

—‡‡ 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 XLVIII. PART 1.

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THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

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

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

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

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

The annual subscription is two guineas, and the fees for initiation and joining are twenty guineas and five shillings 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), 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 for which no time can be found at the meetings, biographies, historical notes, reviews of Masonic publications, queries and answers, obituary, and other matter.

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

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

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 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 meetings of the Lodge whenever convenient to themselves, but, unlike the members of the Inner Circle, their attendance is not even morally obligatory. When present they are entitled to take part in the discussions on the papers read before the Lodge, and to introduce their personal friends. They are not visitors at our Lodge meetings, but rather **associates** of the Lodge.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the recent 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.



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D. M. Glasgow

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Ars

Quatuor Coronatorum

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,

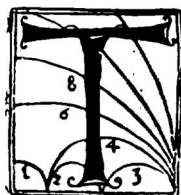
BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

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

No. 2076.

VOLUME XLVIII.

FRIDAY, 4th JANUARY, 1935.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., W.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., I.P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M., as S.W.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., J.W.; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; 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., I.G.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; Lewis Edwards, M.A.; and Wm. Jenkinson.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. E. Eyles, K. M. Hamilton, R. A. Wall, *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., A. G. Hooper, A. J. Freeman, C. A. Melbourne, P.A.G.R., Geo. C. Williams, James Wallis, J. W. G. Cocke, H. B. Q. Evans, Percy Webber, William Story, J. R. Clarke, *Col.* Cecil Powney, P.G.D., Augustus Smith, W. Morgan Day, T. Lidstone Found, Harry Bladon, P.A.G.D.C., L. G. Wearing, W. S. Rountree, Ed. M. Phillips, *Comdr.* S. N. Smith, John R. Cross, G. W. Bullamore, R. W. Strickland, C. F. Sykes, Barry S. Anderson, H. G. Warren, F. Addington Hall, F. R. Radice, Wm. Smalley, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., J. H. Smith, A. Thompson, A. F. Cross, H. S. Bell, Wm. Lewis, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., H. J. Deane, S. S. Huskisson, Frank E. Lemon, R. Girdlestone Cooper, Jas. J. Cooper, *Lieut.-Col.* G. D. Hindley, F. W. Davy, P.A.G.Reg., Chas. S. D. Cole, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, J. R. Cully, A. M. Krougliakoff, H. D. Elkington, Henry S. Phillips, H. L. R. Matthews, and A. Y. Mayell.

Also Bro. W. H. Hobday, London School Lodge No. 2611, Visitor.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; B. Telepneff, S.W.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Supp.W., P.M., D.C.; John Stokes, P.G.D., P.Pr.A.G.M., W. Yorks., P.M.; George Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., Stew.; and J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.Reg., P.M., Treas.

One Lodge, one Chapter, two Lodges of Instruction and forty-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 4th, 1935.

Present:—Bro. W. J. Songhurst in the Chair, with Bros. J. P. Simpson, W. W. Corey-Crump, H. C. de Lafontaine, H. Poole, W. J. Williams, W. K. Firminger, D. Knoop, F. W. Golby, Lionel Vibert, Secretary, and J. H. McLeod, Auditor.

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

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1934.

BRETHREN,

It is with deep regret that we have to report the death, during the year, of three members of the Lodge. Bro. Edward Conder, L.R., Master in 1901, died on 27th July. He was well known as the historian of the Masons Company of London. Bro. James Edward Shum Tuckett, Master in 1920, was Past Assistant Grand Sword Bearer; he died on 18th August. Bro. Sydney T. Klein, L.R., who at the time of his death was our senior member, had been Master in 1897; he died on October 8th. The valuable services rendered to the Lodge by these Brethren are recorded in the *Transactions*. During the year Bros. Lewis Edwards and William Jenkinson have been elected to full membership, and the total membership is now 26.

We have once more to report a reduction in the membership of the Correspondence Circle during the year. On the 30th November, 1933, we had a total of 3,259. One hundred and thirty were removed from the list for non-payment of subscription, 108 resigned, and we lost 58 by death. On the other hand, the number added during the year was only 227, a loss on balance of 69, making the total to carry forward 3,190. We can only repeat what we said last year as to the very difficult position in which we are placed by this continual shrinkage, but we venture to hope that in the coming year, which is the Jubilee of the Lodge, the tide may turn.

During the year Parts ii. and iii. of Vol. xlv. were issued. Part i. of Vol. xlv. has now been distributed and the other parts will, we hope, follow it shortly. In the accounts now presented to the Lodge approximately £1,200 each has been reserved for Vols. xlv., xlvi., and xlvii. Subscriptions amounting to £519 0s. 8d. are still owing, but, as was the case last year, a considerable proportion of this amount is held at our credit in Australasia but cannot be remitted home at the present rate of exchange without serious loss.

There has also been issued a third Q.C. Pamphlet. This is the Prestonian Lecture for 1933, by Bro. H. Poole. It deals with the Old Charges in Eighteenth Century Freemasonry, and includes a full transcript of the text of the recently discovered *Fortitude* MS. with four photographic reproductions. The sale has been quite satisfactory. The Committee has under consideration the publication of two more Q.C. Pamphlets, dealing respectively with the Legend of the Quatuor Coronati, and the Schaw Statutes. A brief statement of the activities of the Lodge during the year has been drawn up and circulated to all members; it also includes a complete list of Local Secretaries.

We desire to convey the thanks of the Lodge to these Brethren who continue to do much good work. In East Lancs., Bro. Horatio R. Wood, owing to his many other Masonic activities, found it impossible to give to the work the time it needed, and Bro. C. V. Jarvis has kindly taken his place. At Senekal Bro. W. G. P. Moyses has succeeded Bro. J. G. Clarke, who in his turn has taken over Natal from Bro. T. J. Harding, who had been our Local Secretary for many years but found himself unable to continue. In Gloucester Bro. B. A. Tomes has been appointed, and there has also been a new appointment in Egypt and Palestine, where Bro. *Squadron Leader* Ivor Grantham has very kindly undertaken to look after our interests. But as the printed list now circulated will show there are still a great many areas where we are not represented except by individual members of the Correspondence Circle.

For the Committee,

W. J. SONGHURST,

in the Chair.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the year ending 30th November, 1934.

RECEIPTS.			£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.			£	s.	d.
To Cash in hand	...	...	68	0	3	By Lodge	...	...	52	9	8
„ Lodge	...	...	69	16	6	„ Salaries, Rent, Rates, and					
„ Joining Fees	...	...	106	1	0	„ Taxes	...	...	771	1	2
„ Subscriptions: 1934	...	...	1091	12	3	„ Lighting, Heating, Clean-					
„ do. 1933	...	...	121	14	9	„ ing, Insurance, Telephone,					
„ do. 1932	...	...	24	13	6	„ Carriage and Sundries	...	...	126	5	11
„ do. 1931	...	...	3	13	6	„ Printing, Stationery, etc.	...	...	514	3	0
„ do. 1930	...	...	10	6		„ Medals	...	...	23	15	0
„ Cash in advance for sub-						„ Binding	...	...	28	1	9
scriptions, and unappro-						„ Sundry Publications	...	...	106	8	10
priated	...	...	54	19	2	„ Library	...	...	15	11	3
„ Medals	...	...	25	3	11	„ Postages	...	...	144	16	10
„ Binding	...	...	44	0	10	„ Local Expenses	...	...	2	6	4
„ Sundry Publications	...	...	182	0	3	„ Cash in Bank	...	...	273	5	9
„ Sale of £300 Consols	...	...	226	4	0						
„ Interest and Discounts	...	...	31	9	1						
„ Publication Fund	...	...	8	6	0						
			£2058	5	6				£2058	5	6

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. F. W. DAVY, P.A.G.Reg.

Centenary medal. Provincial G.L. of Lincolnshire. Silver. Grantham 1892.
 Portrait of W. H. Smyth, P.G.M. Ob. Coat of Arms and Garter, combined with Square and Compasses. Engraved on edge:—"F. D. Davy, P.M. 1447. Prov. G.S.W." *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. the Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump.

Oddfellows Apron. Oval, with two semicircular flaps. Stars and tassels, in heavy gold lace. Printed device of coat of arms and supporters, with text:—"Independent Order of Oddfellows".

By Bro. ADDINGTON HALL.

Apron, Antients, printed and hand-painted on silk. By Berring of Greenwich.

By Bro. W. JENKINSON.

Seal Matrices. Priestly Union Band. 39 Armagh. President's Seal.
 Red Cross 623.
 Craft, Armagh 695.
 Calendar, G.L. of Ireland, 1850.

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

Bro. DOUGLAS KNOOP read the following paper:—

THE LONDON MASON IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

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

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

Introduction. Growth of London. Prosperity and Depression. Importance of nobility, gentry and commercial classes as builders. Effects of changes in style. The Great Fire. The Rebuilding Statutes. St. Paul's. The problems of monopoly and industrial regulation. Pages 3-7.

Sources. Building Accounts. Records of the Masons' Company. Pages 7-9.

The Masons' Company. 1. The Monopoly of Trade: "foreign masons", masons free of other Companies, clash with Plasterers, "intermeddling". 2. The search for false work. Pages 9-18.

Classes of Masons. 1. "Shopkeepers" and Statuaries. 2. Stone merchants: kinds of stone used, stone at St. Paul's, imports of stone. 3. Overseers: partners in lieu of overseers, superintendents or foremen, King's Master Masons, Chief Bridge Masons. 4. Mason-contractors: (i.) municipal contractors (ii.) parish church contractors (iii.) St. Paul's contractors (iv.) contractors on Royal Works. The financing of contracts. Contemporary opinion of contract system. Types of contract. 5. Journeymen. 6. Apprentices. Pages 18-66.

Short Bibliography. Pages 66-67.

Appendices. A. General Search of April, 1678. B. List of Foreigners, 1686. C. General Search of September, 1694. D. Act of Common Council, 11th September, 1694. E. General Search of May, 1696. F. List of Members made free by Redemption, 1670-1694. G. List of "Foreign Members." H. Stone imported into London. J. Statistics of Journeymen. K. Statistics of Apprentices. Pages 67-92.



THE subject of the present paper differs in some important respects from those to which we have previously called the attention of the Lodge. In the past we dealt with particular building operations in some detail, but now we are concerned with the building industry generally in the whole of London. Our period, also, is no longer the era of Gothic, but the rapidly changing and much more modern age of the Renaissance and the revival of classical architecture. We shall attempt to show, later, that though the mason's craft may have altered but little in itself, its practitioners using the same tools with the same skill to carve designs in a different taste for buildings in a different style, the environment of the craft changed greatly and that new divisions and differences appear and disturb the relatively simple organisation of mediæval times. In order that these new developments may be seen in their context, it is desirable to make some general observations on conditions in London in the seventeenth century.

In the first place, it may be remarked that, despite repeated outbreaks of the Plague, the century saw a growth, to some observers alarming, in the population of London, and an expansion of built-up areas. Much of the domestic building, being of brick, required little help from the mason, though it may have offered a chance to some masons to profit by small building speculations. The extensive use of brick in larger houses and public buildings, even when they were faced with stone, also tended to the same result, viz., a comparative decline in the proportion of stone masons to other craftsmen in the building industry. That does not mean that the number of masons did not increase; in the last third of the century it must have grown immensely; but, taking the century as a whole, the number probably increased less rapidly than that of brickmakers and bricklayers, whose business benefited by two circumstances, the growing demand for houses and a plentiful supply of clay close at hand.

Secondly, the century, taken as a whole, was one of increased prosperity, much of it associated with expanding overseas trade, which centred far more in London than elsewhere. This no doubt enabled the receivers of East India Company dividends and other similar incomes to spend money on building. It is true that such incomes were not confined to city merchants and that rich citizens might display their wealth in building country houses, where they resided occasionally and where their sons, forsaking the daily cares of business, lived as country gentlemen. In this century, as in others, the activity of trade was subject to interruption through political, currency and other factors¹ and it is

¹ The later part of Elizabeth's reign had been a time of deep depression, but under her successor from 1604 onwards there was a revival of trade, increasing customs, a growth in population and a rising standard of living, trade being particularly active between 1613 and 1615. By 1620 the cloth trade was depressed and bankruptcies were frequent; the harvests of 1622 and 1623 were poor, and there was an outbreak of Plague in 1625. Signs of improvement were visible in the summer of that year, but a variety of causes hindered it, and, though there were further indications of improvement in 1630, the personal government of Charles I. tended to check prosperity. There was widespread depression, and another outbreak of Plague, in 1637. The crisis prolonged itself to the eve of the Civil War, which prevented recovery, and, though there were some signs of better times about 1650, the Protectorate ended in bankruptcy and depression. With the Restoration there was recovery, but the Dutch War, the Plague and the Great Fire checked it, and there was panic in 1667. The Exchequer stop, in December, 1671, brought ruin to many bankers in 1672: business was unsettled, and depression lasted until 1674. The remainder of the century, though it had some dull times, and saw a crisis in 1696-1697, was more prosperous, especially towards 1678, 1683-1695 and 1697-1700. [See W. R. Scott, *Joint Stock Companies*, i., 130, 167, 180, 186-7, 199, 204, 217, 245, 261, 278-9, 287-8, etc.]

possible that the trade cycle, though less marked than in modern times, could, if we had sufficient data, be traced in the building industry. It does not, however, follow that years of bad trade saw little or no building,¹ since wealth gained in good times might be spent years later. The Crown, too, did not confine its building to prosperous periods: the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall was erected,² at a cost of more than £15,600, between 1619 and 1622, a period of marked depression. Still, the money available for building must ultimately have had some relation to the prosperity of trade and agriculture, and the rate at which the Crown could build was limited by its revenue, which depended largely on customs duties, and by its credit. In practice, there were many difficulties in paying for royal building, as our sources show, which both retarded the operations and caused great inconvenience, and at times even suffering, to the workmen.

Thirdly, attention may be drawn to some changes regarding the character of demand in the stone-building industry. Broadly speaking, the mediæval demand had been for castles and ecclesiastical buildings, and the chief employers were the Crown and the Church. There was also a demand for churches in London in the later part of the seventeenth century, but that was the result of accident, the Great Fire, though the maintenance and repair of Old St. Paul's would in any event have required considerable outlay and the growing population would gradually have caused the building of new churches and of meeting houses for Dissenters. As for the Crown, it was still of considerable importance as an employer. The Tower, St. James's Palace, Hampton Court and other buildings erected in previous centuries were maintained and extended, and new ones were built, the work being done or directed by the Office of Works with its headquarters in Scotland Yard. But in and about London, possibly, and in the country, certainly, the Crown was becoming comparatively less important and the nobility, gentry and commercial classes more important, as builders.³ For them were erected houses and palaces in which, by the eighteenth century, comfort and convenience tended to give way to magnificence in a more or less pure classical style. The change in style is outside our province, but it may be noted that with the advent of continental and classical fashions, obtained either by travel or from books, the union of architect and craftsman in the same person, common in the Middle Ages, becomes less and less frequent. The difference in taste is also traceable in monuments, more numerous than those of the Middle Ages, enriched with urns and statuary, and in elaborate chimney pieces, sometimes in foreign marbles. The designing of these was, doubtless, easier than the planning of a building, and the capital required for the making of a small monument or chimney piece was less than that needed in order to take a building contract at Greenwich Hospital or at St. Paul's. It is thus possible that the "storied urn or animated bust" gave an opportunity of independence to some masons who could not have acquired it as contractors or as architects. In such craftsmen as lived chiefly by this work we may see the successors of the mediæval carvers and intailers, often chiselling, at this period, symbols derived from a pagan tradition though used to adorn Christian temples.

¹ A glance at the list of houses dealt with by J. Alfred Gotch in *The Growth of the English House* (pp. 305-6) will show that building went on, in the country generally, in times of depression and disturbance as well as in times of prosperity.

² *Public Record Office, Declared Accounts* No. 3391. As Bro. C. F. Sykes points out, the sum of £15,600 includes some £700 spent on the erection of a new pier at the Isle of Portland for conveyance of stone to Whitehall.

³ This makes our study of the period difficult and necessarily incomplete since the accounts of buildings erected for private persons have not survived or are not easily accessible.

By far the most important circumstance connected with employment in the building trades was the Great Fire in 1666.¹ Its calamitous effects² may be summed up very briefly by saying that it laid waste about 440 acres, destroyed over 13,000 houses and 89 churches and chapels, rendered homeless about 200,000 people and, altogether, caused losses variously estimated at between £9,900,000 and £10,788,000. On the other hand, by burning down some insanitary nurseries of the Plague, it contributed to the improvement of public health, the future increase of population and, consequently, of housing, and it presented an opportunity for the rebuilding of a planned, dignified and salubrious capital. The work, possible only as trade slowly revived, required government encouragement and control, lest the unregulated activity of individuals should jeopardise the plan being elaborated by the authorities. Sir Christopher Wren's project of re-shaping the whole City was not adopted, and the problem of reconstruction was dealt with, in part, by the use, on a large scale, of means already in practice. Four years before the Great Fire a commission had been set up to deal with a variety of problems, including the repair of highways and the widening of particular streets.³ The commissioners, of whom the King's Surveyor of Works was to be one, were appointed under the Great Seal and with them were associated, for the purpose of street widening, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. This body had power to receive subscriptions and to negotiate with the owners of property to be demolished: should such owners be unwilling or unable to come to terms, the sheriffs of London were to empanel a jury to assess the value of the premises and the payment of the sum thus determined sufficed to give the commission possession of the property required. Where houses were pulled down and other houses, behind them, or on the opposite side of the street, were improved in value, an annual rent, on account of this amelioration, became payable to the City and was to be used for further street improvement. This experiment in administration and finance, devised in 1662 to bring about gradual improvements in London, was unexpectedly called upon to serve as a model for dealing with the urgent problems raised by the need for rebuilding most of the city within a period of a very few years.

In the main, the rebuilding of London was governed by three statutes, two passed in 1666 and one in 1670.⁴ The first established tribunals to deal with disputes regarding rent payments and obligations in respect of houses destroyed in the fire. The second, amended in some respects by the third, was the fundamental act regulating the rebuilding. It may be summarized under four main heads: construction, administration, economic conditions and finance.

(i.) The purpose of the Act being to avoid the peril of fire in future, and to secure gracefulness and uniformity in building, it was provided that houses should be built of brick or stone or both, and should be arranged in streets and lanes marked out by the City authorities. Houses and thoroughfares were graded: the largest houses were to be of four stories, others were to be of three

¹ The effects of the Great Plague of 1665 on the building industry must have been considerable. In connection with the erection of Clarendon House, Sir Roger Pratt, the architect, wrote on 13th February, 1665/6, of "two of our master brickmakers dying successively of the Plague and many other of their Servants," which apparently caused the cost of the bricks to rise from 8s. 6d. to 15s. per 1,000. Referring to the Carpenters, he wrote, "at this time the town was highly infected, the workmen everywhere died." This, in conjunction with the rise in the price of timber, due to the Dutch War, caused the master carpenter to be utterly undone and to refuse to go forward with the contract. (Gunther, *Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, 149.)

² See *Memoirs of John Evelyn*, ed. Bray, 318; *Verney Memoirs* (1904), ii., 259; and Bell, *The Great Fire of London*, especially 223-224, 275.

³ 14 Charles II., c. 2. Evelyn, the diarist, was a member of the Commission.

⁴ 18 and 19 Charles II., c. 7; 18 and 19 Charles II., c. 8; and 22 and 23 Charles II., c. 11. In addition, 22 and 23 Charles II., c. 16, and 22 and 23 Charles II., c. 17, relate to the same subject.

or two, the largest houses being in the most important and widest streets, the others in the less important streets, lanes and by-lanes.

(ii.) The Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council were empowered to elect surveyors to see that these regulations were observed, and might require rebuilding to be commenced within a stipulated time, or alternatively might have the value of a site not built upon assessed and sell it to a person guaranteeing to build, the sale price being given to the owner. Besides marking out streets, the City authorities were to enlarge some particular thoroughfares and might, at their discretion, widen streets previously less than fourteen feet across.

(iii.) In order that building materials, despite the great demand, might be had at reasonable prices, any two or more judges of the King's Bench were empowered to fix the prices of bricks, tiles, lime and their carriage, should the City make a complaint of their dearness. Similarly, should the City authorities complain, the same tribunal might defeat any combination of workmen and labourers by fixing time and piece wages. The Statute also took steps to increase the supply of labour by suspending for seven years, or as long as might be necessary, the local monopoly of trade, and by encouraging the influx of workmen from outside. With the effect of these steps upon the mason's trade we shall be concerned later.

(iv.) The Act provided one source of revenue for the improvement of the City in the payments on account of amelioration by those who got the advantage, but the main source was a duty of 12d. per chaldron or per ton of coal brought to London, the proceeds of the duty to be used for street widening. The Act of 1670 added a further duty of 2/- on coal, one quarter of the money received to be used for street widening and three-quarters for church building. From 1677 to 1687 the two duties of 12d. and 2/- were to be merged into one duty of 3/-, half the receipts to be used for street widening and half for church building. Of the money available for church building, a quarter, at the discretion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and the Lord Mayor, might be used for St. Paul's. The number of parish churches to be rebuilt was fixed at fifty-one, their names being set out in the Statute. By an Act of 1685 (1 James II., c. 15) a duty of 18d. per chaldron or per ton of coal brought to London was imposed, as from 29th September, 1687, when the old duty expired, to 29th September, 1700, the proceeds to be placed at the disposal of the Archbishop, the Bishop and the Lord Mayor for church building, an amount not exceeding one-fifth to be appropriated to finishing the parish churches, the remainder being used for St. Paul's.¹ The coal duty was again continued in 1696-97 (by 8 and 9 William III., c. 14) for a further period of sixteen years from 29th September, 1700, at the rate of 12d. per chaldron or per ton, one-sixth of the receipts to be used for the repair of Westminster Abbey and the balance for the completion of St. Paul's. An additional duty of 2s. per chaldron or per ton was in force for eight years from 15th May, 1708, by an act of 1702. (1 Anne stat. 2, c. 12.) The proceeds were entirely for the finishing of St. Paul's. There were other renewals later.

It will be noted that the sums assigned to St. Paul's were very large. That immense undertaking, carried on by a special commission, with Wren, the King's Surveyor-General, as architect, and built at a cost of about £750,000,² was by far the most considerable of the buildings paid for out of the coal duty,

¹ From the original Coal Duty between 1st May, 1670, and 29th September, 1687, St. Paul's received £88,468.14.3, and the parochial churches £264,206.2.9. From the new Coal Duty between 29th September, 1687, and 29th September, 1700, St. Paul's received £247,674.17.4, and the parochial churches £53,300. ("Account of Rebuilding the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's," printed in *A.Q.C.*, xvii.)

² Ellis, *St. Paul's Cathedral*, 179.

and from the accounts relating to it¹ we have gathered much of our information about the more prominent mason-contractors of the age. The same men, in the main, organised the supply of stone and labour for the other city churches and for the commemorative column in New Fish Street Hill; and it is part of our object in this paper, without detracting in the least from the just fame of Wren, to make some record of the men without whose services he could not have carried out his great design. It is also part of our purpose to consider their workmen, who gained neither glory such as Wren's nor profits such as Strong's, and whose reward was about half-a-crown a day and the risk of accident, disease and early death. The surviving accounts tell us little about them individually and their names are for the most part unknown, but without their industry and skill neither architectural genius nor commercial shrewdness would have availed to build St. Paul's: it is, in one sense, not Wren's monument only, but theirs.

The last general observation we desire to make about the seventeenth century is that in its course the questions of monopoly and industrial and commercial regulation were hotly debated and, in part at least, settled. Differences similar to those that divided the supporters and opponents of the East India Companies and the Merchants Adventurers were to some degree evident in the masons' craft as well. The problem after the Great Fire differed in intensity, rather than in nature, from that existing in the earlier part of the century: fundamentally, the question was whether a corporate institution could effectively regulate the industry, harmonise the interests of journeymen and employers and settle differences with allied crafts, without using privileges in a way oppressive to individuals and harmful to the public. The existence of the Masons' Company and the assistance sometimes given to it by the City authorities prove the continuance of the traditional belief in regulation by men of the trade, but the Act of 1666 testifies to the belief that privileges must yield to sudden or great necessity. It will be shown also that in practice the authority of the Company could be evaded and that, especially towards the end of the century, industrial and technical matters were ceasing to be its main objects.

SOURCES.

The bulk of the sources used in the preparation of this paper² can be divided into two main classes, namely:—(i.) Building Accounts and (ii.) the

¹ For a list of them see *Historical MSS. Commission, Ninth Report, MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's*, pp. 59-60. We have, so far, only been able to examine a selection of the Accounts numbered W.A. 1-55 and the two Acquittance Books, 1683-1697. The Accounts, made up monthly as a rule and bound in volumes covering a year, though rich in names of carpenters and bricklayers, rarely mention the names of masons, and, when going into detail at all, give only the number of days' work charged in the contractor's bill. The Acquittance Books consist of signed receipts: they throw light on the way in which the mason-contractors received their money. We understand that the Wren Society has in hand the publication of two volumes of extracts from the St. Paul's Accounts.

² Our thanks are due to the trustees of the late Lord Leverhulme, whose generous grant of research expenses to one of us made possible the examination of manuscripts and greatly facilitated this and other investigations; to the Court of Assistants of the Worshipful Company of Masons for permitting us to examine and to print extracts from the records of the Company, which constitute the main foundation of this study, and to Mr. H. M. Clowes, Clerk to the Masons' Company, for help in arranging our researches; to the Corporation of the City of London for permission to use their records; to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for permission to examine the building accounts, and to Mr. Gerald W. Henderson, the sub-librarian and archivist, for his assistance with that work; to the Bank of England and to Messrs. C. Hoare and Co. for giving us access to their old ledgers, and to Messrs. Glyn Mills and Co. for allowing us to examine the early ledgers of Childs' Bank; to Mr. Eagleton, Clerk to the Haberdashers' Company, for information about Fulkes and Rawlins, and to Bro. W. J. Williams for abstracts of the Wills of Thomas Strong and Thomas Wise. We have also to thank Miss E. Jeffries Davis of University College, University Reader in the History and Records of London, for very kindly reading the first proofs of this paper and making various helpful suggestions; Mr. W. D. Caroe for drawing our attention to certain points which we had overlooked; and Bro. W. W. Covey-Crump for his valuable assistance in proof correcting.

records of the Masons' Company. The former may be further sub-divided as follows:—(a) Mere statements of moneys received and spent, with little or no detail about the ultimate distribution of the money paid out. The accounts in the Public Record Office relating to the rebuilding of London (*Exchequer K.R.*, 474/30 and 475/1 to 8) are of this kind: they tell us, *e.g.*, that on May 20th, 1672, Joshua Marshall was paid £200 on account of the Fire Memorial column, but we do not know how much of the money went in wages, or to whom. (b) General Accounts, such as the Surveyors' and Paymasters' Accounts in the Public Record Office (*e.g.*, *Declared Accounts* 3391), or the St. Paul's Accounts referred to above, which give information about the sums paid to various contractors and frequently go into detail about payments for stone and contract prices for particular pieces of building work, but do not give the names of the masons employed by the contractors. (c) Edward Strong's 'Account Book' (*Guildhall Library MS.* 233) which, for part of the period to which it relates, gives the names of the men employed, but for the remainder gives only the number of days charged for. (d) Among the 'Bills paid to artificers . . . after the Great Fire' in the Guildhall Library (*MS.* 323, Nos. 1-62) are several accounts drawn up by Nicholas Duncombe, clerk of the works, for work done at the Guildhall and elsewhere: these give the names and earnings of the masons employed. So also do the volumes of Office of Works Accounts in the British Museum (*Harleian MSS.* 1618, 1657 and 1658) and, of course, the volumes of Weekly Payments by the wardens of London Bridge.

The three principal sources of information among the records of the Masons' Company are (a) the first two *Court Books*, (b) the first *Account Book*, and (c) the *Quarterage Book*.

(a) The *Court Books*, 1677-1694, and 1695-1722, are the most valuable source: they contain not merely minutes of the meetings of the Court of Assistants, which enumerate, *inter alia*, the apprentices presented, the freemen admitted and the moneys received for quarterage and fines, but also miscellaneous information affecting the Court, such as statements of money owing to the Company, lists of members' subscriptions for special objects, and records of such general searches as the Court ordered to be made.¹

¹ So far as we are aware, the Court only commenced its official existence in December, 1677. According to a municipal ordinance of 1481 [*Letter Book L.*, fos. 165 *seq.*, printed in full in *The Medieval Mason*, pp. 251 *seq.*] the government of the Mystery was vested in two wardens elected biennially by the freemen of the craft. In 1607 a new municipal ordinance [*Letter Book CC.*, fo. 235, printed in full in Appendix to Bro. Williams, *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv.] provided that the government of the Company should be vested in a Master and two Wardens elected annually by those in the Livery. It was not until 1677, when the Company was incorporated by Royal Charter [printed in full in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliii., pp. 117 *seq.*] that the control was vested in a Master, two Wardens and 24 (or more) assistants. Although the Court of Assistants probably did not begin its official existence until the Charter was granted on 17th December, 1677, the first meeting of the Court entered in the *Court Book* was held on 27th March, 1677. Prior to that date there certainly appears to have been an inner circle within the members of the Livery, even if there was no Court of Assistants, for the first entries in the *Quarterage Book* set out the membership in 1663 thus:—

Mr Thomas Shorthose,	Master
Mr Stephen Switzer	} Wardens
Mr Thomas Shadbolt	
Mr Edward Marshall	
[14 more names]	

The Rest of the Livery

Mr Henry Banks
Mr Joshua Marshall
[25 more names]

The Yeomanry

John Hownsell
Enoch Wyatt
[141 more names]

(b) The first *Account Book* commences with the year 1619-20 and ends in 1706. For some years the entries seem to be very incomplete, but for others, and more especially for the earlier years, fairly full particulars are given concerning the binding of apprentices, the admission of freemen and of liverymen, and the fees collected in respect of fines and of the search of stone. Most of our information concerning the Company in the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century is derived from entries in this *Account Book*.

(c) The *Quarterage Book* contains, *inter alia*, the names of the Master, Wardens, Assistants, Liverymen and Yeomen, together with the quarterages paid by each, for every year from 1663 to 1676 inclusive, and again for 1696, 1697, 1698 (Assistants only) and 1700; the admissions of freemen and the presentments of apprentices from 1663 to 1694 (these being continued in the *Freedom Book*, 1694-1780, and the *Book of Apprentices*, 1694-1856); lists for 1696 and 1697 of "foreign members" and of widows entitled to bind apprentices at Masons' Hall,¹ and an alphabetical account of what is due to the Company from the Liverymen, Yeomen, Foreign Members and Widows at Michaelmas, 1701.

The records of the Masons' Company were examined some forty years ago by two former Past Masters of the Lodge, the late Bro. Edward Conder and the late Bro. W. Harry Rylands (both members of the Masons' Company) whilst collecting materials for the history of the Company published by Bro. Conder under the title *The Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masons*. Their pioneer work has considerably facilitated the preparation of this paper, and we have gladly availed ourselves of it whenever possible. On the other hand, the Masons' records contain numerous matters of great interest to us, which they passed over as too detailed, or too trivial, for the purpose of writing a general history of the Company. Thus our paper in many ways supplements the account of the Masons' Company given in the *Hole Craft*, but, as the reader will discover for himself, it makes no pretence at presenting a complete history of the Company in the seventeenth century.

THE MASONS' COMPANY.

In the seventeenth century the Masons' Company was still discharging trade functions which it had inherited from the old mystery or craft gild. These mainly centred round (1) the search for false work and (2) the preservation of the monopoly of trade in the city. We feel little doubt that it was the problem of the monopoly of trade which interested the Company most, more especially towards the end of the century, and we propose to discuss that first.

In later years, the expression "The Livery" is used instead of "The rest of the Livery," but so far as we observed, nowhere in the *Quarterage Book* from 1663 to 1676 is the term "Assistants" or "Court of Assistants" used. On the other hand, almost the first entry in the earliest *Court Book* reads "Names of the Company of Masons who are in arrears for quarterage at Ladyday 1677," the names being arranged under three headings:—

" Assistants "	(27 names)
" Liverymen "	(44 names)
" Yeomanry "	(162 names)

In the first *Account Book*, however, there are earlier and specific references to Assistants and Court of Assistants. On 26th May, 1630, Mr. Shuttleworth, Mr. Richard Llewellyn, Thomas More and Mr. Dorbarr each paid 40s. on being "made one of the Assistants," and during the year 1630-31 Mr. Daniel Chaloner paid 40s. "for his admission into the Assistances."

¹ Women appear occasionally to have been members of the Company. In the list of Yeomanry of 1663 there occurs the name Margaret Wild, widow. In the *Court Books* we have found one case of a girl apprentice:—

"This day [12th February, 1713/4] Mary Banister, daughter of Geo Banister of Barkin in the County of Essex, Barber, do put herself an apprentice to John Sumner, citizen and mason, for the term of 7 years from this day and paid to the Company 5s."

1. *The Monopoly of Trade.*

The problem at this period may be said to have been of a fourfold character:—(i.) To restrain, if not entirely prevent, “foreign” masons, *i.e.*, masons who were not freemen of the city, from carrying on their trade in London. (ii.) To discourage masons from obtaining their freedom otherwise than through the Masons’ Company. (iii.) To challenge any company which appeared to hinder necessary masons’ work from being done. (iv.) To stop intermeddling, *i.e.*, mason’s work being done by men of other trades.

(i.) The question of foreign masons was an old one, which had gradually changed in character and become the most acute problem confronting the Company. In order to understand the position, it is necessary briefly to trace its development. An article of the Masons’ Ordinances of 1481 forbade freemen of the craft from enticing “foreyns” from other freemen of the craft,¹ which implies that it was then permissible for members of the Fellowship to employ foreign masons. By 1521, the attitude of the Fellowship had apparently undergone some modification, as the Masons’ Ordinances approved in that year² not only provided that a foreign mason was not to take up work for himself, but that he was not to be employed by a mason freeman so long as sufficient qualified freemen were available. If a foreigner were employed, he was to contribute 3d. quarterly to the common-box like freemen masons. In 1548 ‘foreign’ handicraftsmen of the building trades were authorised by Act of Parliament³ to work in any city, borough, or corporate town; there can be little doubt that this Act was passed with the object of defeating the supposed conspiracies of workers to raise wages at a time when prices were rising rapidly, and it should not be regarded as an attempt on the part of the Government permanently to weaken local monopolies of trade.⁴ In any case, it was repealed the following year,⁵ and the position with regard to foreigners continued as before. That the Masons’ Company feared the extended use of foreigners in the early seventeenth century is shown by petitions in 1621-22 to the Bishop of London, the Lord Mayor and the Commissioners, praying that the intended work at St. Paul’s might be given to freemen of the city. That the Company had ground for its fears is shown by money being spent in 1641-42 regarding intended action in Parliament about foreigners working at St. Paul’s. Prior to that, in 1628 the Masons had joined forces with the Bricklayers in trying to prevent the employment of foreigners by the Earl of Devonshire. It would appear, however, that notwithstanding such efforts, foreigners did work in the city more or less on suffrance, for at a general search in 1640-41, and again in 1642-43 and in 1644-45, money was received from “sundry free members of the company and other artisan masons foreigners and aliens.”

A new chapter of the “foreigner” problem opened in 1666 with the Great Fire. In order to facilitate the rebuilding of the city, Parliament enacted that such masons, bricklayers, carpenters, etc., as were not freemen of the city, might work there until the rebuilding was completed and further that, if they worked at such rebuilding for seven years, they were to enjoy the same liberty as freemen for their natural lives.⁶ At the moment, with the fire hardly extinguished, the adoption of this “open-door” policy does not appear to have excited an outcry, but as soon as building became brisk, about 1670, protests began. The Carpenters averred that foreign artisans who had not served a

¹ *Letter Book L.*, fols. 165 *seq.*, printed in full in *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 251 *seq.*

² *Letter Book N.*, fols. 175 b, *seq.*, printed in full in *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 256 *seq.*

³ 2 Edw. VI., c. 15.

⁴ See *The Mediæval Mason*, 207, 227.

⁵ 3 Edw. VI., c. 20.

⁶ 18 and 19 Charles II., c. 8, sec. 16.

seven years' apprenticeship in accordance with the Statute of Apprentices, 1563, were working in the city,¹ an assertion also made in the Masons' Company's Charter of 1677, which refers to the deceits practised by sundry persons who never duly served as apprentices to the Art or Mystery of a mason.² It was apparently on this point that the Masons joined the Carpenters, Bricklayers, Joiners and Plasterers in a petition to the Court of Aldermen,³ but there is no evidence to show that the companies obtained effectual redress. It is probable that the Masons took other steps regarding foreigners about this time, but it is not until the records of the Court of Assistants are available, from the spring of 1677, that the story can be unfolded. On 27th April, 1677, the Court ordered the clerk to present all foreign masons, in order to constrain them to take their admittance of the Company and City. In April, 1678, a general search was made and the record of that search, entered in the *Court Book*, gives an admirable survey of the masons then at work in London. The list of names is printed in Appendix A, and we shall have occasion to refer to it more fully in another connection. Here it may be noted that it contains the names of many men described as "not free" or as "foreigner," as well as those of sundry aliens and of various members of other London companies. The search cannot have shown a very satisfactory position from the Masons' point of view, and pressure was apparently exerted to try to make some non-members join. Twenty-seven men appeared at the Court on 25th April, 1678, and desired

"that they might be admitted as foreign members of this Company and therefor gave their several bills for payment of their fees to the Company, and upon payment thereof are to be admitted and sworn members."⁴

We have endeavoured to trace these twenty-seven applicants in the books of the Company but have failed to find that a single one of them was ever admitted, so presumably the fees were not paid, and it is by no means impossible that the men were merely bluffing the Company when they applied for admission.⁵ Seventeen months later (12th September, 1679) the Court ordered that a restraint be put upon foreigners working or taking work within the city and that any freeman working for such foreigner should be presented for his offence, but there is nothing in subsequent Court Minutes to show that this was more than a pious resolution.

In April, 1686, there must presumably have been another general search, to which we can find no direct reference in the *Court Book*, because under the date of 29th April, 1686, there is a list of 52 foreign masons who were summoned to appear and to be sworn of the Company. In the list (printed in Appendix B), the phrase "gave a note and was admitted" appears behind 10 of the names, but we have not been able to trace any of these men in the lists of freemen and have our doubts whether they ever paid. Nor do subsequent Court records make any reference to any of those marked "to appear next Court." The only foreigner of whose admission at this period we feel sure is Thomas Neale, who "refused" in April but was admitted by order of the City Chamberlain in December, 1686.

¹ Jupp and Pocock, *History of the Carpenters' Company*, 282.

² *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 123.

³ Jupp and Pocock, 282, 283.

⁴ See list printed at end of Appendix A.

⁵ Although the entry in the *Court Book* runs

"the several foreigners here under named appeared at this court and desired that they might be admitted as foreign members,"

yet one of the names is that of Nathaniel Rawlins, a member of the Haberdashers, as shown in the record of the search, and a freeman of the City (see below).

Towards the end of the century the position apparently underwent a change. Very possibly the Company came to realise, on the one hand, that its old monopoly of trade could not be recovered, and, on the other, that the admission fee of 36s., equivalent to about 2½ weeks' wages, was a serious impediment to an ordinary journeyman who might otherwise be willing to take up the freedom. If he could neither be prevented from working nor induced to join the Company, it would be better to collect sixpence quarterage from him as a contribution to the common-box, rather than collect nothing at all. Thus on 3rd December, 1690, we find the Court ordering that no member of the Company was to employ any freeman or foreigner unless such freeman or foreigner had paid all such quarterages as he owed, under penalty of the employer becoming responsible for the amount. This attempt to collect quarterages from foreigners, as well as from freemen, was a return to a practice permitted by the Ordinances of 1521, as previously mentioned. The Company, however, would doubtless be very unwilling to allow all foreigners to work on these conditions. Admission fees (raised from 23s. 10d. to 36s. in 1673), together with stewards' fines (raised from £6 to £10 about 1695), Livery fines (raised from £3 to £5 in 1673) and Assistants' fines (£3) were a very important source of revenue to a company which, to judge from its *Account Book*, was never in a very prosperous financial position during the seventeenth century. In some cases the obstacle of the admission fee was overcome by the mason-contractor who employed the foreigner making himself responsible for the fee. Thus, for example, on 30th August, 1692, six masons were admitted and sworn as "foreign members," Mr. Strong¹ engaging to pay the fees in each case.

Once the "foreigner" question had been largely reduced to one of pounds, shillings and pence, it tended to merge itself in a second aspect of the problem of the monopoly of trade, which was raised when foreign masons obtained their freedom otherwise than through the Masons' Company. That Company clearly suffered a financial loss when men who were masons by trade joined other companies and in due course bound and made free their apprentices in such companies. On 14th February, 1693/4, the Court decided to present a petition to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, asking for an Act of Common Council to redress this grievance. The petition and the Act which was ultimately passed can best be considered in the next section, but an attempt has still to be made here to estimate the success of the Company's attitude towards the foreigners who were permitted to work on the rebuilding of the city under the Fire Statute of 1666.

The general impression derived from noting the successive steps taken by the Court, and following up their result, if any, undoubtedly is that the efforts of the Company to induce foreigners to take up their freedom were not very successful, though we incline to think that the results were not so unfavourable as might appear at first sight. During the fifteen years 1670-1684, forty or forty-one men can be traced as having been admitted to the Company by redemption. A list of the names of the masons so admitted, with the dates of their admission, is printed in Appendix F. In all the earlier cases, they were also admitted to the freedom of the City by the Court of Aldermen. Only the date of the order is entered in the Masons' books, but most of them can be traced in the *Repertories of the Court of Aldermen*. The entry relating to William Pagett, who was made free of the Company on 28th May, 1673, on payment of £1.16.0, may be quoted as an example, as the entry happens to be specially detailed:—

¹ See below.

17 April, 1673: Upon the humble petition of W^m Paggett mason, who hat served to that trade for the terme of seaven yeares and since the late dismall fire employed himselfe in rebuilding of this citye and intends (as hath been suggested unto this court) to take an house & inhabite in the new buildings of the City: It is ordered that the said William Paggett after he shall have taken an house for his inhabitation in the new buildings as aforesaid, shal bee admitted into the freedome of this City by Redempcion in the Company of Masons, paying to M^r Chamberlein to the Cityes use the summe of xlvis. viiid.

