

≡: Ars :≡ Quatuor Coronatorum

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



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

VOLUME XLVII. PART 1.

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W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.
 1938.

THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 3000 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

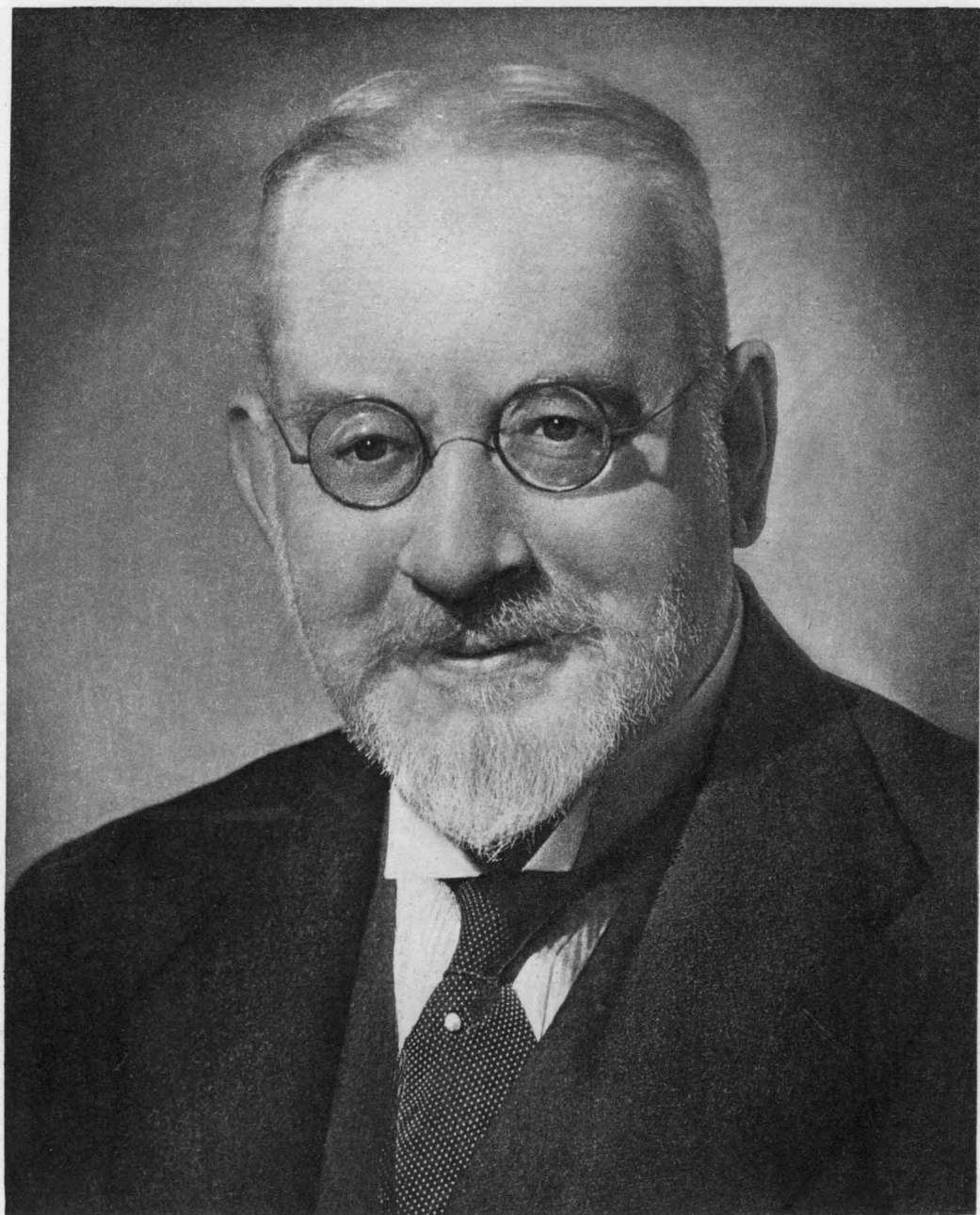
The annual subscription is only £1 1s., and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the *Transactions* previously issued in the same year.

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

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

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

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



Photogravure by Annan, Glasgow.

From a Photograph by Wallace Heaton.

W. J. Burghurst
1937

→⌘ Ars ⌘←

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Ars

Quatuor Coronatorum

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

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

No. 2076.

VOLUME XLVII.

FRIDAY, 5th JANUARY, 1934.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Rev. Walter K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., W.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; B. Telepneff, S.W.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Supt.W., P.M., D.C.; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., S.D.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; and Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. A. Fisher, A. G. Harper, Ed. M. Phillips, Jas. Wallis, Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C., as J.D., L. G. Wearing, W. S. Rowntree, Fredk. Spooner, P.A.G.Purs., A. E. Gurner, S. S. Huskisson, J. M. McDonald, the Rev. J. L. E. Hooppell, P.A.G.Ch., C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg., W. J. Mean, E. W. Marson, F. J. Bryan, P.A.G.D.C., Hy. Smith, A. Thompson, F. Addington Hall, E. Eyles, S. Hazeldine, Geo. F. Pallett, G. W. South, J. Fowler, C. F. Tyson, Rev. G. Freeman Irwin, P.A.G.Ch., Albert Mond, C. F. Sykes, R. H. Ford, A. Regnaud, Lewis Edwards, A. F. Cross, T. F. Hurley, Wm. Smalley, Wm. Lewis, R. Girdlestone Cooper, F. A. Thompson, A. B. Starling, H. B. Isaacs, A. Baron Burn, D. Drysdale Anderson, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., H. D. Elkington, H. W. Martin, G. D. Hindley, Geo. C. Williams, J. C. Harvey, W. Brinkworth, J. F. Nichols, H. Johnson, A. F. Ford, and Barry S. Anderson.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. H. Hubert Thorne, W.M., Junior Engineers Lodge No. 2913; John L. Cross, P.M., Edmonton Latymer Lodge No. 5026; R. W. Soley, P.M., United Empire Lodge No. 3868; Donald D. Currie, Krian Lodge No. 1190 (S.C.); Alex. Morris, Ethical Lodge No. 753; H. A. Mourant, Guardian Lodge No. 2625; and Thos. C. Salmon, W.M., Tulse Hill Lodge No. 4462.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, J.D.; Rev. A. W. Oxford, M.D., P.G.Ch., Almoner; B. Ivanoff; C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., Stew.; John Stokes, M.A., M.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; and J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.Reg., P.M.

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

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

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, January 5th, 1934.

Present:—Bro. Rev. W. K. Firminger, W.M., in the Chair, with Bros. F. W. Golby, Douglas Knoop, David Flather, Gordon P. G. Hills, Rev. H. Poole, Major C. C. Adams, B. Telepneff, Cart de Lafontaine, W. J. Songhurst, R. H. Macleod, Auditor, and Lionel Vibert, Secretary.

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

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1933.

BRETHREN,

We are pleased to record that Bro. Major Cecil Clare Adams, M.C., Past Grand Deacon, and Bro. Boris Ivanoff have been elected to membership of the Lodge. The total number is therefore now 27.

We have to report that during the year the membership of the Correspondence Circle was reduced by 62. On the 30th November, 1932, we had a total of 3,321, and 223 names were added during the year; on the other hand, 285 were removed from the list, 72 by death, 129 by resignation, and 84 for non-payment of subscriptions. Thus the total to carry forward is 3,259. This continual shrinkage in our membership is a very serious matter, and retards still further the possibility of bringing our Publications up to date.

During the year under review the final part of Volume xliii. was issued, as well as Part 1 of Volume xliv., and Part 2 of that Volume has now been distributed. In the accounts now presented to the Lodge £776 5s. 4d. is reserved for the cost of completing the Volume; and approximately £1,200 each for Volumes xlv. and xlvi. Subscriptions amounting to £510 15s. 2d. are still owing, but it is right to mention that a considerable proportion of these is being held for us in Australasia, whence money cannot be remitted at present owing to the adverse rate of exchange.

During the year a second Q.C. pamphlet has been issued dealing with Two Versions of the Old Charges, with an introduction by Bro. H. Poole, the sale of which has been satisfactory. Pamphlet No. 1 is now completely out of print. The Lodge has welcomed the publication, by one of its members, Bro. Douglas Knoop, of *The Medieval Mason*, a valuable scientific study of an intricate subject.

We desire to convey the thanks of the Lodge to our Local Secretaries who continue to do much good work. At Leeds, Bro. E. Hawkesworth has succeeded Bro. J. Elston Cawthorn, who had given valuable assistance as our representative for over twenty years. The vacancy caused in South Australia by the lamented death of Bro. Fred Johns has been filled by the appointment of Bro. R. Owen Fox, Asst. Grand Secretary. In Durham, Bro. Thos. Selby has succeeded the late Bro. John Holt. Bro. John Hill has kindly taken over the Warwickshire District from Bro. P. C. Balcon. Bro. R. Munro Gordon has replaced Bro. C. J. Whitmore in Hampshire and Isle of Wight. Bro. Dr. R. Stansfield has been kind enough to take over the duties in East Sussex from Bro. Ivor Grantham, whose other activities prevent him from continuing the work. In Texas, Bro. B. W. Hartigan has replaced Bro. F. Holt. At Bristol, a very important centre, Bro. James Rafter finds himself unable to carry on the work, and his place has very kindly been taken by Bro. I. V. Hall. We regret the resignation of Bro. J. G. Clarke, of Senekal, owing to his removal from the District in which he has been commendably active. We welcome the following

new appointments:—Bros. W. R. Farmer, Southern China; R. Howard Russel, West Sussex; L. A. Donnellan, N. Rhodesia; John Inglis, Renfrewshire; B. F. Porter, Nova Scotia; Dr. J. Arthur Topham, East Kent; and *Commr.* S. N. Smith, Cambridge.

For the Committee,

WALTER K. FIRMINGER,
in the Chair.

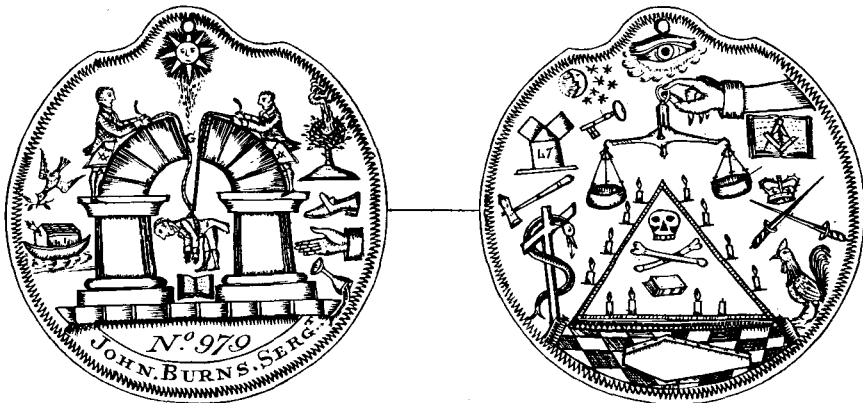
RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the year ending 30th November, 1933.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Cash in hand	149	4 10	By Lodge	52	3 6
„ Lodge	67	14 6	„ Salaries, Rent, Rates and		
„ Joining Fees	110	15 6	Taxes	697	13 8
„ Subscriptions: 1933 ...	1127	19 9	„ Lighting, Heating, Clean-		
1932 ...	154	19 10	ing, Insurance, Telephone,		
1931 ...	35	14 0	Carriage and Sundries ...	185	6 1
1930 ...	13	3 1	„ Printing, Stationery, etc.	803	7 4
1929 ...	10	6	„ Medals	27	6 0
„ Cash for Subscriptions in			„ Binding	25	19 9
Advance, and unappro-			„ Sundry Publications ...	84	1 1
priated	241	15 6	„ Library	108	3 7
„ Medals	33	14 6	„ Postages	167	0 5
„ Binding	40	16 0	„ Local Expenses	3	7 6
„ Sundry Publications ...	169	17 10	„ Cash in hand	68	0 3
„ Interest and Discounts ...	42	0 7			
„ Publication Fund	34	2 9			
	£2222	9 2		£2222	9 2

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—



By Bro. J. J. HILL.

Jewel of Lodge No. 979, Irish Constitution. with inscription. *Vide Illustration.*

Lodge No. 979 was founded under a Warrant issued by Seton on the 6th Februry, 1806, for the town of Armagh. The Warrant was subsequently confirmed by the Grand Lodge of Ireland. The Lodge registered

50 members between 1806 and 1822, and was cancelled the 7th July, 1825. The medal can thus be dated between 1806 and 1822.

On the side representing the entry into the vault of the Royal Arch will be noticed on the right emblems of the veils and the Burning Bush, still preserved in the Irish R.A. ritual. On the other side, in addition to easily recognisable Templar emblems, will be found the hand holding the balance, emblem of the Chair or Installed Master. The jewel is thus valuable in an esoteric way as well as for the beauty of its workmanship.

J.H.L.

By Bro. F. L. PICK.

Summons and Lodge Certificate of Lodge of Friendship, Oldham. Early nineteenth century. From plates still in the possession of the Lodge. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. S. J. WIFFEN, of Catford.

Apron. Linen, Scottish. Plain with blue border and a circular flap, in blue silk, with various emblems painted on it. Originally belonged to James Weymss, a working mason at St. Andrew's early in the nineteenth century.

By Bro. J. ELSTON CAWTHORN.

Facsimile of the Deputation to constitute the Lodge of Scarborough, 5th March, 1791. Presented to the Lodge.

By Bro. H. POOLE on behalf of Mr. W. E. MARSDEN.

Bound volume containing a miscellaneous collection of printed rarities, formerly the property of Maurus Johnson, the Founder of the Spalding Society and of the Lodge at Spalding, with copious MS. notes by him. It contains the By-laws of the Lodge which are quite special in character, and a pamphlet by Stukeley with a donative inscription in his hand, as well as a copy of the *Constitutions* of 1723.

By Bro. A. L. SHARP, of Paris.

Summons issued by Loge Les Philadelphes et la Concorde Réuni, meeting in London. *Vide Misc. Lat.*, xviii., 53. Not Masonic; one of the members was Bradlaugh.

By Bro. S. C. KEVILLE, of London.

Damask Table-cloth, made by Dunfermline Linen Co. about 1800. Masonic devices and emblems. Originally the property of J. Robertson, of Dundee, a member of the Thistle Operative Lodge, No. 158.

By Bro. HAZELDINE.

Jewel of a Deacon in a French Lodge in 1862. Silver, open triangle with emblems.

Apron, Continental, of uncertain date, of some rite resembling the 30°, and 32°, of the A. & A.

Apron; Orange Order. Linen with printed emblems. Early nineteenth century. The emblems copy those of various Masonic degrees.

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

Bro. DOUGLAS KNOOP read the following paper:—

LONDON BRIDGE AND ITS BUILDERS.

A STUDY OF THE MUNICIPAL EMPLOYMENT OF MASONS MAINLY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

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



IN three previous papers¹ we examined some problems of administration, organisation and employment relating to the erection of a large abbey at Vale Royal, to the repair or completion of two big castles at Beaumaris and Caernarvon and to the building of a college at Eton—all, as it happens, royal works. In this paper we make a study of a municipal undertaking, more especially in the fifteenth century, as an example of a non-royal work, selected not so much for its importance as a building enterprise, as for the continuity of its Accounts. Although the Wardens of London Bridge during the fifteenth century do not appear to have been responsible for any new construction, but only for maintenance and for not unsubstantial repairs and rebuilding,² yet they were quite large employers of labour, and the preservation of many of their weekly accounts has enabled us to trace employment conditions in great detail over a series of years. We have chosen the period from Michaelmas, 1404, to Michaelmas, 1418, for detailed examination, but we have looked through the Accounts down to 1703 in order to seek answers to certain questions, some of which were raised, but left unanswered, by the earlier Accounts. Whilst the study throws some additional light on various questions discussed in previous papers, it brings us into contact for the first time with two entirely new problems, namely, the great changes in money wages during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the question of the enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers. Other artificers as well as masons being affected by both these problems and the former being closely connected with the contemporaneous changes in the cost of living, we content ourselves here with drawing attention to the fresh light which is thrown on these problems by the

¹ *The first three years of the building of Vale Royal Abbey, 1278-1280, A.Q.C., vol. xlv;* *Castle Building at Beaumaris and Caernarvon in the early Fourteenth Century, A.Q.C., vol. xlv.,* and *The Building of Eton College, 1442-1460, A.Q.C., vol. xlv.*

² The force of river and tide passing through the narrow arches made necessary constant attention to the piers and starlings or protective piling round the piers. From time to time the decay became so serious as to endanger the Bridge. Such a state of affairs appears to have existed both in the earlier and in the later part of the fifteenth century. In 1424-25 Richard Carlton and his fellows were paid 4s. for mending the pavement and examining the arch of the Bridge in the middle of the West side where "the bridge was found cracked and the watercourse of the Thames seen below." In 1425 the Mayor and Aldermen made an Act in which, after deploring the "grete perell and febleness" of the causeway, the passage over the Bridge of carts or cars shod with iron was forbidden. In 1482 the condition of the Bridge in general and of the great tower of the drawbridge in particular led to new municipal regulations restricting the traffic over the Bridge. The drawbridge called for frequent repair in the fifteenth century: in 1426, a new tower at the North end of the drawbridge was erected, and ten years later the gate at the South end of the Bridge fell down and had to be rebuilt. (See Welch, *History of the Tower Bridge*, pp. 60, 62, 65.)

London Bridge records; a fuller discussion of the issues involved will be found in *The Medieval Mason*.¹

The *pontifex maximus* of twelfth century London appears to have been Peter, priest of St. Mary Colechurch, who, in 1163, had charge of the repair and renewal of the timber bridge by which the City was entered from the south, and who also, about 1176, organised and commenced the building of the stone bridge to the maintenance and repair of which the Accounts relate.² The stone structure was not completed until 1209, four years after the death of Peter of Colechurch. Whether he had been continuously in charge of the building operations up to 1205, or, indeed, what position exactly he held, is not clear. In 1201 King John recommended to the citizens Isenbert, master of the school of Xainctes, as an expert who had wrought wonders with the bridges of Xainctes and Rochelle, and charged them to use his skill for the building of their own bridge. There appears to be no evidence that the City employed him, the completion of the bridge in 1209 being achieved with three London merchants as masters of the works. No contemporary estimate of its dimensions has survived; Stow speaks of it in his time as

“ a worke verie rare, having with the drawbridge 20 Arches made of squared stone, of height 60 foote, and in breadth 30 foot, distant one from another 20 foote, compact and ioined together with vaults & cellers, vpon both sides be houses builded, so that it seemeth rather a continuall streete then a Bridge.”³

Many writers have followed Stow, but according to Mr. Home, who has examined the conflicting evidence, the most accurate measurements are those made by the architect, George Dance the Younger, in 1799. He described the Bridge as consisting of 19 pointed arches, excluding an opening spanned by a drawbridge in the southern half; the combined length of the piers and arches was 905 feet 10 inches; the width was 20 feet and the road surface at the highest part of the centre of the structure was 31 feet 8 inches above low water level at common neap tides.⁴ In the course of time the Bridge came to be lined on both sides with houses and shops. The first building to be erected upon it was a chapel, dedicated to St. Thomas the Martyr, which a master mason of the Bridge, according to Stow,⁵ built at his own expense from the foundation upwards.

Little can be said with certainty about the maintenance and administration of the Bridge in the period before the Accounts commence. Stow believed that the timber bridge was built and kept in repair by a college of priests and by means of private benevolence and of “taxation in some shires.” The building of the stone bridge was assisted by contributions from the Crown and high ecclesiastics, such as the Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1213 the half-pence levied on foreign merchants in London were allocated to the Bridge,⁶ probably on account of the special need for repairs after the disastrous fire of 1212. Similarly in 1282, when the Bridge was in a dangerous and decayed condition, tolls were allowed to be charged for three years on pedestrians carrying goods

¹ In preparing the book for Press we were able to quote from a first draft of this paper and from materials we had collected for a revised draft. After the book had gone to Press, we discovered some new materials, which we have been able to utilise for this paper, but not for the book.

² For the early history of London Bridge, see Stow's *Survey of London* (C. L. Kingsford's edition 1908, vol. i., pp. 21 *seq.*); [Richard Thompson] *Chronicles of London Bridge* (2nd edition, 1839); Charles Welch (Librarian of the Corporation of London) *History of the Tower Bridge and of other Bridges over the Thames built by the Corporation of London, including an account of the Bridge House Trust from the Twelfth Century, based on the records of the Bridge House Estates Committee*, prepared under the direction of the Bridge House Estates Committee (London, 1894); Gordon Home, *Old London Bridge* (London, 1931).

³ Vol. i., p. 26.

⁴ Home, pp. 24-26.

⁵ Vol. i., p. 23.

⁶ *Close R.* quot. Thomson, p. 77.

for sale, on horsemen and on laden pack-horses¹; the tolls were renewed in 1298 and 1301 and a grant of pontage on a very large number of commodities was made in 1305.² Sums collected as penalties were sometimes devoted to the service of the Bridge.³ The revenue from such sources was, however, supplemented by the contributions of the charitable. Legacies were bequeathed to the Bridge from time to time, especially in the first two decades of the fourteenth century.⁴ Letters of protection were issued to the Brethren of London Bridge in 1253⁵ and to the agents or procurators of the Wardens in 1281⁶ and 1320.⁷ In addition, at least since 1281, the Mayor and Commonalty of London had been empowered to erect buildings on certain waste lands and apply their rents to the maintenance of the Bridge.⁸

That grant probably marks the attainment by the City authorities of a relatively independent control of the Bridge.⁹ At the beginning of the thirteenth century, to judge by the tenour of a letter from King John to his Chief Justice in 1205, the city had less to say in the matter, for the Chief Justice, together with the Mayor, was required to appoint one warden, the other—the King's Almoner—being already appointed by the Crown. Moreover, as has been noted, John concerned himself in the appointment of the master of the works in 1201. Henry III., in 1250, placed the City, the county of Middlesex and the Bridge in the custody of his Treasurer, Chamberlain and Constable of the Tower. Fifteen years later the wardenship of the Bridge and the control of its lands and revenues were committed to the Master and Brethren of St. Catherine's Hospital and, in 1270, granted to the Queen for six years. Conflict between the Crown and the City, the strategic importance of the Bridge to both parties and also the fact that the custody of the Bridge meant the control of lands and revenues, probably had more to do with these changes than concern for the proper maintenance of the fabric. Certainly there is evidence in the Hundred Rolls that the Bridge suffered when in Queen Eleanor's custody.¹⁰ The jurors of several wards in the city testified to its dilapidated condition and to the misuse of its revenues. They asserted, moreover, that the custody of the Bridge "had been for a long time in the hands of the city and citizens of London and that such had always been accustomed, by general consent, to be made keepers of the common bridge of our lord the King and of his City." The jury in Queenhithe Ward said that the King had taken the Bridge into his own custody shortly after the battle of Evesham (*i.e.*, in 1265). It is therefore possible that the appointment by John of his almoner, Wasce, if it ever took effect, as Warden, and the committing of the Bridge to three royal officers in 1250 were only temporary suspensions of an autonomy exercised by the City with regard to the Bridge since the days of Peter of Colechurch. In any event, the City authorities appear to have had charge of the Bridge in 1282. It is the Mayor and 'two or three of the more discreet and worthy citizens' who are to take the tolls allocated for its repair in that year. The permission, given in the same year, to build upon certain specified vacant lands and to use the rents for the maintenance of the

¹ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1281-92, pp. 10, 30.

² Thomson, pp. 113-116.

³ Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 38, 46; *Letter-Book A.*, pp. 52, 53 and 56.

⁴ See R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills*, *passim*.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1247-58, p. 212.

⁶ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1272-81, p. 422.

⁷ *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1317-21, p. 502.

⁸ *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, vol. ii., pt. i., pp. 274-5.

⁹ They had perhaps exercised such control for a decade. See *Cal. Letter-Book C.*, p. 61n., where it is said that Queen Eleanor restored the Bridge to the City in 1271 and that the citizens elected their own wardens in September of that year. In or before 1282, Gregory de Rokesle, Mayor of London, was Warden of the Bridge. At his own request 'and not because of any custom binding mayors of London' a mandate was issued in that year for the audit of his accounts for the King's information. (*Cal. Pat. R.*, 1281-1292, p. 10.)

¹⁰ Thompson, pp. 86-88.

Bridge, is granted to the Mayor, Henry de Waleys, and the commonalty of the City. The municipality administered the Bridge, in the period to which the Accounts relate, through two elected Wardens.

THE BRIDGE ACCOUNTS.

It was an important duty of the Wardens to prepare for presentation to, and audit by, the City, statements of their receipts and expenditure during their year of office, which ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.¹ These accounts, which, in some form or other, stretch over centuries, are preserved in the Guildhall and must, because of their continuity, be considered a source of very great importance for the study of the history of the building industry in London. Our paper is based upon an examination of these Accounts, the study being immensely facilitated by the work of Dr. Helen Chew, to whom all students of the history of the Bridge, and especially of these records, must acknowledge a very great debt. We had access to, and have made extensive use of, her introduction to the documents, to her transcript of the Account Roll for 1381-2, and to the complete index, compiled by her, to the seventeen extant parchment account rolls and to the first two of a series of issue books starting from 1404.

(a) The seventeen parchment rolls cover the thirteen years 1381-82 to 1393-94, the three years 1395-6 to 1397-8 and the year 1405-06, each being a summary of receipts and expenses for one year.² Their nature can be understood from the following abstract of one of them, the roll commencing Michaelmas, 14 Richard II. (1390), when Henry Yevele and William Waddesworth were wardens. There is first a statement of receipts during the year from rents of various kinds, tolls paid by carts crossing the bridge, ships passing under it, and from legacies. Then follows the expenditure during the year on stipends, wages and purchases. The receipts came to more than £580 and, this year, were less than the expenditure by £4. The remainder of the roll gives the receipts week by week, showing considerable variation in the amounts obtained from tolls and passage, and the expenses week by week. The items in the first week are as follows:—

Wages of 4 chaplains, 10s. Bread and wine 3d. Clerk of the Chapel, 15d. Clerk of the Bridge, 2s. 6d. Wages of carpenters, 25s. 10d. Wages of *cementarii*, 25s. 10d. Do. 2 sawyers, 7s. Marbler, 2s. 6d. Cook & food for dogs, 2s. 6d. Carter, 22d. Horses provender, 20d. Dauber & servant, 4s. 6d. Pavier, 3s. 4d. Boy (*garcio*), 2s. 21 'tydemen' working at the ram [driving piles] 4 hours, 21s. 4d. Tylers and two servants for 5 days, 10s. Horse hired to draw wood from Croydon to Bridge House, and man to load, 18d. 4 irons, 2s.

It will be perceived that, for the particular purpose of examining continuity of employment, the rolls are of little use. The numbers of masons, carpenters and other workmen employed each week are given, but not the names, nor, as a rule, the individual wages. These details would be given in the particulars from which the annual summaries were prepared, but of those, we learn from Dr. Chew's introduction, there are now no documentary remains.

¹ In 1298 the Bridge Wardens were required to present half-yearly accounts, in the first week of Lent and the beginning of Autumn. (*Cal. Letter-Book C.*, p. 31.) Apparently, however, this was not done, or else other accounts were required as well, for the wardens in 1300 presented accounts for a period stretching from Pentecost 26 Edward I. to Midsummer 28 Edward I. (*Ibid.*, p. 70.) In 1311 two men were appointed to survey weekly, or as often as need be, the Wardens' expenditure and receipts. (*Cal. Letter-Book D.*, p. 275.)

² An abstract of the earliest of these rolls, commencing Michaelmas, 5 Richard II., is printed in the Appendix to Welch, pp. 256-257.

(b) The paper books, the first volume of which starts in 1404, are, so far as the early volumes are concerned,¹ in one sense less complete than the rolls, since they give details of expenditure only. On the other hand, they give full statements of the amounts paid each week (i.) in wages, etc., connected with the Chapel; (ii.) in wages to the 'tydemen' working at the ram; (iii.) in quitrents, etc., to various persons, and (iv.) in wages to masons, carpenters and other servants of the Bridge. The following items, being all the payments under the last head in the week ending October 4th, 1404, may be taken as a sample²:—

To John Clyfford, mason, wages for the week	3s. 9d.
John Catelyn, mason	3s. 9d.
Roger Game, mason	3s. 4d.
John Brewes, carpenter	3s. 9d.
John Burnham, carpenter	3s. 9d.
John Brys, carpenter	3s. 6d.
John Reynold, carpenter	3s. 6d.
Richard Samwell, carpenter	20d.
John Sergeaunt, shouteman	2s. 6d.
John Pygrom, carter	22d.
John atte Mere, cook	2s.
Same for keep and food of [watch] dogs of the Brighthouse	6d.
Michael Sewale, carpenter, working in Paternoster Row	20d.
Walter Clerk and Alexander Bisshop, daubers 4 days at 7½d.	3s. 8d.
Maurice and Hegyn, their servants, same time at 5d. per day	3s. 4d.
A certain carter	4d.
John atte Mere for his expenses [in ale at making the accounts]	2d.
Sum total	£2 5s. 8d.

Sometimes the name of a workman is not given, but that is a comparatively rare occurrence. It thus becomes possible to trace in these records the working history of at least a few London masons for what must have been, in some cases, a large part of their industrial lives and to study closely the administration of what was in its time a remarkable instance of operative skill and the most important bridge in the kingdom.

THE WORK OF THE WARDENS.

It is not known exactly how the wardens were elected before 1404. An ordinance of that year provided that on September 21st annually, after the election of the Sheriff, the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council should elect a chamberlain and two good and discreet citizens to be masters or wardens of London Bridge for the ensuing year and that they should be sworn on the following 29th September.³ The wardens might be re-elected, but were not to hold office for more than two years consecutively, a limitation withdrawn, however, in 1406.⁴ In 1491 it was enacted that the election should be by the commonalty from a list of four names presented by the Mayor and Aldermen.⁵

¹ Welch (p. 36) states that there are sixty volumes extending to 1853. The only ones we have examined closely relate to the fifteenth century.

² A (reduced) facsimile of the beginning of the Wardens' Accounts for 1422-23 is printed in Welch, opposite p. 34.

³ *Cal. Letter-Book I.*, pp. 33, 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵ *Cal. Letter-Book L.*, p. 280.

A list of wardens (based on the Wardens' Accounts so far as these are available after 1381) is printed in Welch, *History of the Tower Bridge*.¹ The list shows for dates subsequent to 1381, as the *Letter-Books* show for earlier dates, that re-election was common,² and that some wardens held office for considerable periods. Instances are also known of a past Warden being elected an auditor of the Bridge Accounts.³ For their services the Wardens each received £10 per annum in the fifteenth century,⁴ a payment, which, according to Stow, enabled the office in later times to be used as a means of relieving old or impoverished citizens.

The form of oath to be taken by the wardens indicates their duties.⁵ They were required to keep the buildings, lands and rents belonging to the Bridge and to use its revenue for the maintenance of the fabric. With the consent of the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty they could erect new buildings or tenements for the same purpose. It was their duty to see that stone, timber and other necessary materials were provided at the lowest prices, and without taking opportunities of profit for themselves. Finally, they had to prepare accounts for audit. The properties held in trust, within the City and without, were considerable and had been increased since 1281 by gifts and legacies. They included the market called The Stocks, for fishmongers and butchers.⁶ All this property had to be kept in repair as well as the Bridge, and needed, at times, a large outlay, as for instance in the rebuilding of the Stocks Market in 1410-11.

The administration of the Bridge itself required, as the abstract of the roll for 14-15 Richard II. indicates, the provision of both temporal and spiritual services. Like other ancient bridges, such as those of Rochester, Wakefield and Rotherham, London Bridge carried a chantry chapel. It is possible that the chaplains, at one time, constituted a college, the members of which not only celebrated in the chapel but themselves managed the Bridge as a pious work. Certainly the Brethren of London Bridge collected alms for the fabric in 1253, and, as a charter granting a corrody shows,⁷ in 1277 the Wardens of the Bridge were Brethren. In the earliest period covered by the Accounts, however, the Wardens were laymen and they paid the stipends of the chaplains and provided necessary materials for the services just as they paid the wages of masons and bought stone for the Bridge. The clerks, doubtless, were of assistance in drawing up the accounts; in 1298, also, one of the Brethren of the Bridgehouse acted as bailiff on one of the manors belonging to the Bridge estate.⁸ The Bridgehouse here referred to was a house built at some date not precisely determined, next to the chapel, and was probably the office and headquarters of the Wardens. The same name, however, was also used for premises in Southwark, on the bank of the Thames, used as "a storehouse for stone, timber or whatsoever pertaining to the building or repairing of London Bridge . . . it is a large plot of ground . . . containing diuers large buildings."⁹

¹ Pp. 251-255. The list is not quite as complete as it might be, e.g., no names are given for 1393-4, for which year Henry Yevele and William Waddesworth were wardens. (*Cal. Letter-Book H.*, p. 411.) It does not state how the names prior to 1381, or for 1399 and 1401 were obtained.

² E.g., Alan Gille was Warden in 1336, 1340, 1342, 1345 and 1348 to 1350. (*Cal. Letter-Book E.*, p. 299; *Cal. Letter-Book F.*, pp. 55, 75, 134, 227, 228.)

³ E.g., Thomas Prentice, warden in 1311 (*Cal. Letter-Book D.*, p. 275), was auditor in 1318 (*Cal. Letter-Book E.*, p. 83); James Andrew, warden in 1350-51 (*Cal. Letter-Book F.*, p. 228), was auditor in 1353 (*Cal. Letter-Book G.*, p. 13).

⁴ In 1562 they received £26 13s. 4d. each, whilst in 1592 the salary was raised to £50 each; (see Welch, p. 33).

⁵ For text, see *Cal. Letter-Book D.*, p. 194.

⁶ The Stocks Market was granted to the Corporation by Edward I. on the understanding that the profits should be devoted to the maintenance of the Bridge. (*Liber Custumarum* (Rolls Series), part i., p. 275.)

⁷ Riley, *Munimenta Gildhallae*, vol. iii., p. 449 seq. It should be noted that the assent of the Mayor was necessary.

⁸ *Cal. Letter-Book A.*, p. 216.

⁹ Stow, vol. ii., p. 65.

For the early fifteenth century we have no information about the stores kept at the 'house belonging to the Bridge in Southwark,' but for November 1st, 1350, there is an inventory and valuation of stores belonging to the works at London Bridge delivered to the wardens thereof by the outgoing wardens.¹ At that date the stores were worth £250 18s. 2d., of which timber and laths accounted for £169 19s. 1d., stones, tiles, cement, etc., for £59 6s. 5d., and nails, iron, etc., for £21 11s. 2d. Amongst the timber we find '400 great pieces of oak timber, valued 40d. by the piece' (presumably for the drawbridge), also '120 pieces of elm for piles' at 2s. the piece. The stone consisted of 690 feet of Portland stone, hand-worked and squared, 1,044 feet of Portland stone, not wrought, value 5d. per piece, 600 corner stones value 5s. per 100, 18 great stones of Bere, weighing 18 tons, value 6s. 8d. per ton, and two boatloads of ragstone, value 23s. In addition to these items, which were probably prepared for the maintenance of the Bridge itself, there were other items, such as 'timber for 14 shops fully wrought and framed for immediate building' and a large number of boards, laths, tiles and nails which were presumably needed in connection with the house and market properties of the Bridge.

The inventory of stores in 1350, which is perhaps typical of subsequent inventories, points to the same conclusion as did the previously quoted list of wages paid to masons, carpenters, daubers, etc., in the autumn of 1404, namely, that the Bridge Wardens conducted a substantial Works Department and that they did much, if not all, of the work for which they were responsible by 'direct labour' and not by letting out contracts to local craftsmen. Amongst the workmen they employed were numerous masons and it is their wage rates and other conditions of employment in the fifteenth century which we wish to study more particularly in this paper.

MASONS EMPLOYED AT THE BRIDGE.

In the Bridge Accounts for the fourteen years from Michaelmas, 1404, to Michaelmas, 1418, a period containing 731 pay weeks, wages appear to have been paid to some 47 masons, most of whom are enumerated by name. They fall roughly into two groups.

(i.) In the first group we have masons employed casually for odd days or odd weeks; they worked either on jobs connected with property belonging to the Bridge, or in preparing stone for the Bridge itself. Thus we find one mason 'making a pavement in a kitchen,' two others 'making a way in a house,' another 'mending the well at the Croune at Southwark,' two 'working at Stratford Mill' and two others 'paving at the Raven near the Old Conduit.' Among the casual masons preparing stone for the Bridge, we find three 'scappling stones for the Bridge pavement,' one working stone for the drawbridge and four preparing 'ashlar for the drawbridge.' Eliminating from this group five masons who at one time or another worked continuously for the Bridge on unspecified work,² and adding three masons³ who worked for the Bridge for one week only on unspecified work, we place 18 masons in this group.

(ii.) The second group consists of 29 masons who for shorter or longer periods worked either on the Bridge itself or on some job that is undefined in the Accounts, for a period of one month or upwards. In most cases there are no phrases in the manuscripts to show what duties these men performed, though occasionally there is an indication that work was being done on the 'Ffauxbrigg' or on the drawbridge, or on the market called 'The Stocks.'⁴ On the other

¹ Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 261, 262.

² R. Rocheford, 280 weeks in all; R. Gyboun, 174 weeks in all; J. Cotes, 107 weeks in all; N. Catelyn, 68 weeks in all; T. Smith, 58 weeks in all.

³ J. Stapulden, — Bolde and Thos. Mereman.

⁴ Further reference is made to all these cases later in the paper in other connections and the point need not be elaborated here.

hand, it seems practically certain that masons employed on the Bridge both dressed stone and laid stone. An apprentice of Reginald Knyght, chief bridge mason, is described in the Accounts of 1460-61 as working with him "in making and in hewing and in placing of new stone work at the south end of the bridge." Freemasons (*cementarii vocati ffreasons*) are said in the Accounts of 1468-9 to be engaged in hewing and in placing stones in position, whilst in the Accounts of 1475-6, when in addition to freemasons, hardhewers (*cementarii vocati hardhewers*) were employed, they are referred to as scappling stone called 'bridge ashlar' and stone called 'pavyngston' and in placing them in position.

The 29 masons in this group appear in the Bridge Accounts as follows:—

2 for 4 weeks	1 for 74 weeks
1 for 5 weeks	1 for 92 weeks
2 for 8 weeks	1 for 107 weeks
1 for 9 weeks	1 for 123 weeks
2 for 12 weeks	1 for 134 weeks
1 for 16 weeks	1 for 162 weeks
2 for 19 weeks	1 for 174 weeks
1 for 31 weeks	1 for 188 weeks
1 for 53 weeks	1 for 277 weeks
1 for 58 weeks	1 for 280 weeks
1 for 67 weeks	1 for 465 weeks
1 for 68 weeks	1 for 676 weeks
1 for 731 weeks.	

In the accompanying diagram we show (i.) the names and period(s) of work of the 29 masons in the group (numbered in the order in which they first appear in the Accounts), and (ii.) the number of masons in the group working at any given time. It varied from 3 to 13, the average being $5\frac{1}{4}$. From the diagram, it will be seen that of the masons who worked for substantial periods, some worked continuously for long spells, whilst others were employed only intermittently. Of the masons who worked continuously, the four who stand out are John Catelyn (14 years), John Clifford (13 years), Richard Beek (9 years) and John Taillour ($5\frac{1}{4}$ years). Of the masons who worked intermittently, Ralf Rochford served 5 years in four spells, John Broun $3\frac{1}{2}$ years in two spells, Robert Gyboun and William Clopham each 3 years in two spells, John Byrch $2\frac{1}{4}$ years in four spells, John Cotes 2 years in eight spells and Matthew Byrch nearly 2 years in seven spells.

As the diagram clearly shows, the periods of most active employment were in 1409, in 1411 and in 1412 when several extra masons were employed. Most of those first engaged in 1409 remained a short while only and were never re-employed. To judge from the Accounts, some, and very possibly all, of these short-service masons were employed on the drawbridge. In 1411, extra masons were engaged, and these were re-engaged in 1412. It is doubtful whether they were actually at work on the Bridge, as certainly some of the regular bridge masons at these periods were engaged on building operations connected with the Stocks Market belonging to the Bridge, and it seems probable that the short-service masons were so occupied. The mere fact that they were not employed in December, January and February, 1411-12, suggests that they were concerned with building operations which were suspended in midwinter, as would no doubt be the case with market buildings, whereas maintenance work on the Bridge would be more continuous. The definite evidence, so far as some of the more permanent men were concerned, is as follows:—On April 11th, 1411, R. Beek,

¹ Where employment was continuous over a period, we have ignored occasional disappearance from the Accounts for a week or a fortnight. These occasional disappearances are discussed in the last section of the paper dealing with continuity and regularity of employment.

DIAGRAM SHOWING CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT OF LONDON BRIDGE MASONS 1404 - 1418.

	1405	1406	1407	1408	1409	1410	1411	1412	1413	1414	1415	1416	1417	1418
	O J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.	J. A. J. O.
1. J. CLIFFORD														
2. J. CATELYN														
3. R. GAME														
4. R. ROCHEFORD														
5. J. COTES														
6. N. CATELYN														
7. J. BROUN														
8. H. HOOK														
9. R. GYBONN														
10. J. THOMAS														
11. T. SMITH														
12. J. RYKEDEN														
13. J. RYKEDEN ^{Junior}														
14. N. CODLING														
15. R. HERTANGER														
16. R. RYKEDEN														
17. T. ROGER														
18. R. BEEK														
19. J. BIRCH														
20. R. SMARTMAN														
21. M. BIACH														
22. J. SMITH														
23. W. CLOPHAM														
24. J. TAILLOUR														
25. R. FLOUR														
26. J. DRAMICH														
27. R. BRISSENDEN														
28. W. LEBOT														
29. J. HOUSWIF														

R. Gyboun and J. Cotes were given 2s. 0d. extra "for their great labour at Le Stokkes one night," whilst at the end of the financial year, on September 26th, 1411, R. Beek received an extra payment of 13s. 4d. "for his great labour on the work of Le Stokk and elsewhere for whole year." On December 24th, 1412, Beek again received an extra payment of 13s. 4d. as "reward for his diligence," whereas in 1413, 1414, 1415, and 1416, when the numbers of masons employed were more normal and the extra work had presumably finished, Beek received an extra payment of only 10s.

How many of the masons in this group may fairly be described as 'bridge masons' in addition to (1) John Clifford in 1404-17, (2) John Catelyn in 1404-18, (18) Richard Beek in 1409-18 and (24) John Tailour in 1412-17 is not clear; we are inclined to say (3) R. Game in 1404-5, (4) R. Rochford in 1405-8 and in 1411-13, (7) J. Brown in 1405-9, (8) H. Hook in 1405-8, (9) R. Gyboun in 1408-11, (19) J. Byrch in 1410-12 (23) W. Clopham in 1411-13 and in 1416-17 and (29) J. Housewif in 1417-18.¹ Some of the more important of these masons may be considered separately.

CHIEF MASONS OF THE BRIDGE.

John Clifford was chief bridge mason (*capitalis cementarius pontis*) from the opening of the Account at Michaelmas, 1404, until his death in September, 1417. He received the same weekly wage as the other bridge masons, viz., 3s. 9d. a week, summer and winter, church festival or no church festival, and, in addition, an annual reward of 20s. It may be noted also that among the Bridge purchases on December 18th, 1417, were "4 score feet of 'pavynston,' prepared, from the wife of the late John Clifford," which strongly suggests that Clifford had to some extent been a dealer in stone on his own account. On January 22nd, 1417-18, we find the following entry: "Paid to the parson of St. Mary Magdalene, Bermondseye, 12d. tithe for the croft and garden of the Bridge late [occupied by] John Clifford," which seems to imply that Clifford had been provided with a house.

With regard to his earlier history, we do not know a great deal. In February, 1383-4, he and Henry Yevele were grantees of land in Bermondsey, which transaction was presumably connected with the Bridge, as the deed is preserved amongst the Bridge House documents.² In 1388 he is described in the Bridge Master's Account Roll as Master Mason,³ doubtless equivalent to Chief Bridge Mason; thus the probability is that he was continuously Master Mason or Chief Bridge Mason at the Bridge from 1388, or earlier, until 1417. He was probably the same as the John Clifford who was sworn a Master of the Masons of the City of London on August 13th, 1386,⁴ and also as the John Clifford, mason, who was an executor of Henry Yevele's will in 1400.⁵ A John Clifford, mason and citizen of London, was associated with Yevele in 1387,⁶ as parties to whom, with others, a sum of £360 is recognised to be due by nine men, mostly of Maidstone. This John Clifford was no doubt afterwards the executor. Wonnacott suggests that Clifford (the executor) must have been a partner of Yevele in his numerous works, but we think it probable that their association was in connection with London Bridge. Yevele was undoubtedly

¹ The 3rd vol. of Accounts shows John Housewif still being hired for the whole year in October, 1422. The numbers before the names in the text correspond to the numbers before the names in the diagram.

² *Bridge House Deed E*, 23. We have to thank Mr. P. E. Jones, of the Guildhall Records Office, for very kindly drawing our attention to this and the following case.

³ *Bridge House Account Roll*, 7 m. 12.

⁴ *Letter-Book H.*, p. 274.

⁵ W. Wonnacott, *Henry Yevele, The King's Master Mason, A.Q.C.*, xxi., p. 252.

⁶ *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1385-89, p. 431. Yevele is apparently written Yuele in this instance.

associated with London Bridge, having served as Bridge Warden on numerous occasions¹; according to Welch, Henry Yevele and John Clifford were Wardens together in 1399. This, unfortunately, is one of the cases for which Welch does not quote his authority, there being no surviving Accounts for that year. Mr. A. H. Thomas, Deputy Keeper of the Records at the Guildhall, has very kindly had a search made of the mediæval sources in his keeping: not one of them gives John Clifford as Bridge Warden in 1399 or at any time; Clifford, however, generally described as 'mason,' acted as feoffee for the Bridge together with Henry Yevele, receiving and making grants and leases, but this took place when there is evidence that others were serving as Bridge Wardens. We are satisfied, therefore, that Clifford and Yevele had an association in connection with London Bridge, but it would seem to have been as feoffees and not as wardens.²

Taking everything into account, we are inclined to regard John Clifford, Master of the Masons of the City of London, in 1386, John Clifford, associate and executor of Yevele, John Clifford, mason, who acted as feoffee of London Bridge with Yevele, and John Clifford, chief bridge mason 1404-1417, as one and the same person. By his will dated August 5th, 1411, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on September 17th, 1417, John Clifford, citizen and *cementarius*, London, of the Parish of St. Paulinus Olave, Southwark, appointed B(?R)adulph Bechford, mason, a legatee and an executor.³

The name of Richard Beek (Beke) appears on the wage book of the Bridge on November 9th, 1409, at the normal remuneration of 3s. 9d. per week. Two years later, in the autumn of 1411, he received a special reward of 13s. 4d., as mentioned previously, and again in the autumn of 1412, after which he received an extra reward of 10s. a year in 1413, 1414, 1415 and 1416. In the middle of September, 1417, he succeeded Clifford as Chief Bridge Mason, and at the end of the month he received 13s. 4d. and in the autumn of 1418, 20s. as special reward, the same amount which Clifford had previously received. The fact that Beek had received a special annual reward since 1411 marked him as occupying a post of special responsibility under Clifford and no doubt prepared the way for his succession to the senior post in due course. In addition to his annual rewards, Beek appears also to have sold stone to the Bridge Wardens, for we find an entry in the Account on November 26th, 1412, "Paid Richard Beek, mason, for 12 tontight of rag bought, 12s." It may be noted that Beek was at least 5 years junior to John Catelyn in the service of the Bridge Wardens, so that in his case promotion was certainly not by seniority. He held the post of Chief Bridge Mason for some seventeen years, the last occasion on which we find his name in the wage book as drawing pay being on March 26th, 13 Henry VI. (1434-35).⁴

In 1435, Richard Beke, master mason, was engaged by the Prior and Convent of Canterbury "to do the governance, dysposicion, rewle and entendance sufficiently . . . of all the werkes of the same churche." His emoluments consisted of a weekly wage of 4s., 'a convenient house' or 20s. in lieu, 8s. per annum for fuel, 10s. for clothes if the priory gave him no livery and two pair

¹ It is known that he occupied the post continuously from 1381-2 to 1395-6 and in various earlier years, and the probability is that he was Bridge Warden from 1365, or before, to 1395-6. (See our *Introduction to Freemasonry*, 80. We have to thank Mr. P. E. Jones, of the Records Office of the Corporation of the City of London, for very kindly drawing our attention to the relevant entries in the records.)

² At Rochester Bridge in 1427, William Champeneys, chief bridge mason, became one of the two Bridge Wardens, and held the post apparently for at least four years. (M. J. Becker, *Rochester Bridge*, 1387-1853, pp. x., 90.) Whilst it is not inconceivable, therefore, that the reverse might have happened at London Bridge, there appears to be no evidence to support such a conclusion.

³ Williams, *Archbishop Becket and the Masons' Company of London*, A.Q.C., vol. xli., p. 138.

⁴ The last time his name actually appeared in the wage book was on April 2nd, 1435—*nil hac septimana quia absens*—there being a similar entry on February 5th, 12th and 19th. He drew pay on February 26th and on March 5th, 12th, 19th and 26th.

of hose. Should he fall ill and no more have power "to be stere hym selft but for to lye styll in hys bedde, or be privyd of hys bodyly sygzth and blynde" he was to receive a pension of 2s. a day [? read week] together with his allowance for life.¹ In 1438, when the safety of the Bridge was in question, the Mayor, Stephen Brown, wrote to John Sarisbury, Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, asking that Richard Beke, clerk [? read master] of the works to the Chapter, might be allowed to inspect the Bridge and advise what steps should be taken for its preservation.² The fact that a Richard Beke, chief bridge mason, quitted the service of London Bridge in the spring of 1435 and that a mason of the same name was appointed at Canterbury in 1435 to an office, the duties of which were clearly those of master of the works and the remuneration of which was slightly superior to that enjoyed by Richard Beke at the Bridge, might be a mere coincidence, though it strongly suggests that the two men were one and the same. The fact, however, that Richard Beke of Canterbury, was called in to advise about the condition and preservation of London Bridge in 1438 makes the identity of the two almost a certainty, for what mason of the name of Richard Beke would be likely to be called in to advise the authorities concerning the fabric of London Bridge other than the man who had served there as mason from 1409 to 1417 and as Chief Bridge Mason from 1417 to 1435?

If our conclusion is correct that Richard Beke, chief Bridge Mason at London Bridge, was promoted to be master of the works (or master mason) at Canterbury Cathedral in 1435, we have succeeded in tracing the history of a cathedral master mason for 26 years immediately prior to his promotion to that important office. Whatever his early training may have been, he had had, apart from his responsibility for the maintenance of the Bridge Chapel, no church experience for a quarter of a century when appointed at Canterbury. We have shown elsewhere³ that Walter of Hereford, mason, was transferred from being Master of the Works of an Abbey—Vale Royal—to being Master of the Works of a Castle—Caernarvon; here we have an example of a mason being transferred from the most responsible technical position connected with the fabric of a bridge⁴ to the most responsible technical position connected with the fabric of a cathedral. It is further evidence of the unity of the mason's craft and of the similarity of the technical problems associated with stone-building, be the structures for ecclesiastical or for temporal purposes.

John Catelyn was in the employment of the Bridge throughout the period 1404-18 at a wage of 3s. 9d. a week. But little extra remuneration came his way: on September 26th, 1406, he and Hook shared in a reward of 6s. 8d. to them and the carpenters on account of the New Bridge, and twice it is recorded that he received an extra payment in respect of work done away from London; on September 26th, 1411, he received 10d. in connection with a journey to Reigate to inquire about some stone, and on September 24th, 1412, he received an additional 2s. as reward for his work and expenses at Westham and elsewhere. He continued to serve the Bridge after Beek had succeeded Clifford and apparently secured a post for his son, as on October 4th, 1421, we find an entry in the wage book "Paid to Richard Beek, John Catelyn senior and John Catelyn junior, masons, hired for the whole week at 3s. 9d. per week each, 11s. 3d." The two Catelyns were still employed at the Bridge in February, 1424-25, but from the

¹ Canterbury MS. L. 169 and Woodruff and Danks, *Memorials of Canterbury Cathedral* (1912), p. 200. The indenture is partly quoted in *Hist. MSS. Com. 9th Report*, p. 114.

² Canterbury Cathedral MS. M. 14, fol. 176 verso, Letter dated 1438. *Hist. MSS. Com. 9th Report*, p. 114.

³ See *Castle Building at Beaumaris and Caernarvon in the Early Fourteenth Century*, A.Q.C., vol. xlv.

⁴ In any case so far as the stone-work was concerned. In view of the great importance of timber in bridge construction, the Chief Bridge Carpenter probably had a post of equal responsibility; in any case he appears to have received the same remuneration.

spring of 1425 only one Catelyn appears on the wage list, and we are disposed to think that this was Catelyn junior.¹ On April 2nd, 1435, following the week in which Richard Beek, chief mason (*capitalis cementarius*) was paid for the last time, John Catelyn heads the list of *cementarii* with a wage of 4s. a week, a sum which he had been receiving for some time before Beek's departure. He does not seem to be described as 'chief mason' but simply as 'bridge mason' (*cementarius pontis*) and his wage remains 4s. a week. Catelyn's name appears on the wage book for the last time on December 19th, 1444. If this John Catelyn is the original John Catelyn of the 1404 Accounts, then he served the Bridge for not less than 40 years, but in view of the fact indicated in the footnote we are disposed to think that the John Catelyn who disappeared in 1444 was the John Catelyn, jun., of 1421-25, and that our original John Catelyn ceased to work for the Bridge in 1425, after serving the Bridge for 21 years or more. What relation, if any, Nicholas Catelyn, who worked for the Bridge in 1405, in 1411, in 1412 and in 1417, was to John Catelyn, senior, and John Catelyn, junior, there is nothing in the Accounts to show.

For the 40 years from 1404 to 1444, John Clifford, Richard Beek and John Catelyn were successively head masons (however officially designated) to the Bridge, and we may ask ourselves what exactly was their status compared with that of other masons in charge of contemporary building operations. There can be no question that their remuneration, and presumably their status, was much lower than that of prominent master masons or masters of the works such as Walter of Hereford, Henry de Elerton, James de Sancto Georgio or Henry Yevele. Further, the Chief Bridge Carpenter appears to have received the same remuneration as the Chief Bridge Mason, viz., 3s. 9d. per week and an annual reward of 20s., which strongly suggests, if it does no more, that his office was equally important and that he shared with the Chief Bridge Mason the responsibility of being principal technical adviser to the Bridge Wardens. It has also to be noted that when professional advice was obtained in London with reference to Rochester Bridge in 1409, it was not John Clifford, chief bridge mason of London Bridge, whose advice was sought, but Master Stephen Lote, Yevele's former colleague and partner at Westminster.² On this occasion Lote received 6s. 8d. for "the hire of his counsel."³ Similarly in 1422, when further trouble developed at Rochester Bridge, it was not Richard Beek, then Chief Bridge Mason of London Bridge, but William Sevenoke, "citizen of London" (very possibly the William Sevenoke who was Warden of London Bridge in 1404) who was consulted, together with a certain William atte Helle, mason⁴; the latter, together with William Champeneys, the Rochester Bridge Mason, undertook the necessary repairs, which at Sevenoke's request were supervised by Thomas Mapylton, King's Master Mason. In due course Mapylton received a gratuity of £4 from the Bridge Wardens.⁵

These considerations would suggest that the status of the Chief Bridge Masons was not very high compared with that of other masons in charge of contemporary building operations. On the other hand, if our assumptions with regard to John Clifford are correct, it has to be remembered that John Clifford, either before becoming or whilst holding the office of Chief Bridge Mason, was Master of the Masons of the City of London, an associate and executor of Henry

¹ On February 24th and March 3rd, 1424-25, only "John Catelyn jun." was paid; on April 14th, 1425, only "John Catelyn, sen."; from April 21st, 1425, to July 7th, 1425, only "John Catelyn jun." On August 11th, 1425, the entry runs "John Catelyn sen." but the "sen." is crossed out and "jun." substituted. On September 1st, 1425, we find the same mistake and the same correction. From September 29th, 1425, onwards the entry is simply "John Catelyn."

² *An Introduction to Freemasonry*, 85.

³ M. J. Becker, *Rochester Bridge*, 1387-1856, p. 84.

⁴ Perhaps the same man as William atte Halle, whom the London Bridge Wardens paid for a load of stone on Saturday, October 15th, 1413.

⁵ Becker, pp. 85-87.

Yevele, and that he acted as a feoffee for the Bridge. Richard Beke, although he might not be consulted about the troubles which developed at Rochester Bridge in 1422, was appointed some years later to the important post of master of the works [? master mason] at Canterbury Cathedral, so that his qualifications and status cannot have been low.

Whatever the status of the Chief Bridge Mason may have been in the first half of the fifteenth century, we feel little doubt that at least two Chief Bridge Masons of the second half of the century were masons of relatively high standing. We refer to Thomas Jurdan, Chief Bridge Mason from 1460 or 1461 to 1482, and his successor, Thomas Danyell, who held the office from 1482 to 1487. Jurdan died about the third week of April, 1482, to judge by the Account for the year commencing Michaelmas, 21 Edward IV.:—

Paid Thomas Jurdan, deceased, late chief mason of the Briggewerke . . . 29 weeks up to April 20 at 3s. 4d. per week . . . and to Thomas Danyell, now chief mason of the saide Briggewerke from 11 May to the Nativity of St. John Baptist, 6 weeks at 2s. 6d., 15s. And over that for his wages for a quarter of a yere from midsomer unto mighelmas . . . at x marc by the yere, 33s. 4d.

On April 27th, 1482, a Thomas Danyell was granted for life the office of Mason of the King's Works in the Tower of London and elsewhere within the realm, receiving the accustomed fees, . . . in the same manner as John [read *Thomas*] Jurdan who lately had the office.¹ In December, 1483, the office was granted for life to Robert Stowell, esquire.² He was presumably the Robert Stowell, master mason at Westminster Abbey from 1471 to 1505, who was described in the convent register in 1471 (f. 22) as 'Robert Stowell gentelman.'³ For some unknown reason the grant does not appear to have been effective, for in October, 1484, the office was granted once more to Thomas Danyell, together with arrears of pay from July 7th, 1483, "from which time he has occupied the office at the King's command."⁴ In view of the fact that the date at which a Thomas Danyell succeeded a Thomas Jurdan as Mason of the King's Works agrees with the date at which a Thomas Danyell succeeded a Thomas Jurdan as Chief Bridge Mason, we are satisfied that there was only one Thomas Danyell and one Thomas Jurdan in question. In 1464 a Thomas Jurdan was safeguarded in his office of "sergeant of our masonry within our realm of England,"⁵ and we think it not unlikely that this was the same man as Thomas Jurdan the Chief Bridge Mason, who, whilst continuing to serve the Bridge, had held a post under the Crown (first described as 'sergeant of our masonry' or later as 'mason of the King's works'), very possibly since December, 1461, when his weekly wage at London Bridge was reduced from 4s. to 3s. 4d. per week (ordinary bridge masons suffering no reduction), his wage remaining at the lower figure until he died in 1482. If he did hold dual posts as we surmise, he was doing no more than Henry Yevele had done in the previous century. We know nothing definite about Jurdan's earlier career, but, as we pointed out in a previous paper,⁶ a Thomas Jurdan, hardhewer, worked at Eton College from October, 1444, to August, 1446, and it is not impossible that he and the Thomas Jurdan who became Chief Bridge Mason about the end of 1460, were one and the same man.

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1476-1485, p. 300, printed in Williams, *The King's Master Masons*, A.Q.C., xliii., p. 99. Two later entries in the same calendar (pp. 409, 484) make it quite clear that it was Thomas and not John Jurdan, that Danyell succeeded.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1476-1485, p. 409.

³ R. B. Backham, *The Nave of Westminster*, p. 34 (Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. iv.). Stowell had worked at Westminster for 30 weeks in 1468-9. He ceased to work for wages as a mason in 1475-6.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1476-1485, p. 484.

⁵ *Rot. Parl.* vol. v., p. 547 b.

⁶ See *The Building of Eton College*, 1442-60, A.Q.C., vol. xlv.

In the case of Thomas Danyell we are slightly better informed. During the year commencing Michaelmas, 1460, when Thomas Jurdan succeeded Reginald Knyght as Chief Bridge Mason and was paid for 37 weeks at 4s., he was also paid "for wages of Thomas Danyell, his apprentice working with him 36 weeks at 2s. 6d." That would imply that Danyell commenced working at the Bridge in January, 1460-61. His subsequent apprentice career was as follows:—

Year commencing Michaelmas, 1461:	Jurdan, 52 weeks @ 3/4
	Danyell, 52 weeks @ 2/6
" " " 1462:	Jurdan, 23 weeks @ 3/4
	Danyell, 23 weeks @ 2/6
" " " 1463:	Jurdan, 52 weeks @ 3/4
	Danyell, 46 weeks @ 2/6
" " " 1464:	Jurdan, 52 weeks @ 3/4
	Danyell, 21 weeks @ 2/6
	" 19 weeks @ 3/-

For some years his name then disappeared from the Accounts and we are inclined to assume that his apprenticeship was finished.¹ This would make his period of apprenticeship only $4\frac{1}{2}$ years; that, together with the relatively high wage paid in respect of him when his name first appears in the Accounts suggests the possibility that he had served two or three years of an apprenticeship elsewhere, very possibly bound to Jurdan, and that he came to the Bridge with Jurdan when the latter was appointed Chief Bridge Mason about the end of 1460. The Account Book for 1445-1460 being missing, we cannot ascertain whether Jurdan had worked at the Bridge prior to his appointment as Chief Mason, but there was apparently a gap of nine weeks between the departure of Knyght, his predecessor, and his own arrival, whereas Beek succeeded Clifford within a fortnight in 1417 and Danyell, in due course, succeeded Jurdan within three weeks in 1482, which suggests to us that Jurdan was not in the employ of the Bridge when Knyght departed, but that he was sought out and introduced from outside, and brought his apprentice Danyell with him. However that may be, Danyell worked $4\frac{1}{2}$ years as an apprentice at the Bridge, disappeared for some three years, and then returned, his name figuring amongst the bridge masons in 1468-69. Without a more detailed study of the intervening Accounts than we were able to make, it is not possible to say with certainty whether Danyell remained in the service of the Bridge all the time until he was appointed Chief Bridge Mason in 1482, but he had certainly served at the Bridge both as an apprentice and as a bridge mason before he was appointed to succeed Jurdan at the Bridge within a week or two of his being appointed to succeed Jurdan as Mason of the King's Works. When Danyell succeeded Jurdan as Chief Bridge Mason the remuneration was lowered from 3s. 4d. per week (=£8 13s. 4d. for 52 weeks) to 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.) per annum, which suggests that Danyell devoted even less time to the Bridge than his predecessor had done. When five years later Thomas Wade (commonly referred to in the Accounts as Master Wade) succeeded Danyell, he too received 10 marks per annum. In 1513 when John Orgar² was appointed

¹ The fact that his wage, when his name was last entered in the Accounts as apprentice, was only 3s. a week, compared with 8d. per day earned by a journeyman mason, might suggest that he still had a period to serve, were it not for the fact that no apprentice completing his seven years' apprenticeship at London Bridge in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries appears to have been rated at a mason's standard wage whilst still an apprentice, though that happened at some contemporary building operations (see *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 164) and was obviously contemplated by the London Masons' Ordinances, 1521 (see *ibid.*, p. 258).

² Nearly twenty years later there was a John Orgar, mason, of Boulton Quarry, in Kent, who supplied 'hard stone of Kent called ashlar' for Westminster Palace (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, 1531-1532, p. 446). He was perhaps a relative of the Bridge Mason, and may even have been the same man, though that is not very likely. A John Orgar, hardhewer, was employed on the Bridge in 1475-76; he was perhaps the one who became Chief Mason in 1513.

Chief Bridge Mason in place of Thomas Wade, the salary was fixed at £10 per annum. Whether we are to deduce from this that Wade, like Danyell, held another appointment and that Orgar did not, but devoted more or less his whole time to the Bridge, is uncertain.

WAGES.

1. *Rates of Pay.* A very great uniformity characterised the wages rates in the early fifteenth century; practically all the regular masons were paid 3s. 9d. per week, or 7½d. a day for odd days, whilst the casual masons received either 8d. or 7½d. a day and their servants 5d. a day. Two exceptions amongst the regular masons were (i.) Roger Game, mason, who was paid 3s. 4d. a week from the opening of the Account in October, 1404, until he ceased to be employed in October, 1405, and (ii.) Nicholas Codling, who is grouped with the masons in the Account, but described as servant or famulus of John Rykeden, mason; he received 2s. a week for the nine weeks during which he was employed. There is nothing to indicate why Game was paid less than the other masons; possibly he was an ex-famulus who had been promoted like William Warde to whom reference is made below. So far as the casual masons were concerned, it would appear that they usually received 8d. per day when employed on house property belonging to the Bridge, but only 7½d. per day if engaged on work directly connected with the Bridge. Thus Ralf Rochford received 8d. a day whilst "making a way in the house of Thos. Wycestre" and whilst "working in the house of R. Huwet," John Palme and his servant received together 13d. per day (8d. and 5d.) whilst "working at Stratford Mill" and Wm. Brown received 8d. per day "to pave at the Raven." On the other hand, John Cotes and R. Gerard received 7½d. per day each "scappling stones for the Bridge pavement," and Walter atte Well was paid 3s. 4d. per week for five weeks "for working stone bought of John Kyng for the work of the drawbridge," but this was an exceptionally low rate.

2. *Summer and Winter Rates.* Throughout the period 1404-18, for which we have studied the Accounts in detail, no distinction appears to have been made between summer and winter rates. Of the regular masons on the establishment of the Bridge we can say this quite definitely, as they received 3s. 9d. summer and winter throughout the year. The masons employed for several weeks in 1409 in connection with the drawbridge received 3s. 9d. per week until the last ones were discharged on November 16th. The extra masons employed in 1411 and 1412, whilst the Stocks Market was being re-built, worked from the summer of 1411, to November 14th, 1411, and then again from February 22nd, 1411-12, to December 3rd, 1412, when the job was completed, their remuneration at all dates being 3s. 9d. per week. It is certain, therefore, that reduced winter rates did not apply in November (when one would have expected reduced rates to be in force, if they were ever in force), but we have no information about December and January. The same is true of casual masons, no case of such employment falling in December or January; two masons, Bolde and Mereman, who appear in the Accounts once only for a single week at the end of November, 1412, each received 3s. 9d.; all the cases of casual masons mentioned in the previous section relate to summer. Thus we have found no single case of a reduced winter rate from 1404 to 1418, though it must remain uncertain whether winter rates would have applied to masons, other than regular bridge masons, had such been employed in December or January.

A sample inspection of some of the later Bridge Accounts showed us that the distinction between summer and winter rates was introduced amongst the Bridge masons about 1441. In December, 1440, Catelyn was paid 4s. a week and the

other masons 8d. per day as appears to have been the practice since 1426.¹ On March 24th, 1440-1, John Lewesham and another mason were paid at the rate of 8½d. per day, though Catelyn remained at 4s. per week. This was still the position on November 4th, 1441: Catelyn 4s. a week, Lewesham, Bedel and Gore 8½d. per day. From November 11th onwards, whilst Catelyn continued to receive 4s. a week, Lewesham, Bedel and Gore were reduced to 7d. per day. In January, 1441-2, their winter rate became 7½d. per day, and from February 10th onwards they received the summer rate of 8½d. per day. A cursory examination of the Accounts for the next three years showed us that whilst Catelyn continued to receive 4s. a week, the other masons alternated between a summer (February-October) rate of 8½d. and a winter (November-January) rate of 7½d. per day. For the period Michaelmas, 1445, to Michaelmas, 1460, there are no Accounts; in October, 1460, the summer rate was 8d. per day and in November, December and January, 1460-61, the winter rate was 7½d. per day. These continued to be the summer and winter rates² until 1550—apart from a temporary modification in 1514-15 referred to in Section 7 (Official Rates) below—although occasionally the rates are quoted as 4s. and 3s. 9d. per week instead of 8d. or 7½d. per day, and in 1493-94 the rate appears to have been 3s. 4d. throughout the year. We are thus unable to say how long the summer rate of 8½d. was in force after the Accounts closed in September, 1445. The usual rate for masons in the fifteenth century outside London was 6d. per day or 3s. per week,³ but we have found two exceptions in the middle of the century. At the building of the Bell Tower at Merton College, Oxford, in 1448-1450, 3s. 4d. per week (=6½d. per day) was the rate usually paid to the masons⁴; at the building of Eton College all masons were paid 6d. per day or 3s. per week from 1442 to 1454; the rate paid to freemasons, however, was 3s. 4d. per week in the summer of 1456-57, 1458-59 and 1459-60.⁵ We think that the explanation may be that there was a scarcity of qualified masons in the middle of the fifteenth century and that their wage rate tended to rise for a time as a consequence, and that this accounts for 8½d. per day being paid at London Bridge for a few years.

3. *Holidays and Feastdays.* Of the regular bridge masons during the period 1404-1418, we can say definitely that they received their ordinary weekly wage of 3s. 9d. at Christmas, New Year, Easter and Whitsun as well as in respect of any other weeks in which feastdays occurred. On the other hand, we do not know how many feastdays were observed, although there is some evidence which appears to indicate at least certain days. Normally wages were paid on Saturdays (or at least the accounts were for the week ending Saturday), but on certain occasions the pay-day was altered to Friday. Thus in 1406 and again in 1417, when Christmas Day and January 1st fell on a Saturday, the full weekly wages were paid on Friday, December 24th, and Friday, December 31st. Thus we conclude that Christmas Day and January 1st (Circumcision) were recognised holidays. In 1404 and 1410, November 1st fell on a Saturday, and on each of these occasions pay-day was changed to Friday, October 31st, which is described in the Account as "Eve of All Saints Day." Similarly in 1413, St. John's Day in Harvest fell on a Saturday and wages were paid on Friday, June 23rd, recorded in the MS. as the "Eve of the Nativity of St. John Baptist." In 1408-9 and in 1414-15, February 2nd fell on a Saturday, and wages were paid on Friday, February 1st, which would seem to show that the Purification of the Virgin Mary was observed. Once during the years 1404-18, Epiphany fell on

¹ The events of 1425-26 are referred to below in Section 7 (Official Rates).

² The winter rates applied during November, December, and January, or, as it is expressed in the Accounts of 1479-80, "from Alhalowtide unto Candelmasse."

³ *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 236.

⁴ Building Account printed in Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, vol. iii., pp. 720-737.

⁵ *The Building of Eton College, 1442-1460*, A.Q.C., vol. xlv., and *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 117.

a Saturday, viz., in 1414-15, and on that occasion wages were paid on Friday, January 5th.

From these alterations of pay-day we are able to draw up the following list of holidays and festivals as being observed in all probability:—

1st January	Circumcision
6th January	Epiphany
2nd February	Purification of Virgin Mary
24th June	Nativity of St. John Baptist
1st November	All Saints Day
25th December	Christmas Day

In addition, it is quite likely that Good Friday and some days at the beginning of Easter Week and of Whit Week may have been observed also, but our method of testing by means of noting the alteration of pay-day does not apply. The test does point, however, in 1411 and 1414 respectively, to the recognition of St. Stephen (December 26th) and of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (September 8th), but on other occasions when these festivals occurred on Saturday (December 26th in 1405 and 1416, and September 8th in 1408) no change in pay-day was made.

Of the short-service or temporary masons employed by the Bridge, we have no information respecting January 1st and 6th, February 2nd and December 25th and 26th, but in 1409, 1411 and 1412, such men were being employed in the weeks in which the Nativity of St. John Baptist, the Nativity of the Virgin Mary and All Saints' Day fell, and on no such occasion do they appear to have lost a day's pay, which suggests that even temporary men were paid for at least some feast days. On the other hand, at Easter and Whitsun, 1411 and 1412, half a week or a whole week was lost by several men. In 1411, Rochford and Cotes lost three days' pay both at Easter and Whitsun, whilst in 1412, Cotes, J. Birche, M. Birche and Smartman lost a whole week's pay both at Easter and Whitsun, whilst Rochford, N. Catelyn and Clopham, who received full wages at Easter, lost half a week at Whitsun.

Two other days which may sometimes have been observed were St. Philip and St. James (May 1st) and St. James (July 25th), because in 1412 we find that the seven short-service masons received only five days' pay in the week ending July 29th (as compared with the ordinary 3s. 9d. received by the four bridge masons, Clifford, Catelyn, Beek and Taillour), and in 1415, in the week ending May 4th, Cotes and M. Birche, who were temporarily engaged during a couple of months, dropped a day's pay, Clifford, Catelyn, Beek and Taillour receiving 3s. 9d. as usual.

The fact that short-service masons as well as regular Bridge masons were paid by the week implies that all masons were paid for the whole day on Saturdays, though whether they worked the whole day, or broke off early, there is nothing in the accounts to show.¹ Our examination of the later Accounts was not sufficient to enable us to trace the effects of holidays on earnings,² though it did seem to show that Saturday was normally paid for as a full day.

4. *Methods of Payment.* By far the commonest system of payment was a time-wage, occasionally entered in the Accounts as so much per day, but usually as so much per week. On two occasions a fairly substantial payment to three

¹ For municipal regulation *re* Saturday, see Section 7 below.

² Our notes show several cases of broken weeks: March 24th, 1440-41, one mason 5 days @ 8½d. and one 4 days @ 8½d.; November 4th, 1441, three masons 5½ days @ 8½d.; January 27th, 1441-42, one mason 3½ days @ 7½d.; November 3rd, 1442, two masons 5 days @ 8½d.; November 10th, 1442, two masons 5 days @ 7½d.; December 26th, 1445, one mason 3 days @ 7½d.; January 2nd, 1445-6, one mason 3 days @ 7½d.

masons is lumped together and it is not quite clear whether it was a time-wage or a piece-wage:—

28 September, 1409. Paid to Thomas Smyth, Robert Gyboun and John Chinaler, masons, by account made with them for work on ashlar for the drawbridge, for various weeks as appears in the book of memoranda fo. 25 this year 49s. 8d.

14 December, 1409. Paid to Nicholas Chinaler, Robert Gyboun and Thomas Smyth, masons, for work on ashlar for the drawbridge various weeks this year, memorandum book fo. 25 37s. 6d.

These payments might represent piece-wages or contract work, but the fact that the expression "for various weeks" occurs in both entries and that there is no reference to task work seems to imply time-wages. On the other hand, Gyboun was on the pay roll at 3s. 9d. per week from May 12th, 1408, to August 24th, 1409, and then again from November 9th, 1409, until November 14th, 1411, and Smyth was also on the pay roll at 3s. 9d. per week both before and after these payments, and it is a little difficult to understand why, if they received time-wages for preparing ashlar for the drawbridge, their names should not have been entered in the Account in the ordinary way, as were the names of John Rykeden senior and junior, who were definitely stated to be engaged on work connected with the drawbridge. It may therefore be that they were employed at piece-wages.

The one case of piece-wages of which we can be quite certain is that relating to Thomas Hunt:—

4 April, 1405. Paid to Thomas Hunt, mason, for making a pavement in a kitchen at the Stocks Market at task 3s. 0d.¹

The weekly time-wages were in certain cases supplemented by a special reward, either occasional or annual. On September 4th, 1406, John Catelyn and Henry Hook received a reward of 16d. on account of their work at the "Ffauxbrigg." On September 25th, 1406, the same two masons shared a reward of 6s. 8d. to them and certain carpenters on account of the "New Bridge."² On November 16th, 1409, John Rykeden senior received 3s. 4d. and John Rykeden junior 20d. beyond their wages "by agreement for work of the Pier of the drawbridge." On 11th April, 1411, Richard Beek, Robert Gyboun and John Cotes received 2s. "for their great labour one night" [in connection with the Stocks]; on 19th December, 1411, a reward of 3s. 4d. was given to masons and other workers on their departure [from work at the Stocks].

¹ Cf. an item "To Thomas Wade for a werkman paving kitchen etc. at task, 10s." in the Account for 1496-97. A case of a temporary piece-rate paid to ordinary bridge masons occurred in July, 1515, and is referred to below at the end of Section 7 (Official Rates).

² It is not clear from the Accounts what was the connection between this New Bridge and the *Fauxbrigg* referred to three weeks earlier. The term *Fauxbrigg* may perhaps be compared with the term *false works* used by engineers to denote 'construction works to enable the erection of the main works' [N.E.D.] and the French terms *faussequeue*, *faux étambot*, 'pièce de même forme . . . servant à les renforcer' [Hatzfeld and Darmesteter, *Dict.*]. The work was evidently urgent, extra labour being hired, and was pushed on at night, as the Accounts show, but whether the 'false' bridge was a temporary bridge hurriedly erected to carry traffic while a permanent structure was prepared, or a reinforcement of an existing arch or arches, or centering for them, we do not know. Nor are we sure about the *drawebrigge* referred to in the Accounts. The term *pons vertibilis*, used in an entry under 28th September, 1409, should mean some kind of swing-bridge or turning bridge. On the other hand, the term *pons traxabilis* (cf. *pons tractabilis* in the Rochester Bridge Accounts) must mean drawbridge, but whether one drawn upwards by means of ropes or chains over pulleys, or a gangway drawn horizontally, such as Miss Becker (p. 86) believes to have been used at Rochester, is not easily determined. Welch (p. 60) understood by *fauxbrigg* a temporary gangway used during the preparation of a new drawbridge.

In what concerns annual rewards, the only cases were those of Clifford (20s.) and Beek (13s. 4d. or 10s.) to which we referred when discussing their positions as Chief Bridge Masons.

It was in connection with the 'Ffauxbrigg' which was being erected in the autumn of 1406 that the one early reference to food being supplied to masons occurs. On September 4th, 1406, among the expenses for erection of 'Ffauxbrigg' occurs an entry:—

Bread and ale during the week

18d.

Ale was not infrequently provided, but we have found no other reference in the fifteenth century to food being supplied; possibly the fact that the masons were working at night¹ on this occasion accounts for the food. The ordinary practice appears to have been to provide a cook; thus in October, 1404, John atte Mere was "cook and warden of the Bridgehouse" and received a wage of 2s. a week. In October, 1407, John atte Mere is described as "cook of the bridge workers" and received a wage of 20d. a week. In October, 1423, John Silkeston was "cook of the masons and carpenters of the Bridge" and was paid 20d. a week. The arrangement by which the employer provided a cook but no food also obtained at the building of Eton College in the middle of the fifteenth century, though there, apparently, the masons were provided with a cook for themselves.²

If the provision of food was very much the exception, the provision of drink was not uncommon. On most, if not all, Ash Wednesdays,³ the sum of 3s. 4d. appears in the Accounts for drink for the "Bridge workers" or for the "masons and carpenters." Apart from Lent, on special occasions when extra work was being done, drink appears to have been provided from time to time, though on a much less generous scale than on Ash Wednesday. One case was mentioned above in connection with the 'Ffauxbrigg,' when bread also was provided. On July 27th, 1409, we find an entry "To masons working under the bridge to drink, 2d." A few weeks later, whilst the new Bridge was under construction, we find on September 28th "To masons and carpenters to drink, 8d.," and again on October 12th "To masons to drink at times this week, 5d."

¹ Amongst the expenses this particular week is a purchase of 4 lbs. candles for the "first night aforesaid."

² *The Building of Eton College, 1442-1460, A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv. Just as at Eton some at least of the masons lived in a chamber provided by the College and apparently fed together, so some of the masons and carpenters appear to have messed together in the Bridge House. In 1480, the auditors refer to one worker being appointed steward or purveyor and using the wood and fuel of the Bridge for "sethyng and rostyng ther viteles" and order that the said persons keep no commons in the Bridge House in future, but that they are to have lodging in the place, so that they shall be ready day or night to help if the bridge be damaged (Welch, p. 52).

³ In the week ending 6th March, 1406, *e.g.*, the sum of 3s. 4d. is entered as paid in *die Carniprivij ad potandum prout mos est antiquus*. We cannot be certain of the exact day on which this ancient and customary drinking took place. *Dies carniprivij*, taken literally, would mean the day of deprivation of meat, *i.e.*, ordinarily, Ash Wednesday. On the other hand, both in this country and on the Continent, Shrove Tuesday has been more associated with festivity and would perhaps have been a fitter day for the consumption of the very considerable quantity of ale that could be bought with the 3s. 4d. provided by the Bridge Wardens. It may be noted that there are Continental examples of presents made by ecclesiastical employers on Shrove Tuesday. (See G. G. Coulton, *Mediæval Village*, p. 183.) Further, there is evidence that the term *carniprivium* was used to include more than the period from Ash Wednesday to Easter. For clergymen it started, at least in some dioceses, on the Monday after Quinquagesima Sunday (Ducange, *Dict. Med. and Inf. Lat., sub voc.*), and thus included Shrove Tuesday. Moreover, an old English vocabulary translates *carniprivium* by *shrofdæy* (Wülcker's edition of Wright, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*), and Shrovetide can be taken to mean Quinquagesima Sunday and the two following days (*O.E.D.*). Maundy Thursday was sometimes called Shrove Thursday, though apparently only in error (*O.E.D.*). It was on that day that the Wardens of Rochester Bridge provided a meal of fish and wine for their servants (Becker, p. 109). On the whole, Shrove Tuesday was just as likely as Ash Wednesday to have been the day of customary conviviality for the London Bridge masons.

On September 27th, 1410, we find an entry "1 gallon of ale given to masons for placing a plate under the bridge, 2d." On April 11th, 1411, in the week when Beek, Gyboun and Cotes received 2s. "for their great labour one night" at the Stocks, we find "Drink for the masons and carpenters, 8d." From this time onwards for a couple of years ale for masons, or ale for masons and carpenters, 2d., 3d., 4d., 5d., or 8d., appears every few weeks in the Accounts. This was the period when the Stocks market belonging to the Bridge was being re-built; after this market was completed at the end of 1412 the ale entries appear to be fewer.

We are inclined to think that whilst the Ash Wednesday ale was definitely for the regular bridge workers to provide for some kind of jollification—eight or ten men sharing 20 gallons of ale—the gallon or two of ale paid for from time to time was to provide a drink for such regular or temporary workers as were engaged on some special job, which proved unusually heavy on the particular occasion.

5. *Changes in Rates of Pay and Status.* (i.) The changes that took place in 1425-26, which led to the establishment of a rate of 8d. per day instead of 3s. 9d. per week are discussed below in Section 7, which deals with the rates and conditions officially prescribed. The subsequent introduction of a summer rate of 8½d. and a winter rate of 7½d. in 1441 was explained in Section 2, which dealt with summer and winter rates, and need not be repeated here. The increases made from time to time in the wages paid in respect of apprentices during the second half of the fifteenth century are set out in the section below which deals with apprenticeship.

(ii.) Another change, which has been indirectly touched upon, took place whenever a casual mason was given a semi-permanent job. As has already been pointed out, casual masons employed on bridge jobs received 7½d. per day, whilst casual masons employed on other jobs received 8d. per day. Thus Rochford received 8d. and Cotes 7½d. in the summer of 1405. Gerard, who at that time occasionally worked on the Bridge and occasionally on house repairs, appears to have received 7½d. per day in the former case and 8d. per day in the latter case. Whenever one of these casual masons normally employed at 7½d. per day on bridge jobs and 8d. per day on other jobs, was given a more definite or a longer period job, his wage became 3s. 9d. a week, whether he had previously received 7½d. per day like Cotes or 8d. per day like Rochford.

(iii.) Much the most interesting case of a change in the rate of pay was that of William Warde, who on February 6th, 4 Henry V. (1416-17), is entered in the Account well down the list of workers, and described as *famulus* of the masons, in receipt of 2s. 0d. for the week. After that date his name constantly occurs.¹ On June 23rd, 7 Henry V.² (1419), he is still *famulus* at 2s. 0d. On July 1st, we find the following entry:—

Paid to William Warde, *famulus* of the said masons, because he works well as a sufficient mason 3s. 0d.

On July 8th, we find the entry "William Warde, mason, 3s. 0d.," but he is still entered well down the list. From November 4th onwards, he is put next to the other masons, but continues to receive 3s. a week compared with their 3s. 9d. In February, 1424-5, he was reduced to 6d. per day (for a 5½ day week) whilst the other masons were dropped to 7d. per day (for a 5½ day week).³ In June, 1425, his wage was increased to 8d. per day at the same time that the other masons were raised to 8d., at first for a 5½ day week and then for a six day week. From that time onwards he appears to have ranked as a fully qualified mason.

¹ As he was not classed with the masons at this period, we have not included him in our statistics or list of bridge masons.

² Pay day on this occasion was Friday, owing to the next day being the festival of St. John Baptist.

³ This episode is more fully discussed below in Section 7.

This promotion of William Warde, *famulus* to the masons, to the status of mason is a definite confirmation of a hypothesis which we recently advanced,¹ to show how masons may have been recruited in the Middle Ages, as an alternative to (a) serving an apprenticeship or (b) learning the art of stone-dressing in a quarry.

(iv.) The promotion of William Warde from *famulus* to mason suggests a reference to another kind of promotion, namely, that from mason to chief bridge mason or master mason. As has already been pointed out, Clifford was chief mason when the Account opened in 1404, and there is nothing to show how long he had been in the service of the Bridge, nor whether he had been promoted in that service. Beek entered the service of the Bridge in November, 1409; at Michaelmas, 1411, for the first time he received a special reward of 13s. 4d. which appeared to mark him out as occupying a position second to that of Clifford. He continued to receive a special reward (13s. 4d. or 10s.) each Michaelmas until he succeeded Clifford as chief bridge mason in 1417. Beek's was a clear case of promotion. In 1435 he was succeeded by John Catelyn whom, as previously pointed out,² we take to have been the "John Catelyn junior" of the Bridge Accounts of 1421-2 to 1424-5. His was another case of promotion (and the same is true if he was the "John Catelyn" of the period 1404-18), but as after his accession to the senior post he was described only as "bridge mason" and not as "master mason," we must assume that he was not regarded as a very strong candidate for higher honours. The advancement of Beek and Catelyn points to a tradition in favour of promotion at the Bridge,³ but events after Catelyn's disappearance show that a different procedure was sometimes adopted. When Catelyn last appears in the Accounts on December 19th, 1444, he had only one mason working with him, John Leuesham, who was in the service of the Bridge as early as November, 1441. On the following pay-day, December 26th, 1444, Leuesham was paid for 3 days @ 7½d. and the same a week later (which provides an example of holidays not being paid for); on January 9th, 1444-5, he was paid for 6 days @ 7½d. On January 23rd John Leuesham was for the first time described as "bridge mason" (*cementarius pontis*). On February 6th, he was paid for 2 days @ 7½d. (winter rate) and 4 days @ 8½d. (summer rate). On February 13th he was paid for 6 days @ 8½d. (=4s. 3d.) but was no longer described as "bridge mason." On February 20th, Reginald Knyght appeared in the wage list for the first time, when he was described as "bridge mason" and was paid 4s. for the week, (the rate that Catelyn had previously received); for the same week Leuesham received 6 days @ 8½d. (=4s. 3d.) Leuesham's tenure of the office of "bridge mason," if he can be regarded as ever having been promoted to that post, was of very short duration.

The Reginald Knyght, who became "bridge mason" in February, 1444-5, was presumably the same as the Reginald Knyght who was described as "chief mason of the bridge" when the Accounts recommence in the autumn of 1460 after a gap of fifteen years. He was succeeded about the end of 1460 by Thomas Jurdan, whom, as previously indicated, we are inclined to regard as having been brought in from outside. His successor, Thomas Danyell, however, had worked at the Bridge both as an apprentice and as a qualified mason before he occupied the post of Chief Bridge Mason from 1482 to 1487.

6. *Comparison of rates and conditions with those prevailing at contemporary building operations.* As we have discussed in *The Medieval Mason* predominant rates of wages, local variations in rates of wages, and the effect on wages of holidays and of shorter hours in winter, we may content ourselves here

¹ See our paper on "Masons and Apprenticeship in Mediæval England," *Econ. Hist. Review*, April, 1932, p. 364.

² See footnote 53 above.

³ There appears to have been such a tradition with regard to the appointment of Master Mason at York Minster.

with very briefly summarising the position. In the fifteenth century, 6d. per day appears to have been the commonest wage outside London, though from the middle of the century, 3s. 4d. per week was being paid to freemasons on certain important jobs¹; in London, wages were approximately 2d. per day higher, 8d. or 8½d. being the predominant rates.² At most building operations, wages were reduced in winter on account of the shorter days.³ So far as holidays were concerned, the practice varied, but the most usual arrangement appears to have been that pay was lost in respect either of all or of some holidays.⁴ To our minds, there can be no doubt that masons in the regular employ of the Bridge enjoyed distinctly favourable treatment compared with masons in other employment.

7. *Comparison of rates and conditions with those officially prescribed in London.* A series of Municipal Regulations define the conditions which should prevail in London. By a Regulation of 1350 it was ordained⁵:—

that the masons, between the feasts of Easter and St. Michael shall take no more by the working day than 6d. without victuals or drink; and from the Feast of St. Michael to Easter for the working day 5d. And upon feast-days, when they do not work, they shall take nothing. And for the making or mending of their implements, they shall take nothing.

These rates were re-affirmed in a proclamation of 1362-3, on the ground that masons and other workers had taken substantially more than they ought under the Regulations of 1350. The proclamation provided⁶:—

that masons between Easter and Michaelmas shall take for a day's work 6d.; and from Michaelmas to Easter 5d.; and for Saturday, if work by the week, a whole day's pay; and for festivals when they do not work, nothing.

In 1372, there was a further proclamation in almost identical terms, confirming the rates.⁷ In 1378, the rates were again re-affirmed, in view of the fact that workmen combined to make excessive charges for their work.⁸ In 1382, there was a still further proclamation that carpenters, masons, etc., should take the wages prescribed and a precept to the Aldermen to see that the Ordinance was duly observed.⁹

The preambles to these various regulations and proclamations make it quite clear that in the second half of the fourteenth century, masons were taking wages in excess of the prescribed rates. There is no evidence to show that these prescribed rates had been modified by the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and, so far as we can tell, they were still in force at that period. If that was the case, it is obvious that the rates and conditions which applied to the masons employed by the Bridge from 1404 to 1418 did not comply with the official regulations:—

(i.) In the first place, 3s. 9d. per week, the standard wage of masons working for the Bridge, was in excess of the 6d. per day which according to the Regulations was to be paid from Easter to Michaelmas.

(ii.) In the second place, the bridge masons suffered no reduction in wages in winter, although the Regulations prescribed a reduction from 6d. to 5d. per day.

¹ *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 111.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 120.

⁵ Riley, *Memorials of London*, p. 253.

⁶ *Cal. Letter-Book G.*, p. 148.

⁷ *Cal. Letter-Book G.*, p. 301.

⁸ *Cal. Letter-Book H.*, p. 110.

⁹ *Cal. Letter-Book H.*, p. 184.

(iii.) In the third place, all the regular bridge masons appear to have been paid for feast days and holidays when they did not work, and some at least of the short-service masons appear to have been paid for certain feast days when no work was done, although the Regulations provided that masons should take nothing when they did not work.

If the Bridge Wardens, who were appointed by the municipality and whose accounts were examined by auditors appointed by the municipality¹ broke the Municipal Regulations in at least three respects and made no attempt in their accounts to hide these contraventions of the ordinances, we are forced to conclude that the imposition of the Regulations and their confirmation from time to time, as well as the precepts for their enforcement addressed to the Aldermen, were little more than formalities, carried out very possibly to satisfy the various Statutes of Labourers, or as a result of pressure exerted by the central authorities. The Bridge Accounts afford an example of this in 1425. On February 10th, 1424-5, as a result of the King's mandate about the enforcement of the Statute of Labourers (*de nova execucione statuti mandato domini Regis*) a new arrangement was started; that week Beek received for himself, J. Catelyn sen., J. Catelyn jun., J. Hosewiff and R. Bedell, each for five and a half days @ 7d., also for W. Warde, mason, five and a half days @ 6d., also for J. Dowse, labourer of the masons, at 2s. per week . . . 20s. 9½d. By April 14th, 1425, Beek's wage was set "by assent and licence of the mayor" at 3s. 4d. per week. This arrangement—Beek, 3s. 4d. per week, the others, 7d. and 6d. (Warde) per day—continued until June 23rd, 1425, when Warde, the only mason working besides Beek, was paid for 5½ days @ 8d. per day. The following week John Catelyn jun. and Warde were paid 8d. per day. It was not until March 30th, 1426, that Beek's wage was raised to 3s. 9d. per week. The arrangement by which Beek was paid 3s. 9d. per week and the other masons 8d. per day appears to have continued until he left the Bridge in 1435, from which time onwards Catelyn received 4s. a week and the other masons 8d. per day, until the differentiation between summer (8½d.) and winter (7½d.) rates was introduced in 1441, to which reference was made in a previous section.

Thus at London Bridge, within a year or so of the endeavour to enforce the Statute of Labourers, conditions appear to have reverted very much to what they were before, except that a daily wage of 8d. had taken the place of a weekly wage of 3s. 9d., as a consequence of which, for a time at least, the weekly earnings were 5½ days @ 8d. (=3s. 8d. a week), but before very long the masons appear to have been paid for 6 days @ 8d. (=4s. a week). The fact that the Statutes of Labourers were not effectual in the early fifteenth century is definitely stated in the preamble of a Statute of 1427,² which once again authorised county and municipal authorities to fix the wages of artificers and workmen. This Statute was made permanent in 1429.³ So far as we can tell, the London Bridge Wardens made no further changes in their wages policy after 1426 until 1441, when they commenced differentiating between summer and winter rates, winter, however, counting from the beginning of November to the beginning of February, and not from Michaelmas to Easter as provided in the Municipal Wage Regulations. There is some reason for thinking also that they became less generous about paying for holidays when no work was done. On the other hand, their summer and winter rates for some years were 8½d. and 7½d. per day, and not 6d. and 5d. as laid down in the Regulations.

Another effort to enforce an official rate of wages occurred in 1515. In that year several masons, who were normally in receipt of 8d. per day, were

¹ *E.g.*, in 1414, Stephen Speleman and William Sevenok, Aldermen, J. Reynwell, R. FitzRobert, R. Tatersalle and William FitzHugh, commoners, were elected auditors. (*Cal. Letter-Book I.*, pp. 127-8.)

² 6 Henry VI., c. 3.

³ 8 Henry VI., c. 8.

paid for six days @ 6d. "accordyng to thaffecte of a statute thereof made."¹ The alteration was actually made in the week ending June 23rd, 1515.² On June 16, 1515, three masons named Joyce, Seton and Bennett received 4s. each. On June 23rd, under the heading "statut wage," 3s. is entered against each of their names. The following week no wages were entered. On July 7th, six masons shared 40s. 8d., being paid 8d. per foot on 'bridgascheller.' On July 14th, six masons were paid 13s. in respect of piece-work and "Item to v of the same masons every of them by vj. tydes 10s." On July 21st, the payments were similar to the previous week, but on August 4th, we find four masons in receipt of 4s. each and thereafter 4s. is once more the normal rate. The Statute referred to was presumably the Statute of 1514 (6 Henry VIII., c. 3) re-affirming the rate of 6d. per day laid down in the Statute of 1495 (11 Henry VII., c. 22). The London masons complained that the rates were too low and a Statute was passed in 1515 (7 Henry VIII., c. 5) allowing them to take wages as before 1514. For the time being, it would seem that the object of the Statute of 1514 was defeated by the temporary introduction of piece-wages.

8. *Wages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.* In connection with the sections on rates of pay, summer and winter wages and official rates, we have traced wages from 1404 to 1515, which may be tabulated as follows (ignoring very temporary fluctuations):—

1404-1426	7½d. per day summer and winter.
1426-1441	8d. per day summer and winter.
1441-1442	8½d. per day summer, 7d. per day winter.
1442-1445	8½d. per day summer, 7½d. per day winter.
1445-1460	no records.
1460-1515	8d. per day summer, 7½d. per day winter.

In view of the continuity of the London Bridge wage records, we were anxious to ascertain approximately what happened at the Bridge during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when the tremendous changes in the cost of living,³ brought about primarily by the influx of the precious metals from the New World, must have necessitated frequent readjustments in money wages. Masons' wages, which had been almost stationary throughout the country since 1370 (*i.e.*, once they had settled down after the changes caused by the Black Death), notwithstanding fairly considerable fluctuations in food prices, continued at the old level for many years after the cost of living had begun very definitely to rise. At Cambridge, wages rose slightly in the 1530's, at Oxford they rose slightly in the 1540's, but at London Bridge no change occurred in the old rate of 8d. per day (summer) and 7½d. per day (winter) until the 1550's, when during the course of some eight years wages were advanced by half a dozen stages to 12d. per day (summer and winter):—

1550-51	9d. per day (summer), 8d. per day (winter).
1551-54	9d. ,, ,, (,,), 8½d. ,, ,, (,,).

¹ Volume of Accounts dated 1509-1515.

² There is a volume of accounts (week by week) with no date on the back, which overlaps partly with the volume dated 1484-1509 and partly with the volume dated 1509-1515. The extracts which follow are from the undated volume.

³ So far as prices are concerned, the statistical information available (see *The Medieval Mason*, pp. 205 and 237) is not very complete, but it may be summarized as follows (average prices in the decade 1501-1510 being treated as 100):—

1501-10	100	1603-12	470
1511-20	101	1613-22	506
1521-30	132	1623-32	520
1531-40	131	1633-42	519
1541-50	180	1643-52	557
1551-60	290	1653-62	541
1561-70	260	1663-72	554
1571-82	298	1673-82	596
1583-92	318	1683-92	585
1593-1602	437	1693-1702	682

1554-55	10d.	per day	(summer),	8½d.	per day	(winter).	
1555-57	10d.	„ „	(„),	9½d.	„ „	(„).	
1557-58	10d.	„ „	(„),	9d.	„ „	(„).	different
1558-77	12d.	„ „	(summer and winter).				men.

For a few years from 1577, it is difficult to determine what the ordinary rate was, some receiving 16d. and others 12d. In the late 1580's and early 1590's, 16d. and 14d. per day appear to have been the most common rates. From May, 1598, 16d. per day (summer and winter) seems to have been the basic rate until 1622, when it became 18d., or 20d. in the case of one man, these rates continuing until 1634. We could find no records for 1634-1643, after which date the rates appear to have been 22d. and 18d. per day until 1703, although certain masons from 1663 were in receipt of 30d. per day and, towards the end of the century, of 32d. per day.

It is quite clear from a more detailed examination of some of the Account Books that masons in receipt of 11s. and 9s. per week (*i.e.*, 22d. and 18d. per diem) in the second half of the seventeenth century, were also in receipt of additional sums in respect of work done under the arches or on the piers when tide was low. Payments for this kind of work were given as so much per man per tide¹; masons so employed were often called 'tide masons,' to distinguish them from 'land masons.' Whilst some masons appear to have been remunerated under both systems, others appear to have been paid an inclusive wage. An extract from the Account for the week ending Saturday, May 27th, 1665, will make this clear:—

Masons at land and tide

George Dowswell		11s.	
John Joanes	6 days	11s.	
William Ireland	6 days	9s.	
John Baker	6 days	15s.	
John Purser	6 days	15s.	
The said Dowswell, Joanes & Ireland	} 12s.		
8 tides each of them @ 4s. a piece			
John Whitwell	8 tides	3s. 4d.	

Tot. £3. 6. 4.

The number of tides worked varied from week to week, being as low as two in December, 1671, and as high as twelve in July, 1672. The average number worked in the twenty-one years from 1667 to 1687 was 9½ in July and 4½ in December. We are unable to say when this dual system of payment began; the method of paying for tide work certainly existed as early as 1381, when four masons and 21 tide-men were employed,² each category being apparently quite distinct. In July, 1515, for a few weeks, as we saw above, bridge masons were paid for a few weeks as tide-men, but that appears to have been only a temporary expedient. We are disposed to think that the dual system of payment developed with the great rise in prices in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, just as a method of working overtime grew up about that time.³ This would help to explain, in part at least, how the bridge masons managed to live in London whilst wages rose relatively little and the cost of living rose so considerably between 1530 and 1560. At what date the dual system became so firmly established as to give the bridge masons more or less a vested interest in it, it is impossible to say, but it may be noted that in March, 1612-13, when certain bridge masons who received 8s. a week were transferred for three months to Bowe, where tide-work was presumably not available, they were paid 11s. a week instead of 8s.

¹ The rate was gradually raised; it was 3d. per man per tide in 1462-63, 4d. in 1482-83 and in 1558-59, 5d. in 1564-65 and in 1576-77, 6d. in 1583-84 and in 1669.

² See Abstract of Account for 1381-82 in Welch, p. 257.

³ See *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 208.

In order to estimate a bridge mason's wages during the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, we have collected such other information as is available about masons' wage rates in London:—

1559	12d., 11d., 10d., 9d.	per day	(Rogers, III., 635)
1562	12d., 11d., 10d., 9d.	,,	(Rogers, III., 636)
1565	12d., 11d., 10d., 9d.	,,	(Rogers, III., 637)
1567	12d.	,,	(Rogers, III., 638)
1568	12d.	,,	do.
1569	12d.	,,	do.
1573	12d. (Ordinance Office)	,,	(B.M. Harleian MS., 1654)
1593	16d.	,,	(Rogers, VI., 619)
1614	22d., 20d., 18d. (Office of Works)	,,	(B.M. Harleian MS., 1653)
1630	24d., 20d. (Newgate)	,,	(Rogers, VI., 679)
1633	28d., 24d. (St. Paul's)	,,	(K.R. Misc. Bks., I., 67)
1639	24d. (St. Paul's)	,,	do.

With these figures in mind, and the movements in the predominant rates of wages for masons at Oxford and Cambridge as an indication of general changes in wage levels, we have formed the following general estimates of summer rates of wages at London Bridge from 1613 to 1662, earlier and later rates at the Bridge and rates at Oxford and Cambridge being added in order to give a more complete picture.¹

Table of Daily Money Wages in summer (without food) 1401-1703.

