., France); and Georges Baninger, Doric Lodge No. 5019.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland; B. Ivanoff; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; and *Rev.* A. W. Oxford, M.D., P.G.Ch., Almoner.

One Lodge and Twenty-one Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

W.Bro. *Rev.* Walter K. Firminger, *D.D.*, *P.G.Ch.*, the Master-Elect, was presented for Installation and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. D. Flather, assisted by Bros. H. C. de Lafontaine, J. Heron Lepper, and G. P. G. Hills.

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The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. B. Telepneff	S.W.
„ D. Knoop	J.W.
„ W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
„ W. J. Songhurst	Treasurer
„ Lionel Vibert	Secretary
„ G. P. G. Hills	D.C.
„ G. Elkington	S.D.
„ W. Ivor Grantham	J.D.
„ A. W. Oxford	Almoner
„ F. W. Golby	I.G.
„ S. J. Fenton	Stew.
„ C. C. Adams	Stew.
„ B. Ivanoff	Stew.
„ G. Hook	Tyler

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The W.M. proposed and it was duly seconded and carried:—“That W.Bro. David Flather, having completed his year of office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge, and that this Resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him ”.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

#### EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Engraved Summons of the Lodge meeting at Mr Forresters at the One Tun in the Strand, altered from Mr. Lucas's, the Bunch of Grapes, in St Martin's Lane. Engraved by R. Cole. (*Vide* illustration.)

This was the Lodge of Peace and Plenty (Lane, 1895, p. 83). It made no returns after 1813. It was meeting at the One Tun from 1751 to 1754. Its previous meeting place, Lucas's Wine Vaults, the Bunch of Grapes, is not in Lane but can be recovered from the Grand Lodge Minutes. This particular copy is endorsed “MR Livingstone”, which gives us the name of a member of the Lodge. The three figures are identical with three on the trade card of the Chelsea Bun House, a specimen of which is in the Q.C. Library.

Engraved Summons. Three figures standing on three altars on a tessellated pavement. Venus (probably) as Beauty; Minerva as Wisdom; Hercules as Strength. On sides an oak and what appears to be a palm. Above, the irradiated eye. On label twined round the trees the words: "Brother The Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Somerset. No ——— Desire your Attendance on ——— by Order of the Master ——— Secretary.

Not masonic, but I have been unable to trace the body or Society which issued it.

Engraving, French, in honour of the Queen of Naples. (*Cf. Misc. Lat.*, xviii., 45.) Date April, 1777.

Apron. White skin, oval, with dark blue borders. A flap of two curves, and four tassels of silk thread, attached direct to the apron, three above and one below. There were at one time two ornaments attached below the flap, but they are now missing. Not masonic.

By Bro. RAY SHUTE, N. Carolina.

Commemorative Jewel; Grand Chapter, R.A.M., and Grand Council, R. & S.M., Washington, 1933 Triennial Meeting. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. R. T. HALLIDAY.

Laws of Robertson's Lodge, Cromarty, of 1832. Copy given to Robert Ross on his admission on 16 December 1839.

Robertson's Lodge was constituted in 1774, and worked as an ordinary Lodge until in 1832 it was constituted a Friendly Society and these Laws were drawn up. They still required a masonic qualification for membership. That is to say, they made members by making them masons, and conferred on them the three degrees. They retained the name Robertson's Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Cromarty. But these laws refer purely to the concerns of a Friendly Society. In 1868 owing to mismanagement the Society was dissolved; the Lodge seems to have continued on the registers till 1878 when it was closed. It remained in abeyance till 1891 when it was reopened and is now the Robertson Lodge, No. 134. This is the original number of the Lodge, after the re-numbering at the beginning of last century.

By the Library and Museum Committee, Provincial Grand Lodge of West Riding.

Apron of the Order of Old Friends. White silk with printed design.

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

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The W.M. delivered the following

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

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EVERY many years have passed since Bro. Speth said in this Lodge: "In the earlier years of this Lodge it was considered that, although our inclinations might tend in the direction of placing before our colleagues difficult points for discussion, a new thesis, or the results of minute investigation of specialised questions—all conducive to the intense enjoyment of the more learned among us, yet our duty requires us also to instruct the less advanced, or at least afford them the means of laying a solid foundation on which to raise a superstructure of self-teaching. Many papers broadly historical in treatment, which for want of a better name were styled 'elementary' were read before the Lodge in pursuance of this policy, but in late years we seem to have only dimly recognised our duty to our co-members in this respect".

You, Brethren, have conferred on me an overwhelmingly great distinction by placing me in a chair that has been occupied by many illustrious scholars in Masonry, and were I to claim to be "one of the more learned among us", it would be only because your too kindly consideration can well perhaps extenuate some lack of modesty on my part. The address I am about to deliver is not intended to convey information to "the more learned", although I trust that the repetition of so much with which they are already familiar will not overstrain their patience. At the same time I cannot claim that this address will satisfy an almost impossibly high ideal Bro. Speth required in the case of an "elementary" paper. The choice I have made of a subject for review has been motivated by the consideration that even the existence of Bro. W. J. Songhurst's edition of the *Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons in England 1723-1739* is but little known to our Brethren dispersed over the face of land and water, and if anything that can be said from the Chair can have the result of impressing the importance of this indispensable volume of Masonic instruction on those who do not wish to miss an opportunity of extending and enriching their knowledge of the practice and the principles of the Craft, it will indeed have been my duty to say it. Members of Quatuor Coronati would be the first to recognise the courtesy and assistance they have received at the hands of the Custodians of the Grand Lodge Archives. It may, however, be pointed out that printed copies of Minute Books, especially when scientifically indexed and edited with such scholarly care as our Bro. Songhurst is so well qualified to bestow, are not only of untold advantage to research students, but obviate the wear and tear of original papers and would by their dispersion provide against the unenviable disaster of destruction of the originals by fire. It would be scarcely an exaggeration to affirm that research in many important directions for those who are unable to get to London to study will remain at a standstill until the happy day arrives when a second instalment of Bro. Songhurst's work is in their hands. My choice of this subject is further justified by the circumstance that since the Minutes of Grand Lodge 1723-1739 were published as No. x. of the *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha* Bro. Songhurst, by the courtesy of the Prov. G. Lodge of Warwickshire, has been able to reproduce in *facsimile* in A.Q.C., xxxvi., the Engraved List of Lodges for 1728. While this comparatively recent discovery of an Engraved List affords a tribute to the accuracy of our Brother's conjectures in

matters in regard to which conjecture was all that was open to him in 1913, this Engraved List of 1728 does enable us to trace more clearly the continuity or the disappearance of certain old London lodges.

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For the benefit of the Brethren for whom the study of *Antigrapha*, x., is a pleasure yet to come, I will say a few words about the three lists of lodges with their members which the volume contains. These Brethren will remember that, whereas the "Four Old Lodges" (*Multa Paucis* has it that there were six) and "some old Brothers" met in 1717 at the Apple Tree . . . and "constituted themselves a Grand Lodge *pro tempore* in due form", it was not till 24th June, 1723, a Secretary was formally appointed by Grand Lodge. We have to make an effort to realise the circumstances in which the Grand Lodge, at first scarcely prepared to ostracise lodges not constituted by its authority or claim jurisdiction "beyond the hills of mortality", organised itself. Masons foregathered at favoured taverns, and if a little body of friends in masonry met one season at the Bull and Butcher, the next season might find them removed to the Lamb and the Care-taker. Although we often hear it said that "from time immemorial, it has been an established custom amongst Free Masons for each Lodge, once in a year, at a stated period to select, etc.", yet the brethren in those times, felt under no obligation to abide by a stated time, and if they had one their custom frequently if not generally was to hold an election every half-year. On February 19th, 1724, Grand Lodge assented to the Grand Master's order: "Every Master or Warden bring with them the list of every member belonging to his Lodge at the next Quarterly Meeting". The resolution of November 21st of the same year which required each Lodge to contribute to the Charity Joint Stock "according to the Quality and Number of the said Lodge" incidentally provided Grand Lodge with a means of discovering whether the private lodges were at work or in abeyance. On December 27th it stands on record that the several Masters and Wardens "took their place according to seniority on each side of the Chair".

It will be of interest to recall to memory that at a meeting of our Lodge, June 24th, 1891, Bro. Wonnacott exhibited a photograph of an engraved Summons to attend a Communication of G. Lodge which was to be held on June 24th, 1726. No Minutes of this Communication, if it was held, have come down to us, but I mention the matter because at the foot of the Summons there is the following reminder—"P.S. Bring with you a list of members of your Lodge". How such an injunction was attended to may be judged by the fact that of the fifty-two Lodges on the 1723 MS. List sixteen made no returns: of the seventy-seven of the 1725 List four failed: of the 102 of the 1730 List forty-six failed; but twenty-nine of these Lodges were either in the provinces or on the Continent. Bro. Anderson, as we shall see, did not set a good example in regard to the thirteenth of his "General Regulations": "Here [G. Lodge] also the Master or the Wardens of each particular Lodge shall bring and produce a List of such Members as have been made, or even admitted in their particular Lodges since the last Communication of the Grand Lodge". (*Cons.*, 1723, p. 62.)

The first of the earliest written lists contained in the Minute Book is headed: "This Manuscript was begun the 25th November, 1723". It is only for convenience sake that this can be called the "MS. List of 1723", for it contains the names of Lodges constituted in 1724 and 1725. Whether or no the Compiler followed the principle of seniority I cannot say. If he did, he gave the Lodge at the Cheshire Cheese in Arundel Street precedence over the Lodge at the Horne Tavern (now the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge, No. 4).



With this first Grand Lodge List it is interesting to compare the list of the twenty Lodges whose Masters and Wardens gave their approval to Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723. Anderson does not give the names of the Taverns, so the identity of the Lodges can only be determined by comparing the names of the persons with the names in the MS. List of 1723. When we do this, we find that the Horne Lodge is fourth and the Cheshire Cheese is fifth in Anderson's list. The name of the Wor. Master of the latter is Matthew Birkhead, the author of the Entered Apprentice Song. As he died on December 28th, 1722, we may be sure that Anderson gives a list of lodge officers in the year before the commencement of the first Grand Lodge MS. List, and he gives the first four Lodges in an order different from that of the Grand Lodge MS. List, but in an order which is carried out by the subsequent Engraved Lists:—

1. The Lodge at the Goose and Gridiron. To-day Antiquity, No. 2.
2. The Lodge at the Queen's Head, Turnstile Holborn, Holborn, removed from the Crown, Parker's Lane. No. 2 on the Engraved List of 1728, when meeting at the Rose and Rummer, Furnival's Inn.
3. The Lodge at the Queen's Head, Knaves Acre. No. 3 on the Engraved List of 1728. This Lodge having accepted a 'Constitution' in 1723, descended on the Engraved List of 1729 to No. 11. To-day Fortitude and Cumberland, No. 12.
4. The Lodge at the Horne, Westminster, removed from the Rummer and Grapes, Westminster. No. 4 on the Engraved List, 1728: No. 3 on do. in 1729. To-day Royal Somerset House and Inverness, No. 4.

As I have mentioned Matthew Birkhead's Lodge at the Cheshire Cheese, I may say that when we come to the second MS. List we will find its place on the roll taken by a Lodge at the King's Head, Ivy Lane, constituted in January, 1722, No. 5 in 1728, and to-day the Lodge of Friendship, No. 6. This Lodge appeared on the MS. List of 1723, but no list of members is given. Of the twenty Lodges consenting to Anderson's *Constitutions*, five remain unidentified, and among the five is Anderson's own Lodge. He presents us with:—

XVII. James Anderson. A.M.	}	Master.
The AUTHOR of this BOOK		
Gwinn Vaughan Esq.	}	Wardens.
Walter Greenwood. Esq.		

In the MS. list of 1723 James Anderson appears on the roll of the Horne Lodge as an ordinary member: the names of his wardens in the unidentified No. XVII. do not appear in any of the three MS. Lists.

The second MS. List is headed "A list of the Regular Constituted Lodges | together with the Names of the Masters | and Wardens and Members of Each Lodge | as by Account deliver'd at a Quarterly | Communication held 27th November 1725". Again the Lodge at the Queen's Head, Knaves Acre, is placed before the Lodge which is usually regarded as the second of the "Four Old Lodges". Having started the List, the Compiler added to it Lodges of later constitution.

The third MS. List is headed: "List of the Names of the Members | of all the regular Lodges as they were | returned in the Year 1730. The R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. | Thomas Lord Lovell being then | Grand Master". Lord Lovell became G. Master on March 27th, 1731, and he made over his office to Viscount Montague on April 19th, 1732. The list contains Lodges constituted at least as late as September, 1732. So a writer of a Lodge history may have to exercise some caution before he writes that So-and-So was a member of his Lodge in 1730 because the name is found in the Grand Lodge MS. List of 1730.