Full freedom by redemption involved a double payment—a fee to the City of 46s. 8d., or more in some cases, and a fee to the Company of 36s. (23s. 10d. prior to 1673), or some 85s., or more, in all, equivalent to the wage of a journeyman for approximately six weeks. As a consequence, it could hardly apply to the ordinary craftsmen. Regarding the earlier men admitted by redemption, we have sufficient information to know that some at least were mason-contractors, *e.g.*, Christopher Kempster, Thomas Strong and Thomas Wise. Other men in the list who either were, or shortly became, contractors, were Thomas Hill, William Kempster, Edward Strong and Ephraim Beauchamp. A few whose names appear towards the end of the list were admitted "according to the Act of Parliament for rebuilding the city," and in two or three of these cases either no fee,¹ or only a reduced fee,² was paid to the Company and very possibly no fee to the city. We assume that these masons were ordinary journeymen. Some of the others in the list may have been the same, receiving possibly some assistance from their employers in the payment of the necessary fees. On the other hand, they may have been "shop-keepers" or contractors who do not happen to have been parties to any transactions we have traced. In any case, we feel that freemen able to pay the Stewards' fine of £6 and the Livery fine of £3 within a year or so of being admitted by redemption must have been men of some substance and standing, and that applies to Michael Todd, Daniel Norris, John Woodroffe and Henry Pagett.

We are inclined to think that the Company did not experience any great difficulty about the more prominent foreign members of the craft, except in so far as some of them found their way into other companies, to which reference will be made shortly, but rather with such members of the journeymen class as were never likely to rise above the position of wage-earners. In their case, quite apart from the question of the cost of entry, it is not very clear that they could derive much benefit from membership. There were, however, two other ways in which masons who were "foreigners" or "not free" might obtain their freedom. Firstly, a few were admitted as "foreign members." The *Quarterage Book* gives for 1696 and 1697 a list of "foreign members," containing the names of nine men, eight of whom we can trace as admitted in 1691 or 1692, and one, who heads the list with a 'M^r' in front of his name, we cannot trace at all. On the other hand, the name of one man admitted as a foreign member in 1692 is not on the list of 1696 or 1697. Thus in all we are able to trace ten foreign members belonging to this period, whose names are printed in Appendix G.

As to the exact status of "foreign members," we are not very certain. We cannot find them referred to in the Charter or Bye-laws. An entry in the *Court Book* under the date of 13th September, 1712,³ implies that they might be "country members," but we are disposed to think that most of those on our

¹ *E.g.*, Thomas Facer and Edward Bridgefoote.

² *E.g.*, John Phillipps paid 20s.

³ "Mr Craven, one of the Court of Assistants now informing this Court that one Arthur Morris a mason by trade living at Lewes in Sussex and son of Arthur Morris of the same place, also mason, was desirous to be admitted a foreign member, It was agreed upon the question being put that he be admitted accordingly upon the usual fine of thirty six shillings."

list were foreigners resident and working in London, as in the case of six of them Mr. Strong engaged to pay their fees, which seems to indicate that they were his employees. A "foreign member" seems to have been a foreigner who had been made free of the Company but had not been admitted to the freedom of the City by the Court of Aldermen.¹

Secondly, others who were "not free" (ex-apprentices, not "foreigners") having been bound to a member of the Company without taking up their freedom at the expiration of their indentures, might be induced to join. *E.g.*, on 23rd August, 1694, Thomas Hollis, late apprentice to Thomas Todd by an indenture of 22nd October, 1670, was admitted and sworn on payment of the normal fee of 36s. Without a very large amount of labour, it would be impossible to trace how many years had elapsed since each mason admitted to freedom by service had commenced his apprenticeship, and there might, in some cases at least, be special reasons why unusual delays had occurred. Consequently, we have made no attempt to draw up a list of what may be described as delayed freedoms ultimately taken up as a result of special efforts by the Court of Assistants to eliminate this particular type of "unfreeman," but there undoubtedly were some cases.

(ii.) The question of discouraging masons from obtaining their freedom otherwise than through the Masons' Company, became closely associated with the problem of foreign masons at the end of the seventeenth century, if it had not already been so associated at an earlier date. The subject may be introduced by referring more fully to the petition which, as mentioned previously, the Masons' Company decided in February, 1693/4, to present to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council. The petition is not entered in the *Court Book*, so we have to rely for this part of the story on the *Repertories of the Court of Aldermen*. There we learn, under the date of 5th April, 1694, that the humble petition of the Master, Wardens and Assistants of the Masons' Company of London was read. Its purport may be summarised as follows:—

After the late dreadful fire great numbers of foreign workmen resorted hither; they could become free of the city and "very many Masons-floeyners for inconsiderable fines procured their freedoms of this city"; some are free of other companies, not by force of the said art, and yet use the trade of masons and refuse to be governed by the Masons' Company. Several members of the petitioners' company "for some time past have privately procured masons, free of other companies, to bind apprentices, especially their sons, for them, & turn them over again unto them, but for what reasons your petitioners cannot say" unless it be to avoid being governed by the charter and laws of the Masons. These practices tend to the impoverishing and almost utter ruin of the Masons' Company, which is incapable of assisting poor members and widows as heretofore, "having now but few free of their said company in comparison of former times, for the reasons aforesaid." They ask for an Act of Common Council that all apprentices of masons free of other companies and masons bringing up their sons in the same trade, henceforth be presented bound and made free of the Masons' Company; those already bound and not made free, to be made free of the Masons.

¹ On 16th October, 1700, the following entry occurs in the *Court Book*:—

"This day Jonathan Challinor was admitted unto the freedom of this company by Order of the Court of Aldermen dated 11 Jan 1699 [1700] and one pound sixteen shillings was remitted him because he paid the same when made a foreign brother."

We cannot trace the original order making Challinor a foreign brother, but it probably ran like that relating to Thos. Bird on 30th August, 1692,

"who was this day admitted and sworn as a foreign member of the company?" without any reference to the City authorities.

Very similar complaints and language occur in petitions of the Joiners and Carvers and of the Plasterers. A committee was appointed to consider the petition, and in due course an Act was passed by the Common Council. That Act of 11th September, 1694, which gave the Masons practically what they wanted, is printed in Appendix D.

Cases of masons by trade who were free of other companies had occurred from time to time long before the rebuilding of London after the Great Fire led to an extension of the practice. Thus, for example, William Suthes [Suthis], who was King's Master Mason at Windsor from 1610 to 1625, was a citizen and Goldsmith of London and an Assistant of that Company.¹ Edward Pierce [Pearce], the sculptor and mason-contractor, belonged to the Painter Stainers, of which his father had been a member. He was "chosen of the Livery" in 1668.² Caius Gabriel Cibber [Cibert], the sculptor, the one time foreman of John Stone's workshop in Long Acre, became a Liveryman of the Leathersellers' Company in 1668.³

Cases of non-masons in the Masons' Company probably also existed at this period. Referring to Masons' Hall, Bro. Conder says "the work of rebuilding was done by members of the company, some of whom were carpenters by trade."⁴ We are not clear on what authority he makes this statement; in 1670 there were amongst the Livery an Edward Ellen, a Robert Brittain and an Edward Sleamaker; whether these were the same as the Mr. Ellen who was paid £217 for the bricklayer's bill, the Mr. Brittain who was paid £137 for the carpenter's bill, and the Mr. Sleamaker who was paid £147 for the joiner's bill we do not know, but it is quite possible.

With the influx of masons and other craftsmen into London when rebuilding operations became active about 1670, some at least of the more substantial men were probably desirous of becoming freemen. On a single day in October, 1670, thirteen were admitted to freedom by redemption, including Nathaniel Rawlins, Thomas Grèy and William Bleay, masons.⁵ One would naturally expect that masons would be admitted in the Masons' Company, but that was by no means always the case. Of the three just named, only Bleay joined the Masons. Rawlins joined the Haberdashers and Grey the Cordwainers. Another mason admitted in this way, who later, like Rawlins, rose to the front rank in his trade, was Samuel Fulkes, who on 1st September, 1671, was admitted to the freedom of the Haberdashers' Company by redemption.⁶ On what principle, if any, foreign masons were allotted to companies when obtaining freedom by redemption we do not know—on no principle at all, we are disposed to think. If the List of Masons working in London, when the search of 1678 was made (Appendix A), is examined, it will be seen that it includes the names of

- 5 members of the Haberdashers' Company (including Fulkes and Rawlins)
- 3 members of the Joiners' Company
- 2 members of the Clothworkers' Company
- 1 member of the Stationers' Company
- 1 member of the Fishmongers' Company
- 1 member of the Vintners' Company
- 1 member of the Barber Surgeons' Company
- 1 member of the Weavers' Company
- 1 member of the Tallow Chandlers' Company

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xlii., 74.

² Rachel Poole, *Edward Pierce, the Sculptor* (Walpole Society, 1922-3), 33, 34.

³ Harald Faber, *Caius Gabriel Cibber*, 6 and 17.

⁴ *Hole Craft*, 190.

⁵ *Repertories of the Court of Aldermen*, 27th October, 1670.

⁶ Information kindly supplied by the Clerk of the Company. The order of the Court of Aldermen is contained in the *Repertories* under the date 10th August, 1671.

together with that of an apprentice bound at Joiners' Hall. Even so, the information on the subject is not complete, for there is no entry behind the name of Mr Sybert [Cibert or Cibber] or that of Mr Pierce, although we know that the former was a Leatherseller and the latter a Painter Stainer.

It would be a mistake to think that all masons belonging to other companies were necessarily hostile to the Masons' Company. The books of the Masons' Company show that on 6th July, 1680, William Beard was bound to "Edward Pearce, citizen & Painter Stainer," and the fee of 5s. paid. In 1685 Mr. Fulkes gave £5 towards defraying the charges of obtaining the Masons' new charter,¹ and in 1691 he lent money to the Masons' Company.² It would equally be a mistake to infer from the petition of 1694 that, prior to masons joining other companies in considerable numbers after the Great Fire, the Masons' Company experienced no difficulty in governing the trade. In October, 1664, on the complaint of "the Master and Wardens of the Company of Freemasons London" that divers persons that were free of the said Company were refractory and refused to obey the orders and ordinances of the Company, a warrant was issued at the Old Bailey for their arrest.³

The Act of Common Council having been passed on 11th September, 1694, the Company decided to take a census of masons working in London. This was done on September 26th, 1694; the lengthy list, printed in Appendix C, shows numerous foreigners and members of other companies at work as masons. The Company's next step was to order a copy of the Act of Common Council to be delivered "to all that keep shop & exercise the trade of a mason" within the limits of the Charter. The following November, copies of the Act were sent to 52 companies set out by name⁴ (see Appendix D), but whether all these companies had one or more masons by trade amongst their members we are unable to say. A further search was made in May, 1696, in accordance with an order of the Court dated 14th January, 1695/6.⁵ It will be noted that the record, printed in Appendix E, is much shorter than that of September, 1694, principally because nobody is entered as employed at St. Paul's.⁶

In March, 1696/7, the Court of Assistants passed a resolution calling upon masons working in the city who had not taken up their freedom, though entitled to do so by service, patrimony, or in virtue of the late Act of Common Council, to do so forthwith, and at the same time ordered masters not to employ them until they had taken up their freedom. Several foreigners responded, including Humphrey Highgate, late apprentice to Nathaniel Rawlins, citizen and Haberdasher, and John Mason, late apprentice to Samuel Fulkes, citizen and Haberdasher. In 1697 the Court reported seven masons to the city authorities as working in the city though not free, and in September, 1699, they ordered the arrest of William Robinson (a mason by trade though not of the Company) for

¹ List of Subscriptions in *Court Book* under date 26th October, 1685.

² *Court Book*, 18th October, 1691. Following the entry of Sam. Taylor being admitted and sworn a freeman is written:—

"Memorandum that the money for this freeman was not paid but allowed to Mr Fulkes for money he lent the Company."

³ The Warrant is preserved by the Masons' Company (Box 6, Bundle 46).

⁴ *Court Book*, 1677-94, fo. 169.

⁵ Ordered that the persons who made the last search for this company or any three of them be a committee to repeat the same search and report what defects they found either in stone, workmanship, persons working without being free, persons entitled to their freedom and have not taken it up and all other matters that are proper for this court to take cognizance of.

⁶ To judge by the St. Paul's building accounts, work was going on there more or less as usual in 1696, notwithstanding the financial crisis, and we know no reason why St. Paul's was excluded from this search although included in 1678 and 1694. Perhaps it was included but not recorded separately; in any case, it will be noted that the apprentices of such mason-contractors as Edward Strong, Rawlins, Fulkes and Beauchamp are included in the list without any indication as to where they were employed.

employing Joseph Vincent, a foreigner ("an unfreeman and one that did never serve any apprenticeship to any mason whatsoever"), and likewise of Mr. Baker, a member of the Court, for employing Peter West, a foreigner (an ex-apprentice who had not taken up his freedom). After a little delay, Mr. Robinson made his submission and Mr. Baker paid the necessary 36s. fee for Peter West, who was in due course admitted to the freedom.¹ On the whole, the Court's efforts continued to be crowned with more success than formerly, and various ex-apprentices joined the Company by virtue of the Act of Common Council of 11th September, 1694.

(iii.) The Masons, in their efforts to preserve their monopoly of trade, clashed with the Plasterers, whom they accused of covering up with plaster old and defective stone work in certain public buildings, thereby preventing it from being renewed with wrought stone. In *The Hole Craft*, references to this quarrel are quoted from the *Account Book* for 1623, 1628, 1631, 1637 and 1641.² A little more information can be obtained from an Order about the Plasterers and Masons of 22nd November, 1637, which has been preserved amongst the Company's records.³ In 1637 the Freemasons complained to the Privy Council that, notwithstanding previous orders of his Majesty's Commissioners for Buildings prohibiting plasterers from over-laying rotten and decayed stonework in churches and other public places with lime and hair, the plasterers nevertheless kept on doing it. The matter was referred to Henry Spiller, Kt., Inigo Jones, Surveyor of H.M. Works, Alderman Garreway and Lawrence Whittaker, Commissioners for Buildings. They met at the Guildhall and called before them the Plasterers and Masons. The Masons brought their complaints which were all abundantly and clearly proved. It was also proved on the part of the Plasterers that they had been hired and agreed with by some of the Company of Freemasons who were undertaking the repair "by the great" of the said churches. The referees ordered that no mason or plasterer should undertake to repair any church, chapel or public place, until at least two of H.M. Commissioners for Buildings (of whom Inigo Jones was to be one) had specially directed and given particular order what stonework was to be done in London and within 3 miles from the gates. Thus it would seem that all the fault was not on the side of the Plasterers.

(iv.) References to intermeddling are not frequent. The complaints of the Masons against a carver named Sampson or Simpson, about 1626 or 1628, will be found in Bro. Conder's book and in an extract from the *Repertories of the Court of Aldermen* printed in the Appendix to Bro. Williams's paper.⁴ A much later example occurred in 1697, when the Court decided to prosecute Mr. Richard Theobalds, by trade a carpenter, who had agreed to do the mason's work at the repair of the Church of St. Olave, Southwark.⁵

2. *The search for false work.*

There were two types of false work which it was the business of the Company to try to suppress—bad workmanship and the use of defective materials. So far as we can judge, relatively little attention was devoted to the first type. Bro. Conder⁶ noted one man fined 6s. 8d. "for misdoing his work", two others fined 6s. 8d. each "for faulty workmanship" and one occasion when several were called before a meeting "for defective work." We have come across one other case in the Accounts for 1637, where Richard Bancks was fined

¹ *Court Book* entries of 6th September, 12th October, 18th October, 1699, and 16th January, 1699/1700.

² See *The Mediæval Mason*, 228.

³ Box 6, Bundle 63.

⁴ See *The Mediæval Mason*, 227.

⁵ *Court Book*, 3rd August, 1697.

⁶ *Hole Craft*, 148, 151, 164.

14s. "for faulty workmanship" about the Church of St. Botolph without Aldgate. In going through the *Court Books* from 1677, we found only one definite reference to this type of false work: the Search Committee appointed on 14th January, 1695/6, was ordered to report what defects were found either in stone or workmanship. On the other hand, there are more references to search of stone in the *Court Book*, and the *Account Book* has numerous entries showing that the search of Purbeck, in particular, was a not unsubstantial source of revenue to the Company, thanks to the fact that all stone arriving in London had to be passed before it was taken away,¹ and that the importers concerned had to pay a search fee. The Freemasons' Ordinances of 1509-10² defined the proper length, breadth and thickness of freestone, marblestone and hardstone of Kent, and orders for the Company of Freemasons, 1580,³ lay down special provisions regarding Purbeck stone and Purbeck paving, the use of which was rapidly expanding. Ill-wrought and undersized stones were forfeited and broken by the officials of the Company. Thus, after the general search of November, 1701, which was ordered to be made throughout the trade "for correction of abuses now used therein," it is reported in the *Court Book* that several Reigate stones were broken for being too thin. A few weeks later, presumably as a consequence of the same search, the clerk was ordered to write to various persons, including "the marblers of Swanage" and Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Tobey at Portland, with regard to the badness and undersize of the stones sent by them, and the Company's resolution to break the same whenever they find it.

Another general search was held in 1704, as a result of which a small quantity of stone was broken and one or two workmen were reported for not being free. We have not found the record of any further general search and we are disposed to think that the trade functions of the Company may be regarded as of relatively little importance after the close of the seventeenth century.

CLASSES OF MASONS.

The records of the Masons' Company, as already indicated, generally divide masons into three classes, apart from apprentices, viz., Assistants, Liverymen and Yeomen. They also show that various freemen of other London Companies and numerous "foreigners" were at work as masons in London. Whilst this classification throws light on the mason's status, so far as citizenship and administrative responsibilities are concerned, it tells us very little about their economic position, apart from the probability that a member of the Court of Assistants, or of the Livery, was wealthier than a member of the Yeomanry, or he could never have paid the heavy fines and fees involved on being admitted to the Clothing.

In the Middle Ages masons were generally grouped, according to the operations they performed, into two principal classes—hewers and layers. At the head of each building operation there would be a master mason or a mason contractor, according as the job was being done by "direct labour" or by contract. On the bigger jobs, there was probably an intermediate class of wardens or overseers. For the seventeenth century we can find little or no information which will enable us to divide working masons into hewers and layers.⁴ A working mason is either an apprentice or a journeyman, and we cannot get behind these words to discover exactly what work he did. More light,

¹ E.g., Thomas London was fined 6s. in 1622 "for taking stone unsearched." *Hole Craft*, 149.

² *Letter Book M.*, fols. 168-9. Text printed in Appendix to Bro. Williams, A.Q.C., vol. xlv.

³ *Letter Book Z.*, fol. 57 b. Text printed in Appendix to Bro. Williams.

⁴ According to a Winchester Palace Contract of 1683 the contractors were required to employ so many "masons and setters" and so many "sawyers and labourers." [Wren Society, vii., 37.]

however, is available regarding what we may call the business end of the stone-building industry. The "direct labour" system, so common in the Middle Ages,¹ was rapidly disappearing. The erection² of the Banqueting House in Whitehall in 1619-22 is one of the last cases of its kind with which we are acquainted in London; the contract system was almost universal there in the seventeenth century. If the fourteenth century was the age of great Master Masons and Masters of the Works, such as Walter of Hereford and Henry Yevele, the later seventeenth century was the age of great mason-contractors, such as Joshua Marshall, the Stronges, the Wises and the Kempsters.

In addition to the mason-contractors, on the one hand, and the journeymen and apprentices on the other, three classes of masons—"shopkeepers," stone merchants and overseers—can be distinguished, though the classes are by no means mutually exclusive and some masons discharged more than one function simultaneously. With this reservation in mind, we propose to discuss the London Mason under the six following headings:—(1) "Shopkeepers" including Statuaries; (2) Stone Merchants; (3) Overseers and Foremen; (4) Contractors; (5) Journeymen; (6) Apprentices.

1. "Shopkeepers" and Statuaries.

At a meeting of the Court of Assistants of the Masons' Company held on 17th September, 1686, when every member was taxed towards raising money for the payment of a debt, the following scale was fixed upon:—

For Members of the Court, each	£1.10. 0
For Liverymen	1. 5. 0
For Shopkeepers	0.15. 0
Others of the Yeomanry	0.10. 0

This scale, considered by itself, would seem to imply that "Shopkeepers" were part of the Yeomanry; but we are satisfied from other evidence that members of the Court and of the Livery frequently had shops or yards, whilst Yeomen seldom had. From the Company's point of view, however, they were considered as Assistants or Liverymen and assessed as such at 30/- or 25/-, and only Yeomen keeping shops were treated as "Shopkeepers" assessed at 15/-. For our present purpose, however, we can ignore the Company's classification and turn our attention to all masons who kept shops, regardless of their status in the Company.

In the *Court Book*, immediately before the record of the General Search of April, 1678, there occurs the following entry:—

Money received of several persons upon Account of a search made at their several houses.

Then follows a list of 29 names (see Appendix A) which, on the one hand, includes some names which do not appear in the more comprehensive record of the general search immediately following, *e.g.*, the names of Mr. Strong and Mr. Kempster, and, on the other hand, omits several names, *e.g.*, those of Mr. Latham and Mr. Thompson,³ who do appear in the list of the general search, and were certainly contractors, if not shopkeepers. The majority of the men whose names appear among the twenty-nine were Assistants or Liverymen of the Masons' Company,⁴ a few were members of other companies⁵ and the others we cannot trace. In any case, their names are not in the Lists of Assistants, Liverymen and Yeomen for 1676, nor do they appear to have been admitted to the Company

¹ See *The Mediæval Mason*, chapter iii.

² See *Public Record Office, Declared A/cs.*, No. 3391.

³ For Strong, Kempster, Latham and Thompson see below.

⁴ Wm. Hamond, Thos. Strong, J^{no}. Young, sen., Thos. Cartwright, Thos. Wise, Abraham Story and Wm. Stanton were Assistants; Wm. Payne, Chris. Kempster, J^{no}. ffetich, Rob. Beadles, Peter Powell, Edw. Mitchell, Peter Roberts and Dan. Norris were Liverymen

⁵ Mr Sybert [Cibert] was a Leatherseller. Mr [Nicholas] Lampen a Haberdasher, Mr. [Edw.] Pierce a Painter Stainer.

between 1676 and 1678. We can only conclude, therefore, that they were either freemen of other companies or foreigners.¹ We are not satisfied, however, that all the Assistants and Liverymen included amongst the twenty-nine could be described as "Shopkeepers," although search is stated to have been made at their houses. That might in some cases have been for apprentices, who probably lived with their masters, rather than for workmen actually employed on the premises. Thus we doubt whether either Thomas Strong or Christopher Kempster kept a "shop" in London, though there is some ground for thinking that "St. Bennet Pauls Wharfe" listed in the search was Thomas Strong's wharf,² in which case, as two masons were apparently employed there, some stone may have been dressed at the wharf.

Whilst we can trace no Yeoman of the Company amongst the twenty-nine, we have found two who were apparently "Shopkeepers" when the general search was made in 1678, viz., Mr. Robert Smith,³ and Mr. Latham,⁴ the former of whom employed one man and the latter three. To judge by the Search of 1678, the biggest establishment, as distinct from a contracting job, appears to have been that of Mr. Stanton, at whose "house and yard" nine men were employed. In the search of 1694 (Appendix C) eight men were employed "at

¹ The "Mr Kerne" at whose house a search was made on 16th April was presumably the same as the Mr Andrew Kerne, who was one of the foreigners appearing before the Court on 25th April. Andrew Kerne, a German sculptor [then written Andreas Kearnes], married Nicholas Stone's sister in 1627 and did some work for Stone. In the *Masons' Account Book* for 1628-29, under the heading 'old debts,' there is an entry "Andreas Kerne, iiii. s. vid.," which presumably represented arrears of a foreign mason's contributions to the Common-box. It is not inconceivable that the "Mr Kerne" was the same man, though he would be over 70 in 1678. He might be a son, though the only son who has been traced was named Thomas (see Spiers, *Nicholas Stone*, 31). The "Mr Mathews" at whose house a search was made was very possibly the "Mr Mathews, Londoner" to whose rates for Ketton stone Sir Roger Pratt refers in a memorandum of July, 1663. (Gunther, 223.)

² In July, 1691, when Edward Strong jun. was apprenticed to his father, Edward Strong sen. is described as mason and citizen of London of Bennet Pauls Wharfe, and it is likely that he succeeded to his brother Thomas's wharf as well as to his contracts at the time of his death. On the other hand, Thomas Strong is said to have begun the church of St. Bennet, Paul's Wharf, in 1677 (Clutterbuck i., 168 n.), so that it may be the church which is referred to in the search.

³ Robert Smith, son of Luke Smith of East Greenwich, Kent, gentleman, was apprenticed to Abraham Story 10th January, 1664/5, and made free 16th January, 1671/2. His name appears in the Yeomanry List of 1676 and in the Assistants List of 1696. The search of 1694 (Appendix C.) shows that Mr. Robert Smith in Pell Mell employed two apprentices and four journeymen. At the search of 1696 (Appendix E) he had two apprentices and three journeymen. His name appears in the Assistants List of 1698 with 'mort' behind it.

⁴ Jasper Latham [Latham], whose name appears in the Yeomanry List of 1663, still belonged to that grade in the spring of 1678, as it was not until October, 1678, that, at his own request, he came on to the Livery and Court of Assistants. He was the mason-contractor at the rebuilding of St. Mildred, Poultry, 1670-79, receiving £2,910 in cash and Portland stone to the value of £324 in part payment. (Weaver, 18.) In the 1680's he was one of the mason-contractors at St. Paul's. (Halley, 57.) E. Beresford Chancellor (*Lives of the British Sculptors*, 71) describes him as "an obscure sculptor" who executed work at Wilton and erected a white marble monument (in conjunction with one Boune) in Croydon Church to Archbishop Sheldon (died 1667). (His authority is Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, where it is stated the monument was "by Latham, the City Architect, and Boune.") An apprentice named Jas. Burne, son of Thos. Burne, of Madeley, Staffordshire, mason, was bound to Latham on 29th July, 1668, and it is possible that he, or his father, was the 'Boune' of the Sheldon monument. Latham was Warden of the Masons' Company in 1689, and an apprentice was bound to him on June 25th of that year. He is said to have died about 1690. (Halley, 58.) It is conceivable that he was the Jasper Latham apprenticed to James Gilder in 1620-21, but is more likely to have been a son of that Jasper. On the other hand, notwithstanding an apprentice being bound to him in 1689, it is possible that he was Gilder's late apprentice, and consequently over 80 years of age in 1689, for Wren in January, 1689/90 "objects against Mr Latham for a madman" in connection with a certificate relating to some new building at Hampton Court. (*Cal. Treasury Books*, 1689-92, p. 355.) If this was our Jasper Latham as we think probable, possibly his faculties were by then impaired, although previously he had worked as a mason-contractor under Wren at St. Paul's and at St. Mildred's Poultry.

Mr Stanton's shop in Holborn," so that he was still one of the biggest men, if not the biggest man, in his line.¹ Other "Shopkeepers" in 1678 were Abraham Story² who employed eight men, Mr. Pierce³ and Mr. Sybert³ who employed five men each, Mr. Thompson³ four men, Mr. Wyman three men, Mr. Tuffnell and Mr. Edgerly two men each, besides several who employed one man each. The List of the Search has been so printed in Appendix A as to reproduce, as nearly as possible, the lay-out as it appears in the *Court Book*—apart from certain foot-notes which we have added by way of explanation. The same is true of the List relating to the Search of September, 1694 (Appendix C) and the Search of May, 1696 (Appendix E). Exactly how some of the lines are to be read, we cannot say with certainty. We have re-examined the original when in doubt, but would not like to assert that our interpretation is always correct.

¹ Most information concerning the three generations of Stantons connected with the Masons' Company is contained in Mrs. Esdaile's paper, "The Stantons of Holborn," *Arch. Journal*, vol. 85, 1928. In particular, she has utilised the *Stanton MS.* written by Edward Stanton, preserved among John Le Neve's MSS. (B.M. Harl. MSS. 3605-16) which served as a basis for his *Monumenta Anglicana*. We rely chiefly on Mrs. Esdaile, supplemented by the Masons' Company records and Wren Soc., x. and xi.

Thomas Stanton, late apprentice of Christopher Kingsfield, was made free of the Masons' Company 1st February, 1630/1; he was Warden in 1658 and Master in 1660. He was a monumental mason, his best known work probably being a tomb, for Dame Jane Bacon, erected in Culford Church, Suffolk, in 1657-8, for which he received £300 [*Hist. MSS. Comm. Verulam MSS.*, p. 54]. He died 24th May, 1674, at the age of 64.

William Stanton, born 6th April, 1639, son of Edward Stanton, was apprenticed to his uncle, Thomas Stanton, and was made free of the Masons' Company on 30th June, 1663. He was admitted to the Livery on 22nd June, 1668, and to the Court of Assistants during the year 1674-75. He was Warden in 1681 and 1684, and Master in 1688 and 1689. He erected numerous monuments and mural tablets. Some of his letters regarding the Hatton monuments are preserved in the B.M. and are printed by Mrs. Esdaile. His agreement to erect the Sherburne altar tombs, for £253, is printed in Whitaker, *History of Whalley*. In the 1680's he was the mason-contractor at the building of Belton House, near Gainsborough, for which he received £4,921.6.6. [*cf. Lady Elizabeth Cust, Records of the Cust Family, Second Series*, 1909, p. 145]. He was associated with Edward Pierce in the mason's contract of 1684 for rebuilding St. Andrew's Holborn for a sum of £4,050 [Wren Soc., x., 95-98]. At the time of the 1696 Search (Appendix E) he appears to have employed only three apprentices. He died 30th May, 1705.

Edward Stanton was apprenticed to his father, William Stanton, 19th June, 1694, and was made free of the Masons' Company 15th June, 1702. He was Warden in 1713 and 1716 and Master in 1719. In the ten years after his father's death, in 1705, he produced over 140 monuments, according to his own statement incorporated in Le Neve, so that the shop in Holborn must have been exceedingly busy. That continued to be his place of business for many years, for when his second wife died, in 1730, the *St. James' Evening Post* referred to him as "Mr. Stanton, a great stone-cutter by St. Andrew's Church, Holborn." Like his father, he executed masonry contracts in addition to his monumental work, being masonry contractor at Westminster Abbey and at Westminster School at various dates between 1722 and 1733 [Wren Soc., xi., 28, 30, 43, 44]. His first wife, who died in October, 1712, was a daughter of Samuel Fulkes (see below). He was still alive in 1737.

² Abraham Story worked at London Bridge in October, 1652, at a wage of 18d. a day, which was the rate commonly paid in respect of an apprentice, so that it is not improbable that he was bound to Henry Wilson, the chief bridge mason. He was admitted to the Livery of the Masons' Company in 1662-3. In the same year he received £39 for stone supplied to St. James's Palace. (*Harl. MS.*, 1657.) He was paid £2,884 for the masons' work at St. Edmund the King, 1670-79, and £1,632 for the masons' work at St. Peter's, Cornhill, 1677-87. [Weaver.] He apparently had a contract at St. Paul's in April, 1678, as the search of April 22nd (Appendix A.) shows that he was employing 20 men there. We have failed to trace his name in the *St. Paul's Accounts* for 1677-78, and think it likely that he was acting on behalf of Joshua Marshall's executors, Marshall having died on April 16th. Subsequently Edward Pierce took over Marshall's work [Halley], but at least until September, 1678, Marshall's executors were paid for materials and workmanship at St. Paul's, and Abraham Story may well have been their deputy or overseer. Story was Warden of the Masons' Company in 1673 and 1677 and Master in 1680. He died about 1696. [*Quarterage Book.*]

³ For Pierce, Sybert and Thompson, see below.

Unfortunately, not very much information is available concerning the character of the work executed in the masons' "shops." If the "shopkeepers" took building contracts, some of the necessary stonework may well have been prepared in the shops; there was probably also a market in dressed stones of standard sizes, as well as a demand for more elaborate finished articles such as chimney-pieces and monuments. The Marblers' Company having been merged in the Freemasons' Company in 1585¹ some of the leading tomb makers and statuary were undoubtedly members of the Masons' Company in the seventeenth century and no hard and fast line, apparently, was drawn between masons on the one hand and sculptors and statuary on the other. A leading sculptor such as Nicholas Stone more than once acted as master mason, whilst Edward Pierce, like Jasper Latham, combined a large business as a building-contractor with his work as statuary, and the same was true of Joshua Marshall.

Although Nicholas Stone, as a very prominent sculptor and tomb maker in the first half of the seventeenth century, can hardly be regarded as typical of his class,² yet his career is deserving of study on account of the light it throws on the organisation of the mason's trade during the period.³ His first important contract after he had established himself in Long Acre in 1613 was in June, 1614, and during the next twenty-seven or twenty-eight years he executed and erected numerous monuments, tombs, tablets, chimneypieces, etc., in various parts of the country.⁴ In one of his earliest commissions, the Northampton monument in Dover Castle, for which he received £500, he took Isaac James, his former master, as partner; in the same year, 1615, he collaborated with "Mr. Janson of Southwork" in setting up for £400 a tomb for Mr. Sutton in the Chapel of the Charterhouse. These are the only cases of partnership or collaboration which we have traced; at a later period Stone made not infrequent use of sub-contractors for part of his work, but there can really be no question that throughout his active career as "carver and tomb-maker" (to quote his description from an agreement of 1628) he must have employed various apprentices and journeymen in his shop in Long Acre to do the bulk of his work. He appears to have had two apprentices

¹ *Letter Book, etc.*, fol. 57, printed in Appendix to Bro. Williams.

² Edward Marshall (see below), another prominent tomb-maker who was some ten years Stone's junior, also had a large practice (see *D.N.B.*), but so far as we are aware, less is known about his transactions, and we can form no opinion as to the relative importance of the undertakings of Stone and Marshall.

³ His *Note Book* enumerating the monuments and other work which he did from 1614 to 1641 and his *Account Book* giving financial and other information from 1631 to 1642, have been printed by the Walpole Society (vol. vii., 1919) with an introduction and notes by W. L. Spiers. This volume is our chief source of information concerning him. We have also referred to the Masons' Company's records, Mrs. Esdaile's article on him in *The Architect*, 8th July, 1921, and Bro. Williams' paper *The King's Master Masons* in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliii., 110 *seq.*

Nicholas Stone is said to have been born at Woodbury, near Exeter, in 1586. He served two years of his apprenticeship and one year as journeyman with Isaac James, a London monumental mason, to whom he had presumably been "turned over" from some other London mason. From 1607 to 1613 he worked in Amsterdam with Hendrik de Keyser, whose daughter he married in April, 1613. In the civil marriage register he is described as Nicholas Stone of Exeter, England, sculptor; his father's consent was attested by the Vicar of Sidbury, Devon. This association with Sidbury, together with the fact that at least two of his apprentices came from Sidbury, suggests to us the possibility that he was born at Sidbury, and not at Woodbury, where the researches of Mr. Spiers have not led to any very satisfactory confirmation of George Vertue's statement about his place and date of birth. Shortly after his wedding he returned to London and took premises in Long Acre. In order to set up in trade he probably at once took up his freedom of the Masons' Company; in any case, in a receipt of 2nd November, 1615, he is described as citizen and freemason of London. The fact that one of his apprentices, John Spicer, was admitted to the freedom of the Company in 1622-23 points to Stone being a member of the Company by 1613, or at the latest by 1614, as otherwise he would have had one apprentice too many in 1620. He was Warden in 1627 and 1630 and served as Master in 1633 and 1634. His active career as a mason appears to have ceased about 1642, and he died in 1647.

⁴ A complete list, arranged geographically, will be found in Spiers, 148-150.

from 1620 onwards (to which he would be entitled as a Liveryman) and three apprentices from 1630 onwards, for some years at least (to which he would be entitled when he had served the office of Warden twice). In the Company's books, we can partly trace ten of his apprentices between 1619 and 1638, and to judge by the dates of their indentures it would seem possible that about 1630 he had five at once. As the Masons' Ordinances of 1521,¹ provided that a mason who had twice served the office of Warden was entitled to three apprentices but no more, the presumption is that two of the five apprentices in question had died, or had their indentures cancelled, or had been "turned over" to some other master.² The only evidence we have regarding the extent of his staff in Long Acre is that provided by his will³ made in January, 1640/1, when he was no longer as busy as he had been. By that will, he gave to his servants, Robert Parke,⁴ Thomas Morlin,⁵ Anthonie Ellis,⁶ Esias Usher,⁷ 20s. each and to every other servant 2s. 6d. each at the discretion of his wife. He also gave to Nicholas Hill,⁸ "my poor boy servant and godchild," £10 to be paid him at the expiration of his apprenticeship, provided he served out his time faithfully and well. Thus at the beginning of 1641, Nicholas Stone had a staff of at least five, of whom we know for certain that two were apprentices.

With regard to his having work done for him by sub-contract, his Account Book contains various agreements of this nature. During the period 1632-42 he contracted for Humphrey Mayer⁹ [Moyer] to finish an effigy, for Anthony Goor¹⁰ and Harry Ackers¹¹ to carve cornerstones and achievements, for Richard

¹ *Letter Book N.*, fols. 175 b, seq., printed in *The Mediæval Mason*, 256-8.

² E.g., one of the five was John Netherclyffe, son of John Netherclyffe, late of the city of Westminster, Bricklayer, deceased, bound to Nicholas Stone 10th October, 1626, for seven years from Christmas then following. In his case we are disposed to think that the indentures were cancelled after a probationary period, as on 24th June, 1627, John Nethercliffe, son of John Nethercliffe late of the Parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, County Middlesex, Bricklayer, was apprenticed to John Lea for seven years, and it was John Nethercliffe, late apprentice of John Lea, who was admitted to the freedom on 3rd July, 1634.

³ Printed in *Spiers*, 144-147.

⁴ We are disposed to think that Robert Parke was the same as Robert Pooke, whose name occurs frequently in Stone's Account Book from 1632 onwards as a man with whom Stone entered into agreements or bargains. We cannot trace the name of either Parke or Pooke in the Company's records, but that is no proof that he was not a member, as the records are very imperfect from 1619 to 1663.

⁵ We know nothing of Morlin, but assume he was a journeyman as his name appears before that of the apprentice Ellis.

⁶ Anthony Ellis was apprenticed to Nicholas Stone in 1634-35. He was a witness to agreements of Stone in 1638 and 1639 and to his will in 1640/1. He was in the employ of John Stone about 1652 after the death of Nicholas Stone. When the *Quarterage Book* opens in 1663, we find him a member of the Yeomanry. Thomas Vaughan was bound to him as apprentice on 6th February, 1663/4. He was invited to join the Clothing in September, 1667, but apparently did not accept, as his name continues to appear amongst the Yeomanry until 1671, when the word "dead" is written behind it.

⁷ We cannot trace Usher, but as his name appears last, after that of the apprentice Ellis, we are disposed to think that he also was an apprentice.

⁸ We think it not unlikely that Nicholas Hill was the same as John Hill, son of Christopher Hill, late of Siseter, Gloucestershire, husbandman, who was bound to Nicholas Stone on 4th July, 1638, for eight years from the previous Christmas. The name Nicholas Hill appears in the *Quarterage Book* amongst the Livery in 1663, 1664 and 1665, "dead" being written behind his name in 1665.

⁹ Humphrey Mayer, late apprentice of Thos. Kingfield, was admitted to the freedom of the Masons' Company in January, 1626/7, and to the Livery in 1633-34. He was Warden in 1645 and 1649 and Master in 1653. He apparently died before 1663, as his name does not appear in the *Quarterage Book* commencing that year.

¹⁰ Anthony Goor [Gower, Goar, Gore] owed a debt of 11s. to the Masons' Company in 1621-22 and of 5s. in 1624-25, in which year Charles Taylor, son of Henry Taylor, was apprenticed to him. An un-named apprentice was bound to him in 1636-37.

¹¹ Ackers we cannot trace.

White¹ to carve one effigy and John Hargrave² two effigies, for Jan Schoerman³ to carve an achievement, for Andrew Kerne⁴ to carve two figures, and for Robert Flower⁵ on several occasions to polish marble. Most of the bargains and agreements were with Robert Pooke for working, polishing, or setting up masonry, and we feel that he was in a different position from those previously mentioned to whom work was given out only on odd occasions; we are disposed to think that Pooke was regularly employed by Stone, being sometimes by agreement paid piece wages of so much per foot for polishing, or task wages of so much per tomb for setting up a monument, frequently at a considerable distance from London. We think he was probably the same as the Robert Parke described as one of his servants in his will.

Nicholas Stone's activities were by no means limited to the tomb-making and carving business in Long Acre. He served from 1619 to 1622 as master mason under Inigo Jones at the erection of the Banqueting House in Whitehall, and probably in the same capacity under the same architect at the erection of the portico at the West End of Old St. Paul's in 1633. He acted as architect or surveyor at the erection of three gateways to the Physic Garden, Oxford, in 1632-33, at the building of Cornbury House, Oxfordshire, in 1632-33, where Timothy Strong, of Little Barrington and Taynton, was probably the mason-contractor,⁶ and at the rebuilding of the Goldsmith's Hall, London, in 1634. In 1626 he was appointed Master Mason and Architect for Windsor Castle, and in 1632 he was further appointed Master Mason to the Tower and other places in England. As King's Master Mason he supplied stone to Windsor Castle and executed certain works there as well as others at Somerset House, Oatlands and Greenwich. When carrying out work at these royal residences, and at Oxford and Cornbury, he appears to have employed his cousin Gabriel Stacey either to supervise the work for which he was responsible, or occasionally to execute the work as a sub-contractor. Thus, like some distinguished predecessors and successors, he managed by one means or another to fulfil several functions at the same time.

At Nicholas Stone's death in 1647, the trade and premises in Long Acre were inherited by his sons Henry Stone (died 1653) and John Stone (died 1667), and they provide us with an example of how the sculptor's profession could be sufficiently commercialised to be conducted by persons who were not brought up to the business, Henry Stone having been trained as a painter and John Stone having been educated for the Church. John Stone, who supplied various monuments between 1653 and 1660, appears to have employed Anthony Ellis, his father's former apprentice, as a workman and C. G. Cibber,⁷ the sculptor, as his foreman. On one occasion at least, in 1652, Henry and John Stone employed Thomas Burman⁸ to finish some work for them.

¹ Richard White was bound apprentice to Nicholas Stone in 1629-30. We cannot trace when he became free (no names are given in the *Account Book* for 1637-38), but he was doubtless out of his time when in October, 1638, he agreed to carve a lady in white marble for £15. His name appears amongst the Yeomanry in the lists of 1663, 1664 and 1665, with "dead" behind it in 1665.

² Hargrave we cannot trace.

³ Said, on authority of George Vertue, to have been born at Embden in the Low Countries and to have executed certain monuments in England. (Spiers, 34.)

⁴ Andrew Kerne [Andreas Kerne] a German sculptor who married Stone's sister; executed some work in England. (Spiers, 34.)