Years.	LONDON BRIDGE.	Oxford.	Cambridge.
1401-10	7½d.	6d.	
11-20	7½d.	6d.	
21-30	7½-8d.	6d.	
31-40	8d.	6d.	
41-50	? 8½d.	6d.	6d.
51-60		6d.	
61-70	8d.	6d.	6d.
71-80	8d.	6d.	
81-90	8d.	6d.	6d.
91-1500	8d.	6d.	
1501-10	8d.	6d.	6d.
11-20	8d.	6d.	
21-30	8d.	6d.	6d.
31-40	8d.	6d.	6-7d.
41-50	8d.	7d.	6-7d.
51-60	9-12d.	10d.	10-12d.
61-70	12d.	10d.	12d.
71-82	12-16d.	12d.	12d.
83-92	14-16d.	12d.	12d.
93-1602	14-16d.	12d.	12d.
1603-12	16d.	12d.	12d.
13-22	18-20d.	12d.	14d.
23-32	20-22d.	12d.	14d.
33-42	22-24d.	12d.	16d.
43-52	24-26d.	18d.	16d.
53-62	30d.	18d.	16-18d.
63-72	30d.	18d.	18d.
73-82	30d.		
83-92	30-32d.		
1693-1702	30-32d.		

¹ The Oxford and Cambridge figures are taken from Rogers.

MASONS' CUSTOMS.

(i.) *Apprenticeship.* In the sixteen Rolls of Accounts relating to the last two decades of the fourteenth century, and in the Account Books from 1404 to 1445, we have discovered no reference whatever to apprentices. As previously mentioned, there is then a gap of fifteen years in the records, during which period apprentices were probably to be found at the Bridge, for under the heading "wages of masons (*cementarii*)" in the Account for 1460-61, there occurs the following entry:—

Wages of Reginald Knyght, chief mason of the bridge, 6 weeks @ 4s., 24s. To the same for Thomas Hall, his apprentice, working with him in making and hewing and in placing of new stone work at the South end of bridge, 6 weeks @ 3s., 18s. And to Thomas Jurdan, chief mason of the bridge, 37 weeks @ 4s., £7. 8. 0. To the same for wages of Thomas Danyell, his apprentice, working with him, 36 weeks @ 2s. 6d., £4. 10. 0.

Danyell worked as Jurdan's apprentice for some $4\frac{1}{2}$ years (1461-1465), Jurdan receiving 2s. 6d. a week in respect of him for all the time except the last 19 weeks when he was rated at 3s. per week. In respect of his next apprentice, John Reyne (1467-74), Jurdan received 16d. per week for about $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, 20d. for about one year, 2s. for about $3\frac{1}{2}$ years and 3s. for about the last six months. Thomas Burbage had been Jurdan's apprentice for about four years when he left the Bridge at the time of Jurdan's death in 1482; throughout the four years he was rated at 20d. per week. Jurdan's successor, Thomas Danyell, Chief Bridge Mason from 1482 to 1487, appears to have had no apprentice. Thomas Wade, who succeeded Danyell, had no apprentice for the first two years; he then had Robert Oliuer for his apprentice for approximately three years (1489-1491), the wage being 6d. per day in the first year and 3s. 4d. per week in the last two years. After a gap of five years, Wade had John Browne as his apprentice for 49 weeks in 1496-97, for $47\frac{1}{2}$ weeks in 1498-99 and for some weeks in 1499-1500, his rate being 3s. a week all the time.

Whilst all six apprentices recorded from 1460 to 1500 are described as apprentices of the Chief Bridge Masons who drew wages in respect of them, the terms of apprenticeship seem to have varied very considerably in regard both to rates of pay and periods of service; also, in several cases the apprentices worked only very broken years at the Bridge, *e.g.*, Danyell, 23 weeks in 1562-63; Reyne, 36 weeks in 1467-68; Oliuer, $37\frac{1}{2}$ weeks in 1489-90. After 1500 the position became even less uniform. On the one hand, the Accounts do not indicate clearly to whom the apprentices were bound, and on the other hand, in four cases between 1502 and 1509, whilst Wade was still Chief Mason, the apprentices disappeared within a year or so: William Johnson 'prentis,' served for 21 days in 1501-2, William Geffrey was apprentice in 1501-2 and in 1502-3, Rychard Rabbett in 1505-6 and Thomas Barker in 1508-9; the wage paid in respect of the first three was 6d. per day and of the last, 7d. per day. Wade's other apprentice, Thomson, served for seven years from 1506-7 to 1512-13, the wage paid in respect of him being 7d. per day throughout, except for the first few weeks when he was rated at 6d.

Wade had a successor named John Orgar, who had an apprentice, Thomas Felde, for seven years from 1518-19 to 1524-25, in respect of whom 4d. per day was paid for the first two years, 6d. per day for the next three years and 7d. per day for the last two years. Before Felde, Orgar had an apprentice, Robert Holte, who served for four years. Orgar had been warden mason at the Bridge for some years before he became Chief Mason in 1513-14, but there is nothing in the Accounts to suggest that Holte served part of his apprenticeship with Orgar before the latter became Chief Bridge Mason. Holte's rate varied from 6d. to 7d. per day.

Leaving out Hall, who was apparently just finishing his apprenticeship when his master, Reginald Knyght, left the Bridge, we have twelve apprentices at the Bridge between 1460 and 1525; of these only three, Reyne, Thomson and Felde, served for seven years. Each of these either immediately or shortly after completing his apprenticeship worked at the Bridge as a journeyman mason, and the same was true of Danyell and Oliuer. Danyell had very possibly been Jurdan's apprentice elsewhere before he accompanied Jurdan to the Bridge, and Burbage may have gone elsewhere to complete his term when Jurdan died after he had served four years. We can only speculate as to why the other seven apprentices served less than seven years: the very short periods of service would suggest probations which proved unsatisfactory; others might be brought about by accidents or bad health; possibly one or two apprentices were transferred to the Chief Bridge Mason having commenced an apprenticeship with another mason. Nevertheless, the lack of uniformity both in the periods of service and in the rates of remuneration, the irregularity with which some apprentices attended to their duties, and the considerable gaps during which some Chief Masons had no apprentices, are distinctly perplexing. We are forced to the conclusion that apprenticeship was not a well-established system at London Bridge in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

(ii.) *Night work.* Reference has already been made to this point in connection with the supplying of food to masons, but it may be repeated here for the sake of regularity. So far as we can tell, night work was not usual amongst masons in the early fifteenth century, but was undoubtedly resorted to from time to time in special circumstances. We have found two instances recorded in the Accounts from 1404 to 1418. The first occurred in the late summer of 1406, when the 'Ffauxbrigg' was being erected. On September 4th, it is recorded that extra labour was hired and that 4lbs. candles for the "first night aforesaid" were purchased, whilst two bridge masons, J. Catelyn and H. Hook, received 16d. for their extra work. The second instance occurred in 1411 in connection with the market known as The Stocks. On April 11th, R. Beek, R. Gyboun and J. Cotes, masons, received 2s. 0d., "for their great labour one night."

In 1462-3 we have a note in our abstract of the Accounts "four masons watching and working at the pier near the drawbridge at night, per man per tide, 3d. each," and we cannot help feeling that night work on the part of tide-masons must have been fairly common. Certainly where they worked ten or twelve tides per week, as we found to be the case in the seventeenth century, some of the tides are likely to have been worked at night by means of torches or candles.

For purpose of comparison, two other instances of night work, or in any case work by artificial light, in the building trades at this period in London may be quoted. The accounts¹ for work on the Great Hall at Westminster in 1399-1400 show that 28lbs. of candles were bought for the carpenters and plumbers working at night in the Palace on various occasions between All Saints' (November 1st) and the Purification of Blessed Virgin Mary (February 2nd). In 1423, according to some accounts belonging to the Brewers Company, 2lbs. of candles were provided for the masons, carpenters and dawbers for mornings and evenings in the month of October.²

(iii.) *Masons as dealers in stone.* We have noted what appear to be a few cases of bridge masons selling stone to the Bridge authorities, but as we were primarily tracing 'wages' and not 'purchases' in the Accounts, we have probably overlooked many others. Furthermore, the Accounts would throw no

¹ P.R.O. *Exch. K.R.*, 473/11.

² Chambers and Daunt, *A Book of London English*, p. 168.

light on the subject if those bridge masons who were dealers in stone, sold their stone to independent builders and not to the Bridge Wardens. The first case is that of Richard Beek; on November 26th, 1413, we find the item "Paid Richard Beek, mason, for 12 tontight of rag, 12s.," and we see no reason to doubt that this Richard Beek was the same as the bridge mason of that name. The second case is that of John Clifford. On December 17th, 1417, among the purchases of the week were "fourscore feet pavynston, prepared, from wife of late J. Clifford, 8s. 10d." Clifford had died three months previously and it might be that his widow had established herself as a dealer in stone, but we think it more likely that Clifford himself had been a dealer in stone whilst holding his post under the Bridge Wardens, even though he may not have sold stone to the Bridge Wardens, but only to outsiders. The third case is more questionable. On April 16th, 1407, two carts of Reigate stone were purchased from William atte Mere and Henry Hook for 5s. 0d. At that time 'Henry Hook' was the name of one of the bridge masons and we think it likely that he dealt in stone. A further transaction in which a Henry Hook was involved is recorded in the next section and may be regarded as making the identity of the various Henry Hooks more doubtful.

In the Account for 1484-85, we find "Maister Danyell chefe Mason of the Briggghous" being paid for 862 feet of stone called "Briggeasheler" @ 42s. 2d. per 100 ft. delivered at Bridgehouse Wharf, Southwark and also for other stone; the following year Danyell was paid for similar stone at the same price. In 1488-89, Thomas Wade, chief mason, was paid for bridgeashlar @ 42s. 2d. per 100 ft. "by him purveyed and bought," and in several later years Wade was paid for bridgeashlar @ 35s. per 100 foot at Maidstone. Whether Danyell and Wade should be regarded as agents of the Bridge Wardens buying stone on behalf of the Bridge, or whether they should be regarded as principals in their stone dealings (and the same problem arises with regard to the cases of Beek and Clifford), we are disposed to think that in either case they probably gained some financial advantage out of the transactions.

(iv.) *Masons as carting contractors.* On April 23rd, 1407, the week after the Reigate stone had been purchased from Henry Hook, whose occupation is not given, but whom we are inclined to identify with Henry Hook, the bridge mason, there is the following entry in the Account:—

Paid to Henry Hook, brewer, for carriage of three cartloads of free-stone of Maydston 6s. 6d.

It would seem probable that this Henry Hook, brewer, was the same as the seller of the Reigate stone. We feel, however, that it is by no means impossible that Henry Hook, brewer, Henry Hook, carting contractor, and Henry Hook, mason, were one and the same. As we have pointed out elsewhere,¹ it is very likely that some masons, especially married ones, had agricultural holdings or other by-occupations, and we quoted the cases of a John Walsyngham mason, of Oxford, in 1391, who also appears to have been an innkeeper, and of Henry Yevele, who, at his death in 1400, left a brewery called "le glene." So far as masons acting as carters or carting contractors is concerned, we drew attention to several cases at Vale Royal Abbey.²

(v.) *Tools.* The municipal Regulation of 1350, which prescribes the wages to be paid to masons, also refers to tools:—

And for the making or mending of their implements they shall take nothing.³

¹ See *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 99.

² See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., pp. 30, 31.

³ Riley, p. 253.

We have discovered nothing in the Accounts to show who provided the masons' tools, with the single exception of 2s. 6d. paid in 1561 for a "toole for the masons,"¹ but there can be no question that the Wardens paid for mending and sharpening the tools, as there are frequent entries in the accounts of payments to smiths for "baterying masons axes" for "baterying iron instruments of masons," for "baterying and steeling tools for masons." There was presumably not sufficient work to provide full-time employment for a smith, as on big building operations, so the work was given out to various smiths, the names Lambkyn, Roger Godefast, Richard atte Hale, Richard Smyth and J. Toky (or Coky) occurring during the years 1404-18. The items, which appear quarterly or half-yearly, vary from 16d. to 6s. 11d.

In the sixteenth century a different method was adopted; an allowance of 18d. per annum for the steeling of his tools appears to have been made to each mason. The Account for 1541-42 contains the following entry:—

"To the same Bennett [mason] for stellynge of his tooles by this hole yere lyke as it hathe bene accustomed" 18d.

Three other masons received 18d. for the year and one 9d. for the half-year. Several similar payments for steeling tools occur in the Accounts of other years about this period. An entry dated 23rd June, 1666, records a payment to George Dowswell (chief mason?) of 5s. "midsomer quarter's benevolence for edge tools."

On at least one occasion (in 1488-89) twelve pairs of gloves were purchased for 2s. and given to the masons.

CONTINUITY AND REGULARITY OF EMPLOYMENT.

Reference was made earlier in this paper to the long spells for which several masons served the Bridge, and attention was also drawn to a diagram which illustrates this continuity of employment. During the period 1404-18, nothing appears to be said in the Accounts about the terms of engagement, comparable to the entries which occur a few years later. Under the date October 4th, 9 Henry V. (1421), we read: "Paid to R. Beek, J. Catelyn senior, J. Catelyn junior, masons, *hired for the whole week*, each taking 3s. 9d. per week—11s. 3d." A year later, on October 3rd, 1 Henry VI. (1422), an entry runs:—

Paid to Richard Beke, capital mason of the Bridge, *hired for the whole year*, viz., for himself and for John Catelyn senior and for John Catelyn junior, masons, *hired for the whole year*, each taking 3s. 9d. per week. To John Housewif mason, *hired for the whole year*, nothing here this week because absent on his own affairs this week 15s.

Item, to the same [R. Beke] for Wm. Warde, mason, *also hired for the whole year*, taking by the week 3s. 3s.

Item, to the same for John Dowse and Robert Chirche, labourers, *hired for the whole year*, to serve the masons, each taking by the week 2s. therefore this week 4s.

Whether during the period 1404-18 the regular bridge masons were technically hired by the week or by the whole year, there can be no question that several of them had more or less permanent engagements. But just as in the extract quoted showing the yearly hirings, John Housewif was not paid in the particular week "because absent on his own affairs," so from time to time the masons on the staff of the Bridge from 1404 to 1418 lost odd days or odd weeks.

¹ In the same Account, 6 axes and 6 adzes were bought for 22s., but they may have been for the carpenters.

Clifford, the Chief Bridge Mason, was on the pay sheets of the Bridge for 676 weeks, or thirteen years less a fortnight, during the whole of which period he only lost one week's pay, viz., for the week ending September 29th, 1414, when no mason received a wage according to the Account, though Clifford is entered as receiving his annual reward of 20s. and Beke his annual reward of 10s. that particular week. If we are right in thinking that John Clifford, bridge mason, was the same as John Clifford who was sworn master of the masons of the City of London in 1386, he must have been at least a middle-aged man from 1404, when the Account opened, to 1417, when he died. That a middle-aged man should never be absent from work on account of illness for a spell of thirteen years would be very exceptional even if the man followed a healthy occupation, but would seem almost incredible of a middle-aged mason following what is not a very healthy occupation on account of sandstone dust. We are inclined to think, therefore, that Clifford was paid if and when absent from work on account of ill-health, also that he was paid for any holiday he might take.

It has to be admitted, however, that when at a later date Thomas Danyell was engaged as Chief Bridge Mason, his wage was quoted (in the Account for 1482-83) as "at x. marc. by the yere" and he was paid £6 13s. 4d. in each succeeding year, and the same was true of his successor, Thomas Wade. Furthermore, when it was intended that a mason whose wage was quoted as so much per week should be paid by the week and not by the day, we find entries such as the following:—

To John Newman, hardhewer, 53 weeks "taking by the weke broken and hole 2s. 8d." £7. 1. 4.
(Account, 1497-1498.)

To John Orgar, warden mason of the same works, for his wages and fee by xliiii. weekes takyng by the weke broken and hole iiij s.
(Account, 1508-1509.)

As Clifford's wage was quoted by the week and not by the year and as nothing was said about "the weke broken and hole," either the method of entering up the Account changed during the course of the fifteenth century, or our surmise that Clifford was paid if and when absent should seem to be wrong and we have to believe that Clifford was really present at work for 675 weeks out of 676 and that he never lost an odd day during those 675 weeks. We have to confess that we find this very difficult to believe.

Catelyn, who was in the employ of the Bridge for the whole period 1404-18, had a slightly different experience from Clifford. Like Clifford, he received no pay in the week ending September 29th, 1414, but he lost time on other occasions amounting to some twenty weeks in all out of 731, or approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ weeks a year. On four occasions he lost a fortnight, on ten occasions a week, once five days, once three days, twice two days and once one day. Eight of the weeks he lost occurred in August (1406, 1407, 1412, 1414, 1415 (two) and 1418 (two)), and two in July (1416), which would seem to suggest holidays without pay or possibly leave of absence without pay to carry on harvesting or some other occupation. If the other ten weeks made up of a fortnight in January-February, 1410-11, and various odd weeks and days represent absence due to illness, he appears to have had a very creditable record so far as health is concerned—an average loss of four working days a year over a spell of fourteen years.

Beek, whose name first appears in the wage book in November, 1409, was still in the employment of the Bridge at Michaelmas, 1418. Like Clifford and Catelyn, he received no weekly wage in the week ending September 29th, 1414. Apart from this, he appears to have lost five weeks—a fortnight in August, 1413, and a week in September, 1413, in June, 1414, and in August, 1415. His absences, being all in summer, would look more like holidays or harvest work than illness, and it is not impossible that being apparently the second mason before

he succeeded Clifford as senior mason in 1417, the Bridge Wardens paid his wages if he was away for health reasons. In any case, he is hardly likely to have suffered from bad health as he remained in the service of the Bridge until 1435, and was then appointed to Canterbury Cathedral.

Taillour was a bridge mason for five and one-third years from January, 1411-12, to April, 1417. Apart from the week ending September 29th, 1414, he lost $8\frac{1}{2}$ weeks, of which four were in August (1414, 1415 and 1416 (two)). Leaving out what would appear to be holidays or harvest work, he lost on the average about five working days a year. There is nothing in the Account to show why he disappeared. The next week John Housewif figures on the pay roll for the first time and appears to have taken his place as a regular bridge mason.

If we turn to some of the bridge masons who had shorter periods of service, Roger Game (October, 1404-October, 1405) was paid for 53 weeks in succession without the loss of a single day! J. Broun (October, 1405-June, 1409) was paid for 149 weeks without the loss of a day, was then absent for six weeks in August-September, 1408, after which he worked again for nine months without the loss of a day; Henry Hook (October, 1405-May, 1408) during his $2\frac{1}{2}$ years lost three weeks (one in August, 1406, one in October, 1406, and one in September, 1407). The week after he dropped out, Robert Gyboun commenced work and served till November, 1411. He lost one week in February, 1408-9, was missing for ten weeks in succession from the end of August to the beginning of November, 1409 (whilst apparently engaged in preparing ashlar for the drawbridge), after which he worked for two years on the bridge, losing $5\frac{1}{2}$ weeks during that period.¹ He departed in November, 1411, when several temporary masons ceased work, but, unlike them, was not re-engaged the following spring. R. Rocheford twice served on the Bridge staff for spells of over two years. During the first spell (October, 1405-June, 1408) he lost three weeks in all (one week in July, 1406, one in August, 1407, and odd days in March, 1405-6, and April, 1407). During the second spell (April, 1411-August, 1413) he lost two weeks and one day.²

Looking at the records of these various masons, one is struck by the regularity with which they drew their weekly pay in an occupation which is generally regarded as being unhealthy on account of sandstone dust and subject to seasonal fluctuations on account of weather conditions. We are disposed to think that conditions at the Bridge were probably not typical of conditions in the building industry in general; the Bridge Wardens, as semi-public authorities, may have been more generous in the matter of payment of wages during illness than private employers; further, there was probably relatively little hewing or scappling of sandstone to be done, as the proportion of hardstone used was no doubt considerable, the chippings and dust from which were much less harmful to the lungs than sandstone dust. So far as the weather is concerned, frost and to some extent rain, tend to hold up 'laying' or 'setting,' but 'dressing' or 'hewing' of stone can be done under cover when the weather is unfavourable, unless the frost is especially severe, and much repair work, such as the bridge masons attended to, would be urgent and call for immediate attention, whether the weather were wet or fine, hot or cold.

London Bridge, as an employer of labour in the Middle Ages, must be compared not with the Crown, or some feudal lord engaged in erecting a castle or abbey, but with some church body, such as a Cathedral Chapter or a Priory, responsible for the maintenance and repair of a great ecclesiastical edifice. The Building Accounts of London Bridge correspond to the Fabric Rolls of York Minster; the Wardens of London Bridge, like the Chapter at York, had a regular establishment of workers and from time to time engaged extra labour when some

¹ Three days in April, 1410, and a week in July, 1410, in February, 1410-11, in March, 1410-11, in July, 1411, and in October, 1411.

² Three days in April, 1411, in June, 1411, in October, 1411, and in May, 1412, and one day in July, 1412.

special job was being carried out. We feel that men like Clifford, Catelyn and Beek, who held what were practically permanent appointments, were not representative masons of their age; probably masons like John Cotes and Matthew Birche, who each worked on several occasions for the Bridge over a period of years, were much more representative: a few weeks or months first on one job then on another, very probably with spells of unemployment in between, must have been the lot of many masons. Furthermore, as even the Bridge Accounts show, masons in casual or temporary employment did not receive such favourable treatment in the matter of holidays with pay, as did the regular bridge masons.

Whilst regular jobs in the service of the Bridge, other than the post of chief mason, do not appear to have called for a specially high degree of skill and, perhaps on that account, do not appear to have offered many opportunities for advancement to the higher positions in masonry, yet the men who held them must frequently have had reason to congratulate themselves on having obtained relatively safe and sure jobs in a particular town in an industry which was subject both to seasonal and long period fluctuations and which normally necessitated much movement from place to place.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Knoop for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. B. Telepneff, seconded by Bro. Elkington; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. J. Songhurst, W. K. Firminger, Geo. W. Bullamore, C. F. Sykes, and the Secretary.

Bro. B. TELEPNEFF said:—

W.M., it is with the utmost pleasure that I rise to second the vote of thanks proposed by you.

Every paper read by Bro. Knoop in this Lodge has added to the store of our knowledge and has testified to the author's erudition, diligence and ability in presenting the gist of most valuable documents, not seldom difficult of deciphering and of access.

Bro. Knoop's present paper is no exception in respect to these high qualities, and enriches considerably our knowledge on the fascinating subject selected by him. There is only one grudge which I have against Bro. Knoop: so concise and careful is he in his statements and annotations, so circumspect in his language, that he hardly ever leaves any ground for criticism!

It is often difficult to pass any remarks on his papers other than praises. However, the latter now having been done, I shall allow myself to indulge by way of comment in some reminiscences and reflections, which the perusal of Bro. Knoop's paper has stirred up in my mind.

To begin with, I take the romantic name of the famous Peter of Colechurch. A Masonic tradition still exists, and is widely spread among the teachings of several so-called "higher" degrees on the Continent, that this personage, elevated at one time to the rank of Court Chaplain by King John, was appointed by the latter in 1199 Grand Master of Masons; in this capacity he was to direct the building of the new stone bridge in London.

According to the same tradition, the structure was accomplished in 1209 by his successor as Grand Master of Masons, William Alemain (sometimes spelt Almain). This Alemain seems to have been an English master-mason of German origin, who worked on the completion of the bridge, but apart from the said legend possesses evidently still less claim to the high title of Grand Master than his "predecessor", who at least enjoys fully the doubtful authority of the *Book of Constitutions* of 1738.

The name of Isenbert (or Iseember) of Xaintes, a celebrated architect of French origin, who was recommended by King John for the task of completion of the Bridge structure, reminds one of another person, also supposed to have been connected with the building of London Bridge. In his *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* Kugler mentions a certain French Master William of Sens, who, according to him, had been working also on the construction of the Bridge. The said Master William of Sens is further alleged to have taken part in the building of the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, being later succeeded by William the Englishman.

Lenning's *Cyclopædia* considers it very probable that Xaintes, Sens and Almain might well have been one and the same person: the first two names having a close resemblance in their English pronunciation, and Almain¹ bearing the significant Christian name of William!

Be that as it may, one is on firmer ground with many other later names connected with London Bridge, and who, on reading the name of Henry Yevele, would not turn once again to the illuminating pages by our lamented Bro. Wonnacott, devoted to this highly esteemed King's Master-Mason?

Bro. Knoop makes a few passing references to the Brethren of London Bridge, to whom "letters of protection were issued in 1253". It is interesting to note that, apparently, a similar institution existed in the Middle Ages in France, especially in the South. Those Bridge Brethren (called *Freres pontifes* or *Freres du pont*, also *Fratres pontifices*) formed a Christian fraternity, whose purpose it was to build bridges, roads and hostels for the maintenance of pilgrims; they also provided ferry-boats and other conveniences for travellers, and protected them from the dangers of the road. To gather the necessary means for the carrying out of their objects, of so great an importance in those rough times, they wandered about the country collecting alms.

Two bridges built by those Brethren were particularly reputed and widely known: the Bridge of Bon-Pas, three miles from Avignon, and the Bridge of St. Esprit, across the River Rhone, in the district of Gard, the foundation of which was laid down on the 21st August, 1265. A House of the Fraternity, which served also as a guest-house, was situated at each of the two bridges.

Pope Clement III. declared in a bull of 1189 that, following the example of his predecessor Lucius III., he was taking under his protection the Fraternity of Bridge Builders and their possessions, expressly mentioning the benevolence and charity which distinguished their labours. The Brethren of this Fraternity, often called the Order of Bridge Builders, wore on their breasts as a token of their membership a jewel in the shape of a pickaxe.

A connection between the Bridge Builders and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem existed almost certainly, and it is even alleged that some sort of a union took place between the two Orders. Further, according to the doctrine professed by several Continental Rites and Grades, not unknown in this country, the Fraternity of Masons joined as well the Order of St. John; hence the derivation of "St. John's Lodges".

Thus the Bridge Brethren are brought, however fantastically, in close connection with Masonic Lodges; and up to now the token of the Bridge Builders is to be found worn by adepts of some French "high degrees". Apart from all such-like assertions, which mostly belong to the realm of Masonic romanticism, one wonders if any, and what, link has possibly existed between the English Bridge Builders and the French Brotherhood, many of whose aims and ideals sound so familiar even to the present-day Freemason?

One could comment and embroider further on the excellent canvas provided by the paper read to-night, but this I must leave to the Brethren more instructed

¹ Perhaps only a word used to express his German origin.

than I am in the particular subject dealt with by the two authors, to whom both our hearty thanks are due.

Bro. W. J. SONGHURST said:—

As a Londoner, I am naturally very much interested in anything connected with the old City, and I have made a few random jottings which, however, add nothing of value to the paper that has been read to us this evening.

It will of course be evident that London Bridge has occupied at least three different sites. The Saxon or early Norman structure would not have been demolished until 1209, when the stone building of Peter of Colechurch was completed, while the latter was not destroyed until 1833, when the present Bridge was opened for traffic.

It is with the stone Bridge of Peter of Colechurch that the present paper deals, and we know its precise position—or, at all events, the position of its Northern approach—because, when Wren rebuilt the Church of St. Magnus, he erected the Tower athwart the footway leading to the Bridge. The exact position of the earlier timber Bridge cannot be so easily ascertained, but it was probably only a few feet eastward.

Although the Bridge of Peter of Colechurch is spoken of as a stone structure, the stonework did not extend below low-water level. Clusters of wooden piles were driven into the bed of the river. These were capped with oak beams, and upon these the stone piers and arches carrying the roadway were erected.

It appears that there were only two stone structures upon the Bridge, a Gateway with Portcullis and Drawbridge near the Southwark end, and the Chapel towards the centre in which Peter of Colechurch was ultimately buried. The dwelling-houses and shops which lined the roadway were all of timber.

The present Mansion House, of which the first stone was laid in 1739, occupies the site of the Stocks Market which was established there in 1282 for the sale of fish and flesh. In 1737 the Market was removed to Fleet Market, and in 1827 to the present Central Markets in Farringdon Road.

On the Western side of the Stocks Market there ran—and still runs, underground—the Walbrook, draining the fens at Finsbury. On occasions of exceptionally high tides in the river, the water in the stream is held up and makes its presence known in the basements of houses that were built along its banks. It seems possible that a flooding or threatened flooding of the site caused the night-work of the Masons mentioned in the paper.

The Church of St. Christopher le Stocks stood at the corner of Princes Street and Threadneedle Street. It was pulled down for an extension of the Bank of England. The burial ground was not built over, and it was known as the Bank Garden.

The mention of Rochester Bridge reminds me that property in the City of London was formerly held for account of that Bridge. A house in Leadenhall Street (I think the last to be so held) was sold only a few years ago.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

The speculations concerning the employment of apprentices which Bro. Knoop puts forward are apparently based on the view that each apprentice should have served for a fixed term of seven years and would be worked on to a pay list from his first days of service. I think it extremely improbable that entirely raw hands were paid by the bridge authorities and that it was only as

assistants to their masters that the money was forthcoming. But for their services a labourer would have been necessary with each Mason. The period served by a London apprentice was any time from seven to fourteen years, the reason for the variable extent of their service being that they were not freed from their indentures until they reached the age of twenty-five and were indentured often long before they were eighteen years of age.

In studying the accounts of payments to Masons it is frequently to be noted that in addition to the Masons a corresponding number of labourers are engaged, and I assume that a Mason having an apprentice capable of the work would utilise him as a labourer and instruct him at the same time. Where there is a difference in the time served by the master and the apprentice it is always the apprentice who serves the lesser period, and this suggests that at the other times the master was engaged on work requiring no one to wait on him or assist him.

The entry of July 1st, 1419, about William Warde shows that although day rates were paid, the output was taken into account, and the variable amounts paid suggest that the work was carefully watched and the remuneration based on ability.

Bro. C. F. SYKES said:—

The writers of the present paper maintain the high interest which characterises their former contributions to this Lodge. To me the special attraction of these efforts lies in the manner, I might almost say knack, which the writers display in presenting before us a really living past. They give us the names and bring us in contact with the actual working Masons, show their employment week by week, their wage days and holidays, efforts of special zeal and ability attended by consequent promotion. Thus the writers create an actual scene for us, and it is this particular which differentiates the present paper from all my previous reading concerning the building of London Bridge.

Thompson, in his *Chronicles of London Bridge*, gives a wealth of detail concerning events associated with the Bridge, but chronicles very little of the men who actually built the structure or who subsequently kept it in repair. Apart from Peter of Colechurch and Isembert (who seems never to have worked at the site) I can recall no other actual names of bridge workers employed in the construction or subsequent repair. Thompson does not mention Masons until p. 294 (1st edition, 1827), when, quoting from Arnold's *Chronicle*, he gives the accounts of William Galle and Henry Bumpsted, Wardens of the Bridge for the year 1483. There the following occurs:—"Item masons wagis xlviij. li. xvij. s. iiij. d. ob."

For us as Masons, Riley's *Memorials*, p. '38, give us an interesting note. In 1298 two master Masons, Simon de Pabingham and Richard de Wetham quarrelled. They came before the Mayor and Aldermen, were reconciled, and the agreement provided that if subsequently the offence were repeated, he who was found guilty should give 100 shillings towards the fabric of London Bridge. This seems to be a very proper destination for a quarrelsome Mason's fine.

Letter Book D., folio 14, shows that on the 11th May, 1310, Master Richard de Wightman, mason of London Bridge, was admitted a freeman of the city by purchase and paid 1 mark.

I am able to consult only five of the Letter Books—*C.*, *D.*, *E.*, *F.*, *H.*—and this is the only allusion I can trace to a London Bridge Mason.

These examples demonstrate the difficulty encountered by the reader who has only the ordinary material available to obtain information relative to the men actually engaged on the Bridge construction or repair.

On the other hand, the extreme value of the present paper is made more than ever evident.

Stow says that after the death of Peter of Colechurch in 1205 the Bridge was finished by three London merchants, Serle Mercer, William Almaine and Benedict Bolewrite, "principal masters of that work". Can these three merchants in any measure be considered early examples of speculative Masons?

Nearly thirteen years ago—April, 1921—excavations were being made for Adelaide House at the N.E. corner of the present Bridge. Workmen there unearthed one of the arches of the original Bridge—the second from the N. end, known as the Mill Lock. This discovery provided a great surprise, as it was thought that every vestige of the old Bridge was demolished about 100 years ago. I took advantage of an offer to inspect this old relic, and while on the site a sharp rain storm caused me to take shelter under the arch. I blessed Peter of Colechurch and his brother Masons. I wonder if any brother present had the same experience and felt a similar thrill as came to me when I sheltered under the work of our operative brethren of 700 years ago?

I fear that little of my remarks has direct reference to the paper read on this occasion, but as items of interest concerning London Bridge they may not be considered entirely out of place this evening.

BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

The merits of this contribution as an authentic record of operative Masonry in connection with such an important and interesting edifice as London Bridge are so conspicuous that there is no need to do more than express our gratitude to the joint authors. The fact that they have not brought to light any phase of speculative Freemasonry as the result of their researches is, perhaps, indicative that in the period covered by their investigations the emblematic aspects of the Craft were not likely to be dealt with in the materials under consideration, even if any mystical interpreters of the processes and purposes of the Building art were then concerned with such transcendental applications.

There are three points which may perhaps be italicised:—

(1) The fact recorded by Stow as to the gratuitous contribution made by a mason to the great work:—

A Mason being maister worke-manne of the bridge, builded from the foundation the Chappell on London Bridge, of his owne proper expenses (Stow: *Annals*, 1615 Edition, p. 168, quoted by Gordon Home in *Old London Bridge* at page 338).

This outstanding fact prominently links up Thomas of London and Canterbury with the Masonic fraternity at a date earlier than the mention in 1388 of the Fraternity of Masons, London, founded at St. Thomas of Acon in Cheapside. The original Chapel was afterwards, towards the end of the fourteenth century, considerably altered or reconstructed.

(2) Welch, at page 67 of his *History of the Tower Bridge*, writes:—

Besides the statues which embellished the stone tower there stood on the Bridge two figures of Saints which the Citizens would probably salute with pious reverence as they passed along the Bridgeway.

On the West wall rose an image of St. Thomas of Canterbury. This is alluded to in an entry in the books for 1492:—

To Laurence Emler for the workmanship of the image of St. Thomas wrought in stone standing upon the wall on the West side of the said Bridge 40s., and a marginal note intimates that this statue was newly made by Emler.

At p. 65 of Welch's book the following occurs:—

Next year (1393) the Wardens went to some little expense in ornamenting the face of the Tower with effigies of King Richard II. and his consort. The images were cut in freestone by Thomas Wrenk and set within tabernacles.

Wrenk also executed three shields of the Arms of the King and Queen and St. Edward which were placed beside the Statues.

The Sculptor received £10 for his work. Double that sum was awarded to the artist who coloured the statues shields and protecting tabernacles.

This mention of Thomas Wrek or Wrenk is of interest because he was the first of the two persons named in City of London *Letter Book H.* as a Freemason in 1376. It will be remembered that the entry as to Freemasons was erased because, later in the record, and on the same occasion, the names of Four "Masons" were entered up, including at the head of the second entry Thomas Wrek and John Lesnes, his colleague in the original entry.

(A photograph of the said entries is incorporated in my paper on *Archbishop Becket and the Masons' Company of London, A.Q.C.*, vol. xli., pp. 130-157.)

I have a note that the Will of Nicholas Catelyn was dated or proved on 26th May, 1433, in the Commissary Court of London. Register More, fo. 348. He is described as Citizen and Mason of St. Dunstan West.

Bro. VIBERT said:—

The Masonic interest of the Bridge extends beyond the strictly operative statistics. There were certainly gilds of persons formed in association with the Stone Bridge and its predecessors; they presumably devoted their funds to its support. I have a record of four such gilds in 1179, but it is only a bare record of names and does not give us much information.¹

The point made by Bro. Knoop that the architect of Canterbury and the chief Bridge Builder were the same person gives us a very interesting light on the conditions of the Craft in the thirteenth century, and reminds us that the Craftsman was not exclusively concerned with cathedrals and ecclesiastical buildings. We may therefore hope to discover still more information about them from civil as well as ecclesiastical records. Then we know that the Chapel on the Bridge was dedicated to St. Thomas à Becket, whom a special fraternity of Masons at a later date took as their patron, as Bro. Williams has discovered for us. The whole question of Bridge Building Fraternities, which our Senior Warden referred to, is one of special interest for us as Masons. I have a good deal of material collected and possibly at some future time we may be able to have a paper on the subject from some Brother who can make a special study of it. The present paper adds one more to Bro. Knoop's valuable studies of early economic conditions.

Bro. KNOOP writes as follows, in reply:—

On behalf of my colleague and myself, I have to thank the Brethren for their kind reception of our paper and for their comments. Bro. Songhurst, Bro. Williams and Bro. Vibert supplement our narrative with particulars from sources other than the Bridge Accounts, and Bro. Telepneff gives us the benefit

¹ Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, xlv., sec. xv., p. 390.

of his wide knowledge of Continental Masonry. Of Master William of Sens, to whom he refers, there is authentic record in Gervase's description of the rebuilding of the choir of Canterbury after the fire of 1174.¹ William of Sens, a Burgundian craftsman, skilled in working in wood and stone, was master mason in charge of the work at Canterbury until disablement, the result of an accident, caused him to be replaced by William the Englishman in 1184. If the statement made by Stow, and quoted by Bro. Sykes, be accepted, William of Sens cannot have been identical with William Almain, a London merchant, who, after the death of Peter of Colechurch in 1205, was one of the principal masters of the work at London Bridge. In reply to Bro. Sykes, we may state that we regard William Almain and his two colleagues as early examples, not of speculative Masons, but of clerks or masters of the works. Such offices were commonly, though not always, held by clerics. In answer to Bro. Bullamore we can but affirm our belief that all the mediæval building accounts with which we are acquainted name and describe all the apprentices employed on the building works to which they relate, and indicate the wages paid in respect of apprentices to their masters. Such wages varied from one-third of the standard rate to the full rate, according to the period which the apprentice had served.²

Since our paper on London Bridge was written, our work has been mainly in other fields, but we have, in one or two instances, been able to make use of new information when revising the proofs for the press.

¹ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Series), iii.

² Knoop and Jones, *The Mediæval Mason*, 163.



FRIDAY, 2nd MARCH, 1934.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Rev. W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., W.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; B. Telepneff, S.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; Rev. A. W. Oxford, *M.D.*, P.G.Ch., Almoner; B. Ivanoff, Stew.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; and H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Geo. South, Ed. M. Phillips, H. B. Isaacs, L. G. Wearing, Albert Haddock, C. F. Sykes, A. E. Gurney, Major G. T. Harley Thomas, P.A.G.S.B., Thos. N. Palmer, Alfred Mond, S. A. V. Wood, A. H. Wolfenden, A. F. Cross, E. J. Marsh, P.G.D., T. W. Bailey, Geo. C. Williams, Wm. E. Moss, Fredk. Spooner, P.A.G.P., R. W. Strickland, F. Brown, Geo. F. Pallett, A. Regnauld, A. Thompson, Harry Bladon, P.G.St.B., as I.G., Lewis Edwards, J. F. Nichols, H. S. Bell, F. K. Jewson, H. A. Yoward, *Col.* Cecil Powney, P.G.So., G. D. Hindley, Chas. H. Lovell, A. E. Collins Nice, T. A. Thompson, H. W. Martin, Ed. B. Holmes, C. F. Bamford, L. H. Holliday, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, Wm. Smalley, Jas. J. Cooper, and A. F. Ford.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Herbert Courlander, L.R., Ethical Lodge, No. 753; J. Bridger, Temperance Lodge No. 169; T. M. Scott, W.M., Freedom & Courtesy Lodge No. 4762; W. R. Poole, P.M., Prosperity Lodge No. 65; Fred. C. Fordham, Waltham Abbey Lodge No. 2750; A. E. Loosley, P.M., Berkhamsted Lodge No. 504; W. H. A. Theemann, Pilgrim Lodge No. 238; A. Vandendries, I.P.M., L'Entente Cordiale Lodge No. 3232; F. N. Kirby, I.P.M., Faraday Lodge No. 4798; H. G. Sweet, P.M., St. Marks Lodge No. 857; James T. Shields, Ravensbourne Lodge No. 1601; Stem P. Bard, Templar Lodge No. 203 (N.Y.C.); Jens Schjerve, St. Olems Lodge No. 1 (Norway C.); H. E. Franch, P.M., Lodge of Honor and Generosity No. 165; A. Krougliakoff, South Eastern Bar Lodge No. 4332; and S. Ezechiel, P.Dis.G.St.B., Bengal.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. D. Knoop, *M.A.*, J.W.; Rev. H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.G.Ch., P.M., Chap.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., Stew.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; G. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., S.D.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, J.D.; Geo. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; John Stokes, *M.A.*, *M.D.*, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; and Major C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, P.G.D., Stew.

Three Lodges and Forty-eight Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. J. COLVIN WATSON, on behalf of St. John's Lodge No. 1712.

Pamphlet. A Charge delivered to several newly-initiated Brethren in St. John's Lodge . . . in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. December 5, 1776. By J. Rotheram, M.D. Newcastle: printed by Brother Robson and Co. MDCCLXXVI. 8vo. stitched. 20 pp.

Not in Wolfstieg, and not known to Oliver. The Dedication is to Wor.Bro. Francis Peacock, Master, Mr. Ralph Brown and Mr. Robert Harrison, Wardens, and the Brethren. The text follows the usual lines of the Charge, and is based on Preston.

By Bro. Col. E. C. FRANCK.

Tracing Boards. Miniature set, signed and dated on the first, Bowring, 1819. Size 8½ by 6 inches. Fitted into a specially made case.

By Bro. Dr. GEO. NORMAN.

Certificate of a Master Mason, printed from an engraved plate; issued to Peter Sankson by the Lodge Benevolent of the City of New York, and signed by S. Marsh, Master, Benjamin Hart, S.W., T. Wallace, J.W., and W. C. Gillen, Sec.

It seems probable that the Lodge worked under the regular G.L. of New York, for its members are stated to be Ancient York Masons, and the present G.L. was formed by Lodges warranted under the Atholl constitution. The Certificate bears endorsements showing that Peter Sanksen visited in 1816 Lodges at Kingston, Jamaica, and Port au Prince. Part of the engraved design is taken from the title-page of Hutchinson's *Spirit of Masonry*, 1775.

By Bro. J. J. HILLS.

Brass Tokens from Billingsgate Market, with Masonic emblems. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. Dr. JOHN STOKES.

A bound volume, with title Mappas Macon, containing a number of emblematic plates and blank certificate forms, associated with Continental rites. *Presented to the Lodge.*

Photographs of the newly-discovered version of the Old Charges, the *Fortitude MS.*, D.48.

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

Bro. Lieut.-Col. WM. E. MOSS read the following paper:—

FREEMASONRY IN FRANCE IN 1725 - 1735.

PART I. THE SOURCES, AND THE FIRST PARIS LODGES.

BY BRO. W. E. MOSS.

I. THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH.



THE beginnings of Freemasonry in France, like its origins in other places, provide plenty of riddles awaiting solution.

The recorded, printed *ex-cathedra* opinions of Masonic archæologists, as well as their unstudied *obiter dicta*, must all periodically be reviewed and subjected to minute re-examination, in the light of the information afforded by the precious radium-ores revealed in the once-hidden strata bared for our inspection by the flood-waters of Time and the upheavals of changing worlds.

The Essay following is rather a plea for careful enquiry in certain suggested directions, when definite material shall newly present itself, and so not go unregarded, than a contribution of new and unavailable matter to the existing store.

Masonic Research is not a trackless quest for a lost arcanum, mysteriously preserved from the illimitable past in some incomprehensible and fossilised form, but the study of the development of a living influence, modified continually by the circumstance, manners, and personal abilities of living men, determined often by their human association, political and social, and by their family ties, without some knowledge of which the outstanding Masonic personalities of the Past loom simply as unrelated enigmas.

When any supposed Masonic worthy of old times comes up for consideration, the first question is always: "Is there any proof that he was a Mason?" . . . and then: "Where was he made a Mason?" . . . "To what Lodge did he owe allegiance?"

If the said worthy be early enough in date, this kind of cross-examination often begs its own answer that the tradition is fallacious, because the questioner knows well that records of the date of a Masonic nature, to answer, do not exist.

But let us study his compeers, whether oldred or social. Are there Masons among them? With what corner of the old Masonic world were they connected? Was our worthy also a denizen of it? Let us go even further. What of his descendants and the near descendants of his social companions? Are any of these known as Masons? You may perhaps establish that a family had a habit of joining the Order. If so it seems to me that sceptics of the truth of your Tradition of the said worthy's Masonic connection have a stiffer job to establish their contention that the absence of formal proof that he was a Mason is an argument of any great force.

The conventional history of Freemasonry in France (I exclude the Lodge at Dunkirk, as apparently it does not concern us here) records first of all a Lord Derwentwater . . . meaning Charles Radcliffe, who was for the latter part of his life Fifth Earl of Derwentwater, as he did not recognise the attainder.

Charles Radcliffe is a shadowy figure in Masonic history, and is surrounded by figures perhaps more shadowy still.

The main body of Masonic historiographers regard him as a pure mirage, incapable of correlation with known facts.

Yet surely, one may urge somewhat of caution!

II. THE LALANDE TRADITION.

The important source of the tradition is not a confessed Gentile, like Dr. Plot, nor a 'magotie' Aubrey, but a responsible, if enthusiastic high Masonic officer, as man of long scientific training, and long the honoured occupant of a professorial Chair, of retentive memory, and yet incurably devoted to filling interminable notebooks with material of all sorts. And he wrote but a bare fifty years after the events he sets out to relate: Joseph Jérôme de La Lande.

Some respect is due to such a man.

There are also several witnesses, independent so far as one can see, of his relation and its probable sources, as they antedate him some forty years, and are not French.

The obscurity of the personages concerned in this Tradition, already obvious at the date Lalande wrote, argues against the theory of an invented history. It would involve more than the second degree of cunning to avoid pitfalls so many have tumbled into, in employing personalities either real but improbable, or wholly imaginary, to adorn their tale.

There was no need to do it. The tale neither added increased prestige to any one existing Lodge, nor romantic picturesqueness to a scientific *précis*, compiled in all sincerity, if a trifle hurriedly, by a wholly sincere man of science.

So far as the writer knows, the record of the First Paris Lodge is publicly preserved only by La Lande, . . . Lalande, or De Lalande, . . . he used all forms of the name.

It is faintly supported by two documents in the Archives of the Grand Lodge of Sweden, and by a few obscure and rare pamphlets printed in Germany, thirty odd years before Lalande's Essay appeared.

The usual premises for rejecting this History as wholly imaginative are:—

- (1.) The English Grand Lodge of 1717 knows nothing of any such body or persons.
- (2.) There is no proof that Charles Radcliffe was a Mason at all, and his youth when he fled the country in 1716 makes it quite improbable.
- (3.) "Lord Harnouester" is an imaginary name, and so are the Chevalier Maskelyne and Squire Heguerty: the others, stated to be English, "Hure" (or "Hurc" or "Hurre") and "Goustaud" (or "Gaustand") are obscure nobodies with quite un-English names.

It looks decisive and has a specious air of three independent reasons of cogency. But if (2.) admit of serious cavil, on grounds which would actually require (1.) to be, as it is, a fact; while (3.) is a simple misconception and exaggeration of the difficulties, the conclusion is weakened and ceases to be more than an unreliable positive deduced from two negatives, . . . which will not do, logically. It is not a 'complete solution.'

An attempt will be made to show that Charles Radcliffe was so much connected by family and social ties with the outstanding figures of the Old Lodge at York, that the probabilities are all the other way: he was closely connected both with them, and only less so, with some of the great ones of the Grand Lodge of 1717. But he could not well belong to both sides at once!

The Grand Lodge at York had no scruples in recognising the formation of a Lodge of French prisoners-of-war there in 1762. Perhaps it would have had no particular objections to authorising even a very youthful member to constitute a Lodge on French soil, less than forty years before. It may have had no special rules on the matter at all!



Title-page of *Chansons
Notées*, 1744.



Title-page of *Chansons
Notées*, 1737.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

SUPPLÉMENT
À
L'ENCYCLOPEDIE,
OU
DICTIONNAIRE RAISONNÉ
DES SCIENCES,
DES ARTS ET DES MÉTIERS,

PAR UNE SOCIÉTÉ DE GENS DE LETTRES.

MIS EN ORDRE ET PUBLIÉ PAR M***.

*Tantum series juncturaque pollet,
Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris !* HORAT.

TOME TROISIEME.



A AMSTERDAM,

Chez M. M. REY, Libraire.

M. DCC. LXXVII.

Title-page of *l'Encyclopedie*, 1777, containing
Lalande's Article on Freemasonry.

pour l'administration des *francs-maçons* : il fut grand-maître en 1685.

En 1717, il fut décidé que les maîtres & les surveillans des différentes loges, s'assembleroient tous les trois mois en communication ; c'est ce qu'on appelle *quarterly communication*, & à Paris, *assemblée de quartiers* ; lorsque le grand-maître eût présent, c'est une loge *in ample form*, sinon elle est seulement *in due form*, mais elle a toujours la même autorité.

En 1718, Georges Payne, grand-maître, voulut qu'on apportât à la grande loge les anciens mémoires concernant les *maçons* & la maçonnerie, pour faire connoître ses anciens usages, & se rapprocher des institutions primitives ; on produisit alors plusieurs vieilles copies de constitutions gothiques.

En 1719, le grand-maître Jean Théophile Desaguliers fit revivre l'ancienne régularité des *loasts* ou tantés que l'on porte dans les banquets ou loges de table à l'honneur du roi, des *maçons*, &c. mais on brûla beaucoup d'anciens papiers concernant la maçonnerie & ses réglemens secrets, sur-tout un qui avoit été fait par Nicolas Stone, surveillant sous Inigo Jones, & qu'on a beaucoup regretté ; mais on vouloit prévenir tout ce qui pouvoit donner aux usages de la maçonnerie une publicité qui est contre l'esprit de l'ordre.

Le nombre des loges étant fort augmenté à Londres, en 1721, & l'assemblée générale exigeant beaucoup de place, on la tint dans une salle publique, appelée *stationers-hall*. Les surveillans ou grands-gardes, furent chargés de se procurer quelques *stewards*, intendans ou freres, qui eussent de l'intelligence pour les affaires de détail, & d'avoir aussi des freres servants pour qu'il n'entrât jamais des *profanes* dans les loges. Le duc de Montaigu fut élu grand-maître & installé ; on nomma des commissaires pour examiner un manuscrit d'Anderfon, sur les constitutions de l'ordre, & l'on en ordonna l'impression, le 17 janvier 1723 ; la seconde édition est de 1767.

Ce fut alors que la réputation de la maçonnerie se répandit de tous côtés : des personnes du premier rang desirerent d'être initiées, & le grand-maître fut obligé de constituer de nouvelles loges qu'il visitoit chaque semaine avec son député & ses surveillans ; il y eut 400 *maçons* à la fête du 24 juin 1713. On avoit alors pour député grand-maître le fameux chevalier Martin Folkes, qui a été si long-tems président de l'académie ou de la société royale de Londres, & pour grand surveillant John Senex, mathématicien, connu par de beaux planisphères célestes, dont les astronomes se servent encore tous les jours.

Il étoit difficile que ce nouvel empressement des Anglois pour la maçonnerie ne s'étendît pas jusqu'à nous. Vers l'année 1725, mylord Dervent-Waters, le chevalier Maskelyne, M. d'Heguerty & quelques autres Anglois, établirent une loge à Paris, rue des Boucheries, chez Hure, traiteur Anglois ; en moins de dix ans, la réputation de cette loge attira cinq ou six cens freres dans la maçonnerie, & fit établir d'autres loges ; d'abord celle de Goustauf, lapidaire Anglois ; ensuite celle de le Breton, connue sous le nom de *loge du Louis d'argent*, parce qu'elle se tenoit dans une auberge de ce nom ; enfin la loge dite de *Buffy*, parce qu'elle se tenoit chez Landelle, traiteur, rue de Buffy ; elle s'appela ensuite *loge d'Aumont*, lorsque M. le duc d'Aumont y ayant été reçu, y fut choisi pour maître ; on regardoit alors comme grand maître des *maçons*, mylord Dervent-Waters, qui dans la suite passa en Angleterre, où il a été décapité. Mylord d'Harnouester fut choisi en 1736 par quatre loges qui subsistoient alors à Paris, & est le premier grand maître qui ait été régulièrement élu.

En 1738, on élu M. le duc d'Antin pour grand-maître général & perpétuel des *maçons* dans le royaume de France ; mais les maîtres de loges changeoient encore tous les trois mois. Il y avoit vingt-deux loges à Paris en 1742.

Le 11 décembre 1741, M. le comte de Clermont prince du sang, fut élu grand-maître perpétuel dans une assemblée de seize maîtres, à la place de M. le duc d'Antin qui venoit de mourir, l'acte fut revêtu de la signature de tous les maîtres & des surveillans de toutes les loges régulières de Paris, & accepté par les loges de provinces. M. le prince de Conti & M. le maréchal de Saxe eurent plusieurs voix dans cette élection ; mais M. le comte de Clermont eut la pluralité & il a rempli cette place jusqu'à sa mort. On créa pour Paris seulement des maîtres de loges perpétuels & inamovibles, de peur que l'administration générale de l'ordre, confiée à la grande loge de Paris, en changeant trop souvent de mains, ne devint trop incertaine & trop chancelante. Les maîtres de loges dans les provinces font choisis tous les ans.

La maçonnerie, qui avoit été plusieurs fois persécutée en Angleterre, le fut aussi en France : vers 1738, une loge, qui s'assembloit chez Chapelot, du côté de la Rapée, ayant excité l'attention des magistrats, M. Héraut, lieutenant de police, qui n'avoit pas une juste idée des *maçons*, s'y transporta ; il fut mal reçu par M. le duc d'Antin, cela lui donna de l'animosité ; enfin il parvint à faire fermer la loge, murer la porte & à défendre les assemblées : la persécution dura plusieurs années, & l'on alla jusqu'à emprisonner des *francs-maçons*, que l'on trouva assemblés dans la rue des deux Ecus au préjudice des défenses.

Cela n'empêcha pas les gens les plus distingués de la cour & de la ville de s'agréger à la maçonnerie, & l'on voyoit encore, en 1760, à la nouvelle France, au nord de Paris, une loge célèbre, tenue d'une manière brillante & fréquentée par des personnes du premier rang : elle avoit été fondée par le comte de Benouville. La grande loge étoit sur-tout composée de personnes de distinction, mais la sécheresse des détails & des affaires qu'on y traitoit pour l'administration de l'ordre, les écartèrent peu-à-peu ; les maîtres de loges qui prirent leur place, n'étant pas aussi respectés, le travail de la grande loge fut interrompu à différentes fois jusqu'en 1762 : il y eut alors une réunion solennelle ; l'on dressa des réglemens pour toutes les loges de France, on délivra des constitutions pour la régularité & l'union des travaux maçoniques, & l'on perfectionna le règlement de la maçonnerie en France, sous l'autorité de la grande loge.

En 1767, il y eut encore une interruption par ordre du ministère, dans les travaux de la grande loge ; mais elle les a repris en 1771, sous la protection d'un prince qui a succédé à M. le comte de Clermont dans la dignité de grand-maître, & qui s'intéresse véritablement à la maçonnerie. Ce prince a été solennellement installé & reconnu dans une assemblée générale des députés de toutes les loges du royaume, le 22 octobre 1773. Des maîtres de loges aussi zélés que lettrés, se font trouvés à la tête de l'administration, ont fait pour toutes les loges régulières de France de nouveaux réglemens, & la maçonnerie a repris dans le royaume une nouvelle confiance.

Si cette affociation a été suspectée en France, seulement parce qu'elle n'étoit pas connue, il n'est pas surprenant qu'elle ait été persécutée en Italie : il y a deux bulles de la cour de Rome contre l'ordre des *francs-maçons* ; mais comme elles étoient fulminées sur des caractères qui n'étoient point ceux des véritables *francs-maçons*, ils n'ont point voulu s'y reconnoître, & ils se regardent tous comme étant très en

BOURG, qui prémunit les Loges contre l'abus des signatures qu'il avoit confiées à quelques Particuliers sur des parchemins non-remplis. 5°. Une circulaire manuscrite, concernant les Grandes-Loges Provinciales. 6°. Une circulaire manuscrite, contenant une instruction pour les Loges qui veulent se faire reconnoître régulières par le G.^o. O.^o. 7°. Deux modèles de tableaux, l'un des membres de chaque Loge, & l'autre de sa correspondance.

Nous invitons les Loges qui ne nous ont pas encore fait parvenir ces tableaux, à le faire incessamment, & à nous envoyer un Mémoire circonstancié sur l'état de la maçonnerie de leur Province, avec l'adresse directe de toutes les Loges qu'elles connoissent, afin que nous puissions communiquer des instructions à toutes les Loges qui doivent en recevoir.

Nous finissons, nos très-chers Frères, en vous engageant à suivre l'exemple du G.^o. O.^o. par une continuation, ou plutôt par un redoublement de zèle pour l'Art-Royal, & d'exactitude pour la correspondance. En y ajoutant de la réserve & de l'examen dans l'admission des candidats, nous rendrons cette association plus respectable & plus utile à l'humanité; c'est-là le terme de nos desirs & la plus chère récompense de nos travaux.

Nous sommes avec les sentimens de la plus tendre fraternité, & par les N.^o. M.^o. connus des seuls vrais Frères,

TRÈS-CHERS FRÈRES,

Le Baron de Tournay

Vos très-affectionnés & très-dévoués
Frères,

Les officiers du G.^o.

(1) Pour établir l'uniformité & la sûreté dans les dates, le G.^o. O.^o. a décidé de ne plus y énoncer les semaines, & vous invite à faire de même.

Arrêté en l'Assemblée Générale, régulièrement convoquée, & fraternellement réunie sous le point géométrique connu des seuls vrais Sages au G.^o. O.^o. de France, lieu très-éclairé, très-régulier & très-fort, où règnent l'égalité, la paix & l'harmonie, le douzième jour du dixième mois de l'an de la vraie lumière cinq mille sept cent soixante-quatorze (1)°.

Collationné sur la minute, & vérifié par Nous Orateurs du G.^o. O.^o.

Madame

En l'absence de l'Orateur
de la Chambre d'Administration.

Leroy

Orateur de la Chambre
de Paris.

Guillot

Orateur de la Chambre
des Provinces

Vu & approuvé par Nous Grand-Conservateur

Le Duc de Mazarin

Timbré & scellé par Nous
Garde-des-Sceaux du G.^o. O.^o.

Paris-Méval

Par Mandement du G.^o. O.^o.

Murlet

Secrétaire-Général par interim.

Last page of *Etat du Grand Orient*,
12th August, 1774.

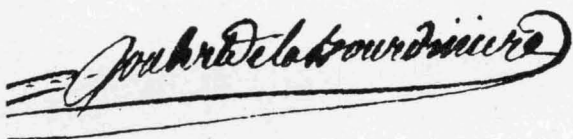
EXTRAIT DE LA DÉLIBÉRATION

*De la quatrième Assemblée de la Commission établie par le G.^o. O.^o.
en sa douzième Assemblée du douzième jour du sixième mois de
l'An 5774.*

LA Commission régulièrement assemblée le septième jour du septième Mois 5774, s'y étant fait représenter un exemplaire de la lettre circulaire, arrêtée au G.^o. O.^o. dans sa douzième assemblée, pour donner avis aux LL.^o. de sa correspondance de plusieurs objets intéressans, & principalement de la démission du V.^o. F.^o. Baron DE TOUSSAINT, Secrétaire Général, elle a remarqué qu'à la page 2, ligne 16 de ladite circulaire, après ces mots du F.^o. Baron de TOUSSAINT, l'Imprimeur avoit omis les paroles suivantes: *nous lui avons accordé des lettres d'Officier Honoraire du G.^o. O.^o. pour le récompenser du zèle qu'il a montré dans les pénibles fonctions de son Office, &c. .*

Sur quoi, la matière mise en délibération, & les voix recueillies, il a été arrêté, que lesdites paroles ne pouvant pas être rétablies sur la circulaire imprimée, & déjà signée par les Orateurs, il en seroit fait un carton, lequel seroit ajouté sous le même sceau à ladite circulaire, avec extrait de la présente délibération; lequel extrait seroit signé, par mandement de la commission, par le V.^o. F.^o. SAVALETTE DE-LANGES, faisant les fonctions de Secrétaire Général par *interim*, & par le V.^o. F.^o. JOUBERT DE LA BOURDONNIERE, spécialement député par la Commission pour cette signature.

Fait & arrêté les jours, mois & an, avant dits.



Signé GUILLOTIN.



Postscript dated 7th September, 1774, annexed to *Etat du Grand Orient*,
of 12th August, 1774.

(96)

———— Société Royale de Londres, & pour Grand-
NÉMOIRE Surveillant, Joha Senex, Mathématicien connu
HISTOIQ. par de beaux planisphères célestes dont les Af-
 tronomes se servent encore tous les jours.

On publia à Londres en 1735, un Tableau de 129 LL. qui y étoient établies depuis 1691, avec leurs noms, leurs devises & la date de leur établissement. Milord Weimouth étoit alors Grand - Maître. Ce Tableau se trouve rapporté dans le quatrième Volume des *Céramonies Religieuses*.

Il étoit difficile que ce nouvel empressement des Anglois pour la Maçonnerie ne s'étendît pas jusqu'à nous. Vers l'année 1725, Milord Dervent - Waters, le Chevalier Maskelyne, d'Heguerty, & quelques autres Anglois établirent une L. à Paris, rue des Boucheries, chez Hurc, Traiteur Anglois, à la manière des sociétés Angloises; en moins de dix ans, la réputation de cette L. attira cinq ou six cents Frères à la Maçonnerie, & fit établir d'autres LL.; & d'abord celle de Goustaud, Lapidaire Anglois; ensuite celle de Le Breton, connue sous le nom de L. du *Louis d'Argent*, parce qu'elle se tenoit dans une Auberge de ce nom; enfin, la L. dite de *Buffy*, parce qu'elle se tenoit chez Landelle, Traiteur, rue de Buffy; elle s'appella ensuite L. d'Aumont, lorsque

From *Etat du Grand Orient*, 1777. Reproduced, by kind permission, from the copy in the Library of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

(97)

lorsque le Duc d'Aumont, y ayant été reçu, y eut le titre de Maître. On regardoit comme Grand - Maître Milord Dervent - Waters, qui, dans la suite, passa en Angleterre où il a été décapité en 1746 (1). Milord d'Har-nouetter fut choisi en 1736, par quatre LL. qui subsistoient alors. Il est le premier Grand-Maître qui ait été régulièrement élu. Le F. de Ramfay étoit Orateur. En 1738, on élut le Duc d'Antin pour Grand-Maître perpétuel; mais les maîtres de LL. changeoient encore tous les trois mois. Il y avoit en 1742, vingt-deux LL. à Paris.

MÉMOIRES
HISTORIQUES

Le 11 Décembre 1743, le Comte de Clermont, Prince du Sang, fut élu Grand-Maître perpétuel, dans une assemblée de seize Maîtres, à la place du Duc d'Antin qui venoit de mourir. L'acte fut revêtu de la signature de tous les Maîtres & des Surveillans des LL. régulières de Paris, & accepté par les LL. des Provinces. Le feu Prince de Conti & le Maréchal de Saxe eurent plusieurs voix dans cette élection; mais le Comte de Clermont eut la pluralité, & il a rempli cette place jusqu'à sa mort. Peu-a-peu

(1) C'est celui dont on voit une Lettre écrite à sa femme qui étoit pour-lors à Paris, le 18 Décembre 1746, veille du jour où il fut décapité pour avoir pris les armes en faveur du Prince Edouard. Mercure de Janvier 1773, pag. 191.



APOLOGIE
 Pour l' Ordre
 des
Francs-Maçons

* * *
 Par Mr. N * * *
 Membre de l'Ordre.
 Avec deux Chansons
 composées par
 Le Frère Américain.



A LA HAYE,
 Chez PIERRE GOSSE,
 MDCCXLII.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

That the London Grand Lodge of 1717 should know nothing of it is hardly surprising.

As to Objection (3.) it is hoped to show that the weird nomenclature of the various characters is susceptible of explanation, and that it conceals persons of real social eminence in an aristocratic sphere. The names are due to nothing more than a 'literary' Frenchman writing phonetically where he thought he didn't know the exact spelling, but remembered, from oral source, their sound, . . . and writing hopelessly wrong, when he did think he knew the spelling.

Regrettably, nothing new can be adduced as regards either ceremonial, historical setting, or degrees given by the First Paris Lodge, beyond the merest hint that it no doubt dealt in the 'Ecossais' form of procedure, whatever it was. But they regarded it as right 'York Masonry' I do not doubt.

Perhaps they did not deal overmuch in 'Degrees' meticulously numbered and embodied in disparate rites. Their ceremonies may have sometimes spread over two or more different dates of meeting, sometimes have been run consecutively: cases where a later precisian would have either furnished 'numbers' or the reverse.

III. EARLIEST PRINTED SOURCES.

We will take first the small group of uncommon printed books, some in German, some in French, or asserted German translations of French originals to-day unknown, which are reputed to support the historical existence of this Paris Lodge. No single one of them, I believe, names 'Lord Harnouester.'

Up to the present I have been unable to get *literatim* excerpts from most of these bibliographical rarities: so we must do with what we have, as recorded by others, not always ungrudgingly.

In reading these second-hand versions, it is often most difficult to make out whether a work actually refers to the Paris Lodge of 1725, or to Derwentwater in either explicit or unmistakable terms, or whether it contains some cryptic allusion, which may be so interpreted . . . evidential matter of less value.

Be that as it may, I here enter up these confusing publications, and try to get some order among them, premising, that while there is nothing inherently improbable in the claims made for them, there is no reason to think that Lalande relied on any of them when he wrote his Essay. He may have seen some, when resident in Germany, and dimly recollected scraps therefrom: for this reason, they are not necessarily independent witnesses for his tale!

Kloss and Wolfstieg numbers are appended, and have been verified. Taute numbers I cannot check. I have ventured to add translations of both German and French, to enable anyone interested to grasp details without getting down a dictionary: but my translations are I hope, idiomatic English, rather than word-for-word transliterations of the several originals:—

I* Wunderbare Reise des Printzen Fan—Férédin nach Romanzy oder in das Land derer irrenden Ritter. Nebst allerhand Anmerckungen, welche zur Historie, Weltbeschreibung, Naturlehre, Critic und Sittenlehre dieses Landes gehören.

Aus dem Frantzösische übersetzt.

Hamburg und Leipzig. Leipzig, Boetii seel. Tochter in Comm. 1736. 162 S. 32-mo. Kupfertitel.

Wolfstieg 35723. Not in Kloss.

To which Wolfstieg appends a note:—

"Nach Angabe des Herrn Rechtsanwalts Kullmann, Wiesbaden, in dessen Besitz sich die Schrift befindet und der in einer auf S. 127-128 befindlichen Stelle eine Anspielung auf den schottischen Meister insbesondere auf Lord Derwentwater erblickt."

That is to say:—

“The Wonderful Travels of Prince Fan Feredin to Romanzy, or to the Land of its witless Knights. With a variety of notes germane to the History, Topography, Natural History, Opinions and Ethics of this Country.

“Translated from the French etc. etc. Engraved Title (or frontispiece).

“162 pages. 32-mo.”

But of course it is the Note which raises such inquisitiveness. A printed book of 1736 mentioning ‘Derwentwater’ . . . and ‘Scots Masters’!

Here is the Note:—

“according to the statement of Herr Kullmann, Barrister-at-Law of Wiesbaden, in whose possession this work is, there is a reference on pages 127 and 128 to the ‘Scots Masters’ as well as to ‘Lord Derwentwater’.”

Such, in 1736, has some importance, and it is a pity Wolfstieg did not tell us more of this intriguing work.

I have been unable to obtain verification of this queer allusion, but the French original of 1735 is in the British Museum Library: pressmark, 634.o.9. I have myself the second French edition, “Voyage merveilleux du Prince Fan Feredin dans la Romancie: contenant plusieurs observations historiques, géographiques, physiques, critiques & morales. A Paris, chez P.G. le Mercier, rue St. Jacques, au Livre d’Or. 1738.” 275 pp.

The Approbation and Privilege are dated March, 1735. There is a dedication to one Madame C . . . B . . ., which reveals nothing. It was written by a certain Guillaume Hyacinthe Bougeant (who wrote a History of the Treaty of Westphalia, 1727, and ‘Philosophical Amusement upon the Language of Beasts’ trs. into English 1739 and 1740, upon which one J. Hildrop, who has elsewhere animadverted upon Freemasonry, wrote a critique, 1742). The German version may have something foisted into it, which is not in the French: and that, too, may be a ‘roman à clef’ and the personages named, such as “Le Grand Paladin Prince Zazaraph” . . . “le Calife Scha-Schild-Ro-Cam-Full” . . . “Tancrebsai” . . . “la Princesse Rigriche” . . . may point at real individuals. But it is desperately dull rodomontade, packed with allusions to Swift, to Cyrano de Bergerac, to ‘Tanizai & Néadarné’ and much else of a type which ‘Candide’ much later, made living literature.

Please note that the German “oder in das Land derer irrenden Ritter” of the title is nowhere in the French. Curious! And there is a book, but where? . . . “Der Irrgarten der Freimaurer, Jerusalem, 1744.” Kloss 280. Wolfstieg 924, with a hopeless reference to a year-book of 1831.

IV. “SCOTS MASTERS” IN 1735.

As to there being any ‘Scots Masters’ say, in 1735, is it altogether impossible? These rare birds seem to have been fairly frequent twenty-five years later!

On this, see Chetwode Crawley, *A.Q.C.*, xviii., 79, on H. Sadler’s “Unrecorded Grand Lodge”:—

“Our colleague would identify . . . this hypothetical [*i.e.*, ritual system differing from that of the 1717 G.L.] mode of work with the ‘Scots Degrees.’

“I must preface my expressions . . . with the candid admission that I do not know what is meant by the ‘Scots Degrees.’ But this I do know, that the Degrees which present themselves as Scots Degrees . . . to-day . . . cannot have been the Scots Degrees of the quotations. The system of Degrees which our American brethren are never tired of calling ‘the Scottish Rite’ had no connection with the Freemasonry of Scotland in the eighteenth century.”

Yet, we find that one 'Scheffer' claimed to have received 'the Scots Degrees' in Paris somewhere between 1737 and 1744, probably about 1742.

I do not follow Chetwode Crawley. How can he be sure that something which he knew, when he wrote, cannot have been, in origin, something (of similar name) of whose nature he admitted he knew nothing?

The 'Ecosais' of the eighteenth century may have a legitimate descendant to-day even though neither that nor the 'Scots' be the 'Freemasonry of Scotland' whatever that rather generalised term be intended to include.

Is it possible that what puzzled Chetwode Crawley is a too literal rendering of 'Scots' as a geographical or racial expression, when it may only have been an *equivoque*?

May it not have connoted what some called 'St. John's Masonry,' meaning the ways and work of certain Lodges known to be outside the pale of the G.L. of 1717?

And 'St. John's Masonry' may have based this term and perhaps other things too, on a queer rendering of the closing verse of the 'Benedictus' or 'Hymn of Zacharias':—

"To be a Light to them that sit in Darkness and in the Shadow of Death."

For some reason, our 'Early Brethren' were 'Grecians' and eschewed Latin, . . . perhaps because it was 'Roman' . . . and they went to Greek for their vehicle of expression . . . and so, some rather perverse rendering of:—

ἐπιφάναι τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ ἐν σκία θανάτου καθημένοις

whereby the word σκότει, by attraction to the word σκία, has taken the form σκοτία, also a perfectly good Greek word for the same thing, has resulted in its 'transmogrification' into 'Scotia.' And it has been suggested to me that σκία has been equated with the Scots "skian"—a dagger!

Of course, the Hymn of Zacharias refers to St. John Baptist, but the two Saints John were both adopted masonically, and somewhat confused in the process.

A whimsical notion, doubtless, but "they that sat in Darkness" might be no inept phrase for some matters of old 'Scots Masonry.' One remembers a very early critic adverting to "Dark Rooms, Ladders and Drawn Swords" as something unusual but found in select places! (*Grand Mystery Discovered*, 1724.)

A similar misuse of Greek might produce odd things from the well-known sentence from the Gospel of St. John: the actual Greek is on the Grand Lodge Seal of 1732, . . . :—

"In the Beginning was the Word,"

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ᾗν ὁ Λόγος

which may have been rendered alternatively, as an 'arcanum,' "The Word was in an Arch" or, "The Word was in an Ark." I am not even certain that the word "Land-Mark" itself has no odd relationship! It is not Kabbala, but it is akin to that curious method of extracting recondite significations for didactic and 'secret sodality' purposes.

And about the time when one may, and I think, must, suppose that these matters were taking shape in men's minds, there was a widespread fondness for giving English books titles printed in Greek letters; not infrequently some awkwardly-built compound word of very pseudo-Greek composition. Of course, the famous "Eikon Basilike" of 1649 gave a great impetus to this habit, though it did not actually begin it. I once made a small collection of these titles, and reached about a hundred. I make no claim that it has anything whatever to do

with a Masonic misuse of Greek, but the 'literary habit' itself may have been the reason for its Masonic employment. This use of Greek to 'conceal and reveal' at the same time, seems to me purely English. I find no parallels of any importance either in French, Italian or German literary work. .

As to 'Scots Masters,' Sadler has shown that in January, 1746, the Royal Cumberland Lodge at Bath made them; and in October, 1746, the Lodge at Salisbury made several, including the then Master of the Lodge. Chetwode Crawley himself says (*A.Q.C.*, xxiii., 179n): "The Order of the Temple was established in Ireland before 1769 and the Rose Croix in Dublin in 1782, years before any trace of the Degree or Rite is found in any English-speaking jurisdiction. The Higher Degrees have been worked in Dublin continuously since the above dates."

I think Crawley is far too sweeping. He entirely ignores the possibility that the 'Scots' or 'Ecossais' may be equivalent to something else of a different name.

V. THE "ADDITIONS TO ANDERSON."

We now come to a series of books of a very different type.

Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, translated into French by Jean Kuenen, was published by Jan van Xanten at the Hague in 4to., 1736, 95 pp. with engraved frontispiece. This is Kloss 134; the edition of 1735 is probably imaginary. Is Van Xanten a common name? A Bro. Van Xanten was one of the petitioners for a Warrant for the Lodge at the Gun Tavern in Jermyn Street in 1737. He was perhaps a 'gentleman's gentleman' to Colonel Montague.

It is said that a translation in Dutch (? , undated), by the same Kuenen exists, by the same publisher.

Then De la Tierce, a member of the Union Lodge at Frankfort, made another translation into French. He says he made it in 1733 while he lived in London, but did not print till 1742. But it contains a great deal of other matter, including translations of the "New Regulations" of the second 'Anderson' of 1738. This was published by Varrentrapp of Frankfort in 8vo. in 1742. Kloss 138. I have two copies of it.

Kuenen's translation was then re-translated into German, by whom I do not know, and published at Frankfort and Leipzig, by Blochberger in 1741. Kloss 135. There is a copy in the Q.C. Library, No. 6573. There was another edition almost at once, and then a third, with the same imprint, described as 'widely augmented' which includes a Supplement of writings on Freemasonry, under a separate title, which is dated 1743; and this was also sold separately from the rest of the book. The title is (the numbers prefixed are mine):—

- I. Anhang zum Constitutionen-Buch der Freymaurer worin eine Sammlung verschiedener zum Vortheil dieser Ehrw. Gesellschaft aus Licht gekommenen merckwürdigen Schutz-Schriften, Reden und anderer Vertheidigungen enthalten.

Frankfurt a.M. Andreä, 1743. 188 S. 1 Kupfer-titel.

Wolfstieg 23738. Kloss 278. Taute 1440.

"Supplement to the Book of Constitutions of the Freemasons wherein is contained a collection of noteworthy Apologies, Speeches and other Defences brought to light for the advantage of this worthy Fellowship."

Frankfort on Main; Andreä; 1743. 188 pages. Engraved Title.

This Supplement is supposed to be "chiefly drawn from" the following:—

- II. Der sich selbst vertheidigende Freymäurer oder Sammlung unterschiedlicher wohlverfassten Schriften welche einige Mitglieder dieses Ordens selbst

zu dessen Vertheidigung herausgaben nebst einer vorläufigen historischen Nachricht von dieser vortrefflichen Gesellschaft.

Frankfurt & Leipzig, 1744. (48) and 255 S. 1 Taf. 8vo.

Wolfstieg 23739. Kloss 285.

"The Freemason defending himself; or a collection of divers well-composed treatises which some members of this Order themselves published in its defence, combined with an extended account of this excellent Fellowship."

Wolfstieg evidently thinks that the 'Anhang' appeared first; the dates would naturally suggest this. It was reprinted in 1762 (Kloss says 1764) in the same format with the same number of pages. Kloss says it is 'alike, page for page' with the separable portion of the 1744 Constitution-Book.

But whatever the order in which these two appeared, both incorporate the matter of:—

III. Schutz-Schrift für den Orden der Freymäurer durch den Herrn N . . . , Mitglied des Ordens. Aus der Frantz. ins Deutsche übersetzt von J.P.M. etc.

Halberstadt 1743, Schopp. 96 S. 1 Kupfer.

Annexed to this is a Circular Letter from a Member of Lodge "Zur Einigkeit" at Frankfort, on the Masons' Secret:—

Wolfstieg, included under the head of IV.

"Brief for the Defence of the Order of Freemasons by Monsieur N . . . , Member of the Order." Halberstadt, Schopp, 1743. 96 pages. 1 Copper-plate.

The Lodge "Zur Einigkeit" was already working in March, 1742, as an offshoot of the Union Lodge at London, and received a Constitution from Grand Lodge at London in June, 1742: in 1744 it was numbered 192.

The original of III. is the French work

IV. Apologie pour l'Ordre des Francs-Maçons, par M. N * * * membre de l'Ordre, avec deux chansons composées par le frère Américain.

La Haye, Gosse: 1742. 118+3 pp. 1 plate. 8vo.

Wolfstieg 23736. Kloss 277 and 276.

There is a copy in the collection of Bro. Wallace Heaton. I have examined this beautiful copy in its fine old gold-tooled red morocco binding. It is printed in larger type and on thicker paper than the second edition, and the title-page is adorned with some lines in red letters. There is an interesting engraved frontispiece, unsigned, which I do not think I have met with elsewhere. The two 'Songs' by the Frère Américain are at the end, engraved on three full-page copper-plates, with the music. The text, so far as I could judge, is identical with the second edition, but the spelling, at least *quâ* accents, looks rather better! Still, the writer avoids doubled letters in the same way, . . . 'ofrir,' 'efets,' . . . etc.

Apparently also issued with imprint "Dresde: Walther, 1742."

I have a copy of the second edition, La Haye, Gosse, 1744, of (3)+62+(1) pages, but no plate, nor any sign of one missing.

Wolfstieg also notes "1745, La Haye: nouv. ed. augm. par l'auteur, 126+(3) pages, and 1 plate." Also "1780, 'Londres'" and "1785, La Haye" both of same collations as the 1745 edition.

The title-page of the second edition simply describes the author of the "deux chansons" as "Le Frère * * * *."

Like the first edition, it is dedicated to the "Très Haut Très Illustre et Très Vénérable Frère, Le Chevalier de L * * * G.M. D.T.L.L.D.D.L.H.S."

Like the first also, it contains the puzzling line in the second 'chanson' alluding to the 'bumper toast,' 'au CHEVALIER DE L'AIGLE.'

Bro. Tuckett discusses this in *A.Q.C.*, xxxii., 11 and 53-54, noting that the "Recueil de Chansons, 1762" (which I have myself), prints the line "aux CHEVALIERS DE L'AIGLE," as though it referred to the members of a Degree, and not to a Personage.

It seems that the first edition has the dedication to the 'Chevalier de L * * * *' with five asterisks, and not three, which has tempted the reading 'L'Aigle.'

But I feel we must look elsewhere. The place of printing of this Apologie is curious. Why the Hague and Dresden? If one may be allowed to guess at this alphabetical dignitary, may one propose 'Grand Maître De Tous Les Loges Du Duché De La Haute Saxe'? Lower Saxony got a Provincial G.M. in the person of Lüttmann, from G.M. the Earl of Kintore, 1740, and an earlier, in 1730, from Norfolk, G.M., Friedrich de Thoms.¹

Gould, *History* iii., p. 92, compares the language of the 'Rélation Apologique, of J.G.D.M.F.M., 1738,' with that of Ramsay's 'Oration' (as printed by De la Tierce), commenting on the odd spellings affected by the former, such as 'aprendre' . . . 'combatre' . . . 'dificile,' etc.

The 'Apologie of Mr. N * * *' uses just the same orthography: I have noticed 'ofrir' . . . 'Suprimé' . . . 'Oposé' . . . 'efets' . . . 'suposer' and 'raport.'

On p. 90, Gould dismisses my X.b. as merely a second edition of X. with imprint 'Londres, 1749.' Is it? And did Gould really see the 'Rélation Apologique . . . chez Patrice Odonoko, Dublin, 1738'? Or did he see Mr. N * * * *s, and conclude that they were identical?

The enquiry into the identity of 'Mr. N * * * *' is interesting. Kloss says he was Felix Nogaret. This may be echoed by Quérard, *Dict. des livres anonymes*, etc., who notes the 1745 edition thus: "This little work has been attributed to M. Nougaret but it is more probably by Felix Nogaret, who was a Mason and published several masonic works" . . . (his acknowledged works seem to be dated 1797 and 1807, *vide* Kloss) . . . "but there is an error in the date of the book as Nougaret was born 1740 and Nogaret in 1742, and 1745 cannot be reconciled with this." My copy of the second edition has an early owner's MS. note on its title-page, "Lu 9^{bre}. 1744," which disposes of the 'wrong date' theory. P. Kruger in 1877 makes "Mr. N." to be Laurent Natter, the engraver of the Sackville Medal; a wild improbability! Wolfstieg notes that a copy of the first edition in the Library of the G.L. of the Three Globes at Berlin has the blank after "N" completed to read "Nodot." Surely this means "Naudot" . . . the author of the little book "Chansons notées" of 1737 and 1744? And, sure enough, the first of the Frère Américain's chansons, 'Puisque cet air plaît à la ronde,' is found in the 1744 'Chansons notées' on p. 62! It is not in the 1737 edition, as is natural, if the 1742 'Apologie' were its first appearance. The 'Chevalier de l'Aigle' chanson is not in the 'Chansons notées' 1744. Was it 'unsuited' to a Paris audience? The Frère américain is one "Lamarque" frequently found mentioned in early French G.L. literature. His "American" origin came from the West Indian Island of S. Domingo.

¹ Since this paper was written I have had an opportunity of consulting the paper by Bro. Telepneff in *A.Q.C.*, xlv., on Freemasonry in Poland. I find there that Count Rutovsky, the King of Poland's brother, . . . in 1741 became Grand Master of Upper Saxony, and Governor of Dresden. This seems to confirm my guess, especially when we remember that the badge of Poland was the Eagle.

I now add these to my list, as bearing on the matter:—

- V. Chansons notées De la très vénérable Confrérie des MAÇONS LIBRES. Précédées De quelques Pièces de Poésie convenables au sujet, Et d'une Marche. Le tout recueilli et mis en ordre PAR FR^{re}. NAUDOT, 1737.

(Paris? or Amsterdam?) engraved entirely. 12mo. 32 or 40 pp. Wolfstieg 39684. Kloss 1503.

- V.a. Ditto, second edition.

Chansons Notées de la très vénérable Confrérie DES FRANC-MAÇONS Précédées de quelques Pièces de Poésie convenables au sujet, et d'une Marche. Dédiées Au très respectable GRAND MAITRE DES LOGES DE FRANCE Monseigneur LE COMTE DE CLERMONT Prince du Sang. Le tout recueilli et mis en ordre PAR FRERE NAUDOT 1744.

Paris? 12mo. 96 engraved pages on 49 leaves, *not from the same plates as the last edition.*

The actual Dedication copy was offered by Messrs Maggs a good many years ago: in citron morocco with Masonic emblematic tooling, and Clermont's arms. It was formerly in Charles Cousin's library, and was No. 770 in his Sale, April, 1891.

- VI.-VI.a. Two Documents in the Archives of the Grand Lodge of Sweden; one signed by "Derwentwater" as Grand Master, and one by "Macleanne."

- VII. LE SCEAU ROMPU ou la loge ouverte aux profanes par un franc maçon Cosmopolis (Paris) 1745. 69 pp. 8vo. Wolfstieg 29971. .

States that Freemasonry was introduced at Paris about seventeen years before, . . . *i.e.*, about 1728.

Another edition of the same entitled "Le secret violé." Amsterdam, 1757.

There is some possibility that the writer was Louis Travenol.

VI. EXPOSURES AND APOLOGIES.

Let us now take an orderly view of the rest of the material, mostly exposures, and Apologies, translations of both, and Press references, which aid in fixing dates, which last are lettered in order:—

- a. Dring 163. March, 1737: From Paris, "Copies of an apologising Letter were made public . . ."
- b. Dring 164. 26th April, 1737: ". . . at Paris copies of an apologising Letter wrote by a Free Mason . . ."
- c. Dring 174. 13th September, 1737: "The Lieutenant-General of Police has published an order . . ." (authorising publication of an 'Exposure').

- VIII.a. Dring 187. Masonry farther Dissected; or, more Secrets Of that Mysterious Society Reveal'd. Faithfully English'd from the French Original just publish'd at Paris, by the permission and Privilege of M. de Harraut, Lieut-General of Police . . . Likewise an Appendix,

wherein are contained: I. The Free-Masons Reception in Foreign Parts. II. The Free-Masons Apology, as publish'd at Paris. III. Free-Masons a dangerous Society; from the CRAFTSMAN.

London, J. Wilford 1738.

Wolfstieg 24504.

VIII.b. "The Free-Masons Apology." See Chetwode Crawley, *A.Q.C.*, ix., 84. Dring notes: "There is no doubt that the Apology was translated from the same original as that named in No. 163." This will be again mentioned.

VIII. The assumed French original of the Apology, presumably Paris, 1737, at the latest.

IX. The assumed French original of VIII.a., the 'Exposure': its title in English being nothing but an attempt to recall Prichard's 'Masonry Dissected.'

X. *Rélation Apologique et Historique de la Société des Francs-Maçons*, par I.G.D.M.F.M.

Dublin, chez Patrice Odonoko, 1738. 8vo. 92 pp.

Wolfstieg 34500: Kloss 251.

Two copies only are recorded, one in the Library of the Great National Mother-Lodge at Berlin, and one in the Library of the Five United Lodges at Hamburg. The 'Dublin' imprint is surely fictitious? . . . and='Paris.'

X.a. 18th February, 1739. A 4to. broadside condemning X., title printed as above, to be burnt by the hangman.

Romae, Typis Reverendae Camerae Apostolicae.

d. Dring 204. June 21st, 1739, "Pennsylvania Gazette." From London, April, 1739: from Rome, a month since . . . there was burnt . . . &c. &c. . . by Chevalier Ramsay, in defence of Free-masonry entitled *Rélation Apologique et Historique de la Secrète des Francs-Maçons*, par G.D.M.F.M.A. Dublin chez Patrice Odonoko 1738."

Note the variation in the alphabetic author's name, and the ascription to Ramsay. Dring says: "This was published at Paris in answer to 'Masonry farther Dissected' printed by order of the Lieutenant-General of Police . . ." meaning, of course, to the French original of that portion of "M.F.D." which claims to have so been published.

XI. Dring 207; *An Apology for the Free and Accepted Masons Occasioned by their Persecution in the Canton of Berne; with the present State of Masonry in Germany, Italy, France, Flanders, and Holland.* By J.G.D.M.F.M.

Dublin, Patrick Odoroko. 1739.

Quoted apparently by Dring from Scott's 'Pocket Companion,' 1754, citing Oliver, 'Revelations of a Square,' 61-62, in support of the title.

I shall have more to say about XI.

X.b. Kloss *sub* his 251, No. X. above, also gives another edition, which is 'Rélation apologique et historique, contenant l'ordre et l'établissement de la Société des Franc-maçons ce qui se pratique dans leurs assemblées & les cérémonies qui s'observent à la réception d'un nouveau confrère.'

Londres, aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1749. 8vo. 62 pp.

Only one copy is recorded, in the Library of the Lodge 'Sokrates zur Standhaftigkeit' at Frankfort a/M. Kloss amplifies his remarks thus: "Erste umfassende und gründliche Vertheidigung der Freimaurerei welche am 1 Feb., 1739 zu Rom vom Henkershand verbrannt wurde." (It was burnt on the 26th.) "No. 284. Alle Gründe sprechen dafür das Andreas Michel Ramsay der Verfasser war. Übersetzungen finden sich in 131 und 278."

I do not understand Kloss's reference to "No. 284," which is a Görlitz book of 1743. I translate Kloss:—

"The first comprehensive and fundamental Defence of Freemasonry, which on 1 Feb. 1739 was burnt at Rome by the hangman. All indications point to Chevalier Ramsay as its author. Translations are to be found in 131 and 278."

No. 278 is my No. I. above. No. 131 follows.

Kloss cannot have seen X.b. Surely it is another 'Exposure'? He could not have credited Ramsay with that!

XII. Gruendliche Nachricht von der Freimäurern nebst angehängter historischer Schütz-Schrift.

Frankfurt, Andreä, 1738; 140 pp. Engraved title. 8vo.

Wolfstieg 770; Kloss 131. Copy in Library of Supreme Council 33° London.

XII.a. Ditto, another edition 'augmented' 1740 (3)+144 pp. Engraved title.

To translate:—"Account from the foundation of the Freemasons: with an appended historical Defence &c., &c. . . ."

This 'historical SCHUTZ-SCHRIFT' cannot be No. III. above (J.P.M.'s translation of Mr. N * * * *), as the latter's date was 1743 and its French original 1742. Nor was Naudot's mainly historical, but apologetic. Wolfstieg's note on 770, amplifying Kloss, that it is a translation of Smith's 'Pocket Companion' (Rider's, 1735) omitting the Songs, and adding 'an account of the State of Freemasonry in England, Germany, Italy and France, and Holland,' shows that it probably derives from that part of XI. (minus the 'Berne business') which is similarly entitled, . . . "Germany, Italy, France, Flanders & Holland."

It also includes a woodcut of the 'Sackville Medal': a most valuable evidence that its date, 1733, is quite genuine.

e. Dring 221. April, 1743, 'Gentleman's Magazine.' "From Rome . . . was lately burnt &c. . . . by order of the inquisition, a piece in French wrote by the Chevalier Ramsay . . . entitled 'An Apologetical and Historical Relation of the Secret of the Freemasons, printed at Dublin by Patrick Odonko'"

This news-item furnishes no date for the book! Dring notes again that this is an answer to the original French form of 'Masonry farther Dissected.'

VIII.b. Entered briefly above after VIII.a. Wolfstieg 23732. Quoting Begemann, Wolfstieg says it is a free prose-rendering of the 'Apologie des Francs-Maçons' of 'Procope' (*i.e.*, Michel Coltelli, Doctor of Medicine) which appears in Naudot's Chansons Notées of 1737 and 1744.

XIII.a. Le Secret des Francs-Maçons (by Gabriel L.-C. Pérau). Genève, 1742. 8vo. (and later edd. 1744, . . . three, . . . 1745, 1759, 1762.)

XIII.b. Les Secrets de l'Ordre des francs-maçons dévoilés et mis au jour par Mr. P. (by Pérau).

Amsterdam (*recté*, Frankfort) 1745. Contains the preceding.

- XIII.c. L'Ordre des francs-maçons trahi, et le secret des Mopses révélé.
Amsterdam, 1745 (and a very large number of later editions).
Wolfstieg 29956, 29962 and 29963.

The last-named has Travenol's 'Catechism' sandwiched in the middle. The rest is by Pérau. The 1778 edition of the last-named, at the end of the 'Epître Dédicatoire' has a signature in 'square cypher': a note printed says: "This signature is not in the Paris edition &c." So there is an assertion that there was a Paris edition! For a great deal more on Pérau, and a long list of foreign literature, French and German, with Masonic references, see Tuckett, 'Origin of the Additional Degrees,' *A.Q.C.*, xxxii., 7 *et seqq.* He was seeking for records of these Degrees: I am purely concerned for independent witnesses to the existence of the First Paris Lodge which Lalande's story propounds.

- XIV.a. An Apology for the Free and Accepted Masons Occasioned by their persecution in the Canton of Berne. Translated from the French, by a Brother. Printed at Frankfort. 1748.
Pocket Companion, Scott, 1754, pp. 237-281.

- XIV.b. Ditto. The presumed French original of the foregoing.

I hardly think it necessary to include Prichard's 'Masonry Dissected,' 1730, in this List, although it was about the first publication to set going the unending stream of Exposures and speculative revelations.

Its French edition is actually mentioned on p. 114 of the 1778 *Les Francs-Maçons Écrasés*, where it is stated that it was printed at Liège.¹ But under its catchpenny title 'Réception Mystérieuse' it has an imprint, 'Londres, Compagnie des Libraires, 1738,' which much resembles the imprint of Xb.

I have endeavoured to construct a sort of 'railway-guide' to these various publications, putting in italics any work presumed once extant, but not known as to-day in any library or collection. I hope I have not overlooked discoveries recently chronicled!

I have a note to make on Bro. Tuckett's most valuable paper referred to above, in *A.Q.C.*, xxxii., 12, where he observes that Père Simonnet says 'Rapin Toiras aux *fastes d'Angleterre* 11^{me} volume' declares that Freemasonry in England was founded in 1692: but Bro. Tuckett was unable to verify this reference of Simonnet's.

Rapin de Thoyras died in 1725 and his History was first published in 1723-27 in ten volumes quarto: there is a bibliography in 'R. de Cazenove, "Rapin" Paris, 1866.' Rapin's own work ends with the accession of William and Mary in 1688.

Volumes XI. and XII. were published at the Hague in 1734-35 and were by David Durand, a French Protestant pastor, who had a chequered career. Born in 1680, he saw events both in Holland and in Spain, where, at the Battle of Almanza, he would have been burnt alive, but for the intervention of the Marshal, the Duke of Berwick.

Thereafter he went *via* France, Switzerland and Holland to London, where in 1711 he commenced Pastor of St. Martin's Lane French Church, removing later to the Savoy. In 1728 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. He died in 1763. He was a very likely person to pick up scientific small-talk on Masonic origins.

¹ *De l'origine des Francs-Maçons (les Francs-Maçons Écrasés . . . &c. . . . 1778)* . . . "Nous n'avons pas même besoin de remonter jusqu'au Fondateur de l'Ordre pour trouver l'exécution réelle des peines exprimées dans leurs serments; notre temps n'en manque pas . . . L'une de ces infortunées victimes de la colère de l'ordre a été un Anglais appelé Pichard (sic!) qui l'an 1736, si je ne me trompe fit imprimer en François à Liège un ouvrage in-douze qui l'on a dans la suite traduit en Allemand, en Anglois et en Italien . . ."

Original.	Translations.	Reprints and later edd.	Press references to original.	References to Ramsay and to G.D.M.F.M.	Reference to J.G.D.M.F.M.
French Paris 1735	FAN FÉRÉDIN: (Bougeant) German: by ? Leipzig 1736	French Paris 1738 etc.			
English London 1730	MASONRY DISECTED: (Prichard) French: by ? "Londres" . . . (Liège) Réception Mystérieuse 1738	English London 1730, 31, 33, 35, 1737			
English London 1737	SECRETS OF MASONRY: (Prichard) French: Pérau Geneva or Amst'dam Secret Dévoilé 1742	French: by ? Amst'dam Ordre trahi 1745			
French Paris 1737	(MASONRY FARTHER DISSECTED): by ? English: by ? London (with appendix) 1738	English Sept., 1737			
French "Dublin," i.e., Paris 1737	RÉLATION APOLOGIQUE: by ? English London? 1738	French "Dublin," Paris 1738	English March, 1737	American June, 1739 "Odonoko"	English (Scott's Pocket Comp. 1754 "Odonoko"
	German: by ? Leipzig "Gründliche Nachricht" 1738 and 1740	French "Dublin," i.e., Paris 1739	English April, 1737	English April, 1743 "Odonko"	
	German: by ? Frankfort "Anhang zum Constitu- tionen-Buch" 1743	French ¹ "Londres," i.e., Paris 1749			
	German: by ? Frankfort and Leipzig "Der sich-selbst vertheidi- gende Fr'mr" 1744				
French Paris or Amsterdam? "Chansons notées" 1737	APOLOGIE DE PROCOPE: (Michel Coltelli) . . . in verse English (in prose) London "Masonry farther dissected" Appx. 1738	French ² Frankfort "Histoire des Francs-Maçons" 1742			
		French Paris "Chansons notées" 1744, 2nd ed.			
French La Haye 1742	APOLOGIE PAR M.N. . . . German: by "J.P.M." Halberstadt "Schutz-Schrift" 1743 German: ditto "Der sich selbst" 1744	(Naudot) French La Haye 1744			
French Frankfort 1748	APOLOGY . . . OCCASIONED BY THE PERSECUTION IN . . . BERNE English Scott, Pocket Comp. 1754				

¹ Doubtful whether this is not a different work.² Also in the "Gründliche Nachricht, 1738, p. 72.

I may note a very curious further perversion of the putative printer of the *Rélation Apologique*. There is a bibliography of Masonic literature, . . . indeed, by far the earliest serious attempt at any such thing, . . . in Bode's "Taschenbuch," a slice coming out in each of the four annual numbers for 1776-1779.¹ No. 86 in the list in the 1777 number is "*Rélation apologique & historique de la Société des Francs-Maçons, par J.G.D.M.F.M. à Dublin, chez Patrice Odonocky 1738 in 8vo.*"!

On March 21st, 1737 (N.S.), the Chevalier Andrew Michael Ramsay, then fifty-seven years and upwards of age, a Fellow of the Royal Society and D.C.L. of Oxford, designed to deliver his Oration to the "Grande Loge Anglaise" at Paris. Perhaps he never really did deliver it: he certainly wrote it, and its first known appearance in print, in a disreputable almanack (the *Almanach des Cocus*) suggests that it was purloined.

De la Tierce publishes it in 1742, but says that it was pronounced by the Grand Master in Grand Lodge at Paris in 1740, . . . that is, by the Duc d'Antin. He may be wrong, but after all he was writing less than two years after the event. May not both of the accounts be true? That Ramsay wrote it for delivery 21st March, 1737 (Thursday) N.S., or 10th March in the English calendar, but did not deliver it, and that it was kept back till 1740: Cardinal Fleury was then eighty-seven years old, and much less inclined to take notice. This might explain why it then got into print in 1741, and not earlier.

It must be remembered that the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for a month, say 'March' in the English calendar of 1737, was not published till about the 5th or 6th April; that is, 16th-17th April in contemporary French usage. My second 'Press notice' . . . b. Dring 164 of 26th April corresponds to 7th May. That is to say, supposing the former notice to have been really fresh news, the 'Apologie' may have appeared at Paris some three weeks later than 21st March, the intended day for the 'Oration.'

Next, we hear on 13th September, 1737, . . . September 24th in France, . . . of the 'Exposure' published by 'order of the Paris Lieutenant-General of Police.' It may be an earlier edition of the 'Réception Mystérieuse' of which I think only the 1738 edition is known.

But, even so, surely the 'Apologie' cannot be a counterblast to a subsequent publication!

It might have been a sort of apology for the non-delivery of the Oration, . . . to fill a void, not by Ramsay, perhaps even a purely speculative 'ballon d'essai.'

My view is that it was a short letter in broadside form, not improbably without any author's pseudonym attached. Does not Wilford's *Masonry farther Dissected* confirm this? The Exposure may have come out quite early in 1738. Anyway, by that time he also owned the 'rights' (!) of *Masonry Dissected*.

And then, what of the Roman inquisition episode?

The pamphlet they condemned was dated 1738: it is now a *Rélation Apologique et Historique* . . . it is claiming 'authority' and treading on corns. From a broadside letter it has grown into a small pamphlet, and has achieved a small measure of repute. It apparently runs to further editions, 'Dublin 1739' and 'Londres 1739' . . . which I accept as probable dates, but lying imprints, as no one had any interest in inventing fictitious dates.

What the Cardinals objected to was the assumption of historical authority in matters of belief and conduct claimed for Masonic bodies.

¹ There is, however, a 'bibliography of masonic literature' in the "*Almanach des Francs-Maçons pour l'année 1757*" . . . Imprimé . . . MMMMDCCLVII. . . . (Paris)." 18mo.!

That the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' April, 1743, inserts it again need not detain us. It is merely a garbled version of the American Press note 'd.' of 1739. They had to leave out the date 1739 as it would give away their news service too badly!

I now come back to the oddest member of the group under consideration,
. . . Dring 207. No. XI.

It is a non-existent work!

It is a conflation of two titles:—

"The Apology of the Free and Accepted Masons occasioned by their Persecution in the Canton of Berne with the Present State of Masonry in Germany, Italy, France, Flanders and Holland. Printed at Frankfort, 1748."

The above being an English translation of a French title, the wording of which cannot be confidently stated, as it is nowhere given *literatim*. With the line inserted before the imprint, "Translated from the French, by a Brother," it makes its first appearance in Scott's 'Pocket Companion' of 1754.

The other title is, of course, that of the 'Inquisition Pamphlet' of 1738, considerably altered in form ('*Rélation Apologique*,' etc.).

Now the Ordinance of the Great and Little Councils of Berne was dated 3rd March, 1745. It could not possibly be dealt with in a protest with date 1738, or 1739, let alone 1737, which, it seems, must have been the date of the first edition of the '*Rélation Apologique*' broadside Letter.

Dring discusses (*sub* his 207) whether 'Oliver relied on Kloss,' etc., for this weird publication!

Sad to say, I fear it means that Dring never read the 'Apology' either in the 1754 or the 1764 editions of the 'Pocket Companion.' Because the two differ materially, and there is some material which is almost decisive.

The source of the bibliography of the '*Rélation Apologique*' is the 'Apology,' and not poor Kloss! No English original is asserted to have existed, nor is it even implied, . . . I think the contrary fact is a plain inference.

Here it is:—

The Decree of the Roman inquisition dated 18th February, 1739, as translated in the edition of 'Scott,' 1754, from the original Latin, runs thus:—

"The Sacred Congregation . . . of Cardinals . . . and Inquisitors-Generals . . . against heretical Pravity . . . thoroughly weighing that a certain Book, written in French, small in Size; but most wicked in Regard to its bad Subject, intituled, *The History of, and an Apology for the Society of Free-Masons, by J.G.D.M.F.M., printed at Dublin, for Patrick Odoroko, 1738*, has been published . . . Wherefore the same sacred Congregation . . . has ordered that the said Work shall be burnt publicly by the Minister of Justice in the Street of St. Mary Supra Minervam, on the 25th of the current Month, at the same Time the Congregation shall be held . . ."

(Signed and sealed on the 25th February, 1739.)