The assigning of numbers to Lodges commences with the Engraved List of 1729. The designation of the Goose and Gridiron clung to the Lodge which is now Antiquity, even after it had removed from that tavern. The circumstance that the Lodges might work at one and the same tavern introduces a good deal of difficulty when we are attempting to discover the continuity of the Lodges in which we are particularly interested. Here is an instance. In my own case I have found it very difficult to keep a clear look-out for the Rose, Marylebone, and I observe that even Bro. Songhurst himself (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., p. 144) has observed "a confusion between two different Lodges meeting at the Rose", but it has not been observed that in the Engraved List of 1728 the Tavern sign set against No. 67, Grafton St., 7 Dials, is as a matter of fact not a Rose, but a Swan.<sup>1</sup> A valuable correction to the difficulty.

Not having the advantage, which we now have, of being able constantly to refer to printed Minutes, Bro. Lane may have inadvertently passed over the following interesting entry of date June 21st, 1731 (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 209), which shows that the Lodge at the Three Kings was not constituted till after that date:—

A Petition was presented and signed by several Brethren praying that they may be admitted into the Grand Lodge, and Constituted into a regular Lodge at the Three Kings in Crispian Street Spittle Fields, after some debate, Several Brethren present vouching that they were regular Masons, they were admitted, and the Grand Master declared, that he or his Deputy, would Constitute them accordingly, and signed their Petition for that purpose.

In his edition of the Minutes Bro. Songhurst had expressed scepticism as to Bro. Lane's (*Records*, p. 47) identification of the Lodge at the Three Kings with the Lodge originally constituted at the Rummer, Henrietta Street.<sup>2</sup> The recovery of the 1728 Engraved List justified this scepticism, for in that list was found as No. 37 the Nag's Head in Prince's Street, Drury Lane, constituted August 4th, 1723. That Lodge in 1729 became No. 21, and was erased in 1782. In the 1729 Engraved List, No. 37 is assigned to the Three Kings, constituted July, 1724. The Cross Keys may, as Lane says, have removed to the Three Tuns, Wood St., but it was only to become extinct. "The Three Kings in Spittle Fields removed to the Sash and Cocoe Tree in Upper Moorfields" in the MS. List of 1730 (*Q.C.A.*, p. 164) is in fact one of the new Lodges brought into existence by Bro. Dr. Rawlinson and his associates. To it was assigned the number 37 given in 1729 to the Three Kings, and the date (July, 1724) of the constitution of the older but extinct Lodge was attached to the new one.

In these MS. Lists no numbers are given to the Lodges, and the Lodges do not bear distinctive names of their own, but are designated by the name of the tavern in which they met. Some of the Lodges were considerable wanderers, and consequently their designation changes with each removal from tavern to tavern. Then, again, two or even three Lodges might be meeting on different nights at the same tavern. The name "The Goose and the Gridiron" seems

<sup>1</sup> The Swan in Grafton St., Soho, has been identified with the Lodge constituted at the Golden Lyon in Dean St. in September, 1725. Lane (*Records*, p. 56) finds it at the Swan in Long Acre in 1730. The Swan in Grafton St., 7 Dials, is No. 67 on the Engraved List of 1728, and No. 44 in that of 1729. A comparison of the list of members had already led me to suspect that the Lodge in Dean St., Soho, and the Swan in Grafton St. or in Long Acre were not connected in the way supposed. The recovery of the 1728 list justifies my suspicion. On that list the Golden Lyon, according to Lane, met in 1740 at the Mitre, King's St., Westminster, and was erased, April, 1744. Anderson: *Constitutions*, 1738 (p. 186), "30. Swan Tavern in Long Acre, an English Lodge. Sept. 1725". Above: "18. Swan Tavern in Long Acre, a French Lodge, 12 June, 1723".

<sup>2</sup> The Three Tuns, Wood St., was represented in G. Lodge on December 15th, 1730. (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 132.)

to have clung to the Lodge which is now Antiquity even after it had ceased to meet in St. Paul's Churchyard. In the Engraved Lists the Signs, but not the names of the taverns, are given, and not till 1729 were the dates of Constitution indicated. When a place on the list fell vacant, the compiler did not fill it up by promoting the next Lodge in seniority. A quite recently formed Lodge could be assigned the vacated space and obtain the date of the Constitution of the Lodge whose place on the list it filled. Bro. Songhurst writes: "I look upon this 'filling up', not as a deliberate action on the part of Grand Lodge, but rather as a natural result of the system adopted of issuing lists printed from *Engraved* plates. When a Lodge went out of existence, the sign of the House at which it had met would be rubbed off the plates, and another sign would be engraved representing a Lodge which had just come on the List. In all cases the Engraver would not even take the trouble to alter the date of Constitution, and so these Lodges not only received numbers to which they were not entitled, but their ages appeared as those of the Lodges which they replaced. This system of filling up gaps in the List by later creations was adopted by the Grand Lodge of the Antients, and is still practised by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, but it was abandoned by the Moderns in favour of a periodical 'closing up' of the entire List". (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. xxii.)

From this it might be conjectured that as historical materials the Engraved Lists would be of very doubtful value. This, however, is far from being the case. The Minutes of Grand Lodge and the names of members given in the MS. Lists enable the researcher to make a plentiful use of the numbers assigned to Lodges by the Engraved Lists: but there is, as an examination of Bro. Songhurst's notes on the Engraved Lists will show, a number of cases in which an attempt to recover the past unrecorded history of Lodges still in existence is thwarted by contradictions due to the way of filling up of gaps in the Lists adopted by the compilers of the Engraved List. Let us take, for example, that fine Lodge, Old King's Arms, now No. 28. Its earliest existing Minute Book commences with the following note, dated August 6th, 1733, at the King's Arms in the Strand:—

The Lodge constituted by authority in May 1725 No. 43 being removed last from the Cross Keys in Henrietta Street Covent Garden by the General Suffrages of the members of the Lo: attending adjournment to this place where B. Bentley the Master of the House invited and kindly received them.

The list of members of this Lodge, containing the well-known names of Sir Cecil Wray (Master), Martin Clare (S. Warden), and Sir Robert Lawley, is given in the Grand Lodge MS. List of 1730, where the Lodge is stated to be at the Cross Keys in Henrietta Street. Now the number 43 is the number assigned in the Engraved List of 1729 to a Lodge working at the Rose "Mary le Bone", constituted May 25th, 1725, and working the 1st and 3rd Monday in the summer, and last Monday in the winter. Bro. Lane in his *Records*—a work which is a triumph of courageous industry and skill—finds the earliest trace of Old King's Arms Lodge at Free Mason's Coffee House, New Belton Street. We now turn to the Engraved List of 1728, and we find there neither Free Mason's Coffee House nor the Rose in Marylebone. Had the 1728 List given the dates of Constitution we would be in a happier position, but it does not. It, however, has as No. 67 a Lodge in Grafton Street, Seven Dials. Bro. Songhurst comments: "No. 67 at the Rose, Grafton Street, Seven Dials, is apparently the Lodge constituted in May, 1725, at Freemason's Coffee Street, Long Acre". But the Tavern Sign of No. 67 is not a Rose: it is a Swan. I will quote the rest of Bro. Songhurst's note: "It became No. 43 in 1729, and is now Old King's Arms, No. 28. Lane does not note this place of meeting, but gives the Rose,

Marylebone from 1728 to 1731. This seems to me unlikely, and although it so appears in the 1729 List, I am inclined to think that there has been a confusion between two different Lodges meeting at the 'Rose'. (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., p. 144.)

I must abstain here from making an attempt to work out the problem of the history of the Old King's Arms prior to the evidence supplied by the entry in the Minute Book, and be content with saying that the Lodge at the Cross Keys which appears as No. 59 in the Engraved List of 1728 is not that Lodge. The working out of the problem would also be of interest to historically-minded members of the Tuscan Lodge, for the threads of the two Lodges at one point get entangled. Without the printed volume of Grand Lodge Minutes before him it would be perilous for a writer of a Lodge history to attempt to trace the history of his Lodge in times before the commencement of the earliest records of his own Lodge.

The Minutes of Grand Lodge will show him the dates at which such or such a Lodge was last represented at a Communication under the designation of the tavern at which it had been working. What may be called the biographical method—the tracing of the individual masons from one list of members to another and attempt to recover personal details—is often rich in affording clues. Take, for instance, the names of two of the Stewards appointed on November 26th, 1728:—

Mr. Caesar Collys of the Lodge in Mary la Bone

Mr. H. Smart of the Cross Key's in Henreatta St.

You will not find the name of Bro. H. Smart in either the 1725 MS. List of the Lodge at Free Masons' Coffee House or in the 1730 MS. List of the Lodge at the Cross Keys (*i.e.*, Old King's Arms Lodge), and when you further compare those two lists you will observe that none of the names in the earlier list in 1725 appear among the names in the latter. So far as personnel goes, the latter Lodge is a replacement. Then as to Bro. Caesar Collys. A Lodge which met at the Rose, Marylebone, in 1729 is, as we have seen, No. 43, constituted May 25th, 1725. Shall we say, then, that Bro. Collys was a member of the Lodge now Old King's Arms? Let us apply the biographical method. The 1725 List of the Lodge at the Lyon in Brewer Street is headed:—

Caesar Collys Ma<sup>r</sup>.

Jam. King } Wardens

Christ. Wise }

Edm. Davall

The Minutes of the *Philo Musicae et Architectura Societas* for August 5th, 1725, show (*Q.C.A.*, ix., p. 60):—

From the Red Lyon in Brewer Street as

Visitor to this Right Worshipfull & Highly Esteemed Society

Caesar Collys Master.

Turning to the 1730 MS. List we find (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 153):—

King's Arms in New Bond Street

Mr. Edm<sup>d</sup>. Duvall. Ma<sup>r</sup>.

Mr. Christopher Wise } Wardens

Mr. Robert Crane }

And towards the close of a list of 42 members, thirteen of whom appear as members of the Brewer St. Lodge, we come across the name "Mr. Caesar Collys". One of the brethren we note is Mr. William Inesley, a Sedan-Chairmaker in Marylebone Street. The Lodge is to-day the Tuscan Lodge, No. 14. It is thus clear that in 1728-29 that Lodge did for at least a time work at the Rose, Marylebone, and that Lodge which Old King's Arms represents did so also. Bro. Smart's Cross Key's Lodge, however, was erased in 1745.

The Lodge at the Cheshire Cheese, of which we have noted that Bro. Matthew Birkhead was Master in 1722, according to the MS. List of 1723 had but a dozen members. Now our late Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins culled from *Applebee's Weekly Journal*, September 9th, 1721:—

The following gentlemen were made and created Free and Accepted Masons at a Lodge held at the Cheshire Cheese in Arundel Street by Dr. Bealing, Deputy to his Grace John Duke of Montague, Grand Master of that Fraternity, viz John Kirk, mercer; Thomas Harbin, gent; George Gibson, mercer; Stephen Evans, gent; and Thomas Buckley, distiller, all which Gentlemen went home in their white aprons very well satisfyd and according to the ancient institution of that noble and advantageous Brotherhood. (*A.Q.C.*, xxii., 68).

Dr. John Beal, not Bealing, was the name of the Duke of Montague's Deputy, and according to the same list he was also Master of the Lodge that met at "the Crown and Anchor near St. Clement's Church". None of the names of these initiates appear in the 1723 MS. List of members of the Cheshire Cheese, but sixth and seventh respectively, John Kirk and Stephen *Evans*, and lower down George Gibson appear on the 1725 List of the Lodge at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand—the Lodge, constituted May, 1722, of which Bro. Stukeley was the first Master. Thomas Harbin, the manufacturer of a black ink of fame, appears in the 1725 List of the Rose and Crown, King St., Westminster, and also in that of the Queen's Head in Hollis Street, and, like others in that Lodge, he was a Director of the *Philæ Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas*. In the 1730 List Bro. Allen Senhouse, Master of the Cheshire Cheese, is at the Queen's Arms in Newgate Street, and Nicholas Abraham appears in the Golden Lyon, Dean St., in the 1725 List. From the 1723 List of the Cheshire Cheese we miss the name of Francis Baily, one of the Wardens who had signed approval to Anderson's *Constitutions*, and who is probably the brother who with Bro. Josiah Villeneuve had undertaken to prepare the Feast on 24th June, 1721. We find his name on the 1723 List of a Lodge of which our late Brother Heiron has given us so delightful a history—the Ship in Bartholomew's Lane, the present-day Old Dundee, No. 18. Bro. Heiron was convinced that his Lodge had a pre-Grand-Lodge existence: possibly the Cheshire Cheese had the same also. The secession of members together with the death of a popular Master may well account for the lapse of the latter Lodge before 1725.