⁵ Robert Flower was not a member of the Masons' Company if we may judge by the following item from the Company's books:—

Bernard Flower, son of Robert Flower of the Parish of St. Martin's in the fields, Co. Middlesex, "pollisher," apprenticed for 6 years from 14 Oct. 1638 to Robert Gardiner.

⁶ Clutterbuck. *History of Hertford*, i., 167 n. Timothy Strong was the grandfather of Thomas and Edward Strong (see below).

⁷ See below.

⁸ Thomas Burman was bound apprentice to Edward Marshall in 1632-33. His name appears amongst the Livery from 1663 to 1671. John Bushnell, the sculptor, is said to have been his pupil. He died on March 17th, 1673/4, aged 56 years. (Spiers, 27.)

After the death of John Stone in 1667, Cibber¹ became his own master, and one of his first steps appears to have been to become a Liveryman of the Leathersellers' Company in 1668, presumably in order to acquire the freedom of the city² and the right to carry on his trade, as it is doubtful whether a sculptor would be covered by the Statute for the Rebuilding of London. Why he chose the Leathersellers when his former master John Stone had been a Liveryman of the Masons' Company, we do not know. As a mason-sculptor he executed various works in London, *e.g.*, on the Fire Monument, at the Royal Exchange, at St. Paul's, and in different parts of the country, *e.g.*, at Cambridge, Chatsworth and Hampton Court. In 1693 he was appointed Sculptor in Ordinary to the King, but, however distinguished he might be as an artist, it would be a mistake to think of him as a sculptor working at his profession in his studio; there can be no question that he employed journeymen and kept a "shop" as Nicholas Stone had done before him, but with considerably less financial success, as he was frequently in monetary difficulties, making various and prolonged visits to the debtors' prison at Marshalsea in Southwark. The only definite picture we get of his shop is at the general search of April, 1678. Cibber [written Sybert in the *Court Book*] was then employing five men, of whom two definitely, and all possibly, were aliens: Salvator Musco, "an Italian," Henry de Young, "a Dutchman," James Berger, *alias* Sheppard, Michel Losnitz and Hinrich Brochamp. Three years later, when he was at work on the statues for Trinity College, Cambridge, two sums of £5.18.11 and £12.3.3 were spent for the keep of Mr. Gabriel Cibber and his men,³ but there is nothing to show how many journeymen he employed. On the other hand, so far as we know, his work was limited to carving and statuary and he undertook no general masonry work. In that respect, he differed from five other seventeenth century sculptors, Nicholas Stone, Joshua Marshall, William Stanton, Jasper Latham and Edward Pierce. The only occasion on which he appears to have forsaken sculpture, so far as we are aware, was when he acted as architect for the Danish Church in Wellclose Square in 1694.

Edward Pierce [Pearce]⁴ as a sculptor is best known for his portrait busts, and, so far as we are aware, he did not execute any of the large decorated tombs which were so fashionable in his day. Nevertheless, he appears to have

¹ Our chief source of information is Harald Faber, *Caius Gabriel Cibber, 1630-1700, His Life and Work*.

Caius Gabriel Cibber [Cibbert, Cibert] was the son of a Danish cabinet maker and was born at Flensborg, Slesvig, in 1630. Having probably worked as a boy with his father, he was sent as a youth of seventeen to Italy, where he studied for several years. Thence he appears to have travelled to Holland and came into contact with Peter de Keyser, the sculptor and architect, and brother-in-law of John Stone. Thus he probably came in touch with John Stone, in whose shop in Long Acre he worked first as a journeyman and then as foreman. It is not known definitely when he reached London, but it was some time before the Restoration. His independent career as a mason-sculptor lasted from 1667 till his death in 1700. He was the father of Colley Cibber.

² In a legal document of 1673 he is described as a citizen and Leatherseller of the City of London.

³ Willis and Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, ii., 542 n.

⁴ See Mrs. Rachel Poole, *Edward Pierce the Sculptor*, Walpole Society, vol. xi., 1922-23, and Mrs. Esdaile's article in *The Architect*, 2nd September, 1921.

Edward Pierce, born about 1630, was the son of Edward Pierce senior, a painter of decorative designs for ceilings and a member of the Painter Stainers' Company. Nothing is known as to how, or from whom, he learnt his art. He was "chosen of the Livery" of the Painter Stainers' Company in 1668, not having previously been a member. Mrs. Poole states that he died in March, 1694/5; Mrs. Esdaile that he died in 1698, a date apparently accepted by the Editors of the Wren Society. (See frontispiece of vol. x.) We feel doubtful whether he could have died in March, 1694/5, because in an entry in the Masons' *Freedom Book* under date of 8th July, 1695, when Wm. Ives, a former apprentice of Pierce, was admitted to the freedom, Edward Pierce is described as "citizen and painter stainer of London," and not as "late citizen and painter stainer of London deceased," as would normally have been the case were he already dead.

employed four men at his house in 1694,¹ so that he had quite a substantial shop, apart from which he was responsible, either independently or in partnership, for several not inconsiderable masonry contracts.² Of all this work the only part which seems definitely to have been carving was that at Hampton Court. In all the other cases he appears to have been the building contractor for the masonry.

2. Stone Merchants.

Various kinds of stone were used in London in the seventeenth century. The tomb-makers, if we may judge by Nicholas Stone, used alabaster (doubtless obtained from Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire), various kinds of marble (including statuary marble probably procured from Italy and black marble or Touch, shipped from Amsterdam), and, in a few instances, freestone. For his domestic work, as distinct from his monuments, Nicholas Stone used black and white marbles, Purbeck marble, Portland stone, Taynton and Headington stones from Oxfordshire, Reigate stone from Surrey, Ketton stone from Rutland and Kentish stone.³ Most of Cibber's works are in freestone or Portland stone.⁴

As far as general masonry is concerned, there can be no question that large amounts of Purbeck stone and Purbeck paving were being imported into London in the seventeenth century. This stone had become so popular in the later sixteenth century as to necessitate special regulations being approved in 1580,⁵ whilst the "search of Purbeck" was so important from a financial point of view as to be entered separately in the *Masons' Account Book*, even though details were not always given. For the 1650's, however, particulars are available, and they show that a Mr. Henry Wilson⁶ was the principal dealer in Purbeck stone. In the eleven years from 1650-51 to 1660-61 inclusive, the Company received no less than £58.17.8⁷ in search fees from Henry Wilson, which, at the rate of

¹ See General Search of September, 1694, Appendix C.

² He worked on the Guildhall 1671-73 (£662) [*Guildhall Lib. MS.*, 184], St. Lawrence Jewry 1671-81 (£7,586) and St. Matthew, Friday Street, 1682-87 (£710) [Weaver], built the stone-work of St. Clement Danes 1680-82, in partnership with John Shorthose (£3,200 [Wren Society, x., 108], erected St. Andrew's Holborn, 1684, in partnership with William Stanton (£4,050) [Wren Society, x., 95], held mason's contracts for South side of St. Paul's from about 1679 to 1690 [Halley, 57, 58], and did various items of carving at Hampton Court Gardens in the early 1690's (£2,003) [Wren Society, iv., 32.]

³ Spiers, 18.

⁴ Faber, 41.

⁵ *Letter-Book Z.*, fol. 57 b, printed in Appendix to paper of Bro. Williams.

⁶ Henry Wilson was apprenticed to William Wilson (Master in 1625-26) in 1619-20, was admitted to the freedom on 22nd January, 1626/7, and to the Livery in 1631. He was Warden in 1642 and 1647 and Master in 1649 and 1655. He died during the year 1660-61, as is shown in the *Account Book*. In addition to his business as stone merchant he was chief mason at London Bridge, in any case in the later years of his life. The Bridge Accounts show that he held that position from the opening of the Accounts on October 9th, 1652, until 16th February, 1660-61, his normal remuneration being 11/- a week plus a quarterly fee of 20/-. The Accounts show that his apprentice Thos. Knight (free 12th November, 1663) commenced working with him at the Bridge in the week ending 18th October, 1656, the value of his services at that time being reckoned as 1s. 6d. per day. At the opening of the Account, a W^m. Hamon was one of the masons at the Bridge at 1s. 6d. per day, and we think it not unlikely that he was a previous apprentice whom as W^m. Hammond we find as a prominent stone merchant in 1680. (See below.) On one occasion, at least, Wilson acted as masonry contractor, succeeding Thomas Kifford, on the latter's death in 1635 or 1636, at the repair of St. Christopher's Church, being paid £123 for completing the work. [E. Freshfield, *Accomptes of the Churchwardens of the Paryshe of St. Christofer's in London*, 1575 to 1662, pp. 80, 82.]

⁷ The yearly sums were as follows:—

1650-51:	£4. 2. 0	1655-56:	£4.16. 0
1651-52:	4.12. 0	1656-57:	6.14. 4
1652-53:	6.11. 0	1657-58:	6.13. 4
1653-54:	3.13. 4	1658-59:	5.16. 8
1654-55:	7.19. 0	1659-60:	no entry
1660-61:	£8. 0. 0		

4d. per 100 ft. charged for the search, is equivalent to 353.300 ft., or something over 32,000 ft. per annum. During the same period the whole of the remaining receipts in respect of the search of Purbeck amounted to £6.1.2¹ equivalent to 24,350 ft. or some 2,000 ft. per annum. That Mr. Henry Wilson also dealt in Portland stone is shown by some entries made by Nicholas Stone, junior, in his Diary.² On 13th November, 1646, he writes that Mr. Henry Wilson of Petticoat Lane had shipped 30 tons of Portland stone to Amsterdam, to his uncle Hendrik de Keyser, and that he was to have a third part of the profit. Between March and June, 1647, Stone acted as agent between Wilson and Mr. Harris, church warden of St. Martin's in the Fields parish, for the delivery of Portland and Purbeck stone at the church, his commission apparently being 4d. per foot.³ Mention must also be made of one other activity of Henry Wilson, namely, his position as Master Mason at London Bridge, probably an advisory post at this period, which he held for several years immediately prior to his death.

For general purposes, Portland stone must have been much more important than Purbeck, and part of a memorandum on the subject by Sir Roger Pratt, the architect, dated 10th July, 1663, may be quoted⁴ :—

Mem. concerning Portland stone from Mr Gibbs quarry.

The king is lord of the soil there. Each servant pays him 3d. an acre yearly for quit rent. Each ton of stone which is carried from there pays 12d. viz. 6d. to the constable of the island and 6d. to the steward.

In the time of Inigo Jones, and so now, stone is prohibited to be exported from there without the licence of the king's surveyor under the pretences of spoiling the piece there and of enhancing the price of the stone.

Stone there of 3 several quarries, the one full of shells which are so sharp and hard that they spoil all tools. One other of a softer and browner stone. A third called the king's quarry which is the hardest greatest and whitest stone, which is likewise the best.

Stone in the island about 10d. per foot solid put on board ship in blocks. Portage to London about 8s. per ton⁵ in vessels from Weymouth, he standing to all hazards. Served unto the freemasons ordinarily at 20s. the ton, sometimes 22s. or 24s. Ashlar thick from 7 inches to 10. Delivered in London at 12d. per foot.

Masons in Chilmarke Thomas Swite, Richard Masy.

In Portland Christopher Gibbs, Switzer overseer for the king there, etc.

¹ The details are as follows:—Mr. Ben Richardson 6s., Mr. Richardson and Mr. Cartwright 7s. 8d., Mr. Switzer £2.3.6, Mr. Drewe, £2.1.0, Mr. Drewe and Mr. Switzer 16s., Robert Bridges 7s. For [Thomas] Cartwright and [Stephen] Switzer, see below. [William] Drew, made free in 1639-40, an Assistant from 1663 (or earlier) to 1667, was probably the 'W^m. Drew the mason' who was paid sums of £50 and £52 about 1664 for work done at Lincoln's Inn. (*Black Books of Lincoln's Inn*, iii., 42, 52.) Ben. Richardson was an Assistant from 1663 (or earlier) to 1676-7, when he died. Bridges we cannot trace.

² Printed in Walpole Society, vol. vii. (Ed. W. L. Spiers).

³ Spiers, 25. We think 4d. per ton is much more probable.

⁴ Gunther, 219, 221.

⁵ A loose foolscap sheet headed "Greenwich May 1669" found amongst the Winchester Palace MSS. (Wren Society, vii., 25) states that Portland block is calculated 16 ft. to a ton and Portland ashlar 25 ft. to a ton.

Of Christopher Gibbs we know very little,¹ except what is stated by Sir Roger Pratt, but the name Switzer has a definite interest for us. One of the minor importers of Purbeck stone into London during the 1650's was named Switzer.² He, we have no doubt, was Stephen Switzer³; it is possible that he was also overseer for the king at Portland, but we think it unlikely, both on account of his stone-dealing activities in London and because in 1664-66 he was the mason employed at the erection of Clarendon House, Piccadilly.⁴ He was also being paid in the autumn of 1664 for sawing Portland stone at Greenwich.⁵ On the other hand, there is another reason for thinking that Stephen Switzer had close connections with Portland, apart from a man of the same unusual name being the king's overseer at the quarries there, namely, the fact that he twice took an apprentice from the Isle of Portland: Thomas Gilbert in 1664 and Nicholas Mitchell⁶ in 1668.

Thomas Gilbert⁷ was probably the largest purveyor of Portland stone during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. For many years he was in partnership with Thomas Wise, junior⁸; we find them supplying Portland stone to St. Paul's in 1678⁹ to Winchester Palace in 1683,¹⁰ to St. Paul's in 1685¹¹ and to Hampton Court in 1690.¹² During all that period Gilbert was a member of the London Masons' Company, and Thomas Wise, junior, was a member from 1684 onwards. In the *St. Paul's Accounts* of 1685-86 they are at least once referred to as "Thomas Gilbert, mason, and Thomas Wise, mason." In the Winchester Contract of 1683 they are described as "Thos Wise jun and Thos Gilbert of the Isle of Portland," so presumably were both resident there at that date, but from 1684 onwards Wise must have resided in London, as he became chief mason at London Bridge in that year. We have not traced when the partnership ceased, but the *St. Paul's Accounts* for 1693-94 show the purchases of Portland stone as made from Thomas Gilbert alone. On various occasions Gilbert was paid for repairing the ways, piers, carts and cranes in the Isle of Portland, e.g., £36.2.4 in 1685-86 and £29.8.5 in 1692-93, and on one occasion he was allowed £40 for loss of Portland stone at sea.¹³ To judge by the accounts we examined, Thomas Gilbert, either in partnership with Wise or alone, was by far the most important purveyor of Portland stone at St. Paul's, and some of the Beer stone was also purchased from him. After his death the business was

¹ Christopher Gibbs and Robert Atwell "quarrymen of Portland" were paid considerable sums for Portland stone in 1664 in connection with the Royal Works at Greenwich. *B.M. Harl. MS.*, 1618.

² See above.

³ Stephen Switzer was apprenticed to Guy Glandinning in 1631-32. The date of his admission to the freedom of the Company we cannot trace, but he was admitted to the Livery in 1649-50, was Warden in 1660 and 1663-64 and Master in 1665-66. The word 'dead' appears behind his name in the *Quartermage Book* in 1669.

⁴ Gunther, 146, 155, 163.

⁵ *B.M. Harl. MS.*, 1618.

⁶ Son of Robert Mitchell, of the Isle of Portland, mason.

⁷ Thomas Gilbert, son of Richard Gilbert of the Isle of Portland, Dorset. Yeoman, was apprenticed to Stephen Switzer on 24th June, 1664, was admitted to the freedom 29th June, 1671, and to the Livery on 29th October, 1672. The promptness with which he was admitted to the Livery suggests that he stepped into, rather than built up for himself, an established position, which we surmise was that of the family stone dealing business at Portland. He died at some date between 12th October, 1693, and 8th December, 1696.

⁸ See below.

⁹ *St. Paul's Accounts*.

¹⁰ Wren Society, vii., 32.

¹¹ *St. Paul's Accounts*.

¹² Wren Society, iv., 44.

¹³ *Account of re-building . . . St. Paul's . . . A.Q.C.*, xvii., 113.

doubtless carried on by his sons Thomas Gilbert, junior,¹ and John Gilbert,² both Liverymen of the Masons' Company. Thomas Gilbert, senior, was undoubtedly a "citizen and mason of London", though perhaps he can hardly be described as a London mason in the ordinary sense.

Some indication of the varieties of stone used in London after the Great Fire, and of their relative importance, can be obtained from the "Accounts of Rebuilding the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London",³ which show that the amount of stone purchased from the time when the ground was cleared in 1674 until September 29th, 1700 (when the dome still remained to be erected) was as follows:—

50,332 tons of Portland	£28,065.16. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$
freight do.	28,951. 2. 8
25,753 $\frac{3}{4}$ tons of other stone, viz.	
Burford & Headington in Oxfordshire	
Beer, Cane [Caen], Rygate, Ketton,	
Tadcaster & Guildford	39,101.11. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<hr/>
	96,118.10.10

In addition, marble and Purbeck paving to the value of £3,642.9.8 and 5,587 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons of "chalk instead of rubble," 498 $\frac{1}{2}$ tons of Kentish Hassock and Rubble and 10,884 tons of Rag stone to the value of £4,398.2.11 $\frac{1}{2}$ were purchased.

The most comprehensive information about the persons in London who dealt in stone at this period is contained in a list entered in the *Court Book* of the Masons' Company between items dated 14th June, 1680, and 6th July, 1680. It was apparently written towards the end of June, or at the beginning of July, 1680, and commences, without any explanatory heading, as follows:—

Since the 13th day of April, 1678

Mr Hammond

Tunn

Paving besides step

2400

¹ Thomas Gilbert, junior, was bound to Thomas Gilbert, citizen and mason of London, for seven years on 15th July, 1690. He apparently never completed his apprenticeship, as he was admitted to the Company by patrimony on 8th December, 1696, being described in the books as Thomas Gilbert, eldest son of Thomas Gilbert, late citizen and mason of London, deceased. He was admitted to the Livery on the same day. It was probably to this Gilbert, or possibly to his brother John (see below), that the Clerk of the Masons' Company was instructed to write on 15th January, 1701/2, when the Court ordered letters to be written to Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Tobey at Portland relating to the badness and undersized character of the stones sent by them.

² John Gilbert was bound to Thomas Gilbert, citizen and mason of London, for seven years from 12th October, 1693. At his father's death he was apparently turned over to Ephraim Beauchamp and at the expiration of his apprenticeship probably entered the family business at Portland and did not trouble to take up his freedom in London for a good many years, to judge by an entry in the *Court Book*, which reads:—

17 July, 1713. This day John Gilbert son of Thomas Gilbert late of Portland in the County of Dorset, mason, deceased, and late apprentice to Mr Ephraim Beauchamp citizen and mason of London (one of the Assistants) by indenture bearing date 12 October, 1693 (the said Mr Beauchamp testifying his service) was admitted into the freedom of this Company by service and sworn and paid £1.16.0

On the same day he paid his steward's fine (£10) was admitted to the Clothing (£5) and to the Court of Assistants (£5). On 18th June, 1718, he was elected Renter Warden, but "being absent and living in the Island of Portland in the County of Dorset it is ordered that the Clerk do write to him and acquaint him with his said election and what are the accustomed fines in case of his serving or refusal to serve the said office." A subsequent letter informed John Gilbert that he could not depute any person to officiate for him without his first taking the oath of office. Finally, on 22nd August, 1718, he was discharged from the office of Renter Warden on paying a fine of £10.

³ *Bibl. Lambethana* 670, A.Q.C., xvii., 108.

The complete list is printed in Appendix II.

The statistics of this list raise two questions in our minds:—

(i.) Firstly, do they really relate to a period of $2\frac{1}{4}$ years from 13th April, 1678, to June, 1680, or was '1678' written in error for 1680, and do all the entries relate to a period of some ten or eleven weeks commencing 13th April, 1680? It will be noted that whenever dates are indicated, as on some fifteen occasions, they all fall in April, May or June, which is quite natural if the table is concerned with the second quarter of 1680, but very remarkable if the table relates to the 27 months from April, 1678, to June, 1680. We are disposed to think that the table relates only to the second quarter of 1680 and that it covers a period of some three months.

(ii.) Secondly, where figures are given at the end of a line they appear to come under the heading "Tunn," which is written once at the top of the first page (43 v.) and once at the top of the second page (44) in the original. Roughly the figures add up to 65,000, those for Portland totalling about 35,000 and those for 'paving,' etc., about 30,000. The question immediately arises whether these figures can really relate to tons. We are convinced that they cannot, and that for more reasons than one. (a) In the first place, in view of the fact that only 50,000 tons of Portland stone were used at St. Paul's in 25 years, we find it incredible that 35,000 tons (to the value of about £40,000) should have been used at other buildings in London in $2\frac{1}{4}$ years, let alone three months, at a period when relatively few buildings were being erected of stone. (b) In the second place, the transport problem would have been stupendous, as on the average a bark appears to have carried only some 45 tons,¹ so that 35,000 tons would represent 700-800 shiploads of stone. (c) In the third place, the Company received 4d. per ton for its pains in viewing and searching stone.² The search fees in respect of 35,000 tons would have been £583, equivalent to £260 per annum, if we are concerned with a period of $2\frac{1}{4}$ years, or more than £2,000 per annum, if we are concerned with a period of 10 or 11 weeks, quite apart from fees for the search of 'paving.' In 1679 the Company farmed out the right of search for ill-wrought stone, and the fees arising therefrom, to Mr. William Hammond for £27 for the year.³ Though no doubt the farmer of the search would incur some expenses and would look for some profit, we think it inconceivable that if the imports of Portland stone were approximately 35,000 tons in $2\frac{1}{4}$ years, let alone three months, producing search fees of £583, that the Company should farm out the fees for one year for £27.

Our conclusion is that whilst the small figures probably relate either to numbers of stones (*e.g.* grave stones) or to tons (*e.g.* contents of barks of Portland) the larger figures relate to feet (cubic feet of Portland or superficial feet of Paving). As a cubic foot of Portland stone weighs on the average about 136 lbs.,⁴ equivalent to $16\frac{3}{4}$ c. ft. to the ton, 35,000 c. ft. would weigh something over 2,000 tons, which, together with a certain number of barkloads, would seem a fairly feasible figure for three months' imports. The figure of some 27,000 or 30,000 for paving for the second quarter of 1680 can best be compared with the figures for paving during the 1650's, which, as previously indicated, were some 34,000 ft. per annum. Thus 27,000 or 30,000 ft. in three months would imply a fourfold increase in the use of Purbeck paving, which would seem not unreasonable.

¹ The table shows one bark as carrying 42 and four barks as carrying 190 [tons].

² Bye-Laws of 1677, summarised in Conder, 199.

³ Conder, 201.

⁴ The five samples of Portland stone quoted in J. Watson, *British and Foreign Building Stones*, 313, weigh 132, 137, 132.3, 137.6 and 142.5 lbs. respectively per cu. ft.

However the figures be interpreted, they clearly indicate that Mr. Hammond¹ was the chief importer of stone at this period. So far as we have been able to trace his activities, he does not appear to have been a large building contractor, and we conclude that he was primarily a stone merchant. In view of this fact, it is interesting to note, as previously mentioned, that he took the farm of the right of search for ill-wrought stone in 1679; one would imagine that the interests of the stone-dealer and the interests of the searcher might easily conflict. Of the other men named in the list of 1680, we know that Thompson,² Cartwright³, Shorthose,⁴ Wise,⁵ Pearce,⁶ Story,⁷ Young,⁸ and Knight⁹ handled more or less considerable contracts for stone work and may therefore have imported stone for their own use. About the others we have no information.

¹ William Hammond was a member of the Yeomanry when the *Quarterage Book* commences in 1663. We are disposed to think that he was the "William Hamon" shown in the *London Bridge Accounts* as working at the Bridge in October, 1652, at 9/- a week, and that he was probably an apprentice of Henry Wilson, the chief Bridge-mason. He was admitted to the Livery in 1669 and to the Court of Assistants in 1672. He was Warden in 1680 and 1683, and was still a member of the Court in 1687, as he was one of the Assistants removed by the royal order of that year. (Conder, 233.) He presumably died before 1696, as his name does not appear in the list of Assistants for that year. He held masons' contracts at St. Anne's and St. Agnes (1676-87) for £130, at Allhallows the Great (1677-87) for £337 and at St. Michael's, Crooked Lane (1684-94) for £2,533. [Weaver.]

² See below.

³ See below.

⁴ John Shorthose (admitted to the Livery in 1662-63, Warden in 1676 and 1681, Master in 1686 and still an Assistant in 1700) was paid £145 (jointly with Thos. Shadbolt) for mason's work at Masons' Hall, 1668-89 [Conder, 190], sums amounting to £360 for work at the Guildhall, 1669-74, £1,060 for work on Fleet Bridge 1668-72 and £1,300 (jointly with Richard Crooke) for work on Ludgate, 1670-73. [*Guildhall Library MS.*, 184.] He worked on St. Michael Cornhill in 1670-77 [Wren Society, x., 124], was the mason contractor for St. Olave's Jewry, 1670-79 (£3,366), for Christchurch, 1677-91 (£6,648 jointly with John Crooke) [Weaver, 15, 19] and for St. Clement Danes, 1680-82 (£3,200 jointly with Edward Pearce). [Wren Society, x., 108.] He was very possibly a son of Thomas Shorthose, Warden in 1656 and 1662 and Master in 1663-4 and 1664-5.

⁵ See below.

⁶ See above.

⁷ See above.

⁸ The Mr. Young referred to may have been John Young, senior, or John Young, junior, or Nicholas Young. No doubt one of these three was "Mr. Young, the Mason", who was engaged to repair certain buttresses at Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street, in September, 1686. [Wren Soc., xi., 72.]

John Young, mason, having been "made sinisterly free of ye Weavers" was taken and presented for disfranchisement, together with his Master, in 1635-36. He made his peace with the Masons and agreed to pay £5 for his translation from the Weavers, £3 being paid on 16th May, 1637, and the balance of 40s. during the year 1637-38. He was Warden of the Masons' Company in 1652 and 1655 and Master in 1657. He was paid for sawing blocks of Portland stone at Greenwich in July, October and November, 1664 [*B.M. Harl. MS.*, 1618] and it was probably he who had various small rebuilding contracts between 1670-75 in connection with Billingsgate Dock (£500), Bridewell Prison (£500) and Holborn Bridge (£433.11.0 jointly with Thos. Cartwright). His name appears amongst the Assistants in 1676 and in the General Search of 1678, but we cannot trace him any later, and he may have been dead in 1680.

John Young, junior, son of John Young, citizen and mason, was made free by patrimony on 18th July, 1671; he was admitted to the Livery on 29th October, 1672, and to the Court of Assistants on 30th March, 1674. He was Warden in 1686 and 1687 and Master in 1695, and died in November, 1695, during his year of office.

Nicholas Young (admitted to the Livery in 1662-63, Warden in 1674 and 1679, Master in 1682 and still an Assistant in 1700), worked at St. Mary at Hill 1670-76 [Wren Society, x., 124] and held the masons' contracts to the total value of about £10,000 at St. George Botolph 1671-79, St. Michael's Cornhill 1670-77, St. Martin's Ludgate 1677-87 and St. Andrew's Wardrobe 1685-95. [Weaver.]

⁹ Thomas Knight, late apprentice of Henry Wilson, with whom he commenced working at London Bridge in October, 1656, was made free 12th November, 1663, was admitted to the Livery 5th May, 1665, and to the Court during 1674-75. He was Warden in 1679-80 and died in 1680 during his year of office. He did a very considerable amount of work between 1667 and 1675 in connection with the re-erection of various municipal buildings, more especially the Guildhall and Newgate, receiving some £6700 for work he did on his own account and £700 jointly with Joshua Marshall for work on Temple Bar and £283 jointly with Thos. Shadbolt for work on the Sessions House. [*Guildhall Lib. MS.*, 184.] He is sometimes described as mason, sometimes as pavier, or mason and pavier.

3. *Overseers.*

In view of the fact that the scale of operations for which any one mason-contractor was responsible, in the seventeenth century, was generally much smaller than the works over which prominent mediæval master masons had presided, the need for under-masters or overseers was doubtless smaller in the seventeenth century than in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, it was quite common in the seventeenth century for prominent mason-contractors to undertake two or more jobs simultaneously, in which case presumably overseers and foremen had to be appointed,¹ or the contractors had to take partners so that some responsible person should be present at each job. We have found more evidence of the adoption of the partnership solution of the problem than of the overseer solution, but that is probably because contracts and official building accounts, in many cases at least, indicate the existence of partnerships, whereas the existence of overseers or foremen would probably only be disclosed in the contractors' private records or accounts, which are not readily available. Some cases of partnerships have already been mentioned: Edward Pearce had John Shorthose as partner at St. Clement Danes and William Stanton as partner at St. Andrew's, Holborn. Thomas Knight had Thomas Shadbolt² as partner at the Sessions House and was partner of Joshua Marshall³ at Temple Bar. A more striking example is provided by Edward Strong, senior,⁴ who had Christopher Kempster⁵ as his partner at St. Stephen's, Walbrook, 1672-87, and in the foundation contract at Winchester Palace in 1682,⁶ William Collins as his partner when he rebuilt part of St. Vedast, Foster Lane in 1695,⁷ Thomas Hill⁸ as his partner in 1696,

¹ *E.g.*, in 1704, when Benjamin Jackson was doing work at the new greenhouse at Kensington Palace, he apparently employed a deputy, Palmer by name, as well as foremen. [Letter of Sir John Vanbrugh, 9th November, 1704, Wren Society, vii., 140.]

² Thomas Shadbolt, son of Thomas Shadbolt of the Parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, blacksmith, was apprenticed to Richard Lluellyn 23rd April, 1639, was admitted to the Livery in 1654-55, was Warden in 1664 and 1666 and Master in 1668. He was still an Assistant in 1676. Shortly after the Great Fire he was responsible for a small amount of mason's work at the Sessions House (£283 jointly with Thos. Knight), at Billingsgate Dock £100 jointly with Mr. Flory) [*Guildhall Lib. MS.*, 184] and at Masons' Hall (£145 jointly with John Shorthose). [Conder, 190.]

³ See below.

⁴ See below.

⁵ See below. It may be noted here, however, that in 1682 Kempster was also engaged as contractor at the building of Tom Tower, Oxford, on which job he had a certain Thomas Robinson, mason, as his partner. [Carøe, 64.]

⁶ Wren Society, vii., 28.

⁷ William Collins, son of Jarman Collins of Halstocke, Dorset, husbandman, apprenticed to Richard Crooke 21st April, 1669, made free 3rd October, 1676, Warden 1699 and 1700, Master 1704. He apparently lived in the parish of St. Vedast and for that reason desired to be concerned in the rebuilding of the Church. [Clutterbuck, i., 168 n.]

⁸ Thomas Hill was made free of the Masons' Company by redemption 17th November, 1670; Warden in 1695, Master in 1699. He was the mason employed by the vestries in fitting up St. Anne's and St. Agnes and St. Michael, Wood Street [Wren Society, x., 124], but little is known about his early career and his name does not appear in the General Search of 1678. In 1685-86 he was associated with Thomas Wise, senior, on work at Chelsea Hospital [*A.Q.C.*, xliii., 114] and at Whitehall [Wren Society, vii., 91]. Probably he had been working with him for some years, and at St. Paul's amongst other places, as, in partnership with Thomas Wise, junior, he succeeded on Thomas Wise, senior's death in December, 1685, to the latter's contract at St. Paul's [Halley, 58] and was at work there at the date of the General Search in September, 1694. [See Appendix C.] From 1698 onwards, in partnership with Thomas Wise, junior, he had the contract for the S.W. quarter of the Dome of St. Paul's. [Halley, 58, and Carøe, 113.] On his own account, he did minor work at Kensington Palace in 1690-92 [Wren Society, vii., 152, 161] and fairly substantial work at Hampton Court in 1689-96, to the value of some £7,000, and again in 1699 (£375). [Wren Society, iv., 22, 25, 27, 60.] A suggestion that Hill should be employed at Kensington Palace in 1704, instead of Benjamin Jackson, came to nothing, and Sir John Vanbrugh reported Sir Christopher Wren as saying that Hill

"was a whimsical man and a piece of an astrologer and would venture upon nothing till he had consulted the stars, which probably he had not found favourably inclined upon this occasion and therefore had refused the work." [Letter of Sir John Vanbrugh to Lord Godolphin, 9th November, 1704, Wren Society, vii., p. 140.] Mrs. Esdaile [*Temple Church Monuments*, 38, 77] thinks that he was probably responsible for one of the monuments in the Temple Church. There is a monument by him in the Chapel of St. John's College, Oxford. [*Ibid.*, 78 n.]

then Ephraim Beauchamp¹ as his partner, and subsequently Edward Strong, junior, as his partner at Greenwich Hospital.²

The cases of Gabriel Stacey employed by Nicholas Stone as his overseer on various occasions in the 1630's, of C. G. Cibber employed by John Stone as his foreman in the 1650's, of Abraham Story probably employed by Joshua Marshall's executors as overseer on their St. Paul's contract in 1678, and of Palmer employed as deputy by Benjamin Jackson at Kensington Palace in 1704, have already been mentioned. In view of the fact that first Thomas Strong and then Edward Strong were probably the biggest mason-contractors at St. Paul's it would seem not improbable that the Stronges employed overseers and there is some evidence which points to two prominent masons, Samuel Fulkes and Nathaniel Rawlins, serving for some part of their careers as overseers to the Stronges at St. Paul's. Fulkes is definitely described as "Overseer of the Masons' work on the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London," in an Ely Cathedral building contract of 1699, according to which he was to view the work of Robert Grumbold, the contractor.³ As his colleagues for this purpose were to be Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. Banks, the King's Master Carpenter, it is obvious that the post which Fulkes held must have been one of considerable standing. (Actually at this date he held a contract at St. Paul's.) In the General Search of 1678 (Appendix A) the first name under the cross heading "At St. Paul's" is:

"Mr fulkes, Haberdasher"

The fact that no other mason in that group was described as "Mr" strongly suggests that he held the most responsible post under the contractor.⁴ If at

¹ Ephraim Beauchamp was made free of the Masons' Company by redemption 16th October, 1684; Warden in 1697 and 1698; Master in 1701. It is probable that he came from Burford, Oxfordshire, and that he was the brother-in-law of Edward Strong, senior (who married Martha Beauchamp, daughter of Edmund and Margery Beauchamp about 1676) [H. Curtis, *Times Lit. Sup.*, 20th March, 1919], and the uncle of Edward Beauchamp, son of Joseph Beauchamp of Burford, Oxfordshire, carpenter, who was apprenticed to Edward Strong, Junior, 18th July, 1705. During most of Beauchamp's career in London he appears to have worked at St. Paul's, first on his own account in the spring of 1684 [*St. Paul's Acquittance Book*] and later as partner of Christopher Kempster (who also came from Burford), from 1692 to 1696 and from 1698 to 1707. [Extracts from *St. Paul's Account Books*, Caröe, 113, 114.] In 1699 he was assistant or partner of Edward Strong, senior, at Greenwich Hospital. [Wren Society, vi., 40.] The only reference we have found to his working independently, otherwise than at St. Paul's in 1684, is to his employment by the vestry to fit up the Church of St. Dunstan in the East. [Wren Society, x., 124.] He and [Edward] Strong were consulted about the condition of the cloisters of Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street, in May, 1716. [Wren Soc., xi., 79.]

² See Clutterbuck i., 168 n., and Wren Society, vi., 40.

³ *Ely Chapter Order Book*, November 25th, 1699, 229, quoted by Caröe, 19.

⁴ Samuel Fulkes had a long and honourable career as a mason. We first find him employed as a mason at 2s. 6d. per day on the Duke of York's Lodgings at Whitehall in October, 1664. [*B.M. Harl. MS.*, 1618.] On 1st September, 1671, he was admitted to the freedom of the Haberdashers' Company by redemption [information kindly supplied by the Clerk of the Company]. In the 1670's he had small contracts in connection with the rebuilding of St. Bride's (£9), St. Mary, Aldermanbury (£14), St. Swithin's (£117), and St. Michael's, Queenhithe (£613). [Weaver.] In 1683, in partnership with William Wise, he took a contract calling for the employment of 28 masons and setters and 14 sawyers and labourers at Winchester Palace. [Wren Society, vii., 36.] In the 1680's, he was also the contractor for important masonry work at Allhallows, Bread Street (£1,888), St. Alban's, Wood Street (£1,946), St. Margaret Pattens (£3,204), and St. Margaret's, Lothbury (£3,335). [Weaver.] About 1687 or 1688 he became one of the mason contractors at St. Paul's. [Halley, 58.] The General Search of 1694 shows that he was then employing 16 men at St. Paul's and three men at his house in Fetter Lane, and thus his activities were not limited to work at St. Paul's. In 1695 he held a masonry contract in partnership with Richard Crooke at Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street. [Wren Soc., xi., 76.] Early in the eighteenth century he was engaged on the North West Tower of St. Paul's. [Halley, 58.] The entries in a bank account which he had at Messrs. C. Hoare and Co. from 1695 to 1711 [see below] strongly suggest that during most of that period he was paying in instalments received in respect of contracts, and drawing out money weekly for payment of wages. Our last record of him is on 18th September, 1711, when he drew £110 to close his account at Hoare's Bank. His daughter Sarah married Edward Stanton, the monument mason (see above).

then Ephraim Beauchamp¹ as his partner, and subsequently Edward Strong, junior, as his partner at Greenwich Hospital.²

The cases of Gabriel Stacey employed by Nicholas Stone as his overseer on various occasions in the 1630's, of C. G. Cibber employed by John Stone as his foreman in the 1650's, of Abraham Story probably employed by Joshua Marshall's executors as overseer on their St. Paul's contract in 1678, and of Palmer employed as deputy by Benjamin Jackson at Kensington Palace in 1704, have already been mentioned. In view of the fact that first Thomas Strong and then Edward Strong were probably the biggest mason-contractors at St. Paul's it would seem not improbable that the Strong's employed overseers and there is some evidence which points to two prominent masons, Samuel Fulkes and Nathaniel Rawlins, serving for some part of their careers as overseers to the Strong's at St. Paul's. Fulkes is definitely described as "Overseer of the Masons' work on the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London," in an Ely Cathedral building contract of 1699, according to which he was to view the work of Robert Grumbold, the contractor.³ As his colleagues for this purpose were to be Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. Banks, the King's Master Carpenter, it is obvious that the post which Fulkes held must have been one of considerable standing. (Actually at this date he held a contract at St. Paul's.) In the General Search of 1678 (Appendix A) the first name under the cross heading "At St. Paul's" is:

"Mr fulkes, Haberdasher"

The fact that no other mason in that group was described as "Mr" strongly suggests that he held the most responsible post under the contractor.⁴ If at

¹ Ephraim Beauchamp was made free of the Masons' Company by redemption 16th October, 1684; Warden in 1697 and 1698; Master in 1701. It is probable that he came from Burford, Oxfordshire, and that he was the brother-in-law of Edward Strong, senior (who married Martha Beauchamp, daughter of Edmund and Margery Beauchamp about 1676) [H. Curtis, *Times Lit. Sup.*, 20th March, 1919], and the uncle of Edward Beauchamp, son of Joseph Beauchamp of Burford, Oxfordshire, carpenter, who was apprenticed to Edward Strong, Junior, 18th July, 1705. During most of Beauchamp's career in London he appears to have worked at St. Paul's, first on his own account in the spring of 1684 [*St. Paul's Acquittance Book*] and later as partner of Christopher Kempster (who also came from Burford), from 1692 to 1696 and from 1698 to 1707. [Extracts from *St. Paul's Account Books*, Caröe, 113, 114.] In 1699 he was assistant or partner of Edward Strong, senior, at Greenwich Hospital. [Wren Society, vi., 40.] The only reference we have found to his working independently, otherwise than at St. Paul's in 1684, is to his employment by the vestry to fit up the Church of St. Dunstan in the East. [Wren Society, x., 124.] He and [Edward] Strong were consulted about the condition of the cloisters of Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street, in May, 1716. [Wren Soc., xi., 79.]

² See Clutterbuck i., 168 n., and Wren Society, vi., 40.

³ *Ely Chapter Order Book*, November 25th, 1699, 229, quoted by Caröe, 19.

⁴ Samuel Fulkes had a long and honourable career as a mason. We first find him employed as a mason at 2s. 6d. per day on the Duke of York's Lodgings at Whitehall in October, 1664. [*B.M. Harl. MS.*, 1618.] On 1st September, 1671, he was admitted to the freedom of the Haberdashers' Company by redemption [information kindly supplied by the Clerk of the Company]. In the 1670's he had small contracts in connection with the rebuilding of St. Bride's (£9), St. Mary, Aldermanbury (£14), St. Swithin's (£117), and St. Michael's, Queenhithe (£613). [Weaver.] In 1683, in partnership with William Wise, he took a contract calling for the employment of 28 masons and setters and 14 sawyers and labourers at Winchester Palace. [Wren Society, vii., 36.] In the 1680's, he was also the contractor for important masonry work at Allhallows, Bread Street (£1,888), St. Alban's, Wood Street (£1,946), St. Margaret Pattens (£3,204), and St. Margaret's, Lothbury (£3,335). [Weaver.] About 1687 or 1688 he became one of the mason contractors at St. Paul's. [Halley, 58.] The General Search of 1694 shows that he was then employing 16 men at St. Paul's and three men at his house in Fetter Lane, and thus his activities were not limited to work at St. Paul's. In 1695 he held a masonry contract in partnership with Richard Crooke at Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street. [Wren Soc., xi., 76.] Early in the eighteenth century he was engaged on the North West Tower of St. Paul's. [Halley, 58.] The entries in a bank account which he had at Messrs. C. Hoare and Co. from 1695 to 1711 [see below] strongly suggest that during most of that period he was paying in instalments received in respect of contracts, and drawing out money weekly for payment of wages. Our last record of him is on 18th September, 1711, when he drew £110 to close his account at Hoare's Bank. His daughter Sarah married Edward Stanton, the monument mason (see above).

times he served as overseer, he was also a contractor on quite a large scale. That towards the close of his career he had attained a position of considerable standing is clearly shown by the fact that in December, 1707, he was elected Warden of the Haberdashers' Company.¹

The other mason who, we surmise, was at one time overseer under Thomas Strong and Edward Strong, senior, is Nathaniel Rawlins.² His name, but with no "Mr" before it, immediately follows that of "Mr Samuel fulkes" in the list of masons "At St. Pauls" in the search of 1678. In the search of 1694, the name "Mr Rawlins, Haberdasher," occurs among "Mr Edward Strong's men at St. Paul's Church"; Rawlins being the only employee described as "Mr," it may be assumed that he held a post of responsibility; it could hardly be otherwise, as at one period, prior to that date, he had himself held a contract at St. Paul's, and a few years later he was to hold one of the four contracts for the building of the Dome, so that he must have been a mason of some distinction. Like Fulkes, he was a member of the Haberdashers' Company, but does not appear to have received any promotion in the Company.