Thory, 'Grand Orient,' 1812, pp. 295-8, prints the Latin text, followed by his own rendering into French. The title of the book is given in French and not Latinised. It reads "*Rélation Apologique et Historique de la Société des Francs-Maçons par I.G.D.M.F.M. . . . A Dublin chez Patrice Odonoko, M.DCC.XXXVIII.*"

It is quite correct. A copy of the original broadside decree was offered by Messrs. Maggs in their Catalogue 577 (1932) No. 1814.

So "Odoroko" is a misprint of 'Scott' 1754.

Now the 1754 'Scott' contains a real title-page for the 'Apology' (not the *Rélation*) and a two-leaf Dedication, which is surely the dedication of the original in the French language. These pages are not numbered, but are actually pp. 237-42 of the whole pagination system, and the second leaf of the dedication has signature 'M.'

The Dedication is . . . "To His Excellency The Most Reverend and Right Honourable HENRY, Count DE BRUHL," . . . and a number of titles among which one may select, . . . "President of the Chamber of Finances and the Mines, and Director-General of the Excise and Customs of His Majesty the King of Poland . . ."

There is not much here to supply any very new ideas, but the following phrases may be worth repetition:

"Of all Societies, ancient or modern, the most worthy and respectable, is the Order of Free-Masons, which Society has been rendered very famous, and spread themselves with inconceivable Celerity into every Corner of the World, where Arts and Learning have found a Name . . ."

"Having the Happiness to be initiated into the Secrets of a Society so illustrious, I think it my Duty, publicly to make known my Zeal and Ardour, for every Thing that can be either for their Defence or Glory; and seeking for a Protector under whose auspicious Patronage I might shelter these Reflections, I knew none better acquainted with the Justice of the Cause I had to defend, or more able and willing to support the same, than Your Excellency . . ."

". . . nor less will be my Satisfaction, for the Regard that your Excellency has shewn for the Merits of the Cause, and the approving my Zeal for the Fraternity."

I have not made any great research into Count Henry von Brühl. His biography in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is not encouraging! Beyond being a great personage, in Saxony, he is described as having been 'so garrulous that he could never keep a secret' . . . a nice Patron for Masonic Zeal! He died in 1763, more or less in disgrace. Four of his sons seem to have been somewhat important in the 'Strict Observance.' (Woodford, *Encyclopædia*.)

The title-page and dedication do not appear in the 'Scott' of 1759, nor in the edition of 1764, nor is there any suggestion that it is translated from the French, nor any reference to Frankfort as its original place of publication.

I want to draw attention to this Dedication, as surely no *English* Masonic writer of the date would dedicate his work to this personage, even in the heyday of his career? But do not let 'Translated from the French' make you suspicious that 'Frankfort' is fictitious, in the same way that the French text of the *Rélation* makes one doubt 'Dublin.' There were many books printed in French at Frankfort.

The question then is, whether a version in the German language preceded the French. That the French version included the dedication is obvious: I suspect that there was no German original: any German version was later, though not necessarily by much.

A few pages further on, in the Scott 'Apology' we come to an interesting passage, being a description, and one of the earliest, of a Masonic Medal.

As I have not seen it noticed in the usual places, *e.g.*, Chetwode Crawley's 'Introduction' to Shackles' 'Medals of British Freemasonry' . . . where the early literature of the subject in all languages is noted at length, I have thought it worth the reprinting:—

"His Serene Highness the Margrave of Brandenburg Bareith in the Year 1741, established a Lodge at the Place of his Residence . . . At Frankfort on the Maine is the great Lodge of the Union, composed of the most noble Personages; and at this time there is one of equal dignity established at Marburgh, in Hesse Cassel.

The Fraternity had a Lodge constituted at Brussels in 1743 and called it Equity; they caused a Medal to be struck, which represented on one Side a heap of rough stones, with the inscription *AEQUA LEGE SORTITUR INSIGNES ET IMOS*: On the other Side appeared Silenus covered with the Skin of a Wolf, full of Eyes and Ears, and out of a Cornucopia, which he held in one Hand, he poured Squares and other instruments of Masonry. He lays the other Hand upon his Mouth, with these Words *FAVETE LINGUIS*, and a little lower, *AEQUITAS, CONCORDIA, VIRTUS* which are the three great Pillars of the Fraternity.”¹

The next paragraph begins again regarding the ‘Conduct of the Magistrates of Berne . . .’

Now this Medal is quite well known, though very rare, together with some closely-connected relatives, numismatically speaking.

It is illustrated in Zacharias, *Nummotheca Latomorum*, 1844, Pt. IV., No. 1, where it is called a “Freemason’s Ducat.” It is also in the Hamburg “*Medaillenwerk*,” 1898, vol. i., Pl. IV., as No. 28, a small-sized medal, rather bigger than a sixpence, and as No. 29, which is as big as a five-shilling piece.

The so-called ‘Silenus’ is also found on Nos. 30 and 31, but the design of the obverse of 30 has the figure of a Freemason, aproned, seated on a heap of rough stones. It is not an altered die, but another one altogether. No. 31 has the well-known badge of the Lodge ‘Karl zur gekrönten Saüle,’ which Lodge is known to have borrowed the die of the reverse from the Lodge ‘Jonathan’ at Brunswick, in May, 1772.

The “*Der sich selbst . . .*” of 1744 adds some information which is not in the English version . . . “that the medal was designed by the famous Vestner at Nuremberg . . .”

In later days this has been questioned by Dr. Birkner of Nuremberg, who suggests that Loos (Daniel Friedrich, born 1735) was the medallist; but he was surely not old enough! A comparison with the “Ebner von Eschenbach” medal of 1752, ‘*Medaillenwerk*, No. 132,’ which is signed by Vestner, appears to me to support his claim. Andreas Vestner was born in 1707.

Moreover, the German account makes no mention of Brussels, nor of the Lodge Equity, nor indeed of any Lodge by name.

The same account is stated to be found in “*Der neu aufgesteckter brennende Leuchter des F.-M.-O.*” Leipzig, 1746, Mich. Blochberger: 8vo. engrd. title, 3 pl. + 488 pp. Kloss 297. Wolfstieg 1351. Wolfstieg says: “Extract reprinted from the 3rd, 1744 edn. of the Book of Constitutions of 1723: and a compilation of various rare contemporary Masonic writings, also from the “*Gründliche Nachricht*” of 1738 and the “*Der sich selbst*” of 1744.

Now *Medaillenwerk* 28, which is also Zacharias IV.1, differs from the Scott ‘Apology’ description in that the figure wears a lion-skin showing neither eyes nor ears, while 29 shows the normal complement of them. The ‘*Medaillenwerk*’ concludes that 29 is the original Nuremberg Medal of 1744, while 28 is a Brunswick re-edited version made in 1760. There is also No. 30, which is put down as Nuremberg minting of 1743.

This venerable Medal ‘gives one furiously to think.’

Because the ‘Sackville’ Medal which is dated 1733 has also on its Reverse the figure of ‘Harpocrates,’ not in the least like the ‘Freemason Ducat’ figure in detail as far as one can see, but beardless: still, he has a column and a cornucopia. The queer object near his left foot is called by the *Medaillenwerk* ‘a coil of rope.’ I feel sure that it is a beehive or straw beeksep. The Brunswick

¹ No one seems to notice that the whole inscription comes from Horace, Odes III., 1, the well-known “*Odi profanum vulgus et arceo, Favete linguis . . . aequa lege [necessitas] Sortitur insignes & imos . . .*” parts of ll. 2 . . . 14, 15.

Lodge 'Jonathan' consecration Medal of 1744 does figure a beehive. The 'Apology' Medal and the 'Sackville' Medal are almost the same size.

Bode's 'Taschenbuch' of 1777, describing (and illustrating) the 'Sackville' Medal, calls the queer object, 'the casket full of secrets' and the 'pick and serpent' (Medaillenwerk) the 'Thyrus of Bacchus.' (I don't believe in the 'serpent' very fervently!) The 'Taschenbuch' also notes the Brunswick Medal of 1744 with the beehive, another which does not concern us, and the so-called 'Freemason Ducat' the figure on which it calls 'Hercules, clad in a lion-skin, with his index finger on his mouth.'

What are we to think of all these variations?

Do they not furnish a guide to 'precedence' in origin?

I will tabulate the contrasts:—

'Apology'	Version printed in Germany? in 1744
? English version 1746	original? in French or German
Scott, P.C. 1754 earliest known	Frankfort, 1748 (stated in 'Scott')
"Brussels 1743"	"Brunswick 1743"
"Lodge Equity"	No name given (was 'Jonathan')
"Silenus"	"Harpocrates"
"Wolf-skin full of eyes & ears"	(Lion-skin showing normal eyes and ears)
No designer stated	"Vestner of Nuremberg"
"Berne persecution of 1745"	No allusion to Berne

I find it difficult to come to any very comprehensive conclusion. I still want to know more of the German version. But they appear to show that:—

- a. The German version precedes the English: it may exist both in German and French of very close dates.
- b. The English version was written or edited after 1745; the German after 1743; and the English version was translated from the French, if that existed really.

(There is at least this, which may or may not support the notion that both French and German versions co-existed, as you choose to be narrowly literal, or no, . . . that in the 1754 'Scott,' Martin Clare's 'Address' which here does not bear his name, but simply describes him as a Grand Officer, is noted as "Translated into French and German and annexed to the foregoing Apology." I do not see the *raison d'être* of a German translation of Clare, unless the Apology itself appeared in German too.)

- c. The translator of the English version was a poor classic, as he thought that *Silenus* was the equivalent of Harpocrates, the God of *Silence*!
- d. The translator from German into French thought that a "Löwenhaut" (lion-skin) was a wolf-skin ("Loup, Louve," a "Louveton or Lowton," a wolf-cub, is a "Lewis") but why he made it "full of eyes and ears" I do not know, unless he found some such phrase as "vollständige mit Augen und Ohren" (complete with Eyes and Ears) and thought "voll" must mean "full of."
- e. The translator thus was rendering from German into English, using French, or if no French version existed, was rendering German into English, using French as a 'mental bridge' between them!
- f. The date 1743 mentioned for the Lodge, is correct, and a testimony to the value of the original whatever it were.
- g. "Brussels" may perhaps have arisen from some contracted form of the name "Brunswick" as both begin with "Bru—" (in French, not in German).

- h. "Lodge Equity" is a mere guess based on the exergue inscription. I gather that the German version mentions no Lodge.

The French 'Rélacion Apologique' 1738 (my No. X.) and *a fortiori*, its previous shape as the 'apologising letter' which came out a few weeks after Ramsay's Oration was, or was not, delivered, cannot possibly contain either the 'Berne business' or the Medal. It apparently exists, as Wolfstieg describes it under No. 34500, as 'an attempt to foist the pantheistic materialism of Toland into Masonry.' Begemann (1906) says it is not written by a Freemason! Can it be that "J.G.D.M.F.M.'s" work of 1738 was the first appearance of his alphabetic pseudonym? In other words, that he attempted to 'ride on the back' of the broadside of 1737, added matter professedly 'historical,' and so earned the *auto-da-fé* of 26th February, 1739? And could those initials conceal Pierre des Maizeaux, Toland's 'alter ego'? He wrote in French usually, but knew our tongue well: he probably knew Dublin also, and might invent Patrick O'Donoghue and misspell his name. The attempt certainly does remind one of 'Peregrine O'Donald' of Dr. William King's "The Toast."

Des Maizeaux was a terribly dull dog, though a Fellow of the Royal Society. He may have known Ramsay personally!

And there is an odder circumstance still, regarding this "Harpocrates" business. I find that De la Tierce, in his professed translation of Anderson, 1723, made, he says, in 1733, but not printed till 1742, has pitchforked something into the History.

Here are the parallel passages:—

ANDERSON, 1723: "And, no doubt, the Royal Art was brought down to Egypt by MITZRAIM, the second Son of Ham, about six years after the Confusion of Babel, and after the Flood 160 Years, when he led thither his Colony: (for Egypt is Mitzraim in Hebrew) because we find the River Nile's overflowing its Banks, soon, caused an improvement in Geometry, which consequently brought Masonry much in request: For the ancient noble Cities, with the other magnificent Edifices of that Country, and particularly the famous Pyramids, demonstrate the early Taste . . ."

ANDERSON, 1738, is much shorter, but he amplifies his philology! "MITZRAIM, or Menes, the second Son of Ham, led his Colony from Shinar to Egypt (which is MITZRAIM in Hebrew a dual Word signifying both Egypts, Upper and Lower) after the Flood 160 Years, and after the Confusion six Years, A.M. 1816 . . ."

De La Tierce's translation into French runs:—

"Ce qu'il y a de certain, par rapport a l'Art Roial, c'est qu'il fut porté en Egypte par MITZRAIM, second fils de Cham, environ six ans après la confusion de Babel, & cent soixante ans après le Déluge, lorsqu'il y conduisit la première Colonie. Les débordements du Nil obligèrent bientôt ces nouveaux habitans à faire une étude particulière de la Géometrie. Les Personnes en autorité devoient la savoir à fonds, pour rendre à chaque Citoyen, après l'écoulement des eaux, la portion de terre en Superficie, que les Registres publics témoignioient lui appartenir, & les Citoyens à leur tour s'y appliquioient dans la crainte qu'on ne leur en imposât. Cette Nation de Géomètres ne tarda pas à exercer la Maçonnerie & cet Art y devint en vogue par l'érection d'une multitude de Loges. Elles avoient ceci de particulier qu'on voioit au dessus de la porte de chacune en dehors une Statuë d'Homme, tenant un doigt sur la bouche, pour recommander la silence aux Frères. Les Grecs dans les commencemens regardèrent ces figures comme des idoles de la Divinité du Silence, qu'ils nommèrent Harpocras.

Mais la vérité est qu'elles representeroient le Sage ORUS, Roi d'Egypte & Grand Maître des Francs-Maçons de ce Roiaume. Outre beaucoup d'Edifices & de Villes d'une magnificence surprenante les Egyptiens dûrent à la Maçonnerie ces fameuses Pyramides"

Not contented with this interpolation, De La Tierce puts it again (perhaps I should say, previously, as it precedes the History) in his Preface or Address, "aux Frères de sa Loge."

"Le Grand Maître ORUS Roi d'Egypte avoit particulièrement la silence en recommandation. Vous savez l'usage que faisoient les anciens Francs Maçons de la Statuë de ce Prince & de quelle manière les Peuples ignorans & superstitieux l'ont érigé en Dieu et ses Statues en idoles. Enfin oubliant son nom, ils l'ont nommé Harpocrates.

Généralement ils le representoient tenant un doigt sur la bouche. Un Sçavant a parlé d'une de ces Statues d'Harpocrates qu'est assez singulière. Le prétendu Dieu est représenté jeune et nud, avec des ailes noires, ayant un Pied en l'air, le doigt index dans la bouche & dans la main gauche une Corne d'Abondance, avec des branches de Pêcher"

I venture to offer translations, keeping as close to Anderson, as the French allows:—

"What is not in doubt regarding the Royal Art, is that it was brought to Egypt by MITZRAIM, second son of Ham, about six years after the Confusion of Babel, and a hundred and sixty years after the Deluge, when he led thither the first Colony. The floods of the Nile soon obliged these new dwellers to make a study of Geometry with an object. The Personages in authority had to know it thoroughly in order to restore to each Citizen, after the ebb of the waters, the portion of land, areally, which the Public Registers testified as belonging to him; and the Citizens in their turn, studied it too, fearing that they might be imposed on. This Nation of Geometers was not slow to practise Masonry and this Art became popular by the setting-up of a number of Lodges. They had this peculiarity that there was to be seen over the door of each, outside, a Statue of a Man holding a finger on his mouth, enjoining silence on the Brethren.

The Greeks at first looked on these figures as Idols of the God of Silence, whom they called 'Harpocras.' But the truth is that they represented the wise Horus, King of Egypt and Grand Master of the Free Masons of that Kingdom. Besides many Edifices and Cities of amazing splendour, the Egyptians owed to Masonry those famous Pyramids"

And the other extract:—

"The Grand Master HORUS King of Egypt bade practice ever the Virtue of Silence. You know the usage made of the Statue of the Prince by the Ancient Masons, and how the ignorant and superstitious Gentiles turned him into a God and his Statues into Idols.

Lastly, forgetting his name, they called him Harpocrates. Generally they represented him holding a finger over his mouth. A learned writer has spoken of one of these Harpocrates-Statues of curious design. The supposed God is shown youthful and nude, with dusky wings, one foot uplifted, the index finger on the mouth, and in his left hand a Cornucopia, with some branches of a Peach-tree"

I regret I do not believe 'this learned writer'! It sounds to me more like a Mithraic figure.

And the prize original reference! Martin Clare's 'Defence of Masonry' 1730 ?, Pocket Comp. 1738, and Anderson, Constitutions, 1738 (with variants of some interest):—

" . . . so great was their Regard for Silence and Secrecy that they had a Deity called HARPOCRATES, whom they respected with peculiar Honour and Veneration. A learned Author has given us a description of this Idol, thus: HARPOCRATES The God of Silence was formed with his right hand placed near his Heart, covered with a Skin before, full of Eyes and Ears: to signify . . . etc."

And a reference to this 'Learned Author,' given fully in the P.C. (not in Anderson) sends us to Vincenzo Cartari's "*Imagines Deorum qui ab antiquis colebantur*" . . . probably the Latin edition, Lyon, 1581, apud Steph. Michaellem, with woodcuts, or the French edition, same date and publisher. The other editions seem to be in Italian only.

I note a few more instances. There was and is a Lodge 'Horus' at Breslau. There is another 'Harpocrates-Medal' . . . that of 1747, of the 'Provincial Grand Lodge of Minorca': and there is said to be a figure of Harpocrates on the Edinburgh Exchange Foundation Medal of 1753, No. 95 in Shackles' Medals, a most curious figure in long robe, with a giant compass.

Are we here in presence of a 'fictive history' not particularly designed to establish any particular group of 'traditions' or 'symbolic vehicles' of 'Instruction' but intended to supply a reason (save the mark!) for language and matter, symbolism too, perhaps, which they had stumbled across, but about which Anderson and his helpers had no positive or connected ideas. Apparently unrelated matter is preserved more from a fear of 'destroying landmarks' than for any other reason.

There is a small point which I wish to make. I do not see that Anderson, in the 1723 Constitutions, alluding to the Nile floods, makes his point about the notable 'Improvement in Masonry' really intelligible. He seems to me to be summarising from some longer account in English, but from where? De La Tierce *per contra*, gives us the reason quite intelligibly, but translating what?

And so, did De La Tierce's hypothetical original contain HORUS-HARPOCRATES as well?

Gould, in jesting at those who see in Ramsay the 'Inventor of Scots Degrees' suggests that De La Tierce might have invented the Rite of Mizraim!

But what about the person De La Tierce was translating?

Bro. Tuckett, at *A.Q.C.*, xxxii., 12, devotes some space to the date of De La Tierce's 'final preparation' of his text. In this connection it may be noted that although the 'Approbation' dated 'third Tuesday in August, 1733,' . . . 'in the Grand-Mastership of all Lodges in the Kingdom of England, of James Lyon, Earl of Strathmore' . . . given by the French Lodge of Free-Masons, situate at London in Suffolk-Street, at the Sign of the Duke of Lorraine, there is, in the 'Table' or Index, a first entry of an 'Epître Dedicatoire' to 'My Lord the Earl of Morton, Grand Master.'

Morton was installed on 19th March, 1741 (N.S.), so that additions or alterations were made a year previous to publication. My two copies of the book do not contain the 'Epître': there is a stub cut-off, following the 'Table' leaf; besides which it is so misbound as to make booksellers think it imperfect, which is not the case; the leaf of advertisements is bound between pp. 234-235. The copy in the Q.C. Library does not contain the 'Epître.' Do any copies include it?

VIII. DE LA TIERCE, COUSTOS AND LORD MALPAS.

The HORUS-HARPOCRATES story may be a perfect mare's nest, but in view of the Medals, which cannot have been designed because De La Tierce put it in his book, it has a historical as well as a literary interest. For some reasons, of which I have glimmerings so faint and unsubstantial that I dare not put them into written words, . . . like a Rodin torso, they are formless stones viewed askew, . . . it was adopted, not in unintelligent quarters, as apposite Masonic symbolism: for other reasons equally obscure it was dropped like a hot coal!

There is a brief allusion to the 'new sources' in De La Tierce's 'Discours Preliminaire,' pp. 16-17 (the pagination is confusing, as there are another pair of pages 16-17 later!) which I translate, as it is needless to give the French:—

"The celebrated Dr. Anderson, Priest of the English Church, was the worthy member charged with this work, which soon appeared, printed in English. It earned the general praise of the Brethren; and even those uninitiated into their Mysteries admired the curious research and great erudition displayed.

"The Collection to-day put forth in the French tongue, as being one of those most universally understood, without diverging from that published by Doctor Anderson, contains a quantity of historical detail, of which this learned Brother made no mention.

"The Collector of these several years back is an old member of the Lodge at the Duke of Lorraine's Head, in London. He has been much assisted in this arduous research by the Lights which the most illustrious Free-Masons of Asia, of Greece and of Italy, have been good enough to afford him."

The Lodge was the Union French Lodge, warranted 17th August, 1732, meeting at the Duke of Lorraine's Head in Suffolk Street.

One member of this Lodge, which existed before its Warrant, was, according to the Minute-Book of G.L. (see *A.Q.C. Antigrapha*, x., p. 193) "Mr. Coustos."

I wonder whether he can be identified with the well-known "John Coustos" persecuted in Lisbon in 1743 by the Inquisition?

He is generally described as 'Swiss' (of 'Berne,' or 'Bâle') . . . but was he a Greek?

He was a dealer in precious stones.

Were he a Greek, he would conversationally, give his name as "Cousto" (=Goustaud).

And further, I wonder whether he was a Mason before he came to England, and was the mysterious "Goustaud" the "lapidaire" at whose house one of the Paris Lodges of 1725-6 met?

Stranger things might be!

What were the precise and dreadful Masonic activities in the Canton of Berne which occasioned such severity I do not know. But there seems to be a record, accepted by Gould, that in 1744, "Lord Malpas" held a "Provincial Grand Lodge" at Geneva. (History, 1887, vol. iii., p. 290).

There were perhaps six Lodges in being. The year following, the anti-Masonic edict was withdrawn or cancelled.

The barony of Malpas is the junior title of the Earls of Cholmondeley, borne by courtesy by the eldest son. The second Earl, who married Anne Elizabeth van Ruytenbergh, first cousin to James, second Duke of Ormonde and to Charles Butler, Earl of Arran, died in 1733. The third Earl's son, Lord Malpas, was but twenty in 1744. So Gould's record wants some explanation. Possibly, the third Earl himself might have used the title as a sort of incognito in travelling abroad. It was this third Earl when himself but Viscount Malpas, who waited on the "Duke of Lorraine" in October, 1731, in Hanover Square, as the Prince of Wales's Equerry.

It will not do simply to condemn the story on the ground of the former's youth. It must be remembered that Hector Maclean was only twenty when his Paris Grand Mastership is supposed to have terminated. And Bernardin has shown without much doubt, that Masonry at Nancy owes its inception, not to "Brother Lorrain" who never visited Nancy after his recorded initiation, but to the "Baron de Toussaint," who, in Lalande's day is found as a prominent figure in both Grande Loge and Grand Orient, who was but little over eighteen and a half years of age when he 'commenced Founder,' at Nancy.

Now, to sum up this precious fardel of print we have been considering, as regards the Paris Lodge of 1725, 'Lord Derwentwater,' 'Lord Harnouester' and, we may add, 'Maclean.'

We are assured that some or perhaps one only, are mentioned in I., II., perhaps III., VII., and XII.; and in the Swedish G.L. documents; all German-printed works 1736 to 1744, except the Swedish, which may be put down as copies of French MSS.

They may be mentioned in I.*; in the historical annex to the Paris 'Apologie' of 1737, when that appeared subsequently, 1738 or 1739, with fictitious imprints.

No English work seems to mention them at all. Why is this?

Because the matter, being historical, was unsuitable to Prichard and the later English work, the 'Apology,' cannot have appeared before 1746, and probably did not appear before 1748 in French form. (Frankfort edition.) The supposed English 'Apology' by J.G.D.M.F.M. etc., of 1738 or 1739, is imaginary. And the total disappearance of Lord Derwentwater from the record is due to the fact that he was captured in November, 1745, and executed at the Tower on the 8th December, 1746. (19 Dec. N.S.)

He could not possibly be put forward then as a Masonic figure, or at any date at all closely following, and with his name of equal necessity, the First Paris Lodge vanished from record also, . . . the Lodge of St. Thomas, at Hurry's Restaurant in the Rue des Boucheries St. Germain. It had probably ceased to work years before, and its suppression hurt no one's feelings.

IX. THE GRUENDLICHE NACHRICHT.

As regards the *Gruendliche Nachricht* of 1738: I have examined the copy of this rare and valuable little book in the Library of the Supreme Council 33° in London.

It is a beautiful, clean copy, and full of interest, and should be well worth the trouble of reprinting and translating, with some commentary. My examination was, I fear, directed chiefly to the points I raise in this essay, and I do not pretend to have perused all the 140 pages of text. The title-page itself bears an impression of an engraving of both faces of the "Sackville Medal," not very neatly done, but showing it quite unmistakably. Then there is a frontispiece, a fullpage engraving, signed "Ost: et Cötgen Sculp. Mogunt." . . . two Mainz engravers I never heard of before.

There is a seated male figure in a long robe, working with a compass on a tracing board, which displays the 47th Proposition figure, and something besides: before him is a standing figure in short tunic, over which is a large square apron with pendent triangular flap. In the middle distance is a group of "stone-squarers" at work.

Masonry in France is the subject of the ninth Chapter, on p. 75. The author begins by commenting on the well-known 'flair' of the French for any novelty, expressing surprise that not until 1736 was the Fraternity heard of among them, but that certainly on the 20th March of that year, the story was published, . . . and a long quotation follows noting the expense attending

initiation, etc., ending on p. 76. Then comes the account of the Police Chief's suppression of Lodges, and the unlucky fate of 'Chapelot.' Then we have the story of the opera-cantatrice Carton, and the 'Exposure' she secured.

Page 72 reprints the French version of the 'Apology' of 'Procope,' and a sort of translation follows.

I detect no reference to Derwentwater, or to 'Harnouester' anywhere. But the reference to the Lodge of 1736 is of course extremely valuable in itself.

X. LALANDE.

Let us return to Lalande, to an atmosphere less foggy by far!

Gould, History, iii., 137, says that Lalande's "Essay on Freemasonry" is in the *Encyclopédie Yverdon*, 1773. In his *Concise History*, 1903, p. 355, he says "in 1773," but gives no further reference.

Woodford (Kenning's Cyclopedia, 1878) sub 'France' says that it is in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, 1773, but under 'Delalande' does not mention it.

Hextall, in *A.Q.C.*, xxvi., 24, refers to the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, Paris and Liège, 1786, Histoire, ii., 628-631, . . . which is accurate in all probability, though I have been unable to verify; but it is at best a reprint only.

Tuckett, in *A.Q.C.*, xxxi., 7, is more explicit, stating that it is in the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, Yverdon, 1773 (in *A.Q.C.*, xxvii., 117, he wrote *Encyclopédie Yverdon*, 1773), and that it is repeated in Thory, *Histoire de la Fondation du Grand Orient de France*, 1812. The former reference states that it is in vol. iv., and occupies five pages.

In the latter paper, Tuckett furnishes the quotation from Thory. Actually, Thory repeats the story twice; once in the *Histoire*, 1812, and again rather differently, in his *Acta Latomorum* of 1815. Tuckett's quotation is not from the *Histoire*, but from the *Acta*, p. 21, quite correctly given.

The forms of the names there are:—

"Mylord Derwenwater, le chevalier Maskelyne, M. d'Héguetty . . . Hure, traiteur, rue des Boucheries."

The *Histoire de la Fondation du G.O.*, 1812, p. 10, says:—

"Vers l'année 1725 (dit la Grande Loge de France dans l'instruction historique qu'elle a donnée en 1783 aux Loges de sa juridiction) milord Dervent Waters, le chevalier Maskelyne, M. d'Héguetty et quelques seigneurs anglais établirent une Loge à Paris, chez Hure, traiteur, rue des Boucheries, etc. Cette Loge fut bientôt suivie de plusieurs autres. Lord Dervent Waters fut considéré comme le premier grand-maître de l'Ordre en France etc." (The "etc." is Thory's, not mine.)

I wonder whether Thory is really quoting correctly?

No one seems to have remarked that the tradition was not only given out by the Grand Orient, in 1777, in its 'État' but by the Grande Loge, which for that matter was not the defunct 'Grande Loge anglaise de France' but the Grande Loge of Paris Masters-of-Lodges: it became a recognised part of Grand Orient by 1796.

This 'Instruction' is dignified by Kloss with two numbers, 4086 and 4160, quoting Thory for both. Wolfstieg does not seem to recognise it at all.

What is noteworthy is that the spelling 'Dervent Waters' follows the *Encyclopédie* article exactly, but the 'traiteur Hure' is not described as 'anglais' as in that particular account, in either version Thory gives.

This 'Instruction historique' might easily have been the work of Lalande, who was himself a Maître-de-Loge in Paris, . . . of the Neuf Soeurs, founded 1776. But there seems no record to prove it.

Let us try to get a clearer bibliography of this *Encyclopédie*.

It is indeed none other than the Great Encyclopedia of d'Alembert and Diderot. It was projected originally by John Mills, an Englishman, to be a French translation of Ephraim Chambers' evergreen 'Cyclopedia.' Chambers, one may note, was once apprentice to John Senex, the cartographer, who was Grand Warden in 1723.

Was this great work possibly suggested by Ramsay's advocacy of a Universal Encyclopedia in his famous 'Oration' of 1737? It is a coincidence, all the more curious if the Oration were never delivered!

"All the Grand Masters in Germany, England, Italy and elsewhere, exhort all the learned men and all the artisans of the Fraternity to unite to furnish the materials for a Universal Dictionary of the liberal arts and useful sciences, excepting only theology and politics. The work has already been commenced in London, and by means of the union of our brothers it may be carried to a conclusion in a few years. Not only are technical words and their etymology explained, but the history of each art and science, its principles and operations, are described. By this means the lights of all nations will be united in one single work, which will be a universal library of all that is beautiful, great, luminous, solid and useful in all the sciences and in all noble arts. This work will augment in each century, according to the increase of knowledge, and it will spread everywhere the emulation and the taste for things of beauty and utility."

Perhaps De la Tierce was thinking of it when he wrote about the 'Lights . . . of Asia, Greece and Italy.'

Mills was cheated of the 'privilege' accorded him, but the theft profited not the thieves. After many and various vicissitudes, it made its first public appeal in a much more ambitious form, in Diderot's prospectus, dated November, 1750. The first volume appeared in July, 1751.

Its proper title is "Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers, par une Société de gens de Lettres."

The first eight volumes have imprint "Paris" and are dated, 1 and 2, 1751; 3, 1753; 4, 1754; 5, 1755; 6 and 7, 1756, but 7 did not appear till 1757. This volume ends with "Gy—" Volumes 8 to 17 appeared without either Diderot's or D'Alembert's name on the title, and with imprint "Neufchastel, chez Samuel Faulche & Compagnie." All are dated 1765. I think this imprint fictitious.

A Supplement was begun at once, and appeared, in four volumes, with the same title, minus proper names, but with imprint, "Amsterdam, chez M. M. Rey." Rey was a well-known publisher, but I imagine the printing was Paris work all through.

The first of these four is dated 1776, and includes the section "A—B1.": the second, 1776, "Bo—Eu.," and the third, oddly enough, "F—My." . . . a familiar trio of letters, . . . 1777: and the fourth, N—Z., also 1777.

The third volume is that which concerns us.

There are also eleven volumes of plates, dated 1762-72, with the imprint of the first eight volumes of text, and one supplementary volume of 1778.

Lalande's name is to be found appended to the Certificate dated 1760, of the Academie des Sciences, prefixed to vols. 1 to 11 of the Plates, along with the names of other savants. It is also appended to the article "FRANCS-MAÇONS" in the third volume of the Supplement.

A pirate reprint was made by Cramer of Geneva, claiming to be a facsimile: the volumes are dated 1772-76. The Supplement was, I believe, not included: but I cannot find a copy in England.

An Index to the whole 33 volumes bears imprint, "Amsterdam, 1760." It was made by Pierre Mouchon, a Protestant pastor, first at Basel and later at Geneva, and is in two volumes: Cramer is said to have paid him two hundred louis for the making.

Without this index it is tiresome to consult the main work; but as the pious Indexer took care to omit all reference to anything he thought derogatory to, or subversive of his notions of Christianity, the enquirer must not expect too much.

There are two early foreign reprints: in Italian: Lucca, 1758-71, in 17 volumes folio, plus 19 vols. plates, translated by Diodati, Paoli and Giuliani: another edition Leghorn, 1770, etc., in 38 vols., by Serafini and Gonnella.

Four Swiss reprints, probably differing merely in title-page, incorporating the Supplement, are known: Geneva, 1777-79, quarto, 36 vols. and 3 vols. plates, plus 6 vols. Mouchon's Index, improved and enlarged (with imprint of Lyon, 1780!): Neuchatel, 1776-79, also 36 vols., etc., and Lausanne, and Berne, 1780-82, also 36 vols.

An English edition was actually projected, very early on, by Sir Joseph Ayloffe, and the first 'serial number' did appear in 1752, but no more. There is, however, a volume of "Select Essays from the Encyclopedy," London, 1773.

And now for the oft-repeated "Encyclopédie Yverdon."

The first re-edited and enlarged edition of the original work, with the title worded exactly as in that, appears under imprint "Yverdun, 1776-80," in fifty-eight quarto volumes. Yverdun is in Switzerland, on the Lake of Neuchatel. The editor was Fortune Bathelemy de Felice, born at Rome in 1723: first a Roman monk, he became Protestant. Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, says it is very incorrect, . . . doubtless meaning typographically, rather than in matter. Yet it had considerable popularity.

The "Encyclopédie Méthodique, ou par Ordre de Matières," is quite another story.

It is an extraordinary nightmare production; and it was projected by one most suitably named as compounder of so terrible an omelette, . . . the Paris publisher Charles Panckoucke. Note that both Charles Panckoucke and his brother Placide were Freemasons. (See the *État du G.O.*, 20th June, 1774.)

It is a scissors-and-paste *réchauffé* of the Paris and Neufchastel edition and Supplement.

As far back as 1761, Panckoucke had proposed to Diderot to undertake this so-called revised edition, and in concert with others, he bought the copper plates. But Diderot considered it a complete fraud on the subscribers and refused to have anything to do with it. Other editors, less particular, were found, and with a new 'privilege' dated 1780, it was explicitly announced in 1782: the first volume did appear in 1784. The Revolution spoilt all the plan, and it spun out its weary course, long after Panckoucke's death, continued by Agasse, his son-in-law, and then by the Widow Panckoucke. The last volume is dated 1832!

A more hopelessly unmanageable work cannot be imagined!

There are no less than 166½ volumes of text and sixty-one volumes of plates.

There are actually eighty-eight separate alphabetical series of entries, each appropriated to a general heading of subject. The selection of these reminds one forcibly of the irritating "Rhétorique" . . . "Orateurs profanes" . . . "Polygraphes divers," and so on, which still cumber the pages of French book sales-by-auction lists with their inimitable tiresomeness.

Hextall refers, *A.Q.C.*, xxvi., 24, to a copy of this with imprint "Paris & Liège," which I have never been able to verify: the only imprint I have ever seen is "Paris." I think Hextall was relying on Kloss.

Bro. Tuckett, *A.Q.C.*, xxxi., 7, names the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, Yverdon, 1773 . . . while in *A.Q.C.*, xxvii., 117, he adds to this 'in vol. iv. where it [that is, Lalande's Essay] occupies five pages. I believe this is also Kloss!

These details appear to be a general mix-up, while the date is incredible.

Even Wolfstieg, *sub* 3890, says "Aus Encyclop. Yverdon. 20 (1773) Seite 530 bis 534," which again appears to be undiluted Kloss. But he follows this entry with:—"In État du G.O. de France 1, 2 (1777) Seite 86-103," which is a model of correctness. But this is also Kloss!

Palmam qui meruit . . . !

The G.O. of France, successor to the remarkable, but unworkable Grande Loge, of which Lalande was also a prominent member, held its first official meeting at the one-time Jesuit novitiate, at the corner of the Rue Pot-de-Fer ('Cauldron' . . . not Pot-de-Feu, as often printed) and the Rue Mézières, near the church of St. Sulpice, on 12th August, 1774, and Lalande pronounced the inaugural Oration or Lecture. It is printed in the Circular, or État of the G.O. dated "12th 6th month 5774." Note that "6th" month means August and not June. (See Kloss 4141.)

I must state regretfully that much of the muddle respecting Lalande's Essay is due to the untiring Kloss, whose marvellous work is apt to mislead.

His entries are as follows:—

2817. Memoire sur l'histoire de la Franche-Maçonnerie par Jos. Jérôme Frnc. de la Lande. 1774. 4to. Besonderer Abdruck des Artikels Franche-Maçonnerie in der Encyclopédie Yverdon 1773 4to. vol. 20, p. 530-534, und daraus wieder abgedr. im État du G.O. de France 1777, T. 1 part 2, p. 86-103, so wie in der Encyclopédie Méthodique, Histoire, Paris & Liège, 1786, 4to. Tom. II., art. Franc-Maçonnerie. Auch mit einigen Abänderungen in No. 2819."

That is to say, the date of the Mémoire is given as 1774, whereas it was 1777.

"It is a special off-print of the article 'Franche-Maçonnerie' in the 'Encyclopédie Yverdon 1773' " . . . which it is not, nor is the 'Yverdon' dated 1773.

"It was again reprinted from this (!) in the 'État of the G.O. of France 1777' " . . . which is true, but it was its first appearance!

" . . . and again in the Encyclopédie Méthodique . . . 1786 . . . " . . . which is doubtless quite true.

"Also with changes in No. 2819."

Kloss 2819. Wolfstieg 3892.

"Abrégé de l'histoire de la Franche-Maçonnerie. Précédé et suivie de quelques pièces en vers et en prose, et d'anecdotes qui la concernent: d'un essai sur les mystères et le véritable objet de la confrérie des francs-maçons auquel on a joint un recueil complet des chansons dont ils font usage dans leurs assemblées et dans leurs repas. Rédigé par un membre de cet Ordre. Londres & Lausanne, Grasset & Cie, 1779. 8vo. 272 pp."

I have looked up the copy in the Q.C. Library (6419) and find that the important paragraph in Lalande's Essay is quoted word for word.

If we turn to Kloss 4141 we find:—

"Discours . . . par le ven. Jerome de la Lande . . . orateur du G.O. le 12 aout 1774 a l'occasion de la prise en possession du local du G.O. rue Pot-de-Fer. 1774. 4to. p. 5. Thory 112." (This is a reference to Thory's bibliography in 'Acta,' vol. 1., p. 363.)

This is perfectly correct as regards the date appearing on the Letter of the G.O. But M. Amiable says the first meeting of the G.O. took place on the 4th August. I see nothing to confirm this, and do not know whence he took it.

Fortunately I have a copy of the original Letter. It is certainly dated 12th August, 1774, 4to., 5 pp., or three leaves. The 'discours' itself occupies ten lines in inverted commas. My copy is further adorned by autographs of the Baron de Toussaint, of Guillotin (of very different fame), Gardane, Leroy, the Comte de Buzançois, Hûe de Bréval, Joubert de la Bourdinière and Savalette de Langes (twice over). It has an added Resolution of the 7th September, 1774, assembly, also authenticated.

I have thought two pages worth reproduction.

It states quite clearly that the speech of De la Lande was 'prononcé aujourd' hui' . . . to-day . . . and the date at the end is 12th August.

This 1774 speech has nothing to do with the Essay, or the First Paris Lodge.

I doubt very much whether the *Mémoire Historique* was ever printed and issued separately from the second number of the *État* of the G.O. Indeed, although it was officially adopted, I find no contemporary statement that it was ever even read as a Lecture in G.L. It was composed without a doubt to provide the provincial Lodges with some authoritative matter with which to satisfy accredited enquirers.

The second number of the '*État*' seems to be a scarce book. I am indebted to M. Emile Dacier, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris, for a photograph of the two pages which concern my present paper, and I think a reproduction will be of interest.¹

Attention should be drawn to its text. It mentions Picart's plate of Lodges quite correctly, if we pass the spelling 'Weimouth' for the G.M. of 1735.

As to the paragraph which I hold so important, there is very little difference between it and the *Encyclopédie* version; a few more capital letters, and the spelling 'Hurc' for the English restaurateur in the rue des Boucheries, and the footnote regarding the Letter from Radcliffe to his wife, then at Paris, written on the eve of his execution at the Tower.

There is, however, one very remarkable statement following the allusions to 'Milord d'Harnouester' which is not in the other account:—

"Le F. de Ramsay étoit Orateur."

One would like to know the reason of its omission; whether Lalande found it wrong or questionable, or whether other considerations ruled it out. It can hardly have been deleted because it was of no interest, if true; nor is it the kind of matter which would have been cut out to shorten an article for the Dictionary.

This *Mémoire* is, of course, no reprint of any encyclopedia article: on the contrary it was reprinted with alterations mainly of a verbal nature (I speak under correction, as I have as yet no *literatim* copy of the whole *État* No. 2) in the third volume of the Supplement to the Great Encyclopedia, a volume dated 1777. It is not an article headed "Franche-Maçonnerie (or Franc-Maçonnerie) as often stated, but "FRANCS-MAÇONS."

Yet the latest historian in France, M. Albert Lantoiné (Paris, 1925) reproduces the confusion in a footnote, and adds some additional mistakes of his own. I need not quote this, but what is most remarkable is that M. Lantoiné later (p. 59) says "'Milord Harnouester' was only an imaginary personage invented by Thory and adopted without verifying by Lalande in his famous Memoir."

As Thory was under eighteen years old in 1777 (the real date) and under fifteen in 1774 (which M. Lantoiné says was its date), it is a discovery of precocity quite remarkable!

¹ It is delightful to find that the great Morison Library of the G.L. of Scotland possesses a copy.

XI. THE FOUR ORIGINAL PARIS LODGES.

The four original Paris Lodges according to Lalande were:—

1. chez Hure, traiteur anglais, rue des Boucheries.
2. chez Goustaud, lapidaire anglais.
3. de Lebreton, dit Loge du Louis d'Argent.
4. chez Landelle, rue de Bussy, dit de Bussy, et plus tard, Loge d'Aumont.

This is what Lantoine provides:—

1. Au Louis d'Argent . . . enseigne du restaurateur anglais Hure rue des Boucheries . . . and notes that Daruty, *Recherches sur le rite écossais*, Paris, 1879, says “qu'il n'est nullement démontré . . . (qu'elle) a travaillé sous le G.L. d'Angleterre.” He continues, “It is possible” . . . but it is none the less true that ‘Au Louis d'Argent’ figures as No. 90 in Picart's Engraved List (in Picart, vol IV., dated 1732). It also appears to have obtained a constitution from G.L. in London, dated 3rd April, 1732, addressed to its Venerable, the printer Lebreton. Smith's *Pocket Companion* gives the same date, and adds that it meets on Wednesdays. Preston, on the other hand, gives its date as 20th November, 1732, its locale as ‘rue de Bussy, chez Landelle’ and its authority as a Deputation from G.M. Lord Montague, dated 24th June, 1732.”

Lantoine then enquires, “Is it the same?”

He replies, . . . “yes evidently, because the Engraved List of G.L., lithographed (*sic*!) in 1735 has no other Paris Lodge; but it's bewildering to find it still at its old address in Pine's list of 1740, with No. 78 instead of 90, and still at rue des Boucheries, . . . although at another tavern, . . . and with No. 49 in Cole's List of 1763.

Lantoine then throws up his hands, exclaiming:—

“On ne peut se figurer les invraisemblables différences qui existent au sujet de ces débuts en France chez tous les historiens maçonniques.”

Now it is certainly the case that Lane, *Masonic Records*, 1895, p. 58, lists:—

1732	King's Head, in Butcher Row	} 1729, 1740, 1755 90, 78, 49
1734	Louis d'Argent in rue de la Boucherie	
1736	Hotel de Bussy	
1738	Ville de Tonnerre, rue des Boucheries	

as one and the same Lodge at different dates, but I fail to see any proof that because Hure's eating-house was in the rue des Boucheries, the Lodge there was identical with the Louis d'Argent. Why, the Louis d'Argent itself had two addresses in that street. There is room for a third suitable locale.

One may arrange the data thus:—

1725 ? chez Hure, rue des Boucheries

? chez Goustaud

1732 ? Louis d'Argent, chez Lebreton No. 90 Weds. 3 April (*Masonry Dissected*, 1733)

No. 90 Picart's Engrd. List 1732

- 1736 ? Hotel de Bussy No. 90 1st Monday 3 April. (Smith, P.C.
repr. Reid Edinb., 1754)¹
- 1738 ? Ville de Tonnerre No. 78 in Pine's List 1740
No. 78 in Cole's List 1747 "1st Monday"
No. 57 in Slade's *Free Mason Examined*, 1754²
No. 49 in Cole's List 1763

Emile Rebold, *Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges*, Paris, 1864, gives the following:—

- 1721, Dunkerque, "Amitié et Fraternité" reconstituted 1756 by the Gde. Loge de France. (This was first given out by Clavel.)
- 1721, Mons, "Parfaite Union," const. by G.L. (1717) 4th June, 1721; later was Prov. Gde. Loge of the Austrian Netherlands.

These do not here concern us.

- 1725, Paris, "Loge de St. Thomas" at "Hurre's Restaurant" rue des Boucheries-St. Germain, by "Lord Derwent-Waters and two other Englishmen."
- 7 May, 1729, Paris, "Louis d'Argent" by the same English gentlemen, at "Lebreton's restaurant," at the "Sign of the Louis d'Argent."
- 11 Dec., 1729, Paris, "Loge Arts Ste. Marguerite" at the house of an Englishman named Gaustand (*sic*!).
- 29 Nov., 1732, Paris, "Loge de Buci" from the house in the rue de Buci, a restaurant kept by one Landelle; after initiating the Duke d'Aumont, it took the name of "Loge d'Aumont."

Lantoine looks on the "Four Lodges" as a kaleidoscopic reduplication of one single Lodge because the various Lists, though three names occur, never give more than a single Lodge at a time. Doubtless, 90, 78, 57 and 49 were one Lodge: or perhaps the Lebreton Lodge was 90, and the de Bussy Lodge had no right to the number, and got none till it became the Ville de Tonnerre, and got 78. If "Hure" Lodge and "Goustaud's" were still 'standing out' in 1736, there would then be 'Four Lodges' still.

The French Masonic historians, and others, too, always think that Masonry in England in 1725 and 1735 was all nicely systematised, docketed and packed in watertight compartments. They never give a thought to the "Grand Lodge of All England" . . . of what date do you prefer? . . . to the "Grand Lodge South of the Trent," and have never dreamed of the "Grand Lodge of Wigan" or the "Supreme Grand Lodge" in London, or other bodies which appeared later in the century.

At this point we must break off for the present. The question of the first Paris Lodge is one of sufficient intricacy, and not perhaps capable of a categorical solution. But when it comes to the identification of the principal actors in the drama, the problem has been always recognised as one of extraordinary difficulty. Nevertheless, I shall, I believe, be able, in the second part of this paper, to suggest a solution of it, and to offer for your consideration satisfactory identifications, not merely of the mysterious Lord Harnouester, but of nearly all the others associated with him in this period of French Freemasonry.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Moss, on the proposition of Bro. Firminger, comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. B. Telepneff, W. W. Covey-Crump, Lewis Edwards, G. W. Bullamore, and F. W. Golby.

¹ The last entry in this list is No. 160, constituted 20th April, 1737.

² The list from Slade is curious as it seems to indicate a re-numeration between 1740 and 1755. It ends with 182 Evangelists' Lodge, Antigua . . . in which island "Slade" places his admittedly fabricated initiation into Masonry!

Bro. Rev. W. K. FIRMINGER writes:—

We must by a cordial vote of thanks render due homage to the Reader of the paper on the score of the great wealth of materials he has placed before us and the rare and interesting exhibits he has placed on the table. At the same time we must congratulate him on the promising clues he has found to the solution of vexing problems in Masonic history. A collector and student of rare books, and one who has enjoyed facilities for study in Continental libraries, our Brother has made an admirable use of opportunities which have fallen to but few of his hearers. Without possessing such advantages, I have, curiously enough, while not working in quite the same field of research, been led in the direction of conclusions which Bro. Moss's paper tend to confirm. I, for instance, had, nearly two years ago, asked Bro. Songhurst whether he could tell me if Dr. King, of St. Mary's Hall, was a Mason, for, of course, as is well known, Dr. King was hand in hand with Lord Arran and also a confidant of Prince Charles, and it was Dr. King who secured for Ramsay a Doctor's Degree at Oxford. Again, Lord Arran was at least privy to the Jacobite rising of 1719.¹ Bro. Chetwode Crawley, in *A.Q.C.*, xxvi., p. 61, in referring to Ramsay's visit to England in 1729, asserted that "he cannot have been initiated during his visit", but now, thanks to Bro. Oxford's industry, we have learned from the *London Evening Post*, March 17th, 1730, that at a meeting "on Monday last" at the Horn Lodge in the Palace Yard, Westminster (where his Grace the Duke of Richmond is Master), "Ramsay was made a mason together with other persons of distinction". Gustave Bord (*La Franc-Maçonnerie en France*), (p. 118), after stating that "les Radclyffe appartenaient à une des plus anciennes familles d'Écosse", went on to surmise that it was more than probable that Charles Radcliffe was initiated by Ramsay, either at the Court of James III., or at the house of the "Duc de Bouillon". The Radcliffes were not Scotch, and, although Bord is writing about an event imagined to have taken place in 1725, James III. had departed from France in 1717. Charles Radcliffe's first child was born at Vincennes in August, 1725, and his next child at Turin in 1726. At present it looks as if he was resident in Italy between the years 1726-1734.

As to our Bro. Dring's No. 221. Bro. Dring's reference is to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1743, but the passage he cites is not to be found in that volume, but in the volume for 1739, p. 219, will be found a passage which our Bro. Gould (*Hist.*, vol. v., p. 30, edn. in six vols.) cited in part. I will quote it in full, placing within square brackets the portion not cited by Gould:—

"ROME. There was lately burnt here with great solemnity, by order of the Inquisition, a piece in French wrote by the Chevalier Ramsay, [Author of the Travels of Cyrus, entitled *An Apologetical and Historical Relation of the Secrets of Freemasons*, printed at Dublin by Patric Odonoko. This was published at Paris in answer to a pretended Catechism printed there by order of the Lieutenant de Police (see vol. viii., p. 54) much like Prichard's in English.]

Turning to vol. viii., p. 54, we find under "Paris, Jan. 13" an article *The Secret of the Order of Free-Masons and the Ceremonial observed at the Reception of members into it*. In our own Library there is a nicely bound copy (once the property of our Bro. the Rev. E. L. Hawkins) of:

The Secrets of Freemasonry made known to all men by S.P. late a member of a Constituted Lodge. London. Printed by J. Torbuch, in Clare Court, Drury Lane. MDCCXXXVII.

¹ Vide *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, by W. K. Dickson.

At the close of the volume, a version of Prichard, is a "Paris Letter", which last is, perhaps with some alterations, the article which appeared in vol. viii. of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. This article is not Ramsay's *Oration*, nor is it "much like" Prichard's Catechism. It will be observed that the item in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1739 does not, as the item in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Dring, 204) have "par G.D.M.F.M.A."

Bro. Moss refers to Rapin de Thoyras. Forestier, in his *Illuminés de Bavière* (p. 160), writes: "The legend of French Jacobite Freemasonry had not been invented by Hund. Already in 1739 Rapin de Thoyras, in a book published at Hamburg and entitled *Von der Ankunft und Wachstum einer Sekte in Paris welche anjetzo viel Aufsehen erregt hat*, had attributed the foundation of Free Masonry to James II." The publication of this posthumous (and perhaps spurious) book would be almost contemporaneous with the foundation or re-constitution of Lodge Absalom at Hamburg. Marshch, who, according to Anderson's *Constitutions*, 1738, was appointed P.G. Master of the Circle of Upper Saxony by Lord Darnley, G.M., we may suppose in succession to Lütmann, is claimed as Von Hurd's predecessor in the Order to which the latter claimed to have been admitted in the presence of Lord Kilmarnock.

As to "Scots Masters", our Bro. Norman in his Inaugural Address (*A.Q.C.*, xl.) showed us that the degree was given at Bath in 1735, and that one of the workers was David Thriep-land, "Scots S.W." A Sir David Thriep-land and his son were, after the rising of 1715, refugees at Dunkirk (*Hist. M.C. Com.*, *Stuart Papers*, vol. vii.). Is it not possible that the degree came to England from the Continent? Rawlinson's List of 1723 and Pine's Engraved List of 1734 shows a "Scotts Masons" Lodge working at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, and I think that this Lodge was working at Daniell's Coffee House in 1736.

As to "Lebreton's restaurant". Without having consulted Rebold, I would opine that there is a misapprehension here. André François Lebreton was, as Bro. Moss notes, a printer and seemingly a rather distinguished one. Lord Morley (*Diderot*, vol. i., p. 21), however, has a sorry story to tell of how Lebreton tricked the translators of Chamber's *Cyclopædia*. Gustave Bord (p. 121) writes, without giving authorities, "the first Orangist Lodge to be installed in France was the Lodge at the Louis d'Argent, which figures under the number 90 in the list of Richard Steele (1732): the installation took place on June 12th, 1729, rue de la Boucherie à la Ville de Tonneore, chez Debure, first-cousin of the first Vénérable, or rather master, of this Lodge. André François Lebreton, then 21 years of age, having been born August 21, 1708, and who was the first Master of an *English Lodge* in France, which proves that his Lodge had no relationship to the Jacobite Lodge of St. Thomas". Can there have been some confusion between "Hure" and "Bure"? "Restaurateur Anglais" may denote a Frenchman who kept an eating house for English folk. I have a very poor opinion of the inferences Gustave Bord draws from facts, but, although he does not indicate the provenance of the documents he cites, I would not like to express a doubt as to their existence. On p. 118 he refers to a list of members of Lodge St. Thomas at its installation in 1726. He admits that he cannot find the name of Charles Radcliffe on this list, but he has found a François Héguerty, cadet in the Régiment de Dillon. He says that "Maclean is mentioned, by error, under the name of Maskelyne, which is the orthography resulting from the name as pronounced by an Englishman and written by a Frenchman". He points out that the Daniel Héguerty, mentioned by Daruty, was born at the Isle of Bourbon in 1722, and therefore could not have been a member of a Lodge in 1726. It appears, however, that M. Bord did not come across a *Hector Maclean*, but a John and an Alexander Maclean. He describes a Lodge *des Arts Sainte-Marguerite* as détachée, Dec. 1st, 1729, from Lodge *Louis d'Argent*, and of

this new Lodge he says Coastown, "appelé Goustand en France et Custos en Portugal", was the first master. By translating the word "traiteur" by "traitor", the late Bro. Yarker introduced a needless mystery into an already sufficiently complicated problem. It is not surprising to find that in M. d'Alméra's excellent *Cagliostro* (p. 75) Landelle of the Rue de Bussy becomes Handelle.

As to the Lodge in the Rue de Bussy, at which we know the Second Duke of Richmond was present in 1735, I asked the late Duke if he could tell me when the mother of the first Duke, the Duchess of Portsmouth, resided at Paris. I had another question to ask him anent the Buckner he mentions in his book, whom I believe to be one of my ancestors, and the father of a Bishop of Chichester. But he wrote me a very cautious letter to the effect that the papers at Goodwood would supply no answers to my questions.

The Brethren who have listened to Bro. Moss's paper this evening should be aware that his recondite bibliography prepares the way for a second paper in which he will discuss some very interesting problems in Masonic History. Our debt to his patient research will become even more apparent when the second paper is before us.

BRO. TELEPNEFF said:—

It is indeed a pleasure to welcome Bro. Moss's paper in this Lodge and to second the W.M. in his appreciation of the work done by our Brother.

The history, and most especially the early history, of Freemasonry in France, whatever one may think of its modern developments, presents to an earnest student of our Fraternity a peculiar interest and some curious aspects, which are still deeply ingrained in the so-called "high degrees" as practised both in this country and, particularly, on the Continent. It was mainly French Masonry which became responsible not only for the spreading of the Lodges into many other "Latin" countries, but also for the promulgation of most of the "Higher" Masonic grades; several of the latter, gradually grouped into some peculiar Masonic Rites, originated and took shape in that country.

The romance and mystery of these Masonic developments, the dissemination of different Rites to other nations, their inter-relation, their influences on the destinies of the "blue" Masonry of three degrees, all this forms an intricate and fascinating subject which, in my view, has been dealt with far too rarely in our Lodge, and to which Bro. Moss's essay is a very valuable contribution. Unfortunately, the very short time at my disposal prevents me from doing his paper fuller justice by going more thoroughly into his statements and cross-references; for such comments not a few days but a few months would have been required!

According to Bro. Moss, 'the "conventional" history of Freemasonry in France (excluding the Lodge at Dunkirk) records first of all a Lord Derwentwater—meaning Charles Radcliffe'. The only Lodge at Dunkirk, which Bro. Moss might have meant, is presumably the Lodge "L'Amitie et Fraternite", the earliest on record, so far as I know; this Lodge was founded on the 1st March, 1756, and thus obviously "does not concern us".

The "conventional" history usually assumes that Freemasonry "was probably introduced into France from England in the thirties of the 18th century". Lord Derwentwater is, however, not the first "shadowy" figure on record. A tradition exists that a Masonic Lodge was established at Arras in 1687 and another at Bayonne in 1688. It is further alleged that "an English Freemason, Earl Pembroke, was the founder of the Arras Lodge". Kloss thinks that some chronological mistake underlies both dates, and this is, of course, probable. In fact, in Bro. Moss's words, the whole may be regarded "as a pure mirage". Not so Lord Derwentwater, as we shall see presently!

To follow the "conventional" history. In his *Recherches sur les initiations anciennes et modernes* (1776) Abbé Rodin assumes that there have not existed any French Lodges anterior to 1720. The next information usually given is the statement of the *Sceau Rompu* (1745), that there should have been a Lodge, or Lodges, in existence in the year 1727. And then comes the famous *Academician de Lalande* (*Encyclopedie*, 1773) with the information about a Lodge having been founded in Paris in 1725 "by Mylord Derwent-Waters, Knight Maskelyne, Mr. Heguerty and some other Englishmen, an example which was followed during the next ten years by many others". Far from being rejected "by the main body of Masonic historiographers", this information has been retained by the Grand Lodge of France (*Instruction Historique*, 1783), believed by Kloss and even by the cautious *Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei*.

According to Lalande, followed by Clavel and other Masonic writers, Lord Charles Radcliffe Derwent-Waters was not only the originator of Freemasonry in France, but even, up to the year 1736, when he left that country, its Grand-Master, followed by Lord Harnoust. *Der sich selbst vertheidigende Freimaurer* gives, however, the end of 1736 as the year of Derwent-Waters' Grand-Mastership and the Duc d'Antin as his successor.

Derwent-Waters was a zealous adherent of the Scotch Pretender and was beheaded in London on the 19th December, 1746. *The Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of the Life and Character of Charles Radcliffe* (London, 1746) provide a very curious study of this adventurous personality.

Most of the doubts as regards Lalande's information actually concern the legality of the Lodge constituted by Derwent-Waters, since the Constitution of the oldest Paris Lodge, according to the lists of the Grand Lodge of England, apparently happened far later, namely, on the 3rd April, 1732. Other Lodges mentioned in official publications of the Grand Lodge of France and referred to the year 1729, were probably in the same illegal position, although actually working.

Moreover, one cannot help agreeing with Bro. Moss that "some respect is due" to a man like Jos. Jerome Lefrancais de Lalande!

That celebrated astronomer was born on the 11th July, 1732, at Boury, and died on the 4th April, 1807, at Paris, as Director of the Paris Observatory. He wrote several learned treatises. Lalande was an ardent Freemason. He founded the Lodge "Neuf Souers" and became its Ruling Master. This Lodge was distinguished by the interest in and furtherance of history and sciences; some of the most prominent men of art and science were among its members; lectures of scientific character were given and discussed. In fact, it is a Lodge, the history of which should be particularly recorded in the *Transactions* of the Q.C.

On the 7th February, 1778, Voltaire was initiated in this Lodge, when a famous discourse was pronounced by Lalande in which, after a reference to Frederick the Great, "whom the world acknowledges as the most exalted protector of the Masonic Union", he said: "Here you enter in the Temple of Friendship, Virtue and Wisdom . . ." The purpose of this Temple being "to support the poor, to work for the furtherance of science and of the good . . ." Lalande continued, speaking thus of the ancestry of the Order: "Our Union owes its origin to the wars in Palestine, its regulations are the laws of the ancient Knighthood . . ."

After this legend, characteristic of some of the French "high" degrees since very early days of French Masonry, Lalande paid a just and striking tribute to England and English Masonry. "Our Union spread first its

branches", he observed, "in that famous isle, which long since has been the bulwark of religion and the meeting-place of all military virtues; which even now is the seat of freedom and of the most elevated philosophy . . ."

To Lalande is attributed the treatise *La Maçonnerie, la Loi de l'Univers* (1787?). In 1774 he wrote his *Memoires sur l'histoire de la Franche-Maçonnerie*. He was one of the founders of the Grand Orient and for many years its Grand Orator, perhaps with a better access to its archives than any one else at the time.

I have dwelt somewhat on Lalande's personality, since on his statements much depends for the history of the early Paris Lodges. There were, however, working during the period embraced by Bro. Moss's paper, also several provincial Lodges (in Bordeaux, Valenciennes, etc.).

All these Lodges in those early days were mostly confined to secluded circles of trustworthy friends, for fear of prosecutions, and this perhaps explains the silence of the oldest German sources on the early part of the history of French Freemasonry. The prosecutions, in fact, soon began. But this lies beyond the scope of our present considerations!

I should like to conclude these few remarks by seconding most heartily the vote of thanks to Bro. Moss for his present essay, and with an expression of the vivid anticipation with which, I feel sure, all Brethren look forward to his next paper.

Bro. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

The problem which Bro. Moss has set out to solve is one that has intrigued many of us, and we therefore cordially welcome his paper—irrespective of whether we can agree or not with all his conclusions. Probably most of us (certainly I for one) will fully agree with his defence of Prof. Lalande's reliability in regard to an article which, though written forty years afterwards, was intended for publication in an authoritative work. Hitherto that article by Lalande has for us been the sole source of information regarding the genesis of French Freemasonry. But now Bro. Moss has explored corroborative evidence more nearly contemporaneous. That he has traced the French work of 1735 relating the wonderful adventures of Prince Fan Feredin is a most useful fact, even though it has apparently failed to confirm the allusion to Derwentwater alleged to be on pages 127-8 of the German translation in the year following. Of course, that allusion might have been in a footnote appended to the German edition. It is scarcely likely to have formed part of the printed text, for the work was non-Masonic. Or is it possible that Herr Kullman referred to a marginal note in his copy inscribed on those pages by some other person?

But oh! how I wish that Bro. Moss had similarly tested the alleged references to Derwentwater in the archives of the Grand Lodge of Sweden! That Lalande had seen them is very unlikely. Whether he had seen any of the other documents referred to by Bro. Moss may, as he says, detract somewhat from their value as confirmatory evidence; but at the same time they enable us to gauge the care with which he sifted his evidence.

As regards the alleged Paris original of the "exposure" in 1738, entitled *Masonry farther Dissected*, notwithstanding its specious sub-title, I think we may question whether such a work had previously appeared in Paris. For it is obvious that in those early days all (or nearly all) the adherents of Masonry in Paris were Scottish Jacobite refugees rather than Frenchmen; and that since the Lodge was "under their hats" its membership was small though its meeting-places (from time to time) may have been varied, and its doings were of little interest to the French people—the prospective purchasers of any "exposure". But the case is different with the "Apology", which might have appeared in Paris either as an original publication or (as I prefer to think) as a translation

of a Dublin publication by Patrick O'Donoghue (Odonoke). Whether the attribution of that "Apology" to Ramsay can or cannot be provable I cannot agree with Bro. Moss to regard it as wholly imaginary; and, so long as the work appeared in Paris in 1737, that suffices to show that there were Masons in Paris in 1737, even though that is two years subsequent to the *terminus ad quem* of Bro. Moss's paper.

There are one or two other details in it which seem open to criticism; but I forbear, lest my comments become tiresome, and still more lest thereby I should seem grudging in appreciation of Bro. Moss's arduous and successful research. I am sure we shall await with great interest his promised sequel, dealing with the identity of the founders of Freemasonry in France—especially of the mysterious "Lord Harnoester".

BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

I think it likely that Freemasonry in France under Jacobite auspices was a feature of the early part of the eighteenth century, but I should not expect it to be directly connected with the movement supposed to have been inaugurated by Anthony Sayer. I imagine its descent to have been through the Society of Freemasons from the London Company of Freemasons of 1644. In this year the Solemn League and Covenant was imposed on all Englishmen over 18 years of age, and bound them without respect of persons to endeavour to extirpate popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism and profaneness. The Company of Freemasons then changed their name to "The Company of Masons", and I surmise that the term "freemason" and the ceremonies associated with it became significant of Stuart sympathies and existed as the Society of Freemasons under Charles II. and James II. The pedigree of the Modern Grand Lodge apparently takes us to the emasculated ceremonies of the journeymen or accepted masons who assembled irregularly under Anthony Sayer. The organisation formed to control them, after certain modifications, became stable and reabsorbed the ceremonies that were passed down by the Jacobite channel. Early modern official Masonry was confined to the first and second degrees, and I should expect the early foreign Lodges to be associated with the third and higher degrees and to be much more akin, as regards their ceremonies, to the Antient Masons of a later date than to the Moderns.

BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS writes:—

The fact that a paper so intensely bibliographical has nevertheless been made of unusual interest by Bro. Moss has led me to add a few notes also chiefly of a bibliographical character.

Wolfstieg enumerates a whole series of annual editions of an *Almanach des Franc-Maçons* filling most of the second half of the eighteenth century. As he terms these editions extraordinarily rare and they contain matter not irrelevant to the paper, some quotations from one of the two in my possession—that of 1757—may perhaps be given. It is stated on pages 29-30 that:—

"La Societé des Franc-Maçons est très ancienne en Angleterre; elle y a subsisté & fleuri pendant un grand nombre de siècles; Il s'en faut bien qu'elle le soit autant, en deça de la mer: les plus anciennes Loges ne datent que de 1732. Cette transplantation a été l'époque de sa propagation & en même tems de sa crise.

Aussie-tôt que cette Société commençoit à être connue, en France, en Allemagne, en Hollande & dans les autres païs, chacun s'en intrigua. Elle devint l'objet des conversations publiques & particulières. On s'en informa & la régarda avec plus ou moins de prévention, & en conséquence on la peignit comme quelque chose de bon, ou de mauvais, ou d'indifferent. Tout le monde voulut la connoître, tout le monde voulut la juger & peut être tout le monde se trompa. L'Etat & la Religion s'en allarmerent; les ministres de l'un la proscrivirent par des edits rigoureux; ceux de l'autre l'excommunierent. Le Peuple pillà les maisons où Elle s'assembloit, l'Inquisition de Lisbonne exerça sur Elle son cruel pouvoir; le Pape lança la foudre du haut du *Vatican* sur les membres; le Magistrat d'une des principales Villes de la Suisse, leur defendit de s'assembler, & obligea ceux qu'on connoissoit en être, d'y renoncer; & par un serment qu'on les força de preter, on vouloit se garantir contre le retour de ces Frères.

Tous ces mouvemens ne pouvoient que produire une curiosité universelle dans le public. Rien de plus extravagant que ce qu'on en raconta; c'étoient disoit on des dogmes de Religion, des trames contre l'Etat, une licence dans les mœurs, une Volupté sans bornes, qui faisoient le sujet de leurs Assemblées secretes, des quelles on avoua cependant que personne ne savoit rien. On a vu paroître en Hollande un écrit qui refutant plusieurs dogmes erronés en matière de Religion, met aussi très charitablement parmi les dogmatisans, les Frans-Maçons & les combat. L'Eglise d'une des Villes de Hollande, refusa tout net de recevoir à la communion, ceux qui ne vouloient pas abjurer solennellement le *Franc Massonisme*; & sans l'autorité du sage souverain, on alloit exiger cette abjuration, comme une des marques caracteristiques de ceux qui professent l'Eglise Reformée.

Des gens intrigans, écrivains habiles, mirent à profit cette disposition des esprits. Le papier souffre tout, & la presse reçoit la Verité comme le mensonge. Plusieurs Livres parurent successivement, quelques uns avec des figures; uniquement pour satisfaire, pour nourrir, ou pour detruire la curiosité du public. Dans quelques uns on attaqua les Franc-Maçons, dans d'autres on prit leur defense. Ceux-ci pretendirent avoir decouvert le grand Mistère de la Société; ceux là assurerent qu'il n'y en avoit pas &c. Le public donna dans le panneau & acheta ces productions. Les auteurs & les Imprimeurs reussissoient dans leurs vuës & faisoient leur bourse. Cependant la Société n'y perdit pas; elle eut la consolation d'éprouver que tous les mouvemens que l'on se donnoit pour decouvrir & penetrer ses secrets, étoient vains. Elle s'en glorifia & se fortifia de nouveau, par la persuasion qu'Elle fit naître que ses secrets sont impenétrables''.

On pages 40-41 a bibliography is given:—

Relation apologetique & Historique de la Société des Franc-Maçons, par J. G. D. M. F. M. in Octavo. Dublin. 1738.

Histoire du noble & Venerable Ordre des Francs-Maçons, avec leurs Loix & constitutions par le frère de la Tierce. 8. Francft. 1742.

Apologie des Franc-Maçons, par Mr. N. membre de l'Ordre. 8. Dresde. 1742.

L'Ordre des Franc-Masons trahi & le secret des Mopses revelé. 8. fig. 1745.

La Société des Franc-Maçons ecrasée. 8. fig. 1747.

Le Maçon demasqué, ou le vrai secret des Francs-Maçons mis au jour. 12. avec fig. Lond. 1751.

Procedures curieuses de l'Inquisition de Portugal, contre les Franc-Maçon pour decouvrir leur secret. 8. MMDCCCIII.

Le Franc-Maçon dans la Republique, ou Reflexions Apologetiques sur les persecutions des Franc-Maçons. 8. à Francft. & Leipzig. 1746.

Etrenne au Pape. 8.

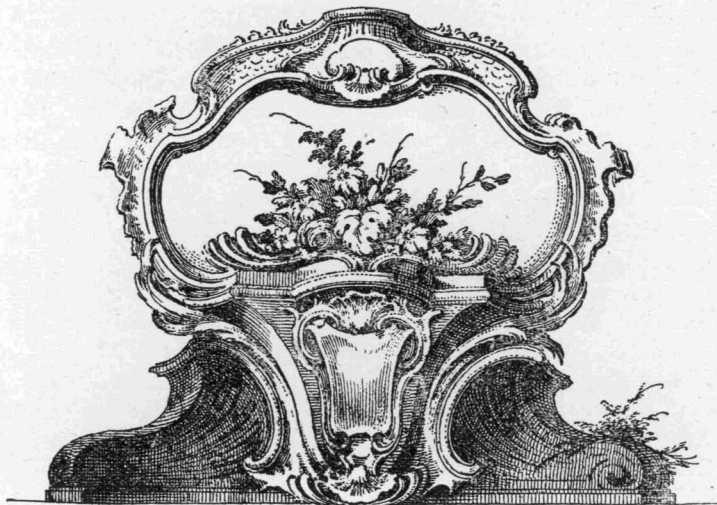
Le Vatican Vengé, Apologie ironique pour servir de pendant à l'Etrenne au Pape. 8. à la Haye. 1752.

La Noblesse des Francs-Maçons, ou institution de leur Societé avant le deluge universel & son renouvellement après le deluge. Poeme par un prophane. 8. Francft. 1756.

With regard to the two editions of Nandot's *Chansons*, I have one which seems something of a hybrid. Although it has the title-page of the first edition and the date "1737", yet it does not end at page 40. Page 41 begins with the heading: "2^e Recueil de chansons Nouvelle de la Maçonnerie", and is numbered up to page 91, which ends with "Fin", after which the verso of this page has a "Table Du Second Recueil", followed by a "Table Du Premier Recueil", and then by an unpagéd "Marche des Franches Maçonnes".

Bro. Moss says that the French translation of Prichard, the *Reception Mystérieuse* has a London imprint, but that the 1778 edition of the *Ecrasés* states that it was printed at Liège. This later statement is probably taken from the book itself, where at the bottom of page 123 it is said: "Ce present Livre se vend à Liège, chez Jacques Jacob Libraire à l'Arbre verd sur le Pont-d'Isle".

Finally, I may point out that, in view of Bro. Wonnacott's observations one cannot assume from the conclusions of Bros. Gould and Dixon that Martin Clare wrote the *Defence of Masonry*.



FRIDAY, 4th MAY, 1934.



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

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. F. Addington Hall, C. F. Sykes, Herbert Courlander, A. E. Richmond, P.A.G.St.B., C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg., A. E. Gurney, R. A. Dix, W. R. Hurst, H. F. Mawbey, L. G. Wearing, H. Johnson, S. Ezekiel, Geo. Sarginson, James J. Cooper, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., *Rev.* J. L. E. Hooppell, P.A.G.Ch., William Lewis, Albert Mond, Albert Thompson, Geo. C. Williams, Jas. Wallis, W. W. Woodman, S. S. Huskisson, Wallace Heaton, P.G.St.B., W. Shipley, A. F. Cross, A. H. Crouch, G. B. Minshull, W. C. Birken-Mullett, W. T. J. Gun, E. G. Hobbs, Wm. E. Moss, R. H. Clerke, G.St.B., S. Hazeldine, G. D. Hindley, W. Brinkworth, A. Baron Burn, C. S. B. Birkin-Mullett, H. J. R. Williamson, H. A. Yoward, L. R. Jepson, and A. T. Gordon.

Also Bro. F. G. Marr, Edmonton Latymer Lodge No. 5026, Visitor.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros D. Knoop, M.A., J.W.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, J.D.; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.G.Ch., P.M., Ch.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., Stew.; *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; David Flather, J.P., P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; John Stokes, M.A., M.D., P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks, P.M.; and George Norman, M.D., P.G.D., P.M.

Three Lodges, fifteen Councils, one Museum and forty-three Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following Members of the Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—Bros. A. Burnett Brown, Past Grand Warden; *Rev.* G. Freeman Irwin, Past Grand Chaplain; F. E. Lemon, C. J. Marsh, and W. Lockhart Rind, Grand Deacons; F. W. Laughton, E. B. Creasy, and Major G. T. Harley Thomas, Past Grand Deacons; Major R. L. Loyd and J. E. Grosvenor, Deputy Grand Directors of Ceremonies; H. E. Worthington and R. J. Soddy, Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; C. H. B. Armstrong, H. E. Budden, J. H. Chalmers, J. H. Shipman, Sidney Warhurst, and G. G. G. Wheeler, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; *Lieut.-Col.* T. M. Wakefield, Deputy Grand Sword Bearer; *Lieut.-Col.* C. J. Elkan, Past Deputy Grand Sword Bearer; *Capt.* F. H. H. Thomas,

Assistant Grand Sword Bearer; *Major* H. Wintersladen, Past Assistant Grand Sword Bearer; R. H. Clerke, Grand Standard Bearer; Herbert Crabtree, J. E. Mark, J. Temple Moore, Stanley Palmer, A. E. Richmond, George Sarginson, Thomas Selby, and W. H. Smith, Past Grand Standard Bearers.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. E. W. JACKSON, of Saltburn.

Craft Certificate issued by the Coldstream St. John Lodge No. 283, Scottish Constitution, in 1829, to David Brown. Signed by James Brown, Master; John Robb, S.W.; Arch. Rankin, J.W.; and John Wallace, Secretary. Design of three pillars on one side surmounted by Faith; two on the other surmounted by Hope; and in bottom foreground Charity with her three children. In chief the irradiated eye, sun and moon. Red wax seal. The type is Irish, rather than Scottish.

Apron. Plain linen, square with small flap roughly triangular. Hand-painted designs. Probably Scottish early nineteenth century.

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

• Three proclamations in Spanish by the Bishop of Almeida, dated Feb., 1815; April, 1815; and August, 1814, with a notification directing promulgation of Jan., 1815. Against the Freemasons.

Coloured print. Philip Broadfoot.

Notice of meeting; Harmonic Lunarians. *Vide* illustration. This should be compared with the frontispiece to the second edition, 1715, of *L'Eloge de l'Yvresse*, the work translated by Robert Samber. Both represent a nude child on a barrel.

By Bro. H. F. FITT.

Sandby's medal as a subscriber to the New Temple.

By Bro. DAVID C. SCHRAMM, Cleveland, Ohio.

Three gavels, made by himself; that for the Master from wood from the Washington Memorial Building at Alexandria, Va.; that for the S.W. from oak from Jerusalem; that for the J.W. from Black Walnut from a dismantled church in Ohio. *Presented for the use of the Lodge.*

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

Bro. *Lieut.-Col.* WM. E. MOSS read the following paper:—

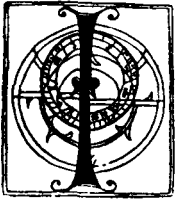


Dinner Ticket of the
HARMONIC LUNARIANS.
Early 19th Century.

FREEMASONRY IN FRANCE IN 1725-1735.

PART II. THE LEADERS AND THEIR IDENTIFICATION.

 BY BRO. W. E. MOSS.



IN the first part of this paper I brought together and analysed all the sources for the history of the early Freemasonry of France in general, and the first Paris Lodges in particular, and was able to offer you a tentative account of those Lodges and their development. Keeping the sources in mind, we have now to consider the various personages concerned, more particularly those from this side of the Channel, whose names and titles proved such a stumbling-block to the Continental historians that their identity has remained a mystery; indeed in the case of some of them, their very existence has been disputed.

Joseph-Jérôme Lalande was born 11th July, 1732, at Bourg-en-Bresse, just outside which town stands one of the loveliest *chefs-d'œuvre* of the earliest years of the sixteenth century, the Church of Brou, built by Margaret of Austria to hold the tombs of her second husband, Philibert, Duke of Savoy and his mother Margaret de Bourbon, and her own, in which she was laid before the noble work was ended.

Lalande was a very precocious youth and so apt a pupil in astronomy under Delisle, that in 1751 Lemonnier obtained leave for him to go to Berlin, to make observations on lunar parallax, simultaneous with those of Lacaille at Cape Town.

Lacaille returned to Europe in 1754, so that for a great part of 1752-3 Lalande must have been at Berlin. He was admitted a member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences before he was 21. In 1762 Delisle resigned his chair of Astronomy at the *College de France*, and Lalande succeeded him, retaining the post for forty-six years. Among a mass of scientific work, he published in 1769 *Voyage d'un français en Italie en 1765-66*. In view of his known connection with the Masonic Lodge at Leghorn, it might contain matter of interest.

Gould suggests that Lalande's initiation into Masonry took place in 1751. If so, although he was but 19, it may have been at Berlin. M. Louis Amiable, to whose work *Le Franc-Maçon Jérôme Lalande*, Paris, Charavay, 1889, I am indebted for much biography but little bibliography, thinks he may have been made a Mason in England, which he is known to have visited: an interesting notion, quite unverifiable.

There is one brief personal note in the Essay, which may bear on this: his reference to John Senex, the Grand Warden, like himself a mathematician and astronomer.

I now offer for examination reproductions of the title-page of the 1777 Supplement to the Encyclopedia, vol. iii., and of p. 134, on which occurs the historical record of the First Paris Lodge.

I venture to supply a translation, which I shall follow by some notes which the various statements seem to call for.

"Nothing could stop this new interest of the English in Masonry from spreading to us. Towards the year 1725, Lord Dervent-Waters, the chevalier Maskelyne, M. d'Heguerty and several other English, established a Lodge at Paris, in the Rue des Boucheries, at the house of Hure, an English restaurant-keeper; in less than ten years, the repute of this Lodge drew five or six hundred brethren into Masonry, and brought about the foundation of other Lodges; to begin with, that of Goustaud, an English lapidary; then that of Le Breton known as the Lodge of the Louis d'Argent, because it was held at a tavern of that name; the Lodge called de Bussy, because it was held at the house of Landelle, restaurant-keeper in the Rue de Bussy; it was presently known as the Lodge d'Aumont, when M. le duc d'Aumont having there been initiated, was there chosen Master; at that time they looked on as Grand Master of Masons, Lord Dervent-Waters, who later on went over to England, where he was beheaded.

"Lord d'Harnouester was chosen in 1736 by four Lodges which then existed at Paris, and is the first Grand Master who can be described as regularly elected.

"In 1738 they elected M. le duc d'Antin as Grand Master-General and perpetual of Masons in the Kingdom of France, but the Masters of Lodges still changed every three months. There were twenty-two Lodges at Paris in 1742."

Now let us try to extract the chronology implied in this history, annotating it from outside sources in the attempt to check dates given.

"Towards the year 1725 . . ." Lalande may be presumed here to mean either that it was early in 1725 or late in 1724: it cannot mean 'later than 1725.'

Charles Radcliffe was married at Brussels on 2nd June, 1724, and his eldest son James was baptised in the Chapel of the Chateau de Vincennes, almost in Paris, on 25th August, 1725. On March 6th, 1726, his mother died at Paris, where she had been living some time, and Charles is believed to have been then with her. So there is good reason to think that he was actually there at the time claimed.

" . . . Lord Dervent-Waters." An orthography arising from the fact that French printers at the date had small use for, and possibly no stock of, the small "w." The capital form was however often in use in proper names. The name is rather an anachronism in 1725, as his nephew was alive. But his wife was a Countess, which would puzzle the French, and some explanation would be given, that if he were a French subject (which he claimed to be, when at the Tower, in 1746), as brother to an Earl and son of an Earl, he would at least be a 'baron' . . . Derwentwater. On the other hand, it may be no more than a projection backward of the name by which he went from 1732 onwards.

" . . . the chevalier Maskelyne." I believe that we catch Lalande thinking of his beloved astronomy, and its professors! At the date Lalande wrote, Nevil Story Maskelyne had already made a reputation. There is small doubt that the two were acquainted, and Lalande's own enthusiasm did the rest.

I here contrast the various renderings:—

Tuckett, *A.Q.C.*, xxxi., 7 *et seqq.* This form. Quoted from Thory evidently (1812).

Gould, vol. iii., ch. xxv. "Chevalier Maskeline and Squire Heguerty."
(I should like to know where Gould found 'Maskeline'.)

Findel (claiming to follow Thory, but as translated, ? by whom, preface by David Murray Lyon), "Squire Maskelyne, a lord of Heguerty . . ."

Thory actually says (1812), "Milord Derwent Waters, le chevalier Maskelyne, M. d'Heguetty et quelques seigneurs anglais . . ." and (1815), "My lord Derwentwater, le chevalier Maskelyne, m. d'Heguetty et quelques Anglais de distinction . . ."

Woodford (Kenning's Cyclopedia) says, "Chevalier Maskelyne and Hegueerty . . ."

And in *A.Q.C.*, xxxi., 9, Bro. Tuckett says: "Up to the present the Chevalier Maskelyne (Gould) or Squire Maskelyne (Findel) has escaped me."

Findel seems to have exchanged epithets, making a "Squire" of Maskelyne and turning 'Heguerty' into a lord.

My own notion is that Lalande, consulting his multifarious notebooks, of which, on scientific matters, we know he kept an enormous number, found notes which he could not quite square with his preconceived ideas.

In other words, he found he had noted "le chevalier Maskeline." He said to himself "What English name is this?"

Now in formal French copy-book script of the period, there is a curious small script "s" which looks like our old-fashioned single loop "s" turned backwards; if the oblique stroke be faint, it looks like a "c." Conversely, "c" looks like the old "s" if an accidental dash cross it.

Seeing either "Mackeline" or "Maskeline" who was also a "Chevalier" he at once thought of his respected astronomer-colleague Story Maskelyne, who was at least of noble kinship, though at one time only Curate of High Barnet; was he not brother-in-law to the great Lord Clive?

So down it went, "Maskelyne" to the confusion of posterity.

Note, this is not a Frenchman's phonetic rendering of a foreign name learnt orally. It is a French savant's attempt to reproduce what he thought was correct spelling, derived from his own professional knowledge of a real bearer of the name he wrote down.

Yet, perhaps, had he transcribed his own notes, and let his ideas go hang, he would have saved a world of trouble.

Because "Maskelyne" = "Maskeline" = "Mackeline" = "Macleanne."

I have a very curious variant rendering of the story of the First Paris Lodge in a queer quarter (Matthew Cooke's copy).

"Freemasonry . . . a lecture before the Historical Society of the Catholic University, 26 May 1862 . . . by James Burton Robertson Esq., Professor of Modern History, with appendix of Papal Bulls by the Rev. Dr. Murray of Maynooth. Dublin 1862."

On p. 16 of this, . . . "in the year 1725 the first Lodge in France was held under the presidency of three Englishmen, Lord Derwentwater, Sir John Maskelyne and Sir Hugh Tighe . . . Lord Haronester [*sic*] second grand master in France" . . . and the Chevalier Ramsay is also called a "grand master of the Order."

Is "Sir Hugh Tighe" merely a case of "Hegarty" gone wrong, or does it mean some member of the well-known Wicklow family of Tighe? I cannot find any such an one. Nor are we told who the first "grand master" was: perhaps we are to infer Derwentwater. Whence came all this?

BRO. TUCKETT, *A.Q.C.*, xxxi., gives us all the history of Sir John Maclean and his son Sir Hector that we are likely to come by.

He has not, however, mentioned the Marquis Ruvigny de Raineval's *Jacobite Peerage* which gives us the substance of the Royal Warrant Book of the Stuart Kings in Exile, presented by Henry, Cardinal York, to King George III., and now preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor.

From this we learn that Hector Maclean, on 17th December, 1716, was created by "King James III." "Lord," *i.e.*, "Baron" Maclean. As he was but thirteen, it can hardly have been otherwise than as an inducement to the Clan Maclean, of which he was Chieftain, to support the Stuart interest.

Hector Maclean apparently signs as "Grand Master" a document dated 1735.

How he was "Grand Master" does not appear: but Radcliffe was almost certainly at Rome just previously. His daughter Anne was born there in 1730 and there buried, at St. Agnes in Lucina, in May, 1734. So he may have taken over the reins of office from Radcliffe.

Doubtless he was a 'roi faineant' whose very name is only preserved in one or two obscure books, in one more obscure document, and in a hopelessly bedevilled form, in an ancient dictionary.

Yet he was a Highland Chieftain of remote lineage.

Sic transit gloria!

Now for the 'Heguerty.' "Squire," "Ecuyer" in French, corresponds to our "Esquire" and in heraldic Latin, "Armiger," a "Gentleman."

Hegarty, Taggart and probably Hogarth are all from the same Gaelic, 'sagairt,' a priest.

BRO. TUCKETT prophesies truly. On p. 11 of his essay quoted, he says: "It is likely that the nobility of his descent had been officially recognised."

Here is such a recognition from the *Jacobite Peerage* mentioned:—

"1728 Oct. 18. Declaration of noblesse of Daniel Ohaguerty Gentleman living at Nancy in Lorraine."

The O'Hegarty, to use the probable Irish form, provided a family of note at Nancy. I have unearthed the following:—

Essai sur les intérêts du commerce maritime. Par M.D. (O'Heguerty, Comte de Maignières) La Haye, 1754." 12mo. with armorial stamp of Mme. de Pompadour.

(Catalogue of Lefrançois, Succr. de Morgand, Paris.)

"Essai de Finance, Par le Comte de Magnières de l'Academie Royale de Nancy," 1775. Red morocco, bearing a double eagle displayed below a coronet. (? arms of Poland.)

(Quaritch, Catalogue of Bookbindings, Jan., 1922.)

The Marquis Ruvigny's *Nobilities of Europe*, 1909, p. 132, gives:—

O'HEGUERTY: Dominick O'Heguerty was on 21 June 1773 created by Louis XV., Count of Maignières (Comte de Maignières, France): his daughter and apparent heiress, Marie Françoise Anne O'Heguerty married Jean Baptist Morgan, Ecuyer, Seigneur de Frucourt, Doudelaerville &c., and their eldest son Jean Baptist Maur Morgan, K.S.I., K.L.H., was cr. Comte héréditaire by patent 29 May 1818, with title Comte Morgan de Frucourt.

I looked up Bernardin's *History of Freemasonry at Nancy*, 1910, for traces of the family, and found one, described as "O. Heguerty" officier retiré. He was member of the Auguste Fidélité, in February, 1777, an Ecossais Lodge presided over by Beyerlé, a well-known figure in Masonic history. I also found two ladies named Heguerty, members of 'Adoptive' bodies at the same place, about ten years later.

"Several other English": Cannot one hope to trace a few more names some day?

"Hure, English restaurant-keeper." This name is spelled "Hurc" in the *Etat* of 1777, and is so copied correctly by Jouast. Rebold makes it "Hurre," for which I hope he had adequate reason. I incline to believe that it preserves the correct form nearer than any other. That form I think was probably "Hurry" or "Urry": and I suspect that he was of the kindred of John Urry, the editor of Chaucer, who had no children. But his uncle, Sir John Hurry, beheaded at Edinburgh in 1650, left a family whose noblesse did receive recognition from Charles II. In any case this was a family stoutly 'Jacobite' in politics.

"Goustaud, an English lapidary" (also given as "Gaustand"). Apart from the un-English look of the name, I suspect that he was a 'dealer in precious stones' rather than a seal-engraver, like Roettiers. The somewhat commonplace suggestion I make is that the French may indicate the name "Gulston" maltreated. This family achieved considerable substance rather later on. But I have made another shot, viz., that 'Jean Coustos' who was 'persecuted by the Inquisition in Portugal' at a later date might have been the man. His name might have been commonly pronounced "Cousto," and he was a dealer in stones. Yet his engraved portrait says he was 43 years of age in 1746: if true, he would not be old enough. Bernardin has a queer variant of the name "Gouftand"!

"Lebreton" was a printer and one of the most important of them, as in fact most of the Great Encyclopedia was printed at his office. His type-specimen sheet is known, as 1751, showing 22 varieties, and is included in the second vol. of the *Encyclopedie des Arts et des Métiers* of 1751.

"The Lodge called de Bussy." The address of this 'hotel' is now known as the rue de Buci, not far from St. Germain-des-Prés. This Lodge is always said to have been founded by a deputation granted by Viscount Montagu, G.M., in 1731.

"The duc d'Aumont . . . having been there initiated." The French 'reçu' is the usual word, and cannot mean 'received as a joining member' (agrégé).

Louis Marie Augustin duc d'Aumont and Marquis de Villequier, was eldest son and heir of Louis, duc d'Aumont, sometime French Ambassador to the Court of St. James. Born in 1709, he succeeded to the title in 1723, and in 1727 married Victoire de Durfort-Duras, widow of James, duc de Fitz-James, the eldest son of the second marriage of Marshal the Duke of Berwick. This connection alone must have brought him into Stuart 'émigré' society. He was known later as a great collector of *objets d'art* and books, many of which have found their way into the Bibliothèque Nationale. No less than eleven armorial book-stamps used by him are known; a generous array! He died at Paris in 1783.

Victoire de Durfort-Duras was niece of Louis de Durfort-Duras, Earl of Feversham in the English Peerage, by succession, under the original limitation, to his father-in-law, Sir George Sondes (cr. 1st Earl) in 1677. He was nephew of Marshal Turenne, and was reputed to have won the Battle of Sedgemoor 'by

lying in bed.' He was Lord of the Bedchamber in 1682, and was one of the pall-bearers at Samuel Pepys' funeral. He died in 1709 and his will was proved by Mr. George Sayer, of St. Clement Dane's, an attorney, surely, who seems to have escaped J. W. Hobbs in his search for possible relatives of the First Grand Master.

"At that time they looked on as G.M." There is no need to strain this phrase. Masters in the Chair were often called 'Grand,' especially in Scotland.

"Who later went over." Here, '*dans la suite*,' which I have rendered rather colourlessly, 'later,' surely dismisses the whole subject of 'Derwentwater.' But I think it certainly means that Lalande had no idea whatever that "Derwentwater" and 'Milord d'Harnouester' were even possibly the same person.

"Lord d'Harnouester." The prize enigma! It is a '*hapax legomenon*' of Lalande, and anyone else using it is merely a copyist, even at second or third hand. It does not specify any exact English title; it means only that he was a peer, and that Lalande knew nothing precise beyond that.

Next, allowing for the fact that a Frenchman does not aspirate his "h" as in English, and that if Lalande had intended the English aspiration he would have written 'de Harnouester' and that a single 'r' is invariably 'rolled' and needs no doubling to indicate the fact, this word stands for "ARRAN WESTER" and nothing else whatever.

There is and was no such title. But "Wester" is no impossible word. One of our great naval commanders has become "Lord Wester Wemyss." (And has passed away since I wrote this.)

It is suggested that we have not here to do with the ancient Scottish title of "Earl of Arran" or any relative of its holders, but the Irish, much later title, enjoyed by several members of the great Butler family. Richard, a younger son of James, the "Great Duke of Ormonde," had this title, and died in January, 1686. He was second son; Thomas, earl of Ossory by courtesy, created Baron Butler of Moorepark, was second child, but eldest son. The 'Arran' title was revived when William III. created, March 8th, 1693, Charles, second son of Ossory, who died *vita patris*, Earl of Arran in the Peerage of Ireland, and various minor titles as well.

The title was taken from the Arran Islands, off the Galway coast, one of the wildest and most westerly inhabited outposts of the British Islands.

But long after this, and seven years later than the Rising of 1715, so disastrous for many great houses, when Ossory's eldest son James, second Duke of Ormonde, was a lonely exile of nearly sixty years of age, in France, his brother Charles, Earl of Arran, was, according to the 'Warrant-Book' of 'King James III.' already mentioned, on 22nd June, 1722, created by Him "Duke of ()" in the Peerage of England.

There is no name in the draft Patent, just a blank. The Marquis Ruvigny puts in "Arran" without any particular discussion.

Was there some scruple in duplicating an ancient Scottish title, but an Earldom, even though the 'derivatory fief' lay quite in another place?

Perhaps. But I think there was another reason for hesitation in granting a new "Arran" title.

I do not think it arose from doubts regarding his well-concealed 'Jacobite' leanings. There was a person rather near akin to 'James III.' who was a difficulty.

Charles Hamilton, natural son of James Douglas (1659-1712) Earl of Arran (in the Scots Peerage) and, later, 4th Duke of Hamilton, and Lady Barbara Fitzroy, a natural daughter of Charles II. and the Duchess of Cleveland, was

born at Cleveland House while his father Arran was a prisoner in the Tower. Queen Mary, and William Douglas, the 3rd Duke of Hamilton, were so incensed that they packed Lady Barbara off abroad, where she died soon after, in a nunnery at Pontoise. The child Charles 'Hamilton' was brought up by his grandmother the Duchess of Cleveland, and on his father's marriage (17th July, 1698) was sent to France and put in charge of the Earl of Middleton, secretary to James II.

James Douglas was Earl of Arran by courtesy in right of his father, who was tenant of the titles of Duke of Hamilton and Earl of Arran *jure uxoris* till his death in 1694.

Thereafter, till 1698, he had the same title by courtesy in right of his mother, who was Duchess of Hamilton in her own right. She resigned all her honours to William III., and he re-granted them, with precedence over the old titles (which surprised people, as he was a lukewarm 'Williamite') to her son James. He ought not to be called 'Douglas' as he always bore his mother's name 'Hamilton.' He had a tragic end, as in a duel with Lord Mohun, both combatants were killed. The incident, somewhat altered, is in Thackeray's *Esmond*.

General Macartney was Mohun's second. Colonel Scott, the duke's second, swore that his principal was actually killed by a pass from Macartney: when Macartney fled to Antwerp, Charles Hamilton sent him a challenge, which was not accepted. Hamilton later made his residence in Switzerland, and in 1737 married Antoinette Courtey of Archambault: he visited Scotland in 1738 in order that his son should be born there, at Edinburgh. He died at Paris 13th August, 1754, and was buried at Montmartre. His son died at Edinburgh in 1800.

I think this 'Count of Arran' provided a difficulty for a 'Dukedom of Arran' *tout simple* to be offered: whether the problem was ever solved we shall never know definitely.

Was the title "Arran Wester" proposed? I think it possible that it was, or that it was discussed in a small and select circle at St. Germain, and later on, remembered dimly by a very few. But whatever it sounded like to purely Scots ears, or French, I think that to one used to the sonorous dignity of "Ormonde" to which he was heir presumptive, it would be like asking a Spanish Grandee to accept an English Dukedom of 'Plaza Toro'!

There is another possible solution. Since 1693 the Earl of Arran was also Baron Butler, of Weston, in the Peerage of England. I believe he had a country house of no great pretensions at Weston in Huntingdonshire. (I have noted that his brother Ormonde was Baron Butler of Moor Park.) It is possible therefore that at times he was called intimately "Lord Weston" as a short form of the title, in preference to "Lord Butler."

Have we here, then, a conflation of titles, "Lord Arran & Weston"? Had there been anywhere a mere hint of "Lord Harnoueston" I think I should have adopted this explanation. But I prefer the explanation that there was at some time a title in use: Lord Arran Wester.

I have yet another curious side-hint on the matter, to bring forward, this time of 1740, and by its own account, of 1737, the very year after the election of 'Lord Harnouester.'

There is a very early and very dull drama entitled 'Les Fri-Maçons, Hyperdrame,' professedly published 'A Londres, Chez J . . . T . . . dans le Strand, MDCCXL,' but quite certainly of Paris printing. Here we find a charming and inquisitive widow who burns to fathom the Masons' Secret. The

Grand Master of Free-masons is in love with her, but of course has declined to satisfy her curiosity.

On p. 54 we read:—

LUCILE (the Widow): “Oh, bien; je sais le secret à présent, moi, et je veux vous le dire.”

The GRAND-MASTER: “C’est peu de chose apparemment.”

LUCILE: “Si peu de chose, Monsieur, que la personne qui l’a acheté, s’en est dégoutée tout aussi-tôt; et n’a jamais pu s’en défaire au prix coutant.”

Then she asks if he will say whether she is right, to which he replies, ‘Let’s hear it.’ To which she answers:—

“Votre but n’est autre chose que de vous amuser de la curiosité du public. Tout votre secret est qu’il n’y en a aucun, et votre serment est de ne pas dire qu’il n’y ait point de secret.”

And to the previous remark, a footnote in italics is added:—

“On sait à quel prix une Actrice de l’Opera avoit acheté le prétendu secret qu’on a publié, et ce qu’elle répondit à une personne respectable qui vouloit l’engager à le lui apprendre.”

A most unmistakable reference to the Exposure published by authority of the Lieutenant-General of Police Hérault in September, 1737!

And what is the name in this precious play, of the Grand-Master of Free Masons?

“MONDOR.”

Is this not “ORMOND” very thinly disguised?

True, the Duke was still alive, and Arran was not Ormond: but a foreigner could make the mistake very easily.

The author of the play was a certain Pierre Clément, a Protestant pastor from Geneva, who later lost his reason and died at Charenton. Barbier, Quérard, Fesch and some others profess that editions exist with pseudonym ‘Vincent.’ Lantoiné, in his Bibliography of the ‘Théâtre Maçonnique’ denies their existence, and the well-known firm of Dorbon-Ainé have never seen any other edition than this anonymous one of 1740.

Where did Lalande get this “Lord Harnouester”?

I think he must have got it from the aged Duc d’Aumont, who was living when he wrote and for some time after. He, as husband of the widow of James II.’s grandson, would know all the private small-talk. He was a ready patron of scientific and literary folk, and I find that Lalande dedicated one of his mathematical treatises to him.

Observe that if my claim be correct that the ‘Lord Harnouester’ elected G.M. in 1736 was the Earl of Arran, he was then over sixty-five years of age: and he had always been dignified and publicly, at least, very ‘inarticulate.’

I am glad that I can supply a reproduction of his portrait, which is at Oxford, among the portraits of the Chancellors. It was painted in 1727 by Sir James Thornhill, who was himself Senior Grand Warden of England, and presented by the artist. It has for many years adorned the walls of the Examination Schools, to hearten begowned and white-tied undergraduates struggling with knotty Papers. He points to his Instrument of Election which one can read:—

“Instrumentum Electionis, . . . Dom: Car Butler Com: Arran in
. . . . Cancellarium Universitatis Oxon 4^o die Sept: A.D.
MDCCXV. Bernard Gardiner L.L.D. Almae Universitatis Vice
Cancellarius et ceteri . . .”

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.



CHARLES BUTLER, EARL OF ARRAN,
as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, 1727.
Painted by Sir James Thornhill. Reproduced by leave of
the Masters of the New Examination Schools, Oxford.

The Keeper of the Archives tells me that his Diploma as D.C.L. runs: "Carolus Dnus. Butler Baro de Weston Necnon Comes Arran Vice-Comes Tulle et Baro Clogranan in Regno Hiberniae . . ."

So you will see that in one place at least, he is "Baro de Weston."

His Grand-Mastership of France is usually supposed to have endured two years. Charles Bernardin (*History of Freemasonry at Nancy*, 1910), usually a painstaking historian, accepts this with some reserve. Yet he professes to quote Anderson, 1738, translating him thus:—

"Les Loges étrangères sont sous la patronage de la Grande Loge d'Angleterre. Malgré cela celles de la cité d'York, d'Écosse, d'Irlande, de France et d'Italie affectent une indépendance blâmable et refusent de reconnaître la juridiction du G.M. d'Angleterre . . . Ces ingrats oublient que la splendeur dont ils jouissent ne leur provient que d'Angleterre . . ."

"Ceci pourrait militer en faveur du fait de l'élection de milord Harnouester comme G.M. français . . ."

That is to say, their ungrateful and reprehensible independence is a possible argument for the truth of the 'Harnouester' story!

When we turn to Anderson himself, we find (1738, p. 196) that he has just given us a list, meticulously dated, of Deputations granted, to found Lodges beyond Sea, and he follows it with this:—

"All these foreign Lodges are under the patronage of our G.M. of England. But the old lodge of York City, . . . affecting independency, are under their own G.M.'s tho' they have the same Constitutions . . . for Substance . . . and are equally zealous . . ."

Bernardin might be excused if he mistook the force of "affecting," but for his further perversions of his original, no excuse is possible.

I regret that I have very little personal history of the Earl of Arran, to offer. His grandfather, the first Duke of Ormonde, was a statesman of outstanding abilities: his father, Thomas Earl of Ossory was the *beau idéal* of his time as soldier, sportsman and courtier, and his untimely death was the subject of general grief.