To students of Pepys' *Diary* the Dolphin Tavern in Tower Street—to be more exact, at the bottom of Seething Lane—is familiar. It was close to the Diarist's own place of abode and the old Admiralty Building in which he served the nation so well. Bro. Percy Simpson, in his sumptuously illustrated paper on *Old City Taverns and Masonry* writes that the Lodge which met at the Dolphin "appears in the Engraved List of Lodges of 1723 and the French Lodge met there in that year". (*A.Q.C.*, xix., p. 12.) Bro. Lane in the Index to his *Masonic Records* (p. 496) appears to have wandered from Tower Street in the neighbourhood of the river to Tower Street in the neighbourhood of Seven Dials. The Dolphin Lodge, "constituted 12 June, 1723", is the 37th Lodge on the MS. List of 1723. On the 1728 Engraved List it is No. 31, and on the 1729 Engraved List No. 20. The French Lodge, Solomon's Temple, Hemmings Row, appears in the 1725 MS. List, but Bro. Songhurst (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 42) notes that it is not to be found in the 1729 Engraved List. On the 1728 Engraved List as No. 60 we have a French Lodge meeting at the King's Arms in the Strand. The 1729 Engraved List has a Lodge, No. 26, constituted March 25th, 1724, meeting at that tavern on the 4th Tuesday in y<sup>e</sup>

Month, the same day as No. 60 in the Engraved List of 1728, and so we may be inclined to suppose that the Lodge No. 26 of 1729 is the same Lodge as No. 60 of 1728. Now Anderson in the List of London Lodges in his *Constitutions* of 1738 gives as constituted 12th June, 1723: "18. Swan Tavern in Long Acre a French Lodge" meeting 1st and 3rd Monday. The date, you observe, is the date of the Dolphin Lodge.

This Lodge appears in the 1730 List. (*Q.C.A.*, x., 159). Lower down Anderson gives: "30. Swan Tavern in Long Acre, an English Lodge." This is also in the 1730 List (*Q.C.A.*, x., 170), but it appears there simply as "Swan in Long Acre".

Bro. Lane traced the removals of this "English Lodge" thus:—

Golden Lion, Dean St., Soho	1725
Swan, Grafton St., do.	1728
Swan, Long Acre	1730
Mitre, King's St., Westminster	1740
Erased, Apr. 4, 1744	

This statement needs correction, for the 1728 Engraved List gives us both a Lodge, No. 67, meeting at the Swan, Grafton St., Seven Dials, and the Lodge at Dean Street, Soho, No. 69. The 1729 Engraved List has the Swan, "Grafton St., St. Ann's Soho. 2<sup>nd</sup> and Last Wednesday. Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1725". Now it is this "Swan" in Grafton Street which has been mistaken for a "Rose". It seems clear that the Golden Lion Lodge is not the Swan Grafton Street Lodge, for both appear separately on the 1728 Lists.

The MS. List of 1723 shows thirty-six members of the Lodge at the Dolphin; that of 1725 also thirty-six. In 1725 it appears as a normal English Lodge, but in 1730, when it has become "The French Lodge at the Swan in Long Acre", the names of the members are, with only a few exceptions, French. No members pass over from the 1725 to the 1730 List. What we do find is an English and a French Lodge working at the same tavern, but this tavern is not the Dolphin in Tower Street. It is tempting to associate the Dolphin Lodge with the Swan Lodge in East Street, Greenwich. Edward Smith, a Custom House officer and two other members of the Dolphin belong to the Swan. Associations of the river and building operations at Greenwich are suggested by the names of members. In the Swan Lodge there is Sir James Thornhill, with whose work at Greenwich you are familiar; John James, the architect of St. George's, Hanover Square, and the spire of St. Alphege, Greenwich, a church designed by Bro. Hawkenson, and Edward Strong, doubtless one of the great family of building contractors. Sir John Thornhill was appointed Senior Grand Warden on December 27th, 1728, but by proxy. In 1729 he signed the deputations for constituting Provincial Grand Lodges at Bengal and Gibraltar. Our Bro. Percy Simpson (*A.Q.C.*, xxi., p. 40) writes: "It is fairly certain that the Lodge [the Swan] had been working for some years prior to that date [the alleged constitution December 24th, 1723] in Greenwich. Its original Founders would appear to have been operative masons engaged in the building of Greenwich Hospital, the erection of which was commenced in 1696".

This suggestion on the part of our late Brother may or may not commend itself to your approval. It would be tempting to trace the origin of the Lodge at the Chandos Arms to the building operations set on foot at Canons by the princely Duke of Chandos. You have perhaps visited the little Church of St. Lawrence at Whitworth, which the Duke rebuilt, and reverentially examined the Organ played on by Handel when he was the Duke's Organist and Composer.



Perhaps you have inspected that unique Vestry Book<sup>1</sup> in which from the time Bro. Desaguliers was Vicar of that Church to this year of grace the Vestry Minutes are recorded. Imagine Desaguliers and Handel together as colleagues. The Lodge at "the Duke of Chandos Arms at Edgworth" [Edgware] was constituted April 25th, 1722. It is the 38th Lodge on the 1723 MS. List, and there it is credited with thirteen members: it appears on the Engraved List of 1728 as 32, and on that of 1729 as No. 8. In its place on the MS. List of 1730 stands a Lodge at the Devil Tavern within Temple Bar. Bro. Songhurst notes: "Removed from Edgware; or more probably a new Lodge formed in 1729". In his introduction he gives his reasons for believing the Lodge at the Devil Tavern to have been neither a Lodge removed from Edgware nor a revival of a Lodge formerly held at the Devil Tavern. With considerable and due deference I venture to suggest a different view.

The Minutes of Grand Lodge, November 25th, 1729, show that three representatives of the Lodge at the Devil Tavern were present at the Communication of that date, but on December 27th we read: "The Lodge at the Devil Tavern within Temple Bar, being lately assembled by leave of the Grand Master, delivered to the Deputy Grand Master a List of their names and the days of meeting". Now a Lodge, constituted March 25th, 1724, had been meeting at that most historic tavern. It appears in the 1723 MS. List (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 20) and in the 1725 MS. List (*ibid*, p. 35), but not in the 1728 Engraved List, and in the 1729 it is doubtful whether No. 26 at the King's Arms in the Strand is the Lodge at the Devil Tavern or the French Lodge. The lists of members of this Lodge were persons of more than average importance, but, so far as the Minutes of Grand Lodge enable us to judge, they do not seem to have been anxious to be represented at the Communications of Grand Lodge, and this is the more strange because it was at the Devil Tavern the Grand Lodge itself usually held its meeting.

To those who combine with a taste for the recovering objective facts of history the desire of finding explanations and so arriving at a philosophy, these Lists of Lodges cannot but offer great attractions as a field for observation. Some of us older Masons in our own days have known of Lodges which after a few years of brilliant success have dwindled away and before long disappeared. Observe in the two earliest MS. Lists the Lodge at Rummer Tavern, 47 members in 1725, all seemingly persons of considerable social importance and among whom is the Earl of Dalkeith (Duke of Buccleuch in 1728), Grand Master in year 1723. The smile of the Cheshire cat from the trees beamed on Alice in Wonderland after the cat itself had departed. In 1735 a sum of £27:10:0 voted to the Grand Lodge for the General Charity still remained unapplied in the Charity box of the Lodge which had lapsed before 1728. The Lodge was very largely composed of military men, and the exigences of that service, or, as Bro. Songhurst has suggested, changes at Court on the death of King George I., may have brought about the circumstances which led to a once strong Lodge falling into abeyance and then final removal. In some cases Lodges which were either in abeyance or in a parlous state seemed to have been used for the purpose of providing an important brother with a Master's Chair. In such cases a Lodge so revived would enjoy a period during which it would flourish for the time being. "So nigh is grandeur to our dust". In one Lodge a nobleman was somewhat hastily made a mason and shortly afterwards elected Master of the Lodge. He,

<sup>1</sup> Bro. Harry Helby Wyatt has most kindly presented me with a photograph of a page of the Vestry Book on which there is an entry signed by Desaguliers. Another signature is that of Thomas Tims, a member of the "Edgworth" Lodge (1723 List). It has occurred to me that the Lodge may have owed its existence to the workmen brought to Canons to build the Duke's great palace. An examination of the Church Register might lead to the discovery of the occupations of some of its members.



however, was elected Grand Master, and as he was held by his election to the higher office to have vacated the lower, the Lodge at once proceeded to elect another brother to preside over it. One cause of the lapsing of so many Lodges in the earliest days of Grand Lodge, I think, must have been the inconveniences which the brethren experienced when their places of meeting were so frequently changed. The majority of Lodges had not as yet a Lodge history behind them, and therefore seniority on the roll would not have been a matter of great pride in the degree to which it is to members of historical Lodges at the present time. A group consciousness in a "private" or "particular" Lodge had in most cases yet to be developed. The amenities which a particular place of assembly could offer would in at least the subconscious minds of the members influence their decision whether to abide in a present Lodge or transfer themselves to another.

In close proximity to the Inns of Court, the Devil Tavern had obviously great advantages for Masons of the legal profession. When one examines the lists of the members in 1723 and 1725, it is hard to see why their Lodge should have gone into abeyance. The conjecture I have formed is that what took place in 1729 was a return of the Lodge constituted at the Devil Tavern, March 25th, 1724, to the allegiance of Grand Lodge, and that this re-union was brought about on the understanding that the Lodge should be assigned the place on the Roll of Lodges formerly occupied by the Edgware Lodge. Let us review the happenings.

The third place on this Engraved List of 1728 had been occupied by one of the "Four Old Lodges", the Queen's Head in Knaves Acre, which, for its having accepted a constitution, had been ruled to have lost its claim to be what we call "time immemorial". In 1729 the Engraver, therefore, against No. 3 rubbed out the sign of the Queen's Head and inserted the sign of the Horne. No. 8 being a blank space in the 1728 List, he brought the Edgware Lodge up from No. 32 to fill it, being justified in so doing by the date of that Lodge's constitution—April 25th, 1722. The Edgware Lodge having fallen out, the space No. 8 became available in the Engraved and the MS. Lists, and into it was placed the reconciled Lodge of the Devil Tavern, the entry in the column for the date of constitution being left unchanged.

We find in the "1730" List of the Devil Tavern:—

Bro. George Moody, the sword-bearer in Grand Lodge, whose armourers' shop was in the neighbourhood. He is on the 1723 List.		
„ John Wyat [Wyatt], who is on the 1723 List.		
„ William Deards, the Toy-maker, who is on both last and earlier Lists.		
„ Benjamin Tassell	do.	1725
„ Tho <sup>s</sup> . Bigg	do.	1723
„ Jonas Sedgley	do.	1725
„ William Goostrey	do.	„

Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, in his book *The Marygold by Temple Bar*, writes (p. 109): "In 1734 the Devil Tavern was in the occupation of John Goostrey, and I may add that I have a silver rat-tailed spoon in my possession with the date-letter for 1724 inscribed on the bowl 'John Goostrey, Old Devil, Temple Bar'". John Goostrey was a member of the Lodge in 1730. William Goostrey had been a member of the Fleece in Fleet St. in 1725.<sup>1</sup> Burn, in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Tokens* (p. 80), states that Richard Taylor in 1734 purchased the

<sup>1</sup> Q.C.A., x., p. 41. Bro. Lane identifies this Lodge with the Lodge at the Swan and Rummer (*ibid.*, p. 166) in Finch [Pink] Lane, constituted February 2nd, 1726. The personnel of the two Lists is against this identification. But the names, J. Mead, Edw. Metcalfe, Tho. Bigg, W. Deards, Edw. Cotton, W. Sayer, C. Townsend, and Wm. Goostrey of the Fleece, all at one time belonged to the Lodge at the Devil Tavern. The Fleece is not on the Engraved List of 1728. The Warrant of the Swan and Rummer was transferred to Stockton on Tees in 1756. *Vide* Bro. Songhurst's note, p. xiii.

Devil Tavern, it at the time being in the occupation of John Goostrey. Possibly Richard Taylor was a member of a family already, as we shall see, connected with the historical tavern.<sup>1</sup> The sale of the tavern was followed by the removal of the Lodge, in December, 1735, to Daniel's Coffee House within Temple Bar.