As the word "Overseer" at the head of this section has been given a somewhat wide interpretation, so as to permit reference to contractors' partners, who might be regarded as taking the place of overseers, we also propose to treat here of certain salaried masons who may be regarded as superior overseers, namely, King's Master Masons and Chief Bridge Masons at London Bridge. Reference has already been made to three King's Master Masons at Windsor Castle: William Suthes [Suthis] (1610-25), about whose career very little is known; Nicholas Stone (1626-47), whose very varied activities have been described at some length, and his son John Stone (1660-67), who carried on his father's business as tomb and monument maker for some years after Nicholas Stone's death. He was, however, apparently bedridden with palsy whilst holding his appointment, and so far as we know, did no work whatsoever in connection with his office. Edward Marshall³ was appointed King's Master Mason for the Tower of

¹ The extract from the Minutes of the Court of Assistants held 31st December, 1707 [kindly supplied by the Clerk], is as follows:—

"Then Mr Samuel fulkes being next in course he was unanimously chosen Warden by this Court for the year ensuing. And the said Mr fulk being present was called in who very courtiously & civilly accepted the same and took the accustomed oath for the due execution of the said office and took his place accordingly."

On 1st December, 1708, he was sworn on the Court of Assistants.

² Nathaniel Rawlins worked as a mason at 2/6 per day at Greenwich in July, 1664. [*B.M. Harl. MS.*, 1618.] He was admitted to the freedom of the Haberdashers' Company by redemption on 28th October, 1670. [Information kindly supplied by the Clerk.] In "An Account of Rebuilding the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London" [*Bibl. Lambethana* 670, *A.Q.C.*, xvii., 117] he is referred to as "Mason Rawlins" in connection with a payment to him of £663.3.0 for repairing damage done by fire to the West End of the North Aisle of the Choir on 27th February, 1688/9. He is said to have succeeded Jasper Latham on his St. Paul's contract about 1690. [Halley, 58.] The *St. Paul's Accounts* show that he was paid for contracts there in 1693-94 and 1696-97. From 1698 onwards he held the contract for the erection of one quarter of the Dome of St. Paul's. [Halley, 58, and Caröe, 113.]

³ Edward Marshall, late apprentice of John Clarke (probably the John Clarke, mason-contractor at the building of Lincoln's Inn Chapel in 1619-24 [*Black Books of Lincoln's Inn*, ii., 209, 248]) was made free in January, 1626-27, was admitted to the Livery in 1630-31 (paying £4 then and the balance of £5 in 1631-32), was Warden in 1643 and 1647 and Master in 1650. He carried on business as a stone-cutter in Fetter Lane and was much employed as a tomb-maker. [*D.N.B.*] He died 10th December, 1675, at the age of 77 years, according to the Marshall Monument erected in St. Dunstan in the West. [*A.Q.C.*, xlii., 85.] By an indenture of 4th April, 1668, he took a 51 years' lease of land in Whitefriars near Whitefriars stairs, on which site he had been living and where he now undertook to rebuild the houses destroyed by the Great Fire. [*Guildhall Lib. MS.*, 833.] At what date he moved to Whitefriars from Fetter Lane we do not know.

London, etc., in June, 1661, at the usual remuneration of 12d. per diem.¹ He was a stone-cutter and tomb-maker by trade, and thus a competitor of the Stones for business—as well as for the post of King's Master Mason. In a petition to the Crown in 1660, regarding the office of Master Mason at Windsor, John Stone refers to Mr. Marshall as a pretender to his (Stone's) father's place.² We have not been able to discover much about his activities as King's Master Mason; in May, 1663, he was paid £7.3.10 for mason's work and materials at Whitehall, himself signing the month's accounts as an officer of the Board of Works. For the same month he was paid £9.17.8 at Hampton Court, being an allowance of 5s. 8d. per day as Master Mason and fees at the rate of 20 marks per annum.³

Joshua Marshall,⁴ son of Edward Marshall, held the dual posts of King's Master Mason at Windsor⁵ and in the Office of Works⁶ from 1673 until his death in 1678; like his father, he commenced his business life as a tomb-maker and monumental mason, but at the time of the Great Fire he was still young enough to adapt himself to the new conditions, and became a mason-contractor on a very large scale. For the ten years immediately prior to his death we have traced his work to the value of some £46,000, including £10,500 for work at Windsor Castle, and there were doubtless other contracts which we have not traced, such as those at St. Paul's in 1676 and 1677.

Thomas Wise was appointed Mason to the King in June, 1678,⁷ and held this office until his death at the end of 1685.⁸ Like Joshua Marshall, he was

¹ *Cal. S.P.D.*, 1660-1661, p. 74. In a petition in May, 1660 (*ibid.*, p. 13), he claimed that the office had been granted to him by Charles I. and asked for confirmation of the grant.

² Spiers, 28.

³ *B.M. Harl. MS.*, 1657.

⁴ Joshua Marshall was born in 1629 and died 16th April, 1678 (according to the Marshall Monument); he was admitted to the Livery of the Masons' Company in 1654-55, was Warden in 1665 and 1668 and Master in 1670 and 1677. Before the Great Fire he appears to have had a large practice as a tomb-maker. [*D.N.B.*] He also set up chimney pieces and supplied various sorts of stone. [*Declared Accounts*, 3283; *B.M., Harl. MSS.*, 1618, 1657, 1658.] After the Fire he executed many large masonry contracts: repairing and building the steeple of St. Clement Danes, 1669-70 (£2525) [*Wren Society*, x., 110]; erecting the Pillar in New Fish Street Hill in memorial of the Fire, 1671-75 (£11,300) [*Guildhall Lib. MS.*, 184], rebuilding six City churches, St. Mary Aldermanbury (£3,190), St. Mary Hill (£1,928), St. Stephen's, Coleman Street (£2,160), St. Bride's (£8,964), St. Peter's Cornhill (£741), St. Swithin's (£2,309) [*Weaver*]; building Temple Bar, jointly with Thomas Knight (£700) [*Guildhall Lib. MS.*, 184]. He also did substantial work at St. Paul's. He was paid £142 in July, 1675, in respect of laying foundation walls. [*Halley*, 54.] In 1678, at the time of his death, he was working on the Choir, the sum due to him that year being £2,391. [*St. Paul's Accounts*, 1677-78.] He did a large amount of work at Windsor Castle, being paid £10,545 during the years 1674-78. [*Hope, Windsor Castle*, i., 312 seq.]

⁵ *Cal. S.P.D.*, 1673, p. 378.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 599, 600. In his petition to succeed his father "now grown old in the King's service" he stated that he had been brought up in the art of masonry for thirty years and had performed many of the greatest public works in London.

⁷ *Cal. Treasury Books*, 1676-1679, p. 1,002.

⁸ Thomas Wise was admitted to the freedom of the Masons' Company by redemption on 7th February, 1671/2, to the Livery on 29th October, 1672, to the Court in 1675, and was Master in 1681. We do not know definitely from what part of the country he originally came, but there are three grounds for thinking that it was the Isle of Portland. In the first place, in November, 1664, he worked at Greenwich as a partner of Stephen Switzer [*B.M. Harl. MS.*, 1618], who, as previously indicated, was undoubtedly connected with Portland. In the second place, his son, Thomas Wise, junior, was certainly associated with Portland, being described with his partner as "Thos. Wise jun. and Thos. Gilbert of the Isle of Portland" in a Winchester Palace stone contract of 1683. [*Wren Society*, vii., 32.] In the third place, the first apprentice he took, six weeks after his admission by redemption, was Benjamin, son of Giles Pearce, of the Isle of Portland, mason. He died in December, 1685. In his nuncupative will, dated 12th December, 1685, he is described as late of Whitefriars, London, widower. He left three sons, Thomas, William and John. [Information kindly supplied by Bro. Williams.] William Wise was apprenticed to his father, 12th August, 1673, and admitted to the freedom 5th October, 1680. He was Warden in 1695 and 1696. He was partner of Samuel Fulkes in a Winchester Palace masons'

one of the mason-contractors at St. Paul's and was also responsible for rebuilding certain city churches. He was employed on two royal works in 1685, viz., Whitehall Palace¹ and Chelsea Hospital,² but so far as we can tell it was in the capacity of mason-contractor and not of King's Master Mason.

John Oliver, who succeeded Thomas Wise as Mason to the King in 1686,³ was not a mason by training or occupation,⁴ but he was connected with the building industry on the administrative and architectural side. He was consulted as surveyor by Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street, in February, 1671/2, and it was "Mr Oliver and Mr Hooke, surveighors" who were invited to draw a "platt" of the building when extensions were made at the Hospital in 1673.⁵ He served as Assistant Surveyor under Sir Christopher Wren at St. Paul's for which office he received £8.6.8 per month.⁶ He was not a member of the Mason's Company, but in 1692-93 subscribed £10 to a fund which the Company raised with the object of paying off certain debts.⁷ With regard to his activities as King's Master Mason, the *Declared Accounts* for Hampton Court under the heading "Riding charges of ye officers of ye works" show that John Oliver, Master Mason, was paid for 310 days at 5s. 4d. in the two years 1689-91, 438 days at 5s. 4d. in the three years 1691-94 and 66 days at 5s. 4d. in the two years 1694-96.⁸

On Oliver's death in 1701, he was succeeded by Benjamin Jackson,⁹ who held the office until his death in May, 1719. His appointment must have been announced before the patent was actually granted on 4th December, 1701, because on 12th November, 1701, the Court of the Masons' Company passed the following resolution:—

It is ordered that Mr Thomas Jackson the Ma^t. Mason be presented with the freedom of this Company and that the Master & Wardens do attend him herewith.

From the resolution we gather that the new Master Mason was a relatively unknown man, as his Christian name is wrongly given; also that he was presumably not a member of any London Company at the time of his appointment. We have been able to discover very little about his early career; we first find him engaged in work at Hampton Court Gardens in the 1690's,¹⁰ and

Contract of 21st November, 1683. [Wren Society, vii., 36.] Our earliest reference to Thomas Wise is his above-mentioned work at Greenwich in November, 1664. After the Fire he did paving work at Whitehall in 1669-70 [*Declared Accounts*, 3283], held the masons' contracts for the rebuilding of St. Michael's, Wood Street (£1,019), St. Bennet's, Gracechurch (£2,658), and St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey (£3,141) [Weaver], and was one of the early contractors at St. Paul's: by the end of 1678 he had laid the foundations of the two South West legs of the Dome and the Great Staircase. [Halley, 58.] He continued to work there until his death. At the end of the year 1685-86, the *St. Paul's Accounts* show that £1,197.13.3 were due to the executors of Thomas Wise.

¹ Wren Society, vii., 91.

² *Cal. Treasury Books*, 1685-89, p. 1446.

³ *Ibid.* p. 517.

⁴ He is described in *D.N.B.* as a glass painter, born in 1616.

⁵ Wren Soc., xi., 64, 65. Hooke and Oliver, described as "Surveyors of the City of London", were also consulted by Gray's Inn in 1673. [*Pension Book of Gray's Inn*, ii., 26.]

⁶ The entry from the *St. Paul's Accounts* for October, 1693, may be quoted as an example:—

"To Mr John Oliver, Assistant Surveyor, for his attendance in the work for providing materials and keeping an account of the same this month £8.6.8.

⁷ The *Account Book* shows the total raised as £74.7.0, of which Mr. Thomas Hill gave £25, Mr. John Oliver £10, Mr. John Thompson, Mr. Edward Strong, Mr. Thomas Gilbert and Mr. Thomas Wise £5 each, whilst the rest was contributed in 15 smaller sums.

⁸ Wren Society, iv., 22, 25, 28.

⁹ Williams, "The King's Master Masons," *A.Q.C.*, xliii., pp. 114 seq.

¹⁰ He was paid £238 in 1689-96, £615 and £746 in 1698-99 and £1,491 in 1700. [Wren Society, iv., 33, 37, 67.]

he probably worked there later, as he was petitioning in 1705 for a debt for work done at Hampton Court.¹ In his will² he is described as "Benjamin Jackson of the parish of Hampton, C^o Middlesex," and we are disposed to think that he was a Hampton mason. After his appointment he was paid small sums for work and materials at St. James's Palace in 1702, 1717 and 1718.³ At Kensington Palace in 1706-1707⁴ he seems to have been engaged as King's Master Mason and not as contractor, for the only entries relating to him in the Accounts occur under the heading "Fees, wages and entertainment of the Officers, Clerks and Artificers belonging to the Office of Works and for travel charges."⁵ In the same year a certain John Smoote, mason, was paid some £1,500 for mason's work and stone at Kensington Palace.⁶

The fact that Jackson did not have a contract at Kensington Palace on this occasion is perhaps accounted for by Sir John Vanbrugh's letter of 9th November, 1704, to Lord Godolphin⁷ protesting against Jackson doing the mason's work upon the new greenhouse at Kensington, contrary to the Orders of the Board of Works issued in 1662-63.⁸ In that letter Sir John gives the following description of Jackson:—

As for Jackson my Lord, Besides this Crime, the highest the nature of his Office will admit of, I must acquaint your L^dship he is so villainous a Fellow and so Scandalous in every part of his Character; and that in the unanimous opinion of all Sorts of People he is known to; that he is indeed a disgrace to the Queen's service and to everybody that is oblig'd to be concern'd with him.

Outside the London area and in his private capacity, Jackson was the contractor for a large amount of masonry work at Chatsworth in the early eighteenth century, work which led to litigation with the Duke of Devonshire.⁹

Reference has already been made to one chief Bridge Mason, Henry Wilson, whose activities as a stone-dealer in the 1650's we have described in some detail. Actually five masons appear to have occupied the post during the second half of the seventeenth century. As the remuneration was normally 11/- a week *plus* a quarterly fee of 20/- at a time when a mason's wage in London was 15/- to 16/- a week, it is quite clear to us that the post was not intended to be a full-time one, any more than it was in the second half of the fifteenth century when Thomas Jurdan and Thomas Danyell combined it with that of King's Master Mason.¹⁰ We know how Henry Wilson and two of his successors supplemented their incomes, and we have no doubt that the other two derived some revenue from other sources. Henry Wilson's successor at the Bridge was George Dowsewell, who held the post from February, 1660/61, to July, 1672. Apart

¹ *Treasury Papers*, 1702-1707, 343, quoted in *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 115.

² Williams, *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 115.

³ Wren Society, vii., 213, 223, 224.

⁴ Wren Society, vii., 188.

⁵ One reads, "Benjamin Jackson, Master Mason, £116.15.0"; the other, "Master Mason, Riding charges, £65.6.8."

⁶ Wren Society, vii., 187, 188, 189. The following year Smoote was paid £294 for work at St. James' Palace. [*Ibid.*, 214.] He does not appear to have been a member of the Masons' Company.

⁷ Printed in Wren Society vii., 140, 141.

⁸ See *The Mediæval Mason*, 192-194.

⁹ See Williams, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ See our paper, "London Bridge and its Builders." *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlvii.

from that fact, we know very little about him.¹ From August, 1672, to July, 1673, Thomas Cartwright was chief mason at the Bridge and his apprentice Samuel Ward² worked there with him. At the same time he was engaged on various contracts for the erection of municipal buildings and city churches³; it was perhaps for that reason that he gave up the appointment within a year in favour of his son Joseph Cartwright,⁴ who held it for some eleven years from July, 1673, to June, 1684. As he was only made free by patrimony in June, 1673, it may be that his father took the post temporarily in August, 1672, with the object of occupying it until his son was qualified to hold it. In June, 1684, Thomas Wise succeeded Joseph Cartwright, and a Thomas Wise was still Master Mason at the Bridge at the end of September, 1694. Although there is no definite evidence in the *Bridge Accounts* to show whether the Thomas Wise of

¹ George Dowsewell's early career is a complete blank to us; we can find no trace of him before his name appears in the *Bridge Accounts* in February, 1660/1. When entries in the *Quarterage Book* begin, in 1663, he was a member of the Court of Assistants. He was Warden in 1664-5 and Master in 1666-67 during the Great Fire; his connection with the Bridge enabled him to provide a place of safe keeping for the Company's records, etc., and in due course the Company presented him with a pair of gloves (costing 20/-) in appreciation of "his care in preserving the Company's writings and goods in the late dreadful time of fire." In 1670 he lent the Company £500 to finance the rebuilding of Mason's Hall, so that he must have had some source of revenue other than his wage and fee at the Bridge, and any profit accruing to him from the employment of two apprentices in the early 1660's (John Purser, free 22nd May, 1668, and John Baker, free 5th November, 1668) and four apprentices in the late 1660's—though presumably not more than three at once—his son John Dowsewell and Richard Curtis each bound 29th November, 1667; Robert Symonds and David Farmer, each bound 22nd June, 1668. John Dowsewell was made free by patrimony in January, 1672/3 (died 1675); David Farmer "late appr. of Geo. Dowsewell" was made free 29th June, 1675; Robert Symonds and Richard Curtis, late apprentices to George Dowsewell, "afterwards turned over to Joshua Marshall" were made free on 28th June, 1677. The *Quarterage Book* shows that George Dowsewell died in 1672.

² Samuel Ward, son of John Ward of Burford, Oxfordshire, mason, was apprenticed to Thomas Cartwright for seven years from 14th January, 1667/8. He was made free 18th January, 1675/6.

³ Thomas Cartwright was apprenticed to Daniel Chaloner in 1631-32 and turned over to Christopher Kingsfield in 1637-38. He became a Liveryman at some date prior to 1663, an Assistant in 1668, Warden in 1671 and Master in 1673 and again in 1694. He was still a member of the Court in 1700, at which date his son, Thomas Cartwright, junior, was also a member of the Court. (Thomas Cartwright, junior, was apprenticed to his father 21st January, 1672/3. He became an Assistant during 1697-98, was Warden in 1704, 1705 and 1709 and Master in 1710.) In the years immediately following the Great Fire he did work for the municipality, Poultry Compter £238, Fleet Ditch £612, Holborn Bridge £433 (jointly with John Young), Bridewell £600, Moorgate £1,400, Ludgate £116 [*Guildhall Lib. MS.* 184], and he is said to have been engaged on the Royal Exchange [Bell, *Great Fire of London*, 273]. He was mason-contractor for three of the Parish Churches, St. Bennet Fink, 1670-81 (£1,838), St. Mary le Bow, 1670-80 (£3,488) and St. Antholins, 1678-91 (£3,524). [Weaver.] In the search of 26th September, 1694, the entry "Ma[ste]r Cartwrights" obviously refers to Thomas Cartwright, senior, who was Master that year, but it is not clear how many, if any, of the names which follow, were his employees. Whether a later entry in the same search "At St. Thomas Hospital for Mr Cartwright" refers to Thomas Cartwright, senior, or Thomas Cartwright, junior, it is impossible to say with certainty, but we are disposed to think it refers to the father, and that the same is true regarding the entry in the search of May, 1696, "At St. Thomas Hospital at work for Mr Cartwright." A Thomas Cartwright made the monument to Sir John Witham (November, 1689) in the Temple Church [Mrs. Esdaile, *Temple Church Monuments*, 73]. As Thos. Cartwright, sen., would be well over 70 when it was erected, we are inclined to attribute it to Thomas Cartwright, jun.

⁴ Joseph Cartwright was made free by patrimony 10th June, 1673, and was admitted to the Livery 29th October, 1674. During his tenure of office at the Bridge he had three apprentices, Thomas Durham, bound 15th January, 1674/5; Walter Vincent, bound 20th November, 1676, and Bartholomew Jackson, bound 20th January, 1679/80. Durham and Jackson both worked at the Bridge, but we cannot trace Vincent's name in the *Bridge Accounts*. On the other hand, Bostock Knight, who was apprenticed to Thomas Cartwright on 17th May, 1678, worked at the Bridge, and we are disposed to think that Joseph Cartwright's subsidiary employment consisted in helping his father in the contracting business, and that the two Cartwrights were closely associated. We can find no reference to him after his name disappeared from the *Bridge Accounts* on 21st June, 1684. Very possibly he died about that time. His son, Thomas Cartwright, was admitted to the Masons' Company by patrimony, 26th March, 1702.

1684 and 1685 was Thomas Wise, senior (who died in December, 1685), or Thomas Wise, junior, the fact that Samuel Peareman, who began to work at the Bridge in July, 1684, was apprenticed to Thomas Wise, junior, in October, 1684,¹ leaves no doubt in our minds that we are concerned solely with Thomas Wise, junior, at the Bridge. He combined the office for several years with a large Portland stone business conducted in partnership with Thomas Gilbert, and from 1686 to 1694 with a large contracting business at St. Paul's, in partnership with Thomas Hill.²

4. *Mason-Contractors.*

How widespread the contract system was amongst masons in London in the first part of the seventeenth century we cannot say with certainty; the "direct labour" system still prevailed to some extent. The Banqueting House at Whitehall was partly erected on that system in 1619-22,³ and substantial repair work at Old St. Paul's in the 1630's⁴ and minor repair works at various palaces in 1662⁵ were also apparently organised on the old system. On the other hand, the available evidence suggests that the building of Lincoln's Inn chapel in 1619-24,⁶ the rebuilding of the Goldsmiths' Hall in the 1630's,⁷ and the erection of Clarendon House in the early 1660's⁸ were done by contractors. After the Great Fire, building activity enormously increased and much more information is available. From this time onwards, in any case, the "direct labour" system appears to have been almost universally displaced by the contract system. We find the masonry work in connection with royal, ecclesiastical and municipal building being let to contractors almost without exception⁹; in all probability private jobs were conducted in the same way. The rebuilding of Masons' Hall in 1669-70 is an example of a private job done by contract.¹⁰

¹ He was not made free until 14th June, 1704, when the entry runs:—

Thomas Pareman, late apprentice of Tho. Wise, citizen & mason of London, and one of the Assistants. 7 years indenture dated 7 Oct 1684, admitted sworn & paid 1.16.0

² Thomas Wise, junior, son of Thomas Wise, senior (see above) was living in the parish of St. Olave, Southwark, in 1685. [Will of Thomas Wise, senior.] To judge by the description in a Winchester Palace stone contract of 1683 [Wren Society, vii., 32] he came from the Isle of Portland. In partnership with Thomas Gilbert (see above) he was selling Portland stone at St. Paul's as early as 1678 and at Hampton Court as late as 1690. In 1684 he was made free of the Masons' Company, presumably by patrimony, though the entry merely states that Thomas Wise, son of Thomas Wise, Esq., was made free on 1st July, 1684. He was Master of the Company in 1695. In 1685 he was in all probability working with his father at St. Paul's, as there is a note by Thomas Wise, senior, in the *Acquittance Book* under date 4th July, 1685, authorising payment of money to his son Thomas Wise. With Thomas Hill (see above) as a partner he took over his father's work at St. Paul's when Thomas Wise, senior, died, in December, 1685. Commencing in 1698, Thomas Wise, junior, and Thomas Hill had the contract for the South West quarter of the Dome [Halley, 58, and Carøe, 113.], so that they worked at St. Paul's more or less continuously for some twenty years. We have traced two of his apprentices of the period 1684-94 in addition to Peareman, viz., his son, John Wise, bound 4th December, 1689, and Robert Blake, bound 24th November, 1690. Like Peareman, they both worked at the Bridge. Their names do not occur amongst the names of the sixteen masons employed by Wise and Hill at St. Paul's at the time of the search in September, 1694 [Appendix E.]

³ *P.R.O. Declared Accounts*, No. 3391.

⁴ *P.R.O. K.R. Misc. Bks.*, i., 67.

⁵ *B.M. Harl. MS.*, 1657.

⁶ *Black Books of Lincoln's Inn*, ii., 209, 248.

⁷ Prideaux, *Memorials of the Goldsmith's Company*, 161 seq.

⁸ *Gunther*, 146, 155, 163.

⁹ Writing of St. Paul's, Halley (p. 54) says the system of contracts was only practised by the masons; in other trades and sometimes in the masons' also, men were engaged and paid by the Clerk of the Works.

¹⁰ Conder, 190.

Our knowledge of the contract system at this period turns largely round four centres of building activity:—

(i.) Certain buildings for which the Municipality was responsible, *e.g.*, the Guildhall, various prisons, gates and the Fire Monument.¹ The payments to the eight principal mason-contractors for workmanship and materials amounted to some £27,000 between 1667 and 1675.

(ii.) City parochial churches,² together with St. Andrew's, Holborn and St. Clement Danes.³ The cost of masons' work and materials between 1670 and 1690 amounted approximately to £150,000, shared amongst 17 or 18 principal contractors.

(iii.) St. Paul's Cathedral.⁴ The sums paid to 14 contractors for masons' work and stone carving⁵ amounted to about £143,000 between 1675 and 1700. To make this figure comparable with that of £150,000 in respect of parochial churches, £104,000 must be added for stone, making a total of £247,000 for masons' work and materials.

(iv.) Certain royal works (Windsor Castle,⁶ Winchester, Whitehall, Hampton Court and Kensington Palaces and Greenwich Hospital).⁷ A sum of some £60,000 was shared amongst a dozen principal mason-contractors between 1674 and 1700.

The names of these various mason-contractors, together with the amounts paid to them and (in brackets) the number of contracts in which they were concerned, are set out in four columns in the table which follows, those whose names appear in more than one column being entered in the upper part of the table. Where masons worked as partners, we have equally divided the sums paid between them⁸; in one case, where John Thompson worked in partnership with Wilcox, a carpenter, at St. Vedast's, Foster Lane, we have credited Thompson with three-quarters of the £1,272 in question, as the accounts for other churches suggest that that was about the normal relationship between payments to masons and payments to carpenters.

¹ *Guildhall Lib. MS.*, 184.

² "The Bills of the Parochial Churches" (*Bod. Lib. Rawlinson MS.*, 387) printed in summary form in Weaver and in Wren Society, x.

³ Parish records printed in Wren Society, x.

⁴ *St. Paul's Accounts* (which served as a basis for Halley) and "An Account of Re-building the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's, London" (*Bibl. Lambethana* 670) printed in *A.Q.C.*, xvii.

⁵ Carving stone by masons is entered at some £22,000, of which Mr. Cibber received £578 and Mr. Gibbons £1,919. We do not include Cibber and Gibbons among the principal mason-contractors.

⁶ Various *Declared Accounts* in P.R.O., printed in extract in Hope, *Windsor Castle*.

⁷ Various *Declared Accounts*, *Pipe Rolls* and *Fabric Committee Minute Books* printed in extract in Wren Society, iv., vi. and vii.

⁸ The exceptional treatment of Beauchamp at Greenwich is indicated in a footnote to the table.

LIST OF LONDON MASON-CONTRACTORS, 1667-1700.

(The number of contracts is indicated in brackets.)

Municipal Works 1667-1675	Parish Churches 1670-1690	St. Paul's 1674-1700	Royal Works 1674-1700
Joshua Marshall £11,650 (2)	Joshua Marshall £19,290 (6)	Joshua Marshall	Joshua Marshall £10,545 (4)
Thomas Cartwright £3,180 (6)	Thomas Cartwright £11,930 (4)		
John Shorthose £2,070 (3)	John Shorthose £8,220 (3)		
Edward Pearce £660 (1)	Edward Pearce £11,850 (4)	Edward Pearce	Edward Pearce £2,004 (1)
James Flory £450 (2)	James Flory £2,270 (2)		
	John Thompson, £22,245 (7)	John Thompson	John Thompson £1,760 (2)
	Edward Strong £17,336 (7)	Edward Strong	Edward Strong £11,030 (4)
	[Thomas Strong]* Samuel Fulkes £11,126 (8)	Thomas Strong Samuel Fulkes	Samuel Fulkes £447 (1)
	Christopher Kempster £10,870 (4)	Christopher Kempster	Christopher Kempster £608 (1)
	Thomas Wise, sen. £6,818 (3)	Thomas Wise, sen.	Thomas Wise, sen. £1,075 (1)
	Jasper Latham £3,234 (2)	Jasper Latham	
		Thomas Hill	Thomas Hill £13,571 (9)
		Ephraim Beauchamp	[Ephraim Beauchamp]†
Thomas Knight £6,925 (11)	Nicholas Young £10,555 (4)	Thomas Wise, jun.	John Clarke ‡ £13,514 (10)
John Young £1,217 (3)	Abraham Story £4,496 (2)	Nathaniel Rawlins	William Wise £447 (1)
Richard Croke £660 (2)	John Croke £3,324 (1)	William Kempster	Benjamin Jackson £3,092 (4)
	William Hammond £3,000 (3)		Nicholas Lampen £716 (2)
	William Stanton £2,025 (1)		
	John Fitch £1,665 (1)		

* Three of the seven contracts, value £17,336, credited to Edward Strong, were shared by him with his brother Thomas in an unknown proportion.

† Beauchamp is said to have been Edward Strong's partner for a time at Greenwich Hospital (Clutterbuck, i., 168 n.); a Minute of the Fabric Committee of 4th July, 1699 (Wren Society, vi., 40) authorises him, together with Edward Strong, jun., to sign the contract signed by Edward Strong, sen., for that year's work, but we have treated the contract as an Edward Strong contract and have credited Strong with the £3,044 paid for masons' work that year.

‡ Including £6,127 paid to John Clarke and George Pile, masons, in respect of contracts at Windsor Castle, 1678-86. [Hope, *Windsor Castle*, i., 316 seq.] We cannot trace Pile in London, and surmise that he was a local mason.

(i.) *The Municipal Contractors.* If the exceptionally large payment of £11,300 to Joshua Marshall in respect of the Fire Monument be excluded, we are left with 29 somewhat miscellaneous contracts to a total value of £15,700, or an average of £540 each. The relative smallness of the contracts is one feature of this group, though it must not be overlooked that the Municipality may have given out other and larger contracts than those of which we have traced the

details.¹ Another characteristic is that all the contractors were London-trained masons and all members of the Masons' Company with the exception of Edward Pearce, who was a Painter Stainer. In one connection or another, we have already referred to several of these contractors, to Joshua Marshall as King's Master Mason, to Thomas Cartwright as chief Bridge Mason, to Edward Pearce as "shopkeeper" and statuary, to John Shorthose, Thomas Knight and John Young as importers of stone, and in so doing we have drawn attention to their activities as contractors. About the other two, James Flory² and Richard Crooke,³ we do not know very much, but it is of interest to note that Flory had a paving contract at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1676, which suggests that he was a mason of some standing.

(ii.) *The Parish Church Contractors.* We are here concerned with far more substantial contracts, averaging about £2,400 per mason per contract. It is consequently not surprising that nearly all the big contractors of the 1670's and 1680's are included in the list. Whilst five of them—Joshua Marshall, Thomas Cartwright, Edward Pearce, John Shorthose and James Flory—also figure amongst the municipal contractors and seven more have been referred to in other connections, viz., Thomas Wise, senior, as King's Master Mason, Samuel Fulkes as overseer, William Stanton, Abraham Story and Jasper Latham as "shopkeepers," William Hammond as a stone-merchant and Nicholas Young as an importer of stone, there remain six whom we have only casually mentioned. Of these, four—John Thompson, Thomas Strong, Edward Strong and Christopher Kempster—were masons of outstanding importance.

Within two years of being made free by service in October, 1667, John Thompson was admitted to the Livery, so he must already have had a fairly well established position, which is also borne out by the fact that before the end of 1670 he had taken masonry contracts for no fewer than three of the city churches.⁴ During the next twenty-five or thirty years, he appears to have been more or less constantly employed as a mason-contractor on city churches, on

¹ The Municipality, for example, was responsible with the Mercers' Company for the rebuilding of the Royal Exchange. Cartwright is said to have been the contractor. (Bell, *Great Fire of London*, 273.)

² James Flory was a member of the Yeomanry throughout the period 1663-1676. When the *Quarterage Book* resumes in 1696, his name no longer appears. In 1676 he had a paving contract at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, the entry in the Accounts being as follows:—

"12 Sept. 1676. Paid to Mr James Flory, citizen and mason of London, as advance money and part of his payment beforehand for the paving of the Chapel with marble according to the articles agreed £50."
[Willis and Clark, vol. ii., 707 n.]

He was probably the "flury, a Mason" who was paid 10s. for an estimate of the cost of repairing St. Christopher's Church in 1666-7. [Freshfield, *Account Book of the Parish of St. Christopher le Stocks*, 1662-85, p. 13.] Very possibly he was the son of Thomas Florie, late apprentice of Richard Lluellyn, free 9th August, 1627, admitted to the Livery 5th November, 1635; Warden 1648 and 1652. Thomas Florie apparently died at some date before 1663.

³ Richard Crooke was a member of the Livery prior to 1663. He was Warden in 1667 and 1672 and Master in 1674. He was paid £1,300 (jointly with John Shorthose) for work on Ludgate in 1670-73. [Guildhall Library MS., 184.] He was the masonry contractor at the erection of the Mathematical School at Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street, in 1683. [Wren Soc., xi., 68.] He also had a contract at the Hospital in 1695 in partnership with Samuel Fulkes. [*Ibid.*, 76.] He died before Midsummer, 1696. He was very possibly the Richard Crooke apprenticed to William Smith in December, 1628, and made free in 1635-6.

⁴ St. Christopher's 1670-75 (£742), St. Vedast's, Foster Lane, 1670-73 (£1,272 jointly with Wilcox, the carpenter) and St. Dionis Backchurch 1670-86 (£3,528).

St. Paul's and on Royal Works,¹ and in many cases his contracts were of a very substantial character.

Thomas Strong; Edward Strong and Christopher Kempster had much in common: they all began their careers as masons outside London, they all had quarry connections, they all came from the same part of the country, Oxfordshire, they all migrated to London during the expansion of building activity after the Great Fire, they were all admitted to the freedom of the Masons' Company and of the City of London by redemption. William Kempster, to whom reference will be made later, had exactly the same kind of history, and Thomas Wise, senior, and Thomas Wise, junior, whose activities have previously been described, had very similar histories, except that Thomas Wise, senior, worked in London before the Fire and that the son, certainly, and the father, probably, came from the Isle of Portland. The Strongs, the Kempsters and the Wises are the post-Fire examples of the close connection between quarry owners and mason-contractors which in the fourteenth century was illustrated by the Canons of Corfe and the Cromptes of Bocton and Maidstone.² Knowledge of the Strongs appears to rest chiefly on Clutterbuck,³ who prints in a long footnote a memorandum on the Strong family written by Edward Strong, senior, in 1716, but the Building Accounts of the Parochial Churches and of St. Paul's, the Minute Books of the Fabric Committee of Greenwich Hospital and the records of the Masons' Company help to throw further light upon the Strong family.

Thomas Strong's⁴ career as a mason-contractor in London was relatively short. Although he was admitted to the freedom by redemption in September,

¹ John Thompson, late apprentice of Francis Clarke, was made free 1st October, 1667, was admitted to the Livery 29th October, 1669, and to the Court of Assistants in 1674-75; was Warden in 1683 (in which year he took the farm of the search of stone) 1684, 1685 and 1686 and Master in 1690. He was again Master from November, 1695, to June, 1696, in place of John Young, who died during his year of office. Thompson died in 1700. [*Quarterage Book*.] His main jobs as masonry contractor for parish churches were St. Magnus (£6,313), the Tower of St. Mary le Bow (£6,172), Allhallows, Lombard Street (£4,399), St. Dionis Backchurch (£3,528) and St. Bartholomew Exchange (£3,223). He had a small contract at Winchester Palace in 1683, by which he undertook to employ 14 setters and masons and 7 sawyers and labourers from January, 1683/4, to July, 1684. [Wren Society, vii., 38.] He was paid £600 in 1685 for repair work at Lincoln's Inn Chapel. [*Black Books of Lincoln's Inn*, iii., 154.] He did work at Hampton Court Gardens between 1689 and 1696 [Wren Society, iv., 31] and at Kensington Palace in 1690 [Wren Society, vii., 152]. He commenced work at St. Paul's about 1688 [Halley, 58]; the search of 1694 shows that he was employing 13 men there, including William Kempster who was in due course to succeed him.

² See *The Mediæval Mason*, 104, and our article (jointly with N. B. Lewis) "Some Building Activities of John, Lord Cobham," *A.Q.C.*, xlv., part i.

³ *History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, London, 1815, vol. 1, 167-169.

⁴ Thomas Strong, eldest son of Valentine Strong, a mason and quarry owner at Taynton, Oxfordshire, was probably born in the early 1630's. In the 1660's he apparently worked on the stables at Cornbury, at Longleat, Wiltshire, and at Trinity College, Oxford, where Wren was the architect. He was made free by redemption of the Masons' Company and of the City of London on 15th September, 1670. He was admitted to the Livery on 30th October, 1671, and to the Court of Assistants on 10th July, 1675. His brother, John Strong, was apprenticed to him on 2nd January, 1671/2, but it was not until August, 1672, that we first trace him as a contractor at St. Stephen's, Walbrook, with Christopher Kempster as assistant or partner. The Official Accounts attribute this church, as well as St. Bennet's, begun in 1677, and St. Austin's, begun in 1680, to Edward Strong. These three churches were certainly finished by Edward Strong several years after Thomas Strong's death, but we feel that Edward Strong's memorandum (quoted by Clutterbuck), which states that they were begun by Thomas Strong, is correct. Edward Strong was only born about 1652 and we doubt whether he was in London in the 1670's. He certainly was not admitted to the freedom (by redemption) until April, 1680. Thomas Strong became one of the mason-contractors at St. Paul's when work began in 1675, and continued there until his death in 1681. The documents (of which Bro. Williams has kindly made an abstract) relating to the probate of his will show that Thomas Strong wrote instructions for a will and died before it could be drawn up in proper form. The instructions were proved on 30th June, 1681, and the probability is that he died a few days earlier. This confirms Edw. Strong's statement that Thomas died about Midsummer, 1681. Apart from certain legacies, everything was left to his executor, Edward Strong.

1670, we can trace no masonry contract of his prior to the autumn of 1672, when he began work at St. Stephen's, Wallbrook. He may have taken contracts which have not been traced, but it is probable that his brother Edward would have known about them had they been of importance; it is therefore likely that at first he was solely engaged in selling stone from his quarries at Taynton near Burford.¹ Whether he supplied stone to the three parish churches which he commenced we do not know, but it is highly probable; he certainly sold considerable quantities of Burford stone to St. Paul's, as well as being one of the contractors for masons' work. In 1677-78, the value of the stone he sold to St. Paul's was £336 and the amount he was entitled to as mason-contractor was £1,811.² In April, 1678, the search shows that he was employing 35 men at St. Paul's.³ When he died in 1681, he was succeeded at St. Paul's and on his other works by his brother, Edward Strong.

The career of Edward Strong as a mason-contractor was shorter than that of Christopher Kempster or Samuel Fulkes; nor is it certain that in any one year he was quite so busy as Joshua Marshall at the height of his short career as mason-contractor. Yet the name of Edward Strong is undoubtedly far better known than that of any other mason of this period. It has to be recognised that he enjoyed two great advantages which probably helped to establish his fame; in the first place, he succeeded to a first-class connection and well-deserved reputation built up in the course of ten years' previous residence in London by his brother, Thomas Strong; in the second place, he had the resources of an old family quarrying and masonry business at his back, which very possibly enabled him to accept larger contracts than his rivals, in an age when contractors experienced great difficulty in obtaining reasonably prompt payment of the sums due to them. These considerations, together with the unbroken connection of the Strong family with the building of St. Paul's from the laying of the foundations by Thomas Strong in 1675 to the erection of the lantern on the Dome by Edward Strong, junior, in 1707, probably helped to bring the Strong family in general, and Edward Strong in particular, into prominence in his own day. That such prominence has tended to survive to the present time is probably due to his Memorandum on the Strong family having been printed in Clutterbuck's *History of Hertford*, which in its turn has been used by writers dealing with St. Paul's and its builders, and has tended to lead, quite wrongly, to Edward Strong's being represented as the Master Mason at the erection of the Cathedral. Actually, Edward Strong⁴ was no more than the most prominent among a number of distinguished mason-contractors who worked in the London area in the last three decades of the seventeenth century and at the commencement of the eighteenth.

¹ Edward Strong states that Thomas Strong after the Fire sold great quantities of stone to London masons.

² *St. Paul's Accounts, 1677-78*. For work done in the same year £2,391 were due to Joshua Marshall's executors.

³ See list in Appendix A.

⁴ Edward Strong, son of Valentine Strong of Taynton, was born about 1652. He probably learned the mason's trade in the family quarries at Taynton or Little Barrington. We first trace him in London on 6th April, 1680, when he was made free of the Masons' Company by redemption by Order of the Court of Aldermen dated 30th March, 1680. It is to be assumed that he came to London to assist his brother, Thomas Strong; in any case, at Thomas's death in 1681 he succeeded to Thomas's contracts and Thomas's apprentice, John Miller (bound 23rd April, 1678), was turned over to him on 11th May, 1682. In 1685, when subscriptions were solicited by the Masons' Company towards defraying the charges of obtaining a new Charter, he promised £5 compared with £10 each promised by Thomas Wise, Abraham Story, William Stanton, John Thompson, John Shorthose and John Crooke, which suggests that he was not yet quite of the first standing. As a contractor, he completed the masonry of the three churches begun by Thomas Strong and was responsible himself for St. Mildred's, Broad Street (£872), St. Magdalen's, Old Fish Street (£2,776), St. Clement's, East Cheap (£2,661), and St. Michael's Royal (£4,766) [Weaver]. He also held contracts at Winchester Palace about 1683 [Wren Society, vii., 28, 38]. But his

Though Christopher Kempster was admitted to the freedom by redemption in August, 1670, he does not appear to have taken a masonry contract in London until August, 1672, when he joined Thomas Strong on St. Stephen's, Walbrook. Possibly, as we surmise was the case with Thomas Strong, he employed the two intervening years in selling his Burford stone in London. From 1672, when he was already a man of 45, until 1709, when he was over 80, his career as a contractor can be traced in some detail, but the entries in his *Day Book*¹ show that he must frequently have been in Burford, to which place he finally retired in his old age. His reputation as a contractor was high, as is shown by Wren's opinion of him, written in 1681²:—

I have thought of a very able man, modest, honest and treatable . . . His name Christopher Kempster, he wrought the Town house at Abbingdon . . . I have used him on good works, he is very careful to work true to his design and does strong well banded work and I can rely upon him.³

main work for the first fifteen years of his London career was at St. Paul's. In 1685-86, for example, the amount due to him for work there was £3,164, compared with £2,412 due to Edward Pearce, £1,941 due to Jasper Latham and £1,397 due to the executors of Thomas Wise. In 1693-94, he was being paid for Burford stone he had sold to St. Paul's, and in addition we have traced in the Accounts of the year sums of about £2,450 due to him for workmanship, compared with £2,090 due to John Thompson, £1,240 due to Kempster and Beauchamp, £1,180 due to Rawlins and £1,100 due to Fulkes. The search of September, 1694, shows Edward Strong as employing 65 masons at St. Paul's, Kempster and Beauchamp 25, Fulkes 16, Hill and Wise 16, Thompson 13. In 1696 he took the first mason's contract at Greenwich Hospital and continued to work there until 1715 [Wren Society, vi]. In the first contract, Strong was definitely in partnership with Thomas Hill [Wren Society, vi., 34], but in the succeeding contracts he appears to have been alone, though there is an entry in the Minutes of the Fabric Committee, 4th July, 1699, "Agreed that Mr Edward Strong junr and Mr Beauchamp may sign the contract signed by Edward Strong senr for this year's work." In 1701 (December 10th) the reference is to "Mr Strong's contract," and Edward Strong, senior, was undoubtedly the mason responsible in the eyes of the committee. From 1698 to 1707 he also had the contract for one quarter of the dome of St. Paul's [Halley, 58, and Carøe, 113]. From 1705 to 1712, in partnership with his son, Edward Strong, junior, he was contractor at Blenheim Palace. He and Beauchamp were consulted about the condition of the cloisters of Christ's Hospital, Newgate Street, in May, 1716 [Wren Soc., xi., 79]. He was Warden of the Masons' Company in 1694 and Master in 1696. He held the post of Treasurer of the Company for several years, resigning the office on 26th July, 1716. He died in 1723.