His brother, the second Duke of Ormonde, must have had personality. James II. gave him the Garter, and William III. installed him. He was Captain-General of the English Army in Flanders, and had a most distasteful duty to perform, in making war officially while he knew that his own government was making peace behind his back.

When the House of Hanover arrived, although he had signed the proclamation of King George I., and despite the anxiety even of political opponents to make things easy for him, at the age of fifty, his unpractical idealism tore him from position, estates and dignities, and cast him, impoverished and lonely, into the faction-torn camp of the exiled Stuarts. After the events of the '15 he never returned to England, except to be buried in Westminster Abbey. His life from 1716 to its close in November, 1745, is a blank, save for the few social Memoirs of a Person of Quality on the Grand Tour, seeking out lions of the past in their peaceful Continental retreats. He lived mostly in France, at Paris or at Avignon, with his second wife, Mary, daughter of the first Duke of Beaufort, and at times at Madrid, where the Spanish Court tried in vain to turn him from his immovable Protestant creed to the Roman.

His brother Charles, 'my Lord Harnouester,' though never included in the attainder of his brother, is a still more inconspicuous person. He was allowed

to repurchase much of the forfeited estate, by a special Act of Parliament. He was sometimes in France, sometime in England or in Ireland: but he leaves hardly the faintest trace of himself anywhere.

Strangest of all, he succeeded the Duke as Chancellor of Oxford University in 1715, and he held that dignity till his death in 1758, when he was nearly eighty-eight years of age. I do not think any other Chancellor has ever equalled his forty-three years' tenure! Yet the University seems to have nothing but the merest handful of official letters from him as relics of this lengthy period.

When his brother died, in 1745, I have no doubt that he was *de jure* Duke of Ormonde in the Peerage of Ireland: no Act of Attainder of the English Parliament could affect that; but he never seems to have asserted his right.

That a short "Grandmastership" of the Paris Lodges, of such a man, should leave no trace to speak of, when forty-three years of Chancellorship of Oxford left nothing, is hardly surprising.

It is, I admit, rather disconcerting to find that on the one hand, Arran, if it were he, was "regularly elected" G.M. in 1736, but that during his two years' tenure, a document in the Swedish G.L. Archives asserts "Derwentwater" to have been G.M. on 25th November, 1737. But I have been singularly unfortunate in all my attempts to find out where Arran actually was at that date.

And with this, I will leave "Lord Harnouester" to the judgment of my brother Masons, but I shall presently show his kinship to Charles Radcliffe, "Earl of Derwentwater."

At this point it is convenient to digress on a small matter, which allusion to the Swedish G.L. documents brings up. The document nominates a certain Carl Fredrik Scheffer "to constitute Lodges in Sweden."

Now it is a remarkable fact that there was a "Fredrik Scheffer" associated with a connection of Derwentwater.

In 1731 or early in 1732, the Dowager Countess of Newburgh, mother of Radcliffe's wife, who had been since 1714 widow of Richard, 3rd Lord Bellew (Ireland), more or less secretly married Sir Thomas Smyth, 2nd and last Baronet, of Redcliffe, over whom she had gained great influence. She was claiming considerable share in the Bellew estates, presumably against her son, who was well under age, the 4th baron, and in prosecuting her claims, required monetary help.

This was procured by Sir Thomas inducing his nephew Dr. William King, since 1718 Principal of St. Mary Hall at Oxford, to advance considerable sums: a lawsuit was launched, and proved interminable. (It was not indeed concluded till both Sir Thomas and the Countess were dead.)

Dr. King, be it noted, was in 1715 and more or less till 1718, secretary to the Earl of Arran, just made Chancellor, and he owed his appointment to his headship of St. Mary Hall to his noble employer.

And, in due course, Dr. King lost his money and as was his wont, lost his temper all round, and attacked the lady, the Dowager Countess, in a very ungentlemanly way.

He wrote, or caused to be circulated, a poem entitled *The Toast* wherein she figures as "Mira" in most unattractive guise.

The first edition, a simple half-sheet broadside, does not concern us. In an expanded form it was published in 1732 at Dublin, nominally as "Vol. i."

"The Toast, an Epic Poem in Four Books. Written in Latin by Fredrick Sheffer. Done into English by Peregrine Odonald, Esq."

Vol. ii. was never published, but another edition containing the whole four books (the preceding had two only) appeared in Dublin in 1736, with an engraved frontispiece by Gravelot. There is also a *soi-disant* edition of 1747, which is a remainder of the last, with the date altered in pen-and-ink. Both these last are dedicated to Dean Swift, who was injudicious enough to admire the work.

Much regarding it was hidden from me till I came across Mr. Harold Williams' very exhaustive bibliography of Dr. King, in the *Book Collector's Quarterly* No. iv., an essay entitled "The Old Trumpeter of Liberty Hall."

Mr. Williams informs us that in 1750 Dr. King, who was a well-known Jacobite, personally met the Prince Charles Edward: that his letters to Swift were intercepted by the Postal Censor, to whom King wrote a facetious letter offering him a public *reclame* for efficiency, and so on. And there is another small matter. In 1739 King was probably joint translator with Hooke, of the Chevalier Andrew Michael Ramsay's *Travels of Cyrus*. Coincidence?

The real Fredrik Scheffer is cited as having been Provincial Grand Master of Sweden in 1736. (Gould, *History*, iii., quoting the *Allg. Handbuch*, which itself refers to Noorthouck's *Constitutions* of 1784, p. 428.) Gould, iii., p. 195, says that he has collated all the editions of the *Constitutions* and cannot verify this.

My copy of 'Noorthouck' has it, but not on p. 428, but on p. 412, where we find, in the list of Provincial Grand Masters: "Sweden, Cha. Fred. Count Scheffer, &c.," but the date 1736 is not there, nor any other date. Entick does not mention him. Does Noorthouck exist in variant forms? Woodford, in Kenning's *Cyclop.* oddly says that Scheffer was born in 1770!

Why should a satire on Derwentwater's mother-in-law be fathered on this man?

And does not 'Peregrine Odonald' remind you rather forcibly of 'Patrick Odonoko' the supposed publisher of the *Relation Apologique*.

And is the description of 'Scheffer' as 'Laplander' to be taken as hinting at 'Swedish,' or is it merely Rabelaisian equivocation? It is true that there is a classic, the *Historia Lapponica* of John Scheffer, an English translation of which the Oxford University Press published in 1674.

But Fredrick Scheffer is not John Scheffer; nevertheless, it is hard to think that the name was no more than a random choice.

And so, after the dim days of Lords Derwentwater and Harnouester,

"In 1738 they elected M. le duc d'Antin G.M."

Masonry was 'stabilising' itself and its rulers could no longer be drawn from those birds of passage, the wild-geese of foreign, forwandered politics.

Few Masonic writers accord this ancient worthy more than the merest mention, and I think that not a few are unaware of his identity!

Louis de Pardaillan, duc d'Antin, was the sole and only legitimately-born son of Madame de Montespan. As Sainte-Beuve says, "Born before she climbed into the bed of Jove to bear him demigods, this was a son for whose existence she blushed." He seems to have been inconspicuous politically, but he lived to a respectable old age and earned some respect as antiquary and historian.

He is said to have been initiated into Masonry at a Lodge held at the Chateau d'Aubigny in 1737. The locality was aptly selected. It was the one place where both Derwentwater and 'Harnouester' might be expected, at times, to foregather, as both were relations of Lennox. Let us hark back three years.

It is recorded that in September, 1734, a Lodge was held at the Duchess of Portsmouth's house at Paris: there were present the Duke of Richmond, another English nobleman of distinction, President Montesquieu, Brigadier Churchill, Ed. Yonge and Walter Strickland, Esq.

The Duchess of Portsmouth was the notorious Louise de Querouaille, "Madam Carwell," mother of the first Duke of Richmond, who died in 1723, and grandmother of the second Duke. She died at Paris 14th November, 1734, so she was still living when the Lodge was held.

Who was "the other Englishman"? Lord Harnouester?

Actually in 1734 Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu was no longer President-à-mortier of the Parlement de Bordeaux: he had resigned the office in 1728. Nor indeed, was he much at Paris. But his English visit was only very shortly before this date, and he was friendly with Chesterfield and Folkes, both well-known Masons. "Ed. Yonge" is, I think, a mere mis-spelling for "Young," and does indeed mean the author of the *Night Thoughts*. He was a friend of the Duke of Wharton, and was certainly in France at a very close date, viz., 1736, and it was in 1734 that he published his *Foreign Address*.

Walter Strickland was "the nephew to the Bishop of Namur" who is met with at the Lodge at the Hague. I suspect he is the same Walter who in 1711 was made Groom of the Chamber to "James III." (along with 'Henry Belaysse'). Walter Strickland, son of Sir Robert Strickland of Sizergh, married Barbara Belaysse, youngest daughter of Sir Rowland Belaysse, K.B., and sister of the 3rd Viscount Fauconberg.

We shall have plenty of the Belaysse family further on.

We now come at last to one of the first questions propounded.

What evidence is there as regards the probability that Charles Radcliffe, 'Lord Derwent-Waters,' was a Freemason at all?

As might have been expected, there is absolutely no direct evidence: there are no Lodge Minutes, no diaries, and no Press references to afford hints. As Grand Lodge had not been born yet, no central records exist. And Charles was but just twenty-two in the September before Preston fight, in 1715.

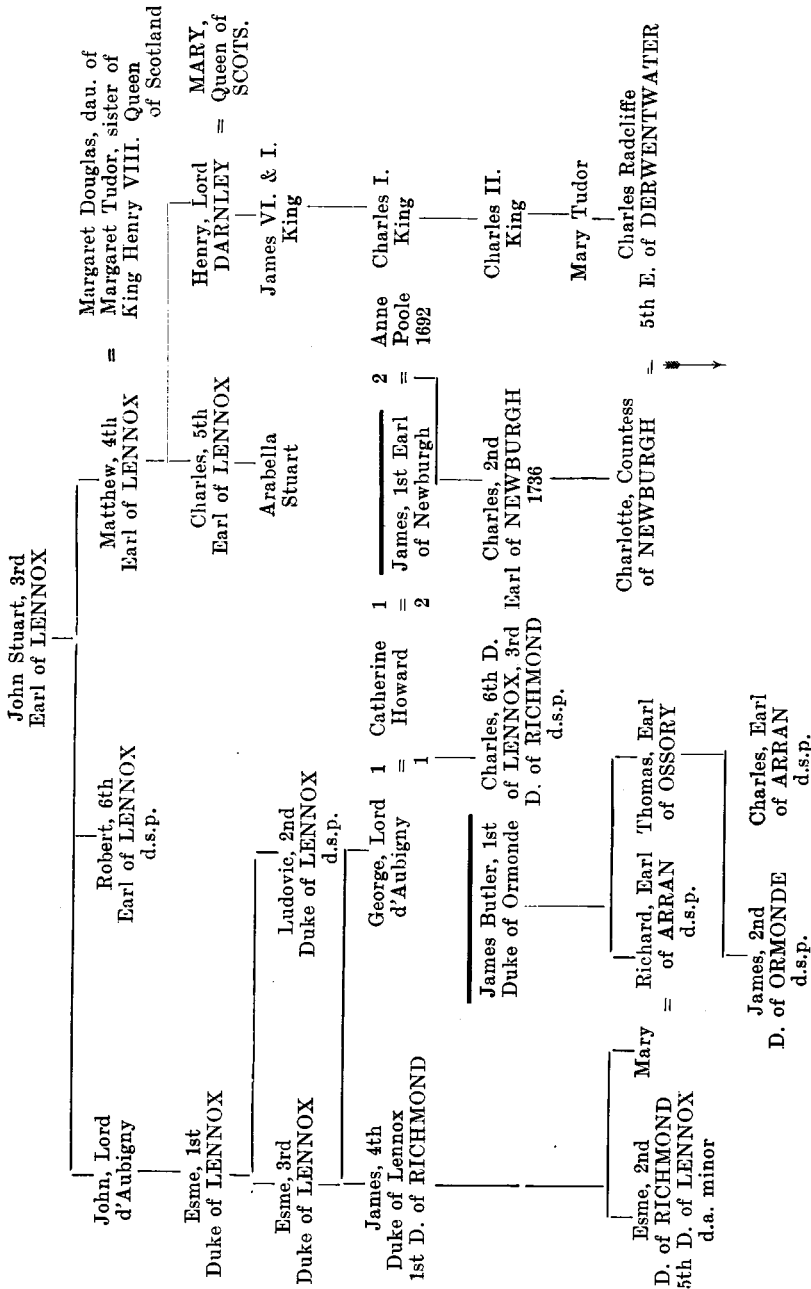
The second Earl of Derwentwater died in 1705; he had been separated from the Countess by deed since 1700, and there is no reason to think that his children, the eldest of whom was sixteen, were under her tutelage; she was a gay young widow of about thirty-four, enjoying the delights of London, and looking for another spouse.

Their grandmother Lady Radcliffe, born Catherine Fenwick, and widow of Henry Lawson of Brough, by whom she had an only child Isabel, had died previous to their grandfather; she was never Countess of Derwentwater in life. She had sisters only, no brothers; and her father had one brother only, Roger (and one half-brother). Roger was probably grandfather of a Mr. Fenwick of Bywell, of whom we hear in connection with the Third Earl. Nor were there many male Radcliffe relatives then living: the Second Earl's brother Thomas was mentally deranged, the others dead: his sister Margaret or Anne was wife of Sir Philip Mark Constable, 3rd Bart. of Everingham near York. But whether either or both were living in 1705, I do not know: his son Sir Marmaduke had succeeded by 1710. (Burke gives a wonderful pedigree: Sir Philip was born 1651: his son above-named died 1746 aged ninety: so he was born when his father was four years old!) The Second Earl's other sisters were then mostly 'in religion.' On the other hand, the Third Earl's grandmother's daughter, his father's half-sister, Isabel Lawson, was living, as Dowager Lady Swinburne, and her son Sir William was the Third Earl's cousin. Sir William's great-grandson, Sir John, 6th Bart. F.R.S. and F.S.A., was Pr.G.M. of Northumberland in 1807: he was grandfather of Algernon C. Swinburne, the Poet.

Consequently one may infer that relatives on the Radcliffe side did not bulk very largely in the lives of the Third Earl and his brother Charles.

But their mother was living; she had been granted the royal arms within a bordure, and the precedence of the daughter of a Duke: their connections through this acknowledged line were all-important and overshadowed all others. Did they not owe their peerage itself to it?

Hence, as a beginning, let us set out this royal connection and sundry other lines joining it:—

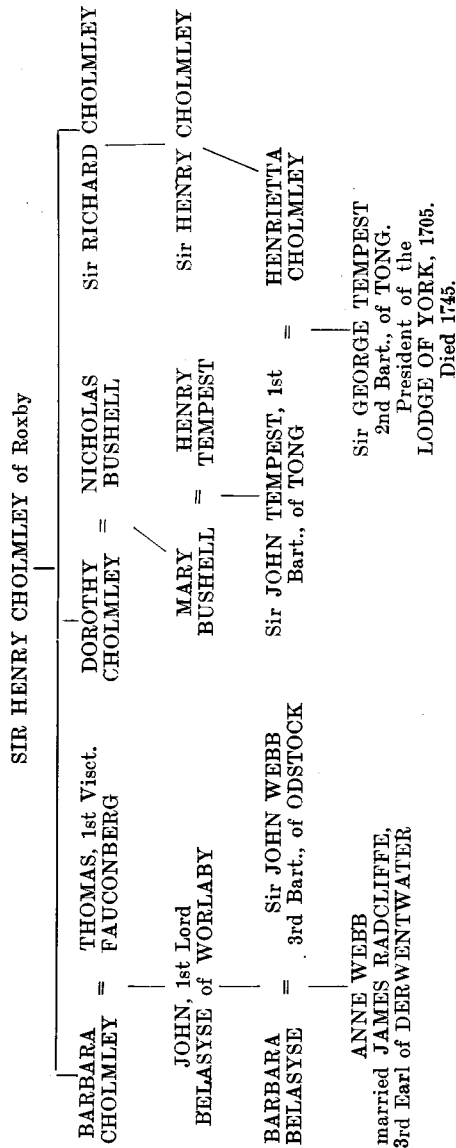


In the above 'd.s.p.' must be taken only to mean that the male line terminated. Catherine Howard, who married secondly the 1st Earl of Newburgh, was daughter of Theophilus Howard, 2nd Earl of Suffolk. You will notice that Charles Radcliffe and his wife were both of the same generation as the Earl of Arran.

This tree shows pretty clearly how the King, Charles II., was 'served heir' to the 6th Duke of Lennox, who died 1672; a title which he re-granted the next year to his son by Louise de Querouaille, whom he had created Duchess of Portsmouth. And the French fief of Aubigny, which similarly had reverted to

the French crown in default of heir, was granted by Louis XIV. to the Duchess of Portsmouth herself. And it still continues in the person of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon.

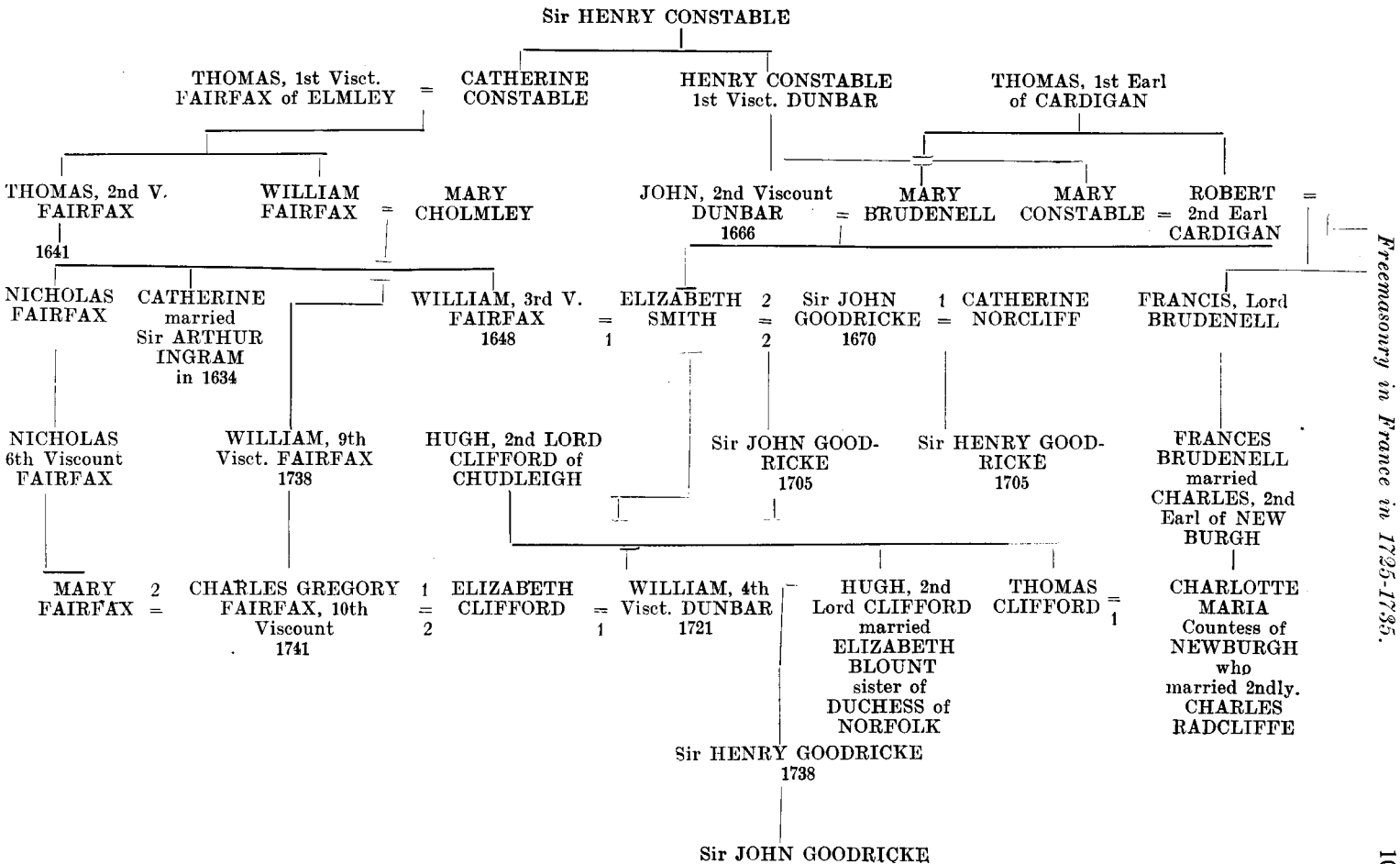
And here is another tree of some importance:—



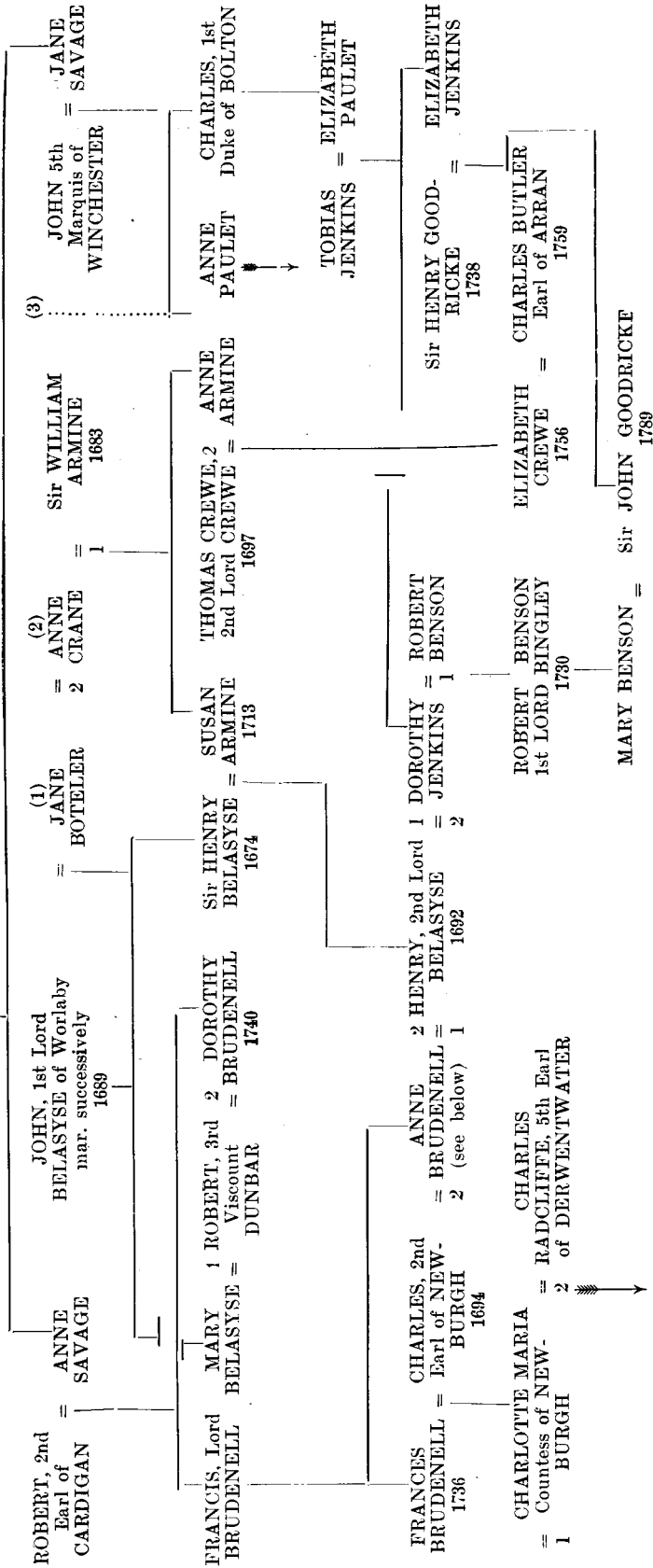
The above shows that the President of the York Lodge in 1705, the first we hear of, was third cousin to Charles Radcliffe's sister-in-law. It doesn't sound very close, but the Webb family bulked rather large in the Radcliffe lives. Sir John Webb's lady lived till 1740, and was, it seems, a masterful dame, and it came about that much later, the sister of the sixth Webb baronet, who was his great-grand-daughter, another Anne, married Charles Radcliffe's grandson, Anthony James, 4th Earl of Newburgh.

Be it noted also that this Tempest baronetcy is a junior honour in this family: there was an earlier, Tempest, Bart., of Stella: a daughter of the second baronet was mother of Sir John Swinburne, 1st Bart., who married the Second Earl of Derwentwater's half-sister Isabel Lawson.

Note, above, that Mary Cholmley who married William Fairfax, was daughter of Marmaduke Cholmley, son of Roger Cholmley of Brandsby, brother of Sir Henry Cholmley of Roxby. The Third Viscount Dunbar will be found on the next Chart: I suppose one would call him 'great-uncle' of the Countess of Newburgh. In which case it is rather remarkable that this younger brother, the 4th Viscount, should be her brother-in-law.



THOMAS SAVAGE, 1st
Earl RIVERS



It will be seen that this Chart 'joins on' to the previous Chart. You will see that the Countess of Newburgh's 'uncle' Lord Belasyse, was first cousin to the Countess of Arran. Susan Armine, his mother, was created Baroness Belasyse of Osgodby, *ad vitam*. The Countess of Newburgh's aunt, Anne Brudenell, married secondly Charles LENNOX, duke of RICHMOND, son of King Charles II. and Louise de Querouaille, duchess of PORTSMOUTH, and became the mother of Charles LENNOX, the second Duke, who was G.M. of the Grand Lodge of 1717, in 1724. Lord BINGLEY was President of the Lodge of York in 1707. Sir John Goodricke, who married his daughter, was British Ambassador at Stockholm. The issue not shown of the third marriage of the 1st Lord Belasyse, to Anne Paulet, was Barbara wife of Sir John WEBB, 3rd Bart., whose daughter Anne was Charles Radcliffe's sister-in-law.

You will note that Robert Benson, Lord Bingley, was a sort of first cousin to Charles Radcliffe. His daughter Mary, who became Lady Goodricke, was, I believe, not legitimate. May I draw attention to the first Sir Henry Goodricke, who died 1705? He was actually second baronet, of Ribston, of 'pippins' fame, but masonically he is important, as he it is who is referred to in Aubrey's 'Memoirs' under the date of 18th May, 1692, as to be admitted a Mason along with Sir Christopher Wren.

"Sir Henry Goodric . . . of ye Tower,"—perhaps because Aubrey was uncertain of the correct description, "Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance."

The Countess of Newburgh's first husband, Thomas Clifford, had he lived, would have been Third Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.

This brings us to the consideration of the well-known statement that the egregious Von Hund had received the High Degrees at Paris, from Lord Kilmarnock, when Lord Clifford officiated as 'Prior' and an unknown mysterious Personage was also of the company.

What possible 'Lord Clifford' could suit this assertion?

The date of this 'Chapter' was, it seems, between 1742 and 1744, and probably nearer the latter.

I have to admit much hesitation regarding 'Lord Kilmarnock' in this connection.

It is usually said that not until the close of the '45 (after Gladsmuir) did he quit the Hanoverian side. On the other hand, his wife, Lady Anne Livingston, only daughter of the 5th Earl of Linlithgow, a Roman Catholic, was wholly captivated by the Young Pretender before this date. Though a Livingston, she was no appreciable relation to the Countess of Newburgh.

And there were three possible 'Lords Clifford' to be considered.

The second Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, the Countess of Newburgh's father-in-law, died 12th October, 1730: her brother-in-law Hugh, the third Lord, died 26th March, 1732: the 4th Lord was born 1726, so that in 1744 he would have been eighteen. Possible, at that day, but does it sound very likely?

Then there was the very old barony by writ of Clifford, or De Clifford: the 13th holder was George, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, who had an only daughter Anne, who married Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset (great-uncle of Charles Sackville, of the Medal). She was, *de jure*, 14th Baroness Clifford. The title then went to the sons of her eldest daughter Mary, who married John Tufton, 2nd Earl of Thanet; Nicholas, John, Richard and then Thomas, 18th Baron, who died 1729. Then it fell into abeyance till 1734, when it was called out in favour of Thomas's daughter, the Countess of Leicester, as 19th holder. And she lived till 1775, being the builder principally of Holkham, long after the Earl died in 1750. Though eminently a 'practising Mason,' she is not available for our purposes!

A great deal depends on the date of Von Hund's 'Chapter.' Bode, who was a great supporter of Von Hund, in the *Taschenbuch* of 1777, of which I have a copy, says that he was born in September, 1722, so that 1741 for his Chapter seems unlikely. Yet he does not seem to have been in Paris after September, 1743.

Bro. Tuckett, in *A.Q.C.*, xxxi., 15, quotes a 'secret despatch' of 3rd May, 1745, 'that Sir Hector Maclean is a most assiduous visitor to Lady Clifford, sister to the Duchess of Norfolk.'

So *Lady Clifford* was in Paris in 1745. She was sister-in-law of the Countess of Newburgh, remember.

Is it possible that Von Hund, a diffident young man of, say, 23, and rather ill-informed as to the identity of those he was meeting who were fairly senior in years, jumped to the conclusion that Lady Clifford's 'brother-in-law by marriage' was her husband, and that so the '5th Earl of Derwentwater' was presented with a new alias, 'Lord Clifford'?

Gould thinks that Von Hund deserved sympathy and commiseration, and was no masonic scoundrel: if so, it is unlikely he would have attempted to deceive by inventing the name: *i.e.*, he made a mistake. What if the 'Prior' were just Radcliffe over again?

There is yet a third Lord Clifford. The 3rd Earl of Cumberland, 13th Lord De Clifford, was succeeded in the earldom by his brother Francis, and he by his son Henry, who died 1643. Henry's daughter Elizabeth married Richard Boyle, 2nd Earl of Cork. In 1644 he was created Earl of Burlington and Baron Clifford of Lanesborough, co. Cork. His eldest son, Viscount Dungarvan, was summoned to the House of Lords as 'Lord Clifford' in 1682, but he died in his father's lifetime, and the 3rd Earl of Cork was a grandson, Charles, and the 4th Earl was Charles's son, Richard, Lord High Treasurer of Ireland, and K.G. He succeeded in 1704 and died in 1753. He was allowed the barony of Clifford by writ.

Now although under his best-known name as Earl of Burlington, he was one of our most notable architects, and was even caricatured by Hogarth as a mason going up a ladder (Bramston's *Man of Taste*), he cannot have been the Masonic Prior of the Paris High Degrees!

I have also wondered whether, as a Lady Clifford was prominent in the Paris society concerned, the holder of a title somewhat resembling that name might perhaps have had his name confused with it. Therefore, what of 'Clifton'?

There is a very old barony of Clifton, which descends to 'heirs of the body,' that is, including females, taking succession after males.

The first holder, Sir Gervas Clifton, 'killed himself in the Tower of London out of ennui' in 1618, and the second was his only daughter Catherine, who married Esme Stuart, Lord D'Aubigny. Her son James, 1st Duke of Richmond, was the third. From him it went successively to his son Esme, 2nd Duke, and then to his daughter (Esme's sister) Mary, wife of Richard Butler, 1st Earl of Arran, the uncle of my 'Lord Harnouester.'

They had no issue, and the barony went to the eldest son Charles, and then to the daughter, Catherine, of George d'Aubigny, second son of Catherine, Baroness Clifton.

Catherine, 7th Baroness Clifton, was better known as Lady Ibrackan, as she married Henry, Lord Ibrackan, son of the 7th Earl of Thomond. She married, secondly, Sir Joseph Williamson. Her daughter, Catherine, 8th Baroness, married the Third Earl of Clarendon, and died in New York in 1706. The next, her son, Edmund (or Edward), 'Lord Hyde,' also Baron Cornbury and Baron Clifton, died unmarried in 1713, and his sister Theodosia succeeded

as 10th Baroness in the year that she married John Bligh, who was himself created Baron Clifton in 1721 and then Viscount Darnley in 1723 and Earl Darnley in 1725, all these titles being in the Irish Peerage.

Their son Edward succeeded as 11th Baron Clifton (England) on his mother's death in 1722, but until his father died in 1728 he did not gain his father's titles.

Consequently, there was a period of some six years during which he was known as Lord Clifton, an English Peer, while his father was Lord Clifton and Viscount and Earl Darnley in the Irish Peerage. I doubt whether he used his father's Viscounty as a courtesy title.

And this same Edward Bligh, after he had been nine years Earl of Darnley, Ireland, was duly chosen Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England in the year 1737. He was never married, and died in 1747.

I think it pretty certain that Darnley was made a Mason in Ireland, and surely knew the Chivalric Degrees which were worked there by 1744.

Was he in Paris about that date? A tempting subject for research. But where to begin? And why should Von Hund have described him as Lord Clifton, and made it into Clifford?

It has to be remembered that Clifton was his own older title, in the English Peerage. Darnley was Irish. If he were visiting Paris, there might be some reason for his using his English title.

As for the mistake of 'Clifford' for 'Clifton,' there are similar ones made by persons who have not Von Hund's excuse of another nationality. Consider 'Lord Blesinton' and 'Lord Blessington.' (Kenning's *Cyclopedia*: List of G.M.'s). And I have noted that Yarker turns the French 'Duc d'Aumont' son of the Ambassador of Louis XV. to the Court of St. James' into the 'Duke of Ormonde' without any consciousness of error.

Of course, there would be some impropriety in the 1737 G.M. of the Pure and Antient Freemasonry of the G.L. of 1717 giving Chivalric Degrees to anybody at Paris in 1743! But I doubt whether he would have thought so personally, if he were duly instructed in them, *more Hibernico*!

And now, I consider that I must append a sort of family biography of the 5th Earl of Derwentwater and his immediate connections. His historical Masonic activity does not begin until he is married. Yet his somewhat close connection with the two first Presidents of the Lodge of York may make it a little likely that he was made a Mason before that. How much of the period 1710-1715 he spent in Yorkshire I do not know. His brother and he possessed enormous estates, in Northumberland (Dilston, that is), in Yorkshire and round the Lake of Derwentwater. They were entertained and fêted all round the countryside when they came home from France. One small reminiscence survives. James Radcliffe, the third Earl,—and I guess, his brother Charles too—were made members of the odd society known as the "Mayor & Corporation of the Borough of Walton-le-Dale." This was one of the Mock Corporations popular in Lancashire, that of Sefton being the best known. Walton-le-Dale was never more than a small hamlet on the outskirts of Preston.

They met in secret, practised secret ceremonies, had passwords, and a mace and other insignia. I believe that some survive to-day. James Radcliffe was himself the "Mayor" in 1711. They dined well and talked Jacobitism at their meetings. A small point, perhaps, but the *mise-en-scene* is Masonic!

James Radcliffe, the Third Earl, was much occupied with his marriage, and doubtless spent much time with his wife's family, both before and after, at Hatherop, which is by Coln St. Aldwyn, near Fairford, Glos., where Keble's father was Vicar in later years, or at Odstock, near Salisbury. Charles, who was four years his junior, probably spent his time at Dilston, or at Capheaton,

with the Swinburnes. He was regarded as a 'bit of a handful' especially by Lady Webb, his brother's mother-in-law, and one may see reason in that he certainly left some illegitimate children in Yorkshire.

But in any case, I do not think it an unfair inference that two such wealthy and travelled and precocious young men must have been introduced to Masonry at York by their kinsmen and friends in the county.

There was an old Lodge at Hexham, not far from Dilston, working in 1736 when Smith produced *The Book M.* at Newcastle. Lane says it never got on the London register. (*Caementaria Hibernica*, ii., p. 19, note). How much older was it?

The founder of the noble family of Derwentwater was Sir Francis Radcliffe, a very wealthy and ambitious Yorkshire squire. Of an old county stock without doubt, their pretensions to kinship with the Radcliffes, Earls of Sussex (second creation), seem but shadowy. And he did not get the reversion of this old title, along with the hand of Charlotte Fitzroy, daughter of Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, for his eldest son. So he bethought himself of the daughter of Charles II. and Mary Davis, the pert Mistress Moll Davis of Pepys' Diary, a young lady known as Lady Mary Tudor.

As part of the consideration for the marriage of his son Francis with this lady, he was granted the titles of Earl of Derwentwater, Viscount Radcliffe and Langley and Baron Tynedale, creation dated 7th March, 1688 (N.S.). The son was married to the Lady Mary on the 18th of August in the same year. The Earl died later in the same year and his son Francis, second Earl, in 1705.

The Lady Mary, who was barely sixteen on marriage, was separated by deed from the Earl in 1700, when she was perhaps twenty-seven. In 1706 she married again, a certain Henry Graham, M.P. for Westmorland. He was son of that rather mysterious person Colonel James Graham (or Grahme, as he wrote it) of Levens Hall, near Milnthorpe, one of the famous old homes of England, whose owner Richard Bagot, the novelist, died not so long ago. Its gardens, laid out by Beaumont of Hampton Court for Graham, are still much as he made them.

Colonel Graham was Privy Purse to Mary of Modena, when Duchess of York, and later on to James II., when King. He married Dorothy Howard, daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Berkshire. She had been Maid-of-Honour to Mary of Modena, and her mother's opposition to the match was only overcome by the friendly offices of John Evelyn, the diarist, as he records himself, in 1675. Graham died in 1730 having outlived all his three sons, as Henry died after less than a year of marriage.

Colonel Graham's eldest brother was Richard, created Viscount Preston in May, 1681. He died in 1695. He was to all intents the exiled James II.'s principal Secretary of State: but he was no ornament to the Stuart cause.

Colonel Graham bought Levens Hall from Alan Bellingham, ancestor of the Bellinghams, baronets, of Castlebellingham in Ireland, and so, when we find a 'Bellingham Graham' admitted a Mason at York in 1726, we may assume a near relative.

In 1707 the Lady Mary married again, a man who long outlived her, one James Rooke, a younger son of Laurence Rooke, the astronomer (1622-1662), Gresham Professor in 1652 and one of the founders of the Royal Society. When a graduate of Cambridge, Laurence Rooke went as fellow-commoner to Wadham College, Oxford, to enjoy the scientific conversation of Dr. Wilkins, the Warden, later Bishop of Chester. This was the same year that Christopher Wren took his degree from the same College.

Laurence Rooke was elder brother of Sir William Rooke, father of the great admiral Sir George Rooke. I do not know whether George Rooke, G. Warden in 1732, was of the family. Anyway, Laurence Rooke was son of

George Rooke of Monks Horton near Sellinge in Kent: his wife was Barbara, daughter of Sir Paul Heyman of Sellinge. They had five sons and four daughters: the eldest son Heyman Rooke died 8th January, 1724-5. I find that a 'Captain Heyman Rooke' was made a Mason, and Master, at the Lodge at the Maid's Head, Norwich, in May and June, 1745. (*A.Q.C.*, xxviii., 233.)

And so much for the Lady Mary Tudor. She died at Paris in November, 1726, the year after her grandson, the eldest son of her third son, Charles, was born, and baptised at Vincennes. 'James III.' was god-father, the Earl of Middleton acting as proxy. I suspect that Charles was with his mother in her last days. Thereafter, he went to Rome, his younger children all being born either there or at Turin.

Her eldest son, James Radcliffe, Third Earl of Derwentwater, was born 28th January, 1689, at Arlington Street, Piccadilly. In 1712 he married Anne Maria Webb, daughter of Sir John Webb, 3rd Bart. of Odstock, Wilts., by Barbara Belasyse, daughter of the 1st Lord Belasyse of Worlaby. They had two children, John, born 1714, "4th Earl" *de jure*, who died 31st December, 1731, of a concussion sustained while riding his horse under an archway to a London mews. (Another account says that it was due to an unskilful operation for stone!) The daughter, Alice Mary, born 1715, married Robert, 8th Lord Petre, in 1732, and was mother of Robert, 9th Lord Petre, who was Grand Master in 1772-3. The Third Earl of Derwentwater died under the axe on Tower Hill on 24th February, 1716.

Francis Radcliffe, the second son, died, it is said, in 1715, but whether from wounds, sickness, or the capital penalty, seems unexplained. His Will is extant: it was proved in 1718.

Charles, the third son, was born at Little Parndon, near Writtle, in Essex, 2nd September, 1693. He was either taken prisoner, or surrendered, after Preston fight, in 1715, and was sent to Newgate, whence he escaped. Some suppose that the younger prisoners were allowed to escape, on purpose. We know nothing about his doings up to his marriage, on 24th June, 1724—the Masonic festival day—at the Church of Ste. Marie, Brussels, to the Countess of Newburgh. He is said to have courted her long and assiduously, and finally to have clinched matters by entering her chamber by way of the chimney! There was a queer painting of this at Thorndon Park near Romford, the Petre seat, and a copy was at Slindon until the place was sold to Mr. Wootton-Isaacson.

He too, died like his brother, on Tower Hill, on 8th December, 1746, in virtue of a sentence passed on him, *in absentia*, thirty years before. The very axe used is, it is supposed, that which is now to be seen there. He was the last victim but one, as Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, was not executed until April, 1747.

The Countess of Newburgh died in London 4th August, 1755.

The only sister of the three brothers, Mary Tudor Radcliffe, married William Petre of Belhus, Essex, in 1712, a kinsman of Lord Petre.

On the death of the Second Earl of Derwentwater, the four children were taken to France, and by desire of Mary of Modena, remained as companions to Prince Charles Edward.

I may be allowed at this point to clear Charles from an accusation levelled against him. Bro. Tuckett says: "From Gibson's Dilston Hall quoted by Hextall, we learn that Charles Radcliffe assumed the title of Earl in 1731, so that as John (his nephew) did not die till 1732 . . ." (*A.Q.C.*, xxvii., 63.)

Now Hextall, in *A.Q.C.*, xxvi., 22, says: " . . . until his marriage . . . in 1724, which enabled him to maintain the title of Count de Derwentwater, which he assumed in 1731 upon the death of his brother's son . . ."

The nephew died 31st December, 1731: but the year 1731 officially extended to the 24th March, 1732, by our reckoning, a practice only terminated in 1752 with the New Style.

Gibson, I think, never intended to convey that Charles did anything so irregular as to adopt his nephew's title during his lifetime. Gibson was a man of law, and what has happened is that the nephew's death has been dated by his burial, which was in 1732 by N.S., whereas Charles' assumption of the title is based on a letter dated by O.S.

The Countess of Newburgh, Charles' wife, now calls for mention.

Sir James Livingston was created 15th September, 1647, Viscount Newburgh and Baron Kinnaird, with remainder to heirs male of the body: and on 31st October, 1660, Earl of Newburgh, Viscount Kinnaird and Baron Livingston of Flacraig, with remainder to heirs whomsoever!

He married (1) Catherine Howard, widow of George, Lord d'Aubigny, by whom he had no issue, and (2) Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Poole. Her son, Charles, 2nd Earl, born at Cirencester, died in 1694. He married Frances Brudenell on 12th September, 1692. Their only child Charlotte Maria was born in 1694 after her father was buried (7th April), and held the Newburgh title for no less than sixty-one years. Her mother Frances married again at once in 1695, Richard 3rd Lord Bellew, in the Irish peerage: they had two sons and a daughter. Consequently the Countess of Newburgh grew up with half-brothers and half-sister much of her own age: these were John, 4th Lord Bellew, who married in 1731 at Lucca, Anne only daughter of William, last Earl of Nithsdale, who had been a prisoner in the Tower at the same time as the 3rd Earl of Derwentwater; on which occasion Nithsdale escaped by the ruse of his wife, who dressed him in woman's clothes. The other brother was Francis, who died as a boy. The only half-sister was Dorothea, who married Gustave Hamilton, and became mother of the 3rd and 4th Viscounts Boyne.

I have little doubt that Charles Radcliffe was present at Lucca at Lord Bellew's marriage. His mother, Lady Bellew, certainly was not, as it was in this year that she married Sir Thomas Smyth at Dublin.

Lady Bellew's sisters, the Countess of Newburgh's aunts, may be noticed: Mary, who married first Richard, 5th Viscount Molyneux (Ireland) who died in 1738, and then Capt. Peter Osborne, a kinsman of the ducal family of Leeds: and Anne, wife first of Henry, 2nd Lord Belasyse, who died 1692, and secondly of Charles, Duke of Richmond, who died in 1723. Her son, the 2nd Duke of Richmond, was G.M. of the Grand Lodge of England in 1724.

That is to say, 'Grand Master' Lord Derwentwater's wife was first cousin of the Grand Master of England!

Lady Bellew's brother George became 3rd Earl of Cardigan. He was present at Grand Lodge in London on 27th March, 1731. His son George, who married Mary, daughter of the second Duke of Montagu, and grand-daughter of the great Marlborough, was himself created Duke of Montagu in 1766.

The Countess of Newburgh's first marriage, on 22nd December, 1713, to Thomas Clifford, eldest son of Hugh, Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, left her with two daughters, who lived long with their Radcliffe half-brothers and sisters: Frances, who was not married; and Anne, who married December, 1739, James Joseph O'Mahony, an Irishman, Count of France and Lieutenant-General in the service of the Spanish Kingdom of Naples. And through this marriage the Newburgh Scottish peerage has fallen to the Italian family of Giustiniani-Bandini, Dukes of Mondragone, etc.

Charles Radcliffe and his wife had two, or maybe, three sons, and four daughters.

James Bartholomew, the eldest, and 3rd Earl of Newburgh, was born 1725 and baptised in the royal Chapel of the Chateau de Vincennes on 25th August, his godfather being 'James III.' and his uncle Lord Middleton proxy. He

married Barbara, daughter of Anth. Kemp of Slindon, and grand-daughter of the 5th Viscount Montague. They had a son and a daughter: the son's widow did not die until 1861!

James Clement, Charles' second son, was born November, 1727, at Rome. His godparents were 'James III.' and Clementina Sobieski. He married, but had no issue, and died at Bath and is buried in Bath Abbey.

Charles' daughters are not very interesting. Three left no issue. Mary married, 1755, Francis Eyre of Hassop, and from this came the 'Imaginary' 5th, 6th and 7th Earls of Newburgh, who bore the title without owning it. And that, and sundry other matters concerning Derwentwater honours and estates belong to the realms of romantic fiction, and would lead us very far from the subject of this paper.

You may, of course, think that I have proved too much, in establishing his fairly close blood-connection with prominent Freemasons of his day: that there were about as many intimately connected with the Grand Lodge of 1717 as with the York Lodge.

But you must remember that with the sole exception of the progeny of the Second Earl of Derwentwater, all the illegitimate descent of Charles the Second ranged themselves on the Hanoverian side. The 'King in exile' had none but the Radcliffes. And if there was any real attempt to twist the organisation of Freemasonry to serve the Stuart Cause, and in this I have the gravest suspicions that Dr. William King, Principal of St. Mary Hall at Oxford, was a champion wire-puller in the deepest secrecy, could there be found two persons more suitable to serve the Councils of Jacobite Freemasonry (apart from their personal disadvantages, which I do not wish to minimise), having such real or putative wealth, and such intimate knowledge of the Great Ones of England, Scotland and Ireland, than Charles Radcliffe, Fifth Earl of Derwentwater, and Charles Butler, Earl of Arran, and Third Duke of Ormonde?

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Moss for his valuable paper, on the proposition of Bro. Firminger, seconded by Bro. Telepneff; comments being offered by Bro. Lepper and the Secretary.

BRO. TELEPNEFF said:—

I feel sure that Bro. Moss's second instalment of his essay on early Freemasonry in France and its protagonists has not disappointed any one of those who had been looking forward to this paper with an eager anticipation. The second part is, to say the least, as instructive and as suggestive as the first one; Bro. Moss makes again several lucky "shots", which, however, do not fall, mostly, within the province of my particular research work. I shall limit myself, therefore, to just a few notes.

I have dealt with Lalande's outstanding personality at some length in my comments on Bro. Moss's former paper. The famous astronomer's enthusiastic and elaborate reference to British Freemasons in his well-known speech on the day of Voltaire's initiation, lends some colour to the assertion that he might have been made a Mason in England; at any rate, it looks as if he had visited Masonic gatherings whilst in England. He first appeared before the public eye as a writer on Masonic history in 1774, when he produced his *Memoire sur l'histoire de la Franche-Maçonnerie* (Kloss, Bibl. Nr. 2817).

The other personage to whom I should like to refer, as eminent and perhaps even more so than Bro. Lalande, in the annals of Continental Freemasonry, is Karl Gotthelf von Hund, Baron von Altengrotkau, Hereditary Lord of Lippe, Real Secret Councillor of the Holy Roman Empire, etc., etc. A founder and

propagator of the Strict Observance System in Germany, a System which aimed at the Restoration of the Mediæval Knights-Templar Rite and grafting on to Masonry the appropriate "higher" degrees of Noviciate and Knighthood! An eminent personage indeed, albeit of not such an uncontroversial worldly reputation as the famous astronomer.

Von Hund was born on the 11th September, 1722. Fate, apparently, gave him at the outset of his career nearly all a youth could desire: abilities, riches and a high social standing. Von Hund died on the 6th November, 1776, deceived in his private affections, disappointed in his ambitions, doubtful of his religious and Masonic beliefs and a very much poorer man! More than that: even his reputation and memory were under a cloud for a long time, and up to the present day one was asking, as in the case of so many other Masonic charlatans of his time, was von Hund a deceiver, or was he a dupe himself? And then of whom? My view is that, whatever his personal faults (and there were many: vanity, credulity, pompousness some of them), von Hund never meant to deceive; he himself wanted to believe, blinded by vainglory perhaps, but nevertheless sincerely, and did believe in the possible revelations to him of some exalted mysteries by various impostors; in fact, for a time von Hund was taken in even by that grotesque figure, "Johnson", who professed to bring with him all sorts of "messages and commands" from an elevated seat of Authority in England, but whose great drawback was that he could not understand a single word of English!

Only twenty years old, von Hund happened to come to Frankfort-on-Main, and there was made a Mason, not an unusual practice in those days, should the youthful candidate be well-connected and sincere in his intentions. It is generally assumed that von Hund's admission into the Order was obtained thanks to the recommendation of several French Masons of high standing, who had accompanied the French Ambassador, Marquis de Belleisle, to Frankfort in January, 1741. Maybe this fact accounts for the Baron's subsequent connection with the French aristocracy and the English "royalists", of the Jacobite profession. In the same year, 1742, von Hund went to Paris (his second visit). It was later alleged that in the beginning of 1743 he met in the French capital a lady of the highest English society and, persuaded by her, became secretly a Catholic convert. About the other important event, which had occurred to him in France in 1743, von Hund himself stated during the Congress of Brunswick in 1775, that when in Paris he had been received into a Masonic System, which in the higher grades was a continuation of the Templar Order. The ceremony, according to this statement, was performed by a Lord Kilmarnock, whom von Hund believed to be the Scottish Grand Master, and by a certain Lord Clifford, acting as the "Prior of the Chapter"; afterwards, he was presented to "another high person", whom he thought to be the Pretender Charles Edward himself.

In his later days von Hund became frankly so uncertain about the exact date and the persons concerned in that particular reception (a similar general uncertainty about events, documents and other statements being particularly noticeable during the period of his last illness), that one has to hold him either for a very crude impostor or for a credulous and somewhat muddle-headed man!

As already intimated, I am inclined to agree that the young Baron, not perhaps so much "diffident" as ambitious and easy of belief, "did not attempt to deceive by inventing any name", but simply "made a mistake", i.e., if mistake there was!

This suggestion tallies with the opinion expressed by a contributor to the article concerning von Hund in Lenning's *Encyclopædia of Freemasonry*.

"We have already expressed ourselves repeatedly", says he, "that we are far from considering this extraordinary and adventurous person to be a deceiver . . . The vain and fiery young man believed in his Superiors . . . What he was unable to write down, he had to reconstruct, as far as he could

. . . Beyond the honour of being the chief of the whole, he has never laid claim to any advantage from the Order, rather sacrificed for its benefit great sums of money”

I should like to conclude by seconding most heartily the vote of thanks proposed by the W.M. to Bro. Moss for his scholarly contribution to an intricate and important subject, and to express the hope that our Brother will present us one day with a study of another no less intricate subject, that of the so-called “Jacobite Freemasonry”.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER writes:—

I should like to add my thanks to those which Bro. Moss will receive for his very interesting paper. He has put the facts before us very fairly and clearly, and if some of us, myself for instance, do not feel ourselves warranted in drawing any hard and fast conclusions from them, that does not detract from our gratitude for the industry and patience that have gone to presenting them before us in such an attractive form.

I shall limit my observations to the contribution of two more scraps of evidence that may have some little bearing on the matter.

It seems beyond doubt that in the year 1724 the proceedings of the Freemasons in London were attracting attention in France. P. E. Lémontey in his *Histoire de la Régence* (Paris, 1832, two vols., vol. ii., p. 291) quotes the *Journal de Verdun*, June, 1724, page 436, as follows:

Au commencement d'avril (1724), l'ancienne société ou confrérie qu'on nomme des *maçons libres*, établie à Londres, tint une assemblée générale où plusieurs personnes de qualité qui y sont agrégées assistèrent, parmi lesquels étaient le comte d'*Alkeith*, faisant la fonction de grand-maitre, le duc de *Richemond*. On y reçut cinq compagnons nouveaux avec les cérémonies marquées par les statuts de cette société, lesquels, en qualité de *maçons libres*, furent admis à porter des tabliers de cuir, le marteau et la truelle à la main. Ces nouveaux maçons étaient milord *Carmichael*, le chevalier *Thomas Pendekgrass*, les colonels *Carpenter*, *Paget* et *Sunderson*. L'assemblée finie, ces messieurs maçons s'en retournèrent chez eux, *marchant dans les rues avec leurs tabliers de cuir et autres marques de la profession*, excepté que leurs habits n'avaient nulle tache de chaux ni de mortier. Nous ignorons l'origine, le motif et l'utilité de cet établissement, ne l'ayant point remarqué dans l'histoire, et nos dictionnaires n'en faisant nulle mention.

Lémontey quotes this passage in connection with a statement he makes that Freemasonry was introduced into France in 1725. He gives as its founders in Paris “lord Derwentwater, le chevalier Maskeline et M. de Heguettye”, and these names declare the source of his information. However, he qualifies his statement, at page 290, where he says:—

Quand le Jacobites vinrent en France plusieurs entre eux étaient initiés; mais la dévotion de Louis XIV., et la crainte de l'inquisition jésuitique, les détournèrent de l'exercice de leurs rites.

I suppose that few of us will attach any importance to these *ex cathedra* statements by our author; but the fragment just quoted from the *Journal* seems better worth attention, showing that French curiosity had been aroused about the English Craft as early as 1724.

My other note concerns Louis Antoine de Pardaillan de Gondrin duc d'Antin (1665-1736), the perfect type of successful court toady. Saint-Simon, who did not like him nor troubled to conceal the fact, tells us in his *Memoirs*

(Edit. Chérue! & Regnier, Paris, 1886, vol. v., p. 459 *et sqq.*) that on the death of the great architect Jules Hardouin-Mansard in 1708 the Court post of Surintendant des Bâtiments fell vacant. This post had given Mansard a certain amount of influence at Court, so d'Antin sought to gain it for himself, and did so through the influence of Monseigneur le Dauphin. Concerning which appointment Saint-Simon remarks:—

Il fut plaisant qu'un seigneur comptât, et avec raison, sa fortune assurée par les restes, en tout estropiés, d'un apprenti maçon, en titre, en pouvoir, en appointements réduits à un tiers. Ce fut une sottise; il eut bientôt après plus d'autorité et de revenu que Mansard, mais en s'y prenant d'une autre manière. En bref, il devint personnage, et le fut toujours depuis de plus en plus.

Saint-Simon also informs us (*op. cit.*, xiv., p. 29) that d'Antin's son had the "Survivance" of this post as Surintendant des Bâtiments, and in May, 1717, escorted no less a person than Peter the Great on a tour of inspection of the royal palace. With such a tradition of authority in French operative Masonry becoming hereditary in the d'Antin family, is it not a curious coincidence to find the grandson of Louis Antoine Grand Master of the Freemasons in Paris in 1738? It seems as if a financial interest in the Craft had gradually merged into a speculative one. Be that as it may, we have here a plausible reason for the Duc d'Antin's connection with Freemasonry.

I will end these remarks with a question for information. On what evidence does Bro. Moss base his statement that the "chivalric degrees" were known in Ireland in 1744?

What chivalric degrees?

Where in Ireland were they conferred?

Bro. VIBERT said:—

The paper is one which it is very difficult to criticise, because it consists mainly of extremely ingenious guesses, based however on an immense amount of reading and research. The genealogical tables which Bro. Moss allowed us to take as read, and all the other biographical detail that he has brought together, make a background which certainly has the effect of making his various suggestions most plausible, if not indeed definitely convincing. The lesser personages are not so important. But it is something to have got a suggested identity for Hure, even if Goustand can hardly be our old friend John Coustos, because of the difficulty about his age. But the important problem of which we are to-day offered a solution is that of d'Harnouester, and I must say that it is most ingenious and must hold the field till someone can come along, either with a better suggestion or with evidence definitely destructive of the present proposal. It is admittedly no more than a hypothesis, but it is, I venture to say, the best yet. I think we can all appreciate and be grateful for the immense amount of work that has been put into both sections of this paper, which is one of the most valuable we have had in the Lodge for a very long time.

Bro. Moss writes, in reply:—

I am most grateful for Bro. Lepper's notes. The quotation from Lémontey is most valuable. Prendergast we know as having been simultaneously G.W. of England and Ireland. And Lémontey gives us the form "Maskeline". Where did he get it? And did Gould get it from Lémontey?

Bro. Lepper is right, I think, about the Duc d'Antin. I took my dates from a reference-book about armorials on book-bindings, which stated that Montespan's son died in 1739, . . . a misprint for 1736 undoubtedly. So, although he was apparently 73, on his 'election' in 1738, as 'Harnouester' was 65, I did not see any impossibility. But it is the case, I infer, that on his death in 1736 he was succeeded by his grandson of much the same name as his. That he was 'Consulting Court Architect' is quite new to me and most intriguing!

"Chivalric Degrees in Ireland in 1744". There is no particular secret as to what these were: certainly those alluded to in the Act of Union of 1816, namely, "High Knight Templar" . . . "Knight of St. John of Jerusalem", and possibly with it, Knight of St. Paul, . . . (later turned into Knight of Malta), . . . perhaps this was once 'Knight Damascene' equal to the 'Domaskin' of the Old Swalwell Lodge, with some allusion to St. Paul at Damascus, . . . 'Knight Kadosh' perhaps also: the use of the device 'KODES LA ADONAI' is quite early anyhow, and the first word of this is the same as the word 'Kadosh'.

The date 1744 I took from a paper in the *A.Q.C.*, I feel sure. I may have mis-copied. It may be a misprint. But is it so very impossible? Consider Swift's 'Letter from the Grand Mistress' of 1724, mentioning the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. And the Lodge 205 founded 1769 at Moy provided a Banner for its opening meeting, still extant, bearing the H.K.T. emblems. The Degree was given by the St. Andrew's Lodge at Boston, 28th Aug., 1769: the Lodge was founded May, 1759. This is the flourishing green bay-tree, not a sapling. 1744 does not look to me improbable antiquity.

Bro. Telepneff, I fear, quotes Kloss 2817 and its date 1774, which is quite impossible. It is the date of the first volume of the *Encyclopedia* only, and not the date of the Supplement volume in which Lalande's *Memoire* appears. And Lalande's *Memoire* did appear previously, in the Grand Orient's second annual report, under date 1777, which for other reasons also is its real date.

The W.M. has given me some most interesting additions to my biographical matter in the further history of the Webb family, whose professed chronicler, being a pious Roman Catholic, saw fit to omit all reference to members of it who adopted the Protestant religion. And his note that Sir John Webb was a member of the Jacobite Lodge at Rome is another contribution to my general thesis that Charles Radcliffe was born and bred in Masonic surroundings. I only hope that he will presently cast his historical matter into shape for publication in the *A.Q.C.*

And lastly, I would say to Bro. Lepper, who demurs to any hard and fast conclusions, that I have none to suggest, save that I claim to have shown that Charles Radcliffe was most probably a Mason: that I have identified 'Lord Harnouester' beyond any doubt, and the 'Chevalier Maskeline', and have suggested the family which provided Mr. Hegarty. The others are amusing guesses only, of no great importance to my general proposition.

What is much more important, to my view, is that I do claim to have rehabilitated a bit of old Masonic history as true and valuable, though Masonic writers of all types have almost unanimously dismissed it as a fable. And with this material, which I offer, I trust that French Masonic researchers will find hints and suggestions which will lead them to discover what I can never hope to unearth, and will some day put once more on their records the Lodge of ST. THOMAS, as the FIRST PARIS LODGE.

It was suggested that the Lodge at York was not a *Grand* Lodge at the date at which I refer to it, and would not be looked on as having any corresponding authority or status. But I do not think I have advanced any arguments depending on the title in question, or on any new assumption of powers supposed to date with the adoption of the title. The powers or usage

which Charles Radcliffe and his friends claimed in founding the Paris Lodge of 1725 were I imagine deemed to exist, whether permission were formally sought from the President of the York Lodge or no. I have no reason whatever to connect either the Earl of Arran or Hector Maclean with the York Lodge, but the Masonic usages to which they were bred were doubtless closely akin to the usages of York, and so may have set going a claim for Masonic ancestry which has perpetuated itself in innumerable ways. Not least among these usages was, I infer, a regular practice of Masonic ceremonies which took final shape as the 'chivalric degrees' in later years. But that their origin was that of the Craft Degrees, whether two or three, or of Arch Masonry, also, I have never wished to contend in any manner, as I do not think so. But why they should so run in double-harness, with blinkers in the unwonted inside-position, is quite another matter!

And may I close my long-winded remarks by thanking the Lodge most gratefully for according me the honour of two meetings 'all to myself' and so patiently enduring the endless shower-bath of 'Minute Particulars' . . . for it is in these, witness the Poet William Blake, consists True Knowledge.



REVIEW.

THE TWO EARLIEST MASONIC MSS.

By Douglas Knoop, G. P. Jones, and Douglas Hamer.

Manchester University Press. 1938. Published at 12/6.



MORE than forty years ago the late Dr. Wm. Begemann devoted a long series of articles in the *Hamburger Zirkel Correspondenz* to the *Regius Poem*, and embodied his conclusions in his *History of Freemasonry in England*. He fully analysed the text and its relation to the *Book of Charges*, and came to the conclusion on philological grounds which he stated at length that it was composed in the West Midlands. The correctness of that conclusion is now established. He then proceeded to deal with the *Cooke Text* in the same fashion, and once more the result of his researches is embodied in the *History*. But the Doctor's studies being in the German language, they have never been made available to English readers generally, and it might fairly be said that his work is all but unknown in this country to-day. Till now all that we had on the *Regius Poem*, apart from the essay written by Halliwell when he introduced it first to notice, was the *facsimile* in *Q.C.A.*, i., with a discursive commentary by Gould, which left the text itself largely unexamined, and the modernised text given us by Bro. Roderick Baxter. The *Cooke Text* was dealt with, in association with a *facsimile* in *Q.C.A.*, ii., and was also the subject of papers in early volumes of *A.Q.C.* But for a detailed critical analysis of either text we have had to wait till now. We also now have for each text a transcript which the authors have taken the utmost care to make absolutely accurate and reliable, and where it differs from those published by Quatuor Coronati, we shall be safe in preferring the text now offered.

As the authors explain in their Introduction, the two documents are different developments from an earlier text which has by a fortunate accident been transcribed for us by the writer who gave us our present *Cooke MS.* This text, which was known as the *Book of Charges*, began the history with the Lords in Egypt whose sons were instructed in Geometry by Euclid. The science then came to England in the days of Athelstan and he ordained nine articles, nine points and the convening of the Assembly. The date of this document is uncertain. That it recognises no patron in this country later than Athelstan has been held to be an indication that the historical portion was compiled soon after his time. But it is equally likely that at a much later date he was selected as the patron to give the organisation of the Craft a spurious antiquity, and our authors, as we know, hesitate to attribute to the Craft any definite organisation at a period anterior to the Conquest.

Incidentally, whereas hitherto the name of the geometer, as it occurs here, had been transcribed as Englet and Englat, we are now told definitely that it has to be read Euglet and Euglat, a form much closer to the original. But where this form of the name comes from cannot be stated.

As they point out in their Prefatory Note, the authors have not thought it necessary to occupy space in indicating where they accept or differ from the views of previous investigators. But their independent researches have led them to confirm Begemann's identification of the dialect of the *Regius*, and the *Cooke*

MS. is now placed on philological grounds in very nearly the same locality. They also tell us that they think that the latter part of the *Cooke* is a transcript of a much earlier text. This conclusion was arrived at many years ago by Speth and has since then been generally accepted.

This *Book of Charges*—the *Cooke* Text gives us the title, but the authors do not adopt it—no doubt existed in various forms. There must have been several copies of it, probably differing from one another in detail. The writer of the *Regius Poem* versified one of these copies. He left the history unaltered. He brought the Articles and Points up to date, no doubt in accordance with what was actually in force in the Lodges of his day. He gives us a very unsatisfactory account of the Assembly, which may be an indication that he had no actual experience of such a gathering. He then went on to embody in his work a great deal of extraneous matter. He gives us the story of the Quatuor Coronati, who, as we know, had a special interest for the masons in Italy, Germany and Belgium, as well as in this country. The London Company met on their day, and, as Bro. Knoop himself has shown us, the Craftsmen were allowed to observe it as a holiday. He then tells us of the Tower of Babel, a building from the history of which the craftsman might draw a moral, and then, after a very confused account of the seven sciences, he transcribes two poems dealing with the duty of attending Mass, and behaviour at church or in good society.

The original of which the first portion of the present *Cooke* Text is a transcript was probably a history pure and simple. It is a learned production, a mosaic of quotations from standard authors, obviously the work of some ecclesiastic, anxious to impress us with his erudition. It breaks away completely from the simple Euclid tradition. It begins with an account of the seven liberal Sciences of which Geometry is the chief, and takes us back to their preservation by the sons of Lamech. We get the Two Pillars, the Tower of Babel, Euclid and Solomon, and then the development of the Craft in France and England. We are now told that its coming into this country was due to St. Alban and St. Amphibalus.

While the document itself is in a Western or South-Western dialect, the introduction of St. Amphibalus, who owes his existence to the ingenuity of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but who was of no particular interest to anyone except the St. Albans fraternity, would seem to suggest that the writer had some special reason, such as an association with that monastery, for bringing him into the story.

Athelstan is now associated with his youngest son, who joined the Craft and procured it a Charter, and after a very brief reference to this document the writer says that the Charges, manners and assembly are all in the Book of our Charges, "wherefore I leave it at this time". As it seems to me the original text ended here. But our *Cooke* Text goes on at once to transcribe this Book of our Charges, an independent text with its own introduction, history and rules. The authors do not deal in any detail with the subsequent development of the documents known to us as the *Old Charges*, but something might well be said on the subject.

A completely new code was drawn up in the reign of Henry VI. The *William Watson* and the texts of its Family combine this with the fuller history of the *Cooke* Text. The *Book of Charges* is not again transcribed. But it is noteworthy that the English section of the history is now much fuller. As the authors point out, there has clearly been development in the meantime. But the *Cooke* Text itself is so brief here that it suggests that the writer was working on a document the last part of which was defective. At a later date the elaborate *Cooke* Text history is recast, the quotations are discarded, and the whole thing rewritten with some additions, in a form more suited to the understanding of the ordinary craftsman. Finally, this simpler history and the code of Henry VI. are brought together to constitute what we may call the Standard

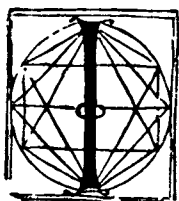
Form of these old documents, as exemplified in the *Grand Lodge Family*. The extent to which the code embodies provisions of the earlier legislation is a matter of some interest, but has not, so far as I know, been considered in any detail by students in this country. And it lies outside the scope of the present work. The authors are not particularly concerned with anything later than their special subject, the two manuscripts themselves, and they can make no definite suggestion as to the authorship of either document, beyond saying that the *Regius* is the work of a West Midland Cleric, but that the two poems copied in the *Regius* are by different hands. But as Halliwell asked us many years ago, for whom was the *Regius* Poem written? Who were these craftsmen who required instruction, not merely as to attending Mass, but as to behaviour at table when associating with great lords? And, we in turn may ask, who were the masons who required or could appreciate the learned history, on the lines of a monastic chronicle, provided for them in the original *Cooke Text*? Indeed, we may well ask why it was written at all. The present authors do not offer any suggestions on these points. On the economic aspect of the Craft they are, of course, recognised expert authorities, and they are able to give us valuable comments on the Articles and Points and their relation to other contemporary gild legislation and to the actual conditions in the trade itself of which they have already given us several detailed studies. So also they have been able to associate with them on the present occasion a philological expert and as a result we have an authoritative text, valuable philological information and notes on the prosody of the poem, and an extensive and trustworthy glossary. On these aspects of the subject the present work leaves nothing to be desired; no fuller analysis could be asked for.

Bro. Knoop has already enabled us to visualise in every detail the economic craftsman. Thanks to the work of himself and Mr. Jones we now know all that can at present be stated of his rates of wages, his mobility, his holidays, his customs and all the rest of it. But we would dearly wish to recall not the mere hewer of stone, but the human beings for whom some unknown priest in Gloucestershire or Shropshire not merely rewrote in laboured verse the history and rules that were already familiar, but sought to improve the occasion by telling them once more the story of their favourite Saints, and reminding them of their duty to Holy Church and of the need of true courtesy when meeting their great employers. So also we could wish to have brought before us that other association, less easy to realise, which took pleasure in the learned compilation of some old ecclesiastic, as something quite new and different from the familiar *Book of Charges*, which they already knew so well "wherefore I leave it at this time". But we can hardly hope ever to get more light on our predecessors from this point of view. In the present work the authors have done all that scientific attainment can achieve to present to us the text of our two oldest manuscripts and a commentary on and explanation of them as they bear on and illustrate the surroundings of the mediæval mason, and as the foundation of all that wealth of documentary matter, of such importance to our Craft to-day, of which they were the forerunners.

February, 1938.

L.V.

OBITUARY.



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

Arthur W. Adams, M.A., of Acock's Green, Birmingham, in April, 1934. Bro. Adams held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and was P.Z. of Temperance Chapter No. 739. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1892, and was for many years our Local Secretary for Warwickshire.

Dr. D. Drysdale Anderson, of Lagos, on 8th April, 1934. Our Brother was a member of Rahere Lodge and Chapter No. 2546. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

Major Dr. James Anderson, R.A.M.C. (T.F.), of Seaton Delaval, Northumberland, on 6th April, 1934, at the age of 67 years. Bro. Anderson held the ranks of Past Assistant Grand Sword Bearer, and Past Grand Deputy Sword Bearer (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1913.

William Player Bice, of Melbourne, Victoria, in December, 1933. Bro. Bice had held office as Grand Master, and was for some years Pro Grand Master and First Grand Principal. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1898.

Captain John Cameron Black, J.P., of Glasgow, on 13th January, 1934, at the age of 69 years. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge No. 1241, and a member of Chapter No. 187. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1925.

Joseph Blackburn, of Birstal, Leeds, on 25th March, 1934. Bro. Blackburn was a member of Nelson of the Nile Lodge and Chapter No. 264. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1921.

Frederic Brabner, of Brazil, in 1934. Our Brother was a P.M. of Lodge No. 13, and was a member of Affability Chapter No. 317 (E.C.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

George Laurance Brighton, of Surbiton, Surrey, on 21st May, 1934. Bro. Brighton was P.M. of Hiram Lodge No. 2416, and Scribe N. of the Chapter No. 2416. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1930.

Frederic William Brockbank, of Bolton, Lancs., on 1st May, 1934. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.R. (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1932.

Dr. Charles Thomas Thornton Comber, M.D., O.B.E., of London, S.E., on 3rd December, 1933. Bro. Comber was a member of West Wickham Lodge No. 2948. He held L.C.R., and was Pr.G.Sc.N., Kent. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1932.

Sir John Goode-Adams, of London, W., on 10th April, 1934. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1927.

John Crerar, of Melita, Manitoba, on 1st October, 1933. Bro. Crerar held the office of Grand Registrar, and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since January, 1898.

George Dickinson, of Leeds, on 18th November, 1933. Our Brother was a member of Craven Lodge No. 810, and was elected to the membership of the Correspondence Circle in 1924.

Joseph Austin Dolton, of Clevedon, Somerset, on 3rd December, 1933. Bro. Dolton held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and was a member of Fortitude Chapter No. 229.. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

Richard Frederick Ernest Ferrier, of Hemsby Hall, Norfolk, on 5th May, 1933. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.R. (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in November, 1901.

Dr. Samuel Russell Forbes, on 3rd December, 1933. A distinguished archæologist, he had settled in Rome in 1871 and devoted his life to the study of its archæology and antiquities, on which he wrote numerous papers. He contributed one to our *Transactions* on the Church of the Quattro Incononati. He was a member of Universo Lodge, and joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1887, being one of the earliest Brethren to do so.

John Sutherland Fraser, *M.B., C.M.*, of London, N., in 1933. Bro. Fraser held the rank of P.Dis.G.P. (S.C.), India. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1905.

Charles James Kerr Grieve, of Selangor, F.M.S., on 13th June, 1933. Our Brother was P.M. of Makepeace Lodge No. 3674, and P.So. of Selangor Chapter No. 2337. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1919.

George Thomas Heard, of London, S.W., on 5th January, 1934. Bro. Heard was J.D. of Mitcham Lodge No. 2384, and A.So. of the same Chapter. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1930.

Capt. Adderley Fitsalan Bernard Howard, *M.C.*, of Hong Kong, in 1933. Our Brother was a member of Port Harcourt Lodge No. 3881, and of Calabar Chapter No. 3434. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

Philip Henry Jolley, of Hastings, New Zealand, in June, 1933. Bro. Jolley had attained the rank of Past Assistant Grand Sword Bearer. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1894.

Percy Edgar Kellett, of Winnipeg, Manitoba, on 26th October, 1933, at the age of 58 years. Our Brother had held the office of Grand Master and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1912.

Rev. Canon Alexander Mackintosh, *F.R.G.S.*, of Hastings, on 20th July, 1933, at the age of 88 years. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.Ch. (Norfolk), and P.H.P. Chapter No. 1 (Cal.C.). He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in January, 1912.

Capt. John Clarke Nixon, *R.A.M.C.*, of Plympton, Devon, on 24th March, 1934. Bro. Nixon was a member of Olicana Lodge No. 1522, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1899.

John William Northend, of Sheffield, on 28th December, 1933. Our Brother was a member of Furnival Lodge No. 2558, and of Milton Chapter No. 1239. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1907.

W. T. Pursell, of Chicago, Ill., on 3rd January, 1934. Bro. Pursell was S.Stew. of Lodge No. 878, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1911.

John David Roberts, of London, W., on 25th September, 1933. Our Brother was a member of the United Arts Rifles Lodge and Chapter No. 3817. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

John Robert Roxburgh, *M.A.*, of Cambridge, on 13th February, 1934, at the age of 72 years. Bro. Roxburgh had attained the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1909.

H. Bulmer Rudd, of Ripon, Yorks. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.A.G.D.C., and P.Pr.D.G.Reg. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1911.

Thomas Sime Shaw, of Bacup, Lancs., on 31st December, 1933. Bro. Shaw was a member of Samaritan Lodge No. 286 and P.So. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1917.

Fitzgerald Snowball, of Melbourne, Victoria, in December, 1933. Our Brother was a member of Combermere Lodge No. 752 (E.C.) He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1892.

Sir **Thomas Harris Spencer**, of West Bromwich, on 30th April, 1934. Bro. Spencer held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and had attained the office of Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Staffs. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1915.

Henry Arthur Trubshaw, of Johannesburg, in 1933. Our Brother held the rank of Deputy Provincial Grand Master (I.C.), and G.C.H. (I.C.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1927.

Walter Wood, of Macclesfield, on 12th January, 1934. Bro. Wood held L.R., that of P.Pr.G.W., also L.C.R., and that of P.Pr.G.Sc.N. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1930.

Herbert Musgrave Woodman, of Jamaica, on 29th April, 1934. Bro. Woodman was a member of King Edward VII. Lodge No. 3252, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1908.

Herbert Woods, of Stockton Heath, W.Lancs., on 4th April, 1934. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Registrar, also P.Pr.G.W., and Pr.G.R. (R.A.), West Lancs. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1906, and was for many years our Local Secretary.

Arthur William Youngman, of Lowestoft, on 27th March, 1934, at the age of 71 years. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1930.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

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Members returning their parts of the *Transactions*, to the Secretary, can have them bound in dark blue Canvas, lettered gold, for 6/- per volume. Cases can be supplied at 3/- per volume, date or number of volume should be specified.

MEMBERSHIP MEDAL.

Brethren of the Correspondence Circle are entitled to wear a membership Medal, to be procured of the Secretary only. In Silver Gilt, engraved with the owner's name, with bar, pin and ribbon, as a breast jewel. 10/6 each.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



SECRETARY :

LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.

OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM :

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.2.

→: Ars :← Quatuor Coronatorum

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



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

VOLUME XLVII. PART 2.

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W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.
1938.

THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 3000 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The annual subscription is only £1 1s., and is renewable each December for the following year. Brethren joining us late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all the *Transactions* previously issued in the same year.

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

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

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

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

St. John's Day in Harvest

SATURDAY, 23rd JUNE, 1934.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. *Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., W.M.*; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; B. Telepneff S.W.; W. J. Williams, P.M., as J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; G. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., S.D.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, J.D.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; and H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. D. Elkington, W. Brinkworth, W. B. Brook, Fredk. Spooner, P.A.G.Purs., C. F. Sykes, F. A. Greene, Geo. Sarginson, P.G.St.B., G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, A. Thompson, John E. Childs, H. W. Heath, W. J. Mean, F. M. Shaw, J. Wallis, R. W. Strickland, Harry Bladon, P.A.G.D.C., John F. Nichols, J. W. Barton, W. H. Escott, Eric Alven, S. S. Huskisson, J. F. H. Gilbard, L. G. Wearing, W. N. Bacon, P.A.G.D.C., L. A. Margetts, W. Dane, G. A. Crocker, A. Baron Burn, A. H. Wolfenden, H. W. Martin, T. Martin, A. F. Ford, Lewis Edwards, A. T. Gordon, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., and A. E. Gurney.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. L. A. Dorizzi, P.M., Westbourne Lodge No. 733, and A. Knight Croad, P.M., Junior Engineers Lodge No. 2913.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., Stew.*; *Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.*; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; D. Knoop, M.A., J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; George Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; John Stokes, M.A., M.D., P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; B. Ivanoff; and *Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.*

One Lodge and Eighteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

An address was presented to W.Bro. W. J. Songhurst requesting him to allow himself to be elected to the Chair in the Jubilee Year of the Lodge. In accepting the invitation, Bro. Songhurst assured the Lodge that he did so with very great reluctance, but that he would do his best. His decision was received in Lodge with general satisfaction.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Original Proclamation by Joseph, Emperor of Austria, dated at Brussels, 9 Jan. 1786. (*Vide* Gould, iii., 211). By this Proclamation the Craft was restricted to three Lodges in each provincial capital.

Brussels reprint of the Herault Exposure of 1737.

Leicester Masonic Reprint xiv. is taken from another publication. The present copy has as imprint, only Brussels. The copy reproduced by Bro. Thorp has the names of a printer at Brussels and another at Ghent. The ornament on the Title-page is also quite different, being merely a floriated device. In this copy the ornament is an arrangement of palm leaves and flowers surrounding a square and triangle, with the motto: *Ensentiunt et Causa Causarum miserere mei*. This copy also has a finial, of a wheel rolling up hill, with the words: *Miser Vixi*. This is missing from the other copy. The text is identical except for a few printing errors in the copy used at Leicester, which are corrected in this reprint. But the two reprints correspond otherwise page for page and line for line

By Bro. COLLINS NICE.

Moirs Apron; unmounted.

Print. Portrait of Mr. James Asperne, Grand Steward in 1814; a member of Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1.

Atholl Certificate. Bro. Samuel Skelton, Lodge No. 25. 1795. This was Ancient and Amicable, Liverpool.

Ticket of Admission to the Grand Festival of 1813.

Printed Report of the G.L. (Moderns) Communication of 4 May 1791.

From the Lodge Collection.

Photographic *Facsimile* of a Charge to a Mason, found inside a copy of the 1756 *Book of Constitutions* by Messrs. Marks. Not hitherto known. The text is as follows:—

A | CHARGE | To a New-Admitted | MASON.

Brother,

You are now admitted by the unanimous Consent of our Lodge,—a Fellow of the most ancient and honourable Society, of free and accepted Masons; the greatest Monarchs in all Ages, as well of *Asia* and *Africa*, as of *Europe*, have been Encouragers of the Royal Art; and many of them have presided as grand Masters over Masons, in their respective Territories; not thinking it any lessening to the imperial Dignities, to level themselves with their Brethren in Masonry, and to act as they did.—The World's great Architect is our supreme Master; and the unerring Rule he has given us, is that by which we Work.—Religious Disputes are never suffered within the Lodge, for as Masons, we only pursue the universal Religion, or the Religion of Nature; this is the Cement which unites the most different Principles in one sacred Band, and brings together those who were the most

distant from one another.—There are three general Heads of Duty, which Masons ought always to inculcate; that is,—to God, our Neighbour, and Ourselves;—to God, in never mentioning his Name, but with that reverential Awe which a Creature ought to bear to his Creator, and to look upon him as the *Summum Bonum* which we came into the World to enjoy; and according to that View, to regulate all our Pursuits to our Neighbours in acting upon the Square, or doing as we would be done by;—to ourselves, in avoiding all Intemperance, and Excesses, whereby we may be rendered incapable of following our Work, or led into Behaviour unbecoming our laudable Profession, and always keeping within due Bounds.—A Mason is to behave as a peaceable and dutiful Subject, conforming cheerfully to the Government under which he lives.—He is to pay a due Difference to his Superiors; and from his Inferiors he is rather to receive Honour with some Reluctance, than to extort it.—He is to be a Man of Benevolence and Charity; not sitting down contented, while his Fellow Creatures, (*but much more his Brethren*) are in Want, when it is in his Power without prejudicing Himself, or Family, to relieve them. In the Lodge,—he is to behave with all due Decorum, lest the Beauty and Harmony thereof, should be disturbed, or broke. He is to be obedient to the Master and *presiding Officers*, and to apply himself closely to the Business of Masonry, that he may the sooner become a Proficient therein, both for his own Credit, and for that of the Lodge. He is not to neglect his own necessary Avocations, for the sake of Masonry; nor to involve himself in Quarrels with those who through Ignorance may speak Evil of, or ridicule it.—He is to be a Lover of the Arts and Sciences, and is to take all Opportunities to improve himself therein. If he recommends a Friend to be made a Mason, he must vouch him to be such as he really believes will conform to the aforesaid Duties; lest, by his Misconduct at any Time, the Lodge should pass under some evil Imputation. Nothing can prove more shocking to all faithful Masons, than to see any of their Brethren profane, or break through the sacred Rules of their Order.—and such as can do it they wish had never been admitted.

Brother,

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, after Masonry, whereby his Family and Business may be neglected. You are also to observe, that 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 him, or his Family.

(The original has the long “s” throughout.)

Presented to the Lodge.

By Bros. GOLBY and CROAD.

Specimens of Patents, one old style with the Great Seal, and others of modern type.

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

Bro. F. W. GOLBY read the following paper:—

OUR EARLY BRETHREN AS PATENTEES.

BY BRO. F. W. GOLBY, P.A.G.D.C.



OME time ago it was suggested to me that the Lodge would be interested to learn something about the Patents taken out by our early Brethren. Bro. Desaguliers was stated to have been the inventor of more than one patent and an investigation of the whole subject was deemed advisable.

Prior to the year 1883 the expenses connected with the taking out of a British Patent were very high and in some cases were considered prohibitive, hence the Patents Act of 1883 was produced whereby the procedure for securing a Patent was simplified. The expenses were also largely curtailed, being reduced to a stamp fee of £4 for the first four years, afterwards increased to £5 and later to £6, and an annual stamp fee of £5 for the fifth year, £6 for the sixth year, and so on, increasing £1 every year.

The Patentee in the years, say from 1700 to 1770, was either a person of means or one able to induce others to pay the whole, or part, of the high expense incurred in taking out a Patent. Therefore, those of our early Brethren who protected their rights by Patents were probably men of good position.

Before proceeding further, it would be as well to give a short history of patents and monopolies.

"Formerly the reigning prince considered himself entitled, as part of his prerogative, to grant privileges of the nature of monopolies to anyone who had gained his favour."¹

It was from the practice of the sovereign granting to a favourite, or as a reward for good service, a monopoly in the sale or manufacture of some particular class of goods that the system of protecting inventions developed. When the practice of making such grants first arose it does not appear easy to say. Sir Edward Coke laid it down that by the ancient common law the king could grant to an inventor, or to the importer of an invention from abroad, a temporary monopoly in his invention, but that grants in restraint of trade were illegal.

The Patent Rolls of the Plantagenets show few instances of grants of monopolies (the earliest known is *temp.* Edw. III.), and we come down to the reign of Henry VIII. before we find much evidence of this exercise of the prerogative in the case of either new inventions or known articles of trade. Elizabeth, as is well known, granted patents of monopoly so freely that the practice became a grave abuse, and on several occasions gave rise to serious complaints in the House of Commons. Lists prepared at the time show that many of the commonest necessities of life were the subjects of monopolies by which their price was grievously enhanced. A grant of a monopoly to sell playing-cards is made, and one for the sale of starch is justified on the ground that it would prevent wheat being wasted for the purpose. Accounts of the angry debates in 1565 and 1601 are given in Hume and elsewhere. The former debate produced a promise from the Queen that she would be careful in exercising her privileges; the latter resulted in a proclamation which, received with great joy by the House, really had but little effect in stopping the abuses complained of.

¹ *Ency. Brit.* (1911 Ed.), xx., p. 903.

An instance of the tyranny exercised in connection with patents of monopoly is given by Macaulay in his essay on Lord Bacon (who was made Lord Keeper in 1617), published in July, 1837.

He there says:—"Patents of monopoly were multiplied. All the resources which could have been employed to replenish a beggared Exchequer . . . were put in motion . . . Of all patents in our history, the most disgraceful was that which was granted to Sir Giles Mompesson, supposed to be the original of Massinger's Overreach, and to Sir Francis Mitchell, from whom Justice Greedy is supposed to have been drawn, for the exclusive manufacturing of gold and silver lace. The effect of this monopoly was of course that the metal employed in the manufacture was adulterated to the great loss of the public. But this was a trifle. The patentees were armed with powers as great as have ever been given to farmers of the revenue in the worst governed countries. They were authorised to search houses and arrest interlopers; and these formidable powers were used for purposes viler than even those for which they were given, for the wreaking of old grudges, and for the corrupting of female chastity. Was not this a case in which public duty demanded the interposition of the Lord Keeper [Bacon]? And did the Lord Keeper interpose? He did. He wrote to inform the King [James I.] that he "had considered of the fitness and conveniency of the gold and silver thread business," "that it was convenient that it should be settled," that he "did conceive apparent likelihood that it would redound much to His Majesty's profit," that, therefore, "it were good it were settled with all convenient speed." The meaning of all this was that certain of the house of Villiers were to go shares with Overreach and Greedy in the plunder of the public. This was the way in which, when the favourite pressed for patents, lucrative to his relations and to his creatures, ruinous and vexatious to the body of the people, the chief guardian of the laws interposed. Having assisted the patentees to obtain this monopoly, Bacon assisted them also in the steps which they took for the purpose of guarding it. He committed several people to close confinement for disobeying his tyrannical edict. It is needless to say more. Our readers are now able to judge whether, in the matter of patents, Bacon acted conformably to his professions, or deserved the praise which his biographer has bestowed on him."

In the first parliament of James I. a "committee of grievances" was appointed, of which Sir Edward Coke was Chairman. Numerous monopoly patents were brought up before them and were cancelled. Many more, however, were granted by the King, and there grew up a race of "purveyors" who made use of the privileges granted them under the great Seal for various purposes of extortion. One of the most notorious of these was Sir Giles Mompesson, who fled the country to avoid trial in 1621. After the introduction of several bills, and several attempts by James to compromise the matter by orders in council and promises, the Statute of Monopolies was passed in 1623. This made all monopolies illegal, except such as might be granted by parliament or were in respect of new manufactures or inventions. Upon this excepting clause is built up the entire English system of letters patent for inventions. The Act was strictly enforced and by its aid the evil system of monopolies was eventually abolished. Parliament has, of course, never exercised its power of granting to any individual exclusive privileges of dealing in any articles of trade, such as the privileges of the Elizabethan monopolists; but the licences required to be taken out by dealers in wines, spirits, tobacco, &c., are lineal descendants of the old monopoly grants, while the quasi-monopolies enjoyed by railways, canals, gas, and water companies, &c., under Acts of parliament, are also representative of the ancient practice.¹

¹ *Ency. Brit.* (1911 Ed.), xviii., p. 733.

The Statute of Monopolies of 1623, which was wrung from James I., declared all monopolies that were grievous and inconvenient to the subjects of the realm to be void. There was, however, a special exception from this enactment of all letters patent and grants of privilege of the "sole working or making of any manner of new manufacture, within the realm to the true and first inventor of such manufacture, which others at the time of making such letters patent and grants should not use, so they be not contrary to law, nor mischievous to the state by raising of the prices of commodities at home or hurt of trade or generally inconvenient." Upon these words hangs the whole law of letters patent for inventions. Many statutes were afterwards passed, but these were all repealed by the Patents Act of 1883. Where the law is not expressly laid down by act of parliament, it has to be gathered from the numerous decisions of the Courts, for patent law is to no inconsiderable extent "judge-made law."

With regard to a patent for the new application of a well-known object it may be remarked that there must be some display of ingenuity, some amount of invention in making the application, otherwise the patent will be invalid on the ground that the subject-matter is destitute of novelty. For example, a fish plate, used before the introduction of railways to connect wooden beams, could not be patented to connect the rails of a railway; nor can a spring long used in the rear of a carriage be patented for use in the front.

Patent privileges, like most other rights, can be made the subject of sale. Partial interests can also be carved out of them by means of licences, instruments which empower other persons to exercise the invention, either universally and for the full time of the patent or for a limited time, or within a limited district.¹

In the years 1700 to 1770 the Government fee for a Patent varied according to the nature of the invention, but was approximately about £100. On this question of the expense of patent fees in the period, I thought it advisable to make an investigation at the Patent Office in London, and was informed that all the information obtainable had been sent many years previously to the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, London. On attendance at the Public Record Office I learnt that the fees paid in respect of any particular patent were included in the Returns separately made to the Treasury or Crown Office by the respective officials who received the fees, that these returns were voluminous, and that the information required would be almost impossible to trace.

But with the aid of one of the Assistants of the Record Office I was able to trace one entry in the book relating to the Patents Rolls, and was told to call back after about an hour, when the parchment roll itself would be produced. This was subsequently shown to me and records that, in respect of the patent to which I was referring, a small fee, I believe of about 13s. 4d., had passed through that official's hands and was included in his return of moneys received in the particular year.

Seeing that the records of all the Patents I desired to inspect would involve a very substantial amount of time, I wrote to the Secretary of the Public Record Office stating my wishes, and asked whether he could refer me to any work from which I could rapidly acquire the desired information.

In reply, he referred me to Sir H. C. Maxwell-Lyte's work entitled *The Great Seal*, published by H.M. Stationery Office in 1926.

A copy of this work I found was in a reserved room in the Patent Office in London, and I was allowed to inspect it.

The following is extracted from pages 355 to 356 of that book:—

"In the middle of the eighteenth century, Patents for Inventions, styled 'Special Licences for fourteen years,' were subject to somewhat exceptional fees, . . . Such licences, specifically exempted from the operation of the Statute of

¹ *Ency. Brit.* (1911 Ed.), xx., p. 903.

Monopolies of 1624 [? 1623] gradually became very numerous, so numerous indeed that the department dealing only with the rights of inventors obtained the exclusive name of Patent Office.

In the earlier part of the nineteenth century the cost of obtaining unopposed Letters Patent protecting an invention in England for fourteen years was little less than £100."

In an article by Charles Dickens published in *Reprinted Pieces* and entitled "A poor man's tale of a Patent" it is stated that an inventor desiring to secure a Patent in the early part of the nineteenth century made no less than thirty-five personal attendances on various officials in London and that it occupied upwards of six weeks, the fees for England alone amounting to ninety-six pounds, seven shillings and eightpence. For the whole of the United Kingdom the cost would have been more than three hundred pounds.

Before writing "A poor man's tale of a Patent," Charles Dickens took pains to master the whole subject, and the story as told by him in popular form is amply supported by official returns and reports. While the financial details given are comparatively unimportant, the account of the procedure is historically valuable. A brief summary of it, shorn of all comment, may therefore be given:—

The inventor, having prepared a petition to the Queen, took it in the first instance to Chancery Lane, for declaration before a Master in Chancery, whose fee was only 1s. 6d. Thence he took it to the Home Office in Whitehall, where he paid £2.2.6. for the Secretary of State's signature. At the Attorney General's Chambers he paid Four Guineas for a report, which, being favourable, he took to the Home Office. After payment there of £7.13.6. he obtained a warrant, signed by the Queen and countersigned by the Secretary of State, for the preparation of the necessary bill. At the Patent Bill Office, he was charged £5.10.6. for the draft and the docquet of the bill, £1.7.6. for two copies of it for the use of the Signet Office and the Privy Seal Office, £3. for stamp duty thereon, a guinea for the engrossing clerk and £1.10.0. for stamp duty on the bill. For the Attorney General's signature to it he had to pay £5. Returning to the Home Office, he was again charged £7.13.6. for the signatures of the Queen and the Secretary of State. Upon the authority of the bill thus signed, the Signet Office issued a bill to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, charging £4.7.0. therefor, and, after further payment of £4.2.0. a clerk of the Privy Seal issued a writ to the Lord Chancellor. All subsequent proceedings in the matter were directly connected with the Chancery. The final instrument had to be engrossed by the Clerk of the Patents, whose fee was £5.17.8., and it had to be put into a box, for which a stationer charged 9s. 6d. At this stage, there was a heavy claim of £30, for stamp duty on the Letters Patent. The Lord Chancellor's Pursebearer (or his deputy) also claimed two guineas. Lastly, there were the fees for sealing and enrolment. Out of £7.13.4. paid to the Clerk of the Hanaper, £1.4.4. went to the Crown, 2/- to the Master of the Rolls, £1 to a Six Clerk, and 8d. to the Examiner. The Deputy Clerk of the Hanaper claimed 10/-, the Lord Chancellor a guinea and a half, and the Deputy Sealer and Deputy Chaffwax, half a guinea. Dickens represents his inventor as having gone through "thirty-five stages" in the course of the six weeks which he was obliged to spend in London, and there is no reason to suspect any exaggeration.

In a serious work of reference we read:—

"The time necessary for obtaining a Patent is seldom less than two months, and frequently much longer . . . The expense also is very heavy, and may be stated on an average as £120 for England, with £5 additional for the Colonies, £100 for Scotland, and £125 for Ireland."

And on page 416 of the Historical Notes on "The Great Seal" occurs the following entry:—

"Cost of Letters Patent (page 355).

In 1775, William Painter of Mincing Lane deposited the sum of £80 with one of the clerks of the Privy Seal, in order to cover the cost of Letters Patent concerning his invention of 'A mill for husking of coffee.' On the completion of the business he was furnished with particulars of the payments made on his behalf amounting to £79.12.6."

During the past 200 years money has more than doubled in value, in other words, £100 in 1700 would be at least £200 at the present time.

In an endeavour to ascertain whether any of our ancient Brethren were pioneers in the arts to which their inventions related, I have examined the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911 Ed.) under the following headings:—

Tapestry Weaving.
Processes connected with the manufacture of Iron.
Yarn Winding.
Dye Colours.
Stocking Frames.
Knitting Machines.

Unfortunately, no reference is given in the *Encyclopædia* to any but the most prominent inventors, such as Hargreaves for Weaving, Thomas and Gillchrist and Bessemer for Iron and Steel. No reference whatever is made to any one of the sixty-eight patentees whose names follow.

Our third Grand Master, Dr. Desaguliers, I was informed, had taken out more than one patent, but on investigation I found that he had taken out only one. The specification will be referred to later under the number 430.

It appeared to me that a general enquiry into the subject of Patents granted to members of the Craft would be interesting. I accordingly made a complete list in alphabetical order from the Records at the Patent Office of all Patentees between the years 1700 and 1770. I then drew up a complete list of all the names that occur in the records of Grand Lodge between 1723 and 1750, taking them up to 1739 from the Index to Vol. x. of the *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, and for the remaining period from the actual minutes themselves.

With the object of making the investigation as complete as possible, I allowed twenty-three years before the date 1723 and twenty years after the date 1750, as a Brother might have taken out a Patent twenty-three years before or twenty years after his name appeared in the Grand Lodge Records. A comparison of the two lists revealed sixty-eight cases in which the same name occurred in both. But it must be clearly understood that in many of these cases it is by no means certain that they refer to the same individual. The most that can be said is that identity is possible.

All the information contained in the filed Specification of these sixty-eight Patents follows, or an abstract in the very few cases where a lengthy description of the invention is given.

The spelling in the original Patent specifications has been retained. The numbers are the serial numbers of the actual Patents, as registered at the Patent Office.

The complete list of Patentees came to some 700 names, so that sixty-eight would be approximately ten per cent., not at all a bad proportion, *i.e.*, that ten per cent. of the Patentees for the seventy years, 1700 to 1770, may have been members of the Craft, and some definitely were so.

367. John SHALLCROSS.

4th July, 1701.

(John Shalcross)
(John Shallcrosse)
(John Shalcrosse)

Covering for Houses.

Title:

A new sort of covering for houses made of clay, something like a flatt board of about fourteen inches long, and about twelve inches broad, with a small rib or ledge lying downe both sides, and rising about halfe an inch above the flat part, by laying two of which together, and covering the said ribs or ledges with a small hollow cap which clips the same, and each lapping about two inches over the other, doe make a covering for the purpose aforesaid, which lyeth close and tight, and being much lighter, may be supported with lesse timber, and also is more safe and secure, and defend better from all manner of wind and weather than any other covering now used.

John Shallcross, John Shallcrosse and John Shalcrosse are all mentioned in the Patent Deed. There is a Jn^o. Shalcross entered in *Q.C.A.*, vol. x., page 13, as a member of the Lodge meeting at the Prince of Denmarkshead in Cavendish Street in the year 1723.

378. William COVE.

8th June, 1706.

Manufacture of Lamp Black.

Title:

Art of makeing lam black, not yet practised in England, much cheaper and better than any brought from foreign parts, with which our Royall Navy may be furnished at much easier rates than formerly, and will likewise be of great advantage and benefit to all trades throughout the Kingdom vseing the same.

There is a "W^m. Covey" entered, on page 4 of *Q.C.A.*, vol. x., as a Warden of the Lodge meeting at the Cheshire Cheese in Arundell Street in the year 1723.

399. Benjamin Habbakkuk JACKSON. Gentleman.

5th May, 1715.

Coaches and other Vehicles.

Title:

A very needful invention for the making and altering of coaches, charriotts, callashes, and other machines of that nature, in such a manner that the persons who sit in them will be in no danger of receiving any damage, though the wheelles should be ever so suddenly oversett, because the bodies of them will always in such cases at the very same remain in an upright position, equivalent to an horizontal levell, and they will be likewise on the same levell when going on the side of a hill, and in the most rugged and uneven roades.

In *Q.C.A.*, vol. x., on page 32, there is a "Mr. Jackson" entered as a Member of the Lodge meeting at the Kings Armes, St. Pauls, in 1725; on page 34, a "Mr. Jackson," a member of the Lodge meeting at the Naggshead in Princes Street, in 1725; and on page 33, a "Rev. Mr. Jackson" entered as a Warden of the Lodge meeting at the Ship without Temple Barr, also in 1725.

Whether any one of these is the same as "Benjamin Habakkuk Jackson," it is impossible to say, although this is a Biblical name and might be the name of a clergyman.

See also Patent No. 441.

409. William WARD.

14th September, 1716.

Apparatus for the manufacture of salt, alum, copperas &c.

Title:

A new method for makeing and setting the vessells vsed in makeing of salt, allam, copperas &c., as well as other things where large furnaces are required, much better and with lesse danger and expence than could be done by any Method before practised.

I Declare: That whereas the panns now vsed for the boyling of allum, salt, copperas, &c., are fixed in such a manner that the fire plays vnder them, by which meanes, the bottoms hanging hollow, the vast weight of liquour which frequently breakes downe the pann to the great pjudice of the proprietors & hazard of their workmen; now by this invencon a double pann is made & fixed vpon a solid basis of brick or stone, and the fire is conveyed by meanes of igniferous tubes through the liquour so as to make it boyle with more dispatch, and without any hazard to the proprietors or danger to the workmen.

William Ward's name appears in the 1730 List as a member of the Lodge meeting at the Castle and Legg in Holbourn. *Q.C.A.*, vol. x., 172. Also in the 1730 List of the Lodge meeting at the Rainbow Coffee House in York Buildings. *Q.C.A.*, x., 183.

At the Quarterly Communication of the 24th June, 1735, Bro. William Ward petitioned for relief and was granted Ten Pounds. *Q.C.A.*, x., 256.

410. Thomas HOLLAND, of Amsbury
in the County of Wilts., Clerk.

28th November, 1716.

Engine for Raising Water

Title:

A new machine or engine for raising a continuall flux of water with two barrells, only in much greater quantity, with more ease and certainty by locks and chain works than any engine hitherto invented.

The name of "Tho: Holland" appears in the 1723 List of the Lodge meeting at the Dolphin in Tower Street. Presumably he is identified with "the Rev^d. Thos. Holland of Amesbury, Wilts." *Q.C.A.*, x., 16.

There is a similar entry in the 1725 List. *Q.C.A.*, x., 33.

411. Thomas SMITH, of Lambeth, Surrey, Esq.

14th March, 1717.

Extracting Oil from mallows, burdock, poppy, and nettle seeds.

Title:

Four seeds, of the grouth of Great Britaine, from which a sweet oyl may be expressed, which will be of great benefitt to his Matie's [Majesties] subiects in generall, but more particularly to the soapmakers and cloathing trades.

I, Smith, do declare: That such oyl so to be made is to be expressed from mallows, burdock, poppy, and nettle seeds.

The name "Tho^s. Smith" occurs in the 1730 List of the Lodge at the Ship behind Royal Exchange. *Q.C.A.*, x., 149.

A similar entry occurs in the List for the same year of the Lodge at the Queens Arms in Newgate Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 158.

Also in the List for the same year of the Lodge at the Three Tuns and Bullhead in Cheapside. *Q.C.A.*, x., 165.