Let me once again remind the less learned of our members when I speak of 1723, 1725, and 1730 MS. List I am using those dates mainly for the convenience of denoting the Lists in the Minute Book of Grand Lodge. To discover the exact date of the several lists of members is a work of some complexity. In what for convenience may be called the "1730" List of the Lodge at the Devil Tavern, "Mr. Claude Crespigny" is shown as Master. The Minutes of the Castle Lodge, quoted by our Bro. Sadler in his *Dunckerley* (p. 108), show that Bro. Claude Crespigny was Master of the Lodge at the Devil Tavern on April 22nd, 1732. The name of Bro. Daniel Delander,<sup>2</sup> whose clock still strikes the hours in the bank which has replaced the tavern, is not on the "1730" List, but *The Daily Journal*, Friday, August 23rd, 1732, records:—

"The Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, held on Monday night last, at the Devil Tavern in Fleet Street, Mr. Daniel Delander, of the same street, was admitted a member of that Antient and Honourable Body with the usual ceremonies, and in a few days . . . which is to be read before the Grand Officers a lecture on the drum of the ear".

By sedulously hunting up such scraps as the last newspaper cutting the would-be Lodge-historian may perhaps be in a position to ascertain the date of an important document. In passing, let us note that on the 1730 List we find the name of a Provincial Grand Master of North America, Bro. "Daniel Coxe".

An instance of what at one time promised to be a strong Lodge but which proved to be short-lived is the Lodge at the King's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard. *Applebee's Original Daily Journal*, August 5th, 1721, records: "Last week his Grace the Duke of Wharton was admitted into the Society of Free-Masons, the Ceremonies being perform'd at the King's Arms in St. Paul's Church Yard, and his Grace came home to his house in the Pall Mall in a white leather-apron". It was at this tavern, on June 24th, Grand Lodge itself, so Bro. Anderson records, "made some new Brothers, particularly the noble Philip Lord Stanhope, now Earl of Chesterfield". From *Applebee's Original Journal*, August 21st, 1721, we learn that early in that month, Lord Hinchinbrook, Sir George Oxenden, Sir Robert Rich, and Mr. Rushdale were made Masons at the King's Arms. The 1725 MS. List names its officers:—

His Grace the Duke of Wharton, Master	
Sir Thomas Mackworth	} Wardens
Hon. J <sup>no</sup> . Trevor	

His Grace left England for ever in that year. The rank and file of the Lodge at the King's Arms was largely composed of members of the Goose and Gridiron (Antiquity No. 2). For the latter Lodge the three lists in Bro. Songhurst's volume of Grand Lodge Minutes show 22 in 1723, 13 in 1725, 16 in 1730. Lodge Antiquity possesses a collection of documents known as its E Book: some of these our Bro. Harry Rylands, the historian of that Lodge, has declared to be of

<sup>1</sup> A Bro. Richard Taylor belonged in 1730 to the Three Tuns and Bull's Head in Cheapside and to the Rose within Temple Bar. *Q.C.A.*, x., p. 165 and p. 179. Towards the end of the eighteenth century a famous club to which Pitt and Wilberforce belonged, was known as "Goosetrey's".

<sup>2</sup> Daniel and Nathaniel Delander were noted clock-makers. The name of Daniel does not appear on the Lists of Grand Lodge. Nathaniel appears on the 1730 List of the King's Head in Fleet Street. The 1730 List of the Lodge at the Devil Tavern should be compared also with that of the Fleece in Fleet Street. Our Bro. Lane (*Records*, p. 30) assigns to the Lodge at the Fleece No. 39 on the 1729 List. The Rummer and Swan actually holds that position.

"little historical value", but I do not think that characterisation would apply to the list of 51 members dated September, 1725. The list is suggestive of a very close connection between the Lodge at the Goose and the Gridiron and the Lodge at the King's Head.

The *London Gazette* of Saturday, February 17th, 1722, records: "Some persons of note were last week enter'd into the Society of Freemasons at Truby's in St. Paul's Churchyard". Where was Truby's? Cunningham, in his *Hand-book for London* (i., 637) cites a letter written on June 2nd, 1743, by Aaron Hill: "On Tuesday I will wait on you at one o'clock at St. Paul's Coffee House, by Common's Gate from which we come to the Tavern Door". Which was Truby's, Cunningham explains. In November in 1735 the Lodge Antiquity removed from the King's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard to the St. Paul's Head, Ludgate,<sup>1</sup> and the change of houses was so much resented by Bros. Truby and Branson that they retained the Sword, Lodge Board and other properties of the Lodge in their possession. The matter came before Grand Lodge on March 31st, 1735, and you can read about it on page 251 of *Q.C.A.*, x. Commander Tuffet, the Clerk of the Vintner's Company, has courteously informed me that a Richard Truby was made free of the Company on March 4th, 1695, and another Richard Truby, presumably the son of the former, was made free by patrimony on December 6th, 1721. On the 1730 MS. Richard Truby and Henry Branson are the Wardens of the Goose and Gridiron<sup>2</sup>; Richard Truby, Junior, and Henry Branson had belonged to the King's Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard Lodge, in 1728.

The spectacle of St. Paul's in erection cannot but have attracted to the spot persons with scientific interests, and the taverns in St. Paul's Churchyard were favourite resorts of the persons who originated some of the most venerable of our learned Societies. Stukeley, nearly eleven years before he became a Freemason, entertained "Dr. Mead and the Surgeons" at the King's Arms Tavern, in that vicinity, and it is in this connection he writes in his "Commentarys": "I had always a great fancy for Architecture, & getting acquainted at that time [1709-10] with some of the builders of St. Pauls I came to get some knowledge of the Rules of that Art". On the south side of St. Paul's, probably in a back court, stood the Sun Tavern, at which in 1725 the Fellows of the Royal Society held a Club. John Byrom, a newly-elected Fellow, and, by the way, the writer of "Christians awake, salute the Happy Morn", tells us how one evening he went to the Club in company with Graham, Sloan,<sup>3</sup> Glover, Montague, and had "a scollop shell and Welsh rabbit". "There was", he says, "a Lodge of the Freemasons in the room above us, where Mr. Foulkes, who is deputy-grand-master was till he came to us. Mr. Sloan was for taking me up-stairs if I would go: I said that I would, and come back if there was anything I did not like,

<sup>1</sup> The Lodge at Paul's Head in Ludgate Street was one of the first five to contribute to the Charity Fund. (*Q.C.A.*, x., 109.) This Lodge appears in the 1725 List as at the Mitre Tavern. It is No. 40 of the 1729 List, and No. 68 of the 1728 List is probably the same Lodge. It became the Lodge of Cordiality, No. 32, after the Union, but was erased in 1830. No. 23 of the 1728 List also met at the Paul's Head, and Bro. Songhurst (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., 142) identifies it provisionally with the Lodge at the Three Tuns of the 1725 List, originally constituted at the Swan in Ludgate Street. This Lodge does not appear in the 1729 List. All the eighteen members of the Swan in 1723, with two exceptions, are found on the 1725 List of the Three Tuns.

<sup>2</sup> Our Bro. W. J. Williams contributed to *A.Q.C.*, xxxvii. a characteristically thorough history of the Goose and Gridiron Tavern. The Clerk of the Vintner's Company has informed me that Thomas Morris was made free of that Company on 1st July, 1694.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide Remains of John Byrom.* Chetham Society's Publications, vol. xxxii., p. 109.

and then he bid me sit down''.<sup>1</sup> Byrom's visits to the Club took place on Tuesdays, and it was on the first and third Tuesdays that in 1725 a Lodge assembled at the Sun. The Lodge at the King's Arms met on the first Friday of each month, while that at the Goose and Gridiron met on alternate Mondays. The Sun Lodge is at the present day the Globe, No. 23. It had removed from the Half Moon in Cheapside. If one day when you have the leisure you will turn out of Cheapside into Gutter Lane you will find on Nos. 44 and 44A the emblems of the Stationers' Company. These two houses approximately mark the site of the former entrance to the Half-Moon, a tavern which after the Great Fire replaced a tavern which in the days of Queen Bess bore the name of the Mermaid. It was at the Half-Moon, on March 11th, 1682, Elias Ashmole enjoyed the hospitality of some recently initiated brethren.

Whereas the Lodge at the Bedford Arms in 1725 could boast of having at least five Fellows of the Royal Society on the Roll, the Lodge at the Ship behind the Royal Exchange, as Bro. Crosslé has shown, could boast of a large majority of members who were either Irish or possessed landed estates in Ireland. Bro. Crosslé's paper on this subject in the *Transactions* of the Lodge of Research, No. 200, Irish Constitution, demonstrates the great value Bro. Songhurst's volume possesses as a basis for further research. To this Lodge belonged Bro. Springett Penn, Deputy Grand Master of Munster 1726-27. The Lodge is not on the Engraved List of 1728, nor does it appear in the MS. List of 1725. Bro. Songhurst, on p. 15 of his volume, identifies it with No. 18 on the Engraved List of 1729, in which case the Lodge would have met in that year at St. Paul's Head in Ludgate Street. But No. 18 on the MS. List of 1730 is the Crown on Ludgate Hill. Is the latter the Crown on Snow Hill—the Snow Hill of which Gay wrote "When from Snow Hill black sleepy torrents run"? No list of members for 1730 is given, but from Bro. Sadler's *Dunckerley* several names of members in 1731 can be obtained.

Bro. J. Percy Simpson, in his paper on the *Old London Taverns and Free Masonry*, said very little about the most interesting of all these places of refreshment. As to the name of that tavern, the Devil has taken a full revenge for having his nose so roughly treated. The records of the Vintner's Company, August, 1608 show: "This day Simon Wadlow was required to reform his sign of S<sup>t</sup>. Dunstan and the Devell and put the Devell out of y<sup>t</sup> and to leave S<sup>t</sup>. Dunstan aloane, and he hath promised so to reforme y<sup>t</sup> as in the Discretion of two of the Assistants of this Court shall be thought within 14 days". The Devell defeated the good intentions of the Vintners! What memories dear to English literature hung round that tavern from the times of Ben Jonson to Steele and Swift and indeed on to that shameless but entertaining Hickey.

I have placed on the table a copy of Bro. Bernard Garside's *History of Hampton Grammar School*. The Frontispiece is a reproduction of an engraving "The Battle of Temple Bar", depicting a riot outside Nander's Coffee

<sup>1</sup> William Sloan, a member of the Lodge at the Dolphin. Martin Folkes was Deputy Grand Master in 1725. His London Lodge was the Bedford Head, Covent Garden, to which in 1725 belonged at least three other Fellows of the Royal Society:—

John Machin, Secretary of the Royal Society 1718-47, Prof. of Astronomy at the Gresham College from 1715 to his death in 1751.

William Rutt, M.D. Ch. Ch. College, Cantab, F.R.S. and F.C.R., Sec. Royal Soc. Died June 10th, 1730.

Brook Taylor, LL.D. St. John's, Cantab, F.R.S. Died 1731. To these should be added John Georges, Master of the Lodge in 1722, as we learn from the Approbation to the 1723 *Constitutions*, where this Lodge is No. XVI. His name does not appear, however, in the list of members in 1725.

Bro. Martin Folkes went to Italy in 1733 and remained abroad for over two years. Cf. *A.Q.C.*, xiv. The Lodge appears for the last time in the MS. List of 1725. The Lodge No. 24 on the 1729 List, that was then meeting at the Bedford's Head, had been constituted at the Crown, Cripplegate, in October 1723, and was meeting there again in 1730.

House in 1769. You will observe next to Wren's portico of the Middle Temple the Devil leaning down from his sign to bid the grandees whom the Wilkites are assailing, "Fly to me, my brother", while outside Nander's a lady is offering her hand to an injured gallant and saying, "Sir, no Ceremony". Bro. Garside was interested in Nander's, since Dr. Hemming, about whom Bro. J. Johnston has read a paper to this Lodge, was Headmaster of Hampton Grammar School, and when Bro. Hemming came into a misunderstanding with the Governors of the School they deprived him of the power of drawing a portion of the rent of Nander's which formed part of his salary. The plan of No. 14, Fleet Street, given opposite p. 166 shows how closely huddled together are Nander's and the Rainbow Tavern. In like manner in the eighteenth century were almost muddled together the Devil Tavern, the Green Lattice, and the Sugar Loaf. I have also placed on the table a photograph which Mr. Yates very kindly took for me of a view which professes to show the Devil Tavern, but which in fact cannot show more than its sign, for, as you are aware, Fleet Street in the eighteenth century was a kind of double street: The houses had houses behind them, and in the case of the Devil the approach would be by a narrow alley. In close proximity to all these places of refreshment stood the Marygold, which had become the place of business of Sir Francis Child, Goldsmith, Jeweller, and the founder of the historical Bank that is now merged in Messrs. Glyn and Mills. In June, 1784, Child and Co. purchased the Devil Tavern, and thus disappeared a resort made famous by a succession of famous literary men from Ben Jonson to Dean Swift. The outstanding advantage the tavern offered to the Craft was its spacious Apollo Chamber in which Ben Jonson had held his Club. It was in that Chamber our Grand Master, John Duke of Montague, played, in the presence of the King, a colossal practical joke on Bro. Heidegger. A few months ago, Messrs. Glyn and Mills courteously allowed me to see the relics they possess of the Old Devil Tavern—the bust of Apollo, the board on which Bro. Jonson's rules for his Club are painted, and the sign of the Marygold.