Edward Strong, junior, was apprenticed to his father, Edward Strong, senior, on 30th July, 1691; was made free on 18th October, 1698, paying the Steward's fine and being called upon the Livery the same day. He was admitted to the Court of Assistants 26th March, 1702, was Warden in 1712 and 1715 and Master in 1718. He died in 1741. So far as we are aware, most of his work as mason-contractor was done as his father's assistant or partner at Greenwich and Blenheim and very possibly at St. Paul's, where he was certainly working on his own account in 1708 [St. Paul's Accounts, Poley, 25]. He appears also to have worked on his own account at the erection of Marlborough House, as in December, 1712, he was one of ten contractors who had been employed in the building who signed a declaration denying a report that Wren had made advantage to himself by gratuities from the workmen, i.e., the contractors [Wren Society, vii., 228]. The only other mason signing the declaration was Henry Banckes, whom we have failed to trace. Bro. H. W. Sayers informs us that Edward Strong, citizen and Mason of London, was married at the New St. Paul's on 2nd April, 1699. This would no doubt be Edward Strong, jun.

¹ See Carøe, chap. x.

² Letter of Christopher Wren to Bishop Fell of Christchurch, Oxford, 26th May, 1681, printed in Carøe, 24.

³ Our chief source of information about Christopher Kempster, apart from various building accounts and the Masons' Company's records, is W. D. Carøe, *Wren and Tom Tower*, where use has been made of his *Day Book* among other sources.

Christopher Kempster, son of William Kempster, was born at Burford, Oxfordshire, in 1626-27. He owned a quarry there from which stone was being sent to London as early as 1668. He was himself in London in January, 1669/70, and was made free of the Masons' Company and of the City by redemption on 4th August, 1670. He was admitted to the Livery 30th October, 1671; was Warden in 1687, 1688 and 1689 and Master in 1691 and 1700. In London he was engaged on St. Stephen's, Walbrook, 1672-87 (£4,424 jointly with Thomas Strong and subsequently with Edward Strong). He was also mason-contractor at St. James, Garlickhithe, 1674-87 (£2,823), St. Mary, Abchurch, 1681-87 (£1,695), and St. Mary, Somerset, 1686-94

The other two masons, whose contracts for the rebuilding of the parish churches were of sufficient importance to class them as principal contractors, were John Fitch and John [? Richard] Croke. So far as we can tell neither was of any great standing.¹

(iii.) *The St. Paul's Contractors.* In the course of this paper we have already referred in other connections to each of these fourteen contractors in more or less detail, with the exception of William Kempster, about whom we know relatively little.² They were never all employed simultaneously as contractors; for the first three years or so, there were *two* contractors: (i.) Joshua Marshall and (ii.) Thomas Strong; then for about ten years, there were normally *four* contractors: (i.) Thomas Strong (and his successor Edward Strong), (ii.) Edward Pearce (successor to Marshall), (iii.) Thomas Wise, senior (and his successors Thomas Wise, junior, and Thomas Hill) and (iv.) Jasper Latham.³ Finally, for about twenty years from 1688 to 1707, there were generally *six* contractors: (i.) Edward Strong, (ii.) Edward Pearce (and his successors Christopher Kempster⁴ and Ephraim Beauchamp), (iii.) Thomas Wise, junior, and Thomas Hill, (iv.) Jasper Latham (and his successor Nathaniel Rawlins), (v.) John Thompson (and his successor William Kempster) and (vi.) Samuel Fukes.

(£4,140). Outside London at this period he was the mason-contractor for Abingdon Town House about 1677 [Accounts quoted by Carøe, 87], at Tom Tower, Christchurch, Oxford, in 1681-82, in partnership with a mason named Thomas Robinson, and he had contracts at Winchester Palace (one jointly with Edward Strong and one alone) about 1683 [Wren Society, vii., 28, 40]. His connection with St. Paul's commenced in 1691 or 1692 [Accounts quoted in Carøe, 113, suggest 1692] from which time until 1707 he worked there more or less continuously in partnership with Ephraim Beauchamp, first on the legs of the Dome and then on the Dome itself. From 1707 to 1709 he worked there on his own account, chiefly repairing the vaults. He died at the age of 91 in 1715, in Burford, with which place he had always maintained a close connection. By his will, in which he is described as "of Upton and Bynith in the parish of Burford, gent.," he bequeathed his quarry to his second son John [Carøe, 82]. For his brother William and his son William, see below.

¹ **John Fitch** [Fetch], son of Fabian Fetch, late of Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire, blacksmith, deceased, was apprenticed to William Joyne 11th September, 1663, was made free 17th January, 1670/1, and admitted to the Livery 29th October, 1674. He had one contract for the masonry work at St. Michael, Bassishaw, 1676-82 (£1,665). It is also possible that he was the same as John Fitch who had the bricklayers' contract for St. Anne's and St. Agnes, 1676-87 (£984). He is marked in the Livery List of 1700 as deceased.

John Croke, son of Peter Croke, of Devizes, Wiltshire, baker, was apprenticed to Richard Croke 25th July, 1676, free 8th January, 1683/4, Warden in 1694 and 1697 and still a member of the Court of Assistants in 1700. In the City Church Accounts, John Croke is entered jointly with John Shorthose at Christchurch, 1677-91 (£6,648); the name was either entered in mistake for that of Richard Croke, his master and one of the municipal contractors previously referred to, or he presumably only joined Shorthose as a partner after he was free in 1683/4. John Croke was one of the three masons summoned before the Fabric Committee of Greenwich Hospital in 1696 regarding the masonry contract [Greenwich Hospital (1696), a MS. in R.I.B.A. Library], but was not successful.

² **William Kempster** was probably the brother of Christopher Kempster, who had a brother working in the quarry at Burford about 1671 [Day Book, Carøe, 91]. He was made free of the Masons' Company by redemption on 11th December, 1677, was Warden in 1700 and 1701 and Master in 1705. He had a son, Christopher, who was bound to him on 3rd April, 1694, and admitted to the freedom on 22nd October, 1701, and another son, William, who was admitted by patrimony on 17th January, 1714/5. (Christopher Kempster, senior, also had a son called William, born 1678, died 1717 [Carøe, 85]. It was he who erected the monument to his father in Burford Church.) We know but little about William Kempster's career as a mason. He was working at St. Paul's for John Thompson in 1694 [Search of 1694, Appendix C] and succeeded to Thompson's contract there [Halley, 58], but whether before Thompson's death in 1700 or after his death, we do not know. In 1707 he completed the South West Tower [Halley, 59]. He worked on repairs at St. Paul's in 1709 and 1710 (after which the accounts are missing for four or five years) and received a payment there in 1716. [Extracts from *St. Paul's Accounts* quoted by Carøe, 115.]

³ The *Acquittance Book* shows that Ephraim Beauchamp did some work at St. Paul's in 1683-84, as he received sums of £100, £25, £30, £35 and £150 between November, 1683, and June, 1684.

⁴ The *Acquittance Book* shows that the first part payment for work on St. Paul's was made 23rd May, 1691.

The position may be briefly tabulated as follows:—

TABLE SHOWING DISTRIBUTION 'OF MASONS' CONTRACTS AT ST. PAUL'S.

YEARS.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.
1675 to 1677-8	T. Strong	J. Marshall				
1677-8 to 1687	T. Strong to '81 E. Strong from '81	E. Pearce from '79	T. Wise sr. to '86 T. Wise jr. & T. Hill from '86	J. Latham		
1688 to 1707	E. Strong	E. Pearce to '91 C. Kempster & E. Beauchamp from '91	T. Wise jr. & T. Hill	J. Latham to '91 (?) N. Rawlins from '91 (?)	J. Thompson to '98 (?) W. Kempster from '98 (?)	S. Fulkes

The division of the work among the various contractors can perhaps best be illustrated from the position in the early eighteenth century, when Edward Strong was responsible for the North West of the Dome, Kempster and Beauchamp for the South East of the Dome, Wise and Hill for the South West of the Dome, Rawlins for the North East of the Dome, Fulkes for the North West Tower and William Kempster for the South West Tower.¹ This scheme implies an equal division of work so far as operations on the Dome were concerned, but at an earlier period the division of the work had been less equal, as various figures previously quoted in connection with Edward Strong clearly showed.

We have set out the names of fourteen principal mason-contractors at St. Paul's in the table given earlier in this section, but in view of the long duration and great size of the undertaking and of the contracts connected with it, it would probably be more correct to think of these masons as firms rather than as individuals. Looked at in that way, we are disposed to regard these fourteen individuals as constituting only nine or ten firms. The partnerships subsisting between Thomas Wise, junior, and Thomas Hill on the one hand, and Christopher Kempster and Ephraim Beauchamp on the other, lasted practically as long as these masons worked at St. Paul's, for 21 years in the first case and 15 years in the second, so that they were quite different in character from the more or less casual partnerships entered into by various masons for the purpose of executing small contracts, *e.g.*, the joint participation of Christopher Kempster and Edward Strong in the foundation contract at Winchester Palace,² of Christopher Kempster and Thomas Robinson in the Tom Tower contract at Oxford³ and of Thomas Shadbolt and John Shorthose in the rebuilding of Masons' Hall, London.⁴ Thomas Wise, junior, and Thomas Hill, and likewise Christopher Kempster and Ephraim Beauchamp, should be regarded as constituting two firms of contractors, Messrs. Wise and Hill and Messrs. Kempster and Beauchamp.

Edward Strong, succeeding as he did to the work and contracts commenced by Thomas Strong, can reasonably be regarded as a continuation of the old family firm: the same is true of Thomas Wise, junior, and Thomas Hill succeeding to the work of Thomas Wise, senior. The one firm might fairly be described as

¹ Halley, 58, 59.

² Wren Society, vii., 28.

³ Carøe, 64.

⁴ Conder, 190.

Messrs. Strong Bros. and the other as Messrs. Wise, Son and Hill. It is not clear whether William Kempster should be regarded as the direct successor of John Thompson; we know that he was working with him at St. Paul's in 1694, probably in a responsible post as overseer, and that in due course he took over Thompson's work there. We have found no reference to him as an independent contractor before he worked in that capacity at St. Paul's, and are inclined to picture him as acquiring the goodwill and organisation of Thompson's business and as carrying on much as before. In that case, Messrs. Thompson must be thought of as a firm of contractors of which first John Thompson and then William Kempster was proprietor.

Considering the mason-contractors in this way, Messrs. Strong Bros. were connected with St. Paul's for 33 years, Messrs. Wise, Son and Hill for 30 years, Messrs. Kempster and Beauchamp, Messrs. Thompson and Messrs. Fulkes each for 20 years, Messrs. Rawlins for some 15 years, Messrs. Jasper Latham for some ten years and Messrs. Joshua Marshall for some three years. The business origins of these nine firms show an interesting diversity: three, viz., Messrs. Pearce, Messrs. Latham and Messrs. Marshall, developed out of tomb-makers' or statuary's shops; three, viz., Messrs. Strong Bros., Messrs. Wise, Son and Hill, and Messrs. Kempster and Beauchamp, had quarry origins; the proprietors of two, viz., Messrs. Fulkes and Messrs. Rawlins grew from quite small beginnings; the origin of the last, Messrs. Thompson, is less well defined: Thompson began taking contracts almost as soon as he was out of his apprenticeship, whilst William Kempster, who joined the firm later, began his working life in a quarry. It is also worthy of note that, whilst the three ex-tomb-makers and statuarys, together with Thompson, served their apprenticeships in London, all the other men received their training in masonry outside London. Thus whilst firms of contractors with proprietors of London upbringing worked at St. Paul's for the equivalent of some 33 years, firms with proprietors of country training worked at St. Paul's for the equivalent of some 128 years. In other words, about four-fifths of all masonry contracting work at St. Paul's was carried out by contractors of country origin and training.

(iv.) *Contractors on Royal Works.* Very little need be said about these dozen men. The first nine on the list, being also St. Paul's contractors, have already been dealt with at considerable length; it need only be added here that the £13,500 received by Hill was chiefly in respect of work at Hampton Court and Kensington Palace in the early 1690's, and the £11,000 received by Strong was almost entirely in respect of work at Greenwich Hospital from 1696 to 1699. With regard to the other four, Benjamin Jackson's work at Hampton Court prior to his appointment as King's Master Mason in 1701 was mentioned previously. John Clark's money was earned at Windsor Castle from 1678 to 1686 and at Hampton Court from 1689 to 1696. We have come across his work in no other connection.¹ Nicholas Lampen worked at Hampton Court between 1689 and 1696. As on one occasion he supplied chimney pieces, it is not unlikely that he was a monumental mason. He belonged not to the Masons', but to the Haberdashers' Company.² Apart

¹ John Clark, late apprentice of Timothy Townsend, was made free 30th March, 1669, was admitted to the Livery on 30th October, 1671. He was Warden in 1693 and Master in 1697. He was still a member of the Court of Assistants in 1700. He commenced to work at Windsor about the time of Joshua Marshall's death and was paid £6.127 (jointly with George Pile) from 1678 to 1686 [Hope, i., pp. 316-328]. After 1688 he did a small amount of work there on his own account [*Ibid.*, 321]. He worked on his own account at Hampton Court. 1689-96 (£7,387).

² Nicholas Lampen [Lampayne], in the Search of 1694, is noted as having a "son served about three years" and also has a query after his name "of what company." On 12th July, 1700, Robert Lampen, son of Nicholas Lampen, citizen and Haberdasher of London, was, according to the late Act of Common Council, admitted to the freedom of the Masons' Company and paid his Livery money with his Livery fine [no amount entered].

from the fact that William Wise was a partner of Samuel Fulkes in a Winchester Palace contract of 1683, we know nothing about his working career. As he was a son of Thomas Wise, senior, and rose to be Master of the Masons' Company, it is not improbable that he was associated with what we have called the firm of Messrs. Wise, Son and Hill.¹

The wide-spread adoption of the system of contracting in the building industry in the later seventeenth century raises other problems besides those associated with the mason-contractors as individuals: the methods of financing contracts, contemporary opinion about the system of contracts and the different types of contract actually adopted, call for brief consideration.

The financing of contracts. The theory of the business, as stated in various contracts, was quite simple: it was for the employer to find the money required in advance, to a greater or lesser extent. In its extreme form, this type of condition relieved the contractor of all financial responsibilities. In the Tom Tower, Christchurch, Contract of 1681² the Treasurer of Christchurch undertook to pay the masons and labourers their wages each week and to pay for the materials, tackle and utensils delivered from time to time, the sums so paid to be deducted from the amounts due to the mason-contractors (Kempster and Robinson), calculated according to the specified rates, at the times when the work was measured. According to the Winchester Palace Contracts of 1683,³ each contractor was to have a sum in hand (roughly equivalent to a month's outlay), and the balance by equal monthly instalments "if it appeared that the work upon measurement amount to so much money." In other cases the times for the payment of instalments were not laid down so definitely. In the St. Andrew's Holborn Contract of 1684, between the churchwardens and Edward Pearce and William Stanton, masons,⁴ it was provided that the mason-contractors were to receive £500 down and the old masons' materials, and a balance of £3,550 to be paid by instalments. According to the St. Clement Danes Contract of 13th May, 1681, between the churchwardens and John Shorthose and Edward Pearce, masons,⁵ £500 was to be paid on or before 24th June next and the balance by instalments, a condition of the contract providing when the first, second and final measurements were to be made. In this particular case the dates of the actual payments are endorsed on the contract as follows:—

Endorsements.

1. June 22, 1680	£500	Paid in part 1st Measurement.
2. November 19, 1680	221.1.9½	In full payment of 1st Measurement made 6 Sept. 1680. £721.1.9½
3. December 14, 1680	500.0.0)	In part of 2nd Measurement
4. April 7, 1681	400.0.0)	
5. June 23, 1681	500.0.0	
6. April 2, 1682	600.0.0	
7. October 6, 1682	350.0.0	
	<hr/> 3071.1.9½	

The endorsements clearly show that Shorthose and Pearce had to wait for 2½ months after the first section of the work was measured on September 6th, 1680,

¹ William Wise, son of Thomas Wise, citizen and mason of London, was apprenticed to the said Thomas Wise, his father, for seven years from 12th August, 1673, and admitted to the freedom on 5th October, 1680. He was Warden in 1695 and 1696 and Master in 1703.

² Caröe, 64 *seq.*

³ Wren Society, vii., 34-40.

⁴ Wren Society, x., 95, 96.

⁵ B.M. *Addit. MS. Chart*, 1605, printed in extract in Wren Society, x., 108, 109.

until they received the balance payment of £221.1.9½ on November 19th, 1680. The endorsements also show that the contractors received nothing in respect of work done on the second section from the time the first section was completed on or before September 6th, until the middle of December, when they received £500 in part payment.

We are disposed to think that delay in making part payments and payments in full on measurements was by no means uncommon and that contractors must frequently have been heavily out of pocket.¹ The *Acquittance Books* preserved at St. Paul's, which are in effect receipts signed by the receivers and then crossed out, readily enable the instalments paid to various contractors to be traced. Thus, for example, in 1683-84 payments were made to Edward Pearce and Thomas Wise as follows:—

Edward Pearce		Thomas Wise	
6 Oct. 1683	£66.16.11	16 Oct. 1683	£71.8.6
Dec.	350. 0. 0	21 Dec.	150.0.0
Jan. 1683/4	50. 0. 0	22 Mar. 1683/4	30.0.0
28 Mar. 1684	50. 0. 0	3 Apr. 1684	100.0.0
29 Mar.	50. 0. 0	31 May	50.0.0
19 Apr.	50. 0. 0	21 June	40.0.0
30 May	50. 0. 0	9 Aug.	50.0.0
14 June	100. 0. 0	17 Nov.	50.0.0

The first payments, being for odd amounts in each case, would suggest final adjustments of accounts for the financial year ending Michaelmas, 1683, and the figures taken as a whole might represent instalments so paid as to keep the contractors fairly well covered. But, to judge by such *Accounts of St. Paul's* as we have examined, the position of the contractors was far from being so happy as the *Acquittance Books* might suggest. For example, during the year 1677-78 the sums due to Joshua Marshall and his executors amounted to £2,391.12.1½, the sum paid by imprest was £1,200, leaving £1,191.12.1½ owing to the executors at the end of the year. For the same period the sums due to Thomas Strong for workmanship amounted to £1,811.0.11¾, the sum paid by imprest was £1,000, leaving £811.0.11¾ owing to Strong. The position eight years later can be summarised in a table:—

Name of contractor.	Sum due Oct. 1685-Sept. 1686	Sum paid on account.	Balance due 30 Sept. 1686.
Edward Strong	£3,164 0.6½	£600	£2,564. 0.6½
Edward Pearce	2,412. 3.6½	770	1,642. 3.6½
Jasper Latham	1,941.12.9¾	200	1,741.12.9¾
Exors. T. Wise	1,397.13.3	200	1,197.13.3

Whatever the theory might be with regard to employers financing building operations by finding the necessary funds as the building grew, in practice heavy indebtedness to mason-contractors appears to have been the rule rather than the exception at this period, and St. Paul's was probably not worse than other employers. After 1687, when the proportion of the yield of the coal duty available for St. Paul's was more than trebled, payments were doubtless speeded up, but even so at Michaelmas, 1700, there was a debt due of £12,743.16.10½ for work, materials and management (in addition to a loan of £27,850 outstanding at interest, borrowed on the coal duty).² How much of this £12,700

¹ A petition by John Thompson and other 'workmen' at Winchester, referred to Sir Christopher Wren in 1687, shows that they had been employed on contracts at ready money rates, but that £500 was still due to them for work done nearly two years previously. (*Cal. Treasury Books*, 1685-89, p. 1,330.)

² "A/c. of Re-building the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's," *Bib. Lambethana*, 670, printed in *A.Q.C.*, xvii.

Parkers who supplied Reigate and Guildford stone at St. Paul's¹ on various occasions. Other persons to whom fairly substantial payments were made were William Holland £194.7.0, Henry Newman £150, Robert New £100, William Dobin £87 and Richard Welsted £66, but we are unable to offer any suggestions as to who they were.

Benjamin Jackson had an account in 1703-1705 with a turnover of a few hundred pounds paid in in relatively large sums and drawn out principally in sums of £10 or £20 at weekly or fortnightly intervals. His account thus closely resembles the Fulkes account in character. On one occasion the Bank lent Jackson £50 free of interest for a month, but apart from that, the account was always in credit. Ephraim Beauchamp paid £100 by note into the bank on 15th January, 1700/1, and drew out £50 on 4th February and £50 on 3rd March, 1700/1. These were the only transactions he appears to have had at Hoare's Bank.

It now only remains to consider the third bank, the Bank of England, who very kindly permitted us to examine their early Drawing Office Ledgers. In these the names of Thomas Cartwright, Edward Strong, John Thompson, Thomas Hill and Benjamin Jackson occur, but without any occupation being specified or anything to suggest that the accounts relate to masons' transactions. After careful examination we incline to think that Cartwright, Thompson, Hill and Jackson were not identical with the masons of those names in whom we are interested. On the other hand, Strong was very possibly the prominent contractor, but his account is entirely devoid of interest from our point of view.

(ii.) In the second place, if funds were not forthcoming from the employer, building operations might cease. This contingency appears to have been contemplated in the Winchester Palace Contracts of 1683²; the brickmakers' contracts provided that if the instalments were more than a month in arrears, work should cease until payment was made, and the masons' contracts provided that if payments were behindhand the number of men employed was to be reduced until payment was made. At Greenwich Hospital work was from time to time at a standstill for want of funds. A Minute of the Fabric Committee of 8th October, 1697, states that "considerable sums of money are due to some of the chief workmen . . . for want whereof the said workmen cannot proceed with their work."³ The same thing appears to have happened more frequently between 1716 and 1725.⁴

(iii.) In the third place, to prevent work from being suspended for want of ready money, imprests might be issued in favour of the contractors. Such a course was adopted at Greenwich in 1697 and again on more than one occasion between 1716 and 1725. In the Public Accounts at present, an imprest is an advance to a sub-accountant or an individual, normally from an authorised vote, to be accounted for in detail after expenditure; in form it is an order on the Paymaster General to pay on demand, which is treated like a cheque. In these early days it seems to have been a [? first] claim on future revenue, which could only be converted into cash by discounting it, and that probably at a fairly high rate. The system appears to have been closely related to another system adopted, according to the Minutes of the Fabric Committee of Greenwich Hospital, on 30th April, 1697⁵:—

£2000 Tallys sold at £35 per cent. discount to Strong & Grove [the carpenter] (and at next meeting the Bricklayer admitted to his proportion).

¹ *St. Paul's Accounts.*

² *Wren Society*, vii., 28-33.

³ *Wren Society*, vi., 36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁵ *Wren Society*, vi., 35.

As we understand this transaction, £1,400 of debts due to the contractors were converted into £2,000 tallies which the contractors could either discount for cash or hold till paid off. Thus so far as the imprest or tally systems were used, building was in part carried on by means of credit transactions. The Editors of the Wren Society note that imprests "were granted grudgingly when the contractors could not otherwise be induced to proceed,"¹ so that the system must not be regarded as very usual.

(iv.) In the fourth place, the contractors might succeed in throwing part of the burden on to their creditors by partially postponing payment of their workpeople and suppliers of materials (if any). When the Crown built on the "direct labour" system, postponement of wage-payments was by no means uncommon. A petition to the Privy Council in 1618 refers to workmen on the King's works whose pay was twelve months in arrears and who had pawned their tools to buy food²; in 1667 Sir John Denman recommended the crews of the stone hoys to the care of the Navy Commissioners for victuals, "whereof they have great need, being so long unpaid."³ A petition from the artificers employed at Whitehall and other works in 1642 asserts that great sums were due for wages, "the greater part of which hath been owing for twenty four months and upwards," and that unless payment were made quickly they were likely to beg, starve and perish.⁴ How the workmen fared when employed by contractors we do not know, but there was at least one contemporary architect who advocated holding back a proportion of their pay, to hinder them from spending their wages too fast and "running to other works as many (upon slight occasions) do."⁵ Thus wages might be withheld on principle as well as for lack of funds.

(v.) In the fifth place, contractors might rely, in part at least, upon their own resources and carry on by means of their own capital, until such time as they were able to secure payment for the contracts they had executed. This would clearly imply that only wealthy firms could take such contracts as were likely to involve the granting of substantial credit for long periods. Thus when tenders were invited in August, 1712, for new work at the North West Corner of Greenwich Hospital, it is hardly surprising to learn that Mr. Strong's was the only tender for the masonry.⁶ A further consequence would undoubtedly be a substantial enhancement of the prices quoted by the contractors to recoup themselves for probable delay in payments or possible bad debts. A statement of the revenue of St. Paul's in 1702, when a sum of about £8,300 was due to the contractors, urges prompt payment, because "when tradesmen cannot depend on punctual payments, they are apt to be arbitrary both in their prices and performances."⁷ That this somewhat speculative big contracting business might turn out quite well for the contractor in the long run is shown by the fact that Edward Strong, in the words of Clutterbuck, "during a life of laborious industry raised the fabric of his own fortune and became possessed of many considerable estates in London, Middlesex and Hertfordshire."⁸

Contemporary Opinion on the System of Contracting. By the seventeenth century, as we have shown elsewhere, there developed a divorce between operative skill and eminence in the designing of buildings, and there appeared a kind of mason who, unlike the great majority of masons in mediæval and modern times, dealt on a large scale in stone and employed many craftsmen on the contracts he undertook. Though the distinction between architect or surveyor on the one

¹ Wren Society, vi., 75.

² S.P.D., 1611-18, 537.

³ S.P.D., 1667, 324.

⁴ Hist. MSS. Comm. Fifth Report, p. 63.

⁵ Sir Balthazar Gerbier, "Advice to all builders . . ." London, 1633, 58.

⁶ Wren Society, vi., 66.

⁷ Hist. MSS. Com. Portland MSS., x., 97.

⁸ Vol. i., 168.

hand, and workman or contractor on the other, was not complete,¹ it was far enough advanced to produce comment and criticism by the former upon the latter. Such criticism might arise in two ways: the architect, as designer, had views about the quality of work done by craftsmen and their ability to understand and follow his intentions, and secondly, as surveyor and custodian of the employer's interests, he had necessarily to be concerned about the prices charged by contractors and the measurement of work done by them. The contractor, no doubt, had views about the surveyor, but we know little or nothing about them. We are better informed about the views of architects, who were more given to recording them in manuscript² and in print.³ There is also extant at least one record of the opinion of a man who belonged to neither class, that of Thomas Baker, writing in 1707, on Ralph Simons and Gilbert Wigge, two Cambridge masons who designed a second court for St. John's College, Cambridge, and undertook to build it between 1598 and 1602, for £3,400.⁴ This plan seemed to Baker "a way of building not so allowable in works intended for posterity," and presumably he would have preferred the mediæval way of keeping the work under the control of a *custos operis*. The result was satisfactory neither to the College, which obtained only "a slight and crazy building," nor to the contractors, who were ruined, and suffered imprisonment in the course of litigation with the College.⁵

Architectural opinion in the century was in favour of specialisation, and builders were advised by Gerbier not to leave plan and execution to the same man or partners, but to pay an architect or surveyor for designing the house and to hire craftsmen to carry out his design. Pratt adds that "some ingenious gentleman who has seen much . . . abroad and been somewhat versed on the best authors" should be preferred to a "home bred architect."⁶ In any event, the owner of the house should take general charge of the building operations or else employ an honest and experienced surveyor to do it for him. As for the craftsmen, two questions arise: should they supply materials and should they be paid for time or by results? With regard to the former, Pratt is clearly of opinion that the most prudent plan is for a gentleman building his own house to

¹ See *The City and Countrey Purchaser and Builder's Dictionary* . . . by T. N. "Philomath", London, 1703, 11-12: *Architect* is described as "A Master-workman in a Building: 'tis also sometimes taken for the *Surveyor* of a Building, viz. He that designs the Model, or draws the plot, or Draught of the whole Fabrick; whose business it is to consider of the whole Manner and Method of the Building and also the Charge and Expence": cf. *ibid.*, 130: "The drawing of Draughts is most commonly the Work of a Surveyor, tho' there be many Master-workmen that will contrive a Building, and draw a Draught, or Design thereof, as well as most (and better than some) Surveyors."

² E.g., Sir Roger Pratt, 1620-1684, architect of several houses, including Clarendon House. His note books have been edited by R. T. Gunther: (*The Architecture of Sir Roger Pratt*, Oxford, 1928.)

³ E.g., Sir Balthasar Gerbier, *Counsel and Advice to all Builders, etc.*, London, 1663.

⁴ Mayor, ed. Baker, *History of St. John's College, Cambridge*. See vol. i., 191-193, 453, 455.

⁵ The unfortunate result may have been due to the incapacity of the contractors, who, according to Baker, were unequal to the undertaking, rather than to the contracting system itself. Possibly also Baker had much in mind the difference, of more than £900, between what the College paid them and what it received from its foundress, the Countess of Shrewsbury. A more modest programme of building, with payment spread over a longer time, would probably have meant less embarrassment, then and thereafter, to the College funds.

⁶ Gunther, 60. The author of the *City and Countrey Purchaser* says (p. 57) that "Gentlemen and others that are Builders are too often prevailed upon and persuaded by such Workmen as are wedded to their own Wits (tho' they were never versed in the Grounds of Architecture . . .) and tied to their own sort of irregular old way, which is no better than a deformed Custom." He strongly advises employing people skilled in the theory and practice of architecture, and local men if possible. It is worth noting his implication that workmen, as well as surveyors, could be so skilled.

buy materials direct from the owners, "who are generally men of credit," and then pay craftsmen for working on them.¹ If craftsmen supply the material, "tie them in what conditions you please to serve you with the best things, which are the dearest, they . . . will . . . be ready at all turns to obtrude the worst upon you, which are very much cheaper." With regard to the second question, decision was not easy. "If workmen be employed by the day," says Pratt, "they will make but small haste to finish the building."² On the other hand, it was a method to which workmen were accustomed and, to some extent at least, a tendency to delay might be checked by comparison of the amount done in a given time with the possible or normal output, though that was perhaps less easy with masonry than with brickwork.

Apart from day work there were two other methods, by the great and by measure.³ Work by the great (*in grosso*, as it was called in the Middle Ages) meant a contract similar to that of Simons and Wigge for the second court at St. John's College and the disadvantage was that the contractors, if the work were new or unfamiliar to them, might, through inability in computation, or perhaps through eagerness to secure the contract, undertake more than they could profitably perform at the agreed price, and then, as Wren remarks, "when they begin to find it, they shuffle and slight the worke to save themselves."⁴ Pratt, who advocated work by the great, considered it a matter of great difficulty and importance to draw up the contract and seemed to think that contractors were always on the alert to deceive the employer to their own profit.⁵ Wren considered working by measure the best, that is, where the contractor is not paid a fixed sum for the whole operation but is paid an agreed price for each rod, or other unit, of work done.⁶ The difficulty was that measurement was by no means easy⁷ and required a trained expert.⁸

Contracts in Practice. The contractors employed in the large building operations with which we are mainly concerned in this paper did not take work by the great in the ordinary sense, but they undertook, as a rule, with the exception of St. Paul's, to provide material and workmanship for particular parts of buildings designed by others, such as Inigo Jones or Wren. The procedure, to judge by the Greenwich Hospital Accounts, was that the mason first made a "proposal," that is a tender, setting out the prices at which he would undertake to do the work; this was then considered by the Commission in charge of the building works. In some instances the tenderer would be invited to reduce the price.⁹ Sometimes, apparently, the tenderer did not enter the rates in the proposal: one added to his tender the statement that "If these prices are thought too high for y^e meritt of y^e worke it is humbly left to y^e Committee of y^e Fabrick or y^e Surveyor of y^e worke to Regulate it as in their wisdom they Shall think Most reasonable and fitt."¹⁰ When the prices had been agreed upon the contract was ordered to be signed and was entered in the contract book: thereafter, as the work was measured, it was easy to determine what was due to the contractor from time to time; much easier, apparently, than to see that he got what was due to him.

In such contracts as these, the number and rates of pay of the men employed were not always left to the contractor to determine. The number

¹ Gunther, 48; *cf.*, 53.

² *Ibid.*, 87.

³ Wren's remarks given in Carøe, 27: *cf.* *City and Countrey Purchaser*, 53.

⁴ Wren's letter of 25th June, 1681, to Bishop Fell, printed in Carøe, p. 27.

⁵ Gunther, 87-88.

⁶ Wren's letter, printed in Carøe, p. 27.

⁷ On its complications see *City and Countrey Purchaser*, 54-55, 280 *seq.*

⁸ Carøe, 18.

⁹ See *e.g.*, Wren Society, vi., 42.

¹⁰ *Greenwich Hospital*, 1696, a MS. in R.I.B.A. Library.

might be of considerable importance to the surveyor, wishing to see the work go on without delay or to ensure that various parts of it, such as the external masonry and the internal brickwork, should advance together. It is therefore not strange to find the contractors required, in some instances, to have a stipulated number of men at work. William Wise and Samuel Fulkes, for example, agreed to employ constantly at Winchester Palace from January to July, 1684, or till the work should be finished, no fewer than 28 masons and setters and 14 sawyers and labourers, and to augment the number if required.¹ We do not know how common such a requirement was, but it may have occurred often. At any rate, it is not at all uncommon to find in building accounts entries of the number of days' work charged for in connection with particular pieces of work. In such cases the rates of pay are given and it is worth notice that different rates of pay for what appear to have been very much the same kinds of work were sometimes allowed.² Where contractors were required to have a stipulated number of men working it was presumably the business of the Clerk of the Call to see that they were actually present.

It will appear from the foregoing brief description that the contracts of Strong, Fulkes, Wise and others of the same rank were in essence for work done by measure, that is, of the kind considered best by Wren. Pratt's view, that master workmen should be restricted to supplying workmanship, was not held, since substantial quantities of Portland, Burford, Beer, Reigate and other stone were bought from masons, though it is also clear that a good deal was bought from quarry owners. The materials bought from contractors were not always good,³ but the choice of stone, as Pratt himself realised, was by no means easy,⁴ and it may have been very well worth while to use the expert knowledge of such people as Wise and Kempster in procuring stone and avoiding waste in sawing it.

5. Journeymen.

About the seventeenth century journeymen, *i.e.*, the workmen who actually dressed the stones and laid them, we have, unfortunately, little information. It would certainly not be safe, for several reasons, to identify the journeymen with the Yeomen of the Masons' Company, as set out in the *Quarterage Book*. As we have previously explained, some of the yeomen were undoubtedly "shop-keepers" and some, in all probability, did not work at the masons' trade at all; on the other hand, more especially after 1670, many craftsmen who worked as masons were not members of the Masons' Company. Thus an unknown number of names would have to be removed from the official list of Yeomen and an unknown number would have to be added to it, before anything approaching a correct list of workmen employed as masons in London could be obtained.

Actually, although the period is so much more remote, more is known about the journeymen of the Middle Ages than about their successors of the seventeenth century, which is due primarily to the great growth of the contracting system. So long as the "direct labour" system prevailed on most large and many small jobs, the surviving records, such as fabric rolls, building accounts, 'particulars,' etc., supply a mass of detailed information about the organisation of the operations and about the artisans employed, which enable the leading economic problems connected with mediæval masons to be examined and permit

¹ Wren Society, vii., 36.

² In the *St. Paul's Accounts* for 1696-97 Edward Strong and Samuel Fulkes were employed in sawing black marble. Strong charged 3s. 4d. a day for masons' labour and Fulkes 3s. 0d. a day.

³ In June, 1699, Goodwin, who supplied Greenwich Hospital with bricks, was threatened with dismissal because of their badness. (Wren Society, vi., 40.)

⁴ See Gunther, 48. As to prices, he advises the builder to inquire of "the most reputed honest workmen"; p. 49.

of a fairly reliable picture being drawn of the conditions under which they worked and lived. For the seventeenth century, the available information relating to the workmen is far less comprehensive. Whereas those responsible in the Middle Ages for the erection or repair of cathedrals, abbeys and castles commonly employed officials who kept accounts in considerable detail, many of which, in part at least, have survived, "shopkeepers" and contractors in the seventeenth century probably employed no clerks in most cases and were not very likely to put pen to paper themselves to record details of their transactions. The *Account Book* and the *Note Book* of Nicholas Stone,¹ the *Day Book* of Christopher Kempster,² the *Memoir* of Edward Strong, senior,³ and the *Stanton MS.*⁴ are the only exceptions with which we are acquainted, but unfortunately they tell us little or nothing about the journeymen employed. *The Bills paid to Artificers . . . after the Great Fire* and *The Bills of Work done at Greenwich Hospital* preserved in the Guildhall Library,⁵ provide more information: the former showing for several months in 1666-67 the masons employed on municipal work by Thomas Jordan and by Thomas Knight respectively, the latter showing for a period of some five years from 1699 to 1704 the masons employed by Edward Strong, senior, and Edward Strong, junior, at Greenwich Hospital. The *Office of Works Accounts* for 1662-63, 1664 and 1666-67,⁶ have preserved the names of a score of journeymen masons; but apart from these three sets of records, the *London Bridge Accounts*⁷ and chance references in the *St. Paul's Accounts*, our only information about the journeymen is that contained in the records of the general searches made by order of the Court of the Masons' Company in 1678, 1694 and 1696 (printed in Appendices A, C and E), which are naturally restricted to the area over which the Company claimed jurisdiction and consequently do not include Greenwich or Hampton Court. These various sources of information may now be considered in turn.

(a) We have traced the entries in the *Bridge Accounts* from October, 1652, to September, 1694, but did not feel justified, for the purpose of this paper, in following the attendance of each mason week by week, because of the very large amount of labour involved, but contented ourselves with noting the first occasion on which each name appeared in the Accounts. During these 42 years, the names of 114 masons occur. (See first Table in Appendix J). On the assumption that the impression we gathered from turning over the Accounts is correct, viz., that four or five masons were normally employed at the Bridge, the average stay of each mason at the Bridge during the 42 years was about 20 months; actually some stayed for much longer periods and some for much shorter periods. We are satisfied, however, that the journeymen employed at the Bridge were not a separate and specialised category of masons; the Bridge provided a fluctuating amount of employment for masons, and journeymen passed to and from the Bridge from and to other jobs, very much as the Chief Bridge Masons themselves appear to have done. This we referred to in a previous section when discussing the careers of the five Chief Bridge Masons of the period, 1652-94, viz., Henry Wilson, George Dowsewell, Thomas Cartwright, Joseph Cartwright and Thomas Wise. For our present purpose, these five should be excluded from consideration and so too should the apprentices employed, as apprentices form the subject matter of our last section. If, however, an

¹ Printed by the Walpole Society, vol. vii., edited by W. L. Spiers.

² Numerous extracts are printed by W. D. Caröe, *Wien and Tom Tower*, 89-94.

³ Printed in footnote to Clutterbuck, *History of . . . Hertford*, i., 167.

⁴ See footnote to "Mr Stanton" above.

⁵ MSS. 323 and 233.

⁶ B.M. Harl. MSS., 1657, 1618 and 1658.

⁷ Preserved in the Records Office of the Corporation of the City of London.

apprentice continued at the Bridge after he was out of his indentures, or returned to it later, then he should be counted amongst the journeymen. It may also be that the names of one or two labourers have slipped into our list, as the Accounts do not always distinguish clearly between the various categories of workers, and the system of paying some at least of the masons a fixed wage, approximating in amount to that of a labourer, with an addition of so much per tide worked,¹ is liable to introduce confusion. Where qualified masons received an inclusive wage during these forty-two years, the predominant rate appears to have been 15s. a week (or 2s. 6d. per day), though in the 1680's we have found cases of 16s.

(b) The information available about the Office of Works suggests a somewhat similar state of affairs to that prevailing at the Bridge, a small nucleus of regular journeymen with a numerous fringe of more or less casual workmen, employed sometimes for a season, but often only for odd weeks according to requirements. In many cases during the same month a journeyman worked on two or three different jobs, the fact that Whitehall, Westminster, the Duke of York's Lodgings, St. James' Palace and the Queen's Closet were all close together rendering such dovetailing of work feasible. The second table in Appendix J shows how frequently this occurred. Of the twenty-six masons set out by name in that table, reference has already been made to the distinguished careers which two of the casual journeymen, Samuel Fulkes and Nathaniel Rawlins, ultimately carved out for themselves as large contractors. One of the regular workmen rose at least to the position of taking small contracts, as in 1669 Moxham was paid £70.7.0 for work at the Convocation House, Westminster Palace.² The wage commonly paid by the Office of Works to fully qualified masons in 1662-63, 1664 and 1666-67 was 2s. 6d. per day (2s. 4d. in December and January).³

(c) The twenty-one masons employed on municipal work in 1666-67 (set out in the third table of Appendix J) were not employed directly, but through Thomas Jordan⁴ and Thomas Knight,⁵ whose names are included among the twenty-one. They were the contractors who, in respect of certain work, charged the municipality for the labour supplied, including their own labour, which they reckoned at 20d. per diem, as against 30d. charged for qualified masons (24d. in December and January). Their own 20d. per diem should probably be regarded as a retaining fee, for both of them were engaged at the same time in doing task work by contract for the municipality. Were it simply a matter of wages, they would certainly have claimed more, rather than less, than the normal 30d. paid to a skilled journeyman.⁶ In the table we show the number of days charged for in respect of the masons employed by Jordan and by Knight on municipal work, and the very fluctuating number of days cannot but strike the reader. Whilst the two contractors generally charged the maximum number of days in

¹ See our paper, "London Bridge and its Builders," *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlvii.