"Thomas Smith" occurs as a Steward at the Festival in May, 1744, and was appointed J.G.W. in April, 1745.

See also Patents Nos. 475 and 650.

416. George CAMPBELL, of Edinburg, Merchant. 21st November, 1717.

Manufacture of Salt.

Title:

A new improvement of salt, which by a separte preparacoon of the sea liquor, or other pitt or salt brine, considerably augments its quantity, and by removing the bitter or corrosive nature of the salt betters its quality more then by any other way or method hitherto used in any of his Majesties Dominions.

I, G. C. declare: That the proces of making salt is to be in two different vessells soe placed and erected as to have communication one with the other, but in noe event to interfere or hinder one the other. In one pann or vessell the sea liquor is boiled vp with a violent strong fire, till about nine parts of ten of the liquor or sea water is evaporated, by which time itt comes a salt, and there-after is conveyed to another pann or panns, wherein the salt is perfectly made by a govern'd fire; and all this is soe easie that by one example itt will be rendred intelligible to the meanest capacity, or rather will discover itselfe, how soon any work is sette agoing according to this modell. That by a curious standard which I have discovered, and has been the means of my perceiving the errors of others, and the advantage of the herein-recited method of making salt, I find when the bittren predeomines, then draws itt of and removes it.

The name "Geo. Campbell" occurs in the 1723 List of the Lodge at the Old Devil at Temple Barr. He may have been son of Visct. Glenorchy, or of George, F.R.S. 1730 at Durham. *Q.C.A.*, x., 20.

The same name occurs in the 1725 List of the Lodge at the Devil Tavern at Temple Barr, but the name is there written "Geo. Cambell." *Q.C.A.*, x., 35.

423. James Christopher LE BLON. 5th Feb., 1719.

Multiplying Pictures.

Title:

A new method of multiplying of pictures and draughts by a natural colleris with impressions.

In the 1730 List of the Lodge at the Crown and Sceptre in St. Martin's Lane, appears the name of "M^r. Leblon." He may have been "Le Blon (James Christopher)." *Q.C.A.*, x., 163.

See also Patent No. 492, where, however, the name is spelt "Le Blun."

425. Richard ROBINSON. 24th March, 1720.

Glazing and Painting Stonework.

Title:

A method to glaze and paint stone, which will endure the fire to serve for chimney corner stones, hearths, and other uses.

One of the Stewards at the Festival on the 27th April, 1738, was "Rich^d. Robinson," who named his successor at the Festival on 3rd May, 1739. *Q.C.A.*, x., 302 and 316.

428. John MARTEN, of City of London, Surgeon. 7th May, 1720.

Meliorating Oils.

Title:

An art or method of meliorating all sorts of oyls.

A "M^r. John Martin" is mentioned in the 1725 List as one of the Wardens of the Lodge meeting at the Golden Lyon, Dean Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 44.

He may have been "John, D^r. F.R.S. 1727. Medic & Botan," which would presumably identify this Bro. with the Patentee.

430. John Theophilus DESAGULIERS, Doctor of Laws. 25th June, 1720.
Daniel NIBLET, Coppersmith, and
William VREEN, Instrument Maker.

Heating by steam for various manufacturing purposes.

Title:

For making the steam and vapour of boyling liquors useful for many purposes, and particularly for drying malt, hops, starch, and other humid substances, and for baking, brewing, distilling, boiling, and making of salt, better and with a less quantity of fire, without mixing the fiery particles with the several substances so much as in the ways commonly used, by which invencon several works may be effected without danger, such as drying gunpowder, boyling pitch, tarr, oils, varnishes, wax, tallow, sugar, and extracting spirits from turpentine and other inflammable liquors, which, according to the common way, are apt to set houses on fire, and often prove of very bad consequence in great cities.

John Theophilus Desaguliers was our third Grand Master, installed in the year 1719. He was born at La Rochelle on the 1st March, 1683, and when he was about two-and-a-half years of age was successfully got out of France in consequence of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October, 1685. Twenty years later he entered Christ Church, Oxford, took the B.A. degree in 1710, was admitted into orders, and in the same year succeeded Dr. Keil as Lecturer in Experimental Philosophy at Hart Hall, Oxford, where he continued to lecture until 1713. In 1714 he became Fellow of the Royal Society, he acted as Curator, and gave demonstrations before the Society.

In 1714 he was appointed Chaplain to the Duke of Chandos, and in 1717 went through a course of his Lectures on Experimental Philosophy before George I. at Hampton Court.

In 1718 he received the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Laws at Oxford.

In 1721 he was consulting engineer at Edinburgh on the question of a new water supply, and in addition was an expert on ventilation and superintended the erection of a ventilating system for the House of Commons.

In 1738 it was decided to rebuild Westminster Bridge, and Desaguliers was consulted by the authorities with regard to the newly-erected structure.

He died on the 29th February, 1744.

Full details of his professional and Masonic career will be found in *A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., pages 285-307, and in *A.Q.C.*, xliii., page 148.

An extract from the *History of the Tin Plate Workers' Company*, by E. A. Ebbelwhite, says, under date 1729:—

“At a Court held at the ‘George’ in Ironmonger Lane, on the 15th August, a motion was made by Mr. Past-Master John Walker in relation to a Patent granted to ‘a certain person’ (Mr. Desaguliers) for erecting funnel chimneys made of iron, tin, or other metals, by means whereof such person would monopolise the whole trade of making such chimneys, which was, in fact, part of the Company’s business. It was thereupon resolved that should any members be proceeded against on a charge of infringing such Patent, they should be defended and indemnified at the sole expense of the Company.”

This is perplexing as the only patent granted to Dr. Desaguliers refers to “Heating by steam,” and does not appear to relate to “funnel chimneys made of iron, tin, or other metals.” It may be that Desaguliers acquired an interest in some other patentee’s invention referring to funnel chimneys, but of this we have no record. It certainly was not in a patent taken out by another member of the Craft between the years 1700 and 1729 when this John Walker moved the resolution at the Tin Plate Workers’ Court meeting.

432. John HARRIS, John SENEX, and Henry WILSON. 7th July, 1721.

Globular Charts.

Title:

A new method of projecting sea charts for the use and improvement of navigation, which being agreeable to the globe as truly representing the globular surface of the sea, they humbly apprehend may be properly called a globular chart, and that thereby all navigators may perform their voyages with much more facility, certainty, and security, than hitherto has been done by any methods of the plane or Mercator's Chart, they having submitted specimens thereof to the examination of several able mathematicians, navigators, and astronomers, and particularly our trusty and well beloved Sir George Byng, Sir John Jennings, Sir Charles Wager, Sir Edmund Halley, Regis Professor of Astronomy, and Captain John Merrey, of the Trinity House, who approved of the same &c. &c.

The name of "John Senex" occurs in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at fleece, in fleet Street. Presumably he was "F.R.S. 1728. bibliopol. & geograph. 1717." *Q.C.A.*, x., 41.

Senex was subsequently appointed a Grand Warden. *Q.C.A.*, x., 54

Henry Wilson's name occurs in the 1725 List of a Lodge meeting at Naggeshead and Starr in Carmarthen, South Wales. *Q.C.A.*, x., 44.

And "Henry Wilson" is entered as Master for 1728 in a Lodge meeting at King's Head, in Salford, Near Manchester. *Q.C.A.*, x., 45.

433. William HARDING, Citizen & Blacksmith 12th July, 1721.
of London, many years resident in Jamaica.

Sugar Mills.

Sugar mills previously being chiefly made with large timber and wooden cogs, only having a case of iron on the timber and an iron gudgeon through them . . .

Title:

Sugar mills, engines and wormes.

The rollers, and cogs, and gudgeons whereof are all iron, cast and wrought in a different manner and form from all those now in use, . . .

The engine being for supplying the said mills with water, having an iron pinion or small wheel of a peculiar form and manner, with [? which] works circular within an iron double or endless rack, toothed all round, so contrived within as to command one sucker or forcer, performing both offices at the same time in a single barrel or cilinder, making a purchase of any length required,

The wormes being cast and made on a core of mettle, so particularly contrived as to be taken out after the worms or pipes are cast thereon.

William Harding is entered as "Ma^r." [Master] in the 1725 List of the Lodge at Denmarks head, in Cavendish Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 30.

441. Benjamin Habbukkuk JACKSON, Gentleman. 11th April, 1722.

Swimming Machine.

Title:

A new invention for swimming, to preserve people's lives in case of shipwreck at sea, the oversetting and sittinking of boats, and in case of the cramp and other accidents in swimming for pleasure, being a portable machine of small bulk and weight, beautifull to the eye, convenient to the body, and very easily

put on in a moment, without the help of another, not lyable to hurt by accidents, but very durable, and being fixed on the body infalibly preserves it from drowning by keeping the head and shoulders a sufficient height above water without the possibility of sinking under it, and gives an agility of swimming much faster and longer than any other way.

See under Patent No. 399.

461. Robert REDRICH and Thomas JONES. 28th January, 1724.

Staining, Marbling &c.

Title:

A new art or method, as well for staining, vaining, spotting, clouding, damasking, or otherwise imitating the various kinds of marble, porphiry, and other rich stones and tortoisshell, on wood, stone, and earthenware, and all and every such goods, wares, utensils, and things as are cut, made, or fashioned thereout, as for the making, marbling, veining, spotting, staining, clouding and damasking any linnen, silks, canvas, paper and leather.

The name of "Tho: Jones" occurs in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at Bell Tavern at Westminster. *Q.C.A.*, x., 34.

And "Mr. Tho^s. Jones" is mentioned in 1730 List of the Lodge at the Rainbow Coffee house in York Buildings. *Q.C.A.*, x., 184.

There is also a Sr. Tho: Jones in the 1725 List of the Lodge at the Bedford Head, Covent Garden. *Q.C.A.*, x., 27. And in the 1725 List for the Lodge at fleece, in fleet Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 41.

465. John TAYLOR, of Duckenfield, Stockport, 11th April, 1724.
Cheshire, Clockmaker,
and Robert WINTERBOTTOM, of Ashton
under Line, Lancs, Carpenter.

Engine for Raising Water.

Title:

A new engine, which works with both sucking and forcing pumps, by means of a screw or worm, whereby water may be raised or drawn out of mines, pitts, ponds, &c., to very considerable heights, with far more ease and less charge than by any other method hitherto discovered and practised, which will be greatly usefull to the publick and on many private occasions.

"Jn^o. Taylor" is entered in the 1725 List as a member of the Lodge meeting at Castle and Faulkon in Chester. *Q.C.A.*, x., 40.

"John Taylor" is mentioned in the 1725 List as a member of the Lodge meeting at King's Head, in Salford, Near Manchester. *Q.C.A.*, x., 46.

"Mr. John Taylor" is returned as a Warden in the 1730 List of the Lodge at Coach & Horses in Maddock's Street, Hanover Square. *Q.C.A.*, x., 150.

466. William MASON and Thomas CHANIFLOWER. 15th April, 1724.

Syphon for raising water.

Title:

A new machine called a syphon, or an attracting engine that works without friction of solids (so long sought after by the ingenious, but not happily discovered till the said invention) partly by attraction, and partly by force, and is composed of two tubes, one within the other, lifting up the water through its own cavity by the aid of some relieving valves placed at proper distances one above the other,

and is moved by a peculiar power containing two segments of a circular wheel, and two short chains reverted on each segment, for lifting up and forcing downe the inward tubes; and in regard it would be liable to few or none of those accidents to which all engines hitherto invented are subject, by reason of its being worked without friction, it would be of unspeakable value for preserving of ships of war in engagements, and merchantmen diversity of distress at sea, whereby vast numbers of usefull lives may be saved; and it may also eminently serviceable in draining of mines, moores and marishes, as also for raising of water for extinguishing dangerous fires with greater celerity, and in double or treble the quantity that any other pumps or machines whatever are able to effect in the same space of time with the same given power, and to the same given height, it being capable to discharge near one thousand gallons of water twenty foot high, with the help of few men, in the space of a minute.

“ W^m. Mason ” occurs in the 1725 List of the Lodge at the Globe Tavern, att Moore Gate. *Q.C.A.*, x., 31.

Also in the List for the same year of the Lodge at Crown, at Acton. *Q.C.A.*, x., 33.

470. Thomas ROGERS, Artificer. 24th October, 1724.

Spring for carriages.

Title:

A steel worm or rowling spring, to be used in coaches, chariots, or any other carriages.

“ Tho. Rogers ” occurs in the 1723 List of the Lodge at the Swan Tavern, ffish Street Hill. *Q.C.A.*, x., 10.

“ Thomas Rogers ” is returned in the List for 1725 of the Lodge at Cock and Bottle in Little Britain. *Q.C.A.*, x., 44.

475. Thomas SMITH, Esq. 11th February, 1725.

Engine for rowing ships.

Title:

An engine to row ships ahead with oars against wind and tide, or stemming a current, carrying ships [of] war in or out of harbours or line of battle, usefull for fire ships or bomb vessells, also to get up with or leave any ship at sea when wind is wanting, convenient in many cases, especiall when ships have lose all their masts and jurmasts, for packetts and cruizers, and of service in suppressing pirates and smuglers.

See also Patents Nos. 411 and 650.

492. James Christopher LE BLUN. 1st June, 1727.

Weaving Tapestry.

Title:

The Art of weaving tapestry in the loom.

(A joint Stock Company formed to work the invention.)

See under Patent No. 423.

500. William CHAPMAN of London. 27th July, 1728.

Coach & Coach Harness Maker.

Two-Wheeled Chaise or Chair.

Title:

A chaise or chair with two wheels, to be drawn with one horse in or between a pair of shafts, which is so contrived as to quarter the roads by the person riding in it without let or hinderance, so as to keep exactly in the

coach track, by which means the person in such carriage may travel with more expedition, safety, and pleasure to himself and horse than anything of the like nature hitherto invented; that by means of the said invention, when the horse is upon a full trot, or any swifter motion the better, by only setting a foot upon a spring and pulling a small line for that purpose fixed to the carriage, the traveller may with ease immediately throw off either wheel into the coach track, as he shall find most convenient.

“W^m. Chapman Esq.” Steward at Grand Festival 28th April, 1737. *Q.C.A.*, x., 287.

And “William Chapman Esq.” named his successor as Steward 27th April, 1738. *Q.C.A.*, x., 302.

502. William WOOD Esq. Mine owner & 18th September, 1728.
Hardware Dealer on a large scale.

Manufacture of Iron.

(His son Francis Wood obtained a patent for)

Title:

Making Pig or Sow Iron in an Air Furnace with Pit Coal.

He assigned the same to Petitioner who hath made great improvements by the invention of

Title:

A new way and manner of performing the operation different from what has been heretofore ever practised.

Should be called

Title:

Raw iron, or iron metal prepared in an air furnace with pit coal.

Inside the cover of the Specification of this Patent is a reference as follows:—“See note inside cover of Patent 489 of 1727.”

On referring to Patent No. 489 of 1727, I find it was granted to Francis WOOD of Hampstead, Middlesex, Merchant, under the title “How to separate pig or sow iron from iron stone or iron mine, in an air furnace, by means of sea or pit coal,” with the express proviso that the grant shall not be assigned to or shared by more than five persons. The note is printed, and is in the following terms:—

“1727-8, Wood’s Patents Nos. 489 and 502. William Wood of ‘Wood’s pence’ fame, was a mineowner and hardware dealer on a large scale. The above patents are for smelting iron without pit coal in an air furnace. At his request the principal patent was extended to Scotland. About 1729, by unblushing bribery, he obtained a concession to supply a large quantity of iron to the Company of the Mines Royal, and with a view to imposing upon the public extensive works were carried out near Whitehaven in Cumberland, where a show of working could be conveniently carried on.

On 31st December 1729, Wood applied with others for a Charter, upon which he proposed to found a Joint Stock Company with a capital of £1,000,000. By this time a series of pamphlets had appeared in which the inventor’s process and products were characterized as mere imposture. The Law Officers reported to the Council against the Charter, but the Council ordered a public trial to be made at the Crown’s expense in the neighbourhood of London. Both sides appear to have been solicitous to secure the control of the experimental furnace, but whether the trial ever took place is uncertain.”

The above note is evidently a cutting from a newspaper or other publication, but no record as to the name of the publication or its date appears on the cutting.

B. Woodcroft's *Lives of Inventors*, collection A.B. 70/xx refers to Wood's Patent for the "Manufacture of Iron," and contains several statements and letters about these two Patents, which are alleged to be worthless, and requests that the Charter asked for should not be granted. These statements and letters are photographs from printed documents which presumably were sent to the Council against the required Charter.

Macaulay, in his Essay on Horace Walpole published in October, 1833, says that in the letters of Horace Walpole [1713 to 1797] to Sir Horace Mann, it is stated that "He (Walpole) cancelled Wood's patent in compliance with the absurd outcry of the Irish."

The name "William Woods" occurs in the 1730 List of the Lodge meeting at the Vine Tavern, in Holbourn. *Q.C.A.*, x., 169.

"Francis Wood" obtained the Patent No. 489 which is dated 21st January, 1727, but there is no reference to him in the Grand Lodge Records as being a member of the Craft.

505. John PAYNE of Bridgewater, Somerset. 19th December, 1728.

Machinery for obtaining motive power by ventilation of hot-houses &c., furnaces, coppers, boilers &c., manufacture of salt and iron.

Title:

A new engine, to be moved by pressure of the air into any building where large fires are made use of, as in glass-houses, or any other buildings for large works, where by those fires the air is rarified or the elasticity thereof within the building is in a great measure destroyed, which occasions a pressure of air from without through an avenue into the building of sufficient force to turn or drive a wheel, something like a large water wheel, that will grind corn, move large hammers, raise water, or performe any other worke that is done by the force of wind, water or horses &c.

Also,

1. A new and more advantageous method of applying the heat of fire made of pit coal, wood or turfe to a much greater advantage than has been hitherto practiced in any of the works of Great Brittain, by extending the heat of one and the same fire to two, three, or more furnaces, coppers, boilers, stills, or other vessells, for the melting of all sorts of metalls or metalline ore, and alsoe the drying of malt and meal, brewing or distilling, and likewise in refining of salt from salt rock, or making the same from brine, or seawater, by a new method of making and placing the pans, (which may be of metall or wood,) so that the same quantity of salt may be made much cheaper than can be done by the common methods; and further the fire or furnaces may be applyed to vitrifying the scoria or dross of divers metalls and ores, so as to shape or mould the same like bricks or tiles, or into other forms, fit for conveniences and ornaments in buildings.

Also,

2. A method by which pig or sow iron being put into fusion with divers ingredients will be brought into a state of malleability, and so drawn into bars by the common use of the forge hammer.

Mr. John Payne's name is included in the 1725 List of the Lodge at the Green Lettice in Brownlow Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 22.

See also Patent No. 555.

525. William BARTON. 17th December, 1730.

Harpsichords, Spinnets, &c.

Title:

To improve the use of harpsichords, spinnetts, and musical instruments used in most families of the nobility and gentry of this our Kingdome, he hath

after four years application and study, and with great expence, invented pens of silver, brass, steel, and other sorts of metall, which will improve the tone of the said instruments, and last many yeares without amendment, crow and raven quills, of which they are now made, requireing frequent change and trouble in repairing.

“William Barton” is returned in the 1730 List of the Lodge meeting at the Swan and Rummer in Finch Lane. *Q.C.A.*, x., 166.

A Bro. Barton, the Master of the House at the Sun in Hoopers Square, refused to deliver some Lodge property and the subject was referred to at the Quarterly Communication on the 23rd July, 1740.

528. William BUCKNALL, of St. Mary-le-Bow, Mdx. 18th May, 1731.
Gentleman.

Astronomical and nautical instrument.

Title:

Mathematicall machine in two parts, for the improvement of astronomy and navigation.

1. An instrument made up of 4 rings for taking nautical or other observations, and
2. A stool to sit upon while taking those observations, which will remain steady in a rocking ship etc.

“Wm. Bucknall Esq.” is entered as a member in the 1723 List of the Lodge meeting at the Rummors at Charing Cross. *Q.C.A.*, x., 8. And in the 1725 List of the same Lodge. *Q.C.A.*, x., 25.

531. Thomas RYLEY and John BEAUMONT. 26th June, 1731.

Food for Swine.

Title:

A certain new invented compound of wholesome ingredients for feeding of swine.

Comprising linsey, beachmast, and sunflower seeds, hemp seed and rape seed to be ground into flour and the oil expressed and separated the flour mixed and boiled with potatoes, parsnips and other garden stuff used for feeding cows. Also Indian corn.

“Tho: Ryley” is returned as a member in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at Denmarks head Cavendish Square. *Q.C.A.*, x., 30.

“Mr. Ryley” is entered as a member in the List for the same year of the Lodge meeting at Red Lyon at Richmond, Surry. *Q.C.A.*, x., 36.

551. Obadiah WYLD of London. 15th April, 1735.

Preventing paper, linen, canvas, etc., from flaming or retaining fire &c.

Title:

Making or preparing paper, linnen, canvass and such like substances, which will neither flame nor retain fire and which hath also a property in it of resisting moisture and damp.

Specification.

By mixing allom, borax, vitreol, or copperas dissolved and beat up with the pulpy substance before 'tis formed into paper, and when the paper is dryed to dip it into a thin size made warm, and the method whereby paper already made, as also linnen, canvass, and such like substances, are prevented from

flaming or retaining fire, is by dipping them into a strong infusion of the afore-said materialls in water or thin size made hot; but if only water is used in the first dipping they must when dry be dipped in a thin size; and the method whereby paper, linnen, canvass, and such like substances, so prepared as afore-said, are made to resist moisture and damp, is by mixing drying oyl with the size in the last dipping, or by pressing or laying the paper, linnen, canvass, and such like substances between other paper, paste boards, or cloths moistned with drying oyl, or by moisning the said paper, linnen, canvass, and such like substances with drying oyl.

“Obadiah Wylde” is returned as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge at White Hart without Bishopsgate. *Q.C.A.*, x., 171.

And “Obad^h. Wyld” is entered in the List for the same year as a Warden of the Lodge at Hoop and Griffin in Leadenhall Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 173.

555. John PAYNE of London.

13th January, 1736.

Steam boilers, condensing and distilling apparatus &c.

Title:

New or more advantagious method of expanding fluids, which being convey'd into a proper ignified vessell or vessells contrived for that purpose are immediately rarified into elastik impelling force sufficient to give motion to hydraulpneumaticall and other engines and machines for raising water and other uses; and also in brewing and distilling by a new form or make of the boyler, still, evaporating vessell or vessells, and other contingencies thereunto belonging.

Specification filed within two months of date of Patent.

1. Expanding fluids by dispersing water over a hot plate from which leads heated water or air.

Distributed by rotating or moving the plate and applied to give motion to engines and machinery.

2. Distilling by enlarging the surface and diminishing the depth. And by making the distilling vessel long instead of round.

3. The boiling water etc. is contained in tubes inserted in boiler and open at top.

A piston moved by external machinery is placed near the tube to increase the rapidity of flow through the tubes.

See under Patent No. 505.

568. John HARRINGTON, of St. Ann's, Mdx.

8th June, 1739.

Planting the root or plant called saloop, also the prickly pear or cochineal plant.

Title:

The method of planting and manufacturing the root or plant commonly called salop, machoatan, and also the planting or manufacturing the plant or fruit commonly called the prickly pear or cochineal plant.

To put in practice within any of our Colonies, in America the said invention.

John Harrington is entered as a Member in the 1730 List of the Lodge at Anchor and Baptist's Head in Chancery Lane. *Q.C.A.*, x., 160.

576. Joseph TAYLOR of Rygate, Surrey, Yeoman. 20th August, 1741.

Machinery for raising water.

Title:

A water machine, whereby a less power or force gives liberty for obtaining a greater without wasting any of the fluid employed in the operation; by which machine not only perpetual motion is effected but also a very great degree of force will be at liberty for perpetual service.

A wheel is rotated by water falling through a series of pipes to which water in an initial force is applied.

“Jos. Taylor Esq.” is returned as a member in the 1723 List of the Lodge meeting at the Rummors at Charing Cross. *Q.C.A.*, x., 8. And in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at the Rummer Tavern at Charing Cross. *Q.C.A.*, x., 26.

580. Mary HARRIS and Henry BURT 18th March, 1741.

Executors of Thomas HARRIS of Chelsey, Mdx.

Manufacture of Nitre.

Title:

Making saltpetre or nitre.

Specification.

Mix: 4 tons of slacked lime, sifted, with 1 ton of natural and artificial salts and brines calcined with wood, then removed and watered with urine, or a liquor from waste vegetable matter; slacked lime and wood or other ashes in equal parts added. After fermentation the mixture is drawn off and kept to water earth.

“Tho^s. Harris” entered as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge meeting at King’s Head in Fleet Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 180.

595. John GREGORY the Elder of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, Mdx. Timber Merchant. 16th January, 1744.

Engine for draining land &c.

Title:

An engine for draining of fens or marsh lands that are overflowed with water, to be worked sometimes by wind when that serves, and when that fails to be worked by horses; and the same engine, with a little alteration, will raise ballast out of rivers that are choaked with sand or gravel, and thereby make them navigable, for which purpose the said engine is to be worked with men and horses, and not by wind, and by a drag, contrived to work with pulleys, will clear the soil from any wharfs that are obstructed thereby.

Specification “Described in the plan thereof hereunto annexed.”

“John Gregory” entered as a member in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at Globe Tavern in Fleet Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 25.

609. William PERKINS. 6th September, 1744.

Machine for grinding corn, raising water &c.

Title:

A machine for grinding corn, drawing up great weights, as coals &c., and to force up water with a perpetual stream for the supply of citys, seats, &c.

1. For raising water:—a cillendar with a gudgeon and crank at each end, two wheels one at each end of the cillendar, six curved flaps to be placed round the cillendar between the two wheels. The points or axes at the corner of the flaps are to go through round holes in the wheels the other points are to go

through curved holes in the wheels, which will give the flaps room to open and shut; Two plates with holes for the gudgeons to run in. A curved plate fixed so as to touch the wheels and the edges of the flaps when open; a traverse with 2 points to fit into holes in the plate. To traverse there must be an iron bent like a rib to shut the flaps down, all enclosed in the tree of a pump, except the gudgeons.

2. The other part is a horizontal which is to work the former, to grind corn &c. and is:—A perpendicular axle tree with 8 or more or less sails each divided into two parts and kept perpendicular by chain or rope fixed to a weighted lever hinged to the axle tree.

“W^m. Perkins” returned as a member in the 1723 List of the Lodge meeting at the Queen’s Head Turnstile Holborn. *Q.C.A.*, x., 4. And as a Warden in the 1725 List of the Lodge at Green Lettice in Brownlow Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 22.

See Patent No. 658.

611. George GARRETT of Christchurch, 15th December, 1744.
Spitalfields, Mdx.

Manufacture of mixed fabrics.

For many years past I have manufactured silk and mohair yarn.

Title:

A new method of making goods of the same nature or kind, and equal in goodness and beauty to the above-said goods, by mixing a certain material of the growth or produce of these Kingdoms, manufactured here with silk instead of mohair yarn, which would employ some thousands of His Majesty’s poor subjects, and would in all respects answer the end of mohair yarn in making the before-mentioned goods, which said mohair yarn comes almost manufactured from Turkey.

Specification.

Take the finest combing wools, spin it from number 24 to 36 or as high as it can; thrown once 2 threads together and scoured, and then thrown again very hard. After that, wound and warped and put into the lomb for wharp. Wharp it to the count that will weigh about 18lbs at 110 yards, and shute it down with Italian sherbaffe, China or any other fine raw or thrown silk after weaving dried and cullendered and drest over a condraw.

“George Garratt” was nominated a Steward at the Festival 22nd April, 1740.

His name is spelt “Garrett” at the Festival on March 19th, 1741.

624. Thomas HARRIS, Fleet Street, London, 3rd November, 1747.
Watchmaker.

Obtaining motive power for raising water for mill work &c.

Title:

A certain engine or machine for raising water, extensively beneficial to the publick, which, by its wonderful operation demonstrates a much superior force than any ever yet made use of for draining low and marshy lands, emptying mines, supplying cities, towns, and gentlemen’s seats with water, extinguishing fire, preserving ships from perishing by sea by springing leaks, and carrying on all sorts of grinding, which machine or engine acts from a still body of water continually from an artful power without loss of time, and also without fire, wind, or horses.

Specification.

The said engine or machine does consist and is to be performed as is described in the modell or plan hereof hereunto annexed.

The drawing shows a water wheel for producing perpetual motion.

“Tho^s. Harris” entered as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge meeting at King’s Head, in Fleet Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 180.
See also Patent No. 965.

650. Thomas SMITH, Leatherseller and Citizen 6th December, 1749.
of London, of Christchurch, Spittlefields.
Medicinal Snuff.

Title:

A new compound medicinal powder, to be used in the nature of and which I called my medicinal snuff, and which I had with great labour, industry, application, study, and at a great expence, brought to a very surprizing degree of perfection, in the cure of capital disorders of the hypocondriac and meloncholly kind, as also of impostumatiuous agues in the head, ejection of polypusses, and various other and similar indispositions, as had been duly proved by a variety of successful experiments, and which I was ready to make appear by unexceptionable evidence when called upon by authority thereto.

Specification.

The medicinal snuff is composed of 2 ozs. knotted margerum, 6 ozs. marum, 2 ozs. acrimony, 1 lb. asser tobacco, 2 ozs. balm and 1 oz. lily comvally. Pulverized in a mortar together, then sifted off fine to be made snuff. 1 teaspoonful struck for a dose up the nose going to bed. Repeat it every 6 days as long as the patient sees convenient.

See Patents Nos. 411 and 475.

658. William PERKINS, of St. Magnus, London, 24th November, 1750.
Gentleman.
Machine for Grinding Corn, raising and forcing water etc.

Title:

A machine for grinding corn or for raising water to drain fenn lands, coal pits, mines, etc., and for forcing up water with a perpetual stream for extinguishing fire, and for supplying cities, seats, etc., to be worked either by wind, water, horses, or men.

Specification.

The nature of my said invention, and the manner in which the same is to be performed, is set forth and described in a draught or plan with the several explanations thereof, hereunto annexed.

A pump worked by hand and a perpendicular shaft with sails worked by wind power.

See under Patent No. 609.

659. John ELLIOTT of College Street, 22nd January, 1751.
Westminster, Gentleman
Printing flannels etc.

Title:

A particular art and method of printing, painting, staining, and colouring of flannells and other woollens.

Specification.

By models cutt according to the pattern intended, so many colours, so many pair of modellls fitted to each other; the flannells or other woollens intended to be printed, painted, stained, or coloured are laid between these models, and the colours then poured through the models.

“John Elliott” returned as a member in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at Bull head in Southwark. *Q.C.A.*, x., 28.

687. Samuel BUTLER and John WRIGHT, 22nd January, 1754.
City of London, Coach Makers.

Carriages.

Title:

Improvements of coaches and other wheel carriages, so as to render them more easy, safe, and convenient to those that are conveyed in them, and less burdensome to the horses that draw them: that we have lately invented and brought to perfection a spring of a peculiar kind, which will be abundantly lighter and less liable to disorder than any other for the above purposes hitherto used, and which spring is formed by two braces, united at the ends and divided in the middle by a steel worm in two triangles; and that, as we are the first and only contrivers and makers of the said new invented spring, and that the same will be of publick utility by rendering coaches and other wheel carriages more safe, easy, less liable to disorder, as consequently cheaper to His Majesty's subjects.

Specification.

A spring to be applied to coaches and all kind of wheel carriages, formed by two braces united at the ends and divided in the middle by a steel worm or circle into two triangles.

“John Wright” entered as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge meeting at Ship behind the Royal Exchange. *Q.C.A.*, x., 149.
See also Patent No. 709.

690. John LEWIS, of Plymouth, Devon, Merchant. 21st May, 1754.

Manufacturer of Pine Varnish.

Title:

New method of preparing, from the glutinous juices of the American pitch pine tree, a varnish of pine, and by the same process produce the finest varnish of pine for paying ships' sides and masts, and for preventing timber buildings from the ill effects of the weather and from decay.

Specification.

Common plantation tar, with one fourth of water added Distilled in a water-cooled distiller. To the distillate is added pure clarified turpentine and the whole heated until all the acid water is driven off. Then a quantity of oil from the original tar distillate is added to form a glutinous body.

“John Lewis, Bookseller,” returned as a member in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at Naggshead and Starr in Carmarthen, South Wales. *Q.C.A.*, x., 44.

“John Lewis” entered as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge meeting at the Queen's Head in Knaves Acre. *Q.C.A.*, x., 155.

706. Robert WALKER of St. Sepulchre, London. 29th October, 1755.
Dealer in Medicines.

Medicine.

Title:

New-invented medicine called Jesuits' drops which is not only an effectual remedy for the venereal disease, but also all obstinate and inveterate gleans or weaknesses in the reins or kidneys, and is likewise a certain remedy for purifying the blood in all scorbutic humours.

Specification.

Venice soap, balsams of Peru, Tolu, and Gilliad, Oil of Sassafras, Volatile Salt of Tartar, and of Chio or Strasburg Turpentine, of each equal quantities; Gum Guaiacum, and Balsam Capiri and Rectified Spirits of Wine.

Digested in Sand heat for five or six days.

“Robert Walker” returned as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge meeting at Bull head in Southwark. *Q.C.A.*, x., 156.

Also in the List for the same year of the Lodge meeting at Crown and Sceptres in St. Martin's Lane. *Q.C.A.*, x., 163.

Grant of £10 for Bro. Mathew Jones placed in his hands, 28th June, 1738. *Q.C.A.*, x., 304.

708. Thomas CLARK of Edinburgh, Shoemaker. 3rd March, 1756.
Leather Boxes and Cases.

Title:

Tobacco and snuff boxes, ink holders, pen cases, and spectacle cases, all made of leather, in a manner newly-invented by me.

Specification.

The leather is dressed with beeswax, rosin, pitch, linseed oil, and gum and then made into boxes or cases.

“Tho: Clark Esq.” entered as a member in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at Queen's Head at Bath. *Q.C.A.*, x., 38.

709. John WRIGHT of Lower Redbrooke, Glos. 27th May, 1756.
Refiner.
Furnace for Steam Boilers.

Title:

A new method of raising steam for working fire engines.

Specification and drawings.

Boiler of Special form fixed in a reverberatory furnace.

By a boiler of the shape and fixed in the manner above described it is apprehended a much larger surface of water is exposed to the fire than by any other method that has been yet practiced, and consequently a larger quantity of steam will be produced with a less consumption of fuel.

See also Patent No. 687.

727. George GORDON Coppersmith and Cuthbert 12th August, 1758.
GORDON Merchant, both of Leith, Midlothian.
Manufacture of dye colours.

Title:

A most valuable and beneficial dye, which we call cudbear; which said dye is of the most efficacious nature in dying crimson and purple, so as in great measure to supply the use of the Archelia or Spanish weed, and is intirely composed of materials the produce of Great Britain or of his Majesty's plantations.

Specification.

Lichen, muscus Rupibus Admiscens, or Coroloides, and Muscus Pyxidatus, cleansed and pounded and diluted with spirit of urine and spirit of soot, to which add quicklime. Digest together for 14 days.

“Geo: Gordon” returned as a member in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at Queens head in Knaves Acre. *Q.C.A.*, x., 22.

George Gordon deputed on 17th April, 1735, to constitute a Lodge at Lisbon, Portugal. *Q.C.A.*, x., 254.

759. John WOOD, of Wednesbury, Stafford, Ironmaster. 18th May, 1761.

Rendering Cast Iron Malleable.

Title:

A way of making maleable iron from pig or sow metal, commonly called cast iron by a method intirely new.

Abridgement of Specification.

The cast iron is refined and rendered pure, and its malleability is finished and perfected. . . . in closed vessells. The vessells are potts, moulds, or covers, baked or burnt . . . used wet, without baking.

Cast iron is placed in these vessells, mixed with fluxes, &c. Vessels are then placed in an air furnace, heated, until fused and run together into slag, and the iron brought into a tough and malleable state.

Preparatory.

- (1) The cast metal is heated in a common finery with a blast until brought near to a malleable state.
- (2) To the iron in the finery I sometimes add small pieces of malleable iron.
- (3) I melt the cast iron in an air furnace, reduce it to small grains, by pouring it into water, the granulated metal is mixed with fluxes.
- (4) I also take the cast iron formed into thin plates, these I break into small pieces and put them in the pots, moulds or covers.

"John Wood" entered as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge meeting at St. Paul's head in Ludgate Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 167.

Perhaps related to William Wood the patentee of No. 502, which see.

See also Patents Nos. 778 and 794.

778. John WOOD, of Bierley, York. Smith.

6th July, 1762.

Warming Pans.

Title:

Warming pan or engine for warming of beds.

Abridgement of Specification.

The body of the warming pan consists of 2 thin circular plates of metal made hollow and fastened together with their concave sides inwards, a small neck in the rim of the circle through which boiling liquid is introduced by means of a funnel, closed with a common cork. Made with a screw on the outside to receive a screwed handle.

See also Patents Nos. 759 and 794.

783. James KNIGHT of Bridgwood, Herts. Esquire. 13th December, 1762.

Manufacture of Iron.

Title:

A new method of making and drawing iron and other metals by a new kind of wood bellows for producing blast to heat or melt the metals, and a new method of forge harness, by which the iron and other metals, when heated, is drawn out.

Abridgement of Specification.

The pig iron is first made from the ore by a stream of air into a furnace. The air is produced by wood bellows, consisting of 2 or more cubical vessels, made heavy enough to drive out the air [? from the furnace] the pistons being supported by frames resting on the ground, rods moving under the pistons by springs pressing them against the sides of the vessels. Vessels suspended by chains.

Forge harness consists of screw engine or slitting press, cast iron helve and anvil block, with the hammers and anvils corresponding and a new kind of cogs and shammel plates for working forge bellows.

“Ja^s. Knight” returned as a member in the 1723 List of the Lodge at the Bell Tavern Westminster. *Q.C.A.*, x., 19. And in the 1735 List as “Jam: Knight” of the same Lodge. *Q.C.A.*, x., 34.

787. Nathan SMITH of Fenchurch St. London. 15th March, 1763.
Painter Stainer.

Composition to be used in the manufacture of floor cloths,
and machinery for applying the same.

Title:

A certain composition to be used as the groundwork in the making of painted floor cloths, devoid of all size, glew, or any other ingredient now used in the groundwork of painted floor cloths, and that I had likewise invented a certain mill, engine, or machine, to be used in applying such composition upon the cloths intended for floor cloths; that the composition thentofore used as the groundwork of painted floor cloths was of such a nature that it prevented the paint laid upon such groundwork from sinking into or uniting with such cloth; that the damps from water used in cleaning painted floor cloths, as then made in common, occasioned the size or glew used in the groundwork of such cloths to swell, grow soft, and by means thereof peel or scale off, so that the coth [? cloth] became bare, void of paint, and soon rendered unserviceable.

Abridgement of Specification.

The composition, rosin, pitch and spanish brown, equal quantities, and beeswax and lindseed oil according to the season of the year. Applied by horizontal rollers thorough which the cloth is drawn.

“Capt. Nath^l. Smith” returned as Master in the 1723 List of the Lodge at the Half Moon in the Strand. *Q.C.A.*, x., 8.

“Capt. Natt Smith” entered as a member in the 1725 List of the same Lodge. *Q.C.A.*, x., 26.

“Nath. Smith.” Witness to Bro. Henry Prichard’s signature. *Q.C.A.*, x., 56.

789. Robert LORD, of Nether Knutsford, Co. Chester. 11th April, 1763.
Gentleman.

Machinery for forming and repairing roads.

Machines for the forming and repairing of roads, which I call techtonodes.

Abridgement of Specification.

A triangular frame drawn by horses having two road wheels and a rear guiding wheel at the apex of the frame. The frame scrapes and carries cutters to cut the surface of the road being guided at the rear.

“Rob^t. Lord” entered as a Warden in the 1723 List of the Lodge at the Swan Tavern, fish Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 10.

Also entered as a Warden in the 1725 List of the same Lodge. *Q.C.A.*, x., 27.

“Robert Lord” returned as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge at the Three Tuns in Billingsgate. *Q.C.A.*, x., 176.

794. John WOOD of Wednesbury, Staffs. 26th November, 1763.
Iron Master. And Charles WOOD of Lowe Mill,
Nr. Whitehaven, Cumberland, Iron Master. (See 759.)

Manufacture of Malleable Iron.

Title:

A new method of making all kinds of fused or cast iron, as also scull or cinder iron, malleable with raw pitt coal, without charcoal and without blast of bellows, in an air furnace.

In addition to 759, the further process consists in breaking up the iron under stampers, moisten it with the lee of kelp and flourish it a second time and even a third time.

The flourished iron is again broken under the stampers and then it is fit for chaffing.

With the flourished iron we sometimes mix some of the purest scull or cinder iron, as also small pieces of old iron, which we work up together (by chaffing) into half blooms.

See Patents Nos. 759 and 778.

796. John GREEN of St. Martin's Court, London. 27th July, 1763.
Watchmaker.

Fire Alarms.

Title:

New invented Machine, called a fire alarm.

Abridgement of Specification.

Consists of a frame screwed against the side of the case, in which frame runs on the pivotts a barrel and great wheel, to which barrel hangs a weight. When the weight is released it causes a hammer to strike a bell and indicates where the fire is situated.

"Jn^o. Green" entered as a member in the 1723 List of the Lodge at the Half Moon in the Strand. *Q.C.A.*, x., 8.

805. John WEBB, of Steel Yard, All Hallows 8th March, 1764.
the Great, London, Merchant.

Crane.

Title:

Expedition crane for landing and shipping goods and merchandize, and other usefull purposes, whereby much labour and time will be saved, as well as many other advantages attending the same.

Abridgement of Specification.

The crane works with a horse rotating a vertical shaft, 2 gibs and 2 ropes which wind on one vertical barrell with two measures; as one goes up the other comes down, with a waggon or trunk to convey goods into the magazine, and a hopper on a balance to hold up the sacks &c. This machine may be made use of on the common wheel cranes on the keys working with the double principle of 2 gibbs.

"John Webb A.B." entered as a member in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at Naggshead and Starr in Carmarthen. *Q.C.A.*, x., 45.

"John Webb Esq." returned as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge meeting at Bear and Harrow in the Butcher Row. *Q.C.A.*, x., 178. He may have been the Governor of Upnor Castle in the year 1733.

28th March, 1764.

807. Thomas MORRIS } of Nottingham, Hosiers.
 John MORRIS }
 John BETTS } of Mansfield, Notts.
 William BETTS }

Stocking Frames.

Title:

An engine or machine on which is fixed a sett of working needles, which engine or machine is fixed to a stocking frame, for the making of oilet-holes, or network in silk, thread, cotton, or worsted, as mitts, gloves, hoods, aprons, handkerchiefs, and other goods usually manufactured upon stocking frames, by a method entirely new.

Abridgement of Specification.

The invention is particularly described in the plans hereof hereunto annexed.

The plan shows a machine and contains a description of the details of the parts and the mode of operation.

“Tho: Morris” Grand Warden in 1718. *Q.C.A.*, x., 196.

“Thomas Morris” Grand Warden in 1719 and 1721. *Q.C.A.*, x., 196.

“Tho. Morris” returned as a member in the 1723 List of the Lodge at the Goose and Grid Iron in St. Pauls Churchyard. *Q.C.A.*, x., 3.

“Thomas Morris” entered as a member in the 1725 List of the same Lodge. *Q.C.A.*, x., 22.

“Tho^s. Morris” entered in the 1730 List of the Lodge at Kings Arms on St. Margaret’s Hill, in Southwark. *Q.C.A.*, x., 188.

“Tho^s. Morris” formerly Grand Warden. Granted £5.5.0 towards his Releife. 15 Dec. 1730. *Q.C.A.*, x., 138.

810. Thomas FRYER, of Bishopsgate St. London, 10th April, 1764.
 Linendraper.

Thomas GREENOUGH } of St. Paul’s Churchyard, London,
 John NEWBERY } Booksellers.

Printing Fabrics.

Title:

A machine of a new construction, and in mixing and adapting colours to the use of the said machine for printing, staining, and colouring of silks, stuffs, linens, cottons, leather, and paper.

Abridgement of Specification.

By means of engraved copper cylinders, on which the colours are laid by smaller cylinders. The whole work of filling in, and stamping the impressions is performed by the joint assistance of springs, and cogs and rings turned by a wheel worked by horse, water or wind. The colours are extracted from the different dying drugs, and fixed by the help of oyl of vitriol, aqua fortis, aqua regia, spirits of salts, allum, cream of tartar, sal ammoniac, volatile and fixed alkalis, and quick lime.

“Tho^s. Fryer” entered as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge at King’s Arms in Cateton Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 176.

818. William WALKER & John CARASS 14th November, 1764.
of St. Luke, Mdx. Bridle Cutter.

Swimming Belt.

Title:

New marine collar and belt, which was so contrived as effectually to preserve persons in the water from sinking or being drowned.

A harness of leather to put the head through and having two inflated balls secured thereto and buckled round the waist. And a waistbelt buckled outside and having four inflated balls secured thereto and secured at the waist and between the thighs.

“ William Walker ” nominated a Steward at the Festival on
30th April, 1747.

822. John SCOTT of Edinburgh. Surveyor of Land. 23rd January, 1765.

Manufacture of glass and iron.

Title:

New art and mystery of making glass from one single material, without the help of any composition, which glass is capable of being blown and fashioned into vessels of use of any form and of a stronger quality than green glass; and also a new and different apparatus and furnaces for making this glass; and also my new art and mystery of making pig iron from one single material never before used by the makers and manufacturers of pig iron in Great Britain, with an apparatus and furnaces for making this pig iron altogether new and different from the blast furnaces now used for making of pig iron, after a new and different manner, and with far less expence, by the methods now used in making glass and pig iron.

Abridgement of Specification.

Whinstones or whinstone rocks are calcined to form glass and pig iron.

“ Jn^o. Scott ” entered as a Warden in the 1723 List of the Lodge at the Crown Tavern at Cripplegate. *Q.C.A.*, x., 7. Also as a member in the 1723 List of the Lodge at the Dolphin in Tower Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 16. And in the 1725 List of the same Lodge. *Q.C.A.*, x., 33.

830. William TAYLOR, of Nottingham, Frame Smith, 15th June, 1765.
and Francis JONES, of Nottingham, Hosier.

Knitting Machine.

Title:

Knitting Machine for making and knitting of stockings, stocking pieces, and other goods usually manufactured upon stocking frames.

Specification.

An orthographical draught of a machine and a description is appended to the specification.

“ W^m. Taylor ” returned as a member in the 1723 List of the Lodge at the Ship in Bartholomew Lane. *Q.C.A.*, x., 14. And in the 1725 List of the Lodge at Globe Tavern att Moore Gate. *Q.C.A.*, x., 31. And in the List for the same year of the Lodge at Spread Eagle in Chester. *Q.C.A.*, x., 39.

835. Thomas WILLIAMS of St. James, 3rd December, 1765.
Westminster, Mdx. Apothecary.

Medicine.

Title:

A new-invented restorative medicine, called essence of flowers of benzoin, or pulmonic drops.

Specification.

Flowers of benzoin digested with saffron and American pines in a spirituous menstruum, and purified for use.

“Thomas Williams” nominated as a Steward at the Festival on 18th April, 1745.

839. William MARTIN of Fenchurch Street, 6th February, 1766.
London, Hosier, and Ann ROBINSON,
of Woburn, Beds. Spinster.

Manufacture of Silk Mitts and Gloves.

Title:

Making and manufacturing of silk mitts and silk gloves.

Specification.

A plan or draft of the mitts and gloves; and the method of working with a description is annexed.

“William Martin” entered as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge at the Sash and Cocoe Tree in Upper Moorefields. *Q.C.A.*, x., 165.

868. John HOPKINS. 11th February, 1767.
Thomas BECKETT, and
Christopher HENDERSON, London, Merchant.

Medicine.

Title:

A new-invented medicine prepared in part chemically, and compounded of several ingredients, now commonly called by the name of the Beaumede Vie.

Specification.

Cordial, balsamic and stomachic ingredients, infused in a cephalic menstruum for seven days, to which is added hepatic, deobstruent, and nervous ingredients, all mixed and digested together for a month in balneo mariæ, in a sufficient quantity of strong mountain wine, after which the balsamic liquor is strained off, and administered.

“John Hopkins” returned as a member in the 1730 List of Lodge at Rose Tavern without Temple Bar. *Q.C.A.*, x., 179.

877. Henry HARDY of St. Luke, Mdx. 2nd June, 1767.
Framework Knitter.
Thomas DAVIES, of New Bond Street, London, Hosier.
and Andrew DORILA, of St. Luke, Mdx. Framework Knitter.

Application of stocking frame to the manufacture of plain,
cut and figured fabrics.

Title:

A method, entirely new, of making and manufacturing velvet, shag, and brocaded, silks, plain, cut, figured, and in gold and silver upon a stocking frame.

A plan and description of the alterations and additions in the stocking frames is annexed.

"Tho: Davies" returned as a member in the 1725 List of the Lodge at Spread Eagle in Chester. *Q.C.A.*, x., 38.

"Tho^s. Davies" entered as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge at Cross Keys in Henrietta Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 169.

911. William COLE of St. Mary Lambeth; Surry. 16th December, 1768.
Engine Maker.

Chain pump for ships and other purposes.

Title:

A chain pump entirely upon a new construction, for raising water out of ships, or draining of lands, or for any other purpose where a chain pump can be applied or made use of.

No Specification or drawing filed.

"William Cole." £10 granted to Bro. Mathew Jones placed in his hands 28 June 1738. *Q.C.A.*, x., 304.

£15.15.0 granted to Bro. William Cole and placed in the hands of Bro. Thomas Jeffreys on 7th January, 1741.

914. William JAMES of Bank Buildings, London, 19th January, 1769.
Gentleman, and Nathaniel MASON of
St. Botolph, Aldgate, London, Gentleman.

Wheel Carriages.

Title:

Great improvements in the wheel carriages of the coach kind, to wit, coach, charriot, landaw, chaise, or by whatsoever other denomination such carriages may be termed, called, or known, which they, the said William James and Nathaniel Mason, and many other persons, have seen and made trials thereof, apprehend will be of great benefit and advantage to the subjects of this realm, and great ease to the cattle employed to draw the same, by means of the light weight, durability, as well as velocity of the motion thereof.

Abridgement of Specification.

A straight bar for locking the wheels, and a box for the naves of the axle tree to run in, are described.

"William James," entered as a member in the 1730 List of Lodge at Queen's Head at Hoxton. *Q.C.A.*, x., 175.

958. John JOHNSON, of Ludlam, Norfolk, Tanner. 23rd May, 1770.
Tanning Hides.

Title:

A new method of tanning leather.

The hides are treated with vitriol.

"Jn^o. Johnson" entered as a member in the 1723 List of the Lodge at the Swan Tavern ffish Street Hill. *Q.C.A.*, x., 10.

Entered as a Warden in the 1723 List of the Lodge at the Red Lyon in Tottenham Court Road. *Q.C.A.*, x., 20.

"John Johnson" entered as Master in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at Kingshead in Ivy Lane. *Q.C.A.*, x., 23.

"Jn^o. Johnson" entered as a member in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at King Hen: Head, Seven Dyalls. *Q.C.A.*, x., 43.

"John Johnson" entered as member in the 1730 List of the Lodge at Coach & Horses in Maddock's Street, Hanover Square. *Q.C.A.*, x., 150.

959. John SMITH, of Birmingham, Warwick, Jeweller. 25th May, 1770.

Manufacture of Buttons &c.

Title:

A new method of making and manufacturing gold and silver buttons and studs, set with stones, pebbles, cornelians, paste, and glasse, by making the cups or bottoms thereof out of one intire solid thick piece of gold or silver, without any sodering, with a new letter link to the buttons to distinguish them from the buttons of other makers; and by repeated trials and experiments the said method has been found to answer much better and to be done sooner and with less expence, than the common method now in use.

Abridgement of Specification.

Buttons are formed by means of a steel punch and steel die such as illustrated.

"Jno. Smith" entered as a Warden in the 1723 List of Lodge at the Griffin in Newgate Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 6. Also returned as a Warden in the List for the same year of Lodge at the Ship in Bartholomew Lane. *Q.C.A.*, x., 13. Also as a member in the List for the same year of Lodge at Bens Coffee House in New Bond Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 14. Also as a member in the List for the same year of Lodge at the Dolphin in Tower Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 16. Also as a Warden in the 1725 List of Lodge at Globe Tavern att Moore Gate. *Q.C.A.*, x., 30. Also as a member in the 1725 List of Lodge at Dolphin in Tower Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 33.

"John Smith" entered as a member in the 1730 List of Lodge at Queens Head in Knaves Acre. *Q.C.A.*, x., 155. Also as a member in the List for the same year of Lodge at Vine Tavern in Holbourn. *Q.C.A.*, x., 168. Also as a member in the List for the same year of the Lodge meeting at Castle and Legg in Holbourn. *Q.C.A.*, x., 172. Also as a member (twice mentioned) in the List for the same year of the Lodge meeting at Hoop and Griffin in Leadenhall Street. *Q.C.A.*, x., 174. Also as a member in the List for the same year of the Lodge meeting at Three Tuns at Billingsgate. *Q.C.A.*, x., 176.

As John Smith is a somewhat common name and the references are to transactions in London Lodges some forty to forty-seven years previously, probably they do not refer to this Patentee.

965. Thomas HARRIS, of St. Sepulchre's, London, 21st July, 1770.
Watch Maker.

Watches.

Title:

A new fancy watch, with an improvement on the pendulum and other parts of the work, in order to gain power and time.

Abridgement of Specification.

The middle of the dial plate, being painted, will point the time, because it goes round.

The middle may be a standard, and the figures go round.

The pendulum may be applied in conjunction with the lever to augment power or force, to quench fires, to drain land &c.

See under Patent No. 624.

973. Thomas BAILEY, of Moorfields, London, 7th December, 1770.
Saddler.

Saddles.

Title:

Making and manufacturing saddles and housings, or saddle cloths, so as the same shall greatly exceed in beauty, convenience, and durability any saddles and housings, or saddle cloths, made and manufactured on any other construction or principle.

Abridgement of Specification.

Paste glew or otherwise fasten the two parts together and paint, japan, lacquer, varnish, or gild the outside cloth in imitation of lace, embroidery, fringe, skins of wild beats, or with arms, crests, cyphers, or any other devices, or in imitation of any other thing whatsoever, according to the fancy of the owner or purchaser.

“Tho^s. Bailey” granted by Grand Lodge Ten Guineas for his Releife on 6th April, 1736. *Q.C.A.*, x., 270.

974. Thomas CRAWFORD, of London, Merchant. 18th December, 1770.

Engine for winding silk, thread, and yarn.

Title:

An engine for winding silk, thread, and yarn, and which would wind and frame silk at one motion and at the same time, and would also wind silk, thread and yarn single, double, and in several threads together at one and the same time, the construction and power of which engine far exceeded, any invention hitherto discovered, as well by preserving the finest silk, threads, or yarn from breaking, and by preventing all manner of obstructions which could arise from the several threads entangling with each other.

Abridgement of Specification.

A drawing of the invention, with an explanation and Description of the Trammig or Doubling Engine, are annexed to the Specification.

“Tho: Crawford” entered as a member in the 1725 List of the Lodge meeting at Red Lyon Tottenham Court Road. *Q.C.A.*, x., 36.

“Tho^s. Crawford” entered as a member in the 1730 List of the Lodge meeting at Bear and Harrow in the Butcher Row. *Q.C.A.*, x., 178. And as a Warden in the List for the same year of the Lodge meeting at Castle in Highgate. *Q.C.A.*, x., 186.

My grateful thanks are due to all those who assisted me in the preparation of this paper. To Bro. Songhurst for suggesting that I might deal with the early members of the Craft as patentees; to Bro. Lionel Vibert for valuable suggestions whereby this paper could be made more interesting than as originally written; to Bro. Gordon P. G. Hills, the Librarian of Grand Lodge, for laying open to my inspection all the information he had touching on patents and monopolies; to the officials of the Patent Office Library; and to the Secretary and assistants of the Public Record Office. To all these I tender my sincere thanks for much kindness and valuable assistance and for the help they ungrudgingly gave me at all times in the compilation of this paper.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Golby for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. W. K. Firminger, seconded by Bro. B. Telepneff; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. David Flather, Ivor Grantham, C. C. Adams, J. O. Manton, and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. W. K. FIRMINGER writes:—

In moving a vote of thanks to Bro. Golby, said: I have found Agnew's *Protestant Exiles from France* a useful book to refer to for particulars as to the families, dates of naturalisation, occupations, etc., of some of the brethren with French sounding names on the Grand Lodge MS. Lists. Bro. Le Blon was a case in point. Bro. Golby appears to have passed over Bro. Isaac De Chaumette of the Lodge at Freemasons' Coffee House, New Belton St., whom Agnew credits with a Patent dated 12th August, 1721, for canons and machines for dealing with smoking chimneys. Some of the Lodges on the lists were of a rather exclusive character. The Bear at Bath, for instance, would not be likely to have included Thomas Clarke (No. 708), a shoe maker of Edinburgh, nor the Rummer at Charing Cross Joseph Taylor (No. 576), Yeoman. As to Bro. William Bucknall Esq^r. of the latter Lodge, there was an assistant of that name in the Masons' Company in 1731. Talking of Bro. Desaguliers, I recently came across the following extract from a youthful squib of George Horne (afterwards Bishop), entitled *Theology and Philosophy in Cicero's Somnium Scipionis*, 1751: "But the most elegant account of the matter [attraction] is by that hominiform animal Benjamin Martin, who having attended Dr. Desaguliers' fine, raree gallantry show for some years in the capacity of a turnspite, has, it seems, taken it into his head to set up for a philosopher". Benjamin Martin, a scientific instrument maker, is a person of more importance than this piece of malice would lead one to suppose. I believe that in No. 428, Bro. Golby has correctly identified John Martyn the patentee with John Martin the Junior Warden of the Lodge at the Golden Lyon, Dean St. (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 44). John Martyn practised medicine in the city and afterwards at Chelsea. He was for some time professor of Botany at Cambridge. In the "1723" List of the Horne Lodge we have "Mr. Tho. Wright". He is I take it, the Scientific Instrument maker who founded a firm in Fleet Street which became in turn: Wright; Cole; John Traughton; Edmund Traughton; Traughton and Simms.

We have in *A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., 102, a note by Bro. Daynes on the subject of John Senex's admission to the Royal Society. He was proposed by Halley, recommended by Desaguliers and the President, on June 20th, 1728, and elected on the 27th, and admitted on July 4th. On the first occasion he exhibited his two globes, etc., etc. In regard to No. 727, the George Gordon concerned with the erection of a Lodge in Portugal is described by *St. James' Gazette* as a "Mathematician". The records of the Mathematical Society are, I believe, in the possession of the Royal Astronomical Society, and from them we could perhaps glean information as to brethren described as "Mathematicians", e.g., the Erasmus King, stated by Anderson to have been present at the initiation of our "Royal Brother FRIDERIC". In regard to 807, the Thomas Morris of the Goose and Gridiron Lodge is described by Anderson as a stone-cutter, and from Bro. Williams' paper on the Goose and Gridiron (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvii., p. 44) I infer that Bro. Morris was the keeper of the Tavern. One advantage of Bro. R. Rawlinson's lists of the members of the Lodges to which he was attached is that he usually gives the trades or occupations of the members. William Martin (No. 839) occurs on Rawlinson's list of members of the Sash and Cocoa Tree Lodge, but either Rawlinson has not recorded Martin's occupation or else in the

copy I made of the list I have accidentally not copied the entry in full. As to No. 551, on p. 89 of Bro. Songhurst's volume of Grand Lodge Minutes, we find a Lodge which for some time met at the Bishopsgate Coffee House successfully petitioning, on November 26th, 1728, for a constitution at a future date and immediate admission to Grand Lodge. The names of the officers of this unconstituted Lodge are given as follows (*Q.C.A.*, x., 89):—

Gerald Hatley.	Master.	
Joseph Burr		} Wardens.
Obediah Wynne		

The Lodge which recommended the petition was one which met at the Magpie, Bishopsgate Without. According to the so-called "1730" MS. List it is removed to the White Hart in the same locality, and among its members is (*ibid*, p. 171) "Mr. Obadiah Wylde". According to the same list (*ibid*, p. 173) the Lodge formerly at the Coffee House is meeting at the Hoop and Griffin in Leadenhall Street, and its officers are given as:—

Gerald Hatley.	Ma ^r .	
Mr. Joseph Burt (<i>sic</i>)		} Ward ^s .
Mr. Obad ^h . Wyld		

Burr Street in Wapping commemorates a prosperous family of merchants. The Burrs, Vanhufflens (one of them a member of the White Hart Lodge), and Delavals were very closely connected by inter-marriage, and were wealthy Bishopsgate merchant folk. The widow of Sir Thomas Delaval, M.P. for Harwich—a Burr by birth—was the third wife of the "Princely" Duke of Chandos. In a letter to her friend, Dean Swift, Madame Delane, then Mrs. Pendarves, speaks with implied disdain of the "poor Duchess" who had been bred at Burr Street in Wapping. The Duchess is said to have had £40,000 as her dot! As to the John Webb of the Lodge at the Bear and Harrow, he is, I believe, the eldest son of Sir John Webb, Bart., of Odstock, and brother-in-law to Viscount Montague, and Lord Teynham of the same Lodge, and let me add to James, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, and Charles Radcliffe, and also to an energetic Mason, the first Earl of Waldegrave. The John Webb I am referring to died in 1745, and therefore cannot be the patentee (No. 805) the Mason. Thomas Crawford was, I believe, the landlord of the Bear and Harrow Lodge.

Bro. Golby has given us in scientific form the evidence which the MS. Lists of names supply, and I am sure that everyone who understands the importance of biographical detail in Masonic studies will be most grateful to him for the most interesting paper he has read to us to-night.

Bro. CECIL ADAMS writes:—

I am afraid that the title of Bro. F. W. Golby's paper does not arouse feelings of enthusiasm. Patents are notoriously dry documents, and the subject is not one which is approached with much pleasurable anticipation. In view of these misgivings, it is delightful to find that the author has given us some material which is both interesting and useful. The historical notes on the subject are full of interest, and any paper which tells us more of the activities of the Brethren mentioned in our early Grand Lodge Minute Books, is of the greatest utility.

One is amazed at the diverse and curious inventions of the early eighteenth century, but Bro. Golby could probably tell us that the inventor of to-day is no less ingenious.

The other point which struck me forcibly on first reading the paper is the simplicity of many of the names. It is unfortunate from the point of view of the historian that so many Brethren of this period had names such as Thomas Smith and John Taylor; it does make the work so difficult!

On reflection, one sees that it is because of these common names that there are so many coincidences between Bro. Golby's list of Patentees and his list of Freemasons, and in these cases there is little evidence that the two individuals are identical. There are really two categories of persons in the table. Those with common names are in the first. There is really no reason to suppose, in the majority of cases, that there is any identity, and it is doubtful whether convincing proof of identity will ever be forthcoming. The rare names are in the second category, and in these cases the Patentees and the Freemason are probably the same person. I have little doubt in my mind that Obadiah Wild, who took out a patent for fireproofing paper in 1735, is the same as Obadiah Wyld, the Freemason.

Very wisely, the author has given us a complete catalogue of coincidences and left us to form our own opinions. This is as it should be, as in the course of time more evidence may be found to prove or disprove the identities.

In the hope of finding such evidence, I have examined the Great Index of the Society of Genealogists, but without much success. Naturally, the references there are to such events as a man's birth, marriage and death, and these do not tend to help his identification as a member of the Craft. Only three entries are worth recording, and none of these definitely identify the Patentee with the Freemason. They may, however, prove to be steps in that direction should other evidence be forthcoming.

All of these are from the Bishop of London's Register of Marriage Licences, and are as follows:—

- 410.¹ Thomas Holland, clerk, wid. 33, of St. Bride, London, married at St. Martin, Vintry, on the 12th May, 1709.
- 423 & 492. James Christopher Le Blon, wid. of St. Martin in the Fields, married at Kensington, on the 8th August, 1733.
- 551. Obadiah Wyld, of St. James, Garlickhith, married at Christ Church, Spittlefields, on the 20th October, 1740.

I am sorry to confess that I have found nothing more helpful, and hope that others will be more successful.

Our thanks are due to Bro. Golby for a paper of considerable value, and we must congratulate him on the success of his venture.

¹ Serial number of the Patent, taken from the text of the paper.

BRO. GEO. BULLAMORE writes:—

There is a belief that the Freemasons of the early part of the eighteenth century were abnormally inventive, and that their hypersthenic brains rapidly transmitted a simple ceremony of one degree into a range of ceremonies comprising the three Craft degrees, the Royal Arch, Mark Mason, Knight Templar, Rose Croix and most of the other degrees. It was startling, therefore, to find that the first patent of this era discovered by the industry of Bro. Golby was that of Bro. John Shallcross for a form of clay tile for covering houses; the said tile being identical in form, so far as I am able to judge, with that used by the Ancient Romans. Perhaps the invention of degrees was of a similar quality.

Bro. Golby has pointed out that the Masonic patentees account for ten per cent. of the total list, but I think it possible that the high percentage is due to the Freemasons and the patentees being drawn from the same class of the population, the class which could find money for other than the bare necessities of life. The trades and professions of the mason patentees read very like a list of members of a Masonic Lodge, but it is very probable that the trades and professions of the other ninety per cent. have this same resemblance.

While there may have been some return for a patent snuff that cured impostumatious agues in the head, for hydraulo-pneumaticall engines, or even for techtonodes, I am surprised that none of the patentees have been found to have been the receivers of monetary help at a later period. One expects the believers in perpetual motion to finish up in the asylum or the workhouse, and perhaps that is why their membership of the Craft is traceable before they became patentees, but not after. Or additional biographical details may now be forthcoming.

Bro. J. O. MANTON writes:—

Bro. F. W. Golby has attempted a wide and interesting task in his endeavour to identify early Patentees as members of the Masonic Fraternity. To be of real value, identification in each case should be established by, at least, some reasonable evidence. A name in a list of members of a Masonic fraternity between 1700 and 1720, which corresponds with the name of a contemporary patentee, alone, is of no real value, and particularly so if the patentee is domiciled outside the London area and the counterpart name is in a list of members of a London Lodge. Bro. Golby's difficulty in this points to the urgent desirability of Provincial Brethren compiling and publishing histories of their pre-union Lodges, which might include genealogical and other information, now comparatively, to be easily gathered, but which in the lapse of time may be lost. Complete lists of members of the Lodge, although recorded in most cases in the registers of the supreme Grand Lodge, might usefully be repeated in local publications—and in some cases amended! The lists should be complete.

The first name of the patentees mentioned—"367, John Shallcross"—was immediately connected in my mind with the Shallcross family in the Peak of Derbyshire, whose pedigree is traced back to the reign of Edward II. (see Jewitt's *The Reliquary*, v. 6, p. 150). The Christian name John persisted (as was usual with a family Christian name in olden days) from the predecessor (not dated) of John Shallcross of 1377 to John Shallcross, a High Sheriff of Derbyshire, of Shallcross, 2½ miles from Chepel-en-le-Frith, who died in 1733. The "High Peake Cole Mines in Darbysheire"—so inscribed on a Derbyshire seventeenth century Trader's token—belonged to the family. John Shallcross, the latest of the family, may reasonably be credited as the patentee of the overlapping strips of timber as a covering against "all manner of wind and weather", for indeed the Chapel-en-le-Frith is a bleak place. Such an extraneous item is definite, but yet not sufficient to connect the individual with the Lodge in Cavendish Street in 1723. There is no record of the members of the Virgins Inn Lodge, No. 104, Derby, 1732-1777, nor does the name 'Shallcross' appear in the list of members of the Derbyshire Lodge, 106A, Chesterfield, 1762.

502. 1727-8, Wood's patents No. 489, 502. "Wood of 'Wood's pence' fame" was born July 31st, 1671.

In 1722, the Duchess of Kendall, mistress of George 1st, received a patent for the right of coining copper money for Ireland, which she sold to William Wood for £10,000. Halfpence and farthings were to be coined during a term

of fourteen years at the rate of thirty pence from one pound of copper, and the total weight coined was not to exceed 360 tons.

The coinage commenced in 1723, "near the Seven Dials". In 1725 Wood resigned the patent for a pension of £3,000 for eight years. He died in London, August 2nd, 1730, so only enjoyed his Irish pension five years. He was a Wolverhampton man. His wife was Mary Molyneaux, of Witton Hall, Staffordshire.

830. William Taylor, of Nottingham, Francis Smith and Francis Jones, of Nottingham, Hosier. Patent knitting machine, 15th June, 1765.

A William Taylor, member of the Nottingham R.A. Chapter "Justice", No. 68, 1790 ("Initiated 20th August, 1782"), was described as a Linen Draper.

Another name in the list of members of the Nottingham R.A. Chapter—now the Chapter of Justice, No. 253, Derby—is "John Need Esq". Initiated in the senior Lodge, Nottingham, 15th Sept., 1789. Exalted 9th April, 1793, age 34 years", Linen Draper. He was a son of Samuel Need, of Nottingham, with whom Jedidiah Strutt (forbear of the present Lord Belper), patentee of the Derby ribbed stocking, entered into partnership.

In 1771, Richard Arkwright—the reputed inventor of the 'Spinning Jenny', which invention was by a poor reed-maker named Thomas High, of Leigh, Lanc., where Arkwright then followed the occupation of a barber (see *Record of Court of King's Bench*, 25th June, 1785)—required capital to extend his exploitation of High's invention, then assumed to be his own. He was introduced to Need and Strutt, and then a triple partnership ensued. Cotton mills with water power were then established at Cromford, and at Milford and Belper in Derbyshire. Before Arkwright was dispossessed of his patents he had become wealthy, the Lord of the Manor at Cromford, and Sir Richard Arkwright, Bart.

The Strutts of Belper have appeared in the list of members of "the mother-Lodge", the Tyrian Lodge, No. 253, Derby. The local Lodge, "the Beaureper", No. 787, Belper, was projected mainly to qualify the Marquess of Hartington (later 8th Duke of Devonshire), as an Installed Master, preparatory to his installation as Provincial Grand Master of Derbyshire. The ceremonies followed each other, the first on June 15th, 1859, the second on June 16th, 1859.

This last item is to illustrate the possibility of historical items, small though they may be, being garnered for preservation by writers of local Masonic histories, and their value to such a Masonic student as Bro. F. W. Golby.

BRO. REGINALD JAMES writes:—

The early "monopoly" patents of Elizabeth contain clauses very like those in the Charters to the Great London Companies in certain cases. But, in my opinion, the resemblance is quite illusory. The *real* start of the present-day patent system is to be found in the Monopoly Policy of Lord Cecil in the reign of Elizabeth. The early grants of that date are definitely for the setting up of new industries, and some of them contain clauses for the instruction of apprentices. If your friend wants to pursue the matter further he will find it adequately dealt with in the *Law Quarterly Review*, vols. xii., xvi., and xxxviii., by a man named Hulme, and for the setting up of the Patent Office in Edmund's *Law of Patents*, 1897.

The Statute of Monopolies was really a dead letter for practical purposes for nearly 100 years, and patent actions were tried before the Privy Council.

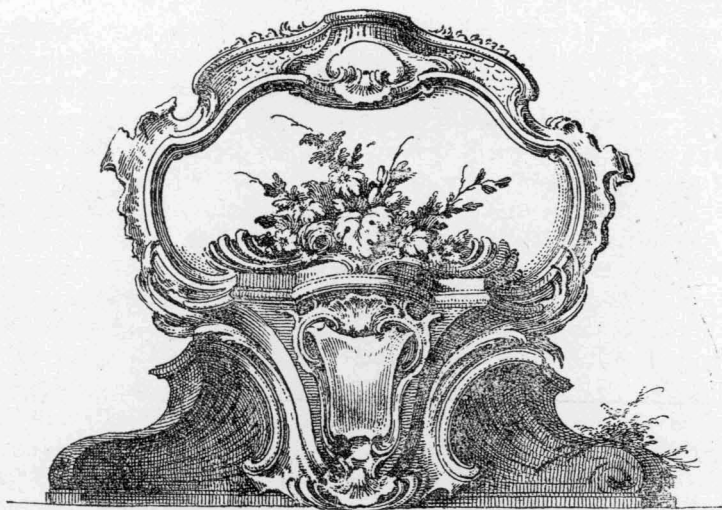
Bro. H. A. MACMIN writes:—

Vol. xiii (1933) of the *Journal* of the Chartered Surveyors' Institution contains, at p. 203, an interesting and very long advertisement which appeared in the London *Evening Post* on 16th August, 1727, in which Desaguliers recommends a patent for water pipes made in clay, taken out by William Edwards, of Monmouth. He states that he had subjected them to a severe test. "The experiment having been tried before me and so well approved of, that I recommend them to be used in all buildings and aqueducts to convey water". The pipes are to be had of Mr. Aaron Mitchell, Potter, of Vauxhall.

The whole thing rather suggests that Desaguliers had more than a merely scientific interest in the matter. Perhaps there may be a similar explanation of the Patent with which he is associated in the present paper.

Bro. GOLBY writes, in reply:—

I am grateful to the various Brethren who have commented on my paper, and particularly to Bros. Dr. Firminger and Manton for further suggested identifications. Bro. Manton refers to Arkwright, but his patent was taken out in 1771, which lies just beyond the period I selected. The additional details furnished by Bro. Cecil Adams from the Register of the Bishop of London indicate another source which might be helpful to increase the number of identifications. I am glad of the historical information furnished by Bro. Reginald James, and can only thank one and all for the very kind reception accorded to the paper in Lodge and subsequently.



FREEMASONRY IN FRANCE: 1725-1735.



Our May Meeting, at the conclusion of the second part of Bro. Moss' paper, when proposing the Vote of Thanks, I expressed our gratitude to him for a very valuable contribution to our *Transactions*. I would wish now to amplify the remarks I then made. It was a paper in which, I think, many of us will agree that, if the writer has not completely established the identity of Lord Arran and Weston with "Harnouester", he has put forward a theory which will hold the field until research places us on a stronger scent. The publication of the Calendars of the Stuart Papers at Windsor has most unfortunately stopped short before reaching the period in which we are interested. If the Hist. MSS. Commission take up the calendaring of those papers once again, we may learn a good deal more about Arran and Weston, Charles Radcliffe, and the Chevalier Ramsay. Yet so far as the publication of the Stuart Calendars has gone, we have references to Hector Maclean. In regard to John Story Nevil Maskelyne, I may perhaps be pardoned if I refer to an epitaph that once stood on the tombstone of my own grandfather, Thomas Firminger, LL.D., not far from the grave of Charles Lamb in the Churchyard of Edmonton, which records that "he was the only assistant astronomer in the Royal Observatory at Greenwich with Nevile Maskelyne, LL.D., Astronomer Royal from the year 1799 until the year 1808". (Cansick: *Collection of Curious Epitaphs of Middlesex*, p. 203.) Maskelyne himself (born in 1732) was appointed Astronomer Royal in 1765, about three years after my grandfather's birth. If Lalande identified him with a Mason active in 1725, Lalande in the year of the publication of the *Encyclopedia* article, 1777, must have pictured Maskelyne as a rather aged gentleman.

I fancy that it would be in connection with Antony Walsh, the owner of the ship *La Doutelle* [the *Du Teillay*?], on which Prince Charles embarked at Nantes on July 2nd, 1745, we may hear more of the Heguerty family. It was through a person signing himself Oheguerty that d'Argenson was kept informed of the doings of the Jacobites in Britain in 1746. See Mr. R. F. Bell's *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton*, p. 516 and p. 526.

Bro. Moss has mentioned Pierre Clement, the Swiss pastor, who wrote a play, *les Fri-maçons*. We find Clement among those who were present at the initiation of Lord Chewton, the eldest son of the Earl of Waldegrave, according to *Saint James Evening Post* for September 20th, 1735, at a meeting of the Lodge de Bussy in the Rue de Bussy at which the Second Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Waldegrave (Ambassador at Paris) were present. Daruty tells us that Clement was a tutor in the Earl's family. Teder has propagated the legend that mis-represents the Second Duke of Richmond as a Roman Catholic, and succeeded in queering the pitch for French students of Masonic history. It has been stated that the Duke presented a petition for mercy to the ill-fated Earl of Derwentwater, his cousin, but in so doing disassociated himself from its prayer. I trust there is no truth in that story. Montesquieu was an intimate friend of the Earl of Waldegrave, and it may have been through the Earl's introduction that the great writer and subsequently Ramsay were introduced to Masonry in the Horn Lodge at Westminster. The Earl, a grandson of James II. and the

Duke of Marlborough's sister, Arabella Churchill, was husband to a sister of the 3rd Earl of Derwentwater's wife. See the genealogical table, *A.Q.C.*, xlvii., p. 219.

Bro. Moss' reference to Yorkshire Masons shows what a rich harvest can be reaped even in a thinly sown field of research by the employment of Bro. Moss' biographical and genealogical methods. It would never do for a would-be historian of Freemasonry in England's largest county to pass over Bro. Moss' paper. He refers to Lady Anne Radcliffe, sister to Edward, the Second Earl of Derwentwater, who married Sir Philip Mark Constable, Bart., 3rd Bart. of Everingham, near York, and says his son Mark had succeeded by 1710. In *Cosins' List of Nonjurors*, p. 136, we find Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham, and in the Minutes of the Jacobite Lodge of Rome, September 16th, 1733, we read:—

“N.B. That it being contrary to the laws of Masonry for a member to absent himself after due warning, it has been thought proper by the Grand Master and the Lodge to fine Sir Mar. Constable, M. Fitzmorise,¹ M. Le Wick, in their share of the Supper”. John Cotton. Master.

John Cotton had been “out in the '15”.

As to the Tempests of Stella Hall, Jane, the heiress of that family, married the Lord William Widdrington, who with two of his brothers, was “out” with the Earl of Derwentwater in the 'Fifteen. The Charles Fairfax, who was a high officer of the Lodge of York in 1714, was, I believe, a member of the Roman Catholic family of Fairfaxes of Elmley, whose lineage and connection with Charles Radcliffe's wife Bro. Moss has set before us. Although Bro. Whytehead did much to recover the names of old York Masons, what we still require is a careful survey, such as Bro. Moss would give us, of the facts we know, side by side with a history of the religious and political history of the City and County. We find at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth many representatives of famous Roman Catholic Jacobite families in the Craft. “Edward Swinbourn and James Swinbourn, both of them Papists, and Brothers to Sir William of Capheaton: both found Guilty”, writes Patten, the King's Evidence historian, of the “Fifteen”. Sir John Swinburne (grandfather of the poet) is Prov. G. Master of Northumberland in 1807. “Ralph Standish of Standish, a Papist in Lancashire, a gentleman of very good repute; having a plentiful fortune, marry'd into the Duke of Norfolk's family: he was found guilty of high treason at Westminster: since removed into custody of a Messenger, in order for a pardon”. Charles Standish of Standish Hall, elected at the Royal Lodge, April 2nd, 1814. “Richard Townley of Townley, a Papist in Lancashire; he marry'd Lord Widdrington's sister . . . he was acquitted by the jury at the Marshalsea. After which, endeavouring to go beyond Sea, he was retaken into custody, but soon discharged”. Charles Townley, F.R.S., F.S.A., son of William Townley and Cecilia, daughter of Ralph Standish by Lady Philippa Howard, daughter of Henry Duke of Norfolk, with his cousin, Sir Francis Standish, belonged to the Lodge of Friendship. At Windsor there is a holograph letter dated [1715 ?] Feb. 9th, in which the exiled Queen Mary writes to thank Lady Petre (*née* Catherine Walmesley) for “1.000£ to be disposed off for the King's service at a time that he stands in very great need of it”. This lady, as a widow, had visited the Court at St. Germain in 1713. It was not till May 2nd, 1732, that her son married the Lady Mary Radcliffe, daughter of the executed 3rd Earl of

¹ For Henry Fitzmaurice, a Knight of the Order of St. Louis, see the Marquis of Ruisigny's *Jacobite Peerage*, p. 210. The fragments that remain to us of the Minutes of the Jacobite Lodge of Rome were edited for Leicester Lodge of Research, No. 2429, in 1910 by our Bro. Hughan, but I must confess that, apart from a matter in which he consulted Bro. Begemann, he for once in his industrious career as an historian, appears to have been rather perfunctory. He does not seem to have realised the interest that attaches to Bro. William Hay and several other members of the Lodge.

Derwentwater. Lady Catherine's second husband was Charles, 15th Baron Stourton. A brother of that nobleman, William, the 16th Baron, is, as our Bro. Gordon Hills has recorded (*A.Q.C.*, xxxi., p. 107), mentioned in the Minutes of the Royal Lodge as "late Grand Master in Germany": his son, Charles Philip, was J.W. of that Lodge, 1783-85. Lady Catherine, who died in 1785, nine years after her grandson, the 9th Lord Petre, had demitted his office of Grand Master of England. Patten gives us: "Thomas Errington of Beaufront, a Papist, Northumberland. At his trial pleaded guilty; and is since removed into Newgate into the custody of a Messenger, in order for an enlargement". In 1767 at the Punch Bowl Lodge you will come across, in company with the Hon. Charles Dillon and Thos. Dunckerley, the brothers John (P.G.M., Northumberland, 1771) and Henry Errington. Sir John Throckmorton, who is on the Catholic Committee in 1791, is Prov. G. Master for Berkshire in 1817. It has, even in *A.Q.C.*, been stated that Thomas, 8th Duke of Norfolk, G.M. 1729-30, was a Roman Catholic: as a matter of fact, he had conformed to the Church of England. Similarly, Charles, the 11th Duke of Norfolk, who was P.G.M. of Herefordshire in 1789, had conformed. Of Viscount Anthony Montague [Browne], G.M., and the Webbs, whom Bro. Moss refers to, I am to treat in my paper on the Bear and Harrow Lodge.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.



SUMMER OUTING.

DURHAM.



RO. T. HERMAN RAE, P.Pr.S.G.D., very kindly supplied me with copious notes on the Outing, from which the present account has been put together. But it has not been possible to deal in detail with the many items of interest encountered during our visit. When we were previously at Durham in 1908 (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxi.), it rained more or less continuously the whole time. Not many of those who were with us on the present occasion, however, were then of the party. This time the weather throughout the visit was all that could be desired.

Those taking part were:—

Bros. Dr. E. Allan, Barrow-in-Furness, P.Pr.G.D.C.; Wm. E. Austin, Los Angeles, U.S.A., 394; Wm. N. Bacon, London, P.A.G.D.C.; Thos. Baldwin, Bognor Regis, S.W., 1726; 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; H. C. Booth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, P.Pr.G.D.; Major W. B. Brook, Nairobi, P.M., 4337; Geo. W. Bullamore, Newbury, 4748; G. S. Collins, London, P.A.G.D.C.; Thos. M. Copland, Falkirk, P.G.Arch; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, Wisbech, P.A.G.Ch., P.M., 2076; Dr. A. J. Cross, Dalton-in-Furness, P.G.D.; F. W. Davy, London, P.A.G.R.; H. C. de Lafontaine, London, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; P. W. Diack, South Shields, I.P.M., 3217; 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.A.G.D.C.; S. J. Fenton, Birmingham, P.Pr.G.W., Stew., 2076; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., Hampton Court, P.G.Ch., W.M., 2076; David Flather, Maltby, Yorks., P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 2076; John Gibson, Hexham, 1557; F. W. Golby, London, P.A.G.D.C., I.G., 2076; H. W. Graves-Morris, Luton, P.Pr.G.W.; W. Barry Gregar, Newquay, P.Pr.G.D., Essex; John W. Hall, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W.; Dr. R. T. Halliday, Glasgow, J.G.D.; Thos. Hart, Glasgow, G.Marshall, Pr.G.M., Renfrewshire East; Wallace E. Heaton, London, P.G.St.B.; G. D. Hindley, London, Pr.G.R., Wores.; W. H. Hope, Sunderland, P.Pr.G.R.; Rev. J. L. E. Hooppell, London, P.A.G.Ch.; J. P. Hunter, Sheffield, P.Pr.G.Supt.W.; G. Y. Johnson, York, P.Pr.G.W.; H. Johnson, Guildford, L.R., P.M., 2191; H. C. Knowles, London, P.A.G.R.; Dr. F. Lace, Bath, P.A.G.D.C.; W. Laidlaw, Glasgow, Pres.G.Stewards; F. J. C. Lilley, Glasgow, Pr.G.D.C.; H. W. Martin, London, P.M., 1964; W. F. Morrison, Stenhousemuir, G.Stew.; Geo. Ness, Glasgow, P.M., 772; C. A. Newman, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W.; Dr. C. E. Newman, London, 4453; Dr. T. North, London, P.G.D.; Rev. H. Poole, Sedbergh, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M., 2076; Cecil Powell, Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; B. N. Pullen, London, 5627; John H. Pullen, London, P.Pr.G.D., Surrey; A. S. Quick, London, P.M., 2183; T. Herdman Rae, Sunderland, Pr.G.D.; A. P. Salter, London, L.R., P.M., 2932; W. Scott, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, P.Pr.G.D.; Thos. Selby, Eaglescliffe, P.G.St.B.; W. Shilbeck, W. Sunderland, W.M., 3568; Philip Simon, Middlesbrough, 509; W. J. Songhurst, London, P.G.D., Treas., 2076; Dr. R. Stansfeld, Hailsham, W.M., 4006; Dr. John Stewart, Glasgow, P.M., 772; E. Tappenden, Hitchin, P.A.G.St.B.; Edward Thomas, Worcester, Pr.G.D.; Lionel Vibert, London, P.A.G.D.C., P.M. and Sec., 2076;

H. Waller, Stockton-on-Tees, 940; S. Warhurst, Ulverston, P.A.G.D.C.; J. Colvin Watson, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, P.P.G.W., S. Wales; W. J. Williams, London, P.M., 2076; Jos. Worsnop, Halifax, P.Pr.G.W.

The London party arrived at 4.18 on Thursday, 5th July, and were divided between the Grand and the Palatine Hotels, where most of the rest of us had already arrived. After settling in we proceeded to the Wearside Masonic Hall, in Burdon Road, where we were received by the Mayor of Sunderland, Bro. E. Ditchburn and the Corporation Officers, the Deputy Provincial Grand Master in charge, Bro. C. Wilkinson, the Chairman of the Temple Committee, Bro. James Hall, the Chairman of the W.M.'s Council, Bro. Dr. S. McNaughton, and a representative gathering of local Brethren. The Province was unfortunate in being without a Provincial Grand Master, the late Brig. Genl. Sir Herbert Conyers Surtees, having died after holding office for only six months.

The Masonic Hall, a very fine building, was consecrated by Sir Colville Smith, Grand Secretary, in 1932, the Foundation Stone having been laid by the then Provincial Grand Master, Lord Ravensworth, in 1930. It now accommodates eleven Craft Lodges besides several other Masonic bodies. The local Brethren had arranged a display of old minute books and other treasures from the Lodge of Industry, No. 48, St. John's Lodge, No. 80, and Palatine Lodge, No. 97. The important records of the Lodge of Industry are well-known, and we were glad of this opportunity of inspecting them in detail. St. John's Lodge possesses a set of Consecration Cups, made in 1806, which have been frequently used on occasions of Foundation Stone layings or Lodge Consecrations. Palatine Lodge still possesses its original Warrant of 1757 and early minute books, and they are justly proud of a gold snuff box, preserving the memory of Bro. Thomas Hardy, who in the early part of last century was sixteen times Master of the Lodge.

Dinner was taken at the Temple, the Dean of Durham, Dr. A. C. Alington, being present. The Mayor and other Brethren extended a cordial welcome to us, and after dinner the Dean gave us a most interesting address on Durham Cathedral, explaining just what we were going to see on the following morning. He concluded with an account of the work now being done by the Friends of the Cathedral, by way of restoration and improvement. His eloquence was not lost on us as we were able to demonstrate in a practical manner next day. The evening concluded with a Smoking Concert.

On the Friday morning we went to Durham and were met at the Cathedral by the Dean, who most kindly devoted much of his valuable time to taking us round the fabric. We were also privileged to visit the Library, where the Hon. Librarian, Bro. Prof. H. C. Bayley, M.A., took charge of us. Among its many treasures are a seventh century MS. of part of the Bible, twelfth century MSS. of St. Mark's Gospel, and the writings of Peter Lombard, Petrus Comestor and others, and some most interesting old music books. We were then kindly allowed to inspect the Deanery itself and the great octagonal kitchen, built in 1368 and still in use.

After lunch at the Masonic Hall, where we were welcomed by Bro. R. W. E. Dixon and other members of the Durham Installed Masters' Lodge, we came up the hill again to the Castle, over which we were conducted by the Master of University College, Canon How, who gave us a very interesting account of the Castle, its furniture, pictures and armour, and also very kindly entertained us to tea.

We then proceeded to visit Pittington Church, where we were received by the Vicar, the Rev. E. W. Bolland, M.A. To a Norman church of very early date a north aisle was added in the twelfth and a south aisle in the thirteenth centuries. The original Norman arches are still *in situ*, and the columns are

interesting, as the spiral ornamentation, while similar to what is found at Durham, is in relief, whereas at Durham it is cut into the stone. There are still some remains of frescoes, and at the time of our visit the church possessed a marble font, of date 1663, that was brought from the Cathedral in 1847. The original font is still in existence, however, and since our visit has been restored to its proper function, the marble font being returned to the Cathedral, which one ventures to think it should never have left.

Returning to Sunderland, we then made our way to the old Freemasons' Hall in Queen Street, now a very poor quarter of the town, of which much is scheduled for clearance. Here the Master, W.Bro. W. H. Hope, and the Brethren of the Phoenix Lodge, No. 94, held a special meeting for our reception at which for our benefit they went through portions of their working in all three degrees. Bro. Hope then described the old furniture, in particular the mahogany chairs of the three principal officers, the Banner, and the Tracing Cloths. Bro. Hope also presented to the Lodge copies of his two published works on the history of this fine old Lodge. Dinner was taken at the Grand Hotel.

On the Saturday morning we drove to the ruins of Finchale Priory, which we inspected under the skilful guidance of Bro. John Gibson, F.S.A., F.C.S., who had most kindly come down specially all the way from Hexham to act as our guide. The Priory dates from the early part of the thirteenth century. It is situated in a deep valley on a site surrounded on three sides by the river Wear. The name may itself be derived from a Danish word meaning a corner. Originally it consisted of a church with north and south aisles to both nave and chancel. But these aisles were removed, for some unexplained reason, and the arches filled in with rougher masonry. The other buildings follow the usual conventual plan. The West Door is particularly fine. The whole Priory is now in charge of the Office of Works.

A long drive now took us past Neville's Cross, scene of the battle of 1346, when the Scots under Bruce were defeated, and then past the so-called Sunderland Bridge, although it is many miles from Sunderland. A thirteenth century structure, it is now preserved from further damage, or alteration to meet modern requirements, as the great North Road now crosses the river by another bridge a short distance down stream. We then drove through Bishop's Auckland to Raby Castle, which we were allowed to visit by the kind permission of Lord Barnard. Next, crossing the Tees, we passed through Wycliffe, the birth-place of the great reformer, and arrived at the Morritt Arms, by picturesque Greta Bridge, where we had lunch. Our next visit was to the ruins of Eggleston Abbey, where Bro. Harrison, the Curator of the Bowes Museum at Barnard Castle, met us and acted as our guide, and described the buildings for us. This was a Premonstratensian foundation and must originally have been of considerable extent, although very little is left of it to-day. John Wyclif had a school here. The opportunity was now taken to have the customary group photograph. At the foot of the hill on which the Abbey stands there is an unusually perfect specimen of a pack-horse bridge standing by the side of the road.

Resuming our journey we came to Barnard Castle, where we proceeded direct up the hill to the Bowes Museum, where Bro. Harrison once more put his services at our disposal and described for us some, at all events, of the wonderful collection of treasures that have been brought together in this palatial building. Mr. and Mrs. Harrison also most kindly entertained the whole of our party to tea.

A long drive, not unattended with unrehearsed deviations, brought us back eventually to Sunderland, where we dined at the Palatine Hotel, and were afterwards At Home to the local Brethren. A paper was read by Bro. Vibert: Early Masons in the County of Durham.

Throughout the visit we had been greatly indebted to the local Brethren for all the trouble they had taken in arranging the programme, working it out in every detail, and combining with it all so much of archæological importance and Masonic interest. We now did our best to express our gratitude to them all; to the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, to the Temple Committee, to the W.M.'s Council officials, in particular Bro. Herdman Rae, to Bro. Hope and the other Masters of Lodges, and more especially to our two archæologists, Bros. Gibson and Harrison. Certainly we could not have seen and heard all that we had under better auspices, or more skilful guidance, or had the Masonic portion of our visit entrusted to more capable hands. On the Sunday morning the party dispersed. The distance from London involved the London contingent leaving by the 10.30 train. But it brought us eventually to King's Cross, after an Outing of unusual and sustained interest.

EARLY MASONS IN THE COUNTY OF DURHAM.

Not merely can this Province provide us with early masons in our own special sense of the word, but it is to Durham and Northumberland that we have to look to-day for the larger part of the evidence still preserved of the skill of those masons and stone carvers who were at work in England from the seventh century, and who were the predecessors of those great masters who raised Durham Cathedral and all its Gothic successors, and constituted that Fraternity of Freemasons from whom we come down to-day in unbroken descent.

Monkwearmouth was built by Benedict Biscop in 674, and the West wall, tower and porch of entrance are still standing. While, of course, the work is not comparable in grandeur to later buildings, yet the very fact that it is still there after nearly thirteen centuries is a sufficient testimonial to the excellence of the craftsmanship, and we can well be proud of the masons who put those stones together.

Jarrow, also the work of Benedict Biscop, was commenced in 681 and dedicated 684, and here again some of the original work is still to be seen, as the Chancel is that of Bede's day. Bede has left it on record that Benedict Biscop brought his Master masons and artists from Gaul and Italy, and they taught the local craftsmen. No doubt the pre-Norman architecture of this country is derived originally from Continental models, but it is the case that it developed as a definite indigenous style, distinct from the Norman, of a like derivation, which eventually superseded it. And there is one very important form of art which has nothing comparable to it elsewhere, and that is the great series of monumental stone crosses, of which Durham and Northumberland still contain some magnificent examples as well as numerous remarkable fragments. In fact, the Anglo-Saxon Crosses in the Cathedral Library are the finest collection in existence. Anglo-Saxon monumental art is distinguished by a particular form of ornamentation of an endless strand, or a combination of strands interlaced in most elaborate patterns. We find similar designs in the Irish Book of Kells, which is probably mid-seventh century in date, and in the contemporary Lindisfarne Gospels. A very early instance of the stone cross with interlacing is that of Bishop Acca, now in Durham Cathedral. Similar types of ornamentation are found in many countries, especially in the work carried out in Italy from the fifth to the ninth century under Byzantine influence. But Leader Scott boldly christened it the Comacine Knot. Having done so, she was, of course, able to claim that its occurrence in Celtic England proved the Comacine origin of all our churches and ecclesiastical art generally. But no one has ever traced any allusion to the Comacines before Rotharis, whose date is mid-seventh century; he died in 653.

And even that allusion is very dubious. And while in Ireland the Book of Kells shows this style of ornamentation already in a very advanced form, indicating a long period of development, there is similar work at St. Clement's at Rome, the date of which is early sixth century, 514-523.

Sir Flinders Petrie has recently brought to our notice ornaments of gold wire of Irish origin at Tell-el-Amarna, sixteen centuries B.C. The true origin and the development of these wonderful designs would be a grand subject for a monograph by some archaeologist who could afford to illustrate it with adequate plates. His researches might produce startling results.

While Benedict Biscop was erecting the two churches in our immediate neighbourhood, his great contemporary Wilfrith was building Hexham (674) and Ripon (673), both not very far away. And in 669-671 he restored York Minster, which, originally constructed in 627, was then more or less a ruin. The Danes burnt Wilfrith's Minster in 741; those were sad times for architects, but Escomb Church in the County of Durham is a more or less complete A.S. Church and still the admiration of all who study masonry, history or archæology.

After the Norman comes the Gothic, which developed when it had been discovered that the pointed arch could be employed as a structural principle in vaulting. Just where and when that great discovery was made remains uncertain. Durham Cathedral possesses to-day what appears to be the earliest surviving instance of it, at all events in this country, and the original discovery may well have been made there. The development of Gothic brought into existence the Freemason as a Craftsman, and much work is now being done to recover the names of the actual designers and builders of our great cathedrals, as distinguished from the bishops or abbots who financed the work and then took all the credit. We are also, thanks to students like Bro. Knoop, learning a great deal about the conditions of labour among them and the economics of their profession generally.

We can still hope, by careful collection of masons' marks and a diligent study of minute architectural peculiarities, to rediscover some of the local schools of Freemasons which sent out small bodies of craftsmen to build the Monastic houses and parish churches in their neighbourhood. Bro. Poole has done this to some extent for Westmorland already. It is work that is waiting to be done all over England.

When we come to our own Freemasonry, the speculative Craft of the Lodges, once more the Province of Durham provides some of the very earliest evidence we have.

I need not remind you that whereas in Scotland there are nearly twenty Lodges to-day which can produce evidence of unbroken descent from operative gilds or incorporations in existence in or before the sixteenth century, some of them having maintained their operative character *into our own time*, in England there is a complete break. There is no case of a Lodge that can bridge the gap between the beginning and the end of the seventeenth century. In London the Company has associated with it a Lodge, the Acception, of which we lose all trace after 1685. The Four Old Lodges come forward into the Grand Lodge of 1717 with no traditions, and we only hear vaguely from Anderson of seven Lodges that were meeting in London in the previous century of which nothing more is so far known. At York the Lodge certainly seems to have been working before 1700, apparently as a speculative body. But what its antecedents were has not been ascertained; there is no direct evidence to connect it with the Minster and its builders. At Alnwick again we have a Lodge which is definitely operative at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and is later on replaced by a speculative body. But once more we can say nothing of its previous history. Nor is it very clear where it would have come from, and yet it must have been associated with important building operations in progress somewhere in the neighbourhood within no very long period of time.

But when we come to Gateshead and the present Lodge of Industry, formerly at Swalwell, we are not merely dealing with a Lodge in this Province, but it has an enviable tradition behind it and a history and records of unusual interest. This is definitely a case in which the process of transition from the operative to the speculative craft goes on before our eyes. The tradition is that the Lodge was founded by the masons who were imported from the South by Sir Ambrose Crowley when he built his foundry at Winlaton about 1690. There is no documentary proof of this, but there is no valid reason for disbelieving it; why should anyone invent the story which is associated with the earliest days of the Lodge itself? Its records begin in 1725, but they include a series of Orders of Antiquity, Apprentices Orders, General Orders, etc., which indicate a much greater antiquity since they are not merely mainly operative in character, but are also closely connected textually with the Old Charges, already by that time over two centuries old. One or two points from them may be mentioned.

A Brother of the Lodge is made free for 8/-; a working mason not of the Lodge for 10/-, and a gentleman that is not a working mason, as the majority shall decide. The Lodge paid funeral expenses and all members had to attend the funeral at their own expense. They also gave sick pay, at the rate of 5/- a week, and had other rules similar to those of Benefit Clubs. As late as 1776, apprentices to the trade are still being registered and their indentures read over, although side by side with them we have admissions of what are unmistakeably gentlemen members, the earliest in the records being in 1732. Gloves and aprons are referred to in 1734. A Brother is forbidden to give work to anyone not a member of the Lodge or any foreigner. Among the Apprentice Orders is one that occurs nowhere else. It reads: That you be true one to another when you stand in peril or danger by height, lift or otherwise, whereby a man may be much hurt or his life endangered. The apprentice is spoken of as admitted or accepted into the fellowship, and the use of this word, which also occurs at Alnwick, is significant. They are to have their Charge read over to them within 30 days of being registered.

No woman if she come to speak with her husband or any other person is to be admitted into the room but speak at the door.

The Lodge took a constitution in 1735. But in 1746 we find them working a mysterious degree called the High Order of Highrodiam, in what is styled a Grand Lodge, for a charge of 2/6, or at the Damaskin or Forin. No one has yet succeeded in explaining these strange words. English Brethren and foreigners¹ had to pay five shillings. The minutes give a long list of names of members who took this degree, or whatever it was. After a somewhat inactive period the Lodge moved to Gateshead in 1845, where it flourishes to-day.

I might here mention two other Gateshead Lodges which have, however, long ceased to exist. There was a Lodge constituted by the Moderns in 1773, which took the name Union in 1779. There was also a Lodge constituted by the Antients in 1813, with the name Prince Edward of York. These united in 1817, taking the name Gateshead United. But apparently Grand Lodge never discovered the fact, and they remained on the register as Independent Lodges till 1827, when they were both erased. Of a still earlier Lodge which was constituted in 1736 and met at the Fountain, Pipewell Gate, I can give no account. It had ceased to exist before 1768.

Another Lodge that has long since passed away is the old Lodge at Stockton-on-Tees, of which a very full account was given by Bros. Henderson and Anderson when the Provincial Grand Lodge met at Stockton in 1923. The original Lodge was constituted in London as No. 23 in 1726. It lapsed and the Warrant was purchased by the Stockton Brethren in 1756, and they also took

¹ Foreigners here only means Brethren from outside the area.



AT EGGLESTON ABBEY.

over the Lodge furniture and all its records. These records are extant to-day and they include the oldest known set of Lodge minutes in England. I wish that time would permit me to say more about them, or to quote from the letter which accompanied the inventory of furniture on its journey to Stockton. But I must give you just a few sentences from that document:—"The furniture is very compleat but part much abused; the Master's Chair wants fresh nailing and the back much scrash'd. The sword is a very gentle one and in particular taste; the blade ought, never to be touched with the least wet or sweaty fingers. The level of the S.W.s Chair is broke off, but it is quite whole. The candlesticks wants fresh gilding, but as it will cost two guineas, must defer it longer. Great care must be taken on the tops of the chairs and candlesticks from scrats, sweaty hands, or the least wet, for that immediately tarnishes the lustre. The case in which is the top of the Master's chair, the lock is spoiled; that must be careful in opening it." The full text is given in the Souvenir I have mentioned.

Apparently many members of the Lodge at Stockton were master mariners, and they were constantly making the voyage between Tees and Thames, and had, no doubt, when in London, frequented the original Lodge. The Lodge at London was erased in 1738.

There are three Lodges in the Province to-day with numbers less than 100, Nos. 80, 94 and 97, and all are in Sunderland; and of each of these a history has been written. No. 80, St. John's, was constituted at Sunderland in 1806. It was an Antients Lodge, with a number originally issued to a military Lodge in 1761, which explains why to-day it ranks senior in the Province. For twenty years it is shown in Lane as meeting at Bishopswearmouth, but after all this means no more than that it crossed the river; for all practical purposes it has been in Sunderland throughout its career; long may it continue.