Whenever that staunch Free Mason, the non-juror bishop, Dr. Richard Rawlinson, entered the Devil Tavern he would have found himself in a place which had, for family reasons, sacred associations for him. His mother, May Taylor, was by birth a daughter of Richard Taylor, keeper of the Devil Tavern from 1668 to 1681. She married a flourishing Vintner, Thomas Rawlinson, who was Lord Mayor in 1706. Bro. Rawlinson was born on January 3rd, 1690, eleven years before the death of his Grandfather Daniel, Warden of the Vintner's Company and keeper of the Mitre Tavern in Fenchurch Street. In Bro. Rawlinson's vast collection at the Bodleian there are many of Pepys' MSS. It is therefore of interest to recall that it was at "Mr. Rawlinson's" on August 12th, 1660, Pepys' Uncle Wright was exceeding angry because being a "little fuddled" his nephew saw him in that condition. It was at Dan Rawlinson's the Diarist on November 4th, 1661, devoured "a most brave chine of beef and a dish of marrow bones". In the Diary there are many amusing references to Dan and the Mitre and Mr. John Battersby, the apothecary next door, Pepys' and his Uncle Wright's potations, but on August 10th, 1666, there is a sad one:—

"So homeward, and hear in Fenchurch Street that now the mayd also is dead at Mr. Rawlinson's, so that there are three dead in all, the wife, a man-servant, and a mayde servant".

In this address I have by no means exhausted the subjects which are of special interest to me in Bro. Songhurst's volume of Grand Lodge Minutes, and, in conclusion, I feel that I ought not to leave with any of those who have so patiently listened to me the idea that the matters I have discussed are all that is of interest in the volume. That would indeed be a very wrong impression. The book is of importance to the student of Masonic jurisprudence and ceremonial.

A study of it is calculated to enlighten the minds of those who so frequently are called on to hear the law laid down as to practices said to be immemorial and ritual claimed to be exclusively correct. If the study of the past be dull at times, it is after all the corrective to the *a priori* dogmatism of enthusiasm, and, be it remembered, the alternative to history is often—not no-history, but falsehood. For the biographical methods I have endeavoured to employ this at least may be said: The lives of Masons are their "Masonry". From the past, despite all its imperfection and unrealised ideals, we may proceed inspired by good work nobly done, and labour for those who are to follow:—

So let us do our work as well,  
Both the unseen and the seen,  
Make the house where gods may dwell,  
Beautiful, entire, clean,  
Else our lives are incomplete,  
Standing in these walls of time,  
Broken stairways where the feet  
Stumble as they seek to climb.

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At the subsequent Banquet, W.Bro. DAVID FLATHER, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" in the following terms:—

BRETHREN,

Having now relinquished the Office of Master it is my happy privilege to welcome my successor—who, by the way, is several years my junior—and I am ensured that the Toast which I have the happiness to propose will be received with enthusiasm by you all. It is that of our newly-installed Master, Very Worshipful Brother the Rev. Walter Kelly Firminger, whom we acclaim as one worthy in every way of the highest honour the Quatuor Coronati Lodge can bestow upon any of its members.

Our Worshipful Master has won and received distinction in Ecclesiastical, Literary and Masonic circles, and we congratulate him on reaching what most of us look upon as the Pinnacle of Freemasonry.

Bro. Firminger was the youngest child of the late Rev. Thomas Augustus Firminger, M.A., of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company, and author of the well-known "Manual of Gardening in India".

Our Brother was born at Edmonton, 28th September, 1870. He was educated at Lancing College, King Edward VI. School, Bury St. Edmunds, and Merton College, Oxford. He matriculated 1889, graduated B.A. 1893, Master of Arts 1896, Doctor of Divinity 1920, and B.Litt., Honour School of Modern History.

Our Master was ordained Deacon at Hereford 1893; he served in the Universities' Mission to Central Africa 1893-1897; was Junior Chaplain, Calcutta Cathedral, 1899-1900. He occupied the important and responsible position of Archdeacon of Calcutta 1914 to 1923. From 1923 to 1926 he was the Vicar of Padbury, and in the year 1926 His Majesty the King appointed Bro. Firminger Chaplain to the Chapel Royal, Hampton Court Palace, which office he still happily holds.

As a member of the Government of India Historical Record Committee, Bro. Firminger edited several of the volumes of Records published by this Commission.

As Vice-President of the Calcutta Historical Society, he edited for several years their journal "Bengal Past and Present".



The list of publications by which our Master has earned a prominent place in the world of letters is a very long and impressive one. Amongst these I may mention:—

“ Zanzibar and Kashmir in the British Empire Series ”

“ Guide to Calcutta ”

“ The Genuine Letters of Asiaticus ”

“ Original Letters of Mrs. Fay from India ”

“ Diaries of the three Surgeons of Patna ”

and many treatises of Theological subjects and contributions on Liturgical worship.

Bro. Firminger has travelled widely, to tropical East Africa, South Africa, India, Egypt, Ceylon, Burma, Japan, Straits Settlements, Canada and most of the countries of Europe, and in these countries he has secured an intimate knowledge of peoples, customs and religions, an experience that has given him a broad view of life and fitted him in every way to lead us in our own researches.

In Freemasonry our Master has an equally wide experience and one which he has put to good use in the cause of Masonic Research.

He was initiated, passed and raised in the year 1898 in Yeatman-Biggs Lodge No. 2672; was Installed Master of Lodge Humility with Fortitude No. 229, Calcutta, in 1903. In 1903 Bro. Firminger was appointed District Grand Chaplain, Bengal, and District Grand Junior Warden 1905. He is an Honorary Member of Lodges 109, 229, 232, 3102 and 3456—a striking evidence of the high value placed upon our Brother's Masonic life and work.

Bro. Firminger was appointed Grand Chaplain in 1931.

In the Royal Arch, Bro. Firminger was exalted in New Union Chapter No. 234, Calcutta, and was installed as First Principal in Chapter Fortitude No. 229, and served the office of District Grand Registrar.

In the Mark Degree he was advanced in Capestone Lodge No. 80, Calcutta; is Past Deputy District Grand Master of Bengal; Grand Chaplain and Prov. Gd. Chaplain of the Province of Buckinghamshire. He is the present Junior Warden of Hampton Court Lodge No. 448. He is a member of St. Barnabas Lodge of Ark Mariners No. 97.

In the Ancient and Accepted Rite, Bro. Firminger is P.M.W.S. and has attained the 30° in Adoniram Chapter No. 101.

As a Knight Templar our Worshipful Master is the Preceptor of Alfred Preceptory, Cambridge, and holds the rank of Past Grand Prelate. He is also a member of the Royal Order of Scotland with the rank of Past Provincial Deputy Grand Master, Southern Scotland.

The Red Cross of Rome and Constantine, the Allied Degrees and the Cryptic Degrees and the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia are all included in his activities.

In essentially Masonic, Literary and Archæological work, the following are some of those valuable contributions he has made to our knowledge:—

- (1) A short History of Lodge Humility with Fortitude No. 229.
- (2) A History of Freemasonry in Bengal.
- (3) The early days of Lodge Industry with Perseverance.
- (4) Some fresh Light on Bengal Lodges, a paper contributed to *A.Q.C.*, vol. xviii.
- (5) Studies in Continental Masonry, *A.Q.C.*, xix.

I would especially remind you of the many valuable contributions which Bro. Firminger has made towards the discussion of papers read before the Lodge, so that we are already assured, not only that his rule over us will be wise and kindly, but that the high reputation of the Lodge will be secure in his charge and that we may look forward with confidence to a happy and successful year.

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## NOTES.



**SPANISH MASON'S GILD.**—The treasure of the week October 26-31, 1936, at the Victoria and Albert Museum was a silver-gilt Spanish reliquary, dating probably from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and made in Majorca. It shows the influence of the contemporary elaborate Gothic of Flanders. There is let into the base an enamelled plaque which consists of a gavel or some similar implement between a square and a pair of compasses, and it is this that has enabled the museum authorities to identify the reliquary as having been made for a gild of masons. The saints whose relics it contained are shown by the inscriptions on it to have been SS. Germanus, Justus, Paulinus and Ticius. That there should be four of them may possibly be significant. There are several saints bearing one or another of the first three names. There was a St. Germanus, a Spanish martyr at Cadiz under Diocletian, a favourite Spanish saint. Justus was Bishop of Urgel in Catalonia in the sixth century. No St. Paulinus appears to have lived in Spain, but, in the ninth century, Paulinus of Aquileia distinguished himself by his attacks on Spanish heretics. But none of them seem to have had any association with masons or with the building trade. I have so far failed to identify St. Ticius, who has no day allotted to him in the calendar, and he is not mentioned in the *Book of Saints*. (A. & C. Black, 1921.) L.V.

**The Admission of Lord Hinchinbroke.**—The following paragraph occurs in Applebee's *Original Weekly Journal* for August 12, 1721, and has, I think, hitherto escaped notice. It is not among the extracts from the contemporary Press given by Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins in his paper in *A.Q.C.*, xxii.:—

Yesterday was Sev'nnight the Lord Hinchinbrook, Sir George Oxenden, Sir Robert Rich and Mr. Rushall were admitted into the Ancient Fraternity of Accepted Masons, at the King's Arms Tavern in St. Paul's Church Yard, where they afterwards went home in their Leathern Aprons.

Of these only Sir Robert Rich's name is to be found in the Lodge Lists. He is shown as a member of the Lodge at the Horn, both in 1723 (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 5), and in 1725 (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 23). The King's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard appears in the 1723 List, but without any names of members. (*Q.C.A.*, x., 14.) It reappears in 1725 (*id.*, p. 31), and there is now a list of 29 members, with the Duke of Wharton as Master. But none of the names given by Applebee are included. This Lodge passes out of sight after 1725.

Stukeley, in his *Diary*, under date 23 May, 1722, has the entry: "Met Duke of Queensboro, Lord Dunbarton, Hinchinbroke, &c., at Fount. Tav. Lodg. to consider of Feast on St. Johns". Bro. Firminger tells me that the Lord Hinchinbroke was Edward Richard Montagu, eldest son of Edward, 3rd Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchinbroke, and Baron Montagu, and that he died in 1722.

Three of the names in the newspaper extract occur, however, in another connection. The records of the Lodge of Antiquity, in what is known as the "E Book", contain a notice of the meeting of Grand Lodge on June 24, 1721, the full text of which is printed at p. 424. *ante*. As there pointed out, by Bro. Firminger, the entry seems to be an independent record, and not based on Anderson.

Whereas Stukeley and Anderson agree that Desaguliers was present and pronounced an oration, the Antiquity list omits his name altogether. It also omits Payne, the outgoing Grand Master, who is described by Anderson, probably with complete accuracy, as being present with his Wardens, and as proclaiming the new Grand Master. (1738 *Constitutions*, p. 113.) The Antiquity list is therefore clearly open to criticism. But this newspaper extract now shows it to be inaccurate in other respects, as it names as present, Hinchinbroke, Oxenden and Rich, who were in fact not accepted till some weeks after the meeting of Grand Lodge.

Whatever the source, therefore, from which it was derived, and whatever the date when the record was made, it is an unreliable statement, both in respect of its omissions and of its inclusions.

Rylands points out that the list omits the names given by Anderson, but makes no other comment. L.V.

**The Ralph Poole MS., 1665 (C.5).**—(Missing).—Bro. W. J. Williams is to be congratulated on having recently picked up the trail of a hitherto unknown copy of the Old Charges, the details and description of which will be found in the extract below from a Volume of the Publications of the Historical Manuscript Commission.

Correspondence elicited the fact that a large number of the MSS. calendered in this Report had been destroyed a few years after the property passed out of the hands of the Lowndes family; but that some were still preserved in the Vestry of the Church at Hatfield Broadoak. There has been some delay in having a search made; but I was able, last September, to visit the Church; and, after a very careful scrutiny of the contents of the chest and locker which hold the surviving documents, I am able to say definitely that the *Ralph Poole MS.* is not among them. It seems, on the whole, unlikely that this roll has escaped the fate of the remainder; but the case is not a hopeless one, and the publication of the following extract may yet suggest further steps which may lead to its recovery:—

Hist. MSS. Commission, Second Report, Part I. (1879).

MSS. of Geo. Alan Lowndes, Esq., of Barrington Hall, Co. Essex.  
p. 587.