² *Declared Accounts*, 3283.

³ One man, Henry Gray, who was paid 2s. 2d. in 1662-63 (2s. in December and January), received 2s. 4d. in 1664 and 2s. 6d. in 1666-67. The rate paid for *houres*, i.e., overtime, in 1662-63 appears to have been 2d. an hour in December and 3d. an hour in April.

⁴ Thomas Jordan was probably the son of Thomas Jordan, Warden in 1625 and Master in 1627, who died about August, 1635. He was made free by redemption on 8th November, 1632, had two apprentices of the late Thomas Jordan turned over to him in 1635, was admitted to the Livery 5th November, 1635, was Warden in 1649 and 1653 and Master in 1656. He died about January or February, 1666/7, an account [*Guildhall Lib. MS.* 184] showing that £20 was paid to his widow by an Order dated 7th February, 1666/7. He was paid £60.13.4 for his work at the Guildhall in 1666-67, in addition to £20 paid to his widow.

⁵ See above.

⁶ When in October, 1685, Jasper Latham was paid for work done at St. Paul's by himself and three journeymen, Edward Heath, Rowland Rainsford and John White, he charged 3/- a day in respect of his own labour and 2s. 6d. per day in respect of the labour of his journeymen. (*St. Paul's Accounts*, 1685-86.)

respect of themselves, the journeymen apparently worked far fewer. It does not follow, however, that they were partially unemployed during the months in question; Jordan on a small scale and Knight on a much larger scale, had contracts with the municipality which in many cases would involve payment for work by task. When Jordan and Knight put their men on those jobs, they no doubt paid their journeymen the usual wages, but in those cases the contractors charged the municipality so much per yard, or other unit, for work done, and the time for which they employed their journeymen was purely their own affair.

(d) The names of the journeymen masons and the masons' labourers employed by the Strongs at Greenwich Hospital from 1699 to 1704 are set out in the last table of Appendix J. The differentiation between journeymen and labourers is one of money, so far as the entries in most months are concerned, but in September, 1704, when no names are given, the entry runs as follows:—

15 masons, 9 days @ 2/6	£16.17.6
14 labourers, 13 days @ 20d.	£15. 3.4

We have therefore assumed that a wage of 2s. 6d. (or 3s. in a few cases) implies a journeyman mason and that a wage of 20d. implies a mason's labourer. The table contains the names of 49 journeymen masons, 43 masons' labourers and one man, Ralf Allen, who received a labourer's wage in 1700 and 1701 and a mason's wage in 1704. It may be a case of promotion of an apprentice, or it may be a case of two different men of the same name.

The Strongs, in addition to doing work by time for the Committee at Greenwich Hospital, also did much work by task there, so that some at least of their workmen may have enjoyed more or less regular employment under the Strongs, although in our table they are shown as being paid only for odd days in odd months. It has also to be remembered, that throughout this period Edward Strong, senior, had a contract for the dome of St. Paul's, so that the workmen may possibly have been moved from Greenwich to St. Paul's, and *vice versa*, according to requirements. On the other hand, very satisfactory dovetailing of employments on these two jobs would be rendered difficult, not only by the distance which separated them, but by two considerations to which attention has been drawn in other connections; firstly, that Edward Strong was responsible for only one quarter of the dome, so that the progress of the work there must have been largely dependent on the three contractors responsible for the other three-quarters, and, secondly, that progress at Greenwich was frequently hampered by the financial embarrassments of the committee in charge. Thus, although the Strongs had two distinct contracts at this period, the fluctuations of activity at both of them would appear to have been largely beyond their control, and we are inclined to think that, apart from a nucleus of regular workmen, whom they would doubtless strive to retain, they had to engage and dismiss workmen pretty frequently, so that there was probably a good deal of casual employment at Greenwich.

Throughout the period from June, 1699, to March, 1704/5, the wage of a mason's labourer remained fixed at 20d. per day; on the other hand, the journeyman mason's wage is shown as 3s. a day in June and August, 1699, and as 2s. 6d. at all subsequent dates. Whether this represented (i.) a decline in the mason's wage, or (ii.) a change in the character of the work done, or (iii.) a reduction only in the price charged by the contractor for a day's workmanship, we do not know. In case (i.) it would seem as if the mason's wage had risen suddenly from 30d., or 30d.-32d., which we should regard as the predominant daily rate in London in the 1690's,¹ to 36d., only to fall again very

¹ See *The Medieval Mason*, 236.

promptly to 30d. In case (ii.) it would imply that the masons had been employed temporarily in June and August, 1699, on some especially well paid work such as sawing marble for paving.¹ In case (iii.) it would not be so much a matter of what the journeyman mason received, but what was charged in respect of him, when a contractor set him to work at day wages for an employer. Unfortunately, most of our examples of masons' wages in the later seventeenth century are the rates charged by contractors to employers for workmanship supplied, and there is always an element of uncertainty as to what part of the rate so charged, the workman actually received. Nowadays, the contractor commonly charges the employer for so many hours of workmanship at a rate in excess of the standard rate of wages, the excess representing compensation for advancing the money necessary for prompt payment of wages and a contribution towards the contractor's overhead charges. This method probably prevailed during our period. The Master Carpenter at St. Paul's in 1710, Richard Jennings, was alleged to have paid his men from 7s. to 12s. a week instead of 15s. allowed him by the Commissioners. The evidence of some of the men confirmed the allegation, but Jennings retorted that they had received the full rate at which he had agreed with them. He could not deny that the rates were lower than those allowed by the Commissioners, but asserted that the work carried out by him was worth what he got for it and that he followed a common practice: "masters and undertakers in other trades as well as mine have an advantage by their men." Jennings was also charged with embezzling materials and with causing his men to appear at the roll-calls at St. Paul's and then sending them to work elsewhere. He denied that any fraud was committed, but was discharged in April, 1711.²

There is very little evidence to show what wage policy was adopted by the mason-contractors. In the *St. Paul's Accounts* for November, 1677, there is an entry: "John Dudley & Steven Turner, masons, 2 days @ 2/4 each . . . 9s. 8d." These masons were presumably engaged and paid by the Clerk of the Works, and 2s. 4d. per day may be regarded as the wage they actually received. More commonly the entries in the *St. Paul's Accounts* show that the wages were paid through a contractor, e.g., in April, 1686, Jasper Latham was paid for Rowland Rainsford, mason, 15½ days @ 2/6 . . . £1.18.9, and for John White, mason, 11 days @ 2/6 . . . £1.7.6. But in most cases the names of the journeymen are not given, e.g., in October, 1693, Nathaniel Rawlins was paid for 86½ days' work of a mason setting in the iron work at 2/6 per day and for 7½ days' work of a labourer at 18d. per day. Kempster and Beauchamp, John Thompson and Rawlins each received similar payments in respect of masons' work at 2/6 per day in 1696-97.

The entries we have quoted from the *St. Paul's Accounts* might seem to suggest that masons received 2s. 4d. per day when the contractors charged 2s. 6d. per day, but we feel that there is too little evidence on which to base such a definite conclusion. The position may, perhaps, be stated thus: if it be true that 2s. 6d. in respect of a day's work by a journeyman mason was being charged by municipal contractors in 1666-67, by St. Paul's contractors in the 1680's and 1690's, and by the Strongs at Greenwich in the first decade of the eighteenth century, it is also true that 2s. 6d. was the amount paid by the Office of Works to their masons in 1662-63, 1664 and 1666-67 and by the Bridge Wardens to

¹ At St. Paul's in 1696-97 Strong charged 3s. 4d. per day and Fulkes 3s. per day, in respect of masons sawing marble for paving, as compared with the ordinary charge of 2s. 6d. (*St. Paul's Accounts*, 1696-97.)

² *Hist. MSS. Com. Portland MSS.*, x., 109 seq.

their masons in the 1660's and 1670's, with a tendency to pay them as much as 2s. 8d. in the 1680's. So far as we know in the cases of the Office of Works and of the Bridge, the 2s. 6d. was paid to the journeymen masons without deduction, which makes us disposed to think that the mason-contractors cannot have made any very substantial deduction from the 2s. 6d. they charged.¹ On the other hand, we are faced with the statement of Jennings and the probability that the contractors would look for some margin to recoup themselves for the long delay in recovering money paid out for wages and as a contribution towards their overhead charges or management expenses. Possibly the deductions made by the contractor from the wage rates which he charged depended upon the condition of the labour market and varied according to the state of trade.

When it is remembered that we are not only very uncertain about the daily wage actually paid to the journeyman mason of the seventeenth century, but are almost completely ignorant as to the number of days per annum for which he was paid, it will be realised that our knowledge of the mason's annual earnings is exceedingly slight. In this matter the three lists of masons recorded in the General Searches of 1678, 1694 and 1696 (Appendices A, C and E) are of but little help to us, though it is not without interest to note that a dozen of the masons who worked for the Stronges at Greenwich Hospital between 1699 and 1704 were employed by Edward Strong at St. Paul's in 1694. What the searches chiefly show is, firstly, that (apart from St. Paul's in 1678 and 1694) most journeymen were employed either by contractors on relatively small jobs, or by small "shopkeepers," and, secondly, that many of the journeymen were "foreigners." It was doubtless the great influx of "foreigners" after the Great Fire, and their continued presence in large numbers in London, which prevented the rise in money wages which the sudden increase in the demand for building labour might have been expected to bring about. It is true that the Statute for the Rebuilding of the City provided for the establishment of tribunals to deal with attempts on the part of the workers to avail themselves of the emergency to force up wage rates,² but we very much doubt whether those tribunals could have made better headway against the powerful flow of economic forces than did their mediæval prototypes established under various Statutes of Labourers. Scarcity of masons after the Black Death and increased cost of living in the sixteenth century affected more or less the whole country, and the pressure to secure higher money wages was irresistible. After the Fire, scarcity of labour affected London alone, and the removal of local restrictions, together with the fact that skilled artisans' money wages in London were about 1s. per day higher than in the rest of the country, attracted sufficient workpeople to London to adjust supply to demand, so that 2s. 6d. per day remained the predominant wage for a good many years and any slight rise that took place did not occur until the

¹ In some cases at least, it is possible that the contractor entered in his bill the wages he actually paid his workmen and added to the sum of his out-of-pocket expenses a percentage, definitely shown in the bill, for his profit. Francis Smith, the [mason] contractor for the building of Ditchley, near Oxford, in 1720-22, wrote to Lord Litchfield, its owner, as follows:—

May it please your Lordship, these are the exact sums I have paid. I hope your Lordship will not think it too much to allow me £5 for every hundred I have paid, for my trouble, journeys and profit out of my workmen. (*Thesis on the Life and Works of James Gibbs*, by H. B. S. Gibbs, A.R.I.B.A., p. 39.)

So far as we can tell, the system of showing a percentage addition to out of pocket expenses, in respect of profit and management, was not adopted by the contractors at Greenwich Hospital, St. Paul's or the Parish Churches.

² See above.

1680's, when, so far as we can tell, the movement was not limited to London.¹ Another force which must have helped to check any rise in wages was the great increase in the number of apprentices after the Fire, to which reference is made in the next section.

6. Apprentices.

The records of the Masons' Company clearly show that the system of apprenticeship was common amongst London masons in the seventeenth century, though after the Great Fire cases occurred of men working as masons who had never served an apprenticeship to the trade.² As the great majority of the apprentices were bound for seven years (eight or more being very exceptional) it follows that in the ordinary course of events the apprentices bound in 1619-20 (*i.e.*, the first year for which records are available) should have taken up their freedoms seven years later in 1626-27, and so forth. Actually there was a very heavy leakage and less than half of the apprentices bound at Masons' Hall were admitted to the freedom. In the table in Appendix K, we show the number of apprentices presented year by year from 1619-20 to 1688-89 and the admission of ex-apprentices to the freedom year by year from 1626-27 to 1695-96. During the seventy years from 1619-20 to 1688-89, 1,302 apprentices were presented, but during the seventy years from 1626-27 to 1695-96, 579 ex-apprentices were admitted to the freedom. Thus only 44 per cent of the apprentices bound ultimately took up the freedom. Various reasons can be suggested for this state of affairs. Firstly, some apprentices presumably proved unsuitable and did not survive a probationary period; secondly, some doubtless died or were incapacitated before their indentures expired; thirdly, some probably failed to take up their freedom when out of their indentures, either on account of the expense involved or because they saw no advantage in doing so, this latter consideration applying more particularly after the Great Fire, when the Statute for the Rebuilding of the City permitted such artisans as were not free to work there. Nevertheless, the special conditions brought about by the Fire cannot have been more than a secondary influence, for the leakage was very considerable before September, 1666, when only 48.5 per cent. of the apprentices presented were later admitted to the freedom, the corresponding figure after the Fire being 39 per cent.

¹ See our paper "Masons' Wages in Mediæval England," *Economic History*, January, 1933, and *The Mediæval Mason*, 235, 236. The figures and estimates we were able to collect are summarised as follows:—

Mason's daily money wage in summer (without food).

Years.	Oxford (Rogers).	Cambridge (Rogers).	London (Bridge A/cs.).
1603-12	12d.	12d.	16d.
1613-22	12d.	14d.	[18d.-20d.]
1623-32	12d.	14d.	[20d.-22d.]
1633-42	12d.	16d.	[22d.-24d.]
1643-52	18d.	16d.	[24d.-26d.]
1653-62	18d.	16d.-18d.	[30d.]
1663-72	18d.	18d.	30d.
1673-82	[18d.]	[18d.]	30d.
1683-92	[18d.]	[18d.]	30d.-32d.
1693-1702	[18d.]	[18d.-24d.]	30d.-32d.

² See statement in the Masons' Company's Charter of 1677 (*A.Q.C.*, xliii., 123) to this effect, and the case, mentioned above, of Joseph Vincent, "an unfreeman and one that did never serve any apprenticeship to any mason whatsoever." (*Court Book*, 12th October, 1699.)

The table in Appendix K probably reflects more or less the fluctuations in building activity in London during the century, though after the Great Fire the numerous admissions to the Company by redemption, the increasing employment of "foreigners" and the growing practice of masons joining other companies and binding their apprentices elsewhere than at Masons' Hall, make the figures of apprentices' presentments a somewhat unsatisfactory index. Whereas the average number of apprentices bound each year during the 47 years immediately before the Fire was 16, compared with 44 in the five years 1667-72, it was only 19 for the seventeen years from 1672 to 1689, when building was still very active.

By the seventeenth century, the old prejudice, if it may be so called, against employing journeymen's apprentices,¹ had apparently lost some, if not all of its force. At the Bridge the apprentices we have traced² were all bound to the Chief Bridge Masons, as in earlier times,³ but in the case of the Office of Works Richard Wade⁴ and John Clarke,⁵ who were employed at Greenwich in April, 1667, were probably both apprentices of Timothy Townsend, who was employed there at the same time. It is also quite possible that Henry Grey, whose wage was put up from 2s. 2d. to 2s. 4d. and then to 2s. 6d., was also an apprentice. On the various municipal works on which they were engaged in 1666-67, Thomas Jordan employed one apprentice, Thomas Nash,⁶ and Thomas Knight employed several, Henry Gulliford,⁷ Nicholas Weeden,⁸ Timothy Curtis,⁹ Robert Curtis¹⁰ and John Browne.¹¹ Only Gulliford was Knight's own apprentice, and the masters of the other four do not appear to have been at work on the same job, a point to which further reference will be made shortly. At Greenwich, very possibly Ralf Allen, rated first at 20d. and then at 30d., was an apprentice. There may also have been others, but we have only been able to trace three masons who were employed there before they took up their freedoms, though in all probability not before they were out of their apprenticeships.¹² On the other hand, it is noteworthy that Thomas Atkins,¹³ the apprentice of Edward Strong, junior, never appears in the Greenwich list.

In judging our success in tracing masons' apprentices at this period, it has to be remembered that it is only those bound at Masons' Hall that we have any real chance of tracking down; those bound elsewhere are generally beyond our ken.

The old rule, that no one should set an apprentice to work except in the presence of his master,¹⁴ was clearly no longer enforced, if it still existed. Reference has already been made to the various apprentices Knight employed on municipal works in 1667 (though it is just possible that their masters also worked for Knight, but on task work). The searches of 1678 and 1694, however, in

¹ See *The Mediæval Mason*, 161 seq.

² See above.

³ See our paper, "London Bridge and its Builders," *A.Q.C.*, xlvii.

⁴ Richard Wade, bound to Timothy Townsend, 28th June, 1664.

⁵ John Clarke, late apprentice of Timothy Townsend, free 30th March, 1669.

⁶ Thomas Nash, apprenticed to Nathaniel Turner, 15th June, 1664.

⁷ Henry Gulliford, apprenticed to Thomas Knight, 25th June, 1667.

⁸ Nicholas Weeden, late apprentice of George Dowyer, free 30th October, 1672.

⁹ Timothy Curtis, late apprentice of William London, free 14th January, 1667/8.

¹⁰ Robert Curtis, apprenticed to Thomas King, 11th May, 1667.

¹¹ John Browne, apprenticed to Thomas Richardson, 26th October, 1666.

¹² Samuel Broomhall, employed July, 1700, at 2/6 per day, apprenticed to Thomas Broomhall 3rd January, 1692/3, free 30th June, 1702.

John Gresham, employed January, 1701/2, at 2/6 per day, apprenticed to John Walker 9th January, 1693/4, free 30th June, 1702.

Robert Franklyn, employed March, 1704/5, at 2/6 per day, apprenticed to William Payne 17th January, 1697/8, free 18th April, 1705.

¹³ Thomas Atkins, apprenticed to Edward Strong, junior, 4th July, 1700, free 14th July, 1708.

¹⁴ London Regulations for the Trade of Masons, 1356, printed in *The Mediæval Mason*, 250.

addition to showing various cases of journeymen and their apprentices employed together by contractors, show several unmistakable instances of apprentices being employed though their masters' were not engaged on the same job. (See Appendices A and C.) Thus on any one job there might be (i.) apprentices of the mason-contractor, (ii.) journeymen's apprentices accompanied by their masters, and (iii.) journeymen's apprentices not accompanied by their masters, the effect of which would be greatly to augment the number of apprentices employed in relation to full journeymen. The most striking case of this type which we have noted was that of Christopher Kempster and Ephraim Beauchamp on their St. Paul's contract in 1694; of the 25 masons they employed, no fewer than 11 were apprentices, made up as follows:—

- 3 apprentices of Christopher Kempster.
- 2 apprentices of Ephraim Beauchamp.
- 2 apprentices of journeymen engaged on the job.
- 4 apprentices of journeymen not engaged on the job.

The same search showed that of the 13 masons employed by John Thompson, 5 were apprentices, of the 16 masons employed by Thomas Hill and Thomas Wise, 5 were apprentices, and of the 16 masons employed by Fulkes, 5 were apprentices.

The wages paid in respect of apprentices at this period appear to have varied from 18d. or 20d. per diem to 30d. per diem. The lower figure, equivalent to a common labourer's wage, was the maximum provided for apprentices in their first year according to the Norwich Masons' Ordinances of 1577.¹ The higher figure, equivalent to a full mason's wage, was, according to the London Masons' Ordinances of 1521,² not to be charged in respect of an apprentice until he had served at least four years. We doubt whether an apprentice was worth a labourer's wage in his first year or a full mason's wage in his fifth year, but in any case it was not the apprentice who received the relatively high wage but his master, who, being responsible for the board, lodging and clothing of the apprentice, was entitled to any wage earned by him.³ The struggle, if any, regarding the fixing of an apprentice's wages, lay between the apprentice's master on the one hand and his employer on the other. If anything, the master appears to have been more, rather than less, generously treated than in the Middle Ages.⁴ Very possibly the development of the system of journeymen's apprentices and the relatively high wages paid in respect of them, may be regarded as a method of partially compensating the more responsible journeymen for the great rise in the cost of living during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which the increase in their money wages had certainly not been sufficient to cover.⁵

The foregoing analysis of the stone-building industry in seventeenth century London, which we have attempted, is necessarily incomplete, partly because we had not the months of leisure necessary for an exhaustive study of the voluminous accounts of St. Paul's and of London Bridge, and partly because we could find but little evidence, in the way of account books and wage books, relating to the affairs of small "shopkeepers" and to the activities of journey-

¹ Text in *A.Q.C.*, xv., 210.

² Text in *The Mediæval Mason*, 256 seq.

³ For legal rulings on this point see *English and Empire Digest*, xxxiv., 519, §4354.

⁴ See *The Mediæval Mason*, 163.

⁵ See *The Mediæval Mason*, 238.

men. The discovery of material unknown to us and the further study of existing sources may require the modification, on points of detail, of the picture we have presented, but will not, we trust, necessitate any great changes in the main outlines. Meanwhile, as we bring our account to an end, there is one further limitation which we think needful to stress: namely, the special character, it might almost be said the abnormality, of the conditions we have been studying. We have been dealing not only with a capital city but with a metropolis in which the Great Fire, and the measures taken after it, gave an artificial stimulus to the building industry. In the provinces, conditions may have been different. Without further investigation it is not possible to say how universal were the tendencies which appear to have characterised the industry in London—the separation of the functions of architect and master mason, the disappearance of the “direct labour” system and the rise of the mason-contractor.

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APPENDIX A.

GENERAL SEARCH OF APRIL, 1678.

(*Masons' Court Book*).

Money received of several persons upon Account of a search
made at their several houses viz^t. April y^e 16th.

M^r Hamond, M^r Payne, M^r Kempster, M^r Strong, M^r Fitch,
M^r Young sen., M^r Cartwright, M^r Beadles, M^r Wise, M^r Sybert,
M^r Story, M^r Tuffnell, M^r Lampan, M^r Robt. Towse, M^r Stephens,
M^r Story, M^r Thorne, M^r Kerne, M^r Powell, M^r Edgerly, M^r Mathews,
M^r Robt. Maxfield, M^r Pierce, M^r Stanton 8s. 0d.

April y^e 17th.

M^r Mitchell, M^r Roberts, M^r Waters, M^r Norris, M^r Wyman

1s. 8d.

At a search the 16th of April 1678.*

At St Lawrence Church ¹

Thomas Grew a Northamptonshire man not admitted
Mathew Grimway not admitted a Gloucestershire man

At the Old Jeury Church.²

Henry frost

At M^r Hammonds Church ³

Thomas Stocking
John Browne
William Brand
Elias Dodson not free apprentice with M^r Thompson
William Hoare not free apprentice with William King
Richard Miller
James Palfreman
John Walker
William Adams

At St James Garlicke Hith ⁴

William Nurse paid for quarterage	6s.
Adrian Norman	
William Hinde owes	12s.
francis Collbert not free	
Bartho. Wolfe owes	10s.
Thos. Hillyard not free	
William Porter not free	

At St Michael Queenehith ⁵

William Watts free of the Joyners	
W ^m . Anser owes	£2
Thomas Yates free of the Stationers	
Nicholas Weeden owes	18s.
George Northen	
John Quarterman paid for quarterage	2s.

St Bennet Pauls Wharfe ⁶

John Norris free of the Haberdashers
John Clayton

With M^r fitch

John Browne

St. Martins Ludgate ⁷

Timothy Smith
Robert Bushnell

At M^r Lathums

William Robinson free of the Barber Chirurgions
James Hardy
Thomas Bronil

* In printing this list we have followed the original in the spelling of proper names and, so far as possible, in the lay-out.

¹ Edward Pearce.

² ? St. Olave's: John Shorthose.

³ All Hallows the Great, Thames Street.

⁴ Christopher Kempster.

⁵ Thomas [? James] Flory and Samuel Fulkes.

⁶ Thomas Strong. Either the church of that name, which he began in 1677 (Clutterbuck), or his wharf, this being the address of Edward Strong in 1691 when his son was apprenticed to him.

⁷ Nicholas Young.

At Arundell House ¹M^r Pierce's servants

John Greeneaway owes

3s.

John Walker free of the Joyners

Thomas Nayle appr. to Richard Nayle his father

Thomas Cooke clothworker

Lawrence Prestbury

At M^r Syberts

Salvator Musco an Italian

Henry de Young a Dutchman

James Berger als. Sheppard

Michel Losnitz

Hinrich Brochamp

With M^r Tuffnell not free of the Company

Abell Daniell his apprentice

John Woodroofe his journeyman a new man

With M^r Tompson

Robert Parnecutt

John Lockett

Richard Hill formerly an appr. in Sussex now turned
over to M^r Tompson by a Scrivener

Joseph Katernes not free bound at Joyners Hall

With M^r Storey

Peter van Convonbergh

Thomas Humphreys paid for quarterage

1s.

William Grumball appr. to Rob^t. Grumball at M^r Norris

William Hunt paid for quarterage

1s.

Thomas Neales foreigner from Northampton

Michael Bagley not free appr. to Anthony Bagley West

M^r Thorne paid for quarterage

1s.

John Wade

M^r Marke Stephens

William Apsly

M^r Robert Smith paid for quarterage

6s.

Nicholas Powell

M^r John Stone

1s.

With William Ederly William Cotton his servant

Edward Bridgeford not free

With M^r Mathews

Thomas Stayner

At M^r Stantons yard and house

Henry Tuer

Advitem Quinav

William Turner

Thomas Bladen

Anthony Mavo

M^r George Courtney owes

£1. 5s.

Jacob Perkins owes

5s.

Samuell Davis owes

5s.

} Refractory

John Redding

¹ Shortly after the demolition of Arundel House a street called Arundel Street was built on the site in 1678. (Wheatley and Cunningham, *London Past and Present*, i., 74.)

At S^t Swithins Church¹

Thomas Newton not free	
William fortune	
George Middleton owes	£1
William Ranton owes	12s.
Richard Curtis	3s.
Edward Kings owes	12s.
Robert Symmons owes	3s.
John Parsemore owes	3s.
Edward Clinch free of the Joyners	
Godfrey Blackshaw weaver	
James Dordon appr. to M ^r Todd not free	
Thomas Browne appr. to M ^r Grove	
Samuell Clinch appr. with his father not free	
Thomas Cornemill Tallowchandler	
John Ryalls	

At St. Peters Cornehill Church²

Robert Edney	} Haberdashers
Harbert Payne	
Richard Neale foreigner	
Edward Salmon appr. to M ^r Knight not free	
Robert Walker appr. to M ^r Townesend not free	

At St Pauls³

M ^r Samuell ffulkes Haberdasher	
Nathaniell Rawlins Hab.	
Abell Allebon his servant	
Thomas Howell	
Richard Rawlins Vintner	
Richard Walter	
Henry Pierce free	
Nicholas Hicks owes	£1. 1s. 6d.
John Tasker owes	£1. 6s. 6d.
William Cooper owes	£1. 2s.
Nicholas Mitchell	
Rowland Raynsford	
James Pickett Fishmonger	
Andrew Cannino	
Noell Cooke	
John Cooper appr. to William not free	
Peter frith owes	£1. 4s
Thomas Vaughan	
Richard Wayd bound to the Masons but not free	
Charles Sanderson	
Richard Goodchild appr. to Francis Hodges not free	
Maximillian Delaloy Dutchman	
Elias Venable	
William Vallock Dutchman	
Robert Eades	
John Eustus	
Robert Draysdon	
Isaack White	
James Streater	
Jacob White	
Robert Alliston	

¹ Joshua Marshall.

² Abraham Story.

³ Thomas Strong

John Rialls
 Francis Morley
 Richard Allcock
 Thomas Lutter

Mr Robins in Seething Lane

Simon Westward at Mr Moreys
 Mr Well in Shoe Lane
 Mr John King in Seacoale Lane
 Thomas Cooke Saffron Hill
 William Shelton
 Samuel West in Clerkenwell

At Mr Weymans

Mr De Keazar
 Mr Goodey
 Gregoire de Vaux

April the 22th at St. Pauls with Mr Storey

Thomas Keen	}	foreigners
Thomas ffazer		
Robert Dickson		
Godfrey Wolstenham		
William Stringer		
John Vile		

Robert Wadley free of the Masons keeps a boy a year
 (and not bound)

Christopher Bond
 William Hetterley
 Thomas Cowles
 Joseph Richards
 John Eston

Robert Mason
 Thomas Shadboult his servant
 Richard Richards
 William forte

Edward Hinder appr. to Richard Chester Clothworker
 Richard Wakefield
 James Herbert

Stephen Turner

23rd April 1678

The several foreigners hereunder named appeared at this court, and desired they might be admitted as foreign members of this company and therefore gave their several bills for payment of their fees to the company and upon payment thereof are to be admitted & sworne members as by the Charter is directed.

William De Keyser
 Richard Rawlins
 Peter Ash
 William Hetterly
 Edward Bridgefoote
 William Goude
 Nathaniel Rawlins
 Robert Towsey
 Andrew Kerne
 Gregoire de Vaux
 Jacob White
 Thomas Bladen
 Samuel West
 Christams Cocke

Andrew Cannino
 James Sheppard
 Peter Vanconbergh
 John Macklewe
 John Ryalls
 James Streater
 William Shelton
 John Ryalls jn.
 William Stringer
 Thomas ffaser
 Henry Robins
 William Salvator
 Nicholas Powell

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF FOREIGNERS, 1686.*

(*Masons' Court Book*).

29th April 1686

The names of such foreigners of the Masons trade that were summoned to appear here this day to be sworn of this company

Present

John up Broxup to appear next Court
Edmund Heath sen. excused
Thomas Cole promised to appear next Court
Humphrey Nuney gave a note and was admitted
John White
Thomas Gawthorne gave a note and admitted
Walter Clarkson refused
William Dodge gave a note and admitted
Edmund Heath jr. refused to pay the fees but willing to be admitted
Peter Abraham gave a note & admitted
John Whiteing did the like
John Lumley did the like
John Duckmanton refused
Thomas Parnham refused
Jonathan Challener gave a note & was admitted
Robert Robinson gave a note & was admitted
William Phillipps gave a note and was admitted
William Miller to appear next Court
Anthony Towsey bound to a freeman
John Verdoe
Jacob Bookey
William Grumball
John Miller to appear next Court
Robert Gibbs to appear next Court
Wilkinson Bourne to appear next Court
Robert Rodway to appear next Court
Andrew Kenner
Nathaniel Hall
Ellis Ball a Dutchman refused
John Moulton refused
Thomas Lutter to appear next Court Mr Stanton testified for him
Joseph Henson to appear next Court
Sam: Andrews to appear next Court
John Blackett to appear next Court
Nicholas Edmden (?) to appear
George Menley a German Ad. to pay quarterage but not sworn
Thomas Neale sen }
Thomas Neale jr } refused
John Grumball to appear next Court
Thomas Wright
Abell Daniell bound a freeman
Percival Deane
Francis Morley to appear next Court
William Ridle to appear next Court

* Spelling of proper names as in the original.

James Thomson to appear next Court
 William Redding
 James Rumsey to appear next Court
 Nicholas Abram gave a note & was admitted
 Christ. Cox to appear next Court
 Michael Bagley to appear next Court
 Richard Lupford to appear next Court
 John Bladon to appear next Court

[18th May, 1686]

Foreigners

Robert Longstaffe promised to send for his indenture promised
 to appear next Court
 George Apleby produced his indenture and promised to
 appear next Court

[16th December, 1686]

Thomas Neale a foreigner was this day admitted & sworn
 by virtue of an order of the Chamberlain made upon the
 Act of Parliament for the rebuilding of the city and paid £1

APPENDIX C.

GENERAL SEARCH OF SEPTEMBER, 1694.*

(Masons' Court Book).

September 26 1694 We marched to view and take an account of freemen &
 prentises persuant to an Order of a Court of Assistants

John fitch and his son John prentice

William Payne

Journeyman Thomas Case prentise with M^r Stanbrow free

Nathaniell Rawlins not at home

Thomas Neale and Richard his son two years to serve

John Walker and William Walker out of their time the 30th inst.
 and John Gressum his prentice with journeyman William Mitchell
 senior served Thomas Shadbolt

Richard Miller Thomas Drake mason not free made free
 the 9th October 1694

Giles Stretton Journeyman Nich. Robarson Barber Surgeon free

Barthol. Wolfe John Mat journeyman Abraham

Littlelear prentice Peter Clift married before he was out of his time

William Woodmans man at work in Fanchurch St. William Martindale
 between 30 & 40 years of age not out of his time

Richard Croutcher & his prentice Henery Mills Bensamine

Bresberry and Edward Bracey journeymen

John Royalls ffariar & his prentice John Harber John Northan
 junior journeyman Mason

Thomas Yates & his son Thomas Yates Stationers

Mett Henry Hunt in the street by the Navy office Mason

Thomas Stayner and William Bass his prentice Anthony Stayner his brother
 and prentice

* In printing this list we have followed the original in the spelling of proper names and, so far as possible, in the lay-out.

Richard Finberry } foreigners
 William Hagden }
 William Cutlar served John Rydley not free
 William Morton Mason free
 William Albrow served Rawlins not free
 Thomas Jurden son of Robert Jurden not free
 John Bonner & son not bound
 James Todd Mason free
 Robert Gawthorne mason served John Ray not free
 Thomas Stott now appr. with Anthony Leonard
 William Reminton Mason served Shadbolt
 Eguldlah Turnar Turnar Mason
 Thomas Anderson Q. whether free
 Danl Marks Q

John Ryley
 Thomas Neale & son Richard Neale
 his prentice massons
 John Cobb a foreigner from Portland or Poals
 Thomas Goldsmith and John Shakleworth his prentice gone to sea
 and John Tomlins not free about 40 years of age

Widdow Sprats at Ratliff Cros
 John Proke served her & is in the country not free
 Robert Jones woodcarver not at home
 4 Carvers at work in the shop one of them
 John ffeilder his prentice
 One of them bound to M^r Newman & is made free of
 the Clothworkers
 The other two served their times with M^r John Miller joyner one
 of them being Anthony Nickson
 James Portar & his son Haberdashers
 M^r William Stanbrugh & his son and one prentice Nathaniel
 Turner to serve till Midsummer next & then out but he is very weak
 Charles Martin & prentice William Gray

Journeyman sometimes Peter Overton }
 Thomas Fatihar }

George Campion
 Journeyman Bens. Mabbott served James Pagett not free
 John Pursar & prentice Charles
 William Holland

Josua Hiam served his time with Pursar & Holland now at
 work for M^r Danins in the country not free
 Thomas Browne and Jonathan Beamount his prentice
 Journeyman Thomas Randall Mason
 Ma^r. Cartwrights
 William Price Carver
 William Read Mason

William Robarson Barber Surgeon
 and Will Camell [? Daniell] his prentice
 Journeyman Thomas Green Mason
 John Thorne prentices James Austin John Wonsley
 Mathew Baker & one prentice Thomas Bennett
 Journeyman Peter West served John Fitch Mason
 John Bosworth served M^r Hamond Merchant Taylor

James Pollard } foreigners
 John Woodruffe }
 John Turner Mason not made free late appr. to Matt. Baker
 Healy Chetley appr. to John Rayne Mason
 Thomas Redsterne appr. to Robert Wright Mason
 Thomas Dunn appr. to David Printer Southwark

M^r John Thomson's men

William Kempster Mason
 John Magnus Mason
 John Barker bound to M^r Emmett a Joyner not free
 John Goslin bound to the Leathersellers not free
 William Page Mason & Obediah Harding his appr.
 Stephen Powell son of Peter Powell Mason not free
 Walter Newman foreigner
 William Cooper Mason
 Giles Dance Merchant Taylor
 Theophilus Allen son of Peter Allen Mason not free
 Beniamine Robinson appr. to William Kempster
 George Stennell appr. to Lawrence Chase Mason

M^r ffulk's men

William Bray Haberdasher
 Thomas Jones
 Bensamine Masson appr. not out of their times but bound to the Haberdasher
 Richard Atlock foreigner
 Robert Mason not free a journeyman & Thomas Norris his appr.
 bound to the Stationers per Edward Platt
 Samuel Taylor Mason
 William Givers a Mason
 John Mason John Townsend appr. to M^r ffulks
 Nicholas Shreeve } foreigners
 Peter Hills }
 Thomas Hollinghurst }
 John Blading }
 John Jenkins an Imbroderer Q if free
 Francis Colton foreigner

M^r Hills & M^r Wise's men

William Cotten Merchant Taylor Quer. if free
 Francis Morley foreigner Robert Bushnell Mason
 William Ensor Mason William Collier Mason
 James Tyley not free bound to John fitch a Mason
 Henry Wise not free bound to his father a Mason
 John Grumball a foreigner John Playdon a foreigner
 William Solman foreigner Thomas Coodell a Haberdasher a Carver
 William Thompson not free late appr. to M^r Hill
 Joseph Gate carver free of the Joyners
 Robert Paynter appr. to William Collier
 Joshua Fletcher } appr. to Robert Bushnell
 William Dodson }

September the 26th 1694

At M^r Todds' shop in Clerkenwell
 one boy not bound

At M^r Elisha Allen's shop at Holbourne Bridge John Steevens free
 of the Blacksmiths William Steevens appr. to M^r Elisha Allen out of his
 time the next Lord Mayors Day

Richard Poole another appr. to M^r Allen bound to the Blacksmiths

At Mr Stanton's shop in Holbourne

francis Dowing Mason

Robert Swift Mason

Richard Browne Thomas Hanbury appr. to Mr Stanton

John Danett Mason Christopher Chapman Haberdasher

William Holland Mason John Robertson Mason

Mr Webbs in Shoe Lane

Thomas Herbert appr. bound at the Haberdashers

Thomas Lake sile

Mr ffulkes house in ffetter lane

Nicholas Abraham foreigner

Henry Croft Haberdasher

francis Cowton foreigner

Mr Jacob Perkins in Cursitors Ally

Nathaniell Edgill Mason

Charles Gawthorne Mason

Edmund Watts appr.

Mr James Pagett in Lincolnes ffields

Thomas Adams foreigner

Thomas Blandford

At Mrs Michells in Sheare Lane

Samll Parnham foreigner

Saml her apprentice

Mr Dolbens house in Sheare Lane

Edward Griffith Haberdasher

Mr Richard Mapletofts in Holly Street in Clare Market

Christoph Cash appr. to John Ray bound to the Clothworkers
in

Mr Chapmans Bloomsbury

Thomas Dufford foreigner

Richard Chapman bound to William Carter

Mr James Hardy in Bloomsberry

William Silvester his appr.

Journeymen William Palmer late his appr. not made free

James Broomhall not made free but served a freeman

francis Stotter a foreigner

Edward Struton a foreigner

John Shield served Thomas Browne Mason & not made free

William Goodey foreigner

Mr Woodmans in Queen Street

William Martindale appr. William Osbaldston late his appr
not made free

Thomas Strafton Journeyman Q if free

Thomas Yates bound to the Stationers

Mr John Miller

Edward Michell a foreigner

Prosper Otway appr.

Peter Clifton not free served Worfe a Mason

Nicholas Shugman a foreigner

John Adams a Mason

Mr Gibson a Carver near Monmouth Street would not give any

At Mr Walter Blackman in the same place free of the
Clothworkers

Humphrey Nunny a foreign member lives in Beare and
Raged Staff Court in Drury Lane

Mr Peter King in Litchfield Street Soho Merchant
Taylor

Stephen Smith	} Journeymen served their times there with him
Robert Rogers	
William Cockram	
Richard Hayes	
Samuell Langstaffe	
Matt. ffortner	} apprentices

Mr Strouds in St Martins Lane

one appr. named William

Mr Buck in Long Acre foreigner

Robert Easton appr. to him but bound to William Cotton Merchant Taylor
ffrancis Wood a journeyman foreigner

Mr Adam Jones in Princes Street near Soho free of the Joyners
bound to Thomas Rogers

Edward Davis	} bound to the Joyner
John Symcock	

Mr Robert Smith in Pell Mell

Robert Woodhouse	} appr.
William Gregory	

Thomas Pelton journeyman served Peter Powell but not
free Thomas Leadford foreigner

Pearse Deane foreigner served on[e] Towsday

Richard Manners formerly bound to Mr Smith but did not serve out his time

Mr Raiper foreigner in Albermarle buildings

Robert Thomas	} Journeymen
William Wood & his son Matt.	
William Shelton	
Edmond Jones	

ffrancis Waster	} appr.
Thomas Charlsworth	

John Dickins in Windmill Street near pickadilly Labourer

At Mr Thompson's

Robert Parncutt Mason

Chase Carver

Mr Richard Mapletoffs men at Wallingford House

John Ray Mason

Anthony Towsey Merchant Taylor

John Cooper bound to the Masons but not made free

Richard Gutteridge Haberdasher

John Northeast foreigner

James Pillford ffrancis Paulett foreigners

Mr William Kidwell at Westminster Hall Gate free of the
Joyners

Robert Kidwell his apprentice bound at the Joyners

William Colbourne works at Mr Nests in the Haymarket bound to Mr Bumstead
not yet free

Mr Tuffnells at Westminster

William Smith served his father freeman of the Leathersellers but
not made free

Abell Daniell Q

James freeman

John Browne free of Vintners

Robert Burt not free but was bound to M^r Boxe sword cutler

M^r William Maybank at the Horse ferry at Westminster not a freeman

Thomas Chittnall bound at Salters Hall to one Blisset a cheesemonger

John Jewson appr.

M^r Pearse in Arrundell Street

Richard Colebarne Waxhandler

William Palmer a foreigner

Richard Hill foreigner

John Hill bound to his father a mason but not made free

APPENDIX D.

ACT OF COMMON COUNCIL, 11 SEPTEMBER, 1694.

(Journals of the Court of Common Council, ii., fos. 14-15 v.)