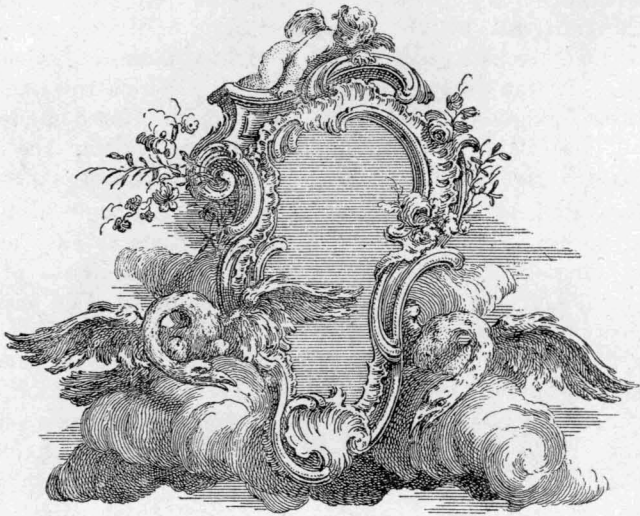
No. 94 is Phoenix, where we were last night. It was a Modern Lodge, constituted in 1755; it took its name in 1785, to commemorate the rebuilding of its hall, destroyed by fire in 1783. Its minutes date from 1778. The third of this venerable trio is No. 97, the Palatine Lodge, originally the Sea Captains', again a Modern Lodge constituted in 1757 and now possessing a centenary jewel of special design. It was a daughter of Phoenix. It took the name Palatine in 1830. Both these Lodges conferred the Harodim or Heredom degree that we find at Swalwell, and Palatine minutes also speak of Passing the Bridge. But otherwise the records give no information other than lists of names.

But before Phoenix was founded there was a Lodge in Sunderland of which, however, nothing is now known; it never appears to have come on to the G.L. Registers. But in 1745 and again in 1751, the minutes of the Marquis of Granby Lodge at Durham record that the Lodge admitted as joining members, brethren who had been made at Sunderland. This Lodge, No. 124 to-day, is another with a fine record going back to 1763 according to its constitution, but it had been meeting by inherent right from 1738. Restoration, No. 111, at Darlington, is older still as far as the date of constitution goes; its Warrant is dated 19th June, 1761. St. Hilda's, at South Shields, dates from 1780; no other Lodge in the Province goes back to the eighteenth century.

There was a short-lived Lodge at Barnard Castle, constituted in 1759, but it only existed for a few years. But a more important Lodge was founded there in 1770, taking the name of Lodge of Concord in 1785. After a somewhat chequered career it finally disappears in 1838. But its interest for us is that it had for its Master on several occasions a Brother of more than local celebrity, Bro. William Hutchinson, the author of a work: *The Spirit of Masonry*, which in its time had a great vogue and went through several editions. He was associated with the dedication of the Mason Hall in Sunderland in 1778, when he delivered an impressive oration.

Another Brother of more than local fame was Bro. Rowland Burdon, who was a member of Palatine Lodge, and M.P. for the county. He was present in the House of Commons when the Government brought in its Bill for the suppression of secret and seditious societies. He noticed that, as worded, the Bill would involve Masonic Lodges in the same fate. He at once took the matter up energetically with the Grand Lodge of the Moderns, with the result that Freemasons were specially exempted from the operation of the Statute.

Of Lodges later in date, and of subsequent events, I do not propose to say anything now. After all, the title of this paper is Early Masons, and if I were to go on to deal with the Lodges that come in in ever increasing numbers as time goes on, and with their manifold activities, we should none of us be early masons to-night. But their representatives are here, and we are grateful to them for the wonderful welcome that Durham masonry has given us all through our visit. I shall have done something to repay that hospitality if I have shown you that the Province can put before us a record, not only of our modern Craft, but of the great builders and architects of bygone days that, I venture to say, no other Province could pretend to rival.



FRIDAY, 5th OCTOBER, 1934.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., W.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M., as S.W.; D. Knoop, M.A., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treas.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., S.D.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., as D.C.; *Major* Cecil Adams, M.C., P.G.D., Stew., as J.D.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; and G. Hook, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. P. J. Crawley, F. R. Radice, Harry Bladon, P.A.G.D.C., Ed. M. Phillips, E. H. Cartwright, P.G.D., W. H. Whyan, P.A.G.St.B., W. G. Hodgson, C. S. D. Cole, Eric M. Baxter, L. G. Wearing, F. Addington Hall, A. H. Crouch, John F. Nichols, *Major* G. T. Harley Thomas, P.G.D., A. F. Cross, I. G. Samuel, F. P. Reynolds, *Lieut.-Col.* G. D. Hindley, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., Geo. C. Williams, J. H. Smith, C. F. Waddington, A. F. Ford, A. L. Mond, F. W. Davy, P.A.G.Reg., Lewis Edwards, Wm. Lewis, David Rice, James J. Cooper, W. Brinkworth, H. Douglas Elkington, D. L. Oliver, and D. C. Rennie.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. John R. Cross, Edmonton Latymer Lodge No. 5026, and Ivor Back, P.M., Lodge of Antiquity No. 2.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; B. Telepneff, S.W.; George Norman, M.D., P.G.D., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., Stew.; J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.Reg., P.M.; John Stokes, M.A., M.D., P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, J.D.; and Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.

The W.M. read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

Since our last meeting the Lodge has lost by death two Past Masters, both of whom had rendered signal service, not only to our own Lodge, but to the Craft generally.

EDWARD CONDER.

Bro. Edward Conder was born in 1861, and educated at King's College, London. Although trained as an engineer, he had private means, and did not adopt any profession. But he devoted his life to the study of architecture and antiquarian research, being at an early date elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He was admitted to the Livery of the Worshipful Company of Masons in 1884, and joined the Court in 1885. He at once interested himself in the old records of the Company, and in 1894, when he was Master, he brought out his well-known history of the Company: *The Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masons*.

He was initiated in the Bowyer Lodge, No. 1036, Chipping Norton, in 1892. He joined our Correspondence Circle almost immediately, and was elected to full membership in 1894. He was Master in 1901. His Inaugural Address was a survey of Masonic Literature in Great Britain since the formation of Grand Lodge, with particular reference to the labours in this field of Brethren of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle.

His most important contribution to Masonic research was his discovery of the existence of a body known as the Acception, in association with the London Company. This discovery is set out in full in his paper in vol. ix. of our *Transactions*, and he returned to it again in vol. xxvii. (1914), when he drew our attention to the fact that the Regulations of the time of Edward IV. inculcated the attendance of the members at Mass on the feast of the S.S. Quatuor Coronati.

But he made several other contributions to the *Ars*. In a paper printed in vol. viii. he was able to establish within narrow limits the actual date of the admission of Miss St. Leger. In vol. ix. he had one on Benedic Biscop and the masons he brought to England. In vol. xi. he gave us, from original records, an account of the laying of the foundation stone of the Royal Exchange by Charles II., with much curious information about horoscopes, etc.

Other papers dealt with Leicestershire Masonry (xiv.), Miracle Plays (xiv.), and William of Wykeham (xvi.). He had also at various times contributed important papers to archæological journals.

For many years he was our Local Secretary for Oxfordshire. After travelling in Europe studying architecture he settled down at Newent in Gloucestershire, for which county he was a J.P. Of late years his health prevented him from taking any active part in our work. But he still kept up his interest in it, and was always ready to correspond on any point relating to the Masons Company, which had been his special interest. He died at Newent on 27th July, and was interred in his family burial place at Kirkby Lonsdale in Westmorland. The Lodge sent a wreath, but were not represented at the funeral, at which only members of the family were present.

JAMES EDWARD SHUM TUCKETT.

Bro. James Edward Shum Tuckett was born near Bristol in 1870. He gained high distinction at the University of Cambridge, being 25th Wrangler in 1892, and taking Honours in the Natural Science Tripos in the following year. The greater part of his career was spent at Marlborough, where he was in turn Assistant Master, House Master and Bursar. He retired and settled in Bristol in 1918. He was also a keen Volunteer, serving first in the old Volunteer Force and then in the Officers' Training Corps; he was granted the Territorial Decoration in 1914. Senior Officers of the O.T.C. were not permitted to leave their corps during the War, but Bro. Tuckett was employed during school holidays on training service in this country. He retired with the rank of Major in 1918.

He was initiated in 1898 in the Hartington Lodge, No. 916, Eastbourne. He occupied the Chair of Loyalty, 1533, Marlborough, in 1906, and received Provincial Rank in Wiltshire as Prov. G. Registrar in 1910. In 1924 he attained Grand Rank as A.G. Sword Bearer. At Bristol, in conjunction with Bro. Cecil Powell, another of our Past Masters, and other Brethren, he was instrumental in founding the Bristol Masonic Society, of which he was President in 1926. He took a leading part in all sections of Bristol Freemasonry; in particular he helped to revive the Scotch Knights of Kilwinning, a degree in the Baldwyn Rite, peculiar to Bristol, that had been worked many years previously but had long been in abeyance.

He joined the Correspondence Circle of our Lodge in 1910, and it was very soon realised that in Bro. Tuckett we had recruited a keen and energetic student. Year by year he contributed to our *Transactions* important papers as well as valuable criticisms of the papers read by other Brethren, interesting Notes based on his very wide reading, and occasional reviews. His particular subject was the French Freemasonry of the eighteenth century; he was a good French scholar, and had a large collection of books and manuscripts of the period. He had also made special studies of Napoleon, and was an enthusiast on the history of the Stuart Family, a subject on which he had got together much valuable material. He was also a keen musician, and some of his settings of verse to music have been published by Messrs. Novello. Of his many papers in our *Transactions*, I would mention specially those in vol. xxvii. on *Napoleon and Freemasonry* and *Perseval*, *Savalette de Langes* in xxx., and *The Rise of Additional Degrees* in xxxii. He also contributed to the *Transactions* of the Leicester Lodge of Research, Dorset Masters, and other Masonic research bodies.

Becoming a full member of the Lodge in 1914, he occupied the Chair in 1920, and it was characteristic of the man that the subject of his Inaugural Address was the danger of discarding Traditions in Masonic research, because they are only Traditions, and still await definite proof or indeed definite contradiction. He pleaded for a suspension of judgment in such cases, and was able to illustrate his point by the case of the Sackville Medal, for years treated as a forgery until Begemann and Chetwode Crawley rehabilitated it.

Of late years his health had prevented him from undertaking long journeys by train, with the result that he gave up attending our Lodge meetings. After a long period of invalidism he died at Bristol on 18th August. The Lodge was represented at the funeral by Bro. Cecil Powell as well as many Bristol Brethren, members of our Correspondence Circle, and also sent a wreath.

Four Lodges and Twenty-four Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By BRO. DAVID FLATHER.

Officer's Jewel; Provincial Grand Lodge of Lancashire. (The Province was divided in 1826.)

By Bro. Col. WAKEFIELD.

Jeton, metal, of the Grand Commandery of K.T. of Virginia for the 1934 Grand Encampment. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. J. HERON LEPPER.

Photograph. Manuscript Certificate of K.T. and Mark from Ballycastle Lodge, No. 432, I.C. Dated 10th October, 1786.

Photograph. Manuscript Certificate; Emperor of the Royal Order of Phillipi. From Limerick Lodge, No. 271, I.C. Dated 21.6.1813.

Photograph. Manuscript Certificate, R.A., from Lodge No. 890, I.C., in the Elgin Fencibles. Dated 14.3.1799.

Photograph. Manuscript Certificate, K.T. and K.M., from the same Lodge. Dated September, 1799.

Blank engraved Certificate for R.A. and K.T. Used in North Ireland *circa* 1790.

Ditto from a copper plate in Carrickfergus Masonic Hall.

Certificate, engraved, G.L. of Ireland, 1845. Signed John Fowler.

Certificate, engraved, G.L. of Ireland, 1810. Signed W. F. Graham.

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Snuff Box; wood. On lid a painting of the Parish Church, Mauchline. Interior an inlay of woods from various places associated with Burns. Was originally the Jewel Box of the Lodge meeting at the Loudon Arms, Mauchline, the property of L. McLellan, a contemporary of Burns. Masonic emblems in an oval let into the front.

Code Maçonnique des Loges Reunies et Rectifies de France. 5779.

I Liberi Muratori Schiacciati. 1793. Don Pietro Mogas. Assisi.

This appears in Wolfstieg under No. 3899 with no description. Under 29969, the *Ecrases*, where it should be, there is no reference to it. But it is, in fact, a complete translation of the *Ecrases*, with elaborate footnotes. The Editor writes an Introduction, in which he says that the present troubles in France are all due to this wicked society. After the text he reprints the Bull *Providas*. He then has an Appendix in which he prays all to inform the authorities of the activities of these people, so that they may be extirpated. The Plates were apparently also exact copies of those in the original.

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

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER read the following paper:—

THE EARLY YEARS OF HARMONY MASONIC LODGE No. 555 FERMOY, Co. CORK (1806-58).

COMPILED FROM THE ORIGINAL MINUTES.

BY BRO. J. HERON LEPPER.

INTRODUCTORY.



FEW places in Ireland can lie within earshot of so many Masonic memories as the little town of Fermoy in County Cork.

It is situated on the Blackwater river, which runs roughly west to east cutting off the northern portion of the county of Cork from the southern, and its bridge has made it an important strategical point for over two hundred years.

Ten miles to the north lies Mitchelstown, the seat of the Kingston family, where the first Masonic Warrant ever issued by any Constitution was held. Twenty miles south, as the crow flies, is Cork City, the bailiwick of the Time Immemorial First Lodge of Ireland. To the west lie Doneraile and Newmarket, places where Elizabeth St. Leger (of whom more later) lived before and after her marriage to Richard Aldworth; to the south-east Lismore and Youghal, where English and Irish Masons worked together in harmony in the days of the Great Earl of Cork; and, still within a radius of thirty miles, Bandon to the south-west, also the work of that mighty builder Robert Boyle, a town which owns one of the oldest Masonic Lodges in Ireland, No. 84. The bordering counties hold the important Masonic centres of Clonmel, Waterford and Limerick. Finally, in the days before railways, Fermoy lay on the direct road from Dublin to Cork.

In view of the foregoing facts it may seem strange that no Masonic Lodge, so far as we know, was established at Fermoy before the year 1801; but one has only to read an article, "The Birth of Fermoy," by our Brother Archdeacon T. C. Abbott (*Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol. xxxiii., No. 137, p. 16) to understand the riddle: the town only began to come into existence after the year 1791. Our learned and Venerable Brother quotes the description of one who knew it well in 1800:—

It was one of the meanest villages of the county, as with the exception of a single house of two storeys, which served the purpose of a carman's inn, it consisted of only two wretched mud-wall huts, long since levelled, the inhabitants of which were proverbially idle and dissolute, and consequently dirty and poor. Except the beauty of the situation, of which nature has been peculiarly lavish, the place did not offer a single circumstance to arrest the eye of the traveller, who drove through it without observation, and scarcely remembered he had met with such a spot on the road.

Yet by 1809 the town possessed over 4,000 inhabitants, exclusive of the military garrison.¹

In the closing years of the eighteenth century the country was engaged in the French war, and in consequence the attention of the Government was directed to Fermoy. Mr. John Anderson, a Scot, who had bought the Fermoy estate in 1791, saw his opportunity and seized it.

He offered the Government an unlimited choice of building sites, promised to erect temporary barracks for the troops until permanent quarters could be built, and with rare imagination and enterprise, he determined to build a town to meet the requirements of a large garrison. The troops began to arrive in 1797, and in three years the East or Old Barracks was erected, at a cost of about £50,000 The next to be taken in hand was the church, which was begun in 1802, and with reference to these as fixed points, and to the West or New Barracks which was erected a few years later, the plan of the town on the north side of the Blackwater was conceived.

With all this building going on it would indeed have been strange if the town had remained for long without a Masonic Lodge. Nor did it. One came into being there, and is still in existence with more than a century of regular working to its credit. By a happy chance some of its earliest records are still extant, and because they contain material that is of more than merely local, provincial or even national Masonic interest, my task has been to cull from them a few memorabilia for the behoof of students of Craft history wheresoever dispersed.

On the 5th February, 1778, the Grand Lodge of Ireland issued Warrant No. 555 for a Lodge to be holden in the town of Carlow. The grantees were George Forristall, Walter Forristall and John Taylor. Fourteen additional members were subsequently registered in the books of Grand Lodge, the last on the 10th January, 1785, and I have little doubt that the Carlow Lodge became extinct soon after this last registration.

At this period a peculiar privilege was still being exercised by the Provincial Grand Master of Munster to which has been given the convenient name of "The Munster Custom." When the Warrant of a Munster Lodge that had become extinct, or even in some cases merely dormant, fell into the hands of the Provincial Grand Master, he might re-issue this document to a body of regular Masons and authorise them to meet as a lawfully constituted Lodge in any place under his jurisdiction. An endorsement on the original Warrant stating the new place of meeting and signed by the Provincial Grand Master was held to legalise the transaction; and though the Grand Lodge in Dublin might not be informed of the re-issue till years after the event had taken place, it never refused to acknowledge the regularity of any Munster Lodge that had been established in this way.²

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the "Munster Custom" was moribund, for under the active rule of Grand Master Donoughmore the Grand Lodge was beginning to enforce discipline on its subordinate Lodges as never before; and also, no doubt, improved means of communication with the metropolis made it unnecessary to allow Provincial Grand Masters in the south the exercise of such far-reaching powers; but nothing is so tenacious of life as a custom, and the year 1801 saw one of the very last instances of it, the establishment of the extinct Carlow Warrant as an entirely new Lodge at Fermoy, Co Cork.

¹ This information, and what follows, is summarised from the article by the Ven. T. C. Abbott alluded to above. I am much indebted to this Brother (who is the oldest Past Master of Harmony Lodge No. 555) for his fraternal kindness in supplying this and other information.

² A notable instance is Lodge 95 of Cork, established in that city 1750.

That Lodge still exists as Harmony Lodge No. 555. Through the fraternal kindness of its members and particularly of my dear friend and Brother James Edward McCausland (its W.M. in 1928) I have had the opportunity of examining its Minute Books, and I think I shall be able to show in the following account of its history that its long life of over 130 years contains some episodes that are of more than ordinary interest to more than one Masonic Constitution.

My authority for the date when Lodge 555 was established at Fermoy is taken from a rare book, "*Historico-Masonic Tracts*" by Robert Millikin, Cork, 1848.¹ The author's reference must be given in full to serve as an introduction both to the history of the Lodge and to Millikin himself, of whom I shall have more to tell than is told us in his book. He says (p. 121 *op. cit.*):—

"Lodge No. 555, of Fermoy, was opened first in that town in the year 1801, where it has remained ever since, preserving a happy mediocrity, neither too high nor too humble. The writer of these tracts served as Master twice, and was selected a third time, but from circumstances did not accept the honour."

This statement is the more important because the new Lodge at Fermoy was not registered in the books of Grand Lodge till the 10th April, 1809, which is the year wrongly ascribed to its constitution in the Irish Calendar. The old Warrant was destroyed by accident in 1822, so we have to depend on outside evidence for the actual date of the Lodge's coming into existence. I for one am prepared to accept Millikin's statement.

Though 1809 is the date of the Lodge's registry in the official records, this belated insertion must be ascribed to the inadvertence or carelessness of the Deputy Grand Secretary. The existence of the Lodge was undoubtedly known in Dublin several years previously; for in July, 1804, the widow of Brother Crawford of No. 555 was relieved with £3:8:3 (Three guineas British money) by the Grand Lodge. No Crawford appears among the names registered to the Carlow No. 555, and the authorities in Dublin must have learnt then, if not before, of the existence of the new No. 555. Alexander Seton, the D.G.S. of the period, was too busy just then with other occupations to trouble over much about promptly inscribing in the Rolls a new Munster Lodge from whose establishment he had received no monetary advantage.

Though registered at last in 1809, Lodge 555 does not figure in the list of new Warrants given in the Grand Lodge circular covering December 1809 till June 1811, nearly all of which were revivals; nor yet in the list of Seton Warrants confirmed free of charge on the 15th January, 1810. Finally, Lodge 555 is not credited with any payment of fees for the Warrant, or annual dues, in the Grand Lodge records up till the end of 1813.

We are therefore justified, in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, in assuming that the Lodge was regularly at work at some time prior to 1804, and that it had paid for its Warrant through the proper channels, in this case the Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster, prior to the date when Seton began to increase the emoluments of his office by a dishonest sale of revived Warrants.

These assumptions are, in my opinion, borne out by the earliest preserved Minute Book of the Lodge.

This book, which is now in a very tattered condition and rather damaged by damp, is of good paper measuring 12½ by 9 inches. The watermarks are Britannia in an oval surmounted by a crown, and a monogram which looks like C.W. with 1799 below it. The pages have been numbered on folio and reverse

¹ The Lodge of Research No. 200, Dublin, owns a copy of this book originally the property of the late Bro. F. C. Crosslé, M.D., sometime Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Down. His collection of Masonic antiquities was presented by his widow to the above Lodge. My extracts are taken from this copy.

sides when the book was new. Some have been torn out. The last page is numbered 408. The book was bound in boards which are still extant. When in my hands it needed rebinding.

The first five pages have been torn out. At page 6 comes the following inscription in modern handwriting:—

“ East Grange

“ Fermoy 15th December 1894

“ After a lapse of nearly a century this old Minute Book of my Mother Lodge fell into my hands, being cast away as waste paper in the Printing Establishment of The Messrs Lindsey King Street Fermoy. By sheer accident I discovered it . . .

“ Henry Aeroux Daniels

“ P.M.—P.K.—K.T.—P.P.—P.P.G.S.”

Let me pass on, without expressing any of the feelings aroused by this entry save that of gratitude to Brother Daniels, to the next entry, at page 8, which is the first extant Minute of the Lodge:—

Fermoy June 2nd 1806—

Lodge 555

Being Lodge night mett according to antient usage when Brother Robt O'Hara was Re elected to fill the Chair for the ensuing Six Months, Brother John Bible Sen Warden, Br Jams Fitzpatrick Jun Warden, Br Michl Toole Sen Deacon Br John Wilkinson Jun Deacon and Br Joseph Thomson Secy & Treasurer—when it was unanimously agreed that the Members of this Lodge, do meet on Tuesday June 24th at the Hour of one O'Clock, to celebrate the Festival of St John—the Following Members were Present

	pd	5.5	Robt O'Hara Mastr.
Absent			John Bible S.W.
Br. Bible	pd	8/1½	Jas Fitzpatrick J.W.
Br Sandham	pd	8/1½	Micheal Toole S.D.
		5/5	John Wilkinson J.D.
Visiting Members		5/5	John Skerritt
Br Thos White No. 67	pd	15-0	Danl. Murphy
Br Rd Keily No. 71			
Br Pk Donnelly No. 418		16-3	Joseph Thompson
Br Wm Mercer No. 516			
Br Thos Carse	late	8/1½	Wm Baylor
Br Thos Blake	Members		
Br Jos Carroll	of No. 555	5/5	Jam Glynn Sect.

At the above meeting the Petition of Js Camphbell Serj. 23rd Lt Drags was received and ordered to Lie over untill next meeting. Lodge clos'd in Harmony at Ten O'Clock

Jams Glynn Sect.

This entry, which is a fair sample of those that cover the earlier years of the Lodge, suggests a series of comments that may as well be tabulated in this place and borne in mind:—

(a) The Lists of names at the right-hand side of the pages are usually autographs—sometimes a doubtful advantage when trying to fix the orthography of a name. John Skerritt's, for example, appears in a variety of forms from night to night.

(b) For convenience of reference, I have placed in a separate appendix, under letters of the alphabet, in order of date, all the visitors to the Lodge from 1806 to 1858, where will also be found notes on their Lodges, when mentioned and identifiable.

(c) All the Officers, in accordance with the usual Irish custom, were elected by the Lodge, not the Master and Treasurer only, as in England. These elections took place half-yearly, up to the year 1875 (since when they have been yearly), and the newly-elected officers were always installed on St. John's Days. Be it mentioned in passing that one of the crimes imputed to Modern Masons by the old school was their failure to observe these two great Masonic festival days.

(d) No Inner Guard is mentioned. This Officer did not win his place in Ireland till the middle of the century.¹ Nor in Fermoy do we get an Ensign such as the northern Lodges usually chose to bear the Lodge banner in the St. John's Day processions.

(e) Practically no information of an esoteric nature, such as the degree on which the Lodge opened, can be gathered from the Minute.

(f) The names of late Members who attended as visitors may be noted as another proof that the Lodge had been working for some considerable time.

(g) The Lodge is referred to by its number alone. The title "Harmony" was not adopted till after 1861.

Of those present at this meeting, the W.M. Robert O'Hara and S.W. John Bible were to prove strong pillars of support to the Lodge for years to come. O'Hara appears to have been the keeper of an inn or tavern, but the Lodge was not meeting at his house, so far as I can gather, but at Henry Sandham's.

The final item about the petition of Sergeant Campbell gives us the first name of a long series of military members to whom the Lodge was to owe much during the whole of its existence.

The next meeting took place on the 7th July, 1806:

Being our monthly night and met according to Antient custom when Brother James Cambel Was enter'd and passed the degree of a fellow Craft the following members were present *etc.*

This almost invariable custom of conferring the first and second Degrees on the same night was retained by the Lodge up till 1856. The obligatory interval of a clear month between entering and passing, or passing and raising, does not occur in the Irish Constitutions till the "Ahiman Rezon" of 1858.

It appears from this Minute that the dues payable nightly by each member were 1/7½. Up till 1825 the British shilling was worth 1/1 Irish money, hence the strange broken sums entered in old Minute Books.

From the fact that James Glynn filled the Chair at this meeting we may perhaps conclude that he was a Past Master of the Lodge.

Taking them as a whole, the main value of the earlier Minutes lies in their supplying the names of the members, a complete list of which will be found in an appendix.² As is usual with Irish Lodges of the period, the Minute Book tells of many more members than ever were registered with the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

At the next meeting on the 2nd August, 1806, O'Hara was again absent, and this time Henry Sandham acted as Master.

The Lodge Having met according to antient form It being our monthly night when the following members were present and after taking the Pittion [petition] of Wm Hart into our minute Consideration he was admitted and Made an Intered apprintice of reed the degree of a fellow Craft and also Bror Jams Cambel was reed the sublime degree of a master Mason.

¹ This officer is found in a Dublin Lodge in 1814.

² My friend Bro. W. Jenkinson gave me valuable help here. We checked the names in the Grand Lodge Registers together in June, 1928.

A complaint has been laid before the Lodge by Broth. Carrol against Bro. Corse it is ordered that Brother Corse be summoned to attend next monthly night Singed by Joseph Thompson Sect.

To this summons Brother Corse [? Carse] seems to have paid no attention, and no further allusion to him occurs in the Minutes.

1806 Fermoy Octr 6th Lodge No. 555.

The Worshipfull Master Informs the Brethren of said Lodge that He Received A Letter from the Provincial Grand Lodge Held at Cork Purporting that the Master Wardens or Either of them would attend at the Grand Lodge at Cork on Wednesday the 8th Inst which being agree to He Is Resolved to attend or send forward A proper Deputy—etc

This entry shows that the Lodge was in good standing with the Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster, which fact will become even more apparent from subsequent entries.

(27th December, 1806)

The Master, Wardens and Brethren of Lodge No. 555 Having mett according to antient Form in order to Install Officers for the ensuing 6 Months and to Celebrate the Festival of St John When Br Willm Baylor was enstall'd Master Br Michl Tcole Sen Warden and Br John Skerritt Jun Warden, Br Jos Thomson Sen Deacon Br John Bible Jun Deacon Br Jams Glynn Secretary to Said Lodge, at said meeting it was unanimously agreed that Br Jams Fitzpatrick be suspended for one Month from the Date of the 5th of Jan. Next being our next Lodge Night, and untill he gives a proper account for his conduct.

On the 2nd February, 1807, we get: " Br James Fitzpatrick satisfied the Master Wardens and Brethren in his past Conduct therefore his suspension was taken off."

At this same meeting there was a large attendance of visitors, including members of three English Lodges, No. 321 held in the 91st Regiment, No. 183 held in the 9th Regt., and No. 208 held at Plymouth Dock (now Brunswick Lodge No. 159 held at Stonehouse). All three of these were Antient Lodges.

On this occasion a certain John Robinson was entered and passed, and an Emergency Meeting was held on the 9th February, when " it was unanimously agreed to rise Brother John Robinson to the sublime degree of a master Mason it appearing to them that he was leaving town fro [for] England in Consequence of which he received the above degree." Brother Robinson never attended the Lodge again, but more was heard of him later, when doubts were expressed about his suitability as a candidate for Freemasonry.

(2nd March, 1807)

Br James Fitzpatrick In A Masonic Manner Declared off from Being any longer A Member of said Lodge, and claims a certificate, Be It Therefore Remembered that at our full Next monthly Night when the Members of the Lodge will be all Regularly summond to Attend that the claim of Br James Fitzpatrick will be taken into consideration and If found Wirthy of getting a certify cete from Lodge No. 555 It will be granted and If Not Br Fitzpatrick will be at Liberty to call on the Provincial Grand Lodge at Cork for An Explanation Why He was Not granted said certificate.

This Minute is interesting not only as containing the technical phrase "declared off," meaning "resigned," but also as showing the care taken by the members before issuing a certificate. As such a document recommended the

owner to the Craft "wheresoever dispersed," their caution was praiseworthy. This was long before the days when a Grand Lodge certificate began to be issued to every Master Mason on his registration as such. In 1807 such a certificate was certainly obtainable, but it had to be paid for by the recipient and only a proportionately small number of Irish Masons chose to incur this expense—2/2!

The Lodge continued to meet regularly every month throughout 1807, and on the 27th December came a jarring note to interrupt the celebration of St. John's Day.

When Br Little of the 3rd Battn Loyals¹ was called on for to pay His club of a Bill furnished He would not pay But called the members A Set of Rascals and He would not Doubt them with other Improper Language as A Mason to be Proved by Br H. Sandham—
327

It is impossible to say whether the number which closes this record of the truculent Brother Little's behaviour is meant for that of his Lodge. No. 327 I.C. met at Clara, King's Co. 1759-1845, but he might have been a member of No. 327 (Antients) which met in the Staffordshire Militia 1801-3. It was customary for visitors to pay their own shot, but evidently this one had a thrifty mind.

During February and March, 1808, the Lodge was very busy conferring degrees on military candidates all of whom seem to have left Fermoy immediately afterwards. Then comes the terse entry: "on the first Munday in April the Lodge was not Opend for Sertain reasons." Only four members were present. The attendance fell off greatly for "Sertain reasons" that are not apparent in the Minutes²; and when William Doherty was "intered and Crafted" on the 24th August only six Masons are noted down as present, and two of these were visitors; and only five seem to have been in Lodge when the same Brother was Raised, on the 5th September. October, November and December have as records merely the date and "Lodge Night," so probably no meetings were held. There was a better attendance on the 12th December, 1808, when William Baylor was elected Master in place of John Bible; but in January, 1809, only five turned up, "our Secretary being absent and the Book could Not be Had——"

This slackness required a tonic, which was supplied by the news that an attempt was being made to establish another Lodge in Fermoy.

January 26th 1809 The Members of No. 555 Haveing Met by order to take Into their Concederation a Report that was sent to said Lodge by the Masters of Lodge No. 99 and 325 Held at Mallow Concerning a Charge Laid against the Members of Lodge No. 555 by Br Thomas Burn and which Charge Is Eronious and the Master Wardens and Brethern of Lodge No. 555 Determined to Bring the said Br Burn to A trial before three Defferant Lodges on thursday the 2nd Day of February next when He Is to be summoned to prove If He Can the said Charge prove and If Not that He Br Burn will undergo the Censure of said Lodges and It Is also agreed that a Letter will be sent Imediately to the grand Secratary of Ireland to acquaint the grand Lodge that Br Burn [blot] to be tried for Crimes unbecoming

¹ 2nd Batt. 81st Regt., Loyal North Lances.

² The "Sertain reasons" are writ large in the present map of Europe. Napier's "History of the Peninsula War," Book II., chap. 3, tells us that nine thousand soldiers had been collected in Cork in 1808 "with a view to permanent conquests in South America." The Government having decided to send Sir Arthur Wellesley to Portugal put this force at his disposal, and it sailed from Cork on the 12th July, 1808, the troops having been embarked on the transports as early as the 15th, 16th and 17th June. Thus there is little doubt that some of the Brethren of No. 555 took part in August, 1808, in the victory of Vimiera, the first of that wonderful series of triumphs for the British arms that culminated at Toulouse.

A Mason and untill the grand Lodge will Hear of the Result of said Lodges, that the[y] will not grant any warrant or Duplicate of such to the said Thomas Burn to be Held In the town of Fermoy as there are Br Masons In the Town of Kilworth who Have a Claim to warrant No. 22 which Br Burn overholds Signed by the following Members Viz—

H. Baylor M.
Henry Sandham S.W.
Micheal Toole S.D.
John Wilkinson J.D.
James Ahearn
Arthur Bible
John Bible

This was the first appearance of Arthur Bible in the Lodge, though he signs as a member. I cannot avoid suspecting that he joined Lodge 555 in order to get the chance of a dig at Brother Thomas Burn, for a reason that will be suggested later. It is not easy to understand the allusion to Warrant No. 22. This number was issued in 1734 to a Lodge at Wilbrook, Co Westmeath, but so far as our knowledge goes the Lodge had been extinct long prior to 1809, nor is there any record that its warrant had ever been re-issued. The plain meaning of the words above would be that Brother Burn—or Burns, the form in which his name appears in the Grand Lodge Minute—had got hold of the old Warrant No. 22 and that some other Brethren had a better right to it. I might add here that No. 22 was granted to a new Lodge at Kilworth on the 2nd March, 1809. Arthur Bible was a member of this Lodge in 1810. It would be very interesting to discover what claim the Kilworth Brethren thought they had on the Warrant.

To return to Lodge No. 555, on the 2nd February it met in conjunction with two military Lodges, No. 435 held in the 83rd Regt. and No. 950 held in the 53rd Regt., for the purpose of sitting in judgment on Brother Burn. The report of the proceedings fills well-nigh five pages of the Minute Book.

At a Meeting of the Masters and wardens of Lodges No. 435, 950 and 555 Held in the Town of Fermoy By Order at the Lodge room at Brother Henry Sandhams In order to Make a Report to the grand Lodge of Ireland off the Conduct and Behaviour of Br Thomas Burn a Lieutenant In the Comissarate [Commissariat] Department Quartered at Fermoy, Towards the Master Wardens and Brethern of Lodge No. 555 at Mallow in the Months of December and Jany last In Lodge No. 325 who Reported to us the same, and Did send Br Richard Gwynn and Br Hercules McGuinness Two Members of said Lodge to Prove before us what Thomas Burn said at Mallow viz, And after Lodge was opened In Due Form we Did Proceed to Hear the same—Br Richard Gwynn first informs us that In the Latter part of the Month of December He Met said Burn with Two others Master and wardens To Warrant No. 22, to be Held In the Town of Fermoy affors, and Requested of Br Gwynn to use His Influence In geting said Memorial signed by the Master and wardens of Lodge 325 when Br Gwynn asked Burn why He Did not apply to the Master and Wardens of Lodge No. 555 Held at Fermoy from whence He came to sign it before He applied to any strange Lodge When He receeved for answer that He would not allow any Member of Lodge No. 555 to sign It, Br Gwynn asked Him the reason why He said so, He well knowing that the Members of said Lodge were Propper Free Masons and Men of Varacity when Burn Replied that His Reason was the Bad Conduct of the Members thereof in Making all sorts of People

Free Masons and Especially Livery Servants and a Sergt of the Comisserate who He sent a Bad Character off. Br Gwynn Nct beleiving the above Report asked Him If Br James Glynn Secratary and Treasurer to said Lodge was By at Makeing Livery Servants when He said, He was the very Man who obligated the said Livery Servants Conversation on the above subject then Ended Brother Gwynn further says that said Burn vissited Lodge No. 325 on their Monthly Night the 3rd of January Last and at the same time the Master of Lodge No. 99 also held at Mallow vissited them, when He Heard said Burn ask the Master of 99 to sign said Memorial who Returned for Answer, why Did not the Master and wardens of Lodge No. 555 at Fermoy sign It, which If Done He would gladly Do the same when Burn answered that they Did Not Wish to Establish said warrant at Fermoy as It would be a Curb to their Conduct as above stated—Brother Hercules McGinnes also states that said Br Burn called on Him and beged of him to get said Memorial signed by the Masters and Wardens of No. 99 and 325, who Replied why Did Not the Master and Wardens of Lodge No. 555 sign It, and then He was sure It would be Readly signed by the others uppon which Burn Made answer that It would be the Last Lodge He would apply to as they Did Not behave according to the true rules of Masonry and being asked by Br McGennis which way He said so, He well knowing that the members of said Lodge were Propper free Masons and Men of Veracity, How the[y] could act contrary to Masonry, Burn Answered that they Made Livery Servants Masons, Burn called on Br Gwynn Next Day about the Discourse that Passed about Lodge No. 555 and Did Not wish to Have what He said Mentioned But Br Gwynn replied and said He would Report It Imediately which He Has Done as before Burn afterwards said that If Brother Gwynn Did Report It He would Report Him to the grand Lodge to which Gwynn replied He might Do so but that that should not Intimidate Him—

It was Next Mentioned and a Copy of a summons that was Duly served Personally on Burn was Read for us ordering Him to attend said Masters and wardins at the Lodge room afforsaid at the Hour of 5 oClock of the said 2nd Day of Feby Inst to answer to the above Mentioned Charges a Letter which you Have Enclosed¹ was Delivered by said Burn, who being asked to stay Refused to Do so but went contemptuously away contrary to the rules of Masonry—

We then after Hearing the above Charges and Making Every Nessessary Enquiry Into same and Especially on Examining the Transaction Book of Lodge No. 555 we find Brother John Bennett and Brother John Flyht Both of Lodge 279 Now In the 23rd Lt Dragoons signed to the Transaction of the Evening of the 2nd Day of February 1807 when John Robinson that Livery Servant aluded to By Burn was Entered and Crafted and was Recomend by said Brs Bennett and Flyht and we are of an oppinion that Brs Bennett and Flyht would Not be present at Makeing a Man of that Description therefore we refer the Latter Part to Brs Bennett and Flyht who are at Present at Dublin in the 23rd Lt Dragoons and we are of oppinion that the said Thos Burn Is Not a Fit Person to sit In any Lodge as we find out His Report Eronious and Vexatious and In Every Degree Contrary to Masonry as It Is one year and Eleven months since the person was Entered and Crafted and Never Mentioned a sillable

¹ From this expression it would appear that the whole of this record is a copy of a statement forwarded to the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

about It till December affords tho He often joined said Lodge In their Lodge room since that Period and we are furthur of opinion that said Thomas Burn Is guilty of slandering and Backbiting the Officers and Members of Lodge No. 555 and that He went to Mallow with an Intent to Impose on the Masters and Wardens of Lodges No. 99 and 325 Contrary to the rules of Masonry and we Hope the Grand Lodge will Not Grant Him any Revival or Duplicate of No. 22 Warrant above Aluded to as we beleeeve said Warrant to belong to they [*sic*] Different Brothers Freemasons of the Town Kilworth as will appear by the Letter Directed to the Grand Lodge bearing equal Date with this that will fully Explain the whole given under our Hands and orders In Masonry the Day and year first above Written

Wm Duckett	Master of Lodge 435
Serj 83rd Regt	
Geo Hewitt	S.Warden do 435
Serj 83rd Regt	
Jas Parrott 83rd	J.Warden do 435
John Mackland	Master of Lodge No. 950
J. Rushton	S.Warden do 950
J. Butterfeeld	J.Warden do 950

This report was forwarded to Dublin, and on the 2nd March, 1809, we get in the Grand Lodge Minutes:—

Read a Complaint from Lodge 555 against Br Thos Burns & a report from a Committee who investigated same—Referr'd to Two Lodges in Cork—No. 3 & 28.¹

If the Cork Lodges ever proceeded to an investigation, there is no record of it in the Grand Lodge Minutes, and we hear no more of Brother Thomas Burn in any official document.

At this same meeting on 2nd March, 1809, the Grand Lodge ordered the vacant No. 22 to be issued to Kilworth, so the members of Lodge No. 555 had gained that point.

Strange as the procedure may appear to us in these days, the foregoing trial was quite in accordance with Masonic custom and law. It may be as well to underline one or two of its main features. Burn accused Lodge No. 555 of initiating a Livery Servant, which was till quite recently a Masonic offence with us in Ireland, though the ban on this occupation had fallen into desuetude in many other Constitutions. Of course, he aggravated his crime, which was slander, by refusing to “answer a regular summons,” a phrase still known to us.

In one place the language of the report might be misleading. Lodge No. 279 was never in the 23rd Light Dragoons: it sat at Clonmel from 1757 to 1835. No doubt Brother John Robinson came from the same town, which would account for the good report of him that was given by Brothers Bennett and Flyht.

I cannot find Brother Burn's name among the visitors to Lodge No. 555 at any meeting, though the report asserts that he attended several times.

The matter ended so far as our Fermoy Lodge was concerned with the following Minute of the 13th March, 1809:—

The Members of Lodge No. 555 Met by order to Take Into their Concoideration A Letter Receeved from the D[eputy] G[rand] Secretary of Ireland Relative to Br Thos Burn and where It is

¹ 28 is probably a mistake of the D.G.S. for 8. Lodge 28 Cork was in a poor way in 1809.

ordered that the Conduct of said Burn Is to be Enquired Into by the Masters and wardens of Lodges No. 3 & 8 In Cork, and on Reading said Letter It was unanimously agreed to by the whole that said Letter should be Complied with In Every Degree according to the rules of Masonry—

Attendances at the Lodge continued to be poor until May, 1809, when a goodly list of visitors from Military Lodges show that the 32nd and 79th Regiments had arrived in Fermoy. One of these visitors, Brother J. Mead Imber, joined the Lodge in June. He was a member of the Scots Lodge No. 73 held in the 32nd Regt. (1754-1809). I think this Scots Lodge must have already become extinct, because Lodge No. 555 proceeded to initiate some soldiers of the 32nd Regt., which would have been illegal if Lodge 73 were still in existence.

The Lodge now became very busy conferring Masonic degrees on soldier candidates: thus on the 19th June, 1809, William Watling was Entered and Passed, and three days later was Raised.

On the 12th September, 1809, an emergency meeting was held,

when the Following Regulations were agreed to that the above Lodge do meet at their Lodge room on Wednesday the 13 Inst to proceed in prosession from thence to the Theatre for the Benefit of Bror Lee

This is the only mention of a procession that I have found in the Fermoy Minutes. The custom was more honoured in the north of Ireland.

In October, 1809, two more soldiers from the 32nd Regt. were initiated together with Charles Hölty of the 2nd King's German Legion. There must have been a considerable body of German troops quartered in Fermoy at this time, as will be seen in the sequel.

The 2nd November, 1809, is the date at which I have found the first reference to Robert Millikin as a member of the Lodge. This reference does not occur in the Fermoy Minutes, but in those of the Grand Lodge of Ireland:—

Read a complaint from Robt Millikin against Henry Sandham both of 555—Refd to Lodge 22 Kilworth.

Here yet again there is no further reference to the matter in the G.L. Minutes. The entry, however, proves that Millikin must have become a member of Lodge No. 555 prior to June, 1806, the date of the first Lodge Minute.

The Wardens elected for the first half of 1810 were Bros. Bamborough and Imber, both military men, and on 5th March, 1810, the Lodge proceeded to elect Bros. Nowlan and Power "Senour and Juner Wardens in Conquence of the march of the 32 Regt." This is an example of the kind of disaster that was continually befalling the Fermoy Lodge. The military Brethren were model attenders and workers, but they were liable to be snatched away at a moment's notice, and on more than one occasion the Lodge nearly succumbed in consequence of losing its most active members.

In the early months of 1810 a number of visitors attended from a Lodge No. 500, and among them was a Brother Irvine Beattie in April. It is a piece of great good luck that this name was recorded, for it is the proof that No. 500 was an illegal Seton Warrant. On the 7th June, 1810, Grand Lodge received a letter from Irvine Beattie, John Loughrin (also noted as visitor to No. 555) and Robt. Dawson asking for a duplicate of No. 500 which they had purchased from Seton to hold a Lodge in the 59th Regt. These Brethren were granted No. 219 free of charge. We might perhaps assume, without undue rashness, that in their Masonic intercourse at Fermoy they had learnt of the illegality of the Warrant under which they had been working.

The 19th June, 1810, has a Minute full of interest. Among those present it records the first appearance of Robert Millikin, who had evidently settled his

dispute with Henry Sandham, who also was present; indeed, the latter had not been absent from a single meeting since the previous November. The Minute reads:—

Having mett on Emergency, to consider on the claims of Hyde of the Brunswick corps a Petitioner, who wish'd to be admitt'd, and who was also reject'd—Visiting members present

Herzberg No. 98

Kascholetz (?) No. 98

Böstler No. 98

Steinwehr 98

Brandenstein 98

Weichholtz Nr 98

Comt Schönfeld No. 98

von Lüder No. 98

Now I think there can be little doubt that the German Brethren attended to speak with the tongue of bad report about Hyde (? Heide). More uncertainty exists about the Lodge to which they belonged. We do not know where the original Irish Warrant No. 98 met, and it was not re-issued to Newtownards till December, 1810. Neither the Antient nor the Scots No. 98 seems likely, and the current Modern No. 98 must also be ruled out of court. These English Lodges met in Jersey and the Scots Warrant in Charleston S.C. It seems possible that the Lodge in question may be Union Lodge No. 98 constituted by the Moderns in 1742 for Frankfurt-am-Main, which was re-numbered 81 in 1780 and 74 in 1792. The Lodge became independent in 1782, but returned to its English allegiance in 1789. In 1823 it became a member of the Eclectic Union, under which Constitution it was still in existence until the recent suppression of Freemasonry in Germany. Whether this identification be right or not, we have here the only instance I have ever met of a number of German Masons from the same Lodge attending an Irish Lodge. The German troops were evidently quartered in Fermoy for some little time. Some of those mentioned above visited No. 555 again, and later on the Lodge had some German initiates.

In November an English Military Lodge, No. 248 (Antients) held in the 76th Regt. attended as visitors in full force.

On the 27th December, 1810, mention is heard of a Masonic *cause célèbre*:—

A Letter was Recd from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster to the following effect—

Worshipfull Sir,

Annex'd I hand you an order of the Grand Lodge respecting the Warrant No. 520. You will please observe that in this order is included the Expulsion from Masonic Principles of all Persons who may have been at any Time attach'd to that Warrant

I am Worshipfull Sir

Your very humble Servt

Cork 26th Decr 1810

M. Edwards

Depty P. G. Secty

A. Copy Grand Lodge of Ireland

Ordered

That Warrant No. 520 be cancell'd and struck off the Books of the Grand Lodge for having been privately sold and convey'd away contrary to the Laws and Constitutions of Masonry

(Sign'd) By Order

Wm F. Graham

To all whom it may concern

Depty Grand Secty

A True Copy M. Edwards Depty P.G.Secy Pro Munster

Lodge No. 520 had been warranted in 1775 for Blarney, and in 1801 removed to Cork. In 1809, a Brother Maginn, Prov. G. Secretary of Munster, got possession of the Warrant and sent it to some Brethren in Scotland, apparently at Seton's suggestion. Lodge No. 25 S.C. Dunse wrote in protest to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which promptly took action as recorded above. The suspended Brethren of No. 520 were all reinstated at the end of 1811 on the recommendation of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster, so no doubt they had been guiltless. This is the only instance I have come across of the attempt to establish a Seton Lodge out of Ireland. It seems to have continued its clandestine career in Scotland till a date as late as January, 1814.

Brother Robert Walker, the Provincial Grand Secretary of Munster, has had the extreme kindness to copy for me the following Minutes of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster which refer to this bad business of No. 520:—

P.G.L. Munster 7th Jany 1811

The R.W. William Worth Newenham Esq. Provincial Grand Master in the chair . . . letter from:

Grand Lodge of Ireland, Dublin, 1st November, 1810

Received a complaint from Lodge No. 25 on the Registry of the R.W. Grand Lodge of Scotland stating that Warrant No. 520 on the registry of Ireland and lately held in Cork has been surreptitiously brought to the Town of Dunse in Scotland by a man of the name of J. Campbell (whose application had been rejected by this Grand Lodge) and it is alledged to have been obtained thro' the interference of Bro. John Maginn Pro. Gd Secy of Munster, and Master of Lodge No. 41.

It is ordered that it be referred to Br W. W. Newenham P.G. Master and the Wardens & Brethren of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster to enquire into the above matter and report to this Grand Lodge on the conduct of Br John Maginn and all others concerned in this transaction and whether a private sale or Transfer has been made of Warrant 520 contrary to the known and established Laws of the Order.

By Order of the Grand Lodge

signed Wm F. Graham D.G.S.

W. W. Newenham Esq P.G.M. Munster

Wardens and Brethren

Ordered—That a committee of Twelve Masters of Lodges with Bro. Boyle Coghlan Esq. be appointed a committee to enquire into the matters relative to the sale of Warrant No. 520, and make a report to this G. Lodge on Monday 21st January at 7 o'clock in the evening.

That the Masters of the following Lodges with Boyle Coghlan Esq as Chairman form said Committee, Br James Lane No. 1, John Travers No. 3, Richard Notter No. 8, Charles Ross No. 15, John Welsh No. 25, Besnard No. 27, Power No. 67, Dan Sullivan No. 71, Smith No. 95, Morgan McSwiney No. 277, Casey No. 347, Thomas Nugent Senr Warden No. 221—5 to form a Quorum.

Ordered—That the Dep. P.G. Secty do forthwith inform all persons attached to the Warrant No. 520 when held in Cork of the time said Committee will meet. That a copy of the Grand Lodge Order of 1st November be sent to Bro. John Maginn with a summons to attend said Committee.

An order of the R.W. the Grand Lodge was read stating that the Warrant No. 520 was cancelled—which was ordered to be entered in the Pro. G. Lodge transaction Book and the following is a copy:
Grand Lodge of Ireland, Dublin, 6th Decr 1810

Ordered—That Warrant No. 520 be cancelled and struck off the Books of the Grand Lodge for having been privately sold and Convey'd away contrary to the Laws and Constitutions of Masonry—by Order To all whom it may concern signed W. F. Graham Dep.G.Secty

21st day of January 1811 at the Crown Tavern The Rt Worshipful the Provincial Grand Master in the Chair . . . Received the report of the Committee appointed by the Prov. G. Lodge to enquire into the circumstances relative to the sale of Warrant No. 520 which being read by the Dep. P.G. Secy Bro. Thomas late of No. 520 was called in and the following question asked him. Would you have delivered up to the Prov. G. Master The Warrant No. 520 on being required by him so to do?

Ans'd, I would immediately have done it.

Ordered, That the evidence reported be referred to the Committee to prepare a report for the Grand Lodge of Ireland with the addition of the question put to Br Thomas and his answer thereto.

Ordered That the Committee make their Report to the Pro. Grand Master on Tuesday 29th instant.

Note by Bro. R. Walker. Next meeting held 12th March 1811, no reference made to above.

8th May 1811 at the Bush Tavern Cork, P.G.M. in the Chair, only reference made:—

Ordered That a copy of the Grand Lodge Order 2nd May 1811 relative to the late Members of 520 be communicated to the Lodges in the Province and to the parties concerned.

2nd January 1812 at the Bush Tavern The Rt Wor. W. W. Newenham Esq. P.G. Master in the Chair . . . Read the Order of the Grand Lodge of Ireland Dated 5th December 1811—Ordered to be entered in the P.G. Lodge Book.

Grand Lodge of Ireland, Dublin, 5th December 1811

Read a memorial from Willm Thomas, Thos Good, John Murray, Geo Stotesbury, and Robt Stotesbury all formerly members of the cancelled Warrant No. 520 praying to be restored to the Rights of Freemasonry for reasons therein stated and which memorial has the recommendation of the R.W.P.G. Master, Wardens and Officers of the P.G. Lodge of Munster, as also of nine Masters of Lodges held in the City of Cork. Ordered That the prayer of the memorial be complied with and the above mentioned Brethren restored to Masonry.

By Order of the Grand Lodge signed Wm F. Graham
To all whom it may concern.

The 7th January, 1811, began the Masonic year with the initiation of two troopers from the Duke of Brunswick's Cavalry.. Then comes a memorandum:—

Lodge No. 555 Recd by Brother Henry Sandham an acknowledgement for the Sum of One Pound Seventeen Shillings and four Pence from Bro Myles Edwards, Depty P.G. Secty Munster. One Pound British of which being our Annual Subscription to the P. Lodge the remaining Seventeen Shillings and Four pence for Reg. the following Brother

Rob O'Hara Mastr
Will Bailor S.W.
Anw Black J.W.
Abm Hargraves
Henry Sandham

Fras Nowlan
 Richd Godsell [*recte* Godson]
 Willm O'Keeffe
 Rob Milikin
 John Bible
 John Wilkinson
 Danl Murphy
 Thos McKee
 Michl Toole
 John Fitzgerald
 Jams Glyn

Members rejeſtered both in Provintial and Grand Lodge

Owen Moriarty
 July 18 Jno Moase
 1811 Danl Bayley
 Thos Johnson
 Jerh Vebre [*recte* Weber]
 Fred Wilm Shultsze
 Jno Lear [*recte* Johann Wilhelm Loehr]
 Rich Croker.

These liſts ſhould be compared with the appendix.

A red-letter date for the Lodge came on the 25th February, 1811:—

Having Met by order of the Right Worſhipful Provincial Grand Master William Worth Newenham Eſq. who after xaminin Into the Secratary's accounts and the by Laws of Said Lodge was Pleaſed to Highly Congratulate the Master Wardens and Members thereof and at the ſame time Br Owen Moriarty was Raized to the Sublime Degree of a Master Maſon . . .

It is pleaſant to find the Lodge eſtabliſhing a reputation for good working thus early in its career, and even more pleaſing to add that the ſame reputation attends it to-day in Munſter.

I cannot fix the date with certainty at which Brother Newenham was appointed Provincial Grand Maſter of Munſter. His predecessor, Thomas Weſtropp, M.D., had died on 31ſt October, 1808. By December, 1810, the new appointment had been made by the Grand Maſter (though unrecorded in Grand Lodge Minutes), for Newenham was then buſy with preparations for investigating the ſcandal about No. 520.¹

On the 1ſt April, 1811, though there was an attendance of 16 Members and 4 viſitors to hear the Petition for admiſſion of Jeremias Weber of the Brunſwick Cavalry, the Minute concludes:—

From the non attendance of ſome of the Members of Lodge 555 on their neceſſary avocations it is requeſt'd that the Secy ſhould furniſh'd them with the Amt of their arrears and collect the ſame before the enſuing Monthly night for the better preſarving the Honor of the Craft and the more correctly keeping the Acct of the Lodge

Robt O'Hara Maſtr

On the 9th April, 1811, comes a typically Irish Minute:—

Lodge met on emergency to accomodate two Military friends who were ordered on Duty when Jeremias Veber and Fredreck Wilhelm Shuleſz of the Duke of Brunſwicks light dragoons were entered and Crafted according to antient uſage

¹ Bro. Walker informs me that W. W. Newenham preſided as P.G.M. in October, 1810.

The Irish Code gave wide powers to Lodges when the candidates were soldiers or sailors, to whom it accorded preferential treatment. These regulations will be found summarised in my paper, "The Poor Common Soldier" (*A.Q.C.*, xxxviii.).

On the 24th June, 1811, we get the first reference to a Tyler, which must not be assumed to mean that this necessary office had been unoccupied. In Ireland the Tyler is not reckoned as an officer of the Lodge.

"Brother John Hickey was admitted tiler to said Lodge," runs the entry. Later on Brother Hickey fell into distress and was relieved by the Lodge on several occasions.

On the 2nd September, 1811, Robert Millikin, who was then S.W., filled the Chair in the absence of the W.M. Robert O'Hara, and in the following December was elected Master.

Nothing of any note happened till the 3rd March, 1812, when a unique event is recorded, the constitution of an English Lodge on Irish soil:—

1812 March 2, Being Lodge night, No. 555 having met according to ancient order, our Brother Geo Browne of Lodge 248 on the Registry of England having in open Lodge produced an instrument signed by the Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, appointing him Deputy to that Lodge in the Town of Fermoy for the space of Three Hours, to constitute the warrant, and to install a Master and Wardens to a new Lodge No. 353 in the first battalion 5th Regt of Foot also on the Registry of England at which installation Bror Geo Browne is to preside as Master, or Deputy to the Grand Master of England, for which he craves the assistance of the Master, Wardens, and Members of Lodge 555 on the Registry of Ireland, his request of course was comply'd with.

This event was unknown to John Lane, so owners of his invaluable book on English Lodges will now be enabled to make a note in it about the place and time where and when Lodge No. 353 was constituted. On the 4th May, 1812, Brothers William Lagden and Bernard Green (former members of No. 248 E.C.) visited No. 555 as members of the new Lodge No. 353.

In June, 1812, Robert Millikin was elected Master of the Lodge for a second term. I may mention in this place that I have considered it unnecessary to lengthen this history by inserting the half-yearly lists of Officers, and have contented myself with placing the years in which any Brother served as Master after his name in the list of members.

Attendances began to fall off again, and on the 3rd August, 1812, it was agreed:

that such members as have been summon'd to their Lodge this night and did not appear, are suspend'd untill they account for their non-attendance . . .

On the 7th September many of the defaulters put in an appearance and paid their arrears, but two Brothers were ordered to remain under suspension.

In October a candidate was rejected:—

Octr 5, Having met, it being Monthly night according to antient order, the Petition of Davd Mahony was receiv'd, two Black Beans appearing against him he could not be admitt'd according to the Bye laws of this Lodge . . .

On the 2nd November, 1812, comes an important entry:—

A Letter being receiv'd from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, saying that the Annual Dues, to the Grand, were not Paid, since the removal of the Warrant from Carlow, of which we advised with the P[rovincial]

G[rand] who desired that we should answer it, referring our conduct since the Lodge was establish'd at Fermoy for further explanation as our dues were regularly paid to the P.G. Lodge of Munster for which we have their Receipts . . .

The wording of this shows, to my mind, that at this date the Lodge was working under the old Carlow Warrant, properly endorsed of course. It also shows that the Lodge was in good standing in every sense with the Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster. We shall see later that the Lodge was able to justify itself to the Grand Lodge.

Among the visitors on this occasion were John Mounstephens and James Haslem of Lodge 39, Hugh Roberts of No. 332, and Ferdinand O'Flaherty of No. 967. I believe Lodge 39 to have been the Seton Warrant for "Somewhere near Belfast," which attended the processions of the Grand East of Ulster at Lisburn on the 24th June, 1812, and at Carnmoney on 24th June, 1813. The Minute concludes:—

Brothers Roberts and O'Flaherty have Lodged their Certificates with No. 555 during their stay in Fermoy.

This method of achieving a temporary membership of a Lodge was very common. The certificate of the joining Brother was locked up in the Lodge chest, and when he left it was handed back to him, provided he had paid his monthly dues. Very seldom indeed did the Grand Lodge receive a transfer fee for such a membership.

In December, 1812, Robert Millikin was elected for his third term in the Chair, but he did not attend on a single occasion until the 7th June, 1813, when, all the same, he was elected Master for a fourth time.

At this meeting in June, 1813, the Lodge decided to change its quarters:—

In consequence of Br Henry Sandham retiring from business it was the unanimous consent of the Lodge that they meet at Br Robert O'Hara's on the first Monday in July.

On the 6th September following we get a curious entry:—

Having met it being monthly night the Petition of James Hoveron being receiv'd it was agreed to and in consequence of his removing to Tipperary it was the unanimous opinion of the members that he should withhold his desire untill his arrival there also the Petition of Don Martin sign'd by P. O'Neill of No. 864 Fermanagh militia and Wm Jones either of which are not members of this Lodge consequently it was not attend'd to.

All of which goes to show that the Lodge was scrupulous about the character of the candidates it accepted.

In December, 1813, John Bible was elected Master and Robert O'Hara Treasurer and Secretary.

On the 3rd January, 1814, comes yet another instance of the ease with which a Lodge could be joined or left in those more simple days:—

Br. Jams Gray of the 16th Regt of No. 292¹ of the Registry of Scotland has lodged his certificate and become a member during his stay in Fermoy . . .

Br Fras Nowlan declared himself as an Honorary membr for a certain space in consequence of his attending to his ordinary Business out of Fermoy . . .

Then we get some more about the Grand Lodge claim for dues:—

(7th February, 1814) A Letter from the G. Lodge of Ireland have been recd and answer'd, another from the P.G.L. M[unster] and

¹ Lodge 292 S.C. Forfar and Kincardine, Dundee, 1808—current as 225.

answer'd enclosing £1-2-9 our annual subscription to the Charity funds *see Letter Book*.

(7th March, 1814) . . . a Letter have been receiv'd in reply to ours of the 7th Ultimo from Willm Graham D.G. Secy of Ireland *see Letter Book*.

It is tantalising to think that this Letter Book has been lost. The Grand Lodge Minutes note the arrival of the letter from No. 555 and its being referred, together with one from No. 84 Bandon, which Lodge had also written in protest, to a special Committee.

This would be a good place to give a short account of the difficulties which the Grand Lodge of Ireland was at this time having with its Munster Lodges, but it will be enough to say here that misunderstandings had arisen about the powers of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster, and that disagreements continued to arise for many years to come.

During the spring and summer of 1814 the Armagh Militia was quartered in or near Fermoy, and many members of Lodge No. 888 held in that Regiment attended No. 555 as visitors.¹

The Lodge did not open in either August or November "in consequence of want of Members."

On the 5th December, 1814, comes the first mention of the Royal Arch degree, and that a mere casual reference: "Br Hugh Roberts has Lodged his Grand Lodge certificate and Royal arch and become a member of this Lodge during his stay in Fermoy."

Members continued to be slack in attending Lodge, so on the 2nd January, 1815:—

. . . it was agreed that any of the members of this Lodge who are Three Months in Arrears and do not pay said arrears on the next monthly night be suspended for such Time as the Majority of the Lodge shall deem fit.

Br John Hickey has in a handsome manner offer'd his services to the Lodge as a Tyler, for which he merits the thanks of the Mastr, Wardens and members of the Lodge.

So apparently the office of Tyler was unpaid.

On the 6th February, 1815: "It was agreed that the original Bye Laws respecting a Charity fund be put into force from this night."

Alas, these original by-laws are not extant!

No meeting could be held in March, 1815. On the 3rd April, at a sparsely attended meeting, the Petition of Sergeant James Kidson of the 3rd Battalion Royal Scots was unanimously agreed to, and he was accordingly "entered and crafted" at an emergency meeting on the 7th April. Then on the following 29th April we hear the footsteps of an approaching great event:—

Lodge met on emergency in consequence of the sudden rout of the 3rd Battn of the Royal Scots when Brother Jas Kidson of that regt who was entered and Crafted on the 7th of this month was in due form raised to the sublime degree of a Master Mason.

The Hundred Days had begun in France, British troops were being rushed to the Continent, and the campaign had opened that was to have its climax on the fateful Sunday of Waterloo.

¹ My friend Bro. T. G. F. Paterson informs me that Val Blacker (1778-1826), who was one of these visitors from No. 888, subsequently became Qr.-Master-General of Madras and Surveyor-General of India.

In May, 1815, the Lodge was not opened, for the usual reason. In June it obtained a useful member in Brother Samuel Robinson of No. 235 (Coleraine 1753-1846) who "lodg'd his Grand certificate and declar'd himself a member of this Lodge during his stay in Fermoy." Brother Robinson subsequently kept the King's Arms Hotel in Fermoy, and to this house the Lodge moved in later years.

Attendances of members continued to be most unsatisfactory. There were no meetings in July and August. On the 2nd October:—

Having met it being a monthly night, in consequence of the non attendance of many of the members of this Lodge it is resolv'd that the present members whose names are annex'd are considered as the only members of Lodge No. 555—the follown were present—(Robt O'Hara; Thos McKee; Andrew Black; Robt Millikin; Saml Robinson; John Moase; Thos Fetherston; John Bible)—Lodge closed in the utmost love & Harmony at 9 oClock

There follows below a note written later:—

This transaction was expunged on the 6th Jany 1817 by the unanimous consent of the Mastr Wardens & Members of Lodge 555

The stated communication on the 7th January, 1816, could not be held; and on the 18th at an emergency one of the faithful few who still attended, Brother John Moase, had got into trouble, which luckily did not prove lasting:—

. . . the complaint of Br Jones against Br Moas was lodged Br Moase not having appeared according to summons by Br Bible, and answering it, unbecoming a Mast. Mason.

It is decided by the members present that he shall be suspended for one month, *only* to give him sufficient time to retract his former misconduct

the Lodge having met on the 1st April 1816 it being monthly night the above censure on Brother Moase in consequence of his very proper submission to the Lodge is ordered to be expunged and it is hereby expunged.

There was another abortive meeting in February, and then on the 4th March, 1816, two sergeants of the 2nd Garrison Battalion were entered and passed in the presence of a goodly number of visitors, and they were raised ten days later. The newly-made Masons seem to have left Fermoy at once, which was also the case with many of the Lodge's other initiates in those early years.

On the 3rd June, 1816, Robert Millikin was elected Master once more; but on the 1st July we find:—

July 1 Having met it being our monthly night in consequence of the complaint lodged by Br John Bible against Br Robt Milikin for expressions unbecoming a Mason and which the said Br Milikin refusing to give that satisfactory account to Br Bible for said expressions, which he was bound to do, and also not attending to be Install'd as Master of this Lodge for the ensuing Six Months agreeable to appointment, it is the unanimous opinion of the members present that the sd Br Robert Milikin be suspended from this Lodge untill he gives the Lodge that ample satisfaction which they are entitled to—it was also agreed that Br Thos Fetherstone do fill the Chair as Mastr for the ensuing six Months.

There was no meeting on the regular monthly night in August, nor yet in September, "For want of Members," but in the interim came an emergency meeting on the 12th August:—

Having met it being on Emergency to consider the complaint of Br John Bible against Br Robert Milikin and his defence not appearing satisfactory to the Lodge and even what he offer'd in his defence agravating his former conduct it is the unanimous opinion of the Lodge that he be expell'd from the antient and honourable Degree of a Free Mason . . .

The remainder of this regrettable squabble may be told as shortly as possible. Lodge No. 555 reported the expulsion to Grand Lodge, which in October, 1816, confirmed the sentence. An intimation to that effect reached Fermoy in November:—

Ordered on the Report of Lodge No. 555 that Robert Milikin late a member thereof be Excluded from all the *Rites*, Benefits and Privileges of Free and Accepted Masons, for Ever

Millikin appealed, and the matter was referred to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Cork,¹ a newly-formed governing body, presided over by Bro. William Worth Newenham as Provincial Master, that had been instituted at the close of 1813. In January, 1817, Millikin's expulsion was rescinded, but both he and Lodge No. 555 were censured by the Grand Lodge for unmasonic conduct.

One cannot but deeply regret that the Lodge which had the honour of numbering among its members one of the most important of our Irish Masonic writers should have so little cause to look back upon that fact with pride. The best feature about the whole unpleasant incident is that Millikin attempted no self-justification, and let bygones be bygones when he was setting down his Masonic recollections more than thirty years later.

Lodge No. 555 seems to have opened 1817 in a chastened mood. The Minute of the 6th January reads:—

Having met it being Monthly night, it being the opinion of the Worshipfull Master Wardens & Members that the arrears due by a few the members of the Lodge be dispens'd with owing to circumstances.

Resolv'd unanimously that the proceedings of this Lodge on the 2nd Octr 1815 be expung'd from their Books, as on mature deliberation they find them contrary to the true Principles of the craft in general—

In June, 1817, the Lodge was preparing to move, or perhaps had already moved, to Brother Samuel Robinson's house. The members agreed to meet at 4 o'clock on the 24th instant "to celebrate the Festival of St. John the Evangelist and the Secy do advertize the same in the Southern Reporter—dinner on the Table at Bro Sam Robinson's precisely at Five O Clock."

Nothing of much interest happened during the rest of this year, except that in October a Brother Archibald Reith is noted as having "become a member of Lodge 555, and deposit'd certificates viz, Master and Royal Arch." Reith is entered in the Grand Lodge register as having come from Lodge No. 9 E.C. If the entry be correct, which is far from certain, he was, probably, from a very distant Lodge, No. 9 E. of the Antients, which was warranted at Quebec in 1781 in the 4th Battalion of the Royal Artillery, and is now No. 2 on the Registry of the Grand Lodge of Quebec. If his Lodge was really Irish, it met at Limerick from 1755 to 1817.

¹ Bro. Robert Walker informs me that the Munster Freemasons never accepted this new title for their Provincial Grand Lodge, but continued to style themselves in the Minutes "The Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster."

On the 2nd February, 1818, the following Minute occurs:—

. . . a letter has been recd from the P.G. Lodge respecting Br Beville of Bandon craving our assistance, it was resolv'd that the Sum of one Pound two Shill and nine pence be sent to the relief of sd Bror Beville . . .

I have not yet managed to trace what Brother Beville's trouble was. He was a member of No. 167 Bandon, and one of the grantees of No. 155 in 1817, when that Warrant was taken by No. 167 instead of its old number. His case was undoubtedly a deserving one, for on the 1st April, 1819, we find in the Grand Lodge Minutes:—

Read a Meml of Br Thos Beville of Lodge 167 now 155 praying assistance of the G.L. in consequence of the injuries sustain'd by him as a freemason—Ordered that Br Thos Beville be reliev'd with Thirty pounds.

This was a very large grant for those days. The Grand Lodge seems to have followed a lead given it by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Cork.¹

Meetings fell through in July and November, 1818, for "want of Members," but in other months the attendance was good. The 7th December brought a visit from 8 members of Albuera Lodge No. 704 E.C. held in the 57th Regiment.

On the 1st February, 1819, "the Petition of Edwd Riordan was receiv'd and for certain reasons he was not Initiated it was also resolved that no Petition should ever be receiv'd from him." The same evening Brother George Sandham, who had been entered and passed the previous 17th December, was raised. He may have been a relative of Henry Sandham, whose last appearance in Lodge had been on 29th April, 1815. Only very seldom do these old Minute Books give us an indication of the exact date when a member "declared off." The Grand Lodge register sometimes affords a hint by giving the date of certificate issue; but in those days many a member was never registered in Dublin, and many more never went to the expense of obtaining certificates. So Masons such as Henry Sandham disappear from our ken, and in most cases we cannot tell the reason.

On the 22nd February, 1819, Lodge No. 555 met to hold an enquiry by order of Grand Lodge on the appeal of some Brethren of No. 495 held in the South Cork Militia:—

Having met by virtue of a Warrant recd from the Grand Lodge of Ireland bearing date the 4th Day of Feby 1819 to hear the Complaints of John Coghlan, Richd Hall, Thos Mann, Wm Murphy, and Isaac Varian against Lodge No. 495 for Suspending them without cause from Masonry a Committee being appoint'd for the due investigating the same as follows (*9 names*) . . . Adjourn'd untill the 1st March being monthly night.

(*1st March, 1819*) . . . the report of the Committee appoint'd by virtue of a warrant receiv'd from the G. Lodge of Ireland for the Investign the complaints John Coghlan etc. against Lodge 495 for suspending them without excuse from Masonry, reports as follows, Br Pat Halpinny Chairman, that the causes stat'd for the suspending the above members of 495 are frivolous and unmasonic. We Humbly & Respectfully beg leave, to have their Suspension rescind'd, it was also unanimously agreed that the above Members are entitled to their Gd Lodge Certificates, if they require them . . .

¹ Bro. Robt. Walker informs me that the case of Bro. Beville was referred to a Committee of the P.G.L. on the 20th August, 1817.

This decision gave rise to a certain amount of liveliness—and correspondence. To summarise it shortly: the report by Lodge No. 555 exonerating the Brethren was read in Grand Lodge on the 1st April; on the 1st July Lodge No. 495 appealed against the decision, and the case was then referred to the Committee of Charity and Inspection in Dublin; on the 5th August this Committee reported that the decision of Lodge No. 555 should be looked on as final; on the 7th October Lodge No. 495 wrote again, and Grand Lodge asked No. 555 for another report; on the 4th November this was received in Dublin, and the matter ended at last with the decision of the Grand Lodge that the original recommendation from Fermoy should be adopted.

In July and August, 1819, the Lodge did not meet for the usual reason. On the 1st November:—

. . . agreed that the Secy do issue Sumonons to the Tyler two days at the least previous to Lodge night for each member belonging to 555, to enforce a better attendance from the Members thereof . . .

Not only was the attendance throughout 1820 generally bad, but the Minutes were badly kept by George Sandham, who was now Secretary. Thus on the 5th June, 1820, William Bible of No. 8 Cork was present as a visitor, and on the 2nd October following he was entered as a member, though there is no record of his election.

Things continued to be unsatisfactory, and on the 4th June, 1821, the Lodge decided to try a new scheme:—

. . . and be it further enacted by and with the advice of the Body that for the future that the Chair will be filled in Succession by the officers now belonging to the Lodge at every election that may take place according to seniority . . .

This decision to promote officers in succession was not carried out. Curiously enough, it antedates by two years a new law of the Grand Lodge on this very subject:—

Whereas a practice has long prevailed of Masters of Lodges holding the Office for a number of years to the injury of the Craft, by repressing Emulation in the Brethren, rendering them hopeless of advancement, and preventing a succession of Persons qualified to conduct those Lodges. It is ordered:—That from and after the 24th June 1823, no Brother shall be eligible to hold the office of Master of a Lodge for a longer period than two years successively, nor shall be reelected at any time afterwards until after an interval of one year, from the expiration of his former Mastership, unless by special permission etc.

As a matter of fact, events which were to happen in the year 1823 prevented this salutary law from having all its proper effect at once.

In February, 1822, the Lodge's old Warrant was destroyed by an accident, and on the 4th April a duplicate was issued in the names of John Bible, Thomas McKee and George Sandham, at that time the Master and Wardens, and the Lodge met under this duplicate until 1929, when it was burnt, and another Warrant issued. No meeting was held in March, 1822, owing perhaps to the lack of a Warrant.

On the 8th October, 1822, a matter of importance came up for discussion:—

. . . a Circular letter having been received from the Grand Lodge of Ireland relative to some queries required of said Lodge relative to the Craft it is the unanimous opinion of said Lodge that a Committee be formed and attend at the Lodge room on the evening of Monday next for the purpose of settling the same—

The Lodge did not meet again till December, and there is no record of what reply the Committee prepared to the Grand Lodge's queries, which were as follows¹:—

- 1st What Lodges meet in your neighbourhood?
- 2nd What is the charge of admission?
- 3rd What is the mode of Ballot & what notice?
- 4th What is the strength of each Lodge?
- 5th What the periods of Meeting?
- 6th How many members usually attend?
- 7th What description of persons do the Lodges usually consist of?
- 8th What Lodges most respectable?
- 9th Is the Order improving or declining?
- 10th If declining, what is the cause?

On the 22nd December, 1822, which was the first meeting held since October:—

Resolved, that the secy do furnish each Member with his acct previous to St Johns Day—

Resolved that our Meetings which had been hitherto held on the first Monday in each Month be now held quarterly that is on every first Monday in March, June, September & Decr and so on during pleasure

This meeting was attended by Brothers John Bible W.M., O'Hara, Fitzmaurice, Turner, William Bible, FitzGibbon, George Sandham, Samuel Robinson and William Robinson.

On the 3rd March, 1823, "No Meeting for want of Members." Then:—

March 6th The Lodge opened in due form it being a Night of Emergency the Following Members Present (*all those present in December except Fitzmaurice*)

Resolved that the Members of said Lodge do meet on the first Monday in each Month at the hour of Six o'Clock P.M. precisely during pleasure

The next meeting took place on the 13th December, 1824!

In the meantime a great calamity had overtaken the Irish Craft.

A new Act against Secret Societies had become the law of the land in 1823, and the rulers of the Craft in Ireland after making enquiries from the officials at Dublin Castle could come to no other conclusion than that it prohibited Masonic meetings in Ireland, though the Craft in England was expressly exempted from its operation. On the 1st August, 1823, Grand Lodge issued a circular to all its Lodges ordering them to suspend their meetings forthwith. The order was loyally obeyed, and no Masonic meetings were held for five months. In December, 1823, Grand Lodge authorised the Lodges to meet and elect Officers for the next half-year and transmit returns to Dublin. A petition was forwarded to Parliament, and by June, 1824, Grand Lodge was able to order the Lodges to resume their meetings as formerly.

But the year's interdict had had desperate results. Numbers of Irish Lodges went out of existence for ever as a result of it, and for years afterwards the Order was crippled.

Lodge No. 555 presents an instance of the results. Though the Lodge survived, it remained paralysed for about eighteen months.

The sequence of Minutes can speak for itself:—

1824 Lodge 555

Decr 13 Having mett, pursuant to a Circular letter receiv'd from the Grand Lodge rescinding a former order for the suspending of the

¹ From Minutes of No. 321 Tullamore. Copied for me by Bro. Philip Crosslé.

meeting of Free Mason Lodges in Ireland, and giving full power and authority to meet under our warrant according to antient form
 Resolv'd that Br John Bible do fill the chair as Master for the ensuing six Months Br John Turner Sen Warden Br Wm Fitzmaur Junr Warden Br James Fitzgibbon Sen Deacon and Br Robt O'Hara Junr Deacon, and Br Saml Robinson Secy

Resolved that No. 555 do meet on Monday the 27 Inst precisely at 4 O'Clock in the Afternoon for the installation of Officers and to celebrate the festival of St John Dinner on the table at the usual Hour
 Sam Robinson Secy

This meeting was attended by Brothers John Bible, Turner, O'Hara, FitzGibbon, Godson, and Samuel Robinson.

Pages 249 to 254 which follow in the Minute Book are blank, and it is impossible to say whether they were left so for entering Minutes of meetings which did take place. At all events, we have no record of any meeting taking place till the entry on page 255 as below. The Lodge might well have been dormant for a year, but it will be noted that O'Hara now appears as Master instead of Bible:—

Lodge 555 Fermoy 6th Feby 1826
 Having met it being Monthly night Brother Terence Hanley and Brother Henry Robinson received the degrees of entered apprentice and Fellow craft—the following members were present—viz

Robert O'Hara Mastr
 J. Turner S.W.
 John Bible J.W.
 James Fizzgibbon S.D.
 W. Robinson
 Saml Robinson Secy

Lodge 555 March 6th, 1826

Having Met it being Lodge Night Brother William Robinson Terence Hanley & Henry Robinson received the Degree of Master Masons . . .

Brother William Robinson had been entered and passed on the 8th October 1822. He had attended on various occasions since that date, and that he had had to wait for over three years before being raised is a sure sign of the Lodge's parlous condition.

Brother Terence Hanley was to serve the Lodge well in years to come, and his name should be kindly remembered by its members.

The Lodge met every month during the remainder of the year, except June, and had 6 initiates. The 4th December was marked by the last appearance of Robert O'Hara, who had been a constant support since 1806. The Lodge had moved to the King's Arms Hotel, owned by Brother Robinson, where it remained, with one short interval, till after 1858. This may have had something to do with Brother O'Hara's disappearance. At this same meeting Hanley was elected secretary. I copy his first Minute line for line; it contains the first mention of the King's Arms Hotel:—

Masonic Lodge No. 555
 1827 King's Arms Hotel Fermoy

Jany January 1st 1827

Having met it being monthly night. Lodge opened according to antient usage. Brother Jones Turner was raised to the degree of a Master Mason, the following Brethren were present

Brother Bible Master	2.6	John Bible M.
Brother Turner	2.6	John Turner S.W.
Brother Fitzgibbon	2.6	James FitzGibbon J.W.
Brother Fitzmaurice	2.6	William Fitzmaurice
Brother S. Robinson	2.6	W. Smith S.D.
Brother H. Robinson	2.6	Wm Robinson J.D.
Brother W. Robinson	2.6	S. Robinson
Brother Smith	2.6	Jones Turner
Brother Jones Turner	2.6	Henry Robinson
Brother Hanley	2.6	T. Hanley Secy

£1.5.0

The names in right-hand column are autographs. Subsequent Minutes are kept in this form.

The year 1827 brought some claims on the Lodge's charity. In February, "It was unanimously resolved to hand Br Hickey 10s. who is very much distressed," and he was relieved again with small sums in May and August. In April: "The Members have unanimously voted £2 to the Female Masonic Asylum Cork."

In August, 1827, a list is given of members present and absent. Present: John Bible, John Turner, H. Robinson, S. Robinson, James FitzGibbon, James Talbot, Terence Hanley. Absent: Thomas McKee, John McKee, David McKissick, Lewis Fitzmaurice, William Fitzmaurice, W. Robinson, William Smith. This list may comprise all the members of the Lodge at this time, and, as will be noted, it does not contain the name of Robert O'Hara.

On the 4th November, 1827, a fresh bit of information is included in the Minutes: "Lodge opened in the third degree with the usual ancient formalities." No business is recorded.

On the 5th May, 1828, a visitor was present who was later to become a member of the Lodge and play a leading part in one of the most exciting incidents of its history. This was Doctor Thomas Fitzgerald Downing of "No. 4 on the Scotch Grand Lodge Establishment," which I take to be Glasgow Kilwinning (1735-current).

In June, 1828, Terence Hanley was elected Master. He had never served the office of Warden.

In October, 1828, the Lodge had to arbitrate in a dispute between two of its members:—

. . . a letter from Br James FitzGibbon was received demanding his Certificate on grounds which are calculated to cast imputations on Br Henry Robinson, & on the Lodge in general. The application for sd Certificate was made by Br John Bible (if there could no objections be raised to it) Br H. Robinson opposed the application and denies the grounds on which the sd application is made, and demands an investigation . . .

the Lodge granted this, and accordingly on the 9th October:—

Having met according to appointment for the purpose of arranging the difference between Brs H. Robinson and J. FitzGibbon. And having minutely examined the transactions pending between them, we do honourably exonerate Br Robinson of having the slightest intention of injuring the character of Br FitzGibbon: but owing to a mistake, we believe Br FitzGibbon conceived he was injured by Br Robinson. We recommend a reconciliation between them, and if it should unfortunately occur to be otherwise, we will not again enter into the transaction in this Lodge. Br FitzGibbon is at liberty to withdraw his Certificate whenever he thinks proper.

Brother FitzGibbon did not withdraw on this occasion, unhappily for the Lodge and for himself.

On the 3rd November, 1828, Brother Thomas Fitzgerald Downing joined the Lodge; and at the same meeting:—

A letter having been received from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Cork respecting an intended Procession of Masons in that city to lay the foot stone of a new Bridge—It was the unanimous opinion of this Lodge that an answer should be sent, purporting to be that a deputation from this lodge will attend on the occasion—¹

On the 1st December, 1828, Brother Downing was elected Master.

The Lodge was now much more prosperous than it had been for some time. In February, 1829, it paid £3:10 for a new chair. The same month saw the initiation of its first clerical member, the Rev. Thomas Townsend, who was appointed Chaplain to the Lodge in March, and was the first Brother to hold that Office in No. 555.

Apparently the Lodge had been having trouble with visitors about this time, for it passed some new rules:—

That no visiting Brother be admitted to this Lodge without being introduced by a member of this Lodge which member is held accountable for the conduct of such Mason introduced—But it is to be understood that the above proposition will not extend to strange Masons seeking admittance into the Lodge—Such persons making application shall be admitted on his proving himself worthy on due inspection according to the regular forms of Masonry.

That all visiting Brethren pay the regular dues of the night. Should a Member of the Lodge introduce a Brother such member to be held accountable for the fees.

On the 4th May, 1829:—

On this night a subscription was entered into by the Members of this Lodge for the benefit of the distress'd family of our late lamented Brother E. Connell and also to defray the necessary expense attendant on his interment.

Brother Connell belonged to No. 15 Cork, and his last visit to No. 555 had been in August, 1828.

In June, 1829, the Lodge determined to write to Grand Lodge with a complaint that Lodge 95 Cork had initiated John Moase of Fermoy without applying to Lodge 555 for his character. The complaint was referred to the investigation of Lodges 99 and 234, both of Mallow, and the upshot was that Lodge 95 was reprimanded for its conduct and ordered to pay the expenses of the Mallow enquiry. Brother John Moase seems to have borne no ill-will, and later on visited Lodge 555 and helped it at a critical time. Indeed, he may actually have become a temporary member.

The Minutes from now on become more explicit, and show that the Lodge was accustomed to open in whatever degree of Masonry best suited the business of the evening. Ordinary business was usually transacted in the third degree. This differs from the modern Irish usage, which has varied from time to time. The late Deputy Grand Master of Ireland, Bro. Colonel Claude Cane of beloved memory, gave me to understand that nowadays the only Lodge in Ireland having the right to open straightway in the third degree is the Grand Master's Lodge. All the same, subsequent Minutes of Lodge 555 show that on occasions it followed the practice of opening in the third degree, right down into the present century!

¹ Bro. Walker informs me that there is no allusion to this procession in the Minutes of the P.G.L. of Munster.

Throughout 1830 the Lodge was so prosperous that only one meeting fell through. In June the sum of £2 was sent to the "Cork Masonic Asylum." Brother Terence Hanley was absent all this year; he had obtained his Grand Lodge certificate in June, 1828, and had probably left Fermoy for the time being. In January, 1831, he attended Lodge again, but I think that a hieroglyphic after his name is intended for "visitor," and on another appearance on the 4th April, 1831, he is certainly set down as a Visitor, though he acted as Deacon on this latter occasion. I am the more careful to note his absence because of the good work he did for the Lodge later.

On the 7th March, 1831, Lodge funds had grown low, so:—

Resolved—That viewing with regret the exhausted state of our Lodge fund at this moment we think it our imperative duty to call on all Brethren Indebted to the Lodge, to pay in such sums charged to their respective accts on next Monthly Night and that Br Smith (Secy) & Br Robinson (ex Secy) do present each Br with a statement of sd acct previous to next Monthly night—

A week later an emergency meeting had to be held:—

To investigate the conduct of Br J. Fitzgibbon on a charge brought against him by Br J. Bible W. Master of sd Lodge for alleged improper and unmasonlike conduct on last lodge night—when after due consideration of the complaint—

Resolved—That the Members of this Lodge do consider that Br Fitzgibbons conduct on last lodge night was highly improper and unmasonlike—and that the Majority of the Lodge do declare their intention to resign from the lodge should Br Fitzgibbon think fit to continue a Member—

Resolved that the thanks of the Members of this Lodge are justly due and are hereby given to Br John Bible, for his very Masonic and Gentlemanlike conduct during this investigation, and in bringing forward the above charge.

Then on April 4th, 1831, it was further resolved:—

That in the event of Br Fitzgibbon's applying for admission to this Lodge The Lodge were unanimous in stating their opinion that said Br Fitzgibbon should be excluded from meeting in sd Lodge for the future, in consequence of his very unmason-like conduct on the night of 7th March last.

And that is the last we hear of Brother FitzGibbon.

On 3rd October, 1831, three candidates were initiated, and a special meeting was called on their account a week later:—

Lodge opened on a case of emergency—for the purpose of raising Brs T. Walsh *Barrister at Law* J. Bell 56 Regt Thos Eades 56 Regt—to the degree of Master Mason.

This emergency met in consequence of the above brethren being about to leave this county previous to the Monthly Meeting—

I have quoted this Minute, because it may refer to the Thomas Welsh (the name is written both Walsh and Welsh in the 555 Minute) who subsequently became Attorney General for Van Dieman's Land, and who got into hot water with the Council of Rites (the then governing body of the Higher Degrees) in the year 1842, because he was prepared to introduce the degree of Prince Mason (Rose Croix) to that colony. This is neither the time nor the place, however, to pursue that red herring.

In December, 1831, the Rev. George Gun Collis was elected Master.

In January, 1832, Brother Gregory Fraser brought a charge against Brother John Bible, who, by the way, seems to have had a hand in most of the rows that had happened in the Lodge since 1806. On this occasion:—

The Lodge therefor came to the unanimous decision that Br Fraser acted extremely wrong in brining forward such a charge agst Br Bible, and that we pass a vote Sensure in the strongest manner on Br Fraser for makin use of any such language as that of perjurer without being able to substantiate it—

In April, 1832, Brother Terence Hanley reappeared, and proceeded to act as Secretary, which position he continued to hold to his death, though in June Brother David Quin was nominally elected to that Office.

Either the nominal Secretary failed to perform his office of recording the Minutes, or else the Lodge was only meeting at very irregular intervals, for the next entry after that of the 2nd April, 1832, is dated the 9th July, and the next after that the 21st December. On both of these last-mentioned dates Hanley was "Acting Secy." In July, William Smith was elected Master, out of due time, and in December, Doctor Thomas F. Downing for a second term, also out of due time. I think there is little doubt that something was wrong with the Lodge's affairs.

The first meeting in January, 1833, was also held late, on the 16th of the month. At this communication the Lodge decided to meet on the first Tuesday instead of the first Monday in the month. In December it had decided to reduce its monthly dues from 2/6 to 2/-.

After this entry come two blank pages, 369 and 370. Pages 371 to 378 are missing. It is impossible to say whether any meetings were held between January, 1833, and the next record, which is as follows:—

1833 Sepr At the monthly Meeting of Masonic Lodge No. 555 Fermoy duly convened by summonses for the Despatch of business this 3rd day of September 1833—The Members whose names are hereunto subscribed being present the following statement was read by Br T. Hanley and agreed to by the Members, and the Resolutions following were proposed, seconded, put from the Chair & unanimously resolved upon—

Statement—It appearing that Masonic Lodge No. 555 Fermoy having been duly instituted according to the ancient Rites and Ceremonies of the Masonic order, under the sanction of a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and having at *all times* acted & conducted its proceedings in *strict* conformity with the Usages Regulations & sacred Observances of the Craft, so far as regarded general Tenets & Obligations:

Its internal management appears to *us* to be equally marked with Masonic propriety, and the deportment of its Members towards each other, was that of brotherly kindness, Social harmony and sincere love; without a shade of selfimportance, selfsufficiency or any other *selfish* consideration mingling with that genuine *freedom* & sympathy which unites *upright* & true *free Masons* of every *grade* with their Fellows be their states or distinction in the community at large ever so exalted:

But within a *late period* these qualities so essential to the wellbeing of Freemasonry, have in this particular Lodge (by some means not at present accounted for) subsided into the *commonplace* civilities of general society, & appear at present to be sinking below the cold *How d'ye do* of the unfeeling world: This although much to be deplored might be borne with, were it not for the total disregard

manifested by some Members as to their attendance to the Lodge summonses, Their apathy in paying up their monthly dues!! and their consequent indifference with respect to the Lodge's downfall!!!

Proposed by Br Wm Smyth: seconded by Br Henry Robinson: Put from the Chair, & unanimously agreed to

Resolved—That being convinced of the truths contained in the foregoing statement WE deem it highly expedient that henceforth it be made a regular standing Bye Law of this Lodge—That none be considered *Members* whose Lodge dues exceed two months, & that any Member who may be absent at the monthly Meeting without assigning a *proper* cause in writing to the Secretary be fined two shillings—

Proposed by T. Hanley Seconded by Wm Smyth—put from the Chair & unanimously agreed to—

Resolved—That *we* the undersigned in conformity with our solemn obligations when first initiated into the sublime mysteries of Freemasonry, do hereby *pledge* ourselves to endeavour by all means in our power to support the Masonic dignity, credit, and respectability of this our Mother Lodge as long as it may please the sovereign Architect of the Universe to preserve us (in health) in our earthly house of this Tabernacle—*So help us God* and when we go hence may *we* and *all true brethren* enjoy that building of God, the House not made with hands, eternal, in the Heavens—Amen

present John Bible as Master

Wm Smyth S.W.

Jas Talbot J.W.

S. Robinson S.D.

H. Robinson J.D.

Thos F. Downing M.D.

T. Hanley Secty.

These names are not autographs. The whole is in Hanley's writing, and I have little doubt that he was responsible for its wording. It is a lasting monument to a good Mason who helped to bring the Lodge through a difficult time of apathy.

The next meeting was held on the 3rd December, 1833. John Bible was elected Master and Hanley Secretary. The Wardens were Smyth and Talbot; the Deacons, Samuel and Henry Robinson. These were the only members present, and they proceeded to pass some timely resolutions:—

That it is with pain we are again obliged to refer to the non payment of dues to this Lodge; and regret it has become a matter of necessity our being obliged to enforce the payment of same and putting in force the laws of the Society for that purpose—That each Member be summoned for the next monthly night to pay up all dues to the Lodge up to that night, and that all defaulters shall be proceeded against according to the strictest Rules of Masonry.

That the Members of this Lodge do dine together at their Lodge room on the 27 December to celebrate the Festival of Saint John.

These six real Masons were plainly determined to keep the Lodge alive, and it is to be hoped that they had a thoroughly pleasant meeting on St. John's Day.

The next meeting was on the 5th February, 1834, so far as records go; but I think that some meeting in the interim must have gone unnoted, for in February Brother Doctor Thomas B. Ward was present as a Member and acted as Junior Deacon. Brother Ward had joined from No. 71 Cork, according to the Grand Lodge register, and perhaps his affiliation took place at a meeting in

January which has not been entered. At all events, he joined at a very opportune time for the Lodge. At this February meeting it was decided:—

That all defaulters appearing on the face of the Books after this meeting—Their names and accts be forwarded to the Grand Lodge—To be dealt with by that body as they may deem necessary and that the Secretary be required to attend to this forthwith.

At the next meeting on the 4th March, 1834, the stalwarts of the Lodge were strengthened by the return of Brother Downing, who paid up his arrears amounting to £2:5:11½!

On the 9th April the Minute is full of information:—

It being monthly night according to adjournment (in consequence of the races being held during our regular monthly night) Lodge opened in the third degree, Brs Downing & Robinson gave a detail of the Provincial Grand Meeting to which they were sent as a Deputation from this Lodge. Their Report was received with satisfaction.

At this meeting Michael Hodder Roberts was proposed as a candidate by Doctor Downing. He was entered and crafted in May, and raised in June.

The meeting of 3rd June, 1834, is the last in this book. Seventeen Masons attended, including two visitors, one of whom was that John Moase of No. 95 Cork whose initiation had occasioned a protest from No. 555.

The last three pages in the book (406-408) contain a statement of Lodge accounts for 1810 and 1811. They note various small sums paid for postages "from Dublin and North," no doubt an echo of the Seton Secession, money given in charity, a guinea lent to a Brother, and of course (1st October, 1810) "paid Br Connell for a stand and frame for the warrant 11/11."

The second Minute Book runs from August, 1834, to December, 1858. It is leather bound and measures 13 inches by 8. The paper is good quality, watermarked with a Britannia and G.R.1827. A great many pages have been torn out, and many others are blank. The book is not paginated. At its reverse end have been entered some Minutes (all too few) of the Royal Arch Chapter for which a Warrant was obtained from the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Ireland in 1836.

There was an attendance of seven members with one visitor at the meeting of 4th August, 1834, John Bible was once again Master:—

A letter was submitted by the W Master to the Lodge containing Resolutions of the Committee of the Provincial Grand Lodge. After due deliberation it was unanimously resolved that this Lodge dissents from the Resolutions except the 2 & 5.

Thanks to the fraternal kindness of Bro. Robert Walker, P.G.S. of Munster, I am able to give a copy of the resolutions referred to, taken from the Minutes of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster:—

Cork Augt 5th, 1834

At a Provincial Grand Lodge held at the Kings Arms Tavern (Lloyds) George's Street

Chair taken by The Right Worshipful Richard Townsend Esq Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Munster

Lodges present, 1, 3, 8, 25, 27, 49, 67, 71, 84, 95, 99, 156, 167, beyond 271, 555.

It appearing that the suggestions of the Committee appointed at the meeting of the 27th March 1834 had been printed and forwarded to the several Lodges in the District of this Provincial Grand Lodge, Ordered that the report of the Committee be now read, and that the several suggestions be submitted seriatim to this Lodge for approval or Rejection.

The following were accordingly agreed to and adopted.

1st That a sum of Ten Shillings annually be requested from each Lodge in the Province as a contribution to meet the necessary Expenses of the Provincial Grand Lodge to be due on 27th Decr in each year payable at the next quarterly meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge.

2nd. That the present Officers of the Provincial Grand Lodge be requested to provide themselves with Collars, Aprons and Jewels suitable to their respective Offices.

3rd. That in order to secure the attendance of Provincial Grand Officers, should the Right Worshipful Provincial Grand Master absent himself from the meetings of this Provincial Grand Lodge for four successive quarterly meetings, or any other Provincial Grand Officer absent himself for two successive quarterly meetings, he or they shall be considered as having vacated his or their offices and thereupon a new appointment or Election shall take place.

4th. That it be recommended to each Lodge in the Province that the Worshipful Master shall furnish to the Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge a List as well of the present attached members as of those who have withdrawn, all of whom it is expected will contribute annually according to their means to the fund for the support of the Cork Masonic female Orphan Asylum, such contributions may be paid to the Worshipful Master of each Lodge, and that the sums so contributed shall be forwarded half yearly to the Treasurer of the Asylum with the Contributors names and sums subscribed annexed.

5th That it be recommended to each Lodge to provide a charity Box to receive the voluntary contributions of newly admitted members and to be sent round each Meeting to receive even the smallest Donation from members generally towards the funds of the Cork Masonic female Orphan Asylum and to be forwarded to the Treasurer of that charity half yearly.

etc. etc. (signed) By order

O. E. Barber Secy.

A number of Brethren afterwards dined and spent the day in Harmony.

The next Minute of Lodge 555 is dated 15th October, 1834:—

In consequence of the death of our late lamented Brother John Bible who had been master an Emergency Meeting was convened to elect a master, and after a regular ballot Br Thos Broadrick Ward was declared duly elected.

Brother John Bible's memory should be kept green in Fermoy. He seems to have been a thoroughly good Mason, a constant attender, and at one time or another filled every office in the Lodge. He was Master at least twenty-five times (six months' term), probably more than that, for we do not possess the Lodge's earliest Minutes: truly, a record of which any Mason might be proud.

His successor was installed at an Emergency Communication on the 18th October, 1834:—

Lodge met on an Emergency to install Br Thos B. Ward as Worshipful Master of this Lodge in Room of our deceased and lamented Br John Bible. Br Ward was accordingly duly installed after which Br Robert Baylor was raised to the Degree of Master Mason, & Brs Michael H. Roberts, Redmond Reali & Thos Gardiner received the Degree of Past Master.

This interesting entry refers to a custom that was only abolished in Ireland as late as the year 1864. The Degree of "Past Master" used to be an essential

step before a Brother could be exalted to the Royal Arch; consequently many obtained it without ever having served a term as Master of a Lodge.¹ There is no evidence in the Lodge Minutes prior to this date to show that No. 555 had conferred the Royal Arch Degree on any of its members, as most of the Irish Lodges did, by Time Immemorial right, prior to 1829, and, if the truth be told, for long enough after that year in some districts that I could mention.

On the 1st November, 1834, is a description of the usual Irish way of voting for a candidate:—

The Beans being handed into a hat all were white & the candidate was allowed to be received the next monthly night.

Perhaps I might mention that instances are on record of an Irish Lodge voting by means of different shaped objects, "angles and squares," placed in the ballot box; but this was unusual.

The Lodge now began to receive a large number of new members, many of them officers in the army. The meetings were well attended, and the following Minute of the 9th March, 1835, marks an exceptional occurrence:—

In consequence of the keys of our Chest having been not forthcoming from the circumstance of Br H. Robinson our J.W. in whose custody they [had] been left being in Cork, the Lodge adjourned on the last monthly night to this evening, and Lodge opened in the third degree

Initiations continued to be numerous, and among other candidates a certain Captain George Burslem of the 94th Regiment was entered on the 2nd April, 1835. He and three others were raised on the 14th April, and on the 22nd of the same month:—

Lodge met in a case of Emergency when the Lodge opened in the degree of Past Master & the following brethren were raised to that Degree viz

George Burslem	Captain 94 Regiment
George Finucane	Captain Do
Richard Shiel	Lieutenant Do
Humphreys	Lieut 29th Regiment

T. Hanley Sec.

Brother Humphreys was not a member of No. 555. The next entry explains why the previous meeting was held:—

1835 April 23. A ROYAL ARCH ENCAMPMENT commenced this evening & was continued by adjournment on the evenings of the 24 and 25, when the following brethren were duly raised, Companions of the Excellent Super Excellent Order viz on Thursday the 23

Brs	Humphreys
	Redmond Reali
	Richard Shiel Lieut 94 Regt
	Lewis Lieut Do
	George Finucane Captain Do

On the 24 of April

Brs	Thos Gardiner
	Michael Hodder Roberts
	George Burslem Captain 94 Regt

On the night of the 25 April

	Brs Peter Carey	Langer Carey
	Robert Baylor .	Anthony Wright King Lieut 94 Regt
34 Members were present		T. Hanley Secy

¹ Be it remembered that in England Bro. Laurence Dermott fought against this practice with unavailing vigour.

What a pity that Brother Hanley did not record for us the names of the 34 members who were present, for this is the first record of a Royal Arch meeting in Fermoy.

Another Minute must be taken in conjunction with the foregoing, though it follows it in the book:—

1835 April 1835 Lodge opened this evening in the degree of past Master for the purpose of passing Br Robert Baylor preparatory to his being admitted a Companion in the Royal Arch Degree.

On the 7th May, 1835, happened one of the rare occasions, of this period, when only the first degree was conferred on four initiates. One of these was Henry Peard, a member of a well-known Fermoy family who lived at Coole Abbey, now the home of Brother J. E. McCausland, a house whose name recalls to the present writer the pleasant days of his youth when he first learnt the meaning of real Munster hospitality. Brother Henry Peard was elected Junior Warden in June, 1835, at which time M. H. Roberts was elected Master, after having served as Senior Warden the preceding six months. Promotion was rapid in No. 555 in those days.

I am afraid Brother Roberts's promotion had been too rapid. He did not attend to be installed till the 15th August, and owing to his absence the Lodge did not open in June or July or the Stated Communication on the 6th August. Nor did he attend in September, when the Chair was taken by Brother H. Robinson. On the 1st October, 1835, Brother Roberts ceased to be a member of the Lodge. The Minutes dealing with the scandal that had arisen in Fermoy Masonic circles are very full, and can be left to tell the story:—

1st October, 1835.