A. D. 1665. A paper roll 6 feet long and nearly 1 foot wide. (The left-hand side of the top of the roll is torn away: consequently the first 8 lines are imperfect.) The contents purport to be a history of Freemasonry. *Begins* (imperfectly), and framer of heaven and earth, and of all things in them is that he would . . .

The author notices the 7 liberal sciences, of which geometry is the chief: says that "of all the manual crafts masonry hath the most notability, and the most part of this science geometrie, as it is noted and said as well in the histories and in the Bible, in the matter of stories and in Plicorinond, that is, a story proved and allowed in doctors of stories, Beda and others it may well be said" . . .

Then he tells of Jubal and Thubal, and how, doubtful whether God would avenge himself by fire or by water, Jubal got two stones, one that would not burn called marble, and the other that would not sink called laterins, and thereon wrote all sciences; these were afterwards found, one by Pythagoras, and the other by Itermes, who taught forth the sciences they found there. Euclid also taught masonry, so did David and Solomon, and Charles the 2nd, King of France, and King Edwin of England; the chronicles of St. Albans are cited as an authority; and certain charges (rules) made by King Edwin are mentioned and partly given. These charges the author says "have been seene and perused by our late soveraigne lord King Henry the 6th, and the lords of his honourable counsell, and they have allowed them well". The last 37 lines are headed, More other charges singular for masters and fellows, *beginning* first, that noe master take upon him noe lordes work . . . *Ending*, and teach him honestly, so that your lord's worke bee not spilt.—At the foot, "Anno Domini 1665, Ralph Poole".

The MS. falls easily into the same class as the *Watson* and *Heade* MSS. and the *Crane No. 2* fragment, and is accordingly numbered C.5. At first sight it might appear more proper to class it among the 'missing' MSS. as X.14; but in the past the principle has been adopted of classifying according to its text any MS. concerning which we have sufficient evidence to do so. Thus, though the *Dowland* MS. is known only from its text published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1815, it is not only classified at its proper place in the Grand Lodge Family, but has actually given its name to one of the Branches; while both the *Crane No. 2* MS., of which little more has been preserved than of the *Ralph Poole*, and the *Plot* MS., of which practically no textual details remain, have always had their places in the Plot Family, and the *Spencer* MS., which also gave its name to a group, was missing for many years until it turned up in America a few years ago.

The *Ralph Poole*, to judge from the few fragments which have been recorded by H.M. Commissioners, was textually slightly less accurate than the *Watson* and *Heade* MSS., on which practically all our knowledge of the group depends. In twelve places (always in very small details) it departs from the text established by the other two; while it agrees with each in turn against the other three times.

On the other hand, it is not impossible that, in two of the cases where it differs from the other two MSS., it may not unlikely preserve more correctly the reading of the original. Where it reads:—

"and in the Bible in the matter of stories and in [Polychronicon]",

the *Watson* and *Heade* MSS. both read:—

"and in the Bible and in the mass stories . . ."

But the *Cooke* reading:—

". . . and in the master of stories . . ."

suggests that possibly the *Ralph Poole* reading may be nearer the original.

Again, in the phrase:—

"a story proved and allowed in doctors of stories",

where *Watson* and *Heade* agree on:—

"a story proved and also in doctors of stories",

we may be tempted to believe that *Ralph Poole* may perhaps have given the correct reading; the *Cooke* MS. gives no help here.

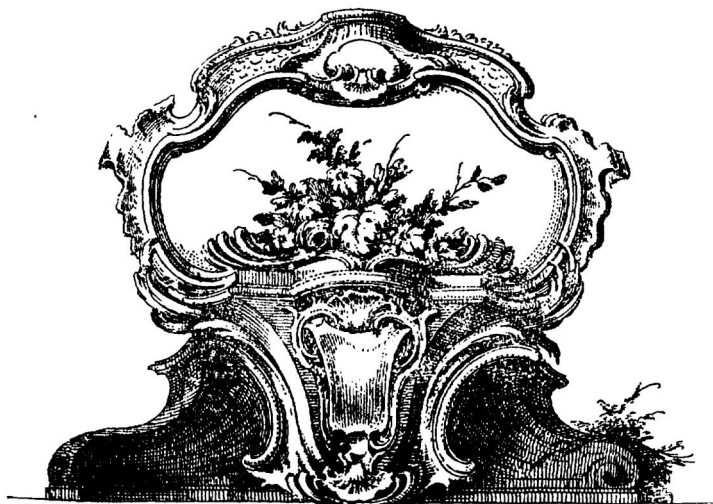
The fact that each MS. at some point fails to give the text of the other two might at first sight be taken to indicate that all three were from a single original; and this seems by no means unlikely. But the lapses are in every case so trivial that they may be regarded as of no significance; and cannot be held to rule out the possibility that a separate sub-original may have served, for example, for the *Watson* and *Heade* MSS. There appears to have been no similarity in the 'make-up' of the three documents, which are on vellum roll, paper book and paper roll: but the *Ralph Poole* MS. appears, from the extract preserved, to have omitted the final clause common to the other two:—

“These charges that we have declared and recommended unto you you shall well and truly keep . . .”

although in all three cases the writer has added his name and the date—a feature, by the way, by no means peculiar to this small group.

On critical grounds, we must naturally regret the loss of this document, though there are no strong grounds for supposing that it would have served materially to amend the text of the original. It would, however, have been the 'senior' of the three in date, the *Heade* MS. bearing the date 1675 and the *Watson* being of so late as 1687; although the very slight ante-dating of the group—a mere ten years—does little to bridge the gap of approximately two centuries which must have elapsed between the original of the group and the few survivors of which we have any trace.

H.P.



## REVIEWS.

## THE HISTORY OF ST. JOHN'S LODGE, No. 167 (1767-1935).

*By Edward Eyles, P.M., I.R. 12/6.*

WELCOME has to be given to Bro. Edward Eyles' History of St. John's Lodge No. 167 (1767-1935) and is always gladly accorded when there is found the combination of an old Lodge, ample or even adequate material for its annals, a competent historian, and sufficiently enlightened opinion within the Lodge to encourage the historian in his task.

Founded in 1767 and warranted as the King's Head Lodge meeting where now stands the William IV. public-house at the corner of Church Lane and High Street, Hampstead, the Lodge has from that date until its removal to Freemasons' Hall in 1919 always been associated with the Northern Heights of London, and this fact has given to it a unity of its own, and while there is nothing spectacular in the chronicle of its history—save perhaps the discovery in 1935 by the united efforts of Bro. Eyles and of the Assistant Librarian of Grand Lodge of "One Minute Book handsomely bound in Russian leather commencing 1767 to 1828"—yet there is much in its periodically recorded working to make one grateful that its history has at last been written. It is curious how in the course of their existence so many Lodges have at one time or another been threatened with extinction, and the critical period for St. John's came in 1809, for we find that from 9th March, 1809, until 26th September, 1816, the recorded minutes give no account of any meetings, although there is evidence that at any rate the surviving members did not concede that its existence had ceased, and a Centenary Warrant was in fact obtained following a Petition in 1868.

Of the many interesting points mentioned by Bro. Eyles, a few may be singled out almost at random. On a Sunday evening in August, 1791, a Convention was held for the purpose of paying a tribute of respect to the late Bro. John Tean, the pedestals and regalia were draped with mourning, the Lodge opened and suitable prayers said. In April, 1789, the same Bro. Tean, a carpenter, "was ordered to make a new Trestling Board". Bro. Eyles suggests that this was either a trestle table for refreshments or a Tracing Board—it must obviously have been the latter. Can "Desk and Board" on page 35 possibly be a misreading of Trestle or Trestling Board? In 1801 "It was unanimously agreed . . . to relieve Br. John Strong an Attorney-at-Law now confined in Durham Goal with the sum of 10<sup>s</sup>/6<sup>d</sup>"; if reference had been made to Logan's History of the Marquis of Granby Lodge, Durham, a fuller account could have been given of the troubles and ultimate deliverance of Bro. John Strong. Constitutional Masons will be shocked to learn that as late as 1908, "a curious innovation was made by the passing of a resolution empowering the W. Master to elect the Treasurer".

In 1822, St. John's Chapter attached to the Lodge was founded. After 1832 it had a separate meeting-place, and though, of course, it changed its number when the Lodge did, there was apparently no further communication between the two bodies until 1872, when the older agreed to the separation of the Chapter

and to the latter's attachment to the Old Union Lodge as the Old Union Chapter. In 1920 a new St. John's Chapter, No. 167, was consecrated. It is an ungrateful but necessary duty to call attention to a few mistakes, fortunately neither very serious nor very numerous. In page 2 "Joseph Elliott, Stonecutter", is given instead of the "Capt. Joseph Elliot" of Anderson, and "1739" for "1738" as the date of publication of the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*. On page 14, "two first degrees" should obviously be "first two degrees". Bro. Eyles is to be thanked not only by members of his Mother Lodge for the work of piety he has successfully accomplished, but by Masonic students in general for finding that which was worth doing and for doing it well.

November, 1936.

LEWIS EDWARDS.

# THE HISTORY OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPTER, No. 140.

By G. B. Fluke, P.Z., P.A.G.D.C.

London, 1936. 5/-.

In 1893 the late Comp. G. W. Taylor published a forty-paged pamphlet giving a short history of this old Chapter. Comp. G. B. Fluke, who handsomely acknowledges his indebtedness to this sketch and to material digested by the late Comp. D. B. James, has now compiled a larger, well-illustrated, and serviceable volume giving the history with greater amplitude. Having its first recorded meeting in October, 1786, and now being thirteenth in order of seniority—though not, of course, in precedence—St. George's Chapter, originally the Chapter of Hope, No. 49, decided in 1817 to become attached to the Lodge of Friendship, but still retained its old number until 1825, when it was styled the Chapter of Hope, No. 354, and then in 1872 became attached to the St. George's Lodge, No. 140. It is fortunate in the fact that all its minute books still survive, and remarkable in having two interesting manuscripts, one in two volumes of the Royal Arch Lecture, etc. (now in the Library of Grand Lodge), and another recently re-discovered in a solicitors' office giving the ritual of the M.E. Order of Geometrical Masons. (*A.Q.C.*, xii., 205.) During its long existence it has had nearly twenty meeting-places either in or near Deptford, until in 1913 it moved up-river to the Cannon Street Hotel, and then last year to Great Queen Street.

A few matters of interest may be singled out from Comp. Fluke's chronicle. The first Z., soon after the foundation, seems to have got into trouble for misappropriating the fees for the Warrant of Constitution and was expelled from the Order, the Companions being put to some expense for coach-hire to attend the enquiry at Grand Chapter into the defalcations. Both in 1801 and 1817 there was correspondence with headquarters about the apparently slipshod financial arrangements of Grand Chapter. In 1818 it was reported to the Masonic authorities that Companions had been exalted in the Chapter illegally and without proper regalia being worn, and though the Committee of Grand Chapter was at length satisfied that the irregularities "originated in a mistake on the part of the officers, and not from any intention of acting contrary to the Laws", a Charter of Constitution was granted, the matter, however, apparently leading to a somewhat costly expenditure in more fully furnishing the Chapter. In 1800, "the Rev. J. Inwood, B.A., P.G. Chaplain for the County of Kent", the author of the well-known sermons, was proposed for membership. On two

occasions, in 1824 and 1826 it is noted that Lectures were delivered. In 1834 Comp. Fluke puts on record that the Treasurer, Comp. W. O. Leigh, who was for many years a prominent and active member of the Chapter, was selected as their nominee to attend the Special Chapter of Promulgation, to receive instruction in the ritual as now approved. He attended on seven occasions. By a remarkable coincidence I have just recently come across a copy of the R.A. Laws and Regulations for 1823 formerly belonging to this Companion, in which he has written his name and added: "P.P.Z. Chapter of Hope 248 under the Warrant of the Lodge". This was the number of the Lodge of Friendship at the enumeration of 1832. In 1838 we have the first record of an Installation ceremony in the Chapter, "the Companions, not qualified, withdrew during the Installation of the Principals in their respective offices". In 1840 an additional charge was made for Comp. Riddall's "Segars"—a social touch. In 1841 the Principals and Past Principals met an hour before the others for the purpose of Installation, and this practice continued for some years. On one occasion they met two hours earlier and the Minutes were confirmed before the arrival of the other Companions! In 1867 a second election of the Principal Sojourner having been held on account of the illness and absence of one previously elected but without his having resigned, was declared void.

On 10th November, 1892, the Chapter held what purported to be its 600th meeting and celebrated the occasion with an ode. It was subsequently discovered that the Convocations had been wrongly numbered by an erroneous increase, but it being decided that another alteration would create confusion, the numbering was left unchanged. So interesting a volume well deserved an index, but this Comp. Fluke does not give us, although he has been able to furnish very complete lists of officers and members.

November, 1936.

LEWIS EDWARDS.