Whereas the Master, Wardens, Assistants and Comonalty of the arte or Mistery of Masons of the Citty of London Now are and antiently have been a brotherhood and long since incorporated and . . . have obteyned several royall grants whereby and by their originall constitucion they ought to consist and be of all persons using the trade of a Mason within the Citty of London and libertyes thereof Notwithstanding which many persons who use and excersise the trade of Masonry (but more especially since the late dreadfull fire which hapned in London) procured themselves to be made free of other Companys by Patrimony redemcion and otherwise contrary to their known duty and to the great prejudice and hindrance of the Company of Masons to the end they may be without any regulacion and restriccion in the prise and substantiall mannagement of their work, by meanes and occasion whereof many and great frauds and deceits have been practized upon the Cittizens of this Citty and other their Majestyes subjects for want of that due inspeccion into Artificers exercising the said Trade in regard such artificers are not subject to the goverment of the said Company and the good and wholesome lawe and ordinances thereof For remedy and reformation whereof and to the intent the aforesaid mischeifs may be prevented in time to come And to the end the said Company may hereafter have free and absolute view search and oversight of things pertaining to the said trade and to the due workmanship thereof and punishing all frauds, defects, unskilfull workmanship and other offences therein Be it enacted established and ordeyned by the right hono^{ble} the Lord Mayor Aldermen and Comons in this Comon Councell assembled and by the authority of the same y^t all and every person or persons hereafter using or exercising the Art or mistery of Masonary within the said Citty of London and libertyes thereof who hath or shall have right and priviledge to be made free by patrimony or otherwise by virtue of his or their fathers freedome in any other Company whereof his father was is or shall be free or by service with any free man of any other Company shall at the next Court of Assistants of the said Company of Masons after notice thereof to him given by the Clark or Beadle of the said Company by order of the Master and Wardens of the same Company for the time being accept and take upon himself the freedome and be made a free-man of the said Company of Masons in the like manner and forme, as he might or should have been in such Company whereof his father or Master was so free as aforesaid, any law Custome or usage of the said Citty to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. AND be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid y^t if any person or persons using or which shall hereafter use the art or mistery of Masonary within the Citty of London or libertyes thereof who hath already served

an Apprenticeship or shall hereafter serve an Apprenticeship in the sd. Trade and not yet made free of the said Citty, or who shall procure his freedom by redemcion service or patrimony of any other Company then of the said Company of Masons and shall use the said art or mistery That then all and every such person and persons so doeing and offending in all either or any of the said cases shall forfeit and pay for every such offence the sume of ten pounds of lawfull money of England to be recovered by accion of debt bill or plaint to commenced or prosecuted in the name of the Chamberlain of the Citty of London for the time being in their Majesties Court to be holden in the Chamber of Guildhall in the Citty of London before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the same Citty for the recovery thereof And that the said Chamberlen of the said Citty for the time being in all suits to be prosecuted by virtue of this present Act shall recover the ordinary costs of suite to be expended in the prosecution of the same But in case the said Chamberlen shall be nonsuited or a verdict shall pass for the defend^t (*sic*) in any Accion so to be brought as aforesaid by virtue of this Act that then and in such case the said Chamberlain shall be from time to time saved harmeless and indemnified by the Master Wardens assistants and Cominalty of the said art or mistery of Masons or by such other person or persons who shall be Informers and cause such accions to be brought whereupon such non suit or verdict shall happen as aforesaid. AND be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that one moiety of all forfeitures to be recovered by virtue of this Act (the charges of the suite being first deducted) shall be paid to the Chamberlen of the said Citty for the time being to the use of the Lord Mayor and Comonlty (*sic*) and Cittizens of the same Citty and the other Moiety of the same forfeitures to be paid unto the Master Wardens assistants and Comonalty of the said Company of Masons for the use of the poore of the said Company. AND be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that noe person or persons useing or exercising the said arte or mistery of Masonary shall be from henceforth admitted by the Chamberlen of the said Citty of London into the freedome and libertyes of the said Citty in any other Company then in the said Company of Masons any law or custome of the said Citty to the contrary notwithstanding.

AN ACCOUNT OF WHAT COMPANIES WERE SERVED WITH THE COPIES OF THE
ACT OF COMMON COUNCIL. (*Masons' Court Book, 1677-94, fo. 169.*)

8th of November 1694.

Haberdashers	Fishermen
Goldsmiths	Innholders
Barber Surgeons	Grocers
Cooks	Founders
Parish Clerks	Embroiderers
Plasterers	Mercers
Brewers	Wax Chandlers
Coopers	Sadlers Clerks
Girdlers	Blacksmiths
Weavers	Apothecaries
Armourers	Stationers
Carpenters	Cordwainers
Merchant Taylors	Pipe makers
Leathersellers	Pin makers
Bricklayers	Basket makers
Clothworkers	Cutlers
Fishmongers	Plumbers

Turners	Painters
Scriveners	Bakers
Watermen	Ironmongers
Tallow Chandlers	Farriers
Skinners	Lorimers
Vintners	Curriers
Joiners	Glovers
Dyers	Fletchers
Salters	Stocking frame work knitters

APPENDIX E.

GENERAL SEARCH OF MAY, 1696.*

(*Masons' Court Book*).

A search made the 15th. of May 1696 pursuant to an order of the 14th of January last viz.

- ¹ Landed on Hammersley's wharf for M^r Woolf as followeth viz. of Purbeck 2900 foot & 200 of channell, broke 30 foot & half as bad & deficient
M^r Theobalds one servant John Bosworth, clothworker
John Pigott Barnabystreet Fishmonger no servant
The Widdow Bedford Fishmonger Benjamin Smith if free served Lampion a carpenter both live in the Mase & keep no servants
David farmer hath one servant John Harris who was Glover's appr. not free
At St Thomas Hospital at work for M^r Cartwright John Wolton Wm.
Read Richard Martin Edward Davenport & James Broomhall but the two last not free
- ² M^r Thorne one apprentice and Emanuel Haslam a free cutler journeyman
Nathaniel Rawlins Haberdasher four appr. Littler, Copson, filkes & Growdon Littler's time is just expiring
- ³ M^r Payne one journeyman Thomas Case
M^r Beacham four appr. Gilbert, Thirkill, Stockley & Rosamond
M^r Strong three appr. Strong Banks & Banks
John fitch
Thomas Humphryes one appr. Paul Mills
John Deane two appr. Nicholas Mitchill & Herbert Browne
M^r Young one appr. Joseph Musco
Richard Walter one appr. Thomas Lodge & Thomas Nagg journeyman not free
Richard Garbutt one appr. William Sell
Samuel Webb Haberdasher one appr. Thomas Lake and Thomas Herbert newly out of his time to be made free
Daniell florest
Elisha Allen one servant William Stevens lately out of his time and John his son married & not free
M^r William Stanton three apprentices Browne Atkins & Chilman
Robert Barrett in Bedfordbury not free
M^r Jacob Perkins one apprentice Edmund Watts
M^r Samuel flukes two apprentices Townsend & Hobby
James Pagett two apprentices Lissiman & Blandford and Matt Wood foreigner

* In printing this list we have followed the original in the spelling of proper names and, so far as possible, in the lay-out.

¹ In margin, Southwark side.

² In margin, Westminster side.

³ In margin, M^o. in this walk rec^d. 8s. 8d. at 4d. each for search money.

Edward Buckingham

John Dalben

John Strewton will satisfy the court at their next sitting where he served his time he lives in Red Lyon fields

Mr William Woodman only Thomas Yates who has two years to serve

Edward Chapman two appr. his son & Edward Bury two foreigners William Gooday & Thomas Duffield his journeymen

Mr James Hardy one appr, near out of his time. Robert Rogers journeyman Q if free & how long

Mr John Miller one appr. Prosper Otway

Mr Thomas Buck one appr. Robert Easton who is bound to one Cotton Merchant Taylor two years to serve

Mr Stroude one appr. John Stroude

Mr Peter King foreigner two appr. Langstaffe & Faulkner bound at Merchant Taylors Company

Adam Jones two appr. Davis & Symcox

Mr Thompson one appr. Henry Doughty

Mr John Nest one appr. Symon Rawling bound to Richard Colborn

William Thompson & William Palmer his servants not free

Mr William Cotton

Mr Robert Smith one appr. Robert Baynham & Thomas Charlesworth to be turned over William Cockrill Edward Mitchell & Edward Speere his journeymen the last was his apprentice & not free

Mr William Kidwell Painter Stainer one journeyman Robert Woodhouse late appr. to Mr Smith not free

Mr John Tufnell one appr. Edward his son and two journeymen

James Pollard & James freeman Q how freeman served his time

The Widdow Lampen no servant

¹ Mr Rawlins Abraham his apprentice near out of his time

Mr Kempster one appr.

² Mr Walker one appr. four journeymen Turner Mitchell Ives and Sanders all free

Mr Miller one appr.

Mr Stretton his son his appr. & Robinson late appr. to Robinson a Chirurgeon his journeyman

Mr Woolfe one appr. & John Matts journeyman

Mr Beacham at St Dunstons in the East employs Mark Bradshaw

Humphrey Hide not free Peter Allen John Robins John Phillipp Josia Smith not free he was Mr Kempster's appr.

Mr Crouther Henry Mills lately out of his time & Bracy journeyman

Mr Royalls & son farriers two journeymen Webb & Hollis

Mr Stayner William Bass & Robert Price to be made free Rowland Carmat & Edward Steward foreigner his brother & an appr.

Mr Ryley his son his appr.

Mr Goldsmith Randle & Tomlins his journeymen

Mr Spratt & son Overton their journeyman

Mr Jones Halbrone not free & Alson who served Emmitt a Joyner and four other carvers

Mr Bucknill at the Widdow Youngs work at Mile End one appr. and Right Hustin & Rose not free besides Goodfellow a foreigner

Mr Martin one appr. & William Young journeyman

Mr Stanbrough none

¹ In margin, Whitechapel side.

² In margin, M^o. rec^d. for search money in this walk 4s. 8d.

Mr Campion two journeymen
Mr Holland one appr.
Mr Purser one appr.
Widdow Browne one appr.
Mr Cartwright
Mr Robinson one appr. & two journeymen Northam & Cooke
Mr. Baker one journeyman Maybott not free

APPENDIX F.

LIST OF MEMBERS MADE FREE BY REDEMPTION, 1670-1694.

William Gray, 28 June, 1670.
Christopher Kempster, 4 August, 1670.
Thomas Strong, 15 September, 1670.
Thomas Hill, 17 November, 1670.
William Blay, 17 January, 1670/1.
John Woodroffe, 9 February, 1670/1.
Humphrey Jordan, 9 February, 1670/1.
Henry Pagett, 9 March, 1670/1.
Thomas Wise, 7 February, 1671/2.
Michael Todd, 1 October, 1672
Daniel Norris, 8 April, 1673.
William Pagett, 28 May, 1673.
Richard Howard, 1 July, 1673.
Henry Drake, 12 August, 1673.
Richard Miller, 28 August, 1673.
Thomas Williams, 17 December, 1673.
[Jane Williams, widow of Thomas Williams made free by redemption
15 September, 1674.]

Peter Allen, 20 January, 1673/4.
Edward King, 3 February, 1673/4.
William Ranton, 13 February, 1673/4.
George Northend, 13 February, 1673/4.
James Dod, 5 March, 1673/4.
John Greenaway, 7 April, 1674.
Esay Williams, 7 April, 1674.
John Reay, 7 April, 1674.
John Browne, 31 July, 1674.
William Brand, 19 February, 1674/5.
Reginald Todd, 16 July, 1675.
John Carter, 29 October, 1675.
John Thorne, 19 November, 1675.
William Kempster, 11 December, 1677.
John Carter, 2 July, 1678.
Thomas Randall, 21 January, 1678/9.
Edward Strong, 6 April, 1680.
Thomas Facer, 11 July, 1682.
? Edward Bridgefoote, "admitted & sworn," 11 July, 1682.
Ephraim Beacham, 16 October, 1684.
William West, 16 October, 1684.
Thomas Neale, 11 December, 1686.
Thomas Newton, 14 June, 1687.
John Phillipps, 17 November, 1691.
Robert Latham, 4 May, 1693.

APPENDIX G.

LIST OF "FOREIGN MEMBERS."

Richard Richards	13 January, 1690/1.
Thomas White	13 January, 1690/1.
John Stockdale	30 August, 1692.
Thomas Bird	30 August, 1692.
Thomas Stanfield	30 August, 1692.
Elias Allen	30 August, 1692.
Richard Richardson	30 August, 1692.
Francis Whatcott	30 August, 1692.
James Pollard	11 October, 1692.
Mr. Joseph Hansen	[cannot trace admission; first on list of 1696-7.]

APPENDIX H.

STONE IMPORTED INTO LONDON:

(Masons' Court Book).

[F°. 43v.] Since the 13th day of April 1678 [? 1680]

Mr Hammond

		Tunn
	Paving besides step	2400
	Paving	3300
	Stepp	0100
	four grave stones	
	nine grave stones	
	Stepp	0100
	Paving	3000
	Paving	5000
June	Paving	2500
	Paving	2400
	One bark of Portland	0042
		<hr/>
		18,600 (sic)

Mr Storey

Four barks of Portland 0190

Mr Young since the 13th of April 1500

of Rolls 0013

Apr 17 Portland 0150

June Portland 4000

Mr Settell 16 April

Portland 2000

Portland 2400

Mr Martin 16 April

Portland 2000

Mr Egerley 11 May

Portland 3000

Mr Nobell 12 May

Portland 2500

Mr Stretton 11 May

	Portland		2860
	Mr Thompson	12 May	
	Several barks of Portland		3600
	Mr Cartwright	28 April	
	One bark of paving & several barks of Portland		
	Mr Stone		
	One bark of paving		
{ F ^o . 44 }	Mr Shorthose	21 May	
			Tunn
	Portland		3500
	Mr Wise	21 May	
	Portland		4000
	Mr Pearce	21 May	
	Portland		5000
	with grave stones & steps		
	Mr Lampin	1 st June	
	Paving		3100
	of step		0150
	of paving		5800
	besides Mr Cartwrights & Mr Stones barks		
	about 20 grave stones		
	about 400 of step		
	many barks of Portland		
	Mr Knight		
	of several sorts of stone		0250

APPENDIX J.

I. TABLE OF MASONS EMPLOYED AT LONDON BRIDGE, 1652-1694
(with date under which each name first appears).

Oct. 1652	Henry Wilson Jeremy Saltmarsh William Hamon John Hemings Abraham Storey Richard Wilson	Oct. 1677	Robert Harison Thomas Pierce Edward Evans
Dec. 1652	Henry Hunt	Jan. 1677/8	George Bradford
June 1654	William Skilman [Skelman]	Apr. 1678	Bostock Kent [? Knight]
Sept. 1654	Richard Strafford [Stratford]	Jan. 1679/8	Bartholomew Jackson
May 1655	Richard Medon	Oct. 1680	Benjamin Pears
July 1656	Thomas Knight	May 1681	Thomas Vaune [Vaughan]
Oct. 1656	Thomas King	June 1681	William Perrey
Feb. 1656/7	John Jones	James Clay	Joseph Hobday
June 1658	William Wilde	May 1682	William Atterbury
Feb. 1658/9	William Kinge	Nov. 1682	Peter Allen
July 1660	Richard Clarke	Nov. 1683	Wilcockson Bourne
Feb. 1660/1	George Dowsewell	John Walton	James Porter
	Thomas Frith	Jan. 1683/4	Charles Cathorn
	Benjamin Richeson	Mar. 1683/4	Edward Davies
June 1661	John Pursur	June 1684	Thomas Wise
Oct. 1661	John Baker	Thomas Jordan	Samuel Parman
Mar. 1662/3	Abraham Ward	July 1684	James Dowding
Apr. 1663	William Ireland	Aug. 1684	John Slater
May 1663	John Whitwell	Oct. 1684	Abraham Allobon
May 1666	Thomas Stevens	Thomas Allen	William Rydall
Sept. 1666	John Dowsewell	Dec. 1684	John Rydall
Aug. 1667	William Cooper	Jan. 1684/5	Thomas Andurson
	George Osborne	Feb. 1684/5	Thomas Leveridge
	Geo. Greene	Henry Hunt	Thomas Randall
Nov. 1667	Robert Maye	Joseph Cates [Keats]	William Jaques
Dec. 1667	Richard Curtis	Joseph Cuttest	George Burges
May 1668	John Curtis	Valentine Strong	William Berry
May 1669	Robert Simones [Symonds]	William Berry	John Dane
Sept. 1670	David Farmer	James Davies	Thomas Penny
	Robert Matts	Thomas Penny	John Dobbin
	John Matts	July 1685	Francis Lurcott
	Robert Paincoate	Aug. 1685	Daniel Webb
Aug. 1672	Thomas Cartwright	George Bonny	Thomas James
	Sam Ward	Benjamin Mason	Daniel Forest
July 1673	Joseph Cartwright	Thomas Vesey	Joseph [? Thomas] Vaughan
Oct. 1673	William Goswell	Sander. Berry [Bury]	Thomas Pickett
Nov. 1673	Richard Quarterman	John Porter	Sander. Green
Dec. 1673	Sam Horner	Aug. 1686	James Daniel
May 1674	John Parrett	June 1689	John Wise
June 1674	Humphrey Stick	Nov. 1690	Robert Blake
Nov. 1674	Thomas Durham	June 1691	Thomas Wise, jun.
Jan. 1674/5	Robert [Richard] Heath	Aug. 1694	Richard Thomas
June 1675	Richard London		
Mar. 1676	Thomas Goldsmith		
Apr. 1676	Thomas Horner		
July 1676	Thomas Bostock		
Oct. 1676	Walter Benson		
Feb. 1676/7	Henry Pagett		
July 1677	Henry Parker		
Aug. 1677	James Pagett		
	William Hore		

II. TABLE SHOWING EMPLOYMENT OF MASONS BY THE OFFICE OF WORKS
1662-1663, 1664 and 1666-1667.

	1662—1663						1664						1666—1667					
	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apl.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apl.	May
Thos. Channell	A	AB	AB	AD	A	A	A	A	AC	ABC	AC	A						
Henry Gray	A	AB	ABD	ABD	AD	ABD	AC	AC	AC	ABC	C	ADC	AD	A	AD	AD	A	AD
Wm. Moxham	AB	AB	ABD	ABD	AD	ABD	AB	A	AE	ABC	AC	ABC	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ric ^d . Potter [Potten]	A										AC							
Edw. Clawell [Clowen]	A											G						
James Sheeter	AB																	
Harbert Paine	A																	
James Wood				A														
Thos. Hipdith	BD																	
John Clarke	G			G		G			G		G						G	G
Anthony Thrift						G												
Giles Hind							C	CA	CA	CABD	CD	CAB						
Wm. Oxome										F								
Sam. Fulkes											C							
Nath. Rawlins								G										
Wm. Terrell								G										
Sam. Ireland								G										
Robt. Michael								G										
Wm. Herrell								G										
John Watson													AD	A	AD	AD	AB	AD
Roger Clinton													AD	A	A			
Marke Stephens																D		
John Wing																		
Marke Johnson													F	F	F	F	F	D
Tim. Townsend																	G	F
Richard Wade																	G	G

A=Whitehall
B=Westminster
C=Duke of York's Lodgings
D=St. James' Palace
E=Queen's Closet
F=Hampton Court
G=Greenwich

III. TABLE SHOWING EMPLOYMENT OF MASONS ON VARIOUS MUNICIPAL WORKS,
NOVEMBER 1666 TO JUNE 1667.

Names.	November 1666 (4 weeks)	Dec. and Jan. (6 weeks)	Feb. and Mar. (7 weeks)	April (4 weeks)	May (5 weeks)	June (5 weeks)
	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.	Days.
Thos. Jordan*	24	30	24			
John Ashworth	23	17	19			
John Tasker	16	19	40			
Thos. Samson		1				
Richard Jordan			2			
Thos. Nash			36			
Thos. Knight*			6	22	30	30
Nich. Paine			3			
Wm. Hutch[inson]			6	22	15	30
Nich. Weeden				17	14	13
Thos. Pridmore				17	8	22
Nath. Turner				14	17	
Tim. Curtes				12	15	4
Wm. Burchote				2	11	27
Dan. Roberts					13	25
Thos. Manning					3	
John Chirchouse					6	
Wm. Fisher					2	
John Browne					7	
Robt. Curtes					10	22
Henry Gulliforde						11

*Mason-Contractor.

APPENDIX K.

PRESENTMENT OF APPRENTICES AT MASONS' HALL, 1619-1689, AND ADMISSION TO
FREEDOM OF EX-APPRENTICES, 1626-1696.

Presentments.		Freedoms.		Presentments.		Freedoms.	
Year.	No.	No.	Year.	Year.	No.	No.	Year.
1619-20	25	8	1626-27	1654-55	18	4	1661-62
1620-21	24	11	1627-28	1655-56	36	13	1662-63
1621-22	17	6	1628-29	1656-57	31	13	1663-64
1622-23	9	8	1629-30	1657-58	23	11	1664-65
1623-24	6	3	1630-31	1658-59	14	6	1665-66
1624-25	8	3	1631-32	1659-60	16	6	1666-67
1625-26	16	2	1632-33	1660-61	21	11	1667-68
1626-27	21	5	1633-34	1661-62	29	16	1668-69
1627-28	20	13	1634-35	1662-63	25	16	1669-70
1628-29	19	9	1635-36	1663-64	21	6	1670-71
1629-30	15	7	1636-37	1664-65	25	7	1671-72
1630-31	10	8	1637-38	1665-66	15	9	1672-73
1631-32	11	2	1638-39	1666-67	19	8	1673-74
1632-33	16	5	1639-40	1667-68	52	11	1674-75
1633-34	12	13	1640-41	1668-69	58	17	1675-76
1634-35	15	8	1641-42	1669-70	44	13	1676-77
1635-36	19	12	1642-43	1670-71	37	30	1677-78
1636-37	5	3	1643-44	1671-72	27	8	1678-79
1637-38	16	4	1644-45	1672-73	19	9	1679-80
1638-39	32	5	1645-46	1673-74	19	7	1680-81
1639-40	14	11	1646-47	1674-75	13	8	1681-82
1640-41	13	6	1647-48	1675-76	25	4	1682-83
1641-42	12	7	1648-49	1676-77	35	6	1683-84
1642-43	7	2	1649-50	1677-78	23	4	1684-85
1643-44	2	3	1650-51	1678-79	17	5	1685-86
1644-45	1	3	1651-52	1679-80	9	11	1686-87
1645-46	12	5	1652-53	1680-81	11	8	1687-88
1646-47	19	5	1653-54	1681-82	12	5	1688-89
1647-48	17	14	1654-55	1682-83	18	3	1689-90
1648-49	8	16	1655-56	1683-84	19	3	1690-91
1649-50	8	17	1656-57	1684-85	28	9	1691-92
1650-51	6	4	1657-58	1685-86	23	15	1692-93
1651-52	7	2	1658-59	1686-87	14	11	1693-94
1652-53	15	5	1659-60	1687-88	26	14	1694-95
1653-54	15	9	1660-61	1688-89	8	8	1695-96

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Knoop for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. W. J. Williams, seconded by Bro. H. Poole; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. G. W. Bullamore, H. Sayers, David Flather, and C. F. Sykes.

Bro. POOLE writes:—

I am very glad to be able to second the vote of thanks to Bro. Knoop and his colleague for this valuable addition to their already valuable series of papers; and I heartily agree with all that our S.W. has said.

The more I read their book, *The Medieval Mason*—and I have read it several times from cover to cover—the more convinced I become of the necessity of our study of material of that kind (operative documents and so on) for an understanding, if we are ever to reach one, of the history of the Craft.

But I must confess to a feeling of regret when reading and hearing this paper. I suppose many of us, when seeing its title, must have felt that we were at last getting to the most interesting place and period in the pre-Grand Lodge era: only to find that it contained no reference to the speculative element. One could wish that Bro. Knoop was more interested in this aspect of Craft history; but he has made himself a master in his own line, and no doubt he is wise to stick to it, and to leave the speculative development to others.

For myself, I can claim little knowledge of the architectural history of London, and even its topography is not too familiar; but to any student who is well up in these, Bro. Knoop's lists might very well lead to most interesting results. It occurred to me to try and discover the extent to which the men whose names appear there had been members of Lodges under the Grand Lodge of 1717. Now, of course, the identification of mere names cannot be certain; but a rapid count through the lists, commencing with the 1686 list, shows that out of 587 names, no less than 73 (or almost exactly one in eight) are to be found in the MS. Lodge Lists of 1723, 1725 and 1730 in the G.L. Minutes. Allowing for the fact that there are numerous repetitions among the 587 names, and that the search lists only range from 1686 to 1696—i.e., 27 to 37 years earlier than the earliest Lodge membership lists—it would seem likely that the proportion of working Masons of late seventeenth century who were members of Lodges was considerably higher.

My actual discoveries do not amount to much, but are by no means devoid of interest. The first thing I noticed was that Edward Strong (presumably the younger) was a member of the Swan at Greenwich in 1725, just when he was engaged on a large contract there. Of greater interest are the lists relating to the Ship behind the Royal Exchange. Here we find the names of no less than five of the Masons on Bro. Knoop's list for the 1694 search:—

William Price, Carver (1730 list)

Thomas Dunn, Mason, app., served 4 years (1730 list)

William Hoare, Mason, free (1723 list)

John Mason, app. to Mr. Fulkes (1723 list, also Swan, Greenwich, 1725)

John Townsend, app. to Mr. Fulkes (1730 list)

I had to ask our W.M. for the next step, and he immediately suggested "Bank"; and he was able further to remind me of the very interesting foundation stone discovered some five or six years ago in the foundations of the Bank of England, which bears the names of Thomas Dunn and John Townsend, the principal contractors for the building, as well as that of Lord Montague, G.M. It seems, then, by no means impossible that the Lodge at the Ship may have had a membership of a largely operative character, though working as a speculative Lodge under the Grand Lodge. And the points I want to make are, first, that it is only such work as Bro. Knoop is doing that makes such investigation possible; and, second, that there is a large field open for the patient student with a knowledge of London, in relating the operative Masons of late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries with the speculative Lodges, and that results of the very highest importance might emerge.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

I have been greatly interested in this paper. I am not convinced that it is necessary to correct the statistics relating to imports of stone so that twenty-seven months become three months and tons are variously looked upon as square

feet, cubic feet, individual stones or actual tons. The arguments rather overlook certain facts.

Christopher Wren as the King's surveyor was in charge of the output of stone from the Isle of Portland, and we can be sure that some preparation and inspection took place on the island to avoid the carriage of useless material. It is likely, therefore, that the stone was stored during the winter and mostly carried in the early part of the year. For the three years, therefore, the mention of any particular cargoes is likely to refer to April, May, or June. All the output, or nearly all, would come to London, and the 35,000 tons was a figure well within the capacity of the Portland quarries. Although St. Paul's only absorbed 50,000 tons of Portland in 25 years, it must be borne in mind that a church one-tenth the size built in one-tenth the time would use stone at the same rate. For this period we can reckon it as 5,000 tons at St. Paul's Cathedral, and as there were six churches built during the period, as well as Bow Church Steeple, King's Bench Walk and smaller works, we easily bring the requirements up to 35,000 tons.

As to the transport problem, if the unloading was confined to the three months in question it would only mean that London would have to deal with three shiploads of 45 tons daily. With ships arriving outside the months mentioned, the strain would be still less. The only fact known to me at present which seems to throw light on the subject is that when Ramsgate pier was built about 1750 the Isle of Purbeck arranged for a fleet of fifty sail to carry 15,000 tons of Purbeck stone to the Isle of Thanet. The period covered, June, 1750, to September, 1752, is also about 27 months.

The charge of £583 for search would not arise, because the company's charter of 1677 expressly forbade them to interfere with the rebuilding of St. Paul's and other churches. Nor would Christopher Wren have paid. Finding that stone for Greenwich had been charged duty at Portland in 1705, he wrote:—

“If you take upon you to pay the duty for any stone for St. Paul's or other uses that I give orders for, you shall not have one farthing allowed you for it”.

To Mr. John Elliott, Bartholomew Comber, Thomas Ouseley,
Benjamin Stone, Henry Atwel, Robert Gibbs
At Portland.

I think it likely that the £27 paid by William Hammond for the right of search in 1679 was of the nature of a compromise, rather than a profit-making venture.

An additional reason for supposing that tons are referred to is that the buying and selling of stone and the company's search were based on the ton. With Portland stone measuring about $16\frac{2}{3}$ cubic feet to the ton, I imagine that the method was to calculate the area of a ton of any particular type of building stone. Twenty square feet of 10 inch ashlar or twenty-five square feet of 8 inch ashlar or step or fifty square feet of 4 inch paving would equal a ton. Thinner stone would falsify the weight and the search, therefore, confiscated such stone as fraudulent. Such calculations may have been made for rough stone and a regulation waste allowed for dressing a surface, but the basis would remain the ton.

One of the masons mentioned by Bro. Knoop is Edward Marshall. It may be of interest to recall that the Filmer brass at East Sutton, Kent (1638), is signed *Ed. Marshall sculpsit*. So far as I know, it is the only brass which can be definitely associated with a London mason. And, according to Druitt (*Costume on Brasses*), the experts agree that the workmanship is Flemish. A monumental brass in which the metal is engraved by a metal engraver and then inlaid in a slab of stone by a mason looks a perfectly satisfactory explanation, but one would expect the signature to refer to the brass engraving.

BRO. C. F. SYKES writes:—

Once again we are indebted to Bro. Knoop and his collaborator for an interesting and illuminating paper. The picture they present to us of the manner in which operative work was conducted in London in the seventeenth century is one which demonstrates very clearly the changes which evolved in craft practice in the Metropolis during that century.

The girl apprentice mentioned in a footnote is difficult to understand. As the writers found only this one case, such apprenticeship must have been most unusual. Was the girl indentured simply because her master, John Sumner, would be more secure of her services over a lengthy period? The cases of widows as free of the Company are more easy to understand, but I presume that as the girl was lawfully indentured she would have been at liberty to take up the freedom of the Company if and when she completed her period of apprenticeship.

In the enactment relative to rebuilding the City after the Great Fire it is interesting to note that the period which 'foreigners' had to work in the City before they could claim the privileges of freemen—seven years—was equal to that which was the usual period of apprenticeship. Apparently, however, a back entrance to the freedom was found, as witness the cases of Nathaniel and Richard Rawlins.

The writers of the paper point out that Stephen Switzer, mason and importer of stone in London, is unlikely to be the Switzer, mason and overseer for the King in Portland. But, they write, Stephen had close connection with Portland, for on two occasions he took an apprentice from there. The name Switzer is unusual, and I suggest that the two men were related. Stephen in London, needing an apprentice, would find his relative in Portland of assistance, or he in Portland, knowing of boys desiring apprenticeship, would recommend such to Stephen. The boats to and fro between London and Portland formed a ready means of communication.

While the whole of the paper is most engaging, I am more particularly grateful to the writers for the additional information I now have concerning the men mentioned by Ashmole in his diary entry of March, 1682. The 'Fellowes' of the Lodge which met on March 11th of that year are no longer mere names, but active personalities.

Five of the nine could claim acquaintanceship over a period of nearly twenty years, for Thomas Shorthose was Master of the Company in 1663, Thomas Shadbolt was a warden the same year, Nicholas Young and John Shorthose were admitted to the Livery in 1662/3, and Will: Stanton was made free of the Company in June, 1663. In the Company the careers of Nich. Young and John Shorthose were singularly alike, as a table prepared from material in the paper shows.

Th: Wise, Master of the Company in 1681, had a son William, who was made free of the Company in 1680, and a William Wise was admitted to the Fellowship at the meeting which Ashmole attended. Again, can Bro. Knoop enlighten us as to whether this William was the son of Thomas Wise, Master of the Company in 1681? It seems very probable that there may have been two fathers, each with a son, all members of this early Speculative Lodge, to me, a very interesting point.

In the course of the paper we find allusion to all the 'Fellowes' who Ashmole says were present on March 11th, 1682, with the solitary exception of "Wainsford Esq."

Gould in a footnote, vol. ii., p. 143, says Rowland Rainsford is probably meant, who "late apprentice to Robert Beadles, was admitted a freeman, Jan. 15, 1667/8".

In Appendix A. to the paper showing the General Search of April, 1678, we find a Rowland Raynsford working as one of Thos. Strong's journeymen at St. Paul's, and the writers mention a Rowland Rainsford employed by Jasper Latham as a journeyman at 2/6 a day in 1685 and 1686. It seems to me that the journeyman of 1678 is very probably the same as he of 1685 and 1686. If this be so, I do not think that 'Wainsford Esq.' can be identified in the manner Gould suggests.

The following table shows that eight out of the nine 'Fellowes' named by Ashmole attained to distinguished rank in the affairs of the Company. Seven of the eight had been Wardens by the date of the meeting in March, 1682:—

	Free of Company	On Livery	On Court of Assistants	Warden	Master
*Mr. Th: Wise	1671/2	1672	1675		1681
Mr. Thomas Shorthose					1663
Mr. Thomas Shadbolt		1654/5		1664 (1) 1666 (2)	
Wainsford, Esq.					
*Mr. Nich. Young		1662/3		1674 (1) 1679 (2)	1682
*Mr. John Shorthose		1662/3		1676 (1) 1681 (2)	1686
*†Mr. William Hammon		1669	1672	1680 (1) 1683 (2)	
*Mr. John Thompson	1667	1669	1674/5	1683 (1) 1684 (2) 1685 (3)	1690
*Mr. William Stanton	1663	1668	1674/5	1681	1688 1689

* Contractors whose contracts for Parish Churches alone totalled £52,863.

† Chief importer of stone into London about 1678.

Of — Wainsford Esq. alone the writers of the paper give us no information, and if he were Rowland Rainsford it may be argued that this is what one might expect. But I do not think he fits in with this company. Six of them are named as substantial contractors. At Parish Churches alone their contracts total nearly £53,000. And is it probable that a journeyman would be associated in a Speculative Lodge with such distinguished Past Masters and Wardens of the Company?

Again, note the manner in which Ashmole styles those present: Knight, Capt. and the remainder Mr. with the exception of Wainsford, who of all the company is styled Esq. There appears to be nothing about the career of Rowland Rainsford which merits the distinction by which Ashmole designates Wainsford.

I consider that Wainsford Esq. was more likely a Freemason of the same category as Ashmole himself—purely speculative. It is thought that the mutual association of Sir William Wilson, Knight (one of the "New-accepted Masons" of March 11th), and Ashmole, with Lichfield may have accounted for the invitation of the latter to the meeting, and Wainsford Esq. may have attended by invitation, too, if he were not already a member.

Bro. KNOOP, in reply, writes:—

On behalf of my colleague and myself, I have to thank the various Brethren for their comments, of some of which we were able to avail ourselves when making a substantial revision of the rough proofs, prior to the publication of the advance off-prints in June, 1935. As a consequence, some of the points raised have been met by the amendment of the text or of footnotes, and call for no further reply.

We are sorry that Bro. Poole was disappointed; the paper, however, was one of a series on operative masonry, and we consequently kept to our self-imposed limits. As to his wish that I should be more interested in the speculative aspect of Craft history, that wish is in process of being gratified. My inaugural address to the Lodge in November, 1935, dealt with the connection between operative and speculative masonry; my Prestonian lecture for 1938 on the Mason Word is a development of the same subject. In a forthcoming article on the London Masons' Company (*Economic History*, February, 1939), G. P. Jones and I touch upon the Acception; and we hope, before too long, in collaboration with our colleague Douglas Hamer, to make more readily available some of the MS. sources bearing on the problem.

Bro. Bullamore does not share our views concerning the amount of stone imported; he may be right, but his arguments do not convince us. He appears to have overlooked the fact that, whereas the outlay at St. Paul's on mason work and stone was about £10,000 per annum from 1675 to 1700, the corresponding outlay of all the parochial churches together was only £7,500 per-annum from 1670 to 1690. On the evidence available, we are unable to accept his suggestion that the parochial churches and other works in 1678-80 used six or seven times the quantity of stone used at St. Paul's during the same period.

Regarding the points raised by Bro. Sykes and not otherwise disposed of, we think it quite possible that, though the master of the girl apprentice was a member of the Masons' Company, his trade may not have been that of a mason. The only William Wise we have traced is the son of Thomas Wise, the mason contractor. We can throw no light on the identity of "— Wainsford Esq.", but are inclined to accept the explanation put forward by Bro. Sykes.



FRIDAY, 1st MARCH, 1935.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., W.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., I.P.M.; B. Telepneff, S.W.; G. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., as J.W.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; *Major* C. C. Adams, P.G.D., Stew.; and Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, P.Pr.G.W., Mdsx.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Carl J. Blyh, J. W. T. Taylor, H. F. Whyman, P.A.G.S.B., E. J. Marsh, P.G.D., Philip Simon, A. H. Wolfenden, C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg., F. Addington Hall, S. N. Smith, J. P. Rockliff, W. P. J. Gun, C. F. Sykes, Ed. M. Phillips, L. G. Wearing, A. Thompson, W. Morgan Day, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., F. R. Radice, R. Girdlestone Cooper, Robt. MacIntyre, A. N. Gutteridge, Wm. Lewis, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, A. F. Cross, Frank W. Wise, H. S. Paine, Geo. C. Williams, A. E. Gurney, H. W. Martin, Wm. Smalley, R. H. Clerke, G.St.B., F. W. Davy, P.A.G.Reg., J. H. Smith, W. Brinkworth, T. M. Carter, E. Eyles, F. G. Carruthers, A. Krougliakoff, W. J. Walters, T. M. Scott, and H. S. Bell.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. T. F. Anderson, P.Dep.G.D.C.; T. S. Dawkins, and H. H. Wyatt, P.M., of St. George's and Corner Stone Lodge No. 5; T. H. Beckett, and A. W. Kenyon, W.M., of Old King's Arms Lodge No. 28; E. W. Last, P.M., Trinity Lodge No. 5179; L. J. Humphres, P.M., Tigris Lodge No. 5321; F. Percy, James Speller Lodge No. 3577; J. Charlesworth, L.R., P.M., Epworth Lodge No. 3789; and J. T. Brownlie, Glasgow Kilwinning Lodge No. 4 (S.C.).

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Douglas Knoop, *M.A.*, J.W.; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks.; G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; J. Stokes, P.G.D., P.Pr.A.G.M., W.Yorks., P.M.; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; and J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.Reg., P.M., Treas.

Two Masonic Libraries and twenty-five Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. W. K. FIRMINGER read the following paper:—

**THE MEMBERS OF THE LODGE AT
THE BEAR AND HARROW.
(ST. GEORGE AND CORNER STONE. No. 5.)**

BY BRO. THE REV. W. K. FIRMINER, D.D.

The so-called "1730" MS. List of Lodges enumerates the members of the Lodge meeting at the Bear and Harrow, in the Butcher Row, as follows¹:—

The Rt. Hon ^{ble} . The Lord Visct.	<i>Vinall Taverner, Esq^r.</i>	} Stewards.
Montague, G.M ^r .	<i>John Bridges, Esq^r.</i>	
Thos. Batson, Esq., D.G.M.	<i>William Blunt, Esq^r.</i>	
George Rooke, } Esq ^{rs} , G. Wardens.	Claude Crispigney, Esq ^r	
Jas. Smythe, }	Mr. Henry Tatam.	
The Reverend Dr. Desagulier formerly G.M.	<i>Reynolds Hooper, Esq.</i>	
James Chambers, Esq ^r . formerly G.W.	Mr. Chas. Trinquand.	
The Rt. Hon ^{ble} . the Earl of Strathmore,	Mr. Robt. Dyer.	
Master of the Lodge.	Henry Goring, Esq ^r .	
<i>Arthur Moore, Esq^r.</i> } Wardens.	Mr. Quinn.	
Mr. Wriott Ormond }	Mr. George Moody, Sword Bearer.	
The Rt. Hon ^{ble} . The Lord Tynham.	— <i>Rouse, Esq.</i>	
The Rt. Hon ^{ble} . The Lord Visct.	Mr. Cibber, junr.	
Montjoy.	Mr. Ednal.	
His Excellency the Baron de Hoppman.	Mr. Laguerre.	
The Hon ^{ble} . Charles Stanhope, Esq ^r .	Mr. E. Forrest.	
Sir William Gordon of Park, Bar ^t .	Mr. John Pitt.	
John Ward of Newcastle, Esq.	Mr. Leveridge.	
The Honble. Coll Pitt Steward.	Mr. John Ellis.	
The Hon ^{ble} . Coll ^o . Digs.	Mr. F. Shepherd.	
John Selwyn Esq ^r .	Mr. Hogarth.	
John Harvey of Stockton Esq ^r .	Mr. Smart.	
Andrew Wauchop, Esq ^r .	Mr. Cosin.	
John Webb, Esq ^r .	Mr. Perry.	
Governour Tinker.	Mr. Milward.	
Governour Burrington.	Mr. Weeks.	
John Reid, Esq ^r .	Mr. Delane.	
David Threipland, Esq ^r .	Mr. G. Hunt.	
Alexr. Holbourn, Esq ^r .	Monsr. Nivelon.	
The Reverend Mr. Walter.	Mr. Baugh.	
The Reverend Mr. Phillips.	Mr. Thos. Crawford.	
<i>Matthew Humberston, Esq^r.</i>	Mr. Giffard.	
Francis Gulston, Esq ^r .	George Lewis de Kilmensegge. ²	
	Monsr. de Crawmer.	

¹ From *Q.C.A.*, x., pp. 177-8. I have italicised the names of those who belonged to the University Lodge, which also met at the Bear and Harrow.

Matthew Humberston. Son of Edward Humberston. Educated at Bishops Stortford and Enfield. Fellow-Commoner of St. John's Col., Oxon. Matric. 1723. Died Jan. 3rd, 1736.

Reynolds Hooper. Son of Daniel Hooper, of Jamaica. Magdalen Col., Oxon. Matriculated, aged 15.

Vinal Taverner. Son of Sir John Taverner, of St. Christopher's, London. Matric. St. John's College, Oxon. aged 17, 1722. Barrister, Mid. Temple. Died at Kingston near Lewes, Sussex, 1738.

² Son of John Adolph Kielmansegge, Master of Horse to George I. by his wife the Countess of Leinster, afterwards of Darlington.

1. DATE OF CONSTITUTION. PLACES OF MEETING.



UR Brother Gould, in the second volume of his *History of Freemasonry* (p. 385), quotes from the *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, No. 260, of March 17th, 1730:—

“Latter end of last week a new Lodge was set up at the Bear and Harrow Tavern in Butcher’s Row, near Temple Bar, where several gentlemen of fortune were admitted Free and Accepted Masons. Present—the Grand Master (Duke of Norfolk), Lord Kingston, late G.M.,¹ Nat. Blackerby, D.G.M., and all the other Grand Officers of the Society.”

Bro. John Lane, *Masonic Records*, p. 54, gives under “Date of Warrant or Constitution,” 26th February or March 25th, 1730, adding that “the latter Date appears in Lists from 1748 only.” This new Lodge was represented at the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge held at the Devil Tavern on Tuesday, April 21st, 1730, and on that occasion paid the sum of two guineas for its constitution. (*Q.C.A.*, x., pp. 121 and 122.) On the Minutes of Grand Lodge, April 6th, 1736, we find (*Ibid*, p. 265) on the list of Lodges represented “Bear and Harrow Butcher Row near the Crown,” but in the place for the number of Lodge representatives there is a blank. The Engraved List of 1738 shows against the sign of Bacchus and Grapes “Gravill Street Hatton Garden. First and Third Friday,” but no date of constitution. In Anderson’s list of London Lodges we have “42. Bacchus in Greville Street, Hatton Garden . . . 1730. 1st and 3d Friday.” The name of this street is not, as Lane has it, *Gravel St.*, but *Greville St.*, being so named to commemorate Fulk Greville, Lord Brook, who is also commemorated by Brook St., so familiar to frequenters of the Church of St. Alban, Holborn. In that vicinity once stood Brook House and Warwick House.