Lodge opened in the third degree when the resignation of Br Dr Downing was handed in & received by this Lodge—

It was also proposed by Br Ward that also a resignation from Br Captain Burslem 94 Regt be received, which was also agreed to—Also a resignation from Br Michael Hodder Roberts, agreed to. The two last resignations were verbally given in by Br Ward who received them so—The following Committee was appointed to decide on the mode of treating a Duel which took place on the 29th September between Doctor Downing & Captain Burslem (which did not terminate fatally, nor was either wounded) M. H. Roberts Esq was seconds to Doctor Downing on the occasion & the Lodge are not only fully certified of its having taken place, but it is notorious to the public, The parties were members of this Lodge up to the time.

Committee Br Thos B. Ward Chairman John Moase Henry Robinson George Penrose T. Hanley

This committee met on the 5th October and resolved, “in the first instance to lay the case before the Grand Lodge, and to crave advice how to proceed under the peculiar and to us extremely painful circumstances.” The document they forwarded to Dublin was as follows:—

CASE

Brother Thos F. Downing M.D. & Br Captain Geo Burslem of the 94 Regiment (the former long a member & twice filling the Chair, and the latter lately initiated in our Lodge) having been in the habit of meeting frequently out of Lodge, it appears that on one unfortunate occasion some misunderstanding happened between them which unfortunately ended in their Meeting last Tuesday in a hostile manner when an exchange of shots took place between them—It is further distressing to our feelings as Freemasons that our brother Michl

Hodder Roberts Esq, was the second to Dr Downing on that occasion—These gentlemen all tendered their resignation as members of our Lodge previous to their hostile meeting—We are happy to be able to state that neither of the misguided persons was hit and that (we understand) a cordial reconciliation took place between them before leaving the ground—We would further beg leave to add, that Capn Burslem was threatened by a Court Martial & no doubt entertained but he would be cashiered for cowardice if he submitted to the insult which one of his brother officers asserted he received from Doctor Downing—These are the facts connected with this affair, which is harrowing to our feelings as Masons, in whatever light we may regard it as gentlemen; But we would before concluding beg to state that with the exception of this direfully unmasonic act we never met a brother who appeared more alive to the interest of the Craft than Dr Downing nor do we know a gentleman whom we esteem more as a man & as a mason than we do him; and from the short time we know Captain Burslem we can affirm that he was equally entitled to our Masonic love and esteem and we can further state in behalf of our Br M. H. Roberts, and we think it but justice to him to do so, that he first interfered on Dr Downing's part for the purpose & with a full conviction that he could effect a reconciliation between them as a Mason to the very last moment; but it appears from the very distressing dilemma in which Capn Burslem found himself placed that a reconciliation without a meeting became impossible unless he gave up his commission, & character as a gentleman—It is unnecessary for us to say how much we feel for these gentlemen as concerns freemasonry. They are persons who from their situations in life & bearing in society we felt pleasure in having associated with the Craft, to which with this single exception they were respectable and advantageous Members. And we would beg to recommend their case to the merciful consideration of the Grand Lodge.

After an acknowledgment from John Fowler, the Deputy Grand Secretary, the Lodge heard no more till the 17th November, when the following letter was received:—

The Grand Lodge has desired me to inform you that your communication not being regularly signed by the Master, both Wardens and Secretary with the Lodge seal affixed is not officially as yet before them, but being fully persuaded that the Meeting between Bror Doctor Downing Bror Captain Burslem & Br M. H. Roberts was a gross violation of the fundamental principles of Masonry—G.L. therefore refers the case to 555 to be thoroughly investigated & reported, and the report to be regularly signed and sealed as above

By Order

J. Fowler D.G.S.

On the 20th November, the Lodge met and carried out these instructions. It was decided to inform the three delinquents that the report had been forwarded to Dublin. Incidentally, at this meeting Br. the Rev. G. G. Collis was elected Master in place of M. H. Roberts.

This report came before the Grand Lodge on the 3rd December, and it thereupon suspended Downing, Burslem and Roberts "from all the rights of Masonry during the pleasure of the Grand Lodge." In July, 1836, Roberts petitioned Grand Lodge to be restored. The matter was referred to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster for investigation, and on its report the three Brethren were restored to the rights of Masonry in November, 1836.

The whole of this incident seems to me to possess more historic value than we usually associate with extracts from a Masonic Minute Book, and might easily be made to serve as text for a disquisition on the manners of the period. As Freemasons, however, we may simply be content to remember it as irrebuttable evidence that the Craft as a body set its face against the barbarous custom of duelling at a time when it was not only fashionable, but even in some cases, as we have seen, obligatory. Perhaps in the abolition of this *ultima ratio* of the bully and the blackguard our Fraternity may have had no slight share, though an unadvertised one.

The new Master for the first half of 1836 was Doctor Edward Collett, of Kilworth, who had affiliated from No. 96 Clonmel.

On the 5th May, 1836, comes another reference to the degree of Royal Arch:—

It was proposed by the Worshipful Master duly seconded & passed unanimously that the following Master Masons be raised to the Sublime Royal Arch Degree on Thursday the 19 Inst viz Br George Penrose, Br David McKissick, and Br Robert Triphook

The Minutes of this meeting conclude with:—

Visited by Br Capn Robert Mansergh of Friarsfield who gave 5s for the Masonic Asylum Cork.

We have heard of this institution in the Minutes before. It was a school for the daughters of Masons established in Cork, 1816,¹ which was amalgamated with the Masonic Female Orphan School in Dublin in 1852.

I think it will be most convenient to insert at this place the Minutes written at the end of the book which deal with the Royal Arch Chapter attached to the Lodge, particularly as the exaltation of two of the Brethren mentioned above did not take place until the Warrant had been received from the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Ireland. The present Chapter No. 555 Fermoy dates from 1863, so the earlier Warrant must have become extinct, most likely at that period when the Lodge was dormant. The records that have been fortunately preserved of the earlier Warrant's activities must be given in full:—

BY-LAWS OF THE ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER

in Connexion with Masonic Lodge No. 555 Fermoy

- 1st That the Regulations given by the Grand Royal Arch Chapter for the guidance of "private Chapters" shall be strictly observed & acted upon in our Chapter.
- 2nd That no Brother shall be exalted in this Chapter for a less sum than two Guineas, *not* including the Registering Fee to the Grand Chapter.
- 3rd That the quarterly subscriptions of such Companions as may not be members of our Master Mason's Lodge but of the Chapter be four shillings, and the quarterly subscriptions of members of the Masters Lodge be two shillings.

¹ This date I owe, as so much other information, to Bro. Robt. Walker. He quotes the Minute of the Provincial Grand Lodge as follows:—

"9th October 1816 at the Crown Tavern, The R.W. Justin McCarty Esq. Pro. Grand Senr Warden in the Chair . . . The Right Worshipfull called attention of the Lodge to the Establishment of a Charity School, and informed the Lodge He had had a communication with the Rt Worshipfull The Prov. Grand Master (The Rt Hon. The Earl of Shannon) upon the subject, who would most cordially support any measure of that nature. It was Resolved That the Establishment of a school for the Education of the children of reduced Freemasons or the Establishment of an Asylum for aged and infirm Brother Freemasons will tend materially to carry into Effect the fundamental principals of Masonry etc."

Bro. Robt. Walker adds that the Cork Female Masonic Asylum was opened in January, 1820.

- 4th That the Chapter will meet for business regularly on the second Friday in February, May, August, and November each year.
- 5th That on no account shall a member of the Craft be exalted in this Chapter against whom one black bean appears in the ballot except such bean be put in through mistake, or accident, and the Companion so doing explains it; but should there be two black beans appearing, the Candidate must be rejected without further inquiry

We approve of the above By-Laws and confirm them this sixth day of October 1836 six

Redm^d Reali P.

The P. after Brother Redmond Reali's signature stands for "Principal," a new term in Irish R.A. Masonry, which the Supreme G.R.A.C. had borrowed from England on its formation in 1829. The new nomenclature of officers is seen in all its glory in the next Minute:—

ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER in Connexion with Masonic Lodge
No. 555 Fermoy September 29. 1836

A Warrant having arrived from the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Ireland, constituting the following Brother Companions Officers of a Royal Arch Chapter to be held in connexion with Masonic Lodge 555—viz Brother & Companion G. G. Collis Clk Redmond Reali, Peter Carey, Langer Carey, Samuel Robinson, Henry Robinson, Robert Baylor, Edward Collett M.D. and Terence Hanley

In conformity with the Rules & Regulations of the Fraternity the following have been duly elected to their respective Offices viz

Br Companions	Redmond Reali	}	Grand Principals
	Peter Carey		
And	Edward Collett		
Br Companions	Henry Robinson	}	Sojourners
	Robert Baylor		
and	Langer Carey		
Br Companions	Samuel Robinson	}	Scribes
and	Terence Hanley		

Thursday Evening 29 Sept 1836

A Convocation was held this Evening at which the following past masters were exalted to the Royal Arch Degree, viz Thomas Ford aged 40 A Shoemaker
Geo Penrose aged 26 A gentleman
William Norcott aged 45 a gentleman
David McKissick aged 38 Land Steward
Alexander McNab aged 36 Land Steward
The following Brother Companions were present

Redmond Reali	}	Grand Principals
Peter Carey		
Edward Collett		
Henry Robinson	}	Sojourners
Robert Baylor		
Langer Carey		
Samuel Robinson	}	Scribes
T. Hanley		

George Gun Collis	High Priest	
And Br Companions David Quin—O'Keefe		
&—Murphy	£	
Cash paid Br McNab	2.2	T. Hanley Acting Scribe
Cash paid Br McKissick	2.2	
Cash paid Br McKissick	2.2	


The High Priest who had been the chief officer in an Irish R.A. Assembly, Chapter or Lodge (all these terms were in vogue) prior to 1829 had now become simply the Chaplain. It is interesting to find the Chapter reverting to the old name for the Chief Officer at its next meeting:—

Monday 4 February 1841

A convocation was held this evening at which the following Past Masters were exalted to the Sublime degree of brother companions viz

Br Cooper Crawford of Mitchelstown M.D.
 Br Michael Bourke of Fermoy Solicitor
 and Br James Dalrymple of Mitchelstown Forester
 The following Br Companions were present

Br Com Redmond Reali	H.P. (<i>i.e.</i> , <i>High Priest</i>)
Br Com George Penrose	1 G.P.
Br Com David McKissick	2 G.P.
Br Com Wm Norcott	3 G.P.
Br. Com Edward Collett	1 S.
Br. Com Charles Ross	2 S.
Br. Com Peter Carey	3 S.
Br. Com David Quinn	
Br. Com Thos Gardiner	
Br Com Terence Hanley	Scribe

 The Royal Arch Warrant having been taken through mistake in Br Robinsons other Papers when removing from the Hotel, it only lately discovered by Br Companion Robinson and restored. Hence the long interval without a convocation meeting.

This completes the Royal Arch entries at this end of the Minute Book.

Returning to the Craft Minutes, in July, 1836, the Lodge raised the sum of £5:2:0 by personal subscriptions for the widow of Brother John McKay, and at the same time relieved the late Tyler James Stewart with 6/-. Stewart had been dismissed by the Lodge in the previous March, for what cause does not transpire.

In May, 1837, we find that the Lodge was inflicting fines for failure to appear at the hour set forth in the summons, and this night no less a person than the Master, Brother Redmond Reali, was fined. This year, 1837, there was no meeting of the Lodge between 2nd July and 2nd November, and an entry tells us the reason:—

Br Robinson having resigned business in his Hotel and removed into the Country there was in consequence a suspension of the regular Lodge meetings—

T. Hanley Secy

In November the Lodge was again meeting at the King's Arms Hotel "which had been partially closed since July last."

In 1838 the name of the hotel was changed, naturally enough, to the Queen's Arms.

March, 1838, brought the Lodge in touch with a brand-new Masonic Constitution. Three Brethren from the 10th Regiment, Charles Deines, John Cockaday and William Blenkinsop affiliated. The first two gave their Lodge as "No. 3 Lodge of Greece," and the third as "No. 3 Pyhouras," which I take it is Brother Blenkinsop's attempt at "Pythagoras." Now what was this Lodge? Gould tells us (iii., 320):—

In 1815 the [Ionian] islands were formed into the Ionian Republic under the protection of England, and a Lodge No. 654, "Pythagoras" (to which a Royal Arch Chapter was subsequently attached), was erected at Corfu in 1837. About 1840 we hear also of a Grand Lodge of Greece at Corfu (*Latomia*, iv., p. 158) with Angelo Calichiopulo as Grand Master.

The reference to Pythagoras Lodge No. 654 E.C. made me think, at first, that this was No. 3 Greece under another name; but a letter to Bro. W. R. Makins at the Grand Lodge Library disclosed another state of affairs. He writes:—

I have looked up the original petition for this Lodge (654 E.C.) and find . . . Bros Charles Daines & Wm Blinkensop are both registered as Founders of Pythagoras Lodge No. 654 . . . along with their signatures the following particulars:—
Wm Blinkinsop Busaco 176 Ireland¹ Q. Master 10th Regt Charles Daines Pythagoras No. 3 Greece Sergt Major 10th Regt. A letter from the W.M. to the G. Secs dated 10 April 1839 states "these Brethren left this Island some months before the arrival of the Warrant."

It seems that another founder of No. 654 came from Plato Lodge No. 4 Greece. From which evidence conjoined with the Fermoy Minutes I conclude that Calichiopulo's Grand Lodge was at work as early as 1837.

The 6th August, 1838, was an emergency meeting in order "to raise Br Roger Hendley who is about proceeding to America." There was a visitor at this communication, who wrote a peculiarly bad hand; his name appears to have been Thomas Cumniewtwi, and he is described as "an exiled Pole." On the same occasion it was resolved that "Lectures be given on Masonry every monthly night," but the laudable project was not carried out, if the Minutes can be taken as a full record.

On the 13th October, 1838, "It was unanimously resolved that the Lodge be moved from this Hotel (Queen's Arms) to a private house," but the next Minute (6th November, 1838,) is still headed "Kings Arms Hotel."

The next Minute is dated 7th February, 1839, and headed "Masonic Hall Fermoy." Where this may have been is not disclosed in the records. The Lodge once again was getting into a bad way. No meeting was held between the 25th March, 1839, and the 5th December, 1839, when:—

At a meeting of emergency convened this evening, It was resolved unanimously that

We whose names are hereunto subscribed pledge ourselves to pay one pound p. year as Members of the above Lodge, whether we be present or absent at the Quarterly Meetings to be held in Brownes Hotel Fermoy: and at each of which the members will dine; the expense to be defrayed out of the yearly subscriptions of one pound above mentioned. The Meetings will be held on the 27 December 25 March 24 June & 29 September each year. And in case either of these days shall happen on Sunday, the Meeting for that day will be held on the Monday following.

¹ No. 176 I.C. 88th Regt. (1821-1850).

The names (which are not signatures) attached to this Minute are:—Redmond Reali, David McKissick, George Penrose, Robert Baylor, Richard Waldron, Charles Homan, Charles F. Anderson, James Dalrymple, Cooper Crawford and T. Hanley Secretary.

In January, 1840, we find Brothers the Rev. Thomas Townsend, William Norcott and Arthur Hendley, all of whom had been members of the Lodge previously, "ballotted for to be *Members*," so apparently they had resigned at times unrecorded.

On the 24th June, 1840, the Minute is headed "Queen's Arms Hotel," so the Lodge was back at its old quarters.

Throughout 1840 and 1841 meetings were few and far between and attendances very poor. On the 24th December, 1841, only the W.M. Brother Ritchie, and four others, including Hanley, attended, and the Lodge did not open. Apparently the book has lost a page here, for the next Minute, of the 17th February, 1842, notes the raising of Frederic McMullen of the 20th Regiment, of whose entering and passing there is no mention.

On the 1st March, 1842, it was resolved:—

That as Mr John Browne in whose Hotel (*Queen's Arms*) our Lodge is kept, not being a Freemason and as Br Henry Robinson has taken the Limerick Coach Hotel, we do remove our Lodge forthwith to the latter establishment; considering it our bounden duty to give our influence & support to a brother Freemason in preference to a Cowen, be the merits of the latter what they may.

The next Minute is dated 8th April, 1842, headed "Robinsons Hotel Fermoy," and records that the Lodge decided to have its meetings monthly once again, and that the dues should be 1/6 a month.

In May, Brother William Paye was elected Master for the next six months, and he presided over the Lodge at a meeting in July. Then on the 4th August, 1842, we find:—

Lodge met being monthly night Brs Doctor James O'Donnell and Wm Paye Esq were raised to the Degree of Past Master. The altered Bye Laws of the Lodge were read and unanimously agreed to.

What are we to say to the foregoing? Is it to be passed over with a curt, "Very irregular indeed!" or are we to suppose that the "Degree of Past Master" was somewhat different from the Chair degree of an installed Master? I think there was a difference, but I have never come across a case before that suggested the necessity of attaining the "virtual" degree after having obtained the "actual" one. Perhaps the explanation is a simple one, that Brother Paye was not installed till August, though he presided in July. "Very irregular indeed!" But our Masonic forerunners were not over squeamish about trifles such as this.

No meeting was held in November or December, 1842, and the next one recorded is on the 21st August, 1843, when three members of the Lodge, Paye, McKissick and Homan, with the assistance of two visitors from the Royal Scots, raised Brother James Clancy, who had been entered and passed as long before as August, 1838. The two Scottish Brethren, John Montgomery and Alexander Fraser, both belonged to the Irish and Scots Lodges held in their Regiment, No. 11 I.C. (1732-1847) and Royal Thistle No. 222 S.C. (1808-52). Fraser was Senior Warden of No. 11 and Secretary of No. 222, plainly a good Masonic worker.

The name of the place of meeting is now written "Commercial Hotel," but I think it was the same house, for Brother Robinson was still its owner.

In May, 1844, the Lodge had to expel one of its members, a Past Master, Edward Collett M.D. of Kilworth, because:—

. . . the said Edward Collett M.D. broke his solemn obligation to Br Michael Bourke in pledging his obligation as a Mason when under arrest for debt, that if enlarged he would pay in ten days. He has not done so since, although it is six months ago.

It is hard for us to realise nowadays how very easily a man ninety years ago might find himself in prison for debt, yet the fact is worth remembering on account of some of the phrasing used in our existing Irish ritual.

With the beginning of 1845 the Lodge seemed to take renewed energy. Meetings were well attended and held regularly every month.

On the 20th February, 1845, a presentation was mooted to a Brother who had done the Lodge splendid service:—

It was moved by the Worshipful Master and Seconded by Br Maurice Murray Ritchie, That a copy of the Sacred Scripture be presented by subscription to Br Terence Hanley as the Secretary of our Lodge for so long time and as a mark of the approbation of the Lodge.

I think Brother Hanley must have been ailing at this time. The last Minute in his handwriting is on the 16th June, 1845. On the 24th June: “Br Terence Hanley was presented with a splendid Volume of the Sacred Scripture for his long and faithful services as Secretary to this Lodge.” On the 9th September we find:—

Br. William Lindsey was appointed Secretary & Treasurer for the ensuing six months in the room of our late lamented Br Terence Hanley.

On 6th November, 1845, the Minutes note a new change of address:—

In consequence of Br Robinson not being able to accommodate the Lodge with necessary room the Members came to the resolution of holding their meetings in future at Mess Smyths Artillery Quay.

On the 4th December, 1845, the W.M. Brother McKee acted as S.W. at a meeting when the chair was taken by a visitor, Bro. G. W. Sullivan. The latter was probably an exponent of ritual, because:—

Lodge opened in the 1st degree changed to the 2nd and raised to the 3rd when Brs Arthur Thompson John Clancy and Wm Hall recd the sublime degree of Master Mason.

I am almost inclined to hazard the guess that while Terence Hanley was alive the Lodge needed no visitor to confer its degrees.

In 1846 the Lodge had a very busy year, with many candidates, mainly military. Interesting items are:—

(2nd April, 1846) Br John Jones 54th Regt who was initiated & crafted in Lodge 550 was raised to the sublime degree of Master Mason.

(6th April, 1846) Br F. A. Prater who had been initiated & crafted in No. 65 Hull was raised to the Sublime degree of Master Mason.

(4th June, 1846) . . . the case of Mr Richard Stuart who was proposed and rejected on a former occasion was again brought before the Lodge by Bro Ross of Lodge 8, when after due deliberation he was again rejected by the unanimous consent of the Lodge.

(2nd July, 1846) . . . passed unanimously that any Member not being present at his Lodge room at 10 minutes past eight O’Clock shall be subject to a fine of one shilling sterling money.

(26th October, 1846) Br McCormack was authorized by the Lodge to purchase a Royal Arch Paraphernalia in Dublin the cost of which should not exceed £16—

(22nd December, 1846) It was agreed that the members do meet for Banqueting at Robinsons Hotel on Monday the 28th Inst to celebrate the anniversary of St John.

Attendances had begun to fall off. The regiments which had supplied the Lodge with so many members had left Fermoy. In January, 1847, Lodge did not open "in consequence of not having a Sufficient number," and the three Members who did attend—Thomas McKee, Thomas Judge and Robert Wigmore—"rule that a fine be inflicted on the members who are absent without a sufficient reason."

In April, 1847, no meeting was held, but this time it was in consequence of "the lamented death of Mrs. Sherlock Mother to the Worshipful Master" (John T. Sherlock).

McKee was Secretary this year, and kept the Minutes badly. On one occasion the name of the candidate, a military man, was left in blank. The initiations also, to judge from the Minutes, took place haphazardly throughout the year. This may have been carelessness on the part of the Secretary, but there is little doubt that the Lodge was in a bad way.

The shadow of the great Irish famine was over the land.

On the 2nd December, 1847:—

In consequence of the death of our dearly beloved Brother George Penrose the members came to the determination of not opening Lodge, as a mark of respect to his memory.

The Officers for the next six months were not installed till the 3rd February, 1848; the next Minute is March, 1848; and the next the 23rd June, 1848, when Officers for the next six months were elected.

A gap of over three years follows.

According to an entry in the Grand Lodge Register, the Warrant was sent up to Grand Lodge in November, 1850, and was returned to the Lodge on the 30th March, 1852.

The first reference we find to this curious Irish Masonic custom, by which a Warrant could be returned to Grand Lodge and subsequently revived free of charge, when the original Members felt themselves strong enough to carry on once more, is at page 34 of the Irish *Ahiman Rezon* of 1817. Lodge No. 555 is but one of many old Irish Lodges which have taken advantage of this law at one time or another.

The first Minute of the Lodge after its resuscitation runs:—

Masonic Lodge 555

Fermoy April 20th 1852

Lodge met according to ancient Custom to reopen Lodge (which has been closed since June 23rd, 1848) in the first degree.

Brother William Flynn of 396 of the Grand Lodge of England was proposed as a member by brother William Lindsey and seconded by brother Thomas McKee and unanimously agreed to.

Proposed by Brother Thomas McKee and seconded by brother John Nicholds and unanimously agreed to that Richard Lonergan Esqre be admitted as a candidate and to be balloted for on the next night of meeting, Proposed by Brother Henry Peard and seconded by Brother William Lindsey and agreed to unanimously that Hugh Thomas Norcott Esqre be admitted as a candidate and to be balloted.

for on the next night of Meeting, Agreed that the following officers be appointed to hold office until the next St Johns day,

Thomas McKee W.M.

Henry Peard S.W.

James McCormick J.W.

John Nicholds S.D.

William Lindsey J.D.

John Reeves Secy & Tres.

Lodge closed in harmony in the first degree the following members being present

Br McKee W.M.

Br Peard S.W.

Br Lindsey J.W.

Br Nicholds S.D.

Br Deane No. 1 actg J.D.

Br Flynn actg Secy

Proposed by Br Flynn and Seconded by Brother McKee and carried unanimously that Brother Charles Deane of No. 1 Lodge be admitted an honorary Member of this Lodge

By order W.M.

W. Flynn Secy pro tem.

Thus the Lodge was helped in its revival by a member of No. 396 E.C. (Lodge of Unity, Peace & Concord in the Royal Scots) and a member of First Lodge of Ireland, Cork, a Time Immemorial body, as it would be styled in England. It was not to be the last time that the Fermoy Lodge was helped by the oldest Munster Lodge and by Brethren from the English Constitution.

After the revival meetings were held fairly regularly with a good attendance of members and visitors. No meeting was held on St. John's Day in Summer on account of the illness of the W.M. (Thos McKee), and the monthly meeting in August was adjourned to the 19th instant:—

In consequence of non attendance of Members on the usual monthly night owing to the visit of Brother Pablo Fanque the celebrated Equestrian having a benefit that evening, Lodge was postponed untill this date . . .

The resignation of Brother James McCormack having been tendered on last monthly night, was unanimously accepted, at same time secretary was directed to apply to him to refund a sum of fifteen shillings which remained in his hands being part of a subscription raised for the purpose of releasing Warrant—and in case of his refusing to pay same before the first Thursday in September next, its the unanimous intention to propose his expulsion—agreed that Brother Lindsey be directed to print one Hundred "Bye Laws & Regulations" circulars and Three Hundred Summons.

Apparently Brother McCormack (the orthography is uncertain) paid the fifteen shillings, for we hear no more threats of his expulsion. The Minute shows us that some arrears due to the Grand Lodge had been paid before the Warrant was restored.

Towards the close of 1852 the 31st Regiment was in garrison at Fermoy, and a number of its sergeants hastened to get initiated in No. 555. Of the eight thus made, four, namely Bros. Sutton, Roe, Deacon and Adaire, seem to have received only the Second Degree when their Regiment left Fermoy hurriedly in January, 1853. This circumstance gave rise to a curious sequel in Gibraltar some years later, as is told in a letter (dated 22nd February, 1858) from B.

McGinn, Master of Calpe Lodge No. 325 I.C. meeting at Gibraltar (1826—current), to L. H. Deering, Deputy Grand Secretary of Ireland:—

On the evening of the 10th Instant a few Military Members of Lodge No. 325, together with other Military Brethren, have thought proper to form a Lodge under an old Warrant, which was some twenty years back granted by the Grand Lodge of England, to Civilian Brethren, the Warrant being named Inhabitants Lodge No. 178, Gibraltar, after a time the Inhabitants ceased to work, and remained so during a period of ten or twelve years, when the Lodge was again got up for about two years, when it again fell, and has remained so without working to my knowledge for upwards of eight years. It has now again risen to life, *An Inhabitants Warrant*, by Military Brethren as above stated the officers having been installed and the Lodge Constituted (as they say) by a Past Master, without any previous reference being made to the Grand Lodge of England.

I beg further to state that two of my own members (Military) thought proper to go round with a list in order to induce the Military Members of their own Lodge to join them, this coming to my knowledge, I immediately sent a written notice, signed by myself and my two wardens,, to the members of my own Lodge, previous to the meeting alluded to taking place, cautioning them not to be present, notwithstanding, some of them entered their names, and was present at the opening of this Lodge, and has become members thereof, and further that the said members were present, when the Sergt Major of the 31st Regt was raised to the degree of Master on the same evening that the new Lodge was formed, they knowing at the time, that I had previously refused conferring that degree on him in consequence of not having any Masonic documents in his possession, although vouched for by Bre. of his own Corps who were present when he received the two intermediate degrees in Lodge No. 555 Fermoy. Please write to the above Lodge when convenient on the subject for general information. I would not now trouble you in so doing was it not on account of another Brother a Sergeant in the same Corps, similarly situated, and who refused becoming a member of this new Lodge, although having been induced to do so by a written request been clandestinely put into his hands, by one of the two Bre. alluded to as bearers of the list. In my humble opinion this was the most barefaced transaction I have ever met with in the whole course of my long Masonic career, inasmuch, as it was written in this Lodge Room, and handed to the Brother who was requested to return it, which he very properly refused to do. I beg particularly to be informed with respect to the conduct of the two Brethren bearers of the list, in the present instance, I have refrained from mentioning names, not considering this statement as a report . . .¹

I think we must take this letter as a shade biased in regard to Inhabitants Lodge, Gibraltar (now No. 153), for the Grand Lodge of England, either then or later, acquiesced in its revival; but the allusion to the Brother who was unable to obtain his third degree under the strict letter of the Irish Code—Brother McGinn was plainly a stickler for the strict letter—introduces a problem with which No. 555 itself was shortly afterwards faced, and solved in an ingenious, if peculiar way, as we shall see.

¹ Copy made by Bro. Weir of Calpe Lodge No. 325.

With the departure of the 31st Regiment I think that the Lodge had another attack of dormancy. At all events, no Minute is recorded between the 17th March, 1853, and the 29th December, 1854, the latter being written overleaf on the same page as the former:—

Fermoy 29 December 1854

Lodge met being an adjourned meeting from the 27th inst. (st Johns) for the purpose of electing officers to serve for the ensuing six months when the following brethren were elected viz

Bro William Lindsey	W.M.
„ John Reeves	S.W.
„ John Nicholds	J.W.
„ William Flinn	S.D.
„ Richard Lonergan	J.D.
„ John W. Hutchinson	Secy

Secretary directed to write to the Grand Lodge and ascertain the balance due of 555 to this date, after which Lodge closed in love and harmony the following members present (*Names as above*)

The next meeting was on the 1st February, 1855, when:—

. . . the reply was received from the secretary of the Grand Lodge in reply to ours in reference to balance due Grand Lodge was laid before meeting, also acknowledging list of officers for next six months. The balance appearing due to the Grand Lodge by their return being £3.18/ and members being of opinion there is an error in the charge £2.17/ for six certificates as well as a charge for non return, secretary directed to write Grand Lodge and ascertain last balance due with particulars of present items . . .

The next meeting was on the 26th November, 1855:—

At a meeting of the following Members and brethren convened for the purpose of re-opening the Lodge, and of paying off the Sum due on the Warrant to the Grand Lodge by Subscription, It was agreed that Summonses be sent to every Member of the Lodge to attend at brother Flynns Artillery Quay on Monday next the 3rd December

This gives us yet another house where the Lodge met, and is an indication that Brother Flynn may have been a pensioner turned innkeeper. Those who attended this meeting, in addition to Lindsey W.M. and Flynn “Secy pro tem,” were Brothers Robertson of No. 732 E.C. Cape Breton, Stokes of No. 437 E.C. Malta, Moore of No. 68 Youghal, and Ollis of No. 73 Limerick, all of whom subsequently affiliated. Of a truth, if ever a Lodge has been well served by its joining members, Lodge No. 555 is that Lodge.

The next meeting on the 3rd December, 1855, was mainly taken up with balloting for new joining members, and £2:10 was subscribed by those present “for the purpose of paying off the debt due on the red and blue warrants (£5).” From which we gather that the Royal Arch Chapter was still showing some signs of life.

On the 10th December, 1855, it was agreed, “that Brother Robertson do take the chair for the next Six Months subject to reference to the Grand Lodge in the absence of his not having his Grand Lodge certificate—and not having ever held office in any previous Lodge.” At the same time the Secretary was instructed to sound the Grand Lodge “about the raising of brother Stokes to the Sublime Degree of Master Mason he having been initiated and crafted in a Malta Lodge No. 437 S.S. John and Paul—English Constitution.”

Permission to instal Brother Robertson was received on the 7th January, 1856,—he had actually been installed on the previous St. John's Day!—and the same letter contained the decree that “Brother Stokes could not be raised to the sublime degree of Master Mason without reference being made to his Mother Lodge at Malta.”

My friend, our late lamented Brother W. R. Makins, most kindly looked up the record of Brother Stokes in St. John and St. Paul's Lodge of Malta, and his letter runs as follows:—

I find that Oliver Haldane Stokes, age 22 Lieut. R.E. was initiated 2 April 1855, and passed on 13 April in the same year, the date of his raising being left blank. This seems to confirm what you think is a very entertaining discovery. My congratulations therefore attend my good wishes.

What I have termed an entertaining discovery is as follows. There was evidently no time to write to Malta and get permission to raise Brother Stokes; the country was at war, and he may have expected to leave Fermoy at any moment. The very night on which the Grand Lodge letter was received, he was proposed and seconded as a *candidate* in No. 555, and on the 14th January, 1856:—

Lodge met for the purpose of admitting Lieut. O. H. Stokes, Sergt David Wallace & Surgeon J. H. Lewellyn as entered Apprentices. Lodge being opened in the 2nd Degree the above mentioned Apprentice Masons were duly Crafted—Verbal notice given that a lodge of emergency will be held tomorrow evening 7 O'C Jany 15 for the purpose of giving the 3rd degree to Bros Lewellyn and Stokes.

Brother Stokes was raised accordingly, and became Master of No. 555 for a term of six months on the 27th December, 1856, without ever having served the office of Warden! The best comment on the situation is contained in a subsequent letter from Brother Makins:—

One could readily understand such happenings in the eighteenth century, but that such an occurrence should take place as late as 1856, clearly shows the ingenuity of the Fermoy Brethren in surmounting all obstacles raised by Rules and Regulations.

All through 1856 the Lodge was kept very busy initiating soldiers, and received an amazing number of affiliated members, for which see the Appendix. Many emergency meetings were held, and at one of these we get: “Paid Brother Corker one pound expenses here from Cork to lecture and give third degree.” This was Brother Thomas Corker of No. 3, probably a member of the same family that gave Ireland the famous Deputy Grand Secretary Thomas Corker.

On the 2nd June, 1856, Brother George Thompson, who had joined from No. 730 E.C. in December, 1855, and who had been acting as Master since February, 1856, when Brother Robertson seems to have left Fermoy, was elected Master. At this same meeting we get the first mention of Inner Guard, Brother Esdaile being elected to this office.

On the 11th August, 1856, the Lodge paid a little of the debt it owed to its English Brethren:—

Sent to the Grand Lodge of Ireland notice to the effect of Brother Briggs of Lodge No. 224 Sincerity Stonehouse Devon, under the Grand Lodge of England where he only received the first degree of Masonry, & by their consent we have this night given him the sublime degree of Master Mason of which we have given them due notice in order to have Brother Biggs [*sic*] registered and his certificate granted in the Grand Lodge of England.

Apart from the accretion of more and more members from English Lodges nothing of much note occurred till the 27th April, 1857:—

Lodge met being a Night of emergency for the purpose of proposing a Master of the Lodge in place of Bro Stokes who left for foreign service.

The Lodge then proceeded to elect eleven joining members, and immediately afterwards, still at the same meeting, one of them, Frederick Hammersley of No. 771 E.C. in the 14th Regiment, was elected Worshipful Master of No. 555!

Would it be unfair after this instance to suggest, that at this period No. 555 was far less of an Irish civilian Lodge than an international Military one, accidentally held at Fermoy? The Lodge's reputation will not be lowered by accepting this definition.

Brother Hammersley having been elected Master proceeded to *appoint* his officers, an English custom, and the ensuing Minutes kept by the new Secretary, Brother Thomas Knight (originally of Temple Lodge, Folkestone), are in many passages couched in the English forms. For example:—

(4th May, 1857) The Lodge opened in the usual Masonic manner with Solemn prayer.

(1st June, 1857) . . . the W.M. was pleased to call the attention of the Brethren to business of the evening as appeared from summons vizt passing Bros Smythe & Stokes to the degree of Fellowcrafts.

Brs. Symthe & Stokes were then examined as to the progress they had made, which being found satisfactory, they were prepared and duly Passed to the degree of fellowcraft, the Lodge having been raised during their preparation—

I wish that this last interesting Minute had been a little more explicit and told us whether the distinctive English custom of "entrusting" was also used on this occasion. It forms one of the great points of difference between the English and Irish rituals.

The Minutes continue to be beautifully and fully kept until the 6th October, 1857, when a short entry tells us that the Military Brethren who had done so much for Freemasonry in Fermoy had been summoned away to other duties:—

Recd from Br T. Knight the sum of £3-7-0 Three Pounds Seven Shillings

William Lindsey

The late Secretary before his departure had handed over the funds of the Lodge to a member resident in Fermoy. The enthusiastic English Brethren had been summoned away, perhaps to India where the Mutiny had broken out the previous May, perhaps elsewhere; but wherever they went they took most of the life of the Lodge with them. The next Minute is dated 18th October, 1858, as follows:—

Lodge was closed since 7th Septempber 57 in consequence of the removal of the military Brethern to Cork etc. and no sufficient where left to conduct the business of the Lodge

The Lodge was reopened again with the usual solemn prayer

The following Brethern being present

Brother Lindsey W.M.

„ Percival S.W.

„ Hutchinson J.W.

„ Doncliffe S.D.

„ Belling J.D.

„ Byrom I.G.

„ Andrews T.

1. Proposed by Brother Percival and seconded by Br Lindsey that Qr M. Sergt Fitzpatrick be admitted a candidate for Freemasonry.
2. Proposed by Brother Percival and seconded by Br Hutchinson that Mr George Young be admitted a candidate for Freemasonry.
3. Proposed by Brother Percival and seconded by Br Byrom that Lieut Skues 69 be admitted a candidate for Freemasonry.
4. Proposed by Brother Percival and seconded by Br Doncliff that Sergt Greig 95 Foot be admitted a candidate for Freemasonry—

The Lodge closed in love and harmony

William Percival Actg Secretary

This Brother Percival had affiliated in 1857 from No. 437 E.C. Malta, and he displayed an immense amount of energy in helping to revive the Lodge once again. At the next meeting on the 28th October, 1858, six new Brethren joined, including one who was to be of great service to the Lodge for over twenty years to come, the Reverend (later Canon) Arundel Hill, of No. 202, Newcastle, Co. Limerick.

The name of Brother Hill compells a digression, because his becoming a member links up the story of Lodge No. 555 with one of the most romantic traditional episodes in Irish Freemasonry, the initiation of Elizabeth St. Leger. Brother Arundel Hill was a lineal descendant of that Arundel Hill (1694-1783) who, tradition states, was present when she was made a Freemason at Doneraile Court.¹ On the death of Canon Arundel Hill early in 1885, his widow gave to Lodge No. 555 a picture he had owned, which was received on the 2nd April, 1885, with the request:—

Will you kindly present to the Lodge Mrs Aldworth, the Lady Freemason, in my name. I hope they will hang it up in the Lodge as a memoriam of their chaplain my dear husband.

There was present on this occasion Bro. William G. Hill, also a member of the Lodge and brother to the late chaplain, and his remarks have fortunately been very fully recorded in the Minutes:—

Brother W. G. Hill gave an interesting account of the circumstances under which Lady Alworth [*sic*] had been made a Freemason the initiation having taken place at a meeting of the Lodge in Doneraile Court at which his ancestor Bro. Arundel Hill of Doneraile was present. And several members having expressed themselves warmly in praise of Mrs Hill's kindness in making the gift

It was ordered that it should be taken over in the property and hung up in a conspicuous place in the Lodge.

It was moved by Bro. Daniels seconded by the W.M. and passed unanimously

That we the members of Harmony Lodge 555 accept with pleasure the portrait of Lady Alworth the gift of Mrs A. Hill to this Lodge hung up as it shall be on a conspicuous place on its walls it will serve to remind the Brethren of an event unique in Masonic Annals, Lady Alworth having been the only member of her sex that was ever initiated into our mysteries, but it will have a special interest for this Lodge from the fact that the initiation took place at a Lodge held at Doneraile Court in this County at which Bro. Arundel Hill (the ancestor of our beloved Chaplain the late lamented Canon Hill

¹ For obvious reasons I shall not enter into a discussion about the tradition in this place, but shall be content to refer the reader to the classic essays by Bros. Edward Conder and Chetwode Crawley in *A.Q.C.*, viii. (notably pages 22 and 54).

and of Bro. Dr W. G. Hill one of our present past masters) assisted—thus connecting this Lodge with an event to which the greatest interest is attached by the Brethren throughout the Universe. Regarded as a memento of our beloved Chaplain the late lamented Canon Hill it cannot be too highly prized—as such it will ever be treasured by the members.

That we offer to Mrs Hill the best thanks of the Lodge for her interesting gift and direct that a copy of this resolution shall be forwarded to her.

I cannot close this digression without pointing out that a much older member of No. 555 had also claimed to know a good deal about Elizabeth St. Leger. Robert Millikin has of late years been discredited as an authority on the matter because he asserted that the initiation took place in Lodge No. 95, Cork, a manifest impossibility as Chetwode Crawley demonstrated; but though he has been proved wrong in this detail, I do not feel inclined to refuse credence to all his testimony. Millikin was initiated in the year 1791 and must have known many Munster Brethren who remembered the Honourable Mrs. Aldworth during her lifetime—she died in 1773—and there is one passage in his book¹ that I think must have been derived from somebody who had known the Lady Freemason well. Strangely enough, I cannot find this passage mentioned in any of the classic monographs dealing with the history of Elizabeth St. Leger. I shall therefore reproduce it in full; for whether Millikin was quoting from hearsay, or, just as possible a suggestion, from a contemporary document, the statement seems strikingly plausible:—

A lady, formerly a resident in the County of Cork, who labouring under the vulgar pressure of female curiosity, so common in her day, but now seldom met with, secreted herself in a Masons' Lodge, and on detection was necessarily initiated in the first or minor degree of Masonry. Arrived at the vestibule, she was soon convinced that there she must rest, all her research in sacred or profane writings could not afford her a single glimpse beyond the point she had arrived at; so far she was perfect, but further efforts only served to prove to her the utter impossibility of proceeding. She knew there was science but it lay obscure although nearly within her reach. Through life she appeared devoted to Masonry, all other duties were forgotten or neglected, she took pleasure only in the society of Masons, and appeared to scorn female society and their avocations, and in return was cordially disliked by them . . . After all her efforts, she was not a Free and Accepted Mason, she having been initiated through necessity, and not accepted by the Fraternity before her initiation (pp. 129-30).

If Millikin can be assumed to have had any grounds for the foregoing statement, and every reader can form his own opinion about that, does it not present us with a portrait of the Lady Freemason from quite a new angle? The curious reference to *the first or minor degree of Masonry* is in itself, I think, my ample excuse for this long digression—*minor* implies a comparison between *two* ceremonies.

Returning to the meeting of No. 555 on the 28th October, 1858, on that occasion Brother Perceval was elected Master, and he continued to hold this office till June, 1859.

¹ Historico-Masonic Tracts | being a concise | History of | FREEMASONRY, | from the earliest times to the present day. | by | Robert Millikin, R.A.M., H.K.T., K.M., C.R.C. | etc. etc. etc. | Cork: | Printed by F. Jackson, 70 South Mall. | 1848. |

The last Minute written in this book shows him presiding, and I will transcribe it in full because the phrasing is distinctively Irish in places. The new secretary had joined from a leading Dublin Lodge, and was evidently versed in the correct forms:—

Masonic Lodge No. 555

Fermoy Decr 6th/58

The Lodge opened in the usual Masonic Manner
with solemn prayer on the First Degree

Present

Officers

Bro Percival W.M.
,, Belling S.W.
,, Rowbottom J.W.
,, Lindsey S.D.
,, Donacliff J.D.
,, Owens I.G.
,, Montgomery Act. Sec

The minutes of the proceedings
of the last meeting were read and
confirmed—signed by the W.M. and
countersigned by the Secretary and the
Lodge seal affixed thereto.
Quarter Mr Sergeant John Bignall
being in attendance and being duly
prepared was admitted and received
the First or Entered Apprentice
degree and retired.

Members

Br Weild
,, Hill
,, Gregg
,, Young
,, Fitzpatrick
,, Murless
,, Skues

Brethern of the First Degree only
having retired the Lodge was
then called up to the Second degree.
Brothers Skues, Gregg, FitzPatrick
and Young being duly prepared
were admitted & received the Second Degree
Proposed by Br Hill and seconded by
Br Lindsey that Br Sherlock
rejoin Lodge 555

Proposed by Br Percival and
seconded by Br Hill that Br Hawker
Lodge 84 (Bandon) be admitted

Visitors

Br Hawker 84 (Bandon)
,, Sherlock 555

		Fees received	
Br Percival	2/	Br Owen	5/
,, Belling	2/	,, Weild	5/
,, Rowbottom	2/	,, Hill	5/
,, Donnecliff	2/	,, Murless	5/ 20/
,, Lindsey	2/	,, Bignall	
,, Weild	2/	Initiation fee	
,, Greig	2/		£3,3,0
,, Young	2/	Total	£5.3.0
,, FitzPatrick	2/		
,, Skues	2/ 26/		

Entrance Fees



The Lodge closed in Peace Love and Harmony

Robt Montgomery
Sec

W. Percival¹
W.M.

555

The eighty ensuing years of the history of Lodge No. 555 Fermoy must be told in another place, for while they are far from being without interest that interest is hardly of a nature to warrant inclusion in the pages of *A.Q.C.* The Lodge has had its ups and downs since 1858, but has never, so far as the written records hint, been reduced to such straits as on some of the occasions of which I have now given an account.

The fact that it has owed so much in the past to the services of Brethren from other Constitutions seems to me to lift its early history out of the rut of

¹ In 1861 Brother Percival was registered a member of Lodge 348 I.C. held in Auckland, N.Z. Fermoy lost a good Mason when New Zealand gained one.

mere local interest, and is my excuse for offering that history to a wider audience than ever was dreamt of by the founders of the Lodge when they established the old Carlow Warrant at Fermoy, over one hundred and thirty-three years ago.

Yet though the Lodge still exists, times have changed and with them the flag that was wont to fly over the town of Fermoy; for even as fifteen centuries ago the last of the Roman legionaries followed their standard-bearers eastward to the coast and the ships ready to put to sea, so now for the very last time British regiments have marched away from the Blackwater on their way to make history in Spain, India, Flanders, or wherever else the sun in his splendour has lighted the glory of our country's arms; and thus Harmony Lodge cannot for the future rely on that most reliable of all members, the military Freemason; still it may be no mere dream of an enthusiast to express the belief that some trace of these soldiers has been left behind, more vital than barracks in ruins, more cheering than catalogues of names or the other pettinesses that provide historians and antiquarians with matter for an hour's discourse; yes, their living memorial exists in the peace, love and harmony that attend a lodge of good and true Masons, and such is their existing cenotaph in Fermoy; may it long endure to remind us of a debt owed by the trowel to the sword.

APPENDIX I.

Members of Harmony Lodge No. 555, Fermoy, Co. Cork (1806-1858).

Date.	Name.	Remarks ¹ .
1806	O'Hara, Robert	W.M. 1806AB, 1810B, 1811AB, 1815B, 1816AB, 1820A, 1821A, 1826AB.
	Bible, John	W.M. 1808AB, 1809B, 1810A, 1814AB, 1815A, 1817B, 1818AB, 1819AB, 1821B, 1822AB, 1823A, 1825A, 1827AB, 1828A, 1829B, 1831AB, 1834AB. <i>Dead Octr 1834.</i>
	Fitzpatrick, James	C. Mar 1807
	Toole, Michael	
	Wilkinson, John	
	Thompson, Joseph	
	Sandham, Henry	
	Skerritt, John	
	Murphy, Daniel	
	Baylor, William	W.M. 1807AB, 1809A
	Glynn, James	
	Carse (Corse), Thomas	Res. prior to June 1806
	Blake, Thomas	Res. prior to June 1806
	Carroll, Jos	Res. prior to June 1806
	Byrne, Thomas	
	Farrell, John	
	Duffy, James	
	Mercer, William	
	Carroll, John (M ²)	
	Fannin, Michael	
July	Campbell, James	Sergt 23 Lt Dragoons. I.C. Cer. 24/4/1809
Aug	Hart, William	I.C. ²
Oct	Bawn, William	I.C. 25 Regt
	Charlton, John	(574) Carronbeg, Co Antrim 1780-1846
	Hargraves, Abraham	Probably member prior to June 1806.
1807		
Feby	Robinson, John	I.C. Cer. Feby 1807.
Apr	Godson, Richard (Godsell)	I.C. Visitor May 1828
"	Vass, Archibald	I. Visitor June 1809
"	Leonard, Henry	I.C.
June	Rooney, James	I.C.
July	Ahearn, James	I.C. Visitor July 1834
"	Murphy, Jeremiah	I.C.
Octr	McKee, Thomas (Magee)	I.C. Declared off Jan'y 1810. Member again 1813.

¹ Lodges, particulars of which are not given in this list, will be found in Visitors' List, Appendix II.

² I.C.=Initiated and Crafted at the same meeting.

Date.	Name.	Remarks.
1808		
Jany	Carroll, William	()
Feby	Allen, Alexander	I.C. Sergt Major 14 Regt
"	Fairley, John	I.C. Qr Mr Sergt 14 Regt
Mar	McKenna, Thomas	I.C.
"	Kerby, Peter	I.C.
July	Dann, Thomas	(501)? Tuam 1773-1814
Augt	Doherty, William	I.C.
Decr	Hickey, John	() Became Tyler.
1809		
Jany	Bible, Arthur	Prior to 1806? Cer. 10/4/1809. Visitor from 22 Feby, 1810
Feby	Fitzgerald, John	Prior to 1806?
Mar	White, Thomas	Prior to 1806? Cer. 10/4/1809.
June	Heatherington, John	I.C. 2 Batt. 32 Regt Res. Mar 1810. Cer. Mar 1812
"	Knight, Joshua	I.C. 2 Batt. 32 Regt Res. Mar 1810
"	Bamborough, Thomas	(191 E.C.) Res. Mar 1810
"	Imber, John Mead	(73 S.C.) Res. Mar 1810
"	Neale, Richard	(191 E.C.)
"	Chadwick, Edward	()
"	Poland, William (Polin)	() Visitor 2/10/1809
"	Watling, William	I.C.
"	Dunn, William	(981 or 961) 961 Waterford Militia 1805-41
"	Hennessy, Patrick	I.C. Res. Decr 1811. Expelled 5 Nov 1835
"	Murray, John	I.C.
"	Nowlan, Francis (Nowland)	Prior to 1806? Res. Jany 1814
July	Early, Patrick	()
Augt	Flynn, Andrew	Prior to 1806?
"	Kennedy, Michael	Prior to 1806? Visitor Feby 1810
Sept	Brighton, R	(258 S.C.) Argyleshire Fencibles 1795-1809. Visitor Feby 1810.
Octr	Stubbs, Joseph	I.C. 2 Batt 32 Regt. Visitor Jany 1810. Cer. 30/5/1810.
"	Hölty, Charles	I.C. 2 King's German Legion. Cer. 9/11/1809.
"	Glanvill, William	I.C. 2 Batt. 32 Regt. Res. Mar 1810.
Sept	Power, Richard	(916) Dublin 1802-25.
1810		
June	Black, Andrew	(279) Reg. 20/4/1816
"	Millikin, Robert	() Reg. 9/11/1814 W.M. 1812AB, 1813AB
"	Connelly, Laurence	(421) Visitor Apr 1813.
Sept	Schultz, Johann	()
Octr	O'Keefe, William	() Cer. 13/2/1818 Visitor Sept 1813.
"	Moase, John	I.C.
1811		
Jany	Bailie, Daniel (Bailey)	I.C. Duke of Brunswick's Cavalry. Cer. 30/1/1812
"	Loehr, Johann Wilhelm	I.C. Duke of Brunswick's Cavalry.
Feby	Moriarty, Owen	I.C.
Mar	Johnston, Thomas	I.C. Cer. 7/10/1818
Apr	Higgins, John	(846)
"	Weber, Jeremias	I.C. D. of Brunswick's Lt Dragoons
"	Schultze, Frederick Wilhelm	I.C. do. do. do.
June	Halpinny, Patrick	(562) Royal Tyrone Militia 1797-1830
Augt	Magill, Thomas	(295)
Novr	Smith, William	(163)
"	Hammond, George	(163)
"	Croker, Richard	() Reg. 30/11/1811
1812		
Novr	Roberts, Hugh	(332) Visitor Mar 1816
Novr	O'Flaherty, Frederick	(967)
1813		
Jany	Ormsby, Thomas	(837) Visitor May 1814
Apr	Kelly, Hugh	(323) Visitor Octr 1814
May	Williams, R W	(125)
Decr	Fetherstone, Thomas	I.C. W.M. 1816B, 1817A
1814		
Jany	Gray, James	(292 S.C.) Dundee 1808—current as 225 Visitor Mar 1816
1815		
Apr	Kidson, James	I.C. Sergt 3 Batt Royal Scots
June	Robinson, Samuel	(235) Coleraine 1753-1846 Res. July 1837 Visitor Sept 1842
1816		
Mar	Cullen, Michael	I.C. Sergt 2 Garrison Batt

Date.	Name.	Remarks.
Mar	McManus, Hugh	I.C. Sergt 2 Garrison Batt
"	O'Keefe, John	(3)
Apr	Turner, John	I.C. Cer. 7/3/1819
"	Gass, Henry	I.C. Cer. 9/10/1816
1817		
Jany	McConnell, Quintin	(288)
Mar	O'Keefe, Arthur	I.C. Cer. 8/3/1819 to 71 (Cork 1777—current)
Octr	O'Callaghan, John	I.C.
"	Reith, Archibald	(9 E.C.) Cer. 24/10/1820
1818		
Feby	Murphy, Jeremiah	(495)
Apri	O'Callaghan, Edward (Edmund)	I.C. Cer. 3/8/1818
"	Lynch, Patrick	I.C. Cer. 3/8/1818
Sept	Turner, George N	I.C. Cer. 15/5/1820
Decr	Sandham, George	I.C. to 49 (Charleville 1736-1901)
1819		
May	Newell, John	I.C. Res. Apr 1820
1820		
Apr	Newell, Richard	I.C.
"	Mahoney, John	I.C.
"	Forster, Richard	(442)? a member
May	Fitzmaurice, William	(742) Cer. Decr 1859 to 99 (Mallow 1807-56) W.M. 1830AB
Octr	Bible, William	(8) Cer. 10/1/1823 Visitor Sept 1828
Novr	Thornhill, Edward	(167) Res. Feby 1821
1821		
Augt	Bailey, John	I.C. Cer. 5/1/1822
1822		
Jany	Armor, William	I.C.
July	Cott, Nicholas	I.C.
Augt	Fitzgibbon, James	(495) Excluded Apr 1831
Octr	Robinson, William	I.C.
1826		
Feby	Hanley, Terence	I.C. W.M. 1828B Cer. 6/6/1828. Secretary Jany 1832 Visitor Jany 1831. <i>Dead Sept 1845</i>
"	Robinson, Henry	I.C. Cer 6/6/1828 Res. Decr 1845
Sept	Turner, Jones	I.C.
"	Talbot, James	I.C. Res. Decr 1829 Cer. 20/2/1835
"	Smith, William	I.C. Cer. 6/6/1828 W.M. 1832B
Novr	McKee, John	I.C. Cer. 19/3/1832
"	McKissick, David	I.C. Res. Apr 1829 Cer. 20/2/1835 Member Mar. 1837
Decr	Fitzmaurice, Lewis	I.C.
1828		
Mar	Carey, Langer	I.C.
Augt	Morley, James	I.C. Cer. 26/9/1828
"	McDonough, Thomas	I.C. Cer. 26/9/1828
Sept	McKay, John	I.C. Doctor. Cer. 2/10/1828 <i>Dead June 1836</i>
Novr	Downing, Thomas Fitzgerald	(7 S.C.) Doctor, W.M. 1829A, 1833A Suspended by G. Lodge Decr 1835
Octr	Byrom, William	(25) ? a member.
1829		
Jany	Frazer, Gregory	I.C. Cer 9/7/1831
Feby	Townshend, Thomas	I.C. Clergyman. Rejoined Jany 1840
Sept	Collis, George Gun	I.C. Clergyman. Cer. 20/2/1835 W.M. 1832A, 1835B (Oct)
Octr	Foley, Michael	(9)
1830		
Feby	Walsh, Charles Huey	I.C.
Augt	Quinn, David	I.C.
1831		
Jany	Fahey, James	I.C. Cer. 9/7/1831
Feby	Connor, George	()
Apr	Eaton, Roger	(271)
Augt	Bible, Henry	Cer. 20/2/1835
Octr	Walsh, Thomas	I.C. Barrister Res. Octr 1831. Cer. 25/10/1831
"	Bell, James	I.C. 56 Regt Res. Octr 1831 Cer. 25/10/1831
"	Eades, Thomas	I.C. do Res. Octr 1831. Cer. 25/10/1831
1834		
Feby	Ward, Thomas Broadrick	(71) Doctor W.M. 1834B (Oct) 1835A
May	Roberts, Michael Hodder	I.C. Cer. 17/10/1834 W.M. 1835B (Res. Oct) Suspended by G. Lodge Decr 1835
June	Reah, Redmond	I.C. W.M. 1836B, 1837A, 1839B, 1840AB, 1841AB
"	Gardiner, Thomas	I.C.

Date.	Name.	Remarks.
July	Baylor, Robert	I.C.
Novr	Carey, Peter	I.C. Cer. 20/2/1835 Visitor Apr 1841
"	O'Brien, John	()
"	Kelly, John	() 89 Regt
Decr	Scobie, John	I.C. 89 Regt
"	Wilson, Edward Henry	I.C.
"	Wilson, William	I.C.
Novr	Hughes, Timothy	()
1835		
Apr	Shiel, Richard	I.C. Lieut 94 Regt Cer. 5/5/1835
"	Finucane, George	I.C. Capt 94 Regt Cer. 5/5/1835
"	Triphook, Robert	I.C. of Rockmills Cer. 7/3/1836
"	Stephens, William Nassau	I.C. Lieut 94 Regt Cer. 5/5/1835
"	Burslem, George	I.C. Capt 94 Regt Suspended by G. Lodge Decr '35
"	Furlong, John	I.C. of Rockmills
May	Penrose, George	I.C. W.M. 1837B, 1838AB, 1839A. Dead Decr 1847
"	Eaton, Christopher Edward	I.C. Capt 29 Regt Cer. 16/7/1835
"	Pearde, Henry	
"	Stepney, Arthur St George	I.C. Lieut 29 Regt Cer. 16/7/1835
June	Browne, George	I.C. Lieut 29 Regt Cer. 3/7/1835
"	Hawkey, John Pellim	I.C. Lieut 29 Regt Cer. 3/7/1835
"	Way, Gregory Lewis	I.C. Written May in G.L. Register
"	Cosby, Henry	I. Lieut. 29 Regt Cer. 3/7/1835
Sept	Moase, John	(95) ? member. Acted Secretary this date.
Novr	Collett, Edward	(96) Doctor of Kilworth, W.M. 1836A Expelled May 1844
"	Norcott, William	(340) Cer. 7/3/1836. Rejoined Jany 1840
1836		
Jany	Waldron, Richard	I.C.
May	Anderson, Charles Frederick	I.C.
1836		
Decr	Hendley, Arthur	I.
"	O'Keefe, Thomas Fennell	I.
"	Browne, John	I.
1837		
Feby	Irwin, Anthony James	I.C.
"	Ross, Thomas	I.C.
Decr	Homan, Charles	I.
"	Baylor, William	I.
1838		
Mar	Deines, Charles	(654 E.C.) 10 Regt
"	Cockaday, John	(3 Greece) 10 Regt
"	Klussmann, Henry	I.
"	Crawford, Cooper	I.
"	Campion, John	I. Became Tyler.
"	Blenkinsop, William	(654 E. C.) 10 Regt and No. 176 I.C. 88th Regt (1821-50)
"	McCarthy, Anthony	(686) 66 Regt
June	Dalrymple, James	I.C.
Augt	Hendley, Roger	I.C. Res. Augt 1838
"	Waters, Thomas	I.C.
"	Clancy, James	I.C.
Octr	Langmuir, John	I. Res. Octr 1838
Novr	Keys, James	I.
1839		
Mar	Goucke, James	I.C.
1840		
Jany	Fahey, James	() Doctor
June	Bourke, Michael	I. to No. 1
July	Collis, Peter	I. Capt
"	Ritchie, Maurice Murray	I. W.M. 1842A, 1844A
1841		
Mar	O'Donell, James	I.C. Doctor. Visitor from 49 July 1844
Apr	Paye, William	I.C. Solicitor W.M. 1842B, 1843A
1842		
Feby	McMullen, Thomas Frederick	Made M.M. 20th Regt
1843		
Decr	McKee, Thomas	I.C. W.M. 1845AB, 1846A, 1852AB, 1853A
1844		
Apr	Hume, William	I.C. 72 Highlanders
July	Meyers, William	I.C.

Date.	Name.	Remarks.
1845		
Jany	Nicholls, John (Nicholds)	I.C.
"	Nicholls, Edward	I.C.
Feby	Sherlock, John Thomas	I.C. W.M. 1846B, 1847A. Reg 12/3/1845 to No. 3 Rejoined Decr 1858
Apr	Lindsey, William	I.C. Printer. W.M. 1855AB, 1858B Struck off 10/1/77
"	Little, James	I.C.
May	Leyden, George	I.C.
"	Kenna, Thomas	I.C.
"	Galsworthy, James	I.C.
"	Garven, Thomas G.	I.C.
June	Molloy, Anthony	I.C.
"	Thompson, Arthur	I.
"	Oswald, William	I.
July	Clancy, John	I.C.
Octr	Hall, William	I.C. Res. Feby 1847
Novr	McCrorey, William	(736 or 734)
"	Judge, Thomas	(67 or 95) Res. Feby 1847
1846		
Jany	Forrest, Charles	I.
"	Cunningham, Henry	I.
"	McCormack, James	I. W.M. 1848AB Res. Augt 1852
"	Brown, William	I. of Dublin
"	Kelly, Robert Charles	I.
"	Fetherstone, Henry	I. Date uncertain.
Feby	Brown, George	I.C. of Dublin
Mar	Astin, Samuel	(441)
"	Prater, Frederick Augustus	(65 E.C.) Humber Lodge Hull (1809—current as 57)
Apr 6	Byrom, William C.	(68 Youghall) Honorary Member.
"	Hogan, Patrick	I. of Mitchelstown
"	Steele, Richard	I. of Mitchelstown
"	Davis, Henry John	I.C. Officer of 32 Regt
"	Andrews, Thomas	I. Tyler. Dismissed for dishonesty by Lodge 1861, and suspended by G.L. 1/5/62
"	King, Charles Thomas	I.C. 32 Regt
"	O'Brien William	I.C. 54 Regt
"	Yard, Frederick	I.C. 32 Regt
"	Clarke, Adrew F	I.C. Royal Engineers
May	Kyrle, Rich Walter Money	I.C.
"	Keyburn, George	() Clergyman
June	Norcott, William Boyle	I.
1846		
Octr	Wigmore, Robert	I.
"	McNab, Joseph	I. of Sandy Fort
"	Talbot, Richard	I.
"	Johnson, Francis	I.
"	Tyler, Henry Whally	I. Lieut. Royal Engineers
"	Manifold, Michael Fenton	I. Doctor in 77 Regt
Novr	Talbot, James	I. of Tallow Reg. 12/11, 1846 to 131 (Mullingar 1845—c.)
1847		
Jany	Beatie,	I.C.
Mar	Blyth, Edward	I.
May	Gernon, Francis	I.C.
June	Gregory, J C	I.C. of Glasgow
Augt	Reeves, John	I. of Fermoy
Novr	Glazier, Henry	I. of Glanworth
1852		
Apr	Flynn, William	(396 E.C.)
May	Lonergan, Richard	I.
Apr	Deane, Charles	(1) Honorary Member
20		
May	Munroe, Donald	(325) 72 Highlanders
June	Hutchinson, John William	I.
Octr	Beard, James Slater	I. Sergt 31 Regt M.M. 3/1/53 to 325 (died 1860)
21		
"	Arrowsmith, John	I. do M.M. 3/1/53 Reg. 3/1/53 to 107 (Sphinx Lodge, Colombo, 1861—c. Founder and first J.W. of Serendib L. Colombo No. 112 I.C. in 1864)
"	Shade, William (Shead)	I. do M.M. 4/1/53 to 325
"	Sutton, Charles	I. do Crafted 14 Decr 52
"	Winter, William	I. do M.M. 14/2/53

Date.	Name.	Remarks.
Novr	Roe, William	I. Sergt Major 31 Regt
4	Deacon, Samuel	I. Colour Sergt. 31 Regt Crafted 14 Decr 1852
"	Adair, John	I. Hospital Sergt do Crafted 14 Decr 1852
1855		
Decr	Moore, (Charles W.?)	(68)
"	Robertson, William James	(732 E.C.) W.M. 1856A
"	Stokes, Oliver Haldane (see below)	(437 E.C.)
"	Thompson, George	(730 E.C.) (Royal Standard L. Kidderminster 1844—current as 498) W.M. 1856B
"	Whinton,	(396 E.C.) Left Jan'y 1856
"	Peard, Richard W.	(1)
1856		
Jan'y	Stokes, Oliver H.	I.C. Lieut. Royal Engineers. Reg. 15/1/56 W.M. 1857A (to Apr) Retired to 91 (4th Regt 1857-1875)
"	Wallace, David	I.C. Sergt 30 Regt
"	Lewellyn, J H	I.C. Staff Surgeon
"	Peard, Richard M. C. (McC?)	(68)
1856		
Feb'y	Hutchinson, John	I. of Kilworth Reg. 21/5/1856 to 68 (Youghal 1835—c.)
Mar	O'Leary, Michael	I.
"	Hutchins, John	I. Colour Sergt
"	Ollis, George	(73)
Apr	Nason, John G	(13)
1853		
Feb'y	Campbell	(396 E.C.) 1st Royals Honorary Member
3		
"	Hayes	(396 E.C.) do do
"	Tuomey	(396 E.C.) do do
1855		
Decr	Esdaile, James	(291 S.C.)
"	Maxwell, Thos	(30 S.C.) Election recorded Decr 1856
"	Davis,	(180)
"	Morton,	(291 S.C.)
1856		
May	Holt, William	(242)
"	McKenzie, John B	(4 S.C.)
June	Boyd, Henry	(447)
"	Briggs, John N	(224 E.C.)
"	Siree, Charles B. M.	I. Capt 33 Regt
"	Bolden, Leonard	I. 68 Regt Reg. 11/8/56 to 311 (Templemore 1842—c.)
July	Alleyne, Charles B. K.	I.
"	Salter, James	I. Sergt 30 Regt
"	Bannan, Horatio	I. Sergt 30 Regt
Oct'r	Bazalgette,	(588 E.C. Union of Malta, Valetta, 1831—current as 407)
"	Jones,	(73)
"	Roebottom, David	(176 E.C.) Res. 1860
Nov'r	Hennessy, Patrick	(176 E.C.)
Decr	Belling, John	I. of Fermoy
"	Payne, George	(771 E.C.) 14 Regt
1857		
Feb'y	Cox, James	I. of Doneraile
"	Perceval, William	(437 E.C.) Sergt. W.M. 1858B (from Oct) 1859A Res. 1861 to 348 (Auckland N.Z. 1844—current)
"	Knight, Thomas	(816 E.C.)
"	Grace, Thomas	(771 E.C.) 14 Regt
Apr	Stokes, Robert G	I. of Fermoy
1857		
April	Hammersley, Frederick	(771 E.C.) W.M. 1857A (from Apr) 1857B
"	Barlow	(771 E.C.)
"	Glancy, John	(771 E.C.)
"	Stammers, Robert J. F.	(311)
"	Lodder, Henry C	(311)
"	O'Connor, Rowland	(311)
"	Scott, John	(311)
"	Heathcote, Boche H	¹ (456 E.C.) Reg. 27/4/57 to No. 1

¹ 456 E.C. Lodge of Hope, Berne, Switzerland, 1818-46. Really became Swiss in 1822. This number is also given in register of G.L. Ireland as Heathcote's original Lodge; I suspect a mistake somewhere.

Date.	Name.	Remarks.
April	Bell,	(176 E.C.)
"	Fitzstubbbs, Napoleon	(176 E.C.)
"	Cumming, William	(176 E.C.)
May	Smythe, Frederick	I. Capt 14 Regt
"	Williamson, W R	(114) Pilltown, Co Kilkenny (1843-56)
"	Dwyer, George H.	(771 E.C.)
July 1858	Turner, James G.	(176 E.C.)
Octr	Young, George	I. Schoolmaster Res. 1859 to 263 (20th Regt 1860-97)
"	Skues, Richard	I. Lieut 69 Regt. Res. 1860
"	Fitzpatrick, Robert	() Qr Mr Sergt
"	Greig, David	() Sergt 95 Regt
"	Donnecliffe, John	(3)
"	Owens, John	(291 S.C.) Res. 1859
"	Murless, John	(45 E.C.)
"	Nicholas, John	(58) Res. 1859
"	Wield, Robert	(58) Res. 1859
"	Hill, Arundel	(202) Clergyman W.M. 186—? Secretary
Novr	Montgomery, Robert Blackhall	(141) (Dublin 1834—current) W.M. 1859B, 1860B, 1861A
"	Deane, Charles	(1) Honorary Member
Decr	Bignall, John	I. Sergt
"	Hawker, E A	(84) Bandon

APPENDIX II.

Visitors to Lodge 555
(1806-58)

Name	Date of 1st Visit.	Lodge.
Askwyth, John	1.9.1806	325 Mallow (1803-26)
Adams, B.	2.3.1807	321 E.C. (A) 91 Regt, 1800-28
Anderson, Chas	6.4.1807	
Arnold, M.	4.7.1814	
Anderson, James	4.8.1828	128 Gibraltar L. 39 Regt 1742-1872
Anne, George	3.10.1831	
Ahern, James	4.8.1834	
Alves, Captain	7.5.1835	
Adderley, John	5.7.1838	495 South Cork Militia 1794-1865
Astin, Samuel	12.2.1846	441 38 Regt 1765-1860
Birkley, E	2.8.1806	373 Killarney 1761-1856
Bennett, John	2.2.1807	279 Clonmel 1757-1835
Briggs, John	7.9.1807	428 Glenavy 1765-1817
Bains, Solomon	6.6.1808	9 Limerick 1755-1817
Boyland, James	6.6.1808	553 Cookstown 1778-1845
Butterfeild, J. (J.W.)	2.2.1809	950 53 Regt 1804-24
Bamborough, Thos	1.5.1809	191 E.C. (A) 79 Regt 1808-38
Brighton, R.	7.8.1809	258 (? S.C.) Argyleshire Military St. John, 2 Batt. Argyleshire Fencibles 1795-1809
Bible, Arthur	5.2.1810	22 Kilworth 1809-15
Beattie, Irvine	5.3.1810	500 Grand East of Ulster. 59 Regt. G.L. Ireland gave No. 219 free of charge June 1810. Beattie one of the grantees. 1810-19.
Black, Andrew	7.5.1810	279 Clonmel 1757-1835
Böstler	19.6.1810	98 ?
Brandenstein	19.6.1810	98
Brown, G.	5.11.1810	248 E.C. (A) 76 Regt 1788-1828
Bell, George	5.4.1813	63 20 Regt 1748-1868
Blackare (<i>recte</i> Blacker), Val	2.5.1814	888 Armagh Militia 1800-45
Brennan, George	6.6.1814	
Beaty, Wm	7.12.1818	704 E.C. Albura L. 57 Regt 1818-24
Blount, E. A. (J.W.)	7.12.1818	704 E.C. "
Blair, Wm	1.2.1819	3 Cork 1805—current
Barr, John	7.6.1819	15 Cork 1807—current
Bentley, Thos	7.6.1819	
Bible, William	5.6.1820	8 Cork 1808—current
Bradley.	6.8.1821	781 Anaghmore, Co. Derry 1793-1845
Barry, W. S.	3.4.1826	71 Cork 1777—current
Byrom, William	1.9.1828	25 Cork 1809-23
Blacklock, John	6.2.1829	354 49 Regt 1760-1849

Name.	Date of 1st Visit.	Lodge.
Belchier (Belcher), Wm	3.6.1834	71 Cork 1777—c.
Byrom, William Junr	2.4.1835	68 Youghal 1835—current.
Bowes,	2.4.1835	176 89 Regt 1821-40
Barry, David (Doctor)	3.3.1836	163 S.C. Caledonian, Edinburgh 1786—?
Blenkinsop, William (10 Regt)	15.3.1838	3 Pythagoras Lodge, Greece. Pythagoras L. 654 E.C. Corfu 1837-94
Beird, Wm	5.4.1838	464 Goblusk, Co. Fermanagh 1768-1833
Bellingham, (32 Regt)	4.1846	
Beasley,	4.3.1847	610 Probably E.C. Loyal Lodge of Industry, Southmolton, Devon, 1834—now No. 421
Bible, Henry (W.M.)	3.6.1852	95 Cork 1750—current
Blackburne, Alfred	3.5.1852	70 S.C. St. Ebbe, Eyemouth 1757—c.
Board, Alfred Henry	10.4.1856	419 Either Ballybay, Monaghan 1764-1843, or 419 E.C. Cape Town S.A. 1811—now 334
Boyd, Henry G.	2.6.1856	447 Newtownards 1766—current
Briggs, John N.	2.6.1856	224 E.C. L. of Sincerity, East Stonehouse, Devon, 1769—now No. 189
Bolton, John	2.6.1856	73 Limerick, Eden Lodge 1843—c.
Brunker, John	3.11.1856	184 Drum, Monaghan 1748-1906.
Charlton, John	2.8.1806	574 Carronbeg, Antrim 1780-1846.
Chants (<i>recte</i> Chance), Joseph	1.9.1806	325 Mallow 1803-25
Connolly, Laurence	2.2.1807	421 Dungannon 1765-1835
Compton, James	2.3.1807	179 12 Dragoons 1804-17
Challis, James H.	1.6.1807	183 E.C. (A) 9 Regt 1803-29
Carroll, William	5.10.1807	
Condon, Pat	7.12.1807	504 Youghal 1806-51
Carberry, Thos	5.3.1808	562 Tyrone Militia 1797-1830
Crofts, Christopher	5.3.1808	742 Doneraile 1791-1822
Chadwick, Edward	1.5.1809	
Cullen, Timothy	4.9.1809	305 7 Dragoon Guards 1758-1817
Connelly, T.	6.11.09	165 ? number and constitution.
Connor, James	5.2.1810	500 Grand East of Ulster. 219 June 1810-19
Connell, R. L. (Richd)	2.4.1810	95 Cork 1750—c.
Colls (Cobbs?), Wm	4.2.1811	248 E.C. (A) 76 Regt 1788-1828
Coley, Wm	27.12.1811	212 Down Militia 1795-1813
Connor, W.	27.12.1811	221 Cork 1772-1821
Cook, James	2.11.1812	77 Newry 1737—current
Carr, Patrick	2.11.1812	421 Dungannon 1765-1835
Conway, Michael	6.9.1813	
Campbell, Adam	7.3.1814	
Carleton, Thos	2.5.1814	888 Armagh Militia 1800-45
Cheatham,	4.7.1814	
Campbell, James	7.4.1815	144 Kilkeel, Down, 1810—current
Campbell, O. S.	1.4.1816	277 Cork 1783-1818
Clarke, Edward	2.6.1817	340 E.C. (A) 2 Batt 34 Regt 1807-32
Collardene, Richard	3.4.1820	19 Youghal 1733-1830
Collum,	3.9.1821	205 Newry 1818-30
Connell, Edward	1.9.1828	15 Cork 1807—current
Costello, James	6.4.1829	224 Drumnagee, Antrim, 1811-45
Cooke, John	3.8.1829	279 Clonmel 1757-1835
Cousens, John	5.10.1829	8 North America?
Crawford, William	5.10.1829	731 Rockcorry, Monaghan 1790-1818
Cahill, John	6.11.1834	50 Dublin 1769—current
Collett, Edward (Dr)	2.4.1835	96 Clonmel 1738-1833
Cockaday, John	1.3.1838	3 Lodge of Greece
Cumniewtwi (?)	6.8.1838	
Clancy, Thomas	11.8.1838	504 Youghal 1806-51
Cotter, Richard Bailly	19.5.1840	1 Cork (Time Immemorial)
Carey, P.	29.4.1841	
Critch (Cruck), (32 Regt)	14.4.1846	
Cave, L.	24.6.1846	176 83 Regt 1821-40
Cunningham, Henry	24.6.1846	
Cook,	2.7.1846	66 Kerry Militia 1810-56
Cleburn, John	2.9.1847	
Condon, John	7.10.1847	311 Templemore, Tipperary 1842—c.
Crozier, (44 Regt)	3.2.1848	154 Belfast 1813—current.
Campion, B. M. (Benn)	13.5.1852	8 Cork 1808—c.
Corker, Thos (P.M.)	3.6.1852	3 Cork 1805—current.
Costin, Charles	1.12.1856	771 E.C. L. of Integrity 14 Foot 1846-90
Clarke, (J.W.)	28.10.1858	95 Cork 1750—c
Donnelly, Patrick	2.6.1806	418 Drumbridge 1764-1849
Dann, Thos	6.6.1808	501 Tuam 1773-1814
Duckett, Wm (W.M.)	2.2.1809	435 83 Regt 1808-17

Name.	Date of 1st Visit.	Lodge.
Dunn, Wm	5.6.1809	961 Waterford Militia 1805-41
Dannohy, John	2.7.1810	43 Waterford 1735-1815
Denehy, T. J.	1.6.1812	43 "
Delmotte, Chas	5.7.1813	357 Loughrea, Galway, 1760-1832
Davis, John	7.2.1814	914 Newry 1802-14
Darley, John	6.6.1814	
Doran,	4.7.1814	
Doney, William	4.3.1816	440 Oldtown, Co. Derry 1809-18
Downing, Thomas Fitzgerald (Dr)	5.5.1828	4 S.C. Glasgow Kilwinning 1735—c.
Deines, Charles	1.3.1838	3 Lodge of Greece 654 E.C.
Deacon, Henry	5.4.1838	242 Boyle, Roscommon 1808—c.
Dartnell,	15.4.1846	68 Youghal 1835—c.
Dixon, (54 Regt)	24.6.1846	
Deane, Charles	20.4.1852	1 Cork (Time Immemorial)
Davis,	17.12.1855	180 Keady, Armagh, 1817-48
Day, Joseph Edwin	10.4.1856	60 Ennis 1736—c.
Dwyer, G. H.	1.2.1856	771 E.C. 14 Foot 1846-90
Donnecliffe, John	28.10.1858	3 Cork 1805—current
Echlin, Christopher	7.3.1808	
Early, Pat	22.6.1809	
Eager, Rob (W.M.)	7.12.1818	704 E.C. 57 Regt 1818-24
Evans, Praid	4.6.1821	163 Birr, King's Co. 1747—c.
Evans,	3.9.1821	366 Kesh 1761-1848
Eaton, Roger	4.4.1831	271 Limerick 1756-1844
Edwards, O.	19.11.1845	8 Cork 1808—c.
Esdaile, James	3.12.1855	291 S.C. Celtic, Edinburgh and Leith, 1821—c.
Fannin, Michael	2.8.1806	856 Tipperary Militia 1797-1825
Fergusson, A.	2.2.1807	321 E.C. (A) 91 Regt 1800-28
Flight, John	2.2.1807	279 Clonmel 1757-1835
Fitzpatrick, Cornelius	2.2.1807	889 (?) Lisnaskea 1801-15
Fleming, A. (W.M.)	1.8.1808	309 26 Regt 1758-1823
Fitzpatrick, Corns	1.6.1807	408 Ballintoy 1763—now No. 38
Fitzgerald, James	1.10.1810	95 Cork 1750—c.
Foster, Richard	7.1.1811	642 Kilkenny 1785—c.
Ford, Patrick	4.4.1814	
Fullam, Michael	3.19.1814	620 Dublin 1783—c.
Fitzmaurice, Wm	3.4.1820	742 Doneraile 1791-1822
Fairfoot, Robert	6.8.1821	443 Saintfield 1809-49, or perhaps 443 E.C. 4 Batt R. Artill. 1809-27
Fitzgibbon, James	20.7.1822	495 S. Cork Milit. 1794-1865
Fisher, Thomas	4.6.1827	146 Dunloy 1822-45
Ferrin, Thos	2.8.1830	36 36 Regt 1781-1858
Forbes,	9.3.1835	
Fetherstone, Robt	5.7.1838	495 S. Cork Milit. 1794-1865
Frazer, Gregory	8.4.1842	
Fraser, Alexander	21.8.1843	11 1st Royal Scots Regt 1732-1847
Fearn, George	29.1.1845	222 S.C. Royal Thistle, 1 Regt 4 Batt 1808-52
Flynn, Wm	13.5.1852	325 St. John's. Either Mallow 1803-25 or Gibraltar 1826—c.
Foster, Richard	7.9.18	396 E.C. 1st Royal Scots Regt 1808—now 316
		442 Stranorlar 1765-1818
Gwynn, Richard	2.2.1809	325 Mallow 1803-25
Goldsmith, J. B.	1.5.1809	164 23 Dragoons 1808-17
Glynn, Wm	4.9.1809	106 S.C. Duke of York's 64 Regt 1761-1816
Grey, Hugh	6.11.1809	421 Dungannon 1765-1835
Gilchrist, Gordon	5.2.1810	500 Grand East of Ulster. Granted No. 219 June 1810-19
Green, Bernard	4.2.1811	
Graham, Thos	3.5.1813	926 Belfast 1803-30
Gatherupe, William	5.7.1813	352 Castleblayney 1760—c.
Gray, Henry	6.6.1814	
Gaven, Connolly	3.10.1814	25 Cork 1809-23
Gunn, Alexander	3.4.1815	289 S.C. Royal Thistle 1st Regt 1808-52
Gray, James	4.3.1816	555
Guterdy, Wm	4.3.1816	
Greer, Wm	3.8.1829	214 Hillsborough 1818-48
Gordon, R.	4.7.1831	545 Ballyhaise, Cavan 1777-1818
Gibbon, Wm	3.19.1831	
Gordon, James Wm	3.10.1831	
Gales, Charles	5.4.1838	242 Boyle 1808—c.
Garven, Thomas	12.6.1846	555 Fermoy 1801—c.

Name.	Date of 1st Visit.	Lodge.
Gough,	3.9.1846	311 Templemore 1809-36 101 Athlone 1810—c.
Glancy, John	1.12.1856	771 E.C. 14 Foot 1846-90
Grace, Thomas	2.2.1857	771 E.C. ,
Hewitt, George	2.2.09	435 83 Regt 1808-17
Herzberg	19.6.10	98 ? Constitution
Henderson, Thos	3.12.10	
Higgins, John	7.1.11	846 Tyrone Militia 1796-1818
Holts, John	25.2.11	
Hammond, Geo	7.10.11	163 Birr 1747—c.
Homan, H.	7.9.12	489 Dublin 1771—current as No. 50
Haslem, James	2.11.12	39 ? Grand East of Ulster
Hymes, B.	5.7.13	347 Cork 1760-1833
Hutcheson, Saml	2.11.12	947 Ballymacarett 1804-17
Hosken, Michael	2.5.14	888 Armagh Militia 1800-45
Hanna, James	4.3.16	440 Oldtown, Co. Derry, 1809-18
Hewish, John	4.3.16	272 E.C. (A) 1st East Devon Militia 1781-1835
Hughes	1.4.22	577 6 Dragoon Guards 1780-1858
Harrington, Michael	4.6.27	26 26 Regt 1758-1922
Haynes, W. H.	4.1.30	234 Mallow 1828-48
Horton, Samuel	2.8.30	36 36 Regt 1781-1858
Hyslop, A. W.	4.7.31	307 Roscrea 1758-1840
Hardman, Richard	3.10.31	
Holt, William	5.5.56	242 Boyle 1808—c.
Hennessey, Patrick	3.11.56	176 E.C. Albany Lodge, Newport I.O.W. 1801— now No. 151
Hammersley, Fred	1.12.56	771 E.C. 14 Regt 1846-90
Hill, Arundel (Rev)	28.10.58	202 Newcastle, Co. Limerick 1851-86
Hawker, E. A.	6.12.58	84 Bandon 1738—c.
Imber, John Mead	1.5.09	73 S.C. White's 32 Regt 1754-1809
Ingram, Hall	7.10.11	348 E.C. (A) Durham Faithful Lodge 68 Regt L. Iny 1810-44
Jones, N.	7.9.12	348 E.C. dc. Or perhaps 348 I.C. Dublin 1797-1835
Johnson, Thos	7.9.12	155 Dublin 1747-1817
Jones, Wm	6.9.13	864 (?) Fermanagh Militia 1798-1830
Jackson, John	2.6.17	340 E.C. (A) 2 Batt 34 Regt 1807-32
Jones, Saml (Secy)	7.12.18	704 E.C. 57 Regt 1818-24
Jones, J.	7.12.18	704 E.C. do.
Judge, Thomas	25.4.44	67 Cork 1737-1876 95 Cork 1750—c.
Jones, John (54 Regt)	2.4.46	550 Belfast 1777-1849
Jones,	16.8.56	73 Eden L. Limerick 1843—c.
Keily, Rd	2.6.06	71 Cork 1777—c.
Kays,	5.1.07	67 Cork 1757-1876
Kay, T.	2.3.07	321 E.C. (A) 91 Regt 1800-28
Kinney, Daniel	1.6.07	413 Catholic L. Bandon 1764-1835
Kennedy, W. H.	1.8.08	303 26 Regt 1758-1922 (in 1822 became 26)
Kennedy, Michael	5.2.10	
King, Thos	5.2.10	500 G. East of Ulster 59th Regt. Became No. 219 1810-19
Kascholetz (?)	19.6.10	98 ? Constitution
King, Abraham	2.9.11	248 E.C. (A) 76 Regt 1788-1828
Kelly, Hugh	3.10.14	323 Caledon 1809-33
Kennedy, John	7.4.15	741 City of Cork Militia 1806-25
Kelly, Bernard	4.3.16	¹ 34 Justice L. St. Heliers, Jersey 1813-74
King, J. M.	2.4.27	302 Lisboy, Co. Antrim 1810-39
Kyle, James	3.11.28	33 21 Regt 1734-1860
King, Anthony Wright	23.4.35	Lieut. 94 Regt
Kettles, Geo	29.1.45	3 Pythagoras ? 654 E.C. Corfu 1837-94
Kelly,	13.5.52	396 E.C. 1st Regt 1808—now 316
Knight, Thomas	2.2.57	816 E.C. Temple L. Folkestone 1848—now No. 558.
Langtrie (Laughri) (<i>recte</i> Loughrin), Jno	5.2.10	500 G. East of Ulster. Little 27.12.1807 59 Regt 219 1810-19
Langermann, Georg Friedrich de	4.6.10	98 ? Constitution
Luder von	19.6.10	98 do.
Lagden, William	4.2.11	248 E.C. (A) 76 Regt 1788-1828

¹ I suspect an error in writing for 347 Cork.

Name.	Date of 1st Visit.	Lodge.
Lavalade, Edwd	6.5.11	777 Magherafelt 1793-1822
Lindlay, Godfrey	7.10.11	489 Dublin 1771—current as 50
Lee, Thomas (P.M.)	27.12.11	930 Dublin 1803-35
Lyon, George	1.2.30	233 Either Drumahaire 1819-70 or more probably E.C. Waterloo L. 79 Regt 1808-38
Lewis, (Lt. 94 Regt)	9.3.1835	
Lamb	2.4.35	68 Youghal 1835—c.
Leonard, Wm	7.2.39	504 Youghal 1806-51
Loneragan, John	6.3.45	32 Waterford 1833—c.
Leach	6.4.46	52 E.C. L. of Friendship, Manchester 1803— now No. 44
Lucas	1.10.46	
Langley	4.11.52	334 Gillygooley, Tyrone. 1823-70
Laffan (S.W.)	28.10.58	95 Cork 1750—c.
McConnell, George	1.9.06	289 Antrim Militia 1796-1856
McGregor, D.	2.2.07	321 E.C. 91 Regt 1800-28
McGinnes, Hercules	7.12.07	325 Mallow 1803-25
McGarr, Charles	19.3.08	562 Tyrone Militia 1797-1830
McNamara, John	4.9.09	461 Moy 1768-1836
McGill (Magill), Thos	25.6.10	295 4th Dragoon Gds 1758—current.
McCann, Hugh	4.11.11	490 Aghagallon 1771-1833
McLernan, Henry	2.5.14	888 Armagh Militia 1800-45
McCan, Bernard	2.5.14	888 do
McClarny, James	4.3.16	888 do
McConnell, Quentin	4.11.16	288 Nenagh 1757-1822
McCabe,	1.4.22	935 Wexford Militia 1803-24
McKee, John	13.5.22	
McKay, John	4.8.28	271 Limerick 1756-1844
McFarlan, James	4.8.28	233 Either Drumahaire 1819-70 or E.C. 79 Regt 1808-38
Mackay, W. A.	3.11.28	33 21 Regt 1734-1860
Mackenzie (94 Regt)	2.4.35	328 S.C. George William 94 Regt 1830-60
McKay,	2.4.36	
McCarthy, Anthony (66 Regt)	13.3.38	686 64 Regt 1788-1817
McCrorey, William	13.6.45	704 Ahoghill 1789—c. 736 Portglenone 1791—prior to 1871
McCauna, Andrew	13.5.52	15 Cork 1807—c.
Mercer, William	2.6.06	516 Portadown 1774-1835
Murray, Hugh	7.7.06	67 Cork 1737-1876
Mills,	5.1.07	279 Clonmel 1757-1835
Meaney,	5.1.07	279 do
Mallicky, G.	2.3.07	321 E.C. (A) 91 Regt 1800-28
Mackland, John (W.M.)	2.2.09	950 53 Regt 1804-24
Meehan, Bernard	2.10.09	935 Wexford Militia 1803-24
Mullender, Thos	5.2.10	500 G. East of Ulster. 59th Regt 219 1810-19
Mallabone, Jos	5.11.10	248 E.C. (A) 76 Regt 1788-1828
Mold (Mild)	6.5.11	219 59 Regt 1810-19
Murphy, Timothy	3.6.11	846 Tyrone Militia 1796-1818
Mivins (?), John	2.12.11	
Mounstephens, John	2.11.12	39 Perhaps G.E. of Ulster 39, granted 1812. "Somewhere near Belfast."
Martell, Nicholas	5.4.13	422 Ballinderry, Co Derry, 1765-1835
Mustell, Nicholas	4.3.16	Same Brother?
Morgan, John	5.7.13	87 E.C. Good Intent L. Stamford Northants 1803-27
Midgley, Thos	4.4.14	413 Bandon 1764-1835
Mulholland, H.	4.7.14	253 Carrickfergus 1755-1892
Myers, John	3.10.14	25 Cork 1809-23
Mullen, J.	3.10.14	219 59 Regt 1810-19
Mansfield, John	4.3.16	272 E.C. 1st East Devon Militia 1781-1835
Moase, Humphrey	6.10.17	1 74 ? Whitehouse, Co. Antrim 1817-38
Murphy, Jeremiah	6.10.17	495 South Cork Militia 1794-1865
Moore, J.	7.12.18	704 E.C. 57 Regt 1818-24
Mousy, Mich	3.4.20	60 Ennis 1736—c.
Malone, Nicholas	4.6.21	895 71 Regt 1801-58
Murphy, Pat (S.W.)	8.10.22	704 E.C. 57 Regt 1818-24
Mills, John	8.10.22	704 E.C. do.
Mann, Thomas	5.1.29	495 S. Cork Militia 1794-1865
Moase, John	3.6.34	95 Cork 1750—c.
Murray	9.3.35	2 179 Dunean, Antrim, 1817-48

¹ I suspect an error in writing. Perhaps it should be 741 City of Cork Militia 1806-25.

² I suspect an error in writing for 176.

Name.	Date of 1st Visit.	Lodge
Murray	2.4.35	176 88 Regt 1821—prior to 1871 of Friarsfield
Mansergh, Robt (Capt)	2.7.35	
Moore, James (35 R.I. Reg)	2.6.36	
Molony, John	1.12.36	385 Cork 1763-1864
Montgomery, John	21.8.43	11 Royal Scots 1732-1847
		222 S.C. Royal Thistle 1st Regt 1808-52 (S.W. 11; Sec. 222)
Marriott (54 Regt)	27.12.45	636 E.C. Honour and Humanity Lodge 13 Lt Dragoons 1819-62
Moore	2.4.46	132 Dublin 1837-57
Moore (32 Regt)	14.4.46	141 Dublin 1834—c.
Munroe, Donald (P.M.) (72 Regt.)	3.6.52	325 Gibraltar 1826—c.
Moore	26.11.55	68 Youghal 1835—c.
Morton	3.12.55	291 S.C. Celtic, Edinburgh and Leith 1821—c.
Maxwell, Thomas	17.12.55	30 S.C. Ancient Stirling 1708—c.
Morris, Wm	3.3.56	
Mackenzie, John B	5.5.56	4 S.C. Glasgow Kilwinning 1735—c.
Moore, Chas W.	6.7.57	68 Youghal 1835—C
Murless, John	28.10.58	45 E.C. L. of Union, Chichester 1812—now No. 38
Newman, Wm	2.2.07	208 E.C. Brunswick L. East Stonehouse, Plymouth. 1802—now 159
Neal, Peter	7.3.08	
Neale, Richard	1.5.09	191 E.C. (A) 79 Regt 1808-38
North, Christ	1.10.10	666 Strabane 1787-1843
Nuinan, Fras	4.11.11	413 Bandon 1764-1835
Newcomen, John	25.4.35	Lieut. 95 Regt
Norcott, Wm	20.11.35	340 Strokestown 1759-1855
Nason, John G.	10.12.55	13 Limerick 1732—c.
Nicholas, John	28.10.58	58 50 Regt 1857-1875
O'Neill, Felix	2.2.07	321 E.C. (A) 91 Regt 1800-28
O'Neal, Sergt	3.12.10	846 Tyrone Militia 1796-1818
O'Flaherty, Frederick	2.11.12	967 Gillygooley, Tyrone, 1805-18
O'Neill, P.	6.9.13	864 Fermanagh Militia 1798-1830
O'Keefe, Wm	6.9.13	
Ormsby, Thos	2.5.14	837 Sligo Militia 1796-1835
O'Connor, Willm	7.12.18	704 E.C. 57 Regt 1818-24
O'Donell, James	17.7.44	49 Charleville 1736-1901
O'Brien	4.3.47	11 Royal Scots 1732-1847
Ollis, George	26.11.55	73 Eden L. Limerick 1843—c.
Owens, John	28.10.58	291 S.C. Celtic, Edinburgh and Leith 1821—c.
Plumpton, Stephen ¹	2.2.07	183 E.C. (A) 9 Regt 1803-29
Parrott, James (J.W.)	2.2.09	435 83 Regt 1808-17
Power, Richd	4.9.09	916 Dublin 1802-25
Power, Sam	1.1.10	
Perkins, Jno	5.3.10	500 G. East of Ulster 59 Regt 219 1810-19
Page, Walter	4.3.11	22 Kilworth 1809-15
Prescott, Thos	2.9.11	325 Mallow 1803-25
Paul, Wm	2.12.11	
Pusfield, P.	7.4.15	142 Carnfinton 1810-45
Parks, Richard	7.6.19	19 Youghal 1735-1830
Pollitt, James	3.10.31	
Philpots, Capt.	7.3.35	
Patterson (54 Regt)	27.12.45	
Penrose	1.1.46	
Peard	2.4.46	1 Cork (Time Immemorial)
Paget	2.4.46	
Powell	4.11.52	891 Enniskillen 1801—c.
Percival, Wm	2.2.57	437 E.C. Lodge of St. John and St. Paul, Valetta, Malta 1815—now No. 349

¹ On the 7th December, 1809, Brother Stephen Plumpton of No. 183 E.C. held in the 9th Regt. asked permission of the G. Lodge of Ireland to work Warrant No. 246 I.C. formerly held in that Regt. The application was granted subject to a communication with the G. Lodge of England. Apparently the revival never took place. Though the Lodge is printed in the Irish 1813 list with "Stephen Plympton" as W.M., no Wardens' names are given, and a revived Warrant was never issued. Lodge No. 246 I.C. was warranted in the 9th Regt., 10th April 1754; last registration 1770. Officially cancelled in 1817. We may conclude from the above entry, I think, that it was already extinct by 1809.

Name.	Date of 1st Visit.	Lodge.
Quin, David	29.4.41	
Rushton, J. (S.W.)	2.2.09	950 53 Regt 1804-24
Rice, George	1.5.09	164 23 Dragoons 1808-17
Reynolds, Henry	1.5.09	325 Malloy 1803-25
Read, Samuel	7.2.10	138 Coleraine 1743-1814
Roberts, Hugh	2.11.12	332 Omagh 1759—current. Perhaps E.C. (A) 58 Regt 1805-23
Rumney, W.	6.5.16	385 Cork 1763-1864
Rochford, E.	4.6.21	895 71 Regt 1801-58
Robertson, John	4.8.28	71 Cork 1777—c.
Ryan, Wm	5.10.29	642 Kilkenny 1785—c.
Robinson, Samuel	3.9.42	555 (probably)
Rae, David	13.5.45	101 Athlone 1810—c.
Ross	4.6.46	8 Cork 1808—c.
Ryan (54 Regt)	24.6.46	
Roddon (Roden)	3.9.46	101 Athlone 1810—c.
Robertson	5.11.46	67 Cork 1737-1876
Robertson, Wm James	26.11.55	732 E.C. St. Andrew's L. of Cape Breton, Sydney, Cape Breton N.S. 1844—now No. 7 Nova Scotia
Savage, John	2.8.06	373 Killarney 1761-1856
Sutton, Richard	1.9.06	278 Probably S.C. Aboyne North British Militia 1799-1837
Scott, William	2.3.07	313 Antrim 1759-1818
Smith, Michael	6.4.07	321 E.C. (A) 91 Regt 1800-28
Swift, Timy	7.3.08	
Stewart, James	1.5.09	739 Ballynagilly 1791-1814
Steele, Wm	4.9.09	
Steinwehr	19.6.10	98 ?
Schönfeld, Comt	19.6.10	98 ?
Schultz, Johann	3.9.10	
Sache, C. H.	5.11.10	248 E.C. (A) 76 Regt 1788-1828
Smith, William	7.10.11	163 Birr 1747—c.
Smith, J.	5.4.13	413 Bandon 1764-1835
Sanderson, Henry	3.5.13	248 Probably E.C. (A) 76 Regt
Sutton, Wm	5.7.13	167 E.C. Blakeney, Norfolk 1770-1813
Stotesbury, Robt	6.9.13	221 Cork 1772-1821
Sadleir, Wm	7.12.18	704 E.C. 57 Regt 1818-24
Stewart,	2.4.35	176 88 Regt 1821—prior to 1871
Sandham, George	25.3.39	49 Charleville 1736-1901
Slee (70 Regt)	7.10.47	311 Templemore 1842-1825
Simple	14.12.52	3 Cork 1805—c.
Stokes, Oliver Haldane	26.11.55	437 E.C. Valetta, Malta, 1815—now 349
Smith	4.2.56	225 Collans, Derry, 1818-62
Stevenson (P.M.)	4.2.56	722 E.C. R. Sussex L. Jersey 1843—now No. 492
Sherlock	6.12.58	555 Fermoy 1801—c.
Thompson, William	3.7.09	384 Dundalk 1802—c.
Tait, David	7.4.11	
Thornhill, Edward	5.10.18	167 Bandon 1737-1817
Thompson	6.8.21	148 Cogry 1814—c.
Trowsell, Henry	6.8.27	271 Limerick 1756-1844
Thomson, Geo	24.6.31	730 Garvagh, Derry, 1790-1825
Thinkurn (?), John	13.6.45	3 Cork 1805—c.
Trick, R.	4.12.45	95 Cork 1750—c.
Turner, James G.	6.7.57	176 E.C. Albany L. Newport I.O.W. 1801— now No. 151
Vesey, J.	5.11.10	248 E.C. (A) 76 Regt 1788-1828
White, Thos	2.6.03	67 Cork 1737-1876
Williams, Michael	3.7.09	
Weichholtz	19.6.10	98 ?
Watson, Thos	4.2.11	248 E.C. (A) 76th Regt 1788-1818
Williams, William R.	1.4.11	125 5 Garrison Battalion 1808-14
West, Aaron	2.7.13	87 E.C. Stamford Northants 1803-27
Wright, Richard	61.2.13	413 Bandon 1764-1835
Walsh, Pat	2.5.14	888 Armagh Militia 1800-45
Watts, David	3.5.19	354 49 Regt 1760-1849
Walker, G	4.6.21	233 Probably E.C. 79 Regt 1808-28
Wilson, Isaac	4.6.21	163 Birr 1747—c.

Name.	Date of 1st Visit.	Lodge.
Walker	6.8.21	333 Caledon 1759-1845
Wilson	6.8.21	333 do
Whitehead, James	8.10.22	704 E.C. 57 Regt 1818-24
Welch, James	4.8.28	11 Royal Scots 1732-1847
Walsh, James	4.2.28	192 S.C. St. Stephen's Edinburgh 1777—c.
Wheite (Sergt. Maj. 94 Regt)	9.3.33	
Walsh, L.	2.4.35	50 Dublin 1771—c.
Wilkie, Thomas	2.5.45	25 S.C. St. Andrew's 1736—c.
Whittaker, J.	4.12.45	95 Cork 1750—c.
Wyard, Thomas (77 Regt)	3.9.46	101 Athlone 1810—c.
Widenham	1.10.46	8 Cork 1808—c.
Winn, Richard	3.2.48	99 Mallow 1807-56
Weild, Robert	28.10.58	58 50 Regt 1857-1875

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Lepper for his valuable paper, on the proposition of Bro. W. K. Firminger, seconded by Bro. W. J. Williams; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, C. S. Burdon, G. W. Bullamore, W. Jenkinson, F. W. Golby, and H. W. Sayers.

Bro. F. W. GOLBY said:—

Bro. Lepper tells us that: "On the 5th February, 1778, the Grand Lodge of Ireland issued Warrant No. 555 for a Lodge to be holden in the town of Carlow", and that the extinct Carlow Warrant was established according to the 'Masonic Custom' "as an entirely new Lodge at Fermoy, Co. Cork" in the year 1801.

A somewhat similar incident occurred on the 20th of June, 1759, in the Neptune Lodge, then numbered 64 on the Athol Foundation, which by purchase of the dormant Warrant of Athol Lodge No. 13, acquired that number and precedence on the Roll of Athol Lodges.

"The Warrant of Athol Lodge No. 13, which we acquired by purchase on the 20th of June, 1759, was originally issued on the 7th December, 1752, to five Masons who started a Lodge which worked until December, 1757, when there remained only two members, and it became extinct. The Warrant, No. 13, was thereupon returned to the Athol Grand Lodge, where it remained dormant until its purchase by our predecessors on the 20th of June, 1759".

It appears to have been a custom in the Athol Grand Lodge in 1759, some forty-two years before the transfer in the year 1801, according to the "Munster Custom", of the Warrant No. 555 issued by the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

This is confirmatory of the view largely held by Masonic historians that the Athol Grand Lodge of England followed the custom of Ireland in this respect.

Further, the Neptune Lodge Minute for the 18th June, 1758, states that the Master and both the Wardens and Deacons were duly elected "for the ensuing half year".

This custom was also followed by the Fermoy Brethren and confirms the connection between the practice of Irish Masonry and the Athol Grand Lodge of England.

Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

I have read with great pleasure and interest the delightful paper on the Harmony Lodge, Fermoy, from the facile pen of our Brother J. Heron Lepper. Only a born story-teller could have written such a thrilling account of what at first glance would seem to be a dry and threadbare subject.