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## GOULD'S HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

*Revised by Dudley Wright. Volumes covering the United States,  
Canada and Latin America prepared under editorial supervision of  
Melvin M. Johnson, P.G.M., and J. Edward Allen.*

*Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Six volumes.*

To review adequately a work as important as this appears to be requires more space than is available. It is the latest form of the standard Gould *History of Freemasonry* originally projected by Jack of Edinburgh, which was undertaken by Gould after Hughan "felt himself obliged to decline from considerations of health" to quote Gould, who pays deserved tribute to his colleague for assistance rendered, and for furnishing fuel when the light of Masonic learning nearly went out. (*Freemason*, London, May 27th, 1911.) The Gould work was completed by 1887, when authorized editions appeared in Edinburgh, London and New York; an American four volume edition also appeared in Philadelphia in 1899, and a five volume at a later period. Some question exists as to the ethics involved in the publication of the last two.



The editorial revision of the original Gould was undertaken in 1924 by Dudley Wright, then editor of *Masonic News*, in London, and a five volume Gould's *History of Freemasonry* resulted, published in 1933 by The Caxton Publishing Co., Ltd., of London. Attempts to interest American publishers in the work were unsuccessful until Charles Scribner's Sons gave the weight and dignity of their name to the project. This was a forward step, as Masonic book publishing had come upon troublous days in the United States. Scribner's imprint on the new work assures an ethical undertaking throughout; it is hoped that it marks the entrance of the firm into the American Masonic publishing field, for with three million Masons as potential book-buyers, there should be a place for a publisher with high standards and wide experience.

A comparison of the new work with the old—and it must be borne in mind that these remarks do not apply to the texts prepared under the supervision of Johnson and Allen, upon whose work separate comment will be made—reveals some very apparent defects. It is impossible to say if the fault lies with the reviser or with the publisher—either may be responsible. Wright's own contributions to the literature of the Fraternity betoken a familiarity with contemporaneous works which is not at all apparent in the work under discussion; many excellent books of the last three decades, which should have been utilized in the revision, were apparently ignored. Above all, many of the able papers in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* and other research journals are not mentioned: the omission of modern titles in the bibliographies and footnotes is most glaringly apparent to even a casual reader of Masonic books. It may be that the reviser was restricted by limitations placed upon him by the publishers, for a revision such as should have been made would have involved much painstaking and costly labour. In my opinion, the London producers of the revised Gould not only missed an excellent opportunity to contribute something worth while to our Craft literature, but they have foisted upon the inexperienced and uncritical reader a work which is not what it should be.

Space forbids an itemized list of noticeable defects, but a few of them may be pointed out. In vol. i., chapter vi., "Medieval Operative Masonry", we find no mention on pages 139-41, the addenda to the original Gould, of writers such as Coulton, Knoop and Jones, to mention but a few whose works should have been consulted. Chapter ii., on the Old Charges, page 25-26, has no revision of text, and gives the reader to understand that approximately *twenty* "Old Charges" have been brought to light; but on page 63 (pages 61-63 are an addendum by Wright) we come upon more modern text and learn that "over eighty different copies" have been discovered.

The date of the Scribner work, 1936, naturally leads one to believe that it has been revised up to that time, for lack of any declaration to the contrary. A review of the chapters on Continental Masonry reveals that nothing has been done after 1930. This means that the very important developments of the period 1930-35 are not recorded.

Volume iv., page 277, "Sea and Field Lodges", carries on the nonsense that "all American Generals of the Revolution, with the exception of Benedict Arnold, were Freemasons". The facts are that many were not Masons, and that Arnold, the cited exception, *was* a Mason. For authority, the work quotes "the late C. W. Moore". He died in 1873. Other uncertain statements in this chapter could have been verified by means of modern publications. The "authorities" quoted on page 282 have been succeeded by writers who have had additional advantages, and these should have been consulted instead.

Very little change, if any, has been made in succeeding chapters of vol. iv. It is obvious that the sections on Capitular and Scottish Rite Masonry could have been improved upon, and elaborated. It is easy to believe that these sections have been untouched. Chapter xv. does show new work—the text on the Societas.

Rosicruciana has been sparingly touched by a competent reviser; pages 319-363 have not been altered, but are credited to the reviser of pages 316-319. The volume closes with an excellent section on "Negro Masonry in the United States", a subject which has only a half-page in the old Gould.

So much for the first three volumes and sections of volume iv., which were embodied into the Scribner work without any attempt, aside from a few minor sections, to make any changes such as should have been incorporated. The American publishers and their editors had the foresight to augment radically the text relating to the United States, Canada and Latin America, and were conscientious in their efforts to secure the best writers. Each American state, each Canadian province and each Latin-American country has a chapter to itself. The array of contributors reveals that many of the giants of former days have passed to their reward. Some made history themselves, and they are mentioned in the chapters written by their successors. Some of the well-known modern scholars are not in the list; whether to the detriment of the *History* is something for others to decide. On the other hand, able contributions by the lesser-known writers show they have won their spurs and will be among those upon whom the mantles of the present grand seignors must descend as the wheel of time turns in its ceaseless round.

For the first time in American Masonic history, we have a work which presents an extended account of Freemasonry in each state and province of the United States and Canada, respectively. No one reviewer can pass upon these chapters; only critics within the Jurisdictions involved can properly appraise them. Details are presented that have lain buried in musty record books, old periodicals and almost forgotten files of correspondence. Much original and pioneer work was done to bring the facts together. I have nothing but high commendation for this part of the work as a whole; the only criticism I can offer is the omission of bibliographical notes. These would have served two purposes; first, to give credit to the brethren whose work was drawn upon, where original records were not consulted; second, to offer an opportunity to the discriminating and critical reader to verify the conclusions presented by the author. Doubtless some of the authors had access to original records, rare pamphlets and local publications unknown to students at a distance; had such been listed, they would have been put on record for future historians and could have been re-examined from time to time, as is usually advisable when new discoveries in related fields are announced. Yet it should be said in fairness to the American work that serious consideration was given to the publication of bibliographies; but space limitations and other weighty considerations made it impracticable to add these to the various chapters.

The state histories in volume v. run to and include New Hampshire: the volume breaks the continuity with volume vi. by the introduction of chapters on Royal Arch Masonry, the Order of the Temple, the Cryptic Rite and the Scottish Rite. An article on the Mystic Shrine commendably opens with the sentence, "At the outset, let it be stated that the Shrine is not a Masonic Body. It is an organization composed of Masons". The constructive work of the Shrine in children's hospital work, which is a redeeming feature of the organization, is graphically related and will do much in a work of this nature to show an aspect of Shrine activity not thought of when lesser features come to the fore in public appearances.

Volume vi. carries the story of American Freemasonry from New Jersey to Wyoming; Alaska, Hawaii and the Philippines are included. (Porto Rico's Masonic history is given in volume iv., credited to an article published in London in 1922.) The concluding sections present the start of the Washington Masonic Memorial Temple of which a handsome print in colours of the building graces

vol. vi. as a frontispiece; the American Military Lodges; the Order of the Eastern Star; and the biographical sketches of the special contributors. These are of interest as showing the wide fields of activity occupied by the contributors to whom Freemasonry is a principal avocation.

One is deeply impressed, as the pages of the actually revised volumes are turned, with the remarkable story of American Freemasonry. Its humble beginnings are related in the chapters dealing with Freemasonry in the Thirteen Colonies, notably Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Georgia. One is somewhat amused by the assertions of the various contributors in supporting priority claims for their states; those who have no real leg to stand upon (I hasten to add that I have in mind a writer not resident in any of the five states specifically mentioned) make inferences in place of direct assertions. Some statements are readily punctured, but to name all points of disagreement would involve too lengthy an account. The license permitted to writers by the editors reflects their tolerant spirit.

The spread of Freemasonry over the Appalachian range into the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys is the second phase of United States Masonic history; the third phase is the development of the Far West. What the westerners lack in antiquity is compensated for in the romance of pioneer life. On the Atlantic seaboard with the exception of Georgia, one can say that Freemasonry followed a century after the settlement of the lands: in the ultramontane valleys and the Far West, the flag, Freemasonry and the schoolhouse advanced abreast. This is no idle statement, for not only did Freemasons establish schools, but they founded colleges and supported them until the state or private interests took over the function. This is one of the obscure chapters now being studied by the American Lodge of Research of New York, though others also have made extensive contributions to the subject.

The military service played its part in the advancement of Freemasonry. The article in vol. vi. on "American Military Lodges" bears evidence of having been written hurriedly. There are sections of the chapter which could have been amplified in the light of information in the possession of specialists. Yet it is the best and most recent account available in a work of large circulation, and doubtless later editions of the present *History* will contain needed revisions and additions. This section, as well as others, show the limitations placed upon contributors, for it has been difficult to tell the story desired in the space available.

From the viewpoint of bookmaking the volumes are excellent, as befits the house which produced them. Also, the price—\$29.00, \$39.00 and \$49.00, depending in what style of binding the sets of six volumes are purchased—is highly consistent with their worth. The illustrations are modern, generally speaking; the only ones I would criticize are the fanciful atrocities taken from Rebold's *Histoire Pittoresque*. An American interpretation is put upon a Continental jewel (vol. iii., page 234). A serious offence is the presentation of a two-page graph, "American Freemasonry Upon the Western Trail", prepared by the John Lane of America, George B. Clark, of Denver, after many years of laborious research, but without any credit to him in this work. In fairness to the publishers, it should be said that they were not aware of the omission of proper credit in the periodical from which they reproduced the plate; but as credit, even if given later, will not offset the slight, I take the liberty of stating the facts in this review as a matter of record. This is one of the many things which I could cite as arguments in favour of a central Masonic service agency in the United States, such as the defunct National Masonic Research Society once had promise of being, through which publishers of such commendable undertakings as this history could reach the most competent historians and obtain reliable information.

I have purposely withheld to the last a commendation of the foreword which graces volume i. Here, in a deft sweep of direct but eloquent expression, we have as fine a statement of what Freemasonry is and will be as has ever been presented to a reader. It is a declaration of Masonic principles which every Mason should read, including the many who wear the purple of the Fraternity. If these words could be read and accepted in Continental Europe to-day, there would be no persecution of Freemasonry, and the world would be vastly nearer the elusive goal of universal peace. The writer of this magnificent foreword is Melvin Maynard Johnson, Grand Master of Masons in Massachusetts, 1914-16, and the present Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council 33°, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Northern Masonic Jurisdiction of the United States.

The new *History of Freemasonry Throughout the World* is, of course, a necessary reference work for every institutional and private Masonic library. The concept of the latest undertaking deserves commendation, but the lack of co-ordination between the sections prepared overseas and those prepared in the United States is immediately evident to anyone who has a panoramic knowledge of Freemasonry and its activities throughout the world. The defect can be remedied by the publication of a seventh volume a few years hence, in which obvious errors in the first six should be corrected, and wherein the developments in Europe from 1930 onward will be presented, with such connecting matter between the old history and the new as each section may require. The courage of the publishers in producing such a costly and attractive set of Masonic books as this warrants support from the individual brethren able to purchase the set. Only a house as well equipped as Scribner's is able to furnish the Masonic Fraternity with the compendious reference works required by meticulous students.

November, 1936.

J. HUGO TATSCH.

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## FREEMASONRY IN VIRGINIA.

*By Major William Moseley Brown, M.A., Ph.D.,  
Past Grand Master of Masons in Virginia.*

*Octavo, illus., index, 329 pp.*

Readers of my reviews in *The Builder* during the last years of that estimable periodical's existence will remember my criticism of many Masonic works as being the output of an ordinary job printer's shop. The book before me is a happy exception to the general run in this respect, for it is excellently printed and is a mechanical production which reflects credit upon the Masonic Home Press of the Grand Lodge of Virginia.

The author modestly omits his Masonic rank as a Past Grand Master of Virginia from the title-page, and further conceals his scholastic attainments by dropping the designation of degrees which have been conferred upon him. (*Who's Who in America* lists the author's many other achievements.) I mention these points to emphasize the fact that M. W. Bro. Brown is qualified both Masonically and academically to undertake a work such as he has produced. While scholarly, it is not pedantic; it was designed to be read by "Bro. Average Mason", and the author has succeeded admirably in carrying out his mission.

A history almost invariably presents major events in chronological order. *Freemasonry in Virginia* is no exception. Chapter i. presents "The Background", which is more or less traditional in character, but serves to distinguish between tradition on one hand, and definite history on the other. Chapter ii. is devoted entirely to the Lodge at the Royal Exchange at Norfolk, in which Bro. Brown presents convincing evidences of the authenticity of the 1733 date attributed to Virginia's first lodge. Brethren familiar with my chapter on the subject in *Freemasonry in the Thirteen Colonies* will recall the analysis made of the possibilities of 1733 being an error for 1753, and that 1741 was entitled to consideration because it had been assigned to the Lodge at Norfolk by a Grand Lodge Committee of 1786 when determining priorities. The Virginia response to that chapter in my book was instrumental in demonstrating the courteous qualities of the Virginia Craft, for though I attacked a pet belief, my sincerity was not questioned. I came into contact with many estimable Virginia Brethren, in due course affiliated with Army and Navy Lodge No. 306 at Fort Monroe, Virginia, and was appointed Chairman of the Committee of History of the Grand Lodge of Virginia by the very Grand Master who wrote the book under review. Access to Virginia archives, not known to me when I produced my book from secondary sources in the Iowa Masonic Library, and conversations with R. W. James M. Clift, Grand Secretary, the Nestor of Virginia Freemasonry, as well as with Norfolk Brethren, have produced new data, so that my views on Virginia have been changed, and will be so expressed when a new edition of my book appears. This is also an opportune time to say that chapters on Massachusetts and Pennsylvania will be revised, as a result of first hand examination of original records in other seaboard Jurisdictions since 1926.

Virginia has original records which present a phase of Colonial Masonic development reflected nowhere else in America. The early Minutes of Port Royal Kilwinning Crosse Lodge, beginning April 12, 1754, reveal the story of a Lodge assembling in "time immemorial custom", and not asking for a charter (applied for to Kilwinning Lodge, but granted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland) until a year later. It is my hope to publish these Minutes in the near future, under the aegis of the Committee on History.

Chapter iv. is entitled "America's First Independent Grand Lodge". It treats of the conventions which were called in 1777 for the formation of the Grand Lodge of Virginia, which was not formally consummated, however, until October 13, 1778. Without going into details, I suspect Massachusetts will contest the claim by presenting the account of action taken by the "Massachusetts" Grand Lodge as distinguished from the "St. John's" Grand Lodge, for the "Massachusetts" Grand Lodge declared its independence March 8, 1777.<sup>1</sup> Priorities in American Freemasonry are subjects of fraternal disagreement, as is revealed by the protagonists of the various claims possible. The subject is now being presented through American Craft journals in a paper prepared in recent months.

The author did not neglect biographical aspects in his history. Biography is history, and all too brief sketches of "Giants in the Land" are presented, including Washington, Lafayette, John Blair, jun., James Mercer, Edmund Randolph, John Marshall, Robert Brooke, and so on down to the more recent names of John Dove, his associates, and their successors.

The volume concludes with chapters on Military Masonry, and the history of the various Rites which have wrought so constructively in Virginia. The Old Dominion's contributions to the story of the Apron and the Sword still remain to be told. An interesting fact related by M. W. Bro. Brown is the discovery of evidence of records of a Military Lodge at Camp Holly in 1814, for though

<sup>1</sup> The two Grand Lodges united in 1792, forming the present "Grand Lodge of Ancient and Accepted Freemasons of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts".

the petition for a charter was denied, nevertheless a dispensation issued later. The entire records are now being studied for a special paper. Virginia Freemasonry was also at work in the Mexican War of 1846-48. There are many Civil War records—I should say records of Military Lodges in the War between the States—as this internecine conflict is known south of the Mason and Dixon Line.

The Capitular and Cryptic Rites have a Virginia history out of the ordinary, for in Virginia we find the cradle of the Royal Arch in America, and the relationships of the Cryptic Rite to it and American Freemasonry in general form subjects for volumes, rather than chapters.<sup>1</sup> Knights Templar and Scottish Rite history have also been made in Virginia, with facts convincingly presented in this book.

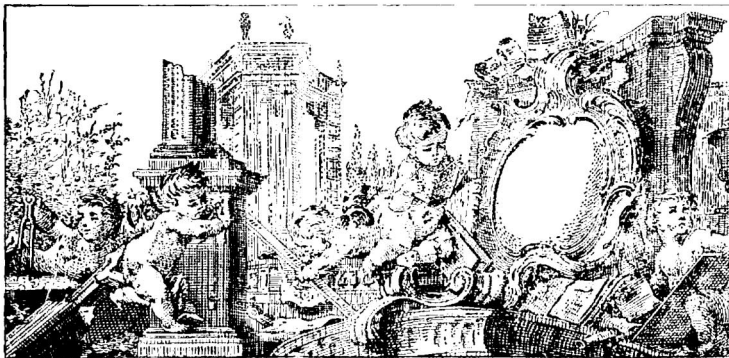
All in all, *Freemasonry in Virginia* is a most commendable production. It is scholarly in its literary preparation, and is attractive in format and binding. The work has fifty-six full page illustrations, discriminatingly selected to enhance the text. And best of all—speaking now from the student's viewpoint—there is an index divided into two parts, subjects and proper names. This is a feature which will be appreciated by historical and genealogical research organizations, and gives a permanency to *Freemasonry in Virginia* as a reference work.

The book has been published in two styles. There is a numbered and signed de luxe edition, two-colour title-page, large paper, half-morocco binding, for \$5.25; and an ordinary edition, cloth binding, for \$3.15. Proceeds from the sale of the books go to the Virginia Masonic Home. Masonic Home Press, Highland Springs Va., publishers.

November, 1936.

J. HUGO TATSCH.

<sup>1</sup> *A History of The Cryptic Rite*, by Hinman, Denslow and Hunt, 1931, 2 vols. Obtainable through C. C. Hunt, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, \$7.50.



## OBITUARY.

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

**Johannes Christian Brunnich**, F.I.C., J.P., of Taringa, Queensland, in 1933. Bro. Brunnich held the rank of P.Dis.G.Sup.W. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1893.

Major **Edward Wiliyams Carus-Wilson**, of Newquay, Cornwall, on 26th September, 1933. Our Brother was a P.M. of Phoenix Lodge of Honour and Prudence No. 331. He was one of the senior members of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in March, 1889.

Col. **Charles le Gendre Justice**, of London, S.W., in 1933. Bro. Justice was a P.M. of Rohilla Star Lodge No. 1843, and a member of Ramsay Chapter No. 552. He was elected to the membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1902.

**Francis Stoker King**, of Cheyenne, Wyoming, U.S.A., on 18th September, 1933. Bro. King held the rank of Past Grand Master, and was P.K. of Chapter No. 1. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1927.

**Paul Lange**, of Senekal, O.F.S., in July, 1933. Our Brother was a member of Unity Lodge (D.C.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1893.

**John Henry Aitken McIntyre**, M.I.Mech.E., of Glasgow, on 26th August, 1933. Bro. McIntyre was R.W.M. of Lodge No. 571, and P.P. of Chapter No. 99. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1929.

**William Thomas Page**, of Worcester, on 5th November, 1933, at the age of 84 years. Bro. Page had attained the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Grand Superintendent (R.A.), and was Dep.Pr.G.M. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1896.

**Harry Lorimer Riseley**, of Gosforth, Northumberland, in 1933. Our Brother was a member of Carville Lodge No. 2497, and of Ridley Chapter No. 2260. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1911.

**Alexander Duncan Sinclair**, of Sanderstead, Surrey, on 27th November, 1933. Bro. Sinclair was a P.M. of Lodge of Unions No. 256, and a member of British Chapter No. 8. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1907.

**Frederick George Smith**, of Sao Paulo, Brazil, on 20th June, 1933. Our Brother was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1926.



**Duncan Stalker**, of Glasgow, on 2nd September, 1933. Bro. Stalker was a member of Lodge 0, and of Chapter 189. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1930.

The Rev. Canon **Henry B. Swanzy**, *M.A.*, of Newry, Co. Down, in 1933. Our Brother held the rank of Pro.G.Ch., and was *H.P.* of Chapter No. 77. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1933.

**Arthur Taylor**, of London, N., on 2nd June, 1933. Bro. Taylor held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., Bucks., and was a member of Canada Chapter No. 3527. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1930.

**Charles J. Tazewell**, of Neath, S. Wales, in 1933. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1913.

**Cornelius C. J. van der Klaauw**, of Harbin, Manchuria, in 1933. Bro. van der Klaauw was a member of Sinim Lodge (Mass.C.), and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1924.

**William Wallace**, of West Hartlepool, on 12th June, 1933. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1920.

**Frederick Wolstenholme**, of Sheffield, on 18th September, 1933. Bro. Wolstenholme was a P.M. of Furnival Lodge No. 2558, and a member of White Rose of York Chapter No. 2491. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1917.



## ST. JOHN'S CARD.



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1933:—

*LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.*—Lodge of Three Grand Principles No. 208, Dewsbury; Thornhill Lodge No. 1514, Lindley, Yorks.; Dorset Masters Lodge No. 3366, Dorchester; Mufulira Lodge No. 5326, Northern Rhodesia; Run Lodge (Dan.C.) Akureyri, Iceland; Lodge Leeton No. 611, New South Wales; Darwin Lodge No. 41, Port Darwin, S. Australia; Tumby Bay Lodge No. 65, S. Australia; Henley Lodge No. 79, Henley Beach, S. Australia; Berri Lodge No. 90, S. Australia; Lake Bonney Lodge No. 106, Barmera, S. Australia; De la Pole Lodge of Instruction No. 1181, Seaton, Devon; Hastings & St. Leonards Masonic Library, St. Leonards-on-Sea; Pudsey Masonic Hall Co., Ltd., Pudsey, Yorks.; The Masonic Reading Club, The Hague, Holland.

*BRETHREN*:—Dr. Bertram Sage Adams, of Hibbing, Minn., U.S.A., Dep.G.M.; Walter William Lancelot Almond, of Ramsgate, Kent. J.W. 1209, 429; Ernest Richard Anderson, of Strangnas, Sweden. Linköping; Thomas Angus, of Coldstream, Scotland. P.M. 280; Arthur Atkinson, of Folkestone. Pr.G.D.C., P.Z. 2587; Reginald Victor Awdry, of Minehead, Somerset. P.Pr.G.W., P.Pr.G.H.; Joseph Ernest Bagnall, of Birmingham. S.D. 3850; Allan Watson Baird, of Glasgow. S.M. 772; *Lieut.-Col.* Frank Baker, O.B.E., of Northampton. P.Pr.G.S.B., P.So. 1764; William Bamford, of Littleborough, Lancs. P.M. 226, P.Z. 226; William Barr, of Market Harborough, Leics. 893 (S.C.); John William Barton, of Kew Gardens, Surrey. L.R., P.M. 2722, P.Z. 3064; Allan Ernest Bax, of Tumburumba, N.S.W. J.W. 553; Frederick James Baxter, of Skouriotissa, Cyprus. 458; Raymond Oswald Baylis, of Birmingham. 4436, 1246; Dr. Andrew Muir Begg, of Dunedin. I.G. 237, VII.; Henry Soady Bell, of London, S.W. P.M. 3549, 2233; Sydney George Best, of Salisbury. P.Pr.G.St.B., P.Pr.A.G.So.; George Henry Biscoe, of Worcester. J.W. 3378, P.So. 3378; William John Blythe, of Southwold. 388; George Alfred Bocock, of Gateshead-on-Tyne. P.M. 4519, H. 424; Henry Stephen Bond, of Birmingham. Pr.G.Treas., P.Z. 587; Thomas Henry Boyle, of Glasgow. Sec. 772, 311; Wilfred Thomas Julian Bray, of Abadan, Iran. P.G.Ch. (A.S.F.I.); Walter Beldon Brayshay, of Leeds. 3047, 306; Reginald Spencer Broadley, of Kidderminster. 3638; Christopher Bridge, of Sheffield. W.M. 2558; Ernest Brook, of Huddersfield. P.Pr.G.W., P.Pr.G.J.; Cecil Henry Martin Brooke, of Folkestone. W.M. 2587, Sec.N. 2587; William Brown, of Paisley. S.Pr.G.M., 76; Major Claude Melville Browne, of Jos, Nigeria. A.Dis.G.M.; Dr. Archibald Nadauld Brushfield, of London, N. P.Pr.G.D., West Yorks., P.Z. 61; J. D. Buckalew, of Fort Worth, Texas. 908; Arthur Baron Burn, of Barking. 1818; Henry Saunders Burrell, of Hythe. P.M. 125, 125; Hugh Tikford Campkin, of London, W. A.G.D.C., 28; Clement Foreman Carr, of Sheffield. W.M. 139, 139; Hubert Gerald Chapman, of Horncchurch. P.M. 2508, 2508; Malcolm Chapman, of Glasgow. I.P.M. 1221; H. A. R. Cheeseman, of Singapore; D. Rufus Cheney, of Portland, Oregon. G.Sec. (Craft and R.A.); George Leslie Christie, of Glasgow. 103; George Roome Clachrie, of Batley, Yorks.

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*Note.*—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.