The amplification of Bro. John Lane's *Masonic Records* would in itself be some justification for the production of the essay. But there are many points arising, which I am sure the members of the Lodge and C.C. will desire to comment on, although there is not likely to be much added to the facts stated in the communication.

For my own part, I shall content myself with a few notes, which are for the most part mere expressions of opinion.

I am inclined to think with our author that there *was* a difference between the ceremony of installing a Master and the conferring of the qualification of Past Master. I know of cases where the new W.M. was not allowed to invest the I.P.M. on the grounds that not being a P.M. he was not in possession of the secrets. Brethren of acumen and possessed of a knowledge of the full ceremony of installation will find in my list of "Masonic Words" in the *Transactions* of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research, 1933, the pass-words for each occasion.

I have reasons for believing that the installation ceremony was emasculated some time after 1856, but prudence forbids me from entering into a full explanation here.

I have always been sceptical about the initiation of the Hon. Elizbaeth St. Leger. Definite proof of the event is certainly lacking. Supposing it did actually take place in 1710, as suggested, Arundel Hill could only then be a boy of sixteen and hardly likely to be present. There must always be some foundation for every legend, and I think this one has grown up around the fact that the lady (then Mrs. Aldworth) was a subscriber to Dr. Dassigny's book. It is true that there were two other female subscribers, but the fact, for some strange reason, escaped notice.

As to the peculiar case of Brother Oliver Handel Stokes, who was re-initiated in 1856, I actually know of a case where a Brother took his three degrees in Harmony Lodge, 298, Rochdale (a mere coincidence that the Lodge at Fermoy bore the same name), and afterwards went through the ceremonies again in a Lodge in Manchester, for no other apparent reason than that he did not know he could become a member by "joining".

I conclude by adding my meed of praise and thanks to Bro. Lepper for his useful contribution to our *Ars*.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

I have heard Freemasonry described as a system of morality, but I do not believe that it included any objections to duelling as such, and the picture of the peace-loving Irish of Fermoy Co. Cork is scarcely warranted by the Minutes quoted. From them we learn that two members of the Lodge, having become involved in a quarrel, tried to settle their differences by meeting in a duel. A third member of the Lodge aided and abetted them by acting as second to one of the combatants. Such conduct on the part of the three members struck at the very root of brotherhood, and very naturally the Lodge took official action. But had one of the brethren seconded another in a duel with a cowan, I very much doubt any interference would have been considered necessary. They might have congratulated or condoled with the principal and expressed their appreciation of the brotherly spirit shown by his second, but that is all.

Bro. H. W. SAYERS *writes*:—

I am sorry I cannot be present this evening to hear Bro. Lepper read his very interesting paper, and I wonder whether he would care to add some particulars of the Brethren who so stalwartly kept the Fermoy Lodge alive during the difficulties of 1823-4. From a study of the local Directory for 1824 I think it is obvious they were mainly substantial tradesmen in the town. For instance, the Master, John Bible, was probably a painter and glazier at Queen Street, and the Wardens, John Turner, a pawnbroker of Abbey Street, and William Fitzmaurice, a gauger of the Excise Office; Samuel Robinson kept the King's Arms in Queen's Square and also livery stables, and Robert O'Hara may be identical with a builder at Patrick Street.

It seems clear the Lodge regained vitality when the Fermoy Barracks were fully occupied, and with regard to the 11 joining members in April, 1857, it is perhaps interesting to know these are mainly Officers of Regiments then recently returned from the Crimea. Frederick Hammersley was a Captain of the 14th Foot, and the next two visitors are Barlow (? Capt. John) and Ensign John Glancy, of the 14th; the next four are Lieut. Robert T. F. Stammers, Capt. Henry Call Lodder, Lieut. Rowland O'Connor, and Ensign John J. Scott, all of the 47th Foot, and then follows Capt. Bache Harpur Heathcote, of the 48th Foot, and lastly three members of Lodge 176, of whom Napoleon Fitz Stubbs was an Ensign in the 28th Foot. I think it is fair to assume this invasion of military joining members was prearranged, as Bro. Capt. Hammersley was elected Master on the same evening, but no doubt the present members of Fermoy Lodge will recall the incident with fervent gratitude owing to the fresh blood transfused into the old body.

Bro. C. S. BURDON *writes*:—

Brother Lepper's erudite monograph on the first half-century of the chequered history of Lodge No. 555, I.C., possesses considerable interest for me, as I became acquainted with its terrain during my first spell of Army service, well before attaining manhood. I was greatly pleased, also, to see that the author of this valuable paper paid tribute to the support received from soldiers of the various corps stationed at Fermoy, at different times, whether as visitors (doubtless, assisting in the work, as the totals present would seem to necessitate), or by entering our Order through the Lodge. The visitors on 7th December, 1818, from the Albuhera Lodge, seem to have been keen Masons, for the 57th Regiment had then been but a few days at Fermoy. According to the regimental records, after serving in France, the battalion landed at Dover on 2nd November, 1818, and "re-embarked at Deal about the 15th, for Cork; arrived there on the 25th of the same month, and marched to Fermoy, where it remained for a few days". Two days after the No. 555 visit, the regiment was again on the move, marching by detachments to Clonmel to relieve the 97th Foot for disbandment. In 1815, the 57th had been brought from Canada, where it had taken part in many engagements, to form part of the Army of Occupation in France; at this time, the Officers' Roll included a "Lieutenant Connor" and "Quartermaster Moore". Perhaps, they were the visitors bearing somewhat similar surnames, at the meeting quoted; the date of the Warrant of No. 704, E.C., was as recent as 13th May, 1818. The 57th Foot was again at Fermoy, from July 22nd to October 18th, 1822, but from the Minutes Extracts, it would appear that Albuhera E.C. was not represented at the only meeting of the local Lodge held (October 8th) during the regiment's stay in the town.

W. Bro. JAMES E. McCAUSLAND *writes*:—

Bro. Heron Lepper has asked me, as a P.M. of Lodge 555, for a few additional facts to his history of the Lodge.

During my second year of office as W.M. in 1929 we were unfortunately accidentally burnt out. We lost photographs of old Past Masters and all our regalia, but fortunately not our old Minute Books. Our Brethren in Cork were more than kind to us, the rooms in Tuckey Street being put at our disposal free of charge, but Cork is twenty-two miles away from Fermoy. We eventually found the disused quarters of the head groom in an old country house about three miles away, and got permission from the owner and our P.G.M. to hold our meetings there. In 1931 the burnt-out house in Fermoy was rebuilt and our Lodge restored to its old headquarters in Rathealy Road, and our rooms were again opened to Masonry.

Since then we have not been doing quite so well. In the last two years we have been hit by the deaths of three Brethren, including V.W.Bro. Archdeacon Abbott, our senior P.M., who was in his 63rd year in the Order. Several of our Brethren have left the district, and others the country. We now find it hard to get candidates, and have not had one for two years. The Cork Lodges are in the same position. However, the spirit of Masonry, as inculcated in No. 555, still survives. Our W.M. has to travel twenty miles to attend meetings, our S.W. forty-five miles, and various other officers and Brethren think nothing of ten to twenty miles, and Irish at that. Our Secretary is W.Bro. W. M. Abbott, a son of the Archdeacon. The father of one of our P.M.'s, W.Bro. H. S. Daniels, was himself W.M. in the year 1868. We have had several affiliations lately, all good men and Masons.

One more bit of our recent history seems worth recording. About five years ago we had three Brethren in the Lodge whose united Masonic service amounted to no less than 160 years. One of them had been initiated as far back as the year 1867, and his R.A. Certificate issued about 1871 had been signed by the Duke of Leinster, G.M. of Ireland 1813-76. This certificate was obtained eventually by W.Bro. Edward J. Burne for the archives of Grand Lodge.

The Chapter attached to our Lodge is going strong, and we have had a Degree, either Mark or Arch, practically every meeting for the last three years.

Our finances are not flourishing, but we pay our way, and also, I am glad to say, have for many years been able to subscribe substantially to the Three Great Jewels of the Masonic Order in Ireland.

Bro. R. E. PARKINSON *writes*:—

I should like to add my tribute of gratitude to our Brother Heron Lepper for this admirable summary of the activities of an Irish Lodge during the first half of the nineteenth century. The tale has been told so succinctly as to leave nothing to criticise, and but little to comment upon.

To our modern ideas the "Munster Custom" is decidedly startling, and bears out the almost superstitious reverence accorded, in Ireland, to a Warrant, *per se*. In many cases in the North of Ireland Warrants were removed far from their original domicile, and while some of these were out and out sales, at least, a colour of legality was lent to the transaction by the purchasers being registered as affiliated in the books of Grand Lodge prior to the removal.

The rarity of references to the Royal Arch degree, and the absence of any of the other "Higher" degrees, forces one to the conclusion that their transactions were recorded separately. The presence of thirty-four Royal Arch Masons at the meeting of 23rd April, 1835, eighteen months before the arrival of a Warrant from the Supreme G.R.A.C., argues that the degree was probably actively worked in the Lodge for many years previously. A northern Lodge of this period would almost certainly contain records, not only of the Royal Arch and Knight Templar degrees, but of a whole host of others. It would be surprising indeed, if 555, with its constant intercourse with military brethren, were ignorant of the degrees beyond the Craft.

The ingenuity with which the Fermoy brethren overcame the difficulty of completing the Masonic instruction of Brother Oliver Haldane Stokes is typically Irish, where, I think, we prefer to act on the spirit, rather than the letter of the Law.

The annals of this unpretentious country Lodge tell, only too clearly, of the desperate state of Irish Masonry between the year 1823 and the middle of the century. Many a fine old Lodge went under, others lost their Warrants, to recover them some years later, while still others owe their continued existence to the devoted labours of a few members, who stuck to what must have been a weary task, in some cases for ten or fifteen years until the tide began to turn. Indeed, it is a source of wonder that Irish Masonry survived at all, and is a convincing proof of the vitality of our beloved Order, which labours not on any temporal building, but on a spiritual edifice, known and revered far beyond the land of its origin.

BRO. W. JENKINSON *writes*:—

The Brethren of No. 555, Fermoy, are to be congratulated on having the history of their Lodge compiled by a writer of the wide experience of Bro. Heron Lepper, whose contributions to our Masonic history display at all times the practised touch of the skilled craftsman.

The paper fully bears out the author's remark that the records of this old Lodge contain episodes of more than ordinary interest. In the view of many of his fellows, however, even more thanks are due to our Brother for the valuable lists given in the Appendices. Only those who have attempted a similar compilation can realise the time and labour involved, or what care must be exercised to ensure the desired accuracy.

My comments are offered more by way of providing some additional information, rather than criticism, even where these traverse some of the views expressed by Bro. Lepper.

The original grantees of No. 555, Carlow, were all members of its elder sister, No. 493, issued to Carlow 2nd January, 1772, Walter Forristall, or Foristall, being its first W.M. George Forristall was registered to this Lodge, and John Taylor affiliated on the 8th September, 1776, from No. 478, held in the 17th Regiment of Dragoons.

For some cause for which no explanation is forthcoming these three brethren affiliated to No. 518, Dublin, on the 22nd January, 1778, the names appearing on the G.L. Register of No. 518 in exactly the order in which they are given on the Warrant of No. 555, issued to Carlow one fortnight later.

Bro. Lepper has given us a Concise Summary of "The Munster Custom" as exercised by the Provincial Grand Masters of Munster, but I submit that a scrutiny of available evidence will show that successive holders of the office exceeded even the wide territorial limits conferred by their patents as "Provincial Deputy Grand Master of Masons in and throughout the Province of Munster" (Lepper and Crossle, i., p. 274).

Since no better place exists for discussion than the forum of Q.C., I have tabulated¹ from our Irish Grand Lodge records (a) Warrants officially noted as transferred by the P.G.M. of Munster, and (b) Warrants which may have been transferred under "The Munster Custom", but concerning which there is no official documentary evidence. Table (a) has been arranged by order of date of re-issue under "The Munster Custom", and Table (b) in the numerical sequence of Series I. of the Grand Register. In each table the geographical Province is

¹ For all the statistical information I am indebted to Bro. Philip Crossle, Asst. Secretary, Lodge of Research. 200. Dublin, who never fails to respond to any student seeking for assistance.

indicated by the letter in brackets, thus: (M) Munster; (C) Connaught; (L) Leinster; (U) Ulster.

Table (a).

No. in Grand Register	Particulars of Original Issue.	Particulars of Re-issue under "The Munster Custom."
95	Cashel, Co. Tipperary (M), 1st Decr. 1738.	Cork, Co. Cork (M), 24th June 1750, by David Fitzgerald, P.D.G.M., Munster.
1	Mitchelstown, Co. Cork (M), 1st Feb. 1731/2.	Cork, Co. Cork (M), 10th August 1776, by Rob ^t . Davies, P.G.M.M. ¹
71	Tralee, Co. Kerry (M), 24th June 1766. ²	Cork, Co. Cork (M), 7th June 1777, by Dr. Davies, Provincial G.M. of Munster.
528	Kinsale, Co. Cork (M), 5th Ocbr. 1775.	Royal Irish Artillery (Military), 5th Jany. 1781, by the P.G.M. of Munster, Rob ^t . Davies, Esq ^r .
522	Ross Carberry, Co. Cork (M), 7th April 1775.	4th Regt. Foot (Military), 8th Decr. 1785, by the P.G.M., Rob ^t . Davies Esq.
31	Tallow, Co. Waterford (M), 27th March 1734.	Kinsale, Co. Cork (M), 11th May 1787, by Rob ^t . Davies Esq., P.G.M ^r . of Munster.
194	Middleton, Co. Cork (M), 8th April 1749.	Waterford, Co. Waterford (M), 30th March 1790, by Joseph Rogers, P.G.M., Munster.
400	Cork, Co. Cork (M), 7th July 1763.	13th Dragoons (Military), 15th Oct. 1791, by Bayly Rogers, P.G.M., Munster.
495	Mohill, Co. Leitrim (C), 2nd July 1772.	South Cork Militia (Military), 14th Oct. 1794, by the P.G.M. of Munster.
552	Cork, Co. Cork (M), 2nd Feb. 1778.	Monaghan Militia (Military) and after its reduction to be held in the Town of Monaghan (U), by Dr. Coghlan, P.G.M. of Munster, 4th June 1796.

¹ Particulars of re-issue from endorsement on original Warrant (*Caem Hib. Fasc.*, i.).

² Not the first issue. The entry in G. Register reads thus: "No. 71, Held in the Town of Tralee Renew^d. 24th June 1766", which indicates an earlier grant. The entry of 71 (1766) comes in between Nos. 70 and 74, issued in 1737, and may itself be a "Munster Custom" issue of a first Warrant not recorded in our extant Register.

Table (b).

No. in Grand Register	Particulars of Original Issue.	Particulars of Re-issue or Transfer, possibly under "The Munster Custom."
5 ¹	Not recorded in G.L. Register Series I.	Thurles, Co. Tipperary (M), 4th August 1757 (1731/2). ²
9	do.	Limerick, Co. Limerick (M), 24th June 1755 (1731/2).
20	do.	Longford, Co. Longford (L), 1st Decr. 1763 (1733/4).
27 ³	do. (Original Minutes)	Cork, Co. Cork (M), 26th Decr. 1750 (1733/4).
51	do.	Ennis, Co. Clare (M), 15th June 1756 (1736).
55	do.	Mountrath Queen's Co. (L), 2nd March 1758 (1736).
92	do.	25th Foot (Military), Oct. 1749 (1738).
93	do.	Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford (L), 2nd Feb. 1764 (1738).
107	do.	Navan, Co. Meath (L), 1st Decr. 1763 (1739).
167	Cork, Co. Cork (M), 2nd Sept. 1747.	Bandon, Co. Cork (M). 25th July 1805.
174	Limerick, Co. Limerick (M), 2nd Decr. 1747.	69th Reg ^t . Foot (Military), 28th Aug. 1791.
212	Kinsale, Co. Cork (M), 2nd August 1750.	Down Militia (Military), 10th Jany. 1795.
221	Dublin, Co. Dublin (L), 6th March 1750/1. (Cancelled 2nd May 1771).	Cork, Co. Cork (M), 4th June 1772.
277	2nd Reg ^t . Horse (Military), 5th Jany. 1757.	Cork, Co. Cork (M), January 1801.
385	Cork, Co. Cork (M), 7th April 1763.	Clonakilty, Co. Cork (M), 1806.
420	Clonmel, Co. Tipperary (M), 2nd August 1764.	56th Foot (Military), 5th Decr. 1765.
555	Carlow, Co. Carlow (L), 5th Feb. 1778.	Fermoy, Co. Cork (M), 16th Febr ^y . 1809. ⁴

¹ See Lepper and Crossle, i., p. 85. No. 5 given in Spratt's List, 1744, as a Dublin City Lodge, 1744 (*Caem Hib. Fasc.*, ii.).

² The figures in brackets, thus (1731/2), denote the sequence of issues between which Nos. 5 to 107 inclusive appear. The remaining Warrants on this Table appear in correct sequence of date and number.

³ Lepper and Crossle, i., p. 109, state: "we know the Warrant was first granted to Cork *circa* January 1733-34".

⁴ Particulars from Series II., G.L. Register.

From the data in Table (a) we observe:—

1. That there were ten officially authenticated instances of the exercise of "The Munster Custom" extending over a period of forty-six years, from June, 1750, till June, 1796. This, I submit, indicates that the date of the origin of this Custom can with safety be placed as 1749-50 (*vide* Lepper and Crossle, i., p. 273). Of these ten cases, nine were originally domiciled in Munster, and one, No. 295, in Connaught.

2. On transfer by the authority of the P.G.M. five went to Munster Lodges, Nos. 95, 1, 71, 31 and 194; the remaining five becoming ambulatory Military Warrants:—No. 528, Royal Irish Artillery; 522, 4th Regiment Foot; 400, 13th Dragoons; 495, South Cork Militia; and 552, Monaghan Militia and Monaghan.

We have a stretching of constitutional authority in the case of 495, a Connaught Warrant transferred to a Munster Militia Regiment, but it requires a very liberal interpretation to justify the transfer of a Munster Warrant to an Ulster Militia Regiment, and on reduction to an Ulster town.

Table (b):—

In this table will be found what may be termed all likely cases to which "The Munster Custom" may have applied.

Two classes of Warrants are included in this table. Those whose dates are outside the sequence of surrounding Warrants as shown by the years in brackets. No particulars have been preserved in Series I. of the Grand Register relative to the first issue of these Warrants, which number nine in all.

The other class comprises Warrants whose first issue is recorded, and also the subsequent issue or transfer to another domicile. This class consists of eight Warrants, and no record of cancellation of post-issue is found, except in No. 221.

I submit that a plausible theory regarding the nine Warrants Nos. 5 to 107 is that the particulars given in Series I., Grand Register, represent a transfer or re-issue made by the P.G.M. of Munster of a dormant Warrant. Of these, four went to Munster Lodges, four to Leinster, and one, No. 92, to the 29th Foot.

Now when it is remembered that up to No. 167 there are no fewer than 104 Warrants of whose first issue the Grand Register gives no particulars, and that of the 104 only fourteen have a grant recorded (which was made out of the date sequence of the surrounding issues), it seems not unreasonable to infer that most of these issues, which bear date from October, 1749, till February, 1764, must have had some special cause such as that here suggested.

Nine of the fourteen Warrants of which we have a record are given in Table (b), the remainder being:—No. 16, Newry, 6th February, 1766; No. 30, 30th Foot, exchanged for No. 85 [n.d.]; No. 71, Tralee [see Table (a)]; No. 94, 51st Foot, granted in London, 21st October, 1761; and No. 113, 50th Foot, from London, 1st December, 1763. With the exception of No. 71, it is unlikely that any of these five was a "Munster Custom" issue.

It is noticeable that eight of the nine Warrants Nos. 5 to 107 bear dates within the period of the authenticated instances shown on Table (a), and No. 92 is but eight months prior to the transfer of No. 95, the earliest authentic case.

As regards Nos. 167 to 420, no documentary evidence is available at the moment in support of the theory that these are "Munster Custom" issues; but in No. 555 the researches of Bro. Lepper have given the necessary evidence, and some other Brother may have the good fortune to run across the required evidence for more of the doubtful cases.

Summing up the points which can be gathered from the foregoing, we may perhaps infer for the time being:—

1. That "The Munster Custom" was in operation from June, 1750, till 1801, and was exercised by several Provincial Grand Masters of Munster as an unquestioned prerogative.

2. That it is possible this prerogative may have been exercised from October, 1749, till 1806.

3. That in the exercise of this prerogative the different P.G.M.'s went outside the boundaries of their Province for some of the Warrants of dormant Lodges, and also exceeded their jurisdiction by transferring Warrants to domiciles outside Munster.

These scraps gathered from our Irish records are now placed together so that those who follow after may carry the investigation a step farther.

Our English Brethren, rich in the treasure of authentic information collected from the ample records of English Masonry by the members of Q.C. during the past fifty years, have little conception of the difficulties which confront their Brethren of the Irish Constitution. We must patiently piece together the fragmentary records of our early history, only to find on many occasions that some vital fact is missing, and must be bridged over as best one can.

Bro. Lepper refers to the difficulty of dating Newenham's appointment as P.G.M. of Munster.

The following extracts point to the office being vacant up till December, 1809:—

"Read a Meml. . . . praying a revival of Warrant No. 10 to be held in the City of Cork—Ref^d. to the R.W. The Grand Master".

"Read letters from Nich^s. Geo. Seymour of Cork relative to Warrant No. 25—Ref^d. to The R.W. Grand Master".

G.L. Mins., 1/6/1809.

"Read a Complaint from Lodge 49 [Charleville] ag^t. 413 Bandon—Referr'd to Neighboring Lcdges—8, 25, 71, Cork".

Ibid, 7/12/1809.

Newenham is mentioned by name as P.G.M. for the first time in G.L. Mins. on the 4th April, 1811:—

"Read the Opinion of Br. Newenham P.G.M. Munster relative to the members of 520 &c."

On the 13th December, 1813, a Patent bearing date the 10th December, 1813, was approved by G.L. appointing Newenham Deputy Grand Master for the County and City of Cork "with the same powers & authority as have been exercised and enjoyed by Deputy Grand Masters . . ." (G.L. Mins., 13/12/1813).

The reference to the laying of the footstone of the new Bridge in Cork evidently refers to the Anglesea Bridge erected 1830 by Sir Thomas Deane from a design of Mr. Griffiths at a cost of over £9,000 (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 411).

This was not the first occasion for the Cork Brethren to take part in a similar function. St. Patrick's Bridge was completed in September, 1789, concerning which we read:—

"The key stone of the last arch of the new bridge was laid by the ancient and honorable societies of freemasons of this city

. . . At about twelve the procession of the different lodges,

dressed with their jewels and insignia of their respective orders, preceded by the band of the 51st Regiment moved through Castle Street . . . to the foot of the new bridge . . .

The last key-stone, which had been previously suspended, and which weighed forty-seven hundred, was then instantly lowered into its berth, and the Bible, laid upon a large scarlet velvet cushion, adorned with tassels and gold fringes, was placed upon it. Lord Donoughmore, as grand-master, thereupon, in due form, gave three distinct knocks with a mallet.

the grand-almoner of Munster emptied his chalice of wine upon the key-stone, and the grand master, in the name of the free and accepted masons of the province of Munster, proclaimed 'St. Patrick's Bridge'. The whole body of masons then gave 'three-times three' which was returned by nine cheers of the populace and the firing of nine Cannon "

This bridge was again destroyed by floods on the 2nd November 1853.

Gibson's *History of Cork*, vol. ii., p. 326.

Occupations of Lodge Members (from Piggot's *Directory*, 1824):—

Min. 2 June, 1806. Rob^t. O'Hara, Master. Builder, Patrick St.

also App. I., 1806 { John Bible, S.W. Painter & Glazier, King's Square.
Jas. Fitzpatrick, J.W. Rev. Jas. Fitzpatrick kept an
Academy in Abbey St.

App. I. John Carroll (1806). Spirit Grocer, Queen's Square.

Pat^k. Hennessey (1809). Spirit Merchant, Cross Keys Tavern, Barrack
St.

John Moase (1810). Straw Hat Maker & Spirit Grocer, Pat^k. St.

W^m. Fitzmaurice (1820). Supernumerary Guager.

Nicholas Cott (1822). Spirit Grocer, King St.

James Talbot (1826). Post Master, Artillery Quay.

Thos. Gardiner (1834). Corn & Coal Merchant, Kings Square.

Sam^l. Robinson (1815). King's Arms Hotel, Queen's Square.

John Turner (1816). Pawnbroker, Abbey St.

W^m. Smith (1826). Flour Dealer, Artillery Quay.

Bro. LEPPER *writes*, in reply:—

This account of Harmony Lodge was composed in 1928, and now that I come many years later to write the epilogue to it, my first feeling is one of deep regret that some of the good Brethren who gave me their ungrudging help are no longer with us to see expressed in print those thanks which are tendered to them from the bottom of my heart.

All Masonic research is largely a matter of tapping at private doors here, there, and everywhere, and asking those inside for special information; and if this piece of work of mine is found to possess any enduring value, it will owe this to the fact that I never in a single instance knocked at any door in vain when in search of knowledge.

I am also deeply grateful to those Brethren who have taken the trouble to comment upon the paper after they had heard it delivered.

My first thanks in this respect are due to my very oldest friend, Brother James E. McCausland, for the many interesting details he has given of recent happenings in the Lodge. While it continues to own such members as he we need not fear for its will to survive.

All of us will be much obliged to Brother F. W. Golby for the parallels, as interesting as significant, which he has drawn between the practices of the Grand Lodge of the Antients in England and those obtaining in Ireland. Such correspondences, and instances of them are innumerable, always deserve to be put on record as added proof that the Antients in England were no innovators, but upholders of a Masonic polity well worthy of the name claimed for it, that of Antient.

Brother Charles S. Burdon's personal recollections of Fermoy and detailed comments on the history of the 57th Regiment are of such a kind as give me particular satisfaction. I am deeply obliged by the trouble he has taken to establish the movements of various bodies of troops in Ireland more than a century ago, for it is by such additions as these that a paper such as mine becomes really valuable and complete.

Brother Sayers is another commentator to whom I am much indebted for valuable additions. His identification of the eleven joining members who helped to resuscitate the Lodge in 1857 will be as welcome generally to every member of Harmony Lodge as they are to me in particular.

Brother G. W. Bullamore's interesting suggestions about duelling and the Craft are perhaps justified, since the obligation to fight a duel was in those days quite as binding as any other obligation that a man of honour could assume. The Fermoy record seems to me important as showing that the Masonic code forbade the practice among Brethren of the Craft, even as it was specifically forbidden in the obligation of one of the Higher Degrees in Ireland; and I should like to think, though I have so far found no evidence to suggest, that while the Code forbade the shedding of a Brother's blood, it also would encourage the same forbearance towards a Cowan, who was still a brother in the wider sense of our common humanity. That, at least, seems to me to be the implied teaching of our system of morality, which is one to be observed toward all mankind, even if more especially toward our Brethren in Masonry.

Brother Roderick H. Baxter after having, in his usual kindly way, rated my performance far too highly, has touched on some points suggested by the records of the Fermoy Lodge. I would commend his remarks on the secrets appurtenant to the Chair Degree to the attention of all who are interested in the development of Masonic ritual. Such a subject, of course, cannot be discussed in print, and I shall follow Brother Baxter's lead in observing caution.

No such reticence would be called for in discussing the alleged initiation of Elizabeth Aldworth, but I doubt if the editor of the *Arts* would welcome a *réchauffé* of all that has been written for or against that event having taken place; so I shall confine myself to underlining one remark of Brother Baxter's with which I find myself in complete agreement, however much our opinions may differ in other respects about the Lady Freemason: "Definite proof of the event is certainly lacking"—And yet!

But who am I to echo Galileo?

I should like to draw particular attention to what Brother R. E. Parkinson has to say about the Higher Degrees in Lodge 555. In my opinion, there can be little doubt that some of the members had been working the Royal Arch and, probably, other degrees as well long prior to 1830. Whether these activities were carried on in Fermoy itself or at one of the neighbouring centres of Masonry remains a matter for demonstration. As will be seen from Brother McCausland's communication, the Munster Mason of to-day never lets a long journey interfere with his attendance at Lodge, Chapter, Council, or Preceptory, and his fore-runners were just as conscientious; so we need not let considerations of distance circumscribe our inquiries into the place where our Fermoy Companions were exalted prior to 1836.

Brother Jenkinson, whose good counsel and help in the making of this essay I most gratefully record, has now gone to immense trouble in compiling lists of undoubted and possible transfers of Warrants under the Munster Custom. He has evolved his own theory—as which of us has not?—to account for much that we cannot explain; and I think every reader of his notes will be as grateful as myself for the method of constructive criticism therein employed and for the facts which he has made available for every student.

Where so much is nebulous, it would be folly to dogmatise about what did or did not happen when a Warrant was transferred in Munster. The conditions precedent to such an occurrence very possibly may have fluctuated according to the will and pleasure of the Provincial Grand Master. However, I should like to throw out one suggestion about the cases in which a transfer was made to a Military Lodge. The dates given for such possible transfers are 1749, 1765, 1781, 1785, 1791, 1794, 1795, 1796. Nearly all these dates represent periods of national emergency, so the theory presents itself that in some cases, though not in all, a regiment bound for active service abroad might have been provided with an extinct Warrant in Munster because there was not time or opportunity to procure a new one from Dublin. Cork was usually, from the days of Raleigh on, the last port of call for a British army bound abroad, and any body of military Masons in search of regularisation would afford the Provincial Grand Master of Munster the double satisfaction of obliging his Brethren of the sword and placing a lapsed Warrant once more upon the active list. I offer the suggestion, it is no more than that, for what it is worth.

I should also like to thank all those many correspondents who have written to me personally with information that has supplemented the too meagre details in the Minute Books. To mention the name of only one friend, Brother P. J. Crawley kindly identified an English Lodge by the Brethren who visited from it, and so resolved a matter of doubt into one of certainty.

To conclude on a mere personal note, being human I cannot but feel happy and proud at the kindly reception given to this effort; and I feel particularly so about the way in which my Brethren in Fermoy have shown their appreciation of what I have been able to do for that fine old Lodge whose early history has here been told.



Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

THURSDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1934.

JUBILEE MEETING.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. *Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., W.M.*; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., I.P.M.; *W. J. Williams, P.M., as S.W.*; Douglas Knoop, M.A., J.W.; *W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer*; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; *Rev. A. W. Oxford, M.D., P.G.Ch., Almoner*; *F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.*; *Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., Stew.*; *S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., Stew.*; *H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.*; *A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.*; *J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.*; *J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.Reg., P.M.*; and *G. Hook, Tyler.*

Also the following Members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. *E. Eyles, J. P. Hunter, Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., H. Biggleston, H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C., as D.C.*; *C. A. Everitt, E. Hawkesworth, H. B. Isaacs, P. E. Phillips, E. J. White, C. J. Luker, A. C. Hyett, C. B. Mirrlees, F. S. Henwood, J. Gaskill, H. R. Wood, P.G.St.B., W. Taylor, Jas. J. Cooper, W. H. Smith, W. Dickinson, H. Chown, P.A.G.St.B., C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg., J. M. Y. Trotter, E. J. Marsh, P.G.D., H. G. B. D. Hulgrave, A. Thompson, J. E. Childs, Geo. Turner, T. H. Jarman, A. L. Collins, J. Johnston, I. G. Samuel, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., Geo. Fry, Fredk. Spooner, P.A.G.P., J. Russel McLaren, Pres.B. of G.P., Lewis Edwards, R. A. Wall, E. J. Wilson, G. A. Crocker, S. W. Freeborn, H. W. Sayers, W. C. Batchelor, R. M. Strickland, H. F. Whyman, P.A.G.St.B., Wallace Heaton, P.G.St.B., B. S. Anderson, F. Matthewman, Chas. H. Lovell, G. T. Harley-Thomas, P.G.D., A. F. Cross, D. A. J. Cardozo, D. L. Oliver, F. R. Radice, G. Y. Johnson, W. Brinkworth, S. E. Homer, R. F. Baker, A. H. Wolfenden, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., F. Brown, M. Infeld, Wm. Smalley, G. W. Sutton, F. A. Pinfold, F. W. Le Tall, Frank A. Briggs, S. A. V. Wood, L. G. Wearing, J. R. Cully, A. H. Crouch, H. S. Bell, A. E. Gurney, A. T. Gordon, H. S. Goodyear, J. W. Stevens, P.A.G.Sup.W., B. G. Burnett Hall, A. Y. Mayell, R. J. Soddy, P.A.G.D.C., F. Welland, G. C. Williams, F. M. Atkinson, S. J. H. Prynn, W. Morgan Day, J. F. H. Gilbard, T. M. Scott, P. G. Mallory, P.G.D., *Rev. J. L. E. Hooppell, P.A.G.Ch., F. E. Gould, W. H. Riley, A. J. S. Cannon, R. Dawson, J. Lawrance, and F. Addington Hall.**

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. *R. D. Matthews, P.M., Lodge of Prince George No. 308, Sec., Leeds I.M.Assn.*; *Arthur Skinner, P.M., Leopold Lodge No. 1571*; *C. Johnston Burt, P.A.G.D.C.*; *J. R. Burdon, P.A.G.D.C.*; *A. Morgan, Royal Albert*

Edward Lodge No. 906; J. J. Money, Zetland Lodge No. 1005; Lewis Essex, Cissbury Lodge No. 5237; Wm. R. Curry, Sec., Northumbrian Masters Lodge No. 3477; Albert Le Fre, P.A.G.St.B.; R. Large, I.P.M., Moorfields Lodge No. 4949; A. Halsey, P.G.D.; E. Warsaw, L.R., Chelsea Lodge No. 3098; Albert Hyam, Whipps Cross Lodge No. 4642; B. Bernard, P.M., Barnato Lodge No. 2265; H. Arnisson, P.M., Royal Brunswick Lodge No. 296; A. M. G. Daniel, P.Pr.G.W., Somerset; H. G. Sweet and A. H. Smith, P.M.'s, St. Mark's Lodge No. 857; F. H. J. Conisbee, Edmonton Latymer Lodge No. 5026; R. N. J. Piggott, Carshalton Lodge No. 4429; C. E. G. House, Northern Heights Lodge No. 4205; J. W. Le Tall, Isaac Newton University Lodge No. 859; Wm. T. Hay, P.G.D.; S. C. Harris, I.G., Abbey Lodge No. 3341; A. Geo. Philips, P.M., Moira Lodge No. 92; H. L. Chown, Scion Lodge No. 4794; A. J. Johnson, P.M., Justinian Lodge No. 2694; and Hy. Whewell, Merton Lodge No. 2790.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; *Rev.* H. Pogle, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; B. Telepneff; John Stokes, M.A., M.D., P.G.D., P.Pr.A.G.M., W.Yorks., P.M.; B. Ivanoff; Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., J.D.; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; and George Norman, P.G.D., P.M.

The SECRETARY also read some of the many letters he had received from invited guests, among them being the Pro Grand Master, the Deputy Grand Master, the Grand Secretary, the Bishop of Lincoln, the Secretary, Merseyside Assn. for Masonic Research, and the Secretary of the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls.

The W.M. read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

SYDNEY TURNER KLEIN.

BRETHREN,

Some time ago, on meeting a friend, I asked him what news he could give me as to his brother, whom I knew to be very ill. My friend bowed his head as he gave me the answer which his faith inspired: "The best news" he replied. At our last meeting it was my duty to report to you that two of our Past Masters—Bro. Edward Conder and Bro. Shum Tuckett—had passed to their eternal rest. It might seem to be a circumstance calculated to linger with sorrow on this our Installation night and the fiftieth birthday of our Lodge that I must commence by reporting to you the death on October 8th last of one who was both Senior Member and Senior Past Master of this Lodge, but we who met our Bro. Sydney Turner Klein believe that the best is yet to be, "sorrow not, even as others which have no hope".

Bro. Sydney Turner Klein, our Senior Member and Past Master, passed to his eternal rest on 8th October last. Bro. Klein was initiated in the Watford Lodge, No. 404, in 1888, and within a year was elected direct to full membership of this Lodge, and in this Lodge he served all the offices except that of Senior Warden, becoming Master on 8th November, 1897. He received London Rank in 1908, being in the very first list of recipients of that distinction. He was also a member and passed the Chairs of the Cyrus Chapter, No. 21. But he achieved no other formal Masonic distinctions.

Our departed Brother was one of the most versatile of men. For instance, distinguished as he was as an astronomer, a naturalist and an ethnologist, he held a Master Mariner's certificate and sailed his own yacht. He was gifted with a remarkable talent for employing scientific facts to illustrate spiritual truths. Of this gift the Lodge got the full benefit in the series of papers he read to us on *Hidden Mysteries*.

He was born in 1853, and in the seventies he travelled widely in Europe. In Spain he made a special study of the Moorish Gypsies, and in Asia Minor he studied the Dervishes. A Fellow of our Royal Astronomical Society, in 1881 he was in America and was welcomed there as a distinguished astronomer. It was characteristic of him also that he availed himself of the opportunity of studying the American Indians. He was a Founder and Hon. Secretary of the Middlesex Natural History and Science Society, which numbered among its members Owen, Huxley and Lubbock. Besides numerous contributions to scientific journals, he had four books to his credit. In 1914 he brought out *Science and the Infinite*, to be followed in 1917 by a sequel, *From the Watch Tower*. In these works his aim was to bring facts of nature and science to assist in the interpretation of deep religious truths, and thus enable us to attain in some degree to some apprehension of the Infinite. The former work is reviewed at *A.Q.C.*, xxv., 338. In vol. xxxvii. will be found a review by Bro. Covey-Crump of a later work on similar lines: *The Way of Attainment*, published in 1924.

In 1929 he brought out a small work, written in simple and poetic language: *The Garden of Enchantment*, written with the object of interesting a child in the wonders of natural history.

To our own *Transactions* he contributed a series of papers, some of which embody the results of his travels and ethnological investigations; while in the rest he gathered together and brought before us the results of his special scientific studies. These papers at the time attracted considerable attention.

In vol. iv. he had a brief note, criticising a paper on the Roman Villa at Moreton, Isle of Wight, by Col. Crease. In this paper he offered an astronomical explanation of the mosaics. To vol. ix. he contributed an important paper on the *Law of Dakhiel and other curious customs of the Bedawin*. In this paper he indicated numerous similarities to Masonic usages. But, as Bro. Speth was careful to point out, the author claimed for them nothing more than similarity, and made no attempt to found any theories upon them. To vol. xxxii. he contributed a paper on *Vestiges of the Craft in Spain*. This paper included an interesting collection of masons' marks of an unusual type.

Our Brother's paper in vol. x. on the *Great Symbol* was the first of the papers in which he developed his own special interpretations of our ceremonies and legends. It was devoted to the geometrical problems associated with the right angle and circle, and in it he traced the historical development of those problems. It also introduced various suggestions as to the true operative secrets, and gave rise to considerable discussion. Shortly afterwards Bro. Klein submitted to a select audience an explanation of the legend of the Third Degree, assigning to it a purely geometrical origin. Although it was agreed that the theory was

a very interesting one, the matter was not taken any further, as he had perhaps hoped it might be. In his paper in vol. xxiii., *Magister Mathesios*, he still further developed his ideas, and he sought to demonstrate that the Vesica Piscis is in fact the geometrical basis on which the Operatives founded all their ground plans and elevations.

In his Inaugural Address as W.Master, Bro. Klein dealt with the wonders of astronomical space, and anticipated the mode in which he was to deal with the subject in the books I have already referred to. The philosophical ideas were illustrated in a remarkable manner by actual demonstrations with scientific apparatus. In vol. xi. he spoke to us of

Sympathy; Sympathy without contact; The Loves of the Atoms;
Light; and Beauty.

In vol. xxiii. he gave us the *Mystery of the Apex*, which is more fully developed in his books, and deals with radio-activity. In vol. xxv. we had *The Real Personality or Transcendental Ego*. Here once more the subject-matter reappears, almost textually, in either *Science and the Infinite*, or *From the Watch Tower*. His views challenged criticism, but it was admitted they were eminently the views of an earnest enquirer and one who possessed an unusually wide scientific equipment.

For many years before his death he was completely crippled, but to the end he maintained his interest in the Lodge and its work. He constantly corresponded with its members, and made suggestions for increasing the Lodge's usefulness. On receipt of the news of my election to the Eastern Chair, Bro. Klein greeted me with a most kind letter of encouragement and an invitation to visit him at his home in Kent—an invitation of which I unfortunately was never able to avail myself. He died on 8th October. The funeral was strictly private; by his special desire there were no flowers, and no mourning. The Secretary wrote on behalf of the Lodge expressing their sympathy with his son and other surviving relatives.

Two Lodges, One Study Circle and Twenty-two Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Upon Ballot taken:—

BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS, M.A. (Oxon.), Fellow of Royal Statistical and of Royal Economic Societies, residing at 46, Westbourne Park Road, London, W.2, Barrister-at-Law, P.M. of Sir Francis Burdett Lodge No. 1503, etc., L.R., P.Pr.J.G.W., Middlesex; Author of *The Law and Custom of Freemasonry*, *The History of the Prince of Wales Mark Lodge No. 4*, and of papers *The 1738 Book of Constitutions* (read before Q.C. Lodge, October, 1933), *The Professional Costume of Lawyers, Illustrated chiefly by Monumental Brasses* (Journal of British Archæological Assn.), and of various other papers and addresses;

and

BRO. WILLIAM JENKINSON, residing at The Bungalow, Armagh, Co. Down, Ireland, Accountant to County Council, P.M. of St. Patrick's Lodge No. 623 (I.C.), member of Lodge of Research No. 200, Dublin. P.Pr.G.D.; Author of Papers *Notes on the Local Numbering of the*

City of Dublin Lodges (A.Q.C., xlv.), St. John's Lodge No. 134, Lurgan, The First Hundred Years (To be read before Q.C. Lodge), Two Hundred Years Masonry in Armagh (Trans., No. 200), The Philanthropic Lodge No. 207 (Trans. No. 200), Notes on Phoenix Lodge No. 210, Royal Arch Masonry in Armagh, and several other papers read in Lodges in Armagh dealing with Irish Masonic History, were regularly elected Joining Members of the Lodge.

W.Bro. William John Songhurst, P.G.D., the Master-Elect, was presented for Installation and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. W. K. Firminger, assisted by Bros. W. J. Williams, F. Lace, and H. Bladon.

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
„ J. P. Simpson	Treasurer
„ Lionel Vibert	Secretary
„ G. P. G. Hills	D.C.
„ G. Elkington	S.D.
„ W. I. Grantham	J.D.
„ A. W. Oxford	Almoner
„ F. W. Golby	I.G.
„ S. J. Fenton	Steward
„ C. C. Adams	Steward
„ B. Ivanoff	Steward
„ G. Hook	Tyler

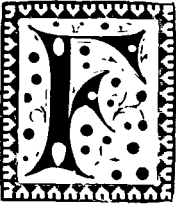
The W.M. proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried:—

“That W.Bro. the *Rev. Dr. Walter K. Firminger*, P.G.Ch., 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”.

The EXHIBITS on this occasion consisted of a display of all the publications issued by the Lodge, amounting in all to about eighty various productions.

The W.M. delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.



FIFTY years ago—to be precise, on 28th November, 1884—a little group of Masonic Students obtained a Charter or Warrant for a Lodge to meet at Freemasons' Hall, London, and to be known as the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076. The petition for the Warrant had been backed by the Moira Lodge No. 92, of which some of the Founders were members.

The Warrant empowered these Brethren to hold their meetings on the First Wednesday in every month, but these dates proved to be quite impracticable because of the regular Convocations of Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter, which affected eight meetings out of the twelve, and after several experimental changes, the dates as at present were adopted in 1887.

The main objects of these Brethren were to form a Centre and Bond of Union for Masonic Students, and to publish the results of their researches and deliberations for the benefit of the Craft in general. It was an ambitious scheme, and it may be of interest to see on what particular lines of research the studies of the nine Founders had been directed, and to what extent their wishes have been realized.

From 1867 to 1870, Sir Charles Warren, the first Master of the Lodge, in the middle of a distinguished Military and Diplomatic career, had conducted the work of Exploration in Palestine, and had published *Underground Jerusalem* and *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, as well as many shorter papers dealing with his discoveries, which, though not strictly Masonic, would naturally be of the very greatest interest to Masons.

Harry Rylands, the first Senior Warden, had been working on the same subject, not only as a Member of the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, but also as Honorary Secretary of the Society of Biblical Archæology. He was a Liveryman, and subsequently Master, of the Masons Company of London. He had been a constant contributor to *The Freemason*, *The Masonic Magazine*, and *The Masonic Monthly*, of which the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, another of the Founders, was the Editor. Amongst the contributions by Rylands to these periodicals were *An Old Mason's Tomb*; *Freemasonry in the Seventeenth Century*, in Warrington and in Chester; *Acts of Parliament relating to Craftsmen*; *The Cardinal Virtues*; and *Early use of the word Freemason*. Other papers dealt with Armorial Bearings and Genealogy, subjects in which his brother Paul also was keenly interested, contributing many valuable articles to the *Transactions* of local and other Archæological Societies. Both the brothers were Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries.

Robert Freke Gould, the first Junior Warden, had published in 1879 books dealing with *The Four Old Lodges* and *The Athol Lodges*, and in 1883 there appeared the First Volume of his big *History of Freemasonry*, a work in which he was largely assisted in various sections by Harry Rylands, Hughan, and Speth.

Woodford, as already mentioned, was the Editor of several Masonic periodicals, and he compiled the greater part of *Kenning's Masonic Cyclopædia*, which was published in 1878, the final sections having been completed by Hughan. In 1872 Woodford had written a pamphlet dealing with *The Sloane MS. No. 3329*, and his *Defence of Freemasonry* had appeared in 1874.

It would serve no useful purpose to set down in detail the many books written by Walter Besant, and indeed I cannot remember one that contains any direct Masonic reference. But probably those which have a semi-historical or topographical background have the greatest appeal to members of the Craft, by giving the 'atmosphere' of the periods with which they deal. Certainly his valuable books on *London* should find a place in every important Masonic Library. Moreover, it must be remembered that Besant had acted as Honorary Secretary of the Masonic Archæological Institute, which had held meetings at Freemasons' Hall from 29th June, 1869, to 17th June, 1872, and perhaps a little later. Papers were read and discussed at every meeting of the Institute. There were a number of well-known brethren amongst its members, and two of them—William Simpson and W. M. Bywater—became the first joining members of the Lodge.

So far as can now be ascertained, the literary work of Lieut.-Col. Sisson Cooper Pratt had been entirely devoted to Military matters. That it was of considerable value is indicated by the fact that some of his books were adopted as Official Hand-books by the Military Authorities. From his later work for the Lodge it would appear that he was interested in Symbols and Symbolism.

The writings of Hughan have already been alluded to. In addition to his contributions to the current Masonic journals, he had published in 1869 *The Constitutions of the Freemasons*, followed by *Masonic Sketches and Reprints* in 1871, *The Old Charges* in 1872, *Memorials of the Masonic Union* in 1874, and *A Numerical and Numismatical Register of Lodges* in 1878.

Speth was an accomplished linguist, and during his Secretaryship of the Lodge it was noted that "Communications may be addressed to the Secretary in English, German, French or Spanish". He also had been a frequent contributor to the Masonic journals of the day, and he had written a useful little History of his Lodge—the Lodge of Unity No. 183—published in 1881.

Such, then, had been some of the work of those Brethren whom we may now fitly describe as the Nine Worthies of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge. They had found that the History of Freemasonry had been smothered by the wild theories of previous writers—theories founded upon rash and fanciful speculations—and they desired, by concerted action, to clear the ground and construct a foundation of historical fact, upon which there might be erected a super-structure that would stand the test of honest criticism.

Gould had well described the prevailing conditions in the introductory sentences of his *History of Freemasonry*:—

Up to a comparatively recent period the History and Antiquities of Freemasonry have been involved in a cloud of darkness and uncertainty. Treated as a rule with a thinly veiled contempt by men of letters, the subject has been, for the most part, abandoned to writers with whom enthusiasm has supplied the place of learning, and whose sole qualification for their task has been membership of the fraternity. On the other hand, however, it must be fairly stated that the few *literati* who have taken up this uncongenial theme, evince an amount of credulity which to say the least, is commensurate with their learning, and by laying their imaginations under contribution for the facts which are essential to the theories they advance, have confirmed the pre-existing belief that all Masonic History is untrue.

Gould noted the opinion of Hallam that "The curious subject of Freemasonry has unfortunately been treated of only by panegyrists or calumniators, both equally mendacious".

And now at the end of fifty years we may review briefly the work that has been done by the Lodge in furthering the objects of our founders.

We first turn to the printed *Transactions* of the Lodge, of which forty-four volumes have already been published, containing over 600 papers and essays dealing with the history and development of Freemasonry. Information has been sought through many avenues. The Old Charges, which have been described as the Title Deeds of the Craft, have been systematically compared and analysed; our Legends, Rituals, and Ceremonials have been studied in an endeavour to trace them to their original sources; the records of mediæval Trade and Religious Guilds, with their many analogies to Masonry, have received careful consideration; the early Operative Organisations of France and Germany have had particular attention; the manners and customs of our Operative ancestors have been examined; and the fragmentary history of early Lodges has been pieced together.

These are but a few of the subjects that have been dealt with, and in addition to papers, the volumes contain many valuable biographical and archæological notes, as well as Reviews of about 300 Books that have been published for Masonic consumption.

Turning to the *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigraha*, we have ten more volumes to our credit, most of them containing *facsimile* reproductions and transcripts of versions of the Old Charges, while in addition there is a *facsimile* of the scarce 1738 Edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, as well as the complete record of the *Philo Musicæ Societas*, and the early Minutes of our Grand Lodge.

Other publications for which we have been directly or indirectly responsible have been the *Briscoe MS.* and the Preface to *Long Livers*; *The Orientation of Temples*, by William Simpson; *The Masonic Genius of Robert Burns*, by B. W. Richardson; *Cæmentaria Hibernica*, by Chetwode Crawley; and more recently a collection of Masonic Songs and Music; and three of a series of *Q.C. Pamphlets*.

Perhaps the fourth of the series will deal with the Legend of the Quatuor Coronati, about which so many questions are periodically asked. The Lodge also assisted in the publication of the nine German Medal Books.

The founders had in mind the necessity of forming a Library and Museum, and the collections now contain about 20,000 catalogued items. The example thus set has been followed in many Provincial and District Grand Lodges and Private Lodges.

Moreover, many other Masonic Lodges and Associations have been formed in imitation of our Lodge, and these not only in the British Isles, but in our Dominions beyond the Seas, and even in the United States of America. Installed Masters Lodges are now becoming quite a recognised feature in the English Provinces, and in them Papers and Essays are regularly read to the Members. We may therefore fairly claim to be not only the Pioneer but the Mother Lodge of Masonic Research.

Amongst the work which the founders did *not* contemplate has been the formation of what has now become widely known as our Correspondence Circle, in which to the present time about 13,500 members have been enrolled, hailing from Masonic jurisdictions in many parts of the world. The creation of this Correspondence Circle has thus enabled us to reach a much larger number of brethren interested in Masonic Research than would have been possible if we had been obliged to rely solely upon the comparatively few members of the Lodge.

I think we may say confidently that the work which I have indicated would have received the unqualified approval of our Founders. Yet they and we would all admit that we are not by any means at the end of the task which has been set for us. Much has still to be done, even in reviewing the papers that have already appeared, particularly perhaps in the early volumes of our

Transactions. As fresh material makes its appearance, fresh light is thrown upon points hitherto obscure, and opinions formed may need expansion or modification.

In his Inaugural Address two years ago, Bro. David Flather indicated other work which might usefully be undertaken, and I commend his suggestions to the would-be student. Bro. Daynes, too, in his *Untrodden Paths of Masonic Research* gave some excellent advice in the same direction. Elsewhere Bro. Daynes suggested that the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission should be searched systematically, and this suggestion has recently proved its value by the discovery of the transcript of a hitherto unknown copy of the Old Charges.

Let me mention a few other subjects which could be undertaken by the studious worker. The second Edition of Lane's *Masonic Records* was published in 1895. It is now quite out of print, and a new edition is badly needed. A similar book dealing with Royal Arch Chapters would be of immense value. *The Freemasons Quarterly Review*, which was commenced in 1834 and was continued under varying titles until 1871, contains much interesting information which needs to be re-printed or properly indexed; while even in our own *Transactions* a mass of valuable material lies buried for want of the means of speedy reference. Indexing is at all times a very tiresome work, and is particularly difficult when dealing with Masonry and Masonic Lodges whose Numbers and Meeting Places were continually being changed, but a full and complete Index, say at the end of each ten volume section, would be of immense value, and I hope it will be taken in hand before long. I am sure that the work would be widely welcomed.

I may refer to a few problems that still await solution: Who were actually the founders of Grand Lodge? What was their object in founding it? Were the Lodges which joined in the movement in any way connected with the 'Acception' in the Masons Company of London? If so, did that Company know of or acquiesce in the movement? Incidentally, information on these points might settle the vexed question of the membership of Sir Christopher Wren.

Again: By whom and for what purpose was the Legendary History contained in the Old Charges compiled? Why were so many copies of the Old Charges written? Were they for use in Lodges? If so, were those Lodges Operative, or what we now term Speculative? The Old Charges mention periodical Assemblies of Masons. Was it possible for Masons in different parts of the country to attend these Assemblies on any particular dates? Is there any evidence that such Assemblies were actually held? A Central Organisation is implied. Can any evidence be found of the existence of such a Central Organisation?

This will suffice to show that a large field still remains for further work by the industrious and painstaking student. Brethren who have the inclination can surely find the time and opportunity for research work, and offers of help in any direction will be carefully and sympathetically considered.

Let it be remembered, too, that there is work to be done even by those brethren who feel unable to study or to give practical assistance in our research work. It is our aim to bring our *Transactions* once more up to date, and this can be done *only* by a large increase in our Correspondence Circle with a corresponding increase in our annual income. We need a subscribing membership of at least 4,000—but the numbers are gradually dropping towards 3,000! Every member of the Correspondence Circle can give us practical support in this matter, and I ask for a large increase during this our Jubilee Year.

At the subsequent Banquet, W.Bro. W. K. FIRMINGER, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" in the following terms:—

It is indeed a signal honour for me to offer to you the toast of so distinguished a Brother as Bro. Songhurst, whom we are fortunate to have as our Wor. Master during this Jubilee Year of our Lodge. By his great services to the Lodge, our Master, since the days of Gould, Lane, Rylands, Hughan and many other Masonic students of fame, represents the history of the Lodge in the past as by his acceptance of the Office of Master he inspires us with hopes for the future. Besides my official qualification as I.P.M. for proposing this toast, I may also claim a personal qualification, since no one could be more indebted than I am to Bro. Songhurst for the over-drafts he has at all times permitted me—on very inadequate security—to draw on the unfailing bank of his patience and forbearance. That goes back to the days when I, on my first furlough from India, came as an hungry pauper in Masonic knowledge to extract the pure gold of his researches. The ready cheerfulness with which our Brother is wont to lay aside the work on which he is employed to attend to enquiries, which I fear he must only too often find jejune, is surely a token of one who is not only a historian of Masonry but a genuinely Masonic historian. Brethren of the Correspondence Circle in all parts of the world will be glad that I have said what I have said about our Wor. Master's unstinting helpfulness, and that I have said this first of all.

Bro. Songhurst was made a Mason in February, 1888, in the Ionic Lodge, No. 227, and has therefore the blood of the 'Ancients' in his veins. He was Master of that Lodge in 1894—a delay, I believe, due to his temporary residence beyond the seas. He was a Founder of the Alleyn Lodge, No. 2647, in 1897. In 1904 he was a Founder of the Semper Vigilans Lodge, No. 3040, the membership of which is drawn from the Chartered Institute of Secretaries. He was also a Founder of St. Catherine's Lodge, No. 3743, the Lodge of the Turners' Company. He was exalted in Chapter Royal York of Perseverance, No. 7, of which to-day he is the senior member, having been its First Principal in 1898. He has also occupied the same chair in Panmure Chapter, No. 720, now the Globe Chapter, No. 23. It is characteristic of his very real services that ever since 1903 he has been an active member of the Committee of General Purposes of Grand Chapter. I say that this is characteristic, because in regard to the Masonic Charities, Bro. Songhurst has since October, 1902, been a member of the Finance Committee of the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls, and since December, 1905, a member of the Petitions Committee, of which since 1918 he has been Chairman. Whether he has ever failed to attend a meeting of that Committee I do not know, but I have every reason to doubt. "His record", the Secretary (Bro. Beachcroft) writes, "is unlikely to be beaten for many years to come, if ever". Meetings of the last-named Committee have been known to have lasted for over five hours at a stretch, and on such occasions, as we might have expected, the 'gentle knight pricking on the plains', at the commencement, 'was in at the death of the noisome monster at the conclusion'. Beyond the seas Bro. Songhurst has had bestowed on him the honour of Grand Warden in the Grand Lodge of Iowa. In the Grand Lodge of England, he was Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in 1907, and was promoted to Past Grand Deacon in 1917. For many years he was a co-opted member of the Library Committee of Grand Lodge. In Grand Chapter he was appointed Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in 1907, and in 1917 he received promotion to Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He is a Patron in each of the three great Charities, having served a total of nearly a hundred stewardships in them. He was advanced in the Mark in Hibernia Lodge, No. 431, in 1895, becoming Grand Junior Deacon in 1912, and receiving promotion to Past Grand Senior Overseer in 1924. He is a member and Past Master of the Grand Master's Mark Lodge. In the Ancient and

Accepted Rite, Bro. Songhurst was perfected in the Invicta Chapter, No. 10, in 1893. He was a Founder and the first Sovereign of the Alleyn Chapter, No. 139, in 1897. He had the 32° conferred on him in 1912, and to-day there are only two holders of that distinction senior to him. He was installed a Knight Templar in the Bard of Avon Preceptory, No. 127, in 1897, and is Past Great Herald in Great Priory. In the Royal Order of Scotland, as in the Order of the Red Cross of Constantine, the Cryptic, the Allied Degrees, and the Secret Monitor, he holds high and distinguished rank. On a path lying parallel with Masonry, Bro. Songhurst joined the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia in 1899, and has attained to the responsible Office of Supreme Magus, a position which he still holds. In the Order of Eri, he is a G.C.E.; and he also holds a prominent position in the Order of Light.

Coming now to our own Lodge, I note that Bro. Songhurst joined the Correspondence Circle in 1894, and became a full member of the Lodge in 1906. After serving as Librarian and Assistant Secretary to Bro. W. H. Rylands, he was appointed Secretary in 1906, and held that Office till 1928, when he resigned, and on that occasion was the recipient of an illuminated address signed by all the members of the Lodge. Of his invaluable contributions to *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* and the discussions in the Lodge—the latter always penetrating but only too brief—I have not time to speak. The issue of his edition of the earliest Minute Books of the Grand Lodge was an event of the highest importance for all who in the least care for the history of Freemasonry. It cannot but be deeply regretted that to this day the majority of Masons appear to be unaware that a work so essentially needful is obtainable, and the result of this is that funds are not available to enable a second instalment of the Minutes to be sent to the press. Surely this misfortune should be retrieved while the Brother who is so supremely competent to edit the Minutes is still with us.

Custom has required me to touch on the salient points in the past Masonic career of the Master; but to you, in whose heart Bro. Songhurst has a treasured place, the words I have spoken were not necessary to commend the toast I now give you.



NOTES.



KETCHLEY TOKENS.—Since compiling my note with analysis of these tokens which appeared in our last number, I have been fortunate enough to discover a hitherto unrecorded edge-reading in the collection of Bro. Wallace Heaton. This is:—

m: PAYABLE AT W. PARRIS DIMCHURCH
· x · x · x ·

This occurs with the latest forms of obverse and reverse; and the piece will therefore be designated:—CBm.

H.P.

T over H and the Interlaced Triangles.—*The West London Observer*, a paper founded in 1855, carries as part of its title the Interlaced Triangles and the letters T H, in the combination familiar to us in the R.A. This has recently attracted the attention of various enquirers who saw in it some connection with Judaism. But the Editor has assured his correspondents that nothing of the sort is involved and that the true explanation is quite commonplace. The mysterious letters are the initials of one Henry Thompson, who was the founder of the paper, and he adopted the combination of the triangles and letters as a sort of trade mark. That he should have elected to superimpose the T on the H is apparently no more than an extraordinary coincidence. The Editor explains that it has been perpetuated since his time, almost unconsciously as it were, but that now that correspondents are attributing to it a significance which it does not deserve, it will probably be discontinued, as the *West London Observer* is “neutral in politics and religion, and caters for all classes regardless of sect, creed or party”.

The Brothers Rigge.—In the paper by Bro. Ivor Grantham on “The attempted Incorporation of the Moderns” (*A.Q.C.*, xlvii., Pt. I., p. 175) it is stated that the Solicitors acting for the Grand Lodge in the promotion of the Bill were Messrs. Allen and Rigge, and that

“in 1769 a Brother Rigge was Master of the London Lodge”.

Knowing that Bro. *William Rigge* joined the King’s Head Lodge, Hampstead, No. 401 (now my Lodge, St. John’s), I was struck by the name and, wondering whether the Junior Partner in this firm of Solicitors was the member of my Lodge, I made a few enquiries, with the following results.

On the Roll of L. of Antiquity No. 1—G.L.Reg., page 1—occur the names of John Rigge, William Rigge and John Allen, all noted as “Attorney at Law”.

In the *History of Antiquity* No. 1, vol. 1, it is recorded that *John Rigge* was admitted on 26 Nov., 1766, from the Crown & Rolls (No. 16), now Globe 23. He became Secretary at once, was installed R.W.M. in Dec. ’66, re-elected in Dec. ’67, June ’68, Dec. ’68, June ’69, Dec. ’70, and on leaving the Lodge owing to ill-health in 1774 was made a Honorary Member.

John is also recorded in G.L.Reg. as the R.W.M. of Lodge No. 246 meeting at the "Lebeck Tavern in the Strand"—this Lodge in 1773 was named the Union.

John is further recorded in the *History of the London Lodge No. 108*, as a member of the Lodge No. 254 when, under Thos. Dunckerley as R.W.M., the Lodge held on H.M.S. *Vanguard* removed to the Queen of Bohemia's Head, Wych Street. He, with Dunckerley and five others, signed new By-Laws for that Lodge in May, 1768. Dunckerley retained the Mastership in 1769, but John Rigge was installed as his successor in Jan., 1770. Dunckerley again became Master in Jan., 1772, and the Lodge removed to the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill, and then took the name "London Lodge".

So that, strictly speaking, it appears that the remark in the Paper referred to above should read:—

"in 1770 Br. John Rigge was Master of the Lodge—known later as the London Lodge".

In the same *History of Antiquity No. 1*, vol. 1, it is recorded that William Rigge was admitted on 13 May, 1767, but the name of the Lodge from which he came is not mentioned.

He became Secretary a month after his admission (*i.e.*, on June 10th, 1767). He was J.W. in Dec. '67 and June '68, and S.W. in Dec. '68 and June '69. He was one of a small Committee appointed to revise the By-Laws in 1770.

It is at this point he comes into touch with the King's Head Lodge, for: He visited that Lodge on Jan. 4, 1770, and became a member the same night, paying 2/6 for the privilege. On Feb. 1st he "produced a Sett of Bye-Laws for the regulation of this Lodge which were read & remain for the further consideration of next Lodge night". On Mar. 1st "the Bye Laws produced by Br. Rigge were publicly read over and made agreeable to all the members present and signed by each of them except the R.W.M."

He was present in April, but absent in May and June. On July 5th "the Brethren present proceeded to ballot for a Master when a majority appeared in favour of Br. Rigge in consequence of which he was declared duly elected into that office".

He was re-elected on Feb. 7, 1771, but not at the next occasion in July, 1771, and did not attend again.

William resigned from the Lodge of Antiquity—date unknown—but was re-admitted on 3 Aug., 1774. He is noted as P.S.W. on an engraved "list of members in Dec., 1776", in the *History of Antiquity*. He was elected Treasurer in June, 1778, but earlier in that year he was one of the four signatories to the Memorial to G. Lodge complaining of the Master and some members walking from S. Clement's Church to the Mitre in procession in regalia. He was thereby involved in the controversy Preston, &c., *versus* G. Lodge. He was expelled in Dec., 1778, by Preston and his friends from that portion of the Lodge which clung to him, and later Rigge was one of those who actively tried to prevent that faction from obtaining the furniture, &c., of the Lodge.

John Rigge appears to have been the elder of the two (presumably) brothers, and it would be interesting to know which of the two was the member of the firm—Allen & Rigge.

John Allen is also recorded in the *History of the Lodge* as having been admitted on 27 July, 1768, from the Crown & Rolls 16, but details of his career are fully set out in Bro. Coulthurst's communication on the paper in question.

E. EYLES.

REVIEWS.

HISTORY OF THE LODGE OF AMITY, No. 137, POOLE.

By Bro. Harry P. Smith, B.A., F.C.P.

Published for the Lodge by Messrs. J. Looker, Ltd., 82, High Street, Poole.
1937.



THE main outlines of the history of Lodge Amity are simple enough. It was constituted on 1st April, 1765, by the Moderns, to meet at Poole, where it has remained ever since, with singularly few changes of meeting place. All its minute books are still in existence and it also possesses the first Treasurer's book, which gives us much information of interest. There was a period of dormancy from 1834 to 1838. There was another break in 1844, at which time the usual attendance appears to have been three or four at most. Work was not resumed till 1848. But since then the Lodge has maintained an uninterrupted existence. Bro. Smith says that in 1838 the Lodge narrowly escaped the penalty of erasure. Lane shows that in fact it was erased in September, but that this was rescinded at the December meeting of Grand Lodge. The Lodge records show that all dues to date had been remitted in October.

It met at the Lion and Lamb till 1772; then at the Old Antelope till 1805. It then moved to rooms in the building known as Barber's Piles, where it stayed till 1880, in which year it acquired a site on which it built premises of its own, the present Masonic Hall in Market Street.

In his Preface Bro. Smith tells us that the present work has occupied the leisure hours of seven years, and one can appreciate that this might well be so. For not only has he given some account, with extracts from minutes, of every year during which the Lodge was active, with biographical information as to all the more important Brethren, but we are also told a good deal about the Provincial Grand Lodge, and there are as well chapters, the headings of which tell their own story; Poole's historic past; Thomas Dunckerley; Poole and Newfoundland; The Wars with France; which last was printed for the encouragement of subscribers in the last volume of the *Transactions* of Dorset Masters' Lodge. Within the limits of a review it is only possible to deal with a few of the many matters of interest Bro. Smith has brought together in his five hundred odd pages.

Poole itself provides a background of considerable historical interest. What had been a prehistoric settlement on the shores of the landlocked harbour became a Roman port of importance. Saxons, Danes and Normans used it in turn, their port, however, being the present Wareham. But the gradual silting up of the harbour caused trade to be transferred to Poole towards the end of the twelfth century. The new site rose rapidly in importance. Charters from feudal lords were granted in 1248 and 1371; Henry VI. made it a port of the staple. Eventually Queen Elizabeth created it a county corporate, and it now developed an important trade with Newfoundland which brought great wealth, and continued till the period of the Napoleonic Wars. But the trade then

collapsed; the Newfoundlanders found other markets and Poole's days of great prosperity were over. Even as late as 1770 the country between Poole and Christchurch was a trackless waste. We then hear of a little fishing village at the mouth of the Bourne, which in 1851 had 800 inhabitants and had commenced its career as a seaside resort.

The first Lodge in Dorset was founded at Melcombe Regis, Weymouth, in 1736, but we hear no more of it after 1740. A Lodge constituted at Lyme Regis in 1764, by the Moderns, would seem to have already ceased working when Provincial Grand Lodge was formed in 1777; it was erased in 1780. Hengist at Christchurch was founded, with Amity assistance, in 1770, but this is a Hampshire Lodge. The next to be formed in the County itself were the Lodges at Blandford, 1771, a Lodge at Dorchester in 1775, and a second Lodge at Weymouth in 1776. But the only one of all these still at work in 1785 was the Lodge at Dorchester, and Amity and this, between them, constituted the Provincial Grand Lodge for the next thirty years. In 1804 the present All Souls at Weymouth was formed—it was a migration from Tiverton—as well as the Lodge at Bridport, which was a transfer from Newton Abbot. Actually for the records of the activities of the Provincial Grand Lodge during much of the period we have to depend on the Amity minutes, as its own records do not begin before 1793. The only Lodge warranted by the Antients in the Province was one at Weymouth in 1809, which had but a brief existence.

A *History of Freemasonry in Poole* was published by Bro. A. C. Chapin in 1895; with its appendices it only came to 140 pages. But it dealt with, not only the Lodge, but the Chapter, created in 1780 by Dunckerley, and the Mark Lodge, constituted in 1871. On the present occasion Bro. Smith disposes of these two bodies in two brief sentences and a footnote. His concern is exclusively with the Craft Lodge. His second chapter, however, is a rapid survey of the history of the English Craft during the eighteenth century. (The statement that the Grand Lodge of Ireland was founded in 1730, on p. 12, is doubtless no more than a misprint.) The reference to the *present* R.M.I.G. School at Clapham has been left in by oversight, since at the end of this same paragraph (p. 93) Bro. Smith mentions the transfer to Rickmansworth. It is interesting to learn that some fifty years ago the Lodge very nearly lost the historic biscuit, which a Past Master took home to regild the frame, and did not return for fifteen years, being suspended from all masonic privileges for his contumacy in the matter. When it did come back, the frame had not been regilded after all! Oddly enough, Bro. Smith defends this erring Brother, and speaks of his sterling qualities. At p. 177, in connection with an English Prisoner of War, there is an interesting reference to Bro. Napoleon, which our late Bro. Tuckett would have welcomed. It certainly indicates that as Emperor he was spoken of in the French Lodges as a Brother.

Whether it was quite judicious to refer in the way Bro. Smith does to a small point of Lodge procedure as to which the Board of General Purposes have given categorical instructions which Amity has chosen to disregard, is a matter for the Brethren themselves. But old custom can hardly be urged in defence of a practice that in itself is quite a modern development.

The Lodge's relations with Hengist, just across the County border, and with the Lodges in Newfoundland, are a delightful feature of the narrative; and many other details of interest might be mentioned. The appendices are very full, and the illustrations well chosen. Seven years is not too much to have spent on this very detailed and complete history, for which the Brethren of the Lodge should be most grateful to W.Bro. Harry P. Smith.

THE BRITISH LODGE, No. 334, AND ENGLISH FREEMASONRY AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

*By Thos. N. Cranstoun-Day, District Grand Master, South Africa,
Western Division. Privately Printed.*

W.Bro. T. N. Cranstoun-Day has already given us a series of useful works on a smaller scale; in conjunction with Bro. Moriarty he published *Notes on Masonic Etiquette and Jurisprudence*, and these two Brethren also issued *The Freemason's Vade Mecum*. He has also given us short histories of the Lodge of Goodwill, No. 711, the Chapter at Port Elizabeth, and the British Chapter, which attained its centenary in 1929. Now, as the result of researches extending over many years, he has published a History of the British Lodge, the oldest extant Lodge in his jurisdiction, and has expanded the scope of the work so as to make of it a history of British Freemasonry at the Cape, every occurrence of any importance in the Lodge itself being faithfully put on record; such incidents of District history as did not directly concern the Lodge and have accordingly not found a place in the text, are given in an Appendix.

Bro. Cranstoun-Day says in his Preface that he was led to undertake the work by seeing the results of the researches made into the history of Netherlands Freemasonry at the Cape by Bro. O. H. Bate, and he has made an exhaustive study, not only of the Lodge records themselves, but of the Calendars and Directories in the Government archives, files of local newspapers, and the records in the possession of the District and in the Library of Grand Lodge. The result is a work which is as complete a record as it is possible to have. The author tells us that he has not felt called on to suppress certain untoward incidents of the early days, for their very rarity emphasizes the good effects of our ancient institution.

As is the case in so many of our Dependencies, British Freemasonry was first brought to the Cape by Military Lodges, the first being one attached to the Scots Brigade which landed at Simonds Bay in 1796. But the Regiment took its Lodge with it when it left for India in 1799. The 8th Light Dragoons, who arrived in 1796, had with them an Irish Lodge,—where would the Craft be to-day were it not for the Irish Ambulatory Warrants of the eighteenth century, whose bearers planted the standard of Craft Masonry in every corner of the habitable globe? This Regiment conferred the R.A. on local Brethren. But it went on to other scenes of activity in 1802. Military Lodges in Scottish, Irish and English regiments followed. In the meantime, Lodge De Goede Hoop, which had been founded under the Netherlands Constitution, and was now once more active after a period of dormancy, worked in amity with the British Lodges and certain Brethren under the E.C. who could not join the military Lodges, formed a Lodge of their own without any clearly defined authority, but they stated that they had applied to the Antients Grand Lodge for a Warrant. In the meantime, De Goede Hoop, wisely perhaps, was not prepared to recognise these zealous Brethren or their Lodge in the absence of any proper constitution, and it does not appear that in fact any Warrant was ever issued to them. Nor did they long survive. But the Lodge seal, with the space for the number left blank, is still extant.

But in 1798, De Goede Hoop authorised Africa No. 1 to meet in anticipation of a Constitution. This it duly obtained from the Antients as No. 321. However, the evacuation of the Cape by the British in 1803 terminated its activities; nevertheless, during its short career it admitted, either by initiation or as joining members, no less than 125 Brethren.

We now make the acquaintance of Bro. Blake, of Bristol, who brought out with him the Warrant of a Bristol Lodge under the Moderns, Royal York, which had temporarily come to grief, and on the strength of that document

founded a Royal York Lodge at Cape Town in 1800. But he returned to Bristol in 1803, and once more took his Warrant with him, and the Cape Town Lodge promptly collapsed.

The years following were years of war, and alternations of British and Dutch supremacy, and once more we get a series of Military Lodges which come and go as their regiments are transferred. These Lodges were subject to strange vicissitudes. Bro. Cranstoun-Day mentions the Lodge in the 71st Foot, No. 92 on the Scottish register. The regiment went from Cape Town to Buenos Ayres in 1806. Here it was captured by the enemy and lost all its baggage, including its Lodge chest. Many years afterwards the silver jewels of the Lodge were found decorating a church altar in a village on the banks of the Rio de la Plata. They were purchased and restored to the regiment, but its Lodge had long since been erased.

At last, in 1811, more stable conditions supervened, and the British Lodge was founded, as No. 629, Moderns, and has continued ever since. The minutes are complete. Most of the Founders were members of De Goede Hoop. Every Provincial Grand Master (or District as the title became later on) or his Deputy was associated with the Lodge and of each of them we have biographies and portraits. There are notices also of other Lodges founded about this same time, which have not survived, and of the early history of the Provincial Grand Lodge.

The Lodge soon entered on a period of apathy and financial stress. In 1820 the Secretary writes to the Grand Secretary:—

From a number of causes, too numerous to mention, their funds have been plundered, their archives either withheld or wantonly destroyed for insidious purposes; whilst numerous desertions have taken place like the movements of rats from a supposed falling fabric, leaving the remnant to sustain the reiterated attacks levelled at the existence of the Lodge. The Brethren are therefore few in number, but continue firm in Masonic principles, and have borne the expenses of refreshment and other incidental charges, by occasional voluntary subscriptions independent of their regular quarterage.

But even this pathetic record is surpassed in 1825, when the recently appointed Secretary—he had only been initiated the previous year when apparently he was under age—was moved to write to the Grand Secretary as follows:—

The imbecility under which the British Lodge has laboured for many years past, the desertion of its members, the want of fit and proper officers to govern; and more especially the inattention of our late Master, and the late Secretary, to whom we are painfully compelled to attribute many irregularities, are circumstances that we trust will not in any way affect the present members.

At this time the Lodge seems to have depended for its existence on joining members, many of whom came from Sister Constitutions. One in particular, James Howell, came about this time from No. 32, Moderns, meeting at the King's Arms in Marylebone Street, for which the last entry in the Registers is on 10th April, 1798, in which year they had one initiate, and then lapsed. James Howell, described as "Gentleman", was initiated at the age of 21 on 10th March, 1795. One wonders where he had been in the interval, and how he kept up his masonry. That the Lodge survived at all was due to one such joining Brother in particular, Bro. Morris Sloman, who was closely connected with its fortunes for the next twenty-five years.

In the space at my disposal it is not possible to deal in any detail with the subsequent history of the Lodge, its many changes of meeting place, which are all fully recorded, and its various ups and downs. The Chapter was founded in 1829, and it is interesting to find the practice of Passing the Chair as a preliminary to taking the R.A. Degree still in use as late as 1851. The Installation of the Master appears at first to have followed the Dutch practice. According to that system the ceremony takes place in the First Degree, and there is a separate Degree of Installed Master recognised, but no W.M. can be compelled to take it and it is not to form part of the Installation ceremony.

We read of a Ventilating Committee being appointed in 1871, the precursor of many. But Bro. Cranstoun-Day sadly remarks that their labours are not yet ended. The Lodge Room of 1871 is the Refectory of to-day and the problem of its perfect ventilation still awaits solution.

The Lodge still possesses a Jewel of 1800 of a somewhat unusual pattern, as it combines with the sun and sector with compasses, the square and arch, which has above it the interlaced triangles in a circle. An almost identical jewel is figured at *A.Q.C.*, xxii., 94. This type was in use in the Atholl Lodges, but the British Lodge was Modern; this particular jewel has always been worn by the I.P.M.

The Inner Guard's Jewel, which was lost in 1839, was found again in 1918, and an I.G.'s collar jewel of a previous period, a trowel, with hall mark 1812, was restored to the Lodge in 1924! Another item of considerable interest of which an account is given is the William Scott medal of 1800, presented to that Brother by Africa No. 1. It is a somewhat crude production with many symbols and a long inscription. It is figured at *A.Q.C.*, xxxix., 272, from a photograph, and at that time (1926) was apparently in private ownership, but its present whereabouts seems to be unknown. One can only trust that it will reappear, and eventually find its way to suitable custody.

Very full lists of members and officers complete the work, with portraits of many of the Masters. Bro. Cranstoun-Day is to be congratulated on a monumental achievement.

May, 1938.

L.V.

THE LODGE OF SINCERITY, No. 292, LIVERPOOL, AND THE CHAPTER OF LIVERPOOL.

With the title *Freemasonry through three Golden Jubilees*, Bro. Wm. Scott, P.Pr.G.D., has written for us the history of this fine old Lodge and the Chapter attached to it. The Lodge was warranted on 16th February, 1793, and the Chapter on 4th May, 1842. The Lodge provides a striking example of the unwisdom of putting off the duty, as I do not hesitate to call it, of writing the history of any such body which has attained its centenary. Until 1922 it had its Minute Books complete. In that year it migrated from the Bear's Paw Restaurant to the Carlton, and during the process the first Minute Book, covering the period 1793 to 1818, went astray, and has never been recovered. Accordingly, for the first twenty-five years of its history, Bro. Scott has had to do the best he can by reconstruction from Grand Lodge archives and other sources. He has been able to do a good deal. But naturally the list of Masters is incomplete. By a fortunate accident a certificate issued to a Brother Daniel Haywood in 1794 has come into the possession of the Lodge, and it gives us the names of the principal officers for that year. Grand Lodge Contribution Book provided a number of names of Brethren. But G.L. Register was blank! One can only

hope that the missing book may yet turn up. It covers the period of the Union, and also a time of considerable interest in the history of Liverpool itself, as Bro. Scott has demonstrated in his introductory chapter.

The Founders of the Lodge were members of St. George's Lodge of Harmony, now No. 32, and in the case of one of them, Bro. Walmesley, his son and grandson also belonged to the Lodge, and the three between them covered 112 years of membership. After 1818, with the Minute Books to refer to, Bro. Scott takes us through the history in detail. During the dissensions which distracted the Province from 1819 to 1822 the Lodge remained loyal to constituted authority.

The Jubilee passed without any special recognition further than that the Lodge was presented with a sword and a Bible, which are still preserved. The second Bro. Walmesley was the Master during this year.

The Centenary attracted more attention. The third Bro. Walmesley was a member of the committee in charge of the arrangements. Representatives from twelve Lodges attended the meeting as well as a number of Provincial and Grand Officers, and the Banquet was held at the Adelphi Hotel. The history includes a complete list of members, as far as it has been possible to ascertain the names.

With regard to the Chapter, Bro. Scott is able to show that originally the Lodge, which was under the Antients constitution, followed the usual custom and worked the R.A. by virtue of its Craft Warrant. But it is doubtful if it continued to do so after the Union. However, the Chapter came into being in 1842, and once more Bro. Scott has given us a very full summary of the minutes and a list of the present members. The interest of the work is increased by illustrations of the present Temple in Hope Street at different dates, and of the certificate issued by the Lodge to its initiates.

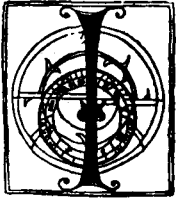
1942 is not far off, and we can look forward to a R.A. Centenary in that year, to be followed at a year's interval by the Bi-centenary of Sincerity itself. Bro. Scott modestly suggests that on that occasion some more skilful Brother may be found to bring the history up to date. But the Lodge and Chapter will be well advised to rely once more on a historian who has served them well in the present instance and proved his ability for his self-imposed task.

April, 1938.

L.V.



OBITUARY.



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

Alfred Trivett Borrett, of Great Yarmouth, in June, 1934. Our Brother had held the office of P.Pr.A.G.Sec., and was P.So. of Perseverance Chapter No. 213. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1915.

John Bridge, of Middleton, Lancs., on 10th June, 1934. Bro. Bridge had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and P.Pr.G.So. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

Edward H. Buck, of Southsea, in 1934. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and P.Pr.G.R. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1892.

Edward Conder, J.P., F.S.A., of Newent, Glos., on 27th July, 1934. Bro. Conder held L.R. He joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1893, and in January, 1894, was elected a full member of the Lodge, of which he was W.M. in 1901. For many years he acted as Local Secretary for Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire.

James Henry Rupert Cordell, of London, E., on 12th November, 1934. Our Brother held the rank of P.A.G.St.B., and was P.Z. of Five Orders Chapter No. 3696. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

Richard Gill, J.P., of Liversedge, Yorks., on 10th September, 1934. Bro. Gill held the rank of P.G.D., and P.G.So., and the office D.Pr.G.M. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1906.

Rev. **FitzWilliam J. C. Gillmor**, M.A., of Reading, on 2nd June, 1934. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.G.Ch., and P.G.Sc.N. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1906.

Arthur Robert Gridley, of Chichester, on 6th September, 1934. Bro. Gridley was a member of St. Richard's Lodge No. 4469, and joined our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

Charles Edwin Haslop, of Ceylon, on 11th June, 1934. Our Brother was a member of St. George's Lodge No. 2170, and a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he had been elected in January, 1891.

Frank Hutchinson, of Scarborough, on 7th September, 1934. Bro. Hutchinson had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.Treas. (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in 1923.

Sydney Turner Klein, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., of Chelsfield, Kent, on 8th October, 1934. Our Brother held L.R. He was P.M. and the Senior Member of the Lodge, which he joined in November, 1889.

Capt. **William Lonnon**, M.I.Mech.E., of Tonbridge, on 20th July, 1934. Bro. Lonnon was a member of Royal Naval College and United Service Lodge No. 1593, and of William Kingston Chapter No. 407. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1903.

Alexander McIsaacs, of Glasgow, on 8th September, 1934. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge No. 1241, and a member of Chapter No. 189. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1933.

Roostumjee Dhunjeebhoy Mehta, of Calcutta, in 1934. Bro. Mehta held the rank of P.Dis.G.D., Bengal. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1891.

Dr. **John Murray**, M.A., M.D., of Barrow-in-Furness, on 31st August, 1934. Our Brother had attained the rank of P.G.D. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1905.

John Palmer, of Ludlow, in 1934. Bro. Palmer held the rank of P.G.St.B., Craft and R.A. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1906.

Robert Roger Robertson, of Singapore, in August, 1934. He was a member of Lodge Kedah No. 3830, and of Victoria Jubilee Chapter No. 1555. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

Algernon Rose, of London, S.W., on 16th September, 1934, at the age of 76 years. Our Brother held the rank of P.A.G.D.C., and P.G.St.B. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1912.

Sir **John Smith Samuel**, K.B.E., of Glasgow, on 10th November, 1934, in his 65th year. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1926.

George Palgrave Simpson, of London, N.W., on 31st August, 1934. Bro. Simpson had attained the rank of P.G.St.B., and P.A.G.D.C. (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1925.

James Tearoe, M.Inst.C.E., J.P., of Dorking, on 20th November, 1934. Our Brother held the rank of P.A.G.Sup.W., and P.G.St.B. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1914.

Lieut.-Col. **James Woodbury Thompson**, of Whickham, on 19th August, 1934, at the age of 73 years. Bro. Thompson had attained the rank of P.Dep.G.S.B. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1914.

Major **James Edward Shum Tuckett**, M.A., F.C.S., T.D., of Bristol, on 18th August, 1934. Bro. Tuckett held the rank of P.G.St.B., Craft and R.A. He was elected to the Correspondence Circle in November, 1910, became a full member of the Lodge in October, 1914, and was W.M. in 1920.

Cecil John Whitemore, F.A.I., of Bournemouth, on 4th June, 1934, at the age of 62. Our Brother was a member of Unity Lodge No. 132. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1926, and was Local Secretary for Hampshire and Isle of Wight.

ST. JOHN'S CARD.



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1934:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.:—Lodge of Amity No. 137, Poole; Ethical Lodge No. 753, London, W.; Royal Prince of Wales' Lodge No. 867, Trinidad; Far Cathay Lodge No. 2855, Hankow; Old Sinjins Lodge No. 3232, London, W.; Negri Sembilan Lodge No. 3552, F.M.S.; Northern Unity Lodge No. 4226, Nigeria; Vicar's Oak Lodge No. 4822, London, S.E.; Lodge Zu den wahren vereinigten Freunden, Bruenn, Czecho Slovakia; Lodge Acacia, Rotterdam; Lodge Oscar, Halmstad, Sweden; Lodge Waiki No. 112, Waiki, New Zealand; Adelaide Lodge No. 2, Largs, S. Australia; Pirie Lodge No. 24, Port Pirie, S. Australia; Balaklava Lodge No. 52, Balaklava, S. Australia; Loxton Lodge No. 116, Loxton, S. Australia; Masonic Study Circle, Warrington; Freimauremuseum, Bratislava, Czecho Slovakia; Josiah H. Drummond Council No. 1, Norway, Maine, U.S.A.; Saint Andrews in America Council No. 1A, Monroe, N. Carolina; Cassillis Council No. 2A, Oxford, N. Carolina; Howell Council No. 3A, Charlotte, N. Carolina; Robert The Bruce Council No. 4, Concord, N. Carolina; Saint John of the Wilderness Council No. 5, Columbia, S. Carolina; Saint John of Patmos Council No. 6, Durham, N. Carolina; Saint John of Jerusalem Council No. 7, Wilson, N. Carolina; Saint John of Damascus Council No. 8, Gastonia, N. Carolina; Saint John of Constantinople Council No. 9, Florence, S. Carolina; Father Murrow Council No. 10, Ada, Oklahoma; Rose of Sharon Council No. 11, Alexandria, Va.; Lily of the Valley Council No. 12, Norfolk, Va.; Council of the Nine Muses No. 13, New York; Council of the Four Crowned Martyrs No. 14, Monrce, N. Carolina, U.S.A.

BRETHREN:—John Archibald, of Ramsgate, Kent. 1839; Ivan George Aspinall, *F.C.A.*, of Blackpool. P.M. 4672, *J.* 4731; William Edmundson Ball, of Leeds. P.G.St.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; Charles Thomas Barlow, of Handsworth. P.Pr.G.St.B., Wores., *Z.* 2385; Victor Donald Barnard, of London, N. L.R., W.M. 1622, *H.* 1622; Jan Willem Bek, of Sourabaya, Java. P.M. 35 (N.C.); Lord Belhaven and Stenton, of Wishaw, Lanarkshire. P.G.M.M.; Adolph Francis Berkeley, of Kew Gardens, Surrey. 3269, 3151; Arthur Thomas Betteridge, of Hertford. L.R., P.M. 3647, *P.Z.* 3647; Cuthbert Charles Harber Binns, of Leicester. D.C. 1560, 1560; Albert Edward Blair, of Otago, N. Zealand. I.G. 84; Thomas Herbert Bliss, of Kingsway, London, W.C. 1178, 2271; Carl Johan Blyh, of London, E.C. St. Augustine (Fin.C.); Ernest George Bowyer, of Godalming. P.M. 2234; William Richard Bridger, of Leicester. P.M. 3448, *P.So.* 1130; Brian Bridgwood, of Java. 1302 (S.C.); E. W. R. Brooks, of Nkana, N. Rhodesia. 1099; Henry Dickson Park Brown, of Clydebank. 124 (Manitoba C.); Thomas Graeme Brownlie, of Glasgow. P.M. 3 bis, 189, Henry Easthope Budden, of Hong Kong. P.Dis.G.W., *P.Dis. G.Sc.N.*; Henry Edward Meredith Bumpus, of Sumatra. J.W. 1322 (S.C.); Walter Joseph Bunney, of Leicester. P.Pr.G.W.; Frederick William Burt, of London, W. Sec. 3366, 2559; Harold Burton, of Leeds. 5238; John

Edward Burton, of Mt. Isa Mins, N.W. Queensland. 251; John Caldwell, of Glasgow. P.M. 1285, *Sup.W.* 487; Arthur James Stephens Cannon, of Leicester. W.M. 2429; *Rev.* David Abraham Jessurun Cardozo, of New York City. 3350 (E.C.), 429 (E.C.); Bertram Cariss, of Leeds. 308; Edgar Ronald Carr, of Leicester. P.M. 3448, 279; George Blaymires Carter, of Shipley. 5255; Charles Harris Arnell Carty-Salmon, of London, S.W. 2936, 2147; Herbert Walter Cave, of Springs, Transvaal. Dis.G.I.G., *P.Z.* 2653; John Edgar Childs, of London, W. 3940, 3940; F. Clare, of Teddington. 1622; Robert Clark, of Darlington. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.G.H.*; Allan Henry Conradie, of Wolseley, S. Africa. 1860, 1860; James John Cooper, of London, N. L.R., P.M. 2150, *L.C.R.*, *P.Z.* 1056; William Henry Cotton, of Leicester. P.M. 50, 279; Herbert Courlander, of London, W.C. L.R., P.Pr.G.R., Herts., *L.C.R.*, *P.Pr.G.Sc.N.*, Bucks.; Percy John Crawley, of Shrewsbury. 117, *Sc.E.* 262; Alfred Knight Croad, of London, W.C. P.M. 2913, *Sc.N.* 2913; Dr. James Moir Crombie, of Glasgow. 772, 311; John J. Cutter, of Buffalo, N.Y. 223 (Fla.C.); Henry John Hall D'Ath, of North Cheam, Surrey. S.W. 1494; Robert Dawson, of Hastings. P.Pr.G.D.; Arthur Day, of Luton, Beds. P.Pr.G.St.B. 1470; William Morgan Day, of London, N.W. 2860, 2846; Ross Byron Dayton, of Nogales, Arizona. J.D. 19; Vaisey Hardy Deacon, of London, N.W. 4844; John William Demaine, M.A., of Colchester. 5255; Leonard Dinnis, of Watford, Herts. S.W. 404, 404; Ferdinand Farrant Duckworth, of Hong Kong. P.M. 525, *Z.* 525; Ernest Craig Dunlop, M.B., B.S., *F.R.C.S.Ed.*, of Carlisle. P.M. 5216, *Sc.N.* 2794; James William Dunn, of Liverpool. P.M. 4625, *P.Z.* 2714; Zachariah Benjamin Edwards, of London, W. P.M. 4844, 4844; Ainslie Jackson Ensor, B.Sc., of Haverhill, Suffolk. P.M. 1823, 1224; Eric Mendel Ettelson, of Victoria, Australia. P.G.D., *P.J.* 57; Harry Benjamin Quibell Evans, of London, S.W. S.W. 813, *A.So.* 3240; Solomon Ezekiel, of Calcutta. P.Dis.G.St.B. Bengal, *P.Z.* 486; Hilton Hunter Fenton, of Sumatra. Dis.G.Sup (S.C.); Thomas William Fletcher, of Liverpool. 4599, 673; Conrade Bismark Franklin, of Trinidad. P.M. 867, *P.Z.* 314 (S.C.); Stuart William Freeborn, of Beckenham, Kent. 2266, 2266; Albert Frederick French, of Bournemouth. 195; George Fry, of Sanderstead, Surrey. P.M. 1503; Alfred Edwin Bernard Godfrey, of Plymouth. 4235; William Edmund Green, of Swaffham, Norfolk. 2679; Ernest Greenhill, of Birmingham. 4001; *Lieut.-Col.* George Cruickshank Griffiths, C.M.G., of Nakmu, Kenya. P.Dis.A.G.D.C. 3727; William James Guppy, of Harpenden, Herts. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Z.* 475; Major Maurice Colton Haines, T.D., of Benton, Northumberland. P.Pr.G.D., 2571; Frederick John Hand, of Calgary, Alberto. P.M. 1, *P.P.* 1; Fred Sumner Hanson, jun., of State College, Pa. 66 (Ga.C.), 241; Richard Harrison, of Accrington. Pr.G.D., 345; William Ross Hay, M.B.E., of Bexhill-on-Sea. 4611, 4611; Henry William Heath, of London, E. P.M. 4442, 4442; James Mark Heslop, of Hexham, Northumberland. 1427, 1427; Thomas William Selwyn Hills, of Watford, Herts. Pr.G.W., 23; William Arthur Hind, of Sumatra. Dis.G.W. (S.C.); John Edward Hodgson, of Darlington. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.So.*; Walter Graham Hodgson, of London, W. P.M. 1328, *P.Z.* 1328; George Francis Hole, of Hong Kong. Dis.G.Pt. 1165; Sydney Ernest Homer, of Bromley, Kent. 179; John Henry Howard, of Haslemere, Surrey. P.M. 1046, *So.* 1046; Douglas Whitton Howie, of Kendal. 129; Edward James Hudson, of San Francisco. P.Dis.G.W. China (S.C.), G.So. (S.C.); Arthur Hughes, of Stockton-on-Tees. 433 (I.C.), 509; Albert Charles Hyett, of Gloucester. 1005, 493; Edwin Albert Hyett, of London, E. P.M. 3537, 4036; N. E. Hyman, of London, N.W. I.G. 4844; Percy William Jaggard, of Bushey, Herts. P.M. 3234, *J.* 1984; Thomas Johnson, of Montreal. 73, 7; Thomas Douglas Kendrick, of Regina, Sask. 49; Fred G. Ketcheson, of Montreal. P.G.D.C.; Hugh Charles Kiddle, of Wollongong, N.S.W. P.Dis.G.I.W.; John

King, of Salt River, S. Africa. W.M. 1022, *P.So.* 1022; Frederick Nicholas Kirby, of London, S.E. I.P.M. 4798; Thomas A. Knight, of Brecksville, Ohio. P.S.W. 610; Charles Wilfred Lamming, of Cambridge. 441; Alfred Lamport, of Guatemala City. P.M. 1; Frank Wellesley Warren Langley, of Hounslow. 1871; Fred Lax, of Darlington. P.G.St.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; Carney Milton Layne, of Huntington, Cabell Co., W.Va., U.S.A. P.M. 152, *P.G.H.P.*; Walter Oliver Leatherdale, of London. S.W. 1622; Samuel Moritz Lewis, of Potchefstroom, S. Africa. P.M. 50a (N.C.); Walter Bernhardt Linahan, of Rosetown, Sask. S.W. 91, 1; Thomas Walter Livesey, of Blackburn. 345, 345; Albert Edward Loosley, of Berkhamsted. P.M. 504; Arthur Edward Ludwig, of Glendale, L.I., N.Y. S.W. 1087; Charles James Luker, of Gloucester. 1005; *F/O* David Lumgair, *R.A.F.*, of Aden. W.M. 355 (S.C.), *Z.* 90 (S.C.); John A. Lynes, of London, N.W. P.M. 185, *H.* 185; Dr. Archibald McCrorie, of Glasgow. 0, 69; James Patrick MacDermott, of Kalgan, N. China. W.M. 2013, *P.J.* 2013; John Maxwell McDonald, of Negri Sembilan. 5324; Hugh Malcolm McLaren, of Glasgow. P.M. 116, 326; Archibald McNeil, of Glasgow. 1241, 189; Hendrick Jacobus Malan, of Port Elizabeth. P.M. 50a (N.C.), *J.* 50a (N.C.); Ronald Samuel Marsden, of Longhope, Glos. 82, 82; Harold Lancelot Roy Matthews, of Shortlands, Kent. 28; Dr. Wilhelm Heinrich Meissner, of Middelburg, S. Africa. P.M. 2828, *P.Z.* 307 (S.C.); Edward George Merrick, of Bradford. 2330; Robert Wilson Milne, of Falkirk. S.W. 16, 210; George Botterell Minshull, of Pinner, Mdsx. 4290, 5046; Percy Moorwood Mitchell, of Sheffield. P.M. 3499, *P.Z.* 2263; Henry Aubin Mourant, *F.C.A.*, of London, E.C. 2625; William George Paul Moyses, of Senekal. Sec. 110 (N.C.), *Sc.E.* 643 (S.C.); Don G. Mullan, Odebolt, Iowa. 398; John Henry Neal, of Banstead. L.R. 3842, *P.Z.* 3842; James Robert Neve, of Ilford. J.W. 753, *Sc.N.* 2722; George William Newton, of Darlington. 3886; James Jardine Nicholson, of Derby. 5027, 731; Torkild Haarstrup Nielsen, of Bangkok, Siam. 1072 (S.C.), 357 (S.C.); Dr. Thomas North, of London, N.W. P.G.D., *P.A.G.So.*; Robert Allan Ogg, of Glasgow. 3 bis; David Leonard Oliver, of London, W.C.2. P.M. 1540, *P.Z.* 1540; Richard Henry Orchard, of Harpenden, Herts. Pr.G.D., *P.Z.* 4675; George Oxley, of Hailsham. 5059, 4499; Thomas Park, of Rutherglen. P.Pr.G.W., 826; William Arthur Parkinson, of Damolly, Newry. P.M. 367, 367; Charles Edward Parry, of Sutton, Surrey. P.M. 2128; Robert Percy, of Bournemouth. W.M. 195; Philip Ernest Phillips, of London, S.W. P.M. 2647, 7; Grahame Lane Pigott, of Chichester. 1854; William Lewis Polley, of Nkana, Rhodesia. 1374 (S.C.); William Tredrea Pryor, of Nkana, Rhodesia. 5326, 5327; Fulke Rosavo Radice, of Bedford. J.W. 4732, *Sc.N.* 540; James Randall, of Ulverston. 4041; Aubrey Robert Reason, of Twickenham, Mdsx. J.W. 4476; Reginald Shaw Rigg, of Boksburg, Transvaal. P.A.G.D.C., *P.G.St.B.*; Cyril Alfred Roberts, of Lidgetton, Natal. Sec. 3572, 1665; Thomas George Rothwell, *M.B.*, of Folkestone. P.M. 2587, *Z.* 2587; Hugh Rudgard, of Bushey, Herts. 404, 404; Lord Saltoun, of Twickenham, Mdsx. G.M.M. (S.C.); Lynwood George Sawyer, of Auburn, Maine. P.M. 73, 51; Roland James Hayes Sawyer, of Surbiton, Surrey. W.M. 619; Albert William Gerard Schey, of Sydney, N.S.W. P.D.G.I.W., *P.G.H.*; Charles Scorer, of Nkana, Rhodesia. 804 (S.C.), 372 (S.C.); Hugh Coningsby Duncan Scott, of Taunton. W.M. 2038, *P.So.* 329; Thomas Millar Scott, of London, S.W. P.M. 2663; Stanley Seamer, of King's Lynn. W.M. 4251, 107; Arthur Senior, *M.D.*, of Thames Ditton, Surrey. P.A.G.D.C., *P.G.St.B.*; Eric Shakespeare Glasspoole, of Sumatra. W.M. 1322 (S.C.); Philip Simon, of Middlesbrough. P.M. 509, *P.Z.* 509; Joseph Trevor Simpson, of Dar es Salaam, Africa. 3559; James Henry Smith, of Barking, Essex. J.W. 2029, *Sc.N.* 2029; Harold Ramsay Hawkins Stone, of Jinja, Uganda. 4788; Samuel Richard Sutton, of Glasgow. P.Pr.G.A.Sec. Kent, P.M. 1359 (S.C.),

P.Pr.G.B. (S.C.); Charles Henry Swann, of Yarm, Yorks. 4027, 543; Charles William Swinton, of Fleet, Hants. 5073, 1971; Herbert Leigh Tempest, of Tolaga Bay, N.Z., P.M. 232; William Thom, of Glasgow. 772; Frederick Arthur Thompson, of London, W.C. W.M. 1601, *P.So. 1601*; George Thomas Thompson, of Sumatra. Sec. 1322 (S.C.); Herbert Thorp, of W. Worthing. S.W. 851, 851; Charles Herbert Tyson, *B.Sc., F.C.A.*, of Brighton. 732, 732; Fritz Uhlmann, *M.D.*, of Basle, Switzerland. W.M., Osiris, *Veritas*; Horace Melville Underhill, of Shaunavon, Sask. P.Dis.D.G.M., 17; Armand Vandendries, of London, S.W. I.P.M. 2796, *P.So. 2060*; Daniel Pieter Van Der Merwe, *J.P.*, of Rosendal, O.F.S. 110 (N.C.), 318 (S.C.); Thomas Verity, of Harrogate. J.W. 4984, 837; Cecil Frushard Waddington, of Sutton, Surrey. 4464, 68; Frank Walker, of Manchester. P.Pr.G.D., 5127; Harold Waller, of Stockton-on-Tees. I.G. 940, 509; Elijah Marsden Warhurst, of Durham. P.Pr.A.G.S.B., 2019; Charles Joseph Waters, of Worcester Park, Surrey. 3232; Spencer Landale Webster, of Bloemfontein. 1022; Lionel Digby Whitfield, of Perak, Malaya. W.M. 5324, 3554; John Willcocks, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. I.P.M. 3807, 2723; Herbert James Richard Williamson, of Cape Town. P.M. 1735, *D.G.P.Soj.*; Ernest John Wilson, of London, E.C. W.M. 2202; Hubert Arthur Wootton, of Cambridge. S.W. 1492, 859; Frederick Robert Worts, of Leeds. 1211.

Note.—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.



Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

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Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



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LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.

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