The number assigned to the Bear and Harrow Lodge in the Engraved List is No. 63, which in 1728 had been held by the Kings Arms Lodge, Westminster. (*A.Q.C.*, xxxv., p. 144.) In 1740 it became 56, and in 1792 No. 26. On December 6th, 1843, it united with St. George’s Lodge No. 5. The last named Lodge had, according to Lane, been an Athol Lodge working at some place now unknown in London in 1756, and at the Weaver’s Arms, Spitalfields, in 1759, when it was No. 55 of the Athol or Antient Lodges: but in that year it purchased for £4-14-6 the warrant of the Athol No. 3 (Crown, St. Paul’s Church Yard?), and so to-day the Bear and Harrow Lodge vigorously survives in the Red Apron Lodge “St. George’s and Corner Stone Lodge, No. 5 E.C.” *Stet fortuna domus.*

It is only with the early years of the Lodge under the Moderns that I have to deal in the present paper. On June 29th, 1737, the Lodge appears on the Minutes of Grand Lodge as “Bacchus, Grevil Street.” (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 289.) The only existing records of the transactions of the Lodge during the period we are concerned with is a thin volume of irregularly bound sheets of draft Minutes, and many of the sheets have been ruled over so that the volume could be used, as indeed it was, as an attendance book. On one page I read:—

27th July, 1737. Upon a mooting of the Wor. Master, Charles Pawley Master of this Lodge and others the Members of this Society it was proposed to remove this Lodge from the Bathus Tavern in Groiviles

¹ Installed Friday, December 27th, 1728. Ruled till 29th January, 1730.

Street to some other . . . House the Golden Lyon in Chancery Lane or the George in the Butchers Row . . . ballot in favour of the Golden Lyon, 4 to 1. Present C. Pawley, Hen Burdox, Sen^r. Warden. Thos. Thompson, John Adderley, Thos. Crawford.

On November 6th, 1738, a motion was passed that the Lodge should move from the Golden Lyon to "the Freeman's Arms in Madox Street."

2. THE GRAND MASTER WHO CONSTITUTED HIS LODGE.

We shall perhaps best get into this survey of the history if, although the subject may at first appear to be irrelevant, we take into consideration the person of the Grand Master under whom the Bear and Harrow Lodge had been constituted. Thomas Howard, 8th Duke of Norfolk, was born on December 11th, 1683, and he was therefore forty-seven years old when he became Grand Master. He was a son of Thomas Howard of Worksop, who died in 1701. He had succeeded in the dukedom to his uncle, Henry, a convert to the Church of England. In course of time the Duke followed his uncle's example in this respect. Much of his early life, I suspect, must have been spent in the North of England. In 1709 he was Mayor of the mimic Corporation of Walton, in the neighbourhood of Preston, which Thomas Durham Whitaker has described in his history of Richmondshire (vol. ii., p. 428)—a joyous fraternity of Roman Catholic and Jacobite gentlefolk which in 1701 had had the ill-fated Earl of Derwentwater as its Mayor.¹ In 1709 Sir Nicholas Shireburn was "Mayor's boy" to his son-in-law, the Duke of Norfolk, while Charles Towneley of Towneley² Hall was Deputy Mayor. The Duke's brother, Edward, was "out" for King James in the rising of 1715, and was tried and acquitted, living to succeed to the Dukedom on Thomas' death on December 28th, 1732. One catches the scent of the suspicion into which the Duke himself fell when we read in the Stuart Papers of Robert Arbuthnot³ writing from Rouen in March, 1716, to the Earl of Mar: "Stanhope caused one to write to the Duke of Norfolk here that he should have no connection with me, or else that he would repent it." That the Duke ever indulged in Jacobitism of a practical nature I very much doubt. In 1722 an attempt was made to implicate him in what is known as the Atterbury plot, but beyond a suggestion that the Duke employed a "M^{rs}. Spelman alias Gallop" to convey letters to a notorious Jacobite agent, George Jarnigam [Jerningham⁴], nothing of a palpable nature was revealed.⁵ It is to be hoped that some day before long we may be placed in a position to say what his interests really were, and to trace the events of a lifetime which must be full of interest. During the years 1717-1719 the Duke took part in a forlorn attempt to ease the conditions of Roman Catholics in England. On his recommendation, the Abbé Strickland went to Rome in 1717 to arrive at an understanding about the validity of oaths of allegiance to George I., and in the year following the Abbé was again in England endeavouring to turn over his co-religionists to the

¹ Appendix No. III.

² After the Fifteen, Richard Towneley, imprisoned at the Marshalsea, was acquitted. After the Forty-Five, Col. Francis Towneley was executed (July 30th, 1746). A brother of the latter escaped to France after Culloden. Charles Towneley, the well-known collector (died January 3rd, 1805), and his cousin Sir Francis Standish, Bart., belonged to the Lodge of Friendship. The Towneley and Standish families were Roman Catholic, and closely connected with the Howards.

³ Brother of John Arbuthnot, M.D. (1667-1735), the well-known satirist and friend of Swift and Pope, and about 1725 a member of the Lodge at the Bedford Head, Covent Garden. (*Q.C.A.*, x., 27.) Robert appears to have established a flourishing business at Rouen and to have been the principal Jacobite agent at that place. Latterly, however, he was "well in" with Lord Stairs.

⁴ The Roman Catholic family of Jerningham, of Casey, Norfolk, were in 1764 represented in Masonry by Sir William Jerningham, Bart. (*A.Q.C.*, xx., p. 247), who in that year joined the Great Lodge at Swaffham from some other Lodge.

⁵ *State Trials*, xvi., col. 342.

Hanoverian regime.¹ In 1719 the English Government was inclined to accept the Abbé's proposals, but required that the conditions should be signed by the Duke of Norfolk and other peers on behalf of the Roman Catholic nobility and by Sir John Webb of Odstock, Mr. Charles Howard, and others on behalf of the gentry, but we are told that "although the Duke was willing, the insurmountable resistance of Mr. Charles Howard stood in the way of all accommodation."²

A record of the initiation of the Duke of Norfolk has recently been discovered. *Miscellanea Latomorum*, in January last year, gave us the following extract from the *London Evening Post* of Saturday, February 8th, 1729 (Old Style):—

On Thursday night last his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Delvin, and several other Persons of Distinction were received into the most ancient Society of Free and Accepted Masons, at the Lodge held in the Horn Tavern in Westminster, of which his Grace the Duke of Richmond is Master, and upon that occasion there were present the Right Honourable the Lord Kingston,³ Grand Master, with his General Officers, the Right Hon. the Earl of Inchiquin,⁴ the Lord Paisley,⁵ Lord Kinsale,⁶ and many other Persons of Note."⁷

We must not pass by Lord Delvin. He, Christopher Nugent, was the eldest son of Thomas, fourth Earl of Westmeath and Brigadier General in the

¹ Guilday: *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558-1795*, p. 34, states that Dr. Thomas Strickland was the fourth son of Sir Thomas Strickland of Sizergh, and was born about 1679, and educated at Douay and Paris, and "was one of the first Catholics to rally to the Hanoverian King." By the influence of George I. he became Abbot in commendam of St. Pierre de Préaux in Normandy, and in 1727 Bishop of Namur. He was evidently well acquainted with the Duke of Richmond. (Vide *A Duke and his Friends*.) In 1718 an anti-Jacobite pamphlet appeared, characterised by the Earl of Mar as "scurrilous" and "malicious," and attributed by him to Strickland. James III. wrote: "I believe you are right that the person called a Jesuit in the other note you sent me must be Dr. Strickland, whose poor mother I pity." The Bishop was in England again in 1734, and there is a bad account of his character given by Lord John Hervey in his *Memoirs*, which I think may be taken *cum grano*. Anderson (*Constitutions*, 1738, p. 129) includes among those present at the alleged initiation of the Duke of Lorraine at the Hague "Strickland nephew to the Bishop of Namur." A Walter Strickland was present at the Lodge held "at her Grace the Duchess of Portsmouth's house" in Paris, where the Duke of Richmond presided on September 7th, 1734. Despite the assistance given by Lady Edeline Strickland in her *Sizergh Castle*, . . . and the *Strickland Family* it is still difficult to identify the various Stricklands referred to in the Calendars of Stuart Papers published by the Historical MSS. Commission. The Bishop of Namur died on January 12th, 1740, aged 69. Did he and the Duke of Norfolk first become acquainted with one another at Douay?

² H. Kent Staple Causton: *The Howard Papers*, p. 345. The following from Butler: *Memoirs of English Catholics*, iv., 266-268, relates to this time, and is worthy of reproduction here, as it mentions the author of the Fellow-Craft Song—Charles Delafaye. "'I have determined,' writes Secretary Craggs to Earl Stanhope, 'to put the thing in execution which I said in my former letter, of tendering the vote to Howard, and seizing Bishop Gifford and Grey. To which end I have desired Delafaye to pick out a couple of discreet Justices of the Peace of his acquaintance that will, as of themselves, take up Howard, without carrying their zeal too far.'"

³ G.M. December 27th, 1728 to 29th January, 1730.

⁴ William [O'Brien] 4th Earl of Inchiquin in 1719. D. 18th July, 1777. G.M. 27th, December, 1725 to 27th February, 1727.

⁵ James [Hamilton] 7th Earl of Abercorn in 28th September, 1734. F.R.S. Author of *Calculations and Tables and Attractive Power of Loadstones*. Died 11th January, 1744. G.M. 27th February, 1727 to 27th December.

⁶ Gerald [de Coursy], Baron Kingsale, son of Almericus, Baron Kingsale, who commanded a troop of horse on behalf of James II., and was outlawed in 1691, and died February 9th, 1720. On October 4th, 1721, the House of Lords accepted Lord Gerald's claim to "the seat of his ancestors." The Head of the de Coursy family was privileged to perform what was spoken of as "the hat trick," i.e., wearing his hat in the presence of the Sovereign.

⁷ It may be noted here that Charles, the XIth Duke of Norfolk was P.G. Master of Herefordshire in 1789, but he (educated at Douai) has conformed to the Church of England.

French Army.¹ His uncle, Richard, the third Earl, who died in 1714, was Warden of the Irish Capuchin Friars in France. Lord Delvin died unmarried at Bath a few months before his brother in 1752. As to James [King], 4th Baron Kingston, his father, who had joined the Roman Church, followed James II. to France, and is said to have been one of his Council at St. Germain. From the *Complete Peerage* I learn that on January 8th, 1708, James King and his sister Sophia, being minors, petitioned for naturalisation as "born out of his Majesty's allegiance but are good protestants." The Roman Catholic parent had been pardoned and licensed to return to the country. On the accession of King George I., he took the oath of Allegiance and sat in the Irish House of Lords, but some years later he was fined for granting protections contrary to the resolutions of the House and for non-attendance. He died at the Middle Temple shortly before his son was appointed Grand Master.

3. G.L. LIST OF MEMBERS IN 1732.

I now come to the list of members of the Bear and Harrow Lodge preserved for us in the Minute Books of Grand Lodge. The third of the lists printed in Bro. Songhurst's volume, No. x., of *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, is headed:—

List of the Names of the Members
of all the regular Lodges as they were
returned in the Year 1730. The R^t. Hon^{ble}.
Thomas Lord Lovell being the
Grand Master

I must ask you to observe once again that Lord Lovell was invested by proxy on Saturday, March 27th, 1731, and that he made over his office to Viscount Montague on Wednesday, April 19th, 1732. The list includes lodges constituted so late as August and September in 1732. The list includes lodges constituted (*Q.C.A.*, x., pp. 177-78) the first name is "The R^t. Hon^{ble}. The Lord Visc^t. Montague, G.M^r." Lord Montague was installed on Wednesday, April 19th, 1732. It also appears from the Minutes of Lord Montague's Installation meeting that he was at that time Master of the Lodge at the Golden Spikes at Hampstead, to which is assigned 28th April, 1730, as the date of constitution. It is usual to speak of this list as the 1730 MS. List, but clearly the Bear and Harrow List must be later than April 19th, 1732, the date when the Viscount became Grand Master. Shortly after writing the last sentence, I came across the following extract from the *Daily Post* of Saturday, 19th August, 1732:—

On Wednesday last at a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, held at the Bear and Harrow in Butcher's Row, John Gerrard Von Hopman (who has been resident for the Hans Towns twenty years at this Court) with his Secretary were admitted Free and Accepted Masons.

"The name of "His Excellency the Baron de Hoppman" appears in the fourteenth place on the Lodge List, immediately after that of "the R^t. Hon^{ble}. the Lord

¹ Bolingbroke writes to James III. from Paris, November 2nd, 1715:—"In obedience to the Queen's orders I have talk'd with Nugent, and have agreed with him that he shall be himself at Avranches on Sunday come sevensnight (this is Saturday) and shal have the number of proper persons with him, that he shall there receive notice to disperse his men and dispose of himself, if this service is not to be perform'd. and that he shall have notice, if it be to be perform'd, where to proceed in order to embark. Nugent does not know who is to give him these notices, or what the service is. In general I told him that it was of the greatest importance." On November 11th, James writes from St. Malo to say that he is in expectation "of those few men of Newgent's (*sic*) Regiment." *Stuart Papers*, i., pp. 451 and 456.



From Map of Paris forming Frontispiece to *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint Germain des Prés*, by Dom Jacques Bouillart, Paris, 1724.

Visc^t. Montjoy''¹ and immediately before that of "The Hon^{ble} Charles Stanhope Esq^r."''² So the list is subsequent to August 19th, 1732.

Brother Gould,³ cites the following extract from *The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer*, No. 259, March 7th, 1730:—

Thursday night at the new erected Lodge the Prince William Tavern, Charing Cross, the following gentlemen were admitted Free and Accepted Masons—viz., Governor Tinkler,⁴ General Tinkler, Governor Burrington, ——— Frederick Esq^r., a foreign Minister, ——— Goulston Esq^r., Phillip Lassells, Esq^r., Major Singleton, M^r. Theobalds, Capt. Read, M^r. Rice, and M^r. Baynes, Master of the house. Present—the Duke of Norfolk, G.M., Lord Kingston, Nat. Blackerby, D.G.M., Sir W. Saunderson, Sir D. Young, Col. Carpenter, and M^r. Batson.

Bro. Gould confessed that he was unable to identify this Lodge at the Prince of Wales' Tavern, and this confession serves to illustrate the importance of the task performed by Bro. J. Lane in the compilation of his *Masonic Records*. This Lodge is shown by Bro. Lane to have removed to the Rose Without Temple Bar. The so-called 1730 MS. List shows Bros. Francis Gulston, and Governors Tinker and Burrington and John Reid (Capt. Read?) as members of the Bear and Harrow Lodge and not of the Rose. The names appear after Bro. Von Hoppman's, who, as we have seen, was initiated on August 16th, 1732. Therefore, the list of Bear and Harrow members is not in their order of seniority. The list of the Rose (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 148) is perhaps older than that of the Bear and Harrow, for it contains the name of "S^r. Tho^s. Twisden." Sir Thomas, late Baronet of Bradbourne, a graduate of University College, Oxford, succeeded to the title in January, 1728. He left England in 1730, and died at Granada in 1737. The name of Thomas Twisden appears among the members of the Lodge at Rome in 1735.

4. PERSONALIA.

Our list commences:—

The R^t. Hon^{ble}. the Lord Visc^t. Montague. G.M^r.
 Tho^s. Batson Esq^r. D.G.M.
 George Rooke. }
 Ja^s. Smythe. } Esq^{rs}. G. Wardens
 The Reverend D^r. Desagulier formerly G.M^r.
 James Chambers Esq^r. formerly G.W.

The name M^r. George Moody Swordbearer appears very much lower down in the list.⁵ It has occurred to me that the names of the Grand Officers were placed at the top of the list either (1) because they had been elected to membership on the occasion of the constitution of the Lodge, or (2), assuming that they were founders

¹ Thomas [Stewart]. Born 1709: Viscount Mountjoy in 1728. G.M. of Ireland 1738: Grand Master of the Antients 1756-60: died August 14th, 1769.

² *The Gentleman's Magazine* 1736, records the death of Charles Stanhope "brother to the Earl of Chesterfield."

³ *History of Freemasonry*, ii., p. 385.

⁴ A Governor John Tinker was Prov.G.M. of the Bahamas in 1752.

⁵ It will be remembered that the Lodge which met at the St. Paul's Head in Ludgate Street (constituted at the Mitre, Covent Garden, and removed to the Rummer, Paternoster Row, in 1728) claimed "that ever since a Sword of State had been carried before the Right Worshipfull Grand Master at the annual Grand Feasts the Master of this has carried the same except when Bro^r. Moody carried it in 1732." See the ruling by the D.G. Master (Thos. Batson) on the Minutes of G. Lodge, 7th June, 1733. The petition of the St. Paul's Head Lodge is among the Rawlinson papers at the Bodleian, and it is signed by Bro. Rawlinson himself. Moody's place of business (sword maker) was at this time close to the Temple.

of the Lodge, the Lodge was intended to be a sort of "Grand Master's" Lodge. The list includes five "Stewards," whose names appear immediately after that of Francis Gulston Esq^r., viz.:—

Vinall Taverner Esq^r.
 John Bridges Esq^r.¹
 William Blunt Esq^r.
 Claude Crispigney Esq^r.²
 Henry Tatam.³

All these six brethren had served as Stewards at the Festival of April 13th, 1732 (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 217), when Lord Montague was installed, but so also had:—

Coll^o. John Pitt.⁴
 George Rcoke Esq^r.⁵
 James Smythe Esq^r.⁶
 Wyrriott Ormond Esq^r.⁷
 Arthur Moore Esq^r.⁸

whose names occur in the Bear and Harrow List, together with:—

Mr. Thomas Griffith, of the Lodge at the Devil Tavern ("1730" List)
 and the Queens Arms in Newgate St. (*Ibid.*)

Mr. Solomon Mendez, of the Lodge at Daniel's Coffee House in
 Lombard Street.

It seems to me, therefore, that "Steward" in the Lodge List means not Steward of the Lodge, but present Steward at a Grand Festival. Charles Trinquand,⁹ James Chambers and William Milward had been Stewards at Lord Lovell's Installation on March 27th, 1731.

After Lord Montague's term of office, the Lodge, which is to-day Old King's Arms, No. 28, for a time had the privilege of supplying an abundant number of Stewards for the Annual Festival. On March 2nd, 1732, Grand Lodge accepted the proposal of Col. John Pitt "that the present Stewards, shall after dinner at the second Grand Festival each of them choose his Successor for the year ensuing." So far as the records enable us to say, only one member of the Bear and Harrow Lodge was appointed as Steward on June 7th, 1733, an

¹ John Bridges. Son of William Bridges, of Covent Garden. Probably a relation of the Duke of Chandos. Matriculated Christ Church, Oxon, 22nd April, 1725, aged 17. Master of the University Lodge.

² Claude Crespigny. Master of the Lodge at the Devil. (1725 List.)

³ Henry Tatham belonged to the Lodge at the Devil. (1725 List.)

⁴ Col. J. Pitt's name appears higher up in the list, and "Steward" appears against it. There is also in the Lodge a "Mr. John Pitt," who (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 183) is Master of the Lodge at the Rainbow Coffee House in York Buildings. (Now the Britannia Lodge, No. 33.)

⁵ Not mentioned as a Steward since he was G.S. Warden in 1732.

⁶ James Moore Smythe, a fellow of All Souls, Oxon, had, under the terms of a bequest, added the name of Smythe to his own. Lord Montague's G.J.W. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.* and Bro. W. J. Williams' articles in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xl.

⁷ Wyrriott Ormond. Belonged to the Lodge at Daniel's Coffee House (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 187) at the Oxford Arms in Ludgate Street [one of Bro. Rawlinson's] (*Ibid.*, p. 191).

⁸ Arthur Moore. Not mentioned as "Steward" but as J.W. of the Lodge. Belonged to the University Lodge. (*Ibid.* p. 183.)

⁹ Charles Trinquand. His name appears in the 1725 List as meeting at the Sun, St. Paul's Churchyard: (*Ibid.*, p. 29) in the 1730 the Devil Tavern (*Ibid.*, p. 152), the Half Moon in Cheapside [now the Globe, No. 23] (*Ibid.*, p. 162), and the King's Head in Fleet Street.

occasion when the Master or Past Master of that Lodge was installed as Grand Master.¹

At the latter end of the list we notice the names of some artists, some of whom are still of fame:—

Mr. Quin. (James.)

Mr. Cibber, Jun^r. Theophilus Cibber, the son of the more famous Colley Cibber, and at this time Patentee of the Drury Lane Theatre.

Mr. Leveridge. Richard Leveridge, the composer of "The Roast Beef of Old England," who died in 1758.²

Mr. Laguerre. John Laguerre, the son-in-law of Jean Tijou, and probably an acquaintance of Bro. Desaguliers,³ for who has visited Desaguliers' Church at Whitechurch and does not remember Pope's mordant line:—

"Where sprawl the saints of Verrio and Laguerre"?

Milward, the Actor.

Hogarth, needs no introduction.

By a resolution passed in Grand Lodge on February 19th, 1724, it had been ruled "that no Brother belong to more than one Lodge at one time within the Bills of Mortality," and this rule was re-enforced when on March 17th, 1725, an exception was made in favour of the French Lodge at Solomon's Temple. Anderson (*Constitutions*, 1738, p. 154) notes that "this Regulation is neglected for several reasons and now—obsolete." It is somewhat difficult to see how new lodges could have been founded, if this regulation had been enforced. In defiance of experience, Grand Lodge confirmed this regulation on March 24th, 1742. To some persons a study of cross membership may seem tedious, but there can be little doubt that the cross memberships are indications of personal friendships and common aims in Masonry and so are worthy of consideration by the would-be historian. So let us notice that:—

John Pollexfen, a member of a distinguished Devonshire family, and a Warden of the University Lodge, does not belong to the Bear and Harrow Lodge, but to the Lodge at the Rose Tavern without Temple Bar.⁴ He also belongs to

¹ Fotherby Baker belonged to the Old King's Arms Lodge. Martin Clare of that Lodge appears in the following year, together with Hogarth. (*Q.C.A.*, x., 240.) There is, however, a difficulty in determining what happened on March 30th, 1734. Wm. Graeme and Sir Robert Lawley, both members of Old King's Arms, served in place of persons who did not attend. Of the twelve chosen on 15th April, eleven belonged to Old King's Arms. The organisation of the Stewards as an effective body was the work of Sir Robert Lawley. Fotherby Baker, Clerk to the Haberdashers' Company in 1743, died 1754.

² According to Timbs, *History of Clubs and Club Life*, p. 434., Leveridge, after his retirement from the stage, kept the Salutation Tavern in Tavistock-street, and there he published his *Collection of Songs* in 1727. It was at this Tavern, on January 6th, 1721. Stukeley had been made a Mason.

³ Desaguliers himself possessed histrionic accomplishments. See *A Duke and his Friends*. At Whitechurch the Doctor cannot but have made the acquaintance of Handel.

⁴ The Lodge at the Rose is recruited from Lord Coleraine's Lodge (now the Castle Lodge of Harmony, No. 26), which had moved from the Blue Posts, Devereux Court, Temple Bar, to the Swan in Tottenham High Cross, and thence to the Three Tuns and Bull Head in Cheapside. These Members are: Thos. Reason, Nicholas Pollexfen, Richard Taylor, Henry Butler Pacey, Thos. Parsons. Stukeley writes on November 20th, 1741:—"At the Antiquarian Society. A sketch of Mr. Vertue's of the old painting lately found on the wall of the Rose Tavern, Temple Bar, 14 feet long, 5 high, very well done, about 200 years ago, representing some siege between the Hungarians and the Turks. The house was Sergeant Maynard's, and was originally the Tuftons." (*Vol. iii.*, p. 3.) The Tuftons—the Earls of Thanet.

the King's Head in Fleet-street. Bros. Henry Walthoe, Richard Matthews, Joshua Lewis, Thomas Moore [Smythe ?] belong to both the Rose and the King's Head Lodges: Bros. Milward, Trinquand, Chambers and Thomas Moore [if Moore-Smythe] belong both to the Bear and Harrow and the King's Head. Eleven members of the Bear and Harrow Lodge belong to the University Lodge. John Kemp,¹ the "Sir" Harry of the *Orrery Papers*, is Master of the Rose and member of the University Lodge. The Lodge at the Oxford Arms combined as its arms those of the University and the City of Oxford, and although Dr. Richard Rawlinson, the non-juror bishop and famous collector, was its Master at the time of the so-called 1730 MS. list, it was not a University Lodge. Of the thirty-four members, twenty-one were merchants, tradesmen, or mechanicians. Among its members, however, was Nicholas Hawkesmoor,² the Architect and father-in-law of Nathaniel Blackerby, and three members of the Bear and Harrow—Ormond, Chambers (if "Chamber" is that person) and Cosins, and "George Lillo, Jeweller," author of *George Barnwell*.³

The family name of Viscount Montague was Browne, he being a direct descendant of that Sir Anthony Browne on whom Henry the VIIIth bestowed the magnificent Abbey of Battle. On Sir William Fitzwilliam, afterwards Earl of Southampton, the same monarch bestowed Cowdray, near Midhurst, in Sussex, and there Sir William set to work to build that splendid house which, although in ruins, is one of the glories of the land. Sir Anthony and the Earl of Southampton were half-brothers, their mother being Lady Lucy, daughter of John Nevill, Marquis of Montacute. The Earl died on an expedition in 1542 against the Scots, and the Cowdray estate passed to his half-brother. Tradition relates that on the occasion when Sir Anthony was celebrating his house-warming at Battle Abbey, an enraged monk rushed in, and foretold that the house of Browne would perish by fire and water. In the summer of 1793 George Samuel, eighth Viscount Montague, grandson of our Grand Master, was drowned in the Falls of the Rhine at Laufenberg, and on September 24th, of the same year, the lovely house at Cowdray was glutted out by fire at midnight. Battle Abbey had been sold in 1719 by the sixth Viscount, our Grand Master, to Sir Thomas Webster, and I believe it to have been the case that Lady Webster perished by drowning. The sons of the last Viscount's sister, Elizabeth May, the wife of Mr. Stephen Pointz, were drowned while bathing at the seaside. I might add that only a few years ago the Abbey, which had passed out of the possession of the family and become a Girls' School, was destroyed by fire. No doubt the worthy monk would be ready to ascribe this last disaster as well to the efficacy of his curse.

The son of the first Sir Anthony was in 1554 created by Queen Mary Viscount Montague in order that on a mission to Rome he might represent the English nobility in the announcement that England was about to return to the Papal obedience. Bishop Thirlby was sent with him to represent the Lords spiritual.⁴ The choice in either case was rather strange, for while the new Viscount had been enriched by plunder of Church lands, Thirlby had been the one and only occupant of that see of Westminster erected by Henry VIII. at the expense of the Monastery of St. Peter. When the Act of Supremacy

¹ Of the Middle Temple. Died 1738.

² Hawkesmoor designed St. George's Church, Bloomsbury, and to the living of St. George's, the Duke of Montague (G. Master, 1722) appointed Bro. Dr. Stukeley in 1747. Hawkesmoor died in 1736.

³ It is interesting to note that Rawlinson's list of members of the Lodge at the Paul's Head, Ludgate, contains among the names not in the G.L. "1730" List, the names of members of the *Philo-Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas*—Wm. Gulston, Wm. Jones, Papillon Ball, Court Knevit.

⁴ Sir Edward Carne, then officially residing at Rome, represented the laity.

was read in the House of Lords, after Elizabeth's accession, Montague was one of the only two lay peers who spoke in opposition. The normal tradition of the family until 1689 was to combine Roman Catholicism in religion with loyalty to the reigning princes. At the crisis of the Armada, the Viscount, attended by his sons and grandson—"the young child very comely"—rode into Tilbury with a large body of horsemen to support Queen Elizabeth. Unfortunately, the comely grandson, who succeeded directly to the first Viscount, became implicated in the Gunpowder plot, and, after a year spent in the Tower of London, was released on payment of a severe fine. During the Civil War, the estates were sequestered, the plate and treasure seized, and the house garrisoned. The allegiance to King Charles, the family extended to the dethroned James II.¹ Frances, a daughter of the third Viscount, married Robert Petre, afterwards third Baron Petre, the ancestor of the Grand Master who laid the foundation stone of the recently vanished Freemason's Hall.

Now if you will look at the list of members of the Bear and Harrow Lodge you will notice the name of John Webb. It would be difficult not to believe that this John Webb is the son of the John Webb, Bart., of Odstock, and brother-in-law to two members of the Lodge, viz., Viscount Montague and Lord Teynham. One of John Webb's sisters, Anna Maria, married James Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, executed for the part he had played in the '15, and brother to that Charles Radcliffe (also in the '15 and executed in '45) with whom either Masonic history or Masonic fable is so busily concerned. Another sister, Mary, married a well-known Mason in his day, James, first Earl of Waldegrave. Another sister, Barbara, married Anthony, 6th Viscount Montague—our Grand Master. The Lord Teynham, who belonged to the Bear and Harrow, and also was Master of the Golden Spikes, was Henry Roper, tenth Baron Teynham. John Webb's second wife was Lady Anne Roper, daughter of the eighth Lord Teynham, and sister to both the ninth and tenth Lords Teynham. Unlike his father and his successor, the Masonic Lord Teynham had not conformed to the Church of England.

In the year 1669 Queen Catherine of Braganza brought to England a company of nuns of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin, and this community in the early years of the eighteenth century established a school for girls at Hammersmith. Anna Maria, the future Countess of Derwentwater, Barbara, the wife of our Viscount Montague,² and one of the sisters of Bro. the Earl of Waldegrave, were pupils together at this school. Tradition has it that the Earl of Derwentwater, flouted by his wife for want of courage, went forth to take his part in the '15 against his better judgment. Whether or no Viscount Montague was of the Jacobite persuasion we do not know: but in the *Stuart Papers* we

¹ Sir Charles Petrie, *The Jacobite Movement* (p. 292), in a list of "Jacobite Secretaries of State," gives the Hon. Henry Browne as Secretary of State for England in 1689. This Henry, the father of our Grand Master, was the 5th Viscount from 1708-17. I can find no reference to him in the calendars of Stuart Papers.

² Lady Mary Browne, one of her daughters, on March 30th, 1761, married Sir Richard Henry Bedingfield, 4th Bart., of Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk. The only son of their marriage was initiated in the Lodge at the Maid's Head, Norwich, on February 1st, 1792. He married, June 16th, 1795, Charlotte Georgiana, daughter of Sir William Jerningham, 6th Bart. of Cortesey Hall, Norfolk. George Jerningham, brother of this Lady Bedingfield, succeeded to the title of William [Howard], Earl of Stafford, executed in 1680. The mother of this nobleman and his sister, Lady Bedingfield, was Frances, daughter of Henry, 11th Visct. Dillon, *née* Carlotta Lee, da. of Henry, 2nd Earl of Lichfield. *Vide* Appendix N. Bro. Daynes (*A.Q.C.*, xxxix.) mentions Francis Philip Bedingfield, of Ditchingham, introduced into Masonry by Bro. Robert Partridge, who himself had been made at a Grand Lodge of Masons of St. Charles of Concord at Brunswick. Bro. Gordon Hills in his paper on the Royal Lodge (*A.Q.C.*, xxi., p. 107) records the initiation in that Lodge of Charles Philip Stourton (17th Baron Stourton in 1781), whose father, William (the 16th Baron), had been "late Grand Master in Germany."

find his wife sending her contributions to the cause, and Mr. Andrew Lang thinks she is the lady who sent a watch to Prince Charles.

Our Grand Master, the 6th Viscount Montague, died in 1767. A tomb of black marble in Easebourne Priory Church commemorates him and his wife. His son and successor, Anthony Joseph, on July 7th, 1765, married at St. George's, Hanover Square, a somewhat remarkable lady. She was the daughter of Herbert Mackworth, of the Gnoll, co. Glamorgan. Her brother, Herbert, created a baronet on September 16th, 1776, was Prov.G.M. for South Wales from 1779 to 1794, and was Grand Warden in 1782.¹ She was a widow at the time of her marriage to the Viscount, her first husband having been a soldier under Field Marshal Keith's command on the Continent—Alexander [Falconer], 5th Lord of Halkerton. We then, at this stage, come into contact with both Masonic and Jacobite tradition. Later on in this paper we shall touch on the initiation of John [Keith], 3rd Earl of Kintore, who became Grand Master of both England and Scotland.² A sister of this noble Mason married David, 5th Lord Falconer. The 3rd Earl died in 1758, and was succeeded by his brother, William, who died in 1778. The estates—the old Castle of Hale Forest, given to the family by Robert I., and Keith Hall—devolved on the attainted Earl Marischal, but the title passed to Anthony Adrian [Falconer], the nephew of the Frances Mackworth's first husband. The wife of Viscount Anthony Joseph was an ardent disciple of Selina, Countess of Huntington, and she succeeded in drawing her husband away from the Roman Catholic obedience. She was the mother of that last Viscount who was drowned in the Falls of the Rhine. She married in 1800 Henry Slaughter, M.D., and died in 1823.

5. JACOBITE MEMBERS OF THE LODGE.

The list contains the names of some Jacobites who did more than drink the toast of the King beyond the Water—not in Lodge, but elsewhere.

It is curious that the most remote ancestor from whom General Gordon could trace his descent was his great-grandfather, David Gordon, who was captured by the Jacobite Army at Prestonpans in the '45. A claim to descent from Sir William Gordon of Park has been made, and here in our Bear and Harrow list we find the name of that baronet. Sir William was attainted for his share in the '45, and died in exile at Douay in 1751. We find "David Thriepland Esq^r." Our Bro. George Norman, in his inaugural address (*A.Q.C.*, xl., p. 244), spoke of a "Lodge of Masters met Extraordinary at the Bear in Bath on October 28th, 1735, when Hugh Kennedy, Scots' Master, David Thriepland, Scots G.W. and Bro. Lepper, Scots J.W.." were made and admitted Scots Master Masons. He goes on to say: "There was a David Thriepland, son of the before-mentioned Sir David Thriepland, who joined in the ill-fated 1745 campaign of Prince Charles, and lost his life at Preston Pans." The story of his death as

¹ And a Member of the R.A. Grand Chapter in 1780. Sadler: *Dunckerley*, p. 250.

² His father had been out in the '15, and in consequence was deprived of the office of Knight Mareschal. He married, 21st August, 1729, Mary, daughter of the Hon. James Erskine, son of Charles, 5th Earl of Mar. He was then brother-in-law to the famous Jacobite leader, John, 6th Earl of Mar, known to friends as "Rolling John." The two famous Keith brothers, George, 10th Earl Marischal and James, were sons of William, the 9th Earl, by Lady Mary Drummond, da. of James, 4th Earl of Perth, and both were attainted after the '15. The ability of James Keith to be present at Grand Lodge, on March 28th, 1740, despite his attainder, was no doubt due to the fact that he was at the time a privileged person, he being the envoy of the Tsar. He was in that year appointed Prov.G.M. of Russia, but Gould (*Hist.*, iii., 24) is in error when he writes that he was appointed by "his brother, John Keith, Earl of Kintore."

told by Chambers in his *History of the Rebellion of 1745-6* (p. 131) is as follows:—

“ Another single person was less fortunate. This was Mr. David Thriepland, eldest son of David Thriepland of Fingash, in Perthshire. He was in delicate health, but animated by great courage and zeal. On his own horse he pursued a party of dragoons till they came to the place where Cope was endeavouring to rally his troopers near St. Clement's Well. Here, pausing a moment, they became aware that they were pursued by only a single gentleman, with two servants. They turned, and cut him down with their swords. He was buried on the spot. ‘I remember when a child,’ says Sir Walter Scott, ‘sitting on his grave, where the long grass grew rank and green, distinguishing it from the rest of the field.’ ”

As far as I have been able to make out, Sir David and his son had found it necessary after the '15 to flee from Scotland. There is a letter from James III. written at Bologna on October 22nd, 1718 (*Stuart Papers*, vol. vii.), in which James advises Sir David, since he is “ as firm as rock in his principles . . . to accept a license to go home, which is offered him by a Whig . . . One man there is worth ten here.”

The Bear and Harrow list shows the name of “ Henry Goring Esq^r.” Can this brother be identified with that friend of Prince Charles who stood by him till at last the Prince became morally impossible for any self-respecting man to support? Was he that Henry Goring who on February 28th, 1749, rode out of Avignon with the Prince, who was, as Sir Charles Petrie puts it, “ to be lost for many years to the eyes of Europe and of his father.” (*Op. cit.*, p. 228.)

The Andrew Wauchope on this list is very possibly the Andrew Wauchope of Niddries who was attainted for his share in the '45.¹ But I am not suggesting that the Lodge was formed for any purpose of promoting the Jacobite cause. On the contrary, I see no reason for doubting that what is true of British Masonry to-day was also true of it in the thirties of the eighteenth century, and that the traditional law which bans the discussion of topics of ecclesiastical and political debate from our Masonic gatherings was as loyally observed by the brethren of the Bear and Harrow Lodge as it is by ourselves. There is a story told of someone in those times who asked a chance acquaintance whether any of his near relations had suffered execution. That would have been a grim subject to tackle in the proximity of Temple Bar. The reply was, “I cannot think of anyone.” Someone who heard the question subsequently asked the questioner, “Why did you ask So and So whether any of his relations had been executed? Could you not see for yourself that he is not a gentleman?” It is impossible to speak too severely of the low standard of sexual morality and the gross excesses of those times, but, on the other hand, we, who live in an age when these deep convictions are so often sneered at as ‘dogmas’, can give all the more credit to men whose lives are staked on their faith. And we must not deny to them the possession of that grace, which I am inclined to believe is characteristically British—the grace which impels men, bitterly opposed to one another in Church or in State, or in their business, to come together and learn and enjoy, without disloyalty to conviction, what is lovely and of good report in those who belong to hostile camps. Foreign non-Mason critics of English Masonry cannot understand that no ulterior motives of a sectarian or political kind are necessary to account for the origin of such a Lodge as that at the Bear and Harrow. This is true, and yet it is also true that “birds of a feather flock together”. To-day we have

¹ See James Paterson: *History and Genealogies of the Family of Wauchope*.

lodges the membership in which, *de facto* though not *de jure*, confined to members of schools, universities, professions, etc., etc. When we look at the early list of members of the *Bear and Harrow* it is not difficult to recognise the type of member for which the Lodge made provision.

We have noticed that Lady Barbara Montague is sister to the widow of James, Earl of Derwentwater, executed in 1716. The Earl's mother, you will remember, was the Lady Mary Tudor, daughter of Charles II. by the dancer Moll Davies. Lady Mary Tudor, after the death of her first husband in 1706, married Henry Graham, M.P. for Westmorland. He died, and in the following year Lady Mary married for the third time. Her third husband was James Rooke, who, as Bro. Moss has recently told us, was the son of Lawrence Rooke, the astronomer, and elder brother of Admiral Sir George Rooke. Lady Mary had disappointed her first husband's expectations by her not attaching herself to the Roman Catholic Church. How long after her second and third marriage she kept in touch with the relations of her eldest son's connections by marriage we do not know, but one would imagine that his tragic ending in 1716 would have brought the ladies together in their common sorrow. That the George Rooke of the *Bear and Harrow*, Grand Senior Warden in 1732, is a relation of the Lady Mary Tudor's third husband seems to be a reasonable supposition.

I have referred to James, first Earl of Waldegrave, as a well-known Mason. He was not a member of the *Bear and Harrow* Lodge, and in 1732 he was residing in Paris in the capacity of British Ambassador, yet, as he is so closely connected by his marriage with a Miss Webb to Lord Montague, I propose to say something about his Masonic career. His mother was the Lady Henrietta Fitzjames, a daughter of James II by Arabella Churchill, sister of the great Duke of Marlborough.¹ He was thus first cousin to two great Masonic workers (1) the second Duke of Buckingham, who was the grandson of Charles II. by Louise de Querouailles, Duchess of Portsmouth, and (2) Francis Duke of Buccleuch, the son of the Duke of Monmouth, who was the son of Charles II. by Lucy Walter. James Waldegrave's father, Henry, Baron Chewton of Waldegrave, a staunch Roman Catholic and adherent to James II., died in exile at Paris in 1689. In 1714 James married Mary, the second daughter of Sir John Webb, of Odstock. After giving birth to four children, this lady died in 1718. In 1722 Lord James conformed to the Church of England and took his seat in the House of Lords. His name appears in the so-called 1723 list as a member of the Horn Lodge at Westminster² (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 6), and it also appears in a list of members of the Goose and Gridiron Lodge, commenced in 1725, and to be found in the E. book of Lodge Antiquity. It was not till September, 1729, that he was elevated to the Earldom of Waldegrave. But he had since 1728 held high diplomatic appointments. He was Ambassador at Paris in 1725, at Vienna from 1727 to 1730, and Paris again from 1730 to 1740. *Saint James Evening Post* for September 20th, 1735, gives an account of a meeting of "the Loge de Bussy" in the Rue de Bussy, at which were present the Duke of Richmond, Dr. Desaguliers, the Earl of Waldegrave, President Montesquieu,³ the Marquis.

¹ The first Earl Waldegrave was therefore a nephew of that fine soldier in the French service, the Duke of Berwick.

² No. 4 of the "Four Old Lodges," now Royal Somerset House and Inverness. No. 4.

³ In 1728, Montesquieu, who had published in *Lettres Persanes* in 1721 (the *Esprit des Lois* did not appear until 1748), accompanied Waldegrave to Vienna. A written extract from a newspaper, dated May 15th, 1730, is preserved in Dr. Rawlinson's scrap book:—

"On Tuesday night last, at a Lodge held at the Horn Tavern in Westminster, when the Duke of Norfolk, Grand Master Nathaniel Blackerby, Esq., Deputy-Grand Master, and other Grand Officers, as well as the Duke of Richmond, Master of the Lodge, Marquis of Beaumont, Lord Mordaunt, Marquis du

Lomuren, Lord Dursley,¹ the Hon. ——— Fitzwilliam, Messrs. Knight (father and son), and Dr. Hickman.² One wonders whether without the protection of the British Ambassador Paris would have been a safe place for Desaguliers. The following were on this occasion made Masons:—the Duke of Kingston,³ the Comte de Saint-Florentin, Secretary of State,⁴ Lord Chewton, and Messrs.

Quesne, and several other persons of distinction were present; the following foreign noblemen, Francis Louis de Goussier, Charles Louis President de Montesquieu (*sic*), Francis Comte de Sade, as also James Campfield, Esq^r., William Cowper of Golden Square Esq^r., and Captain John Mercer, were admitted members of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Freemasons."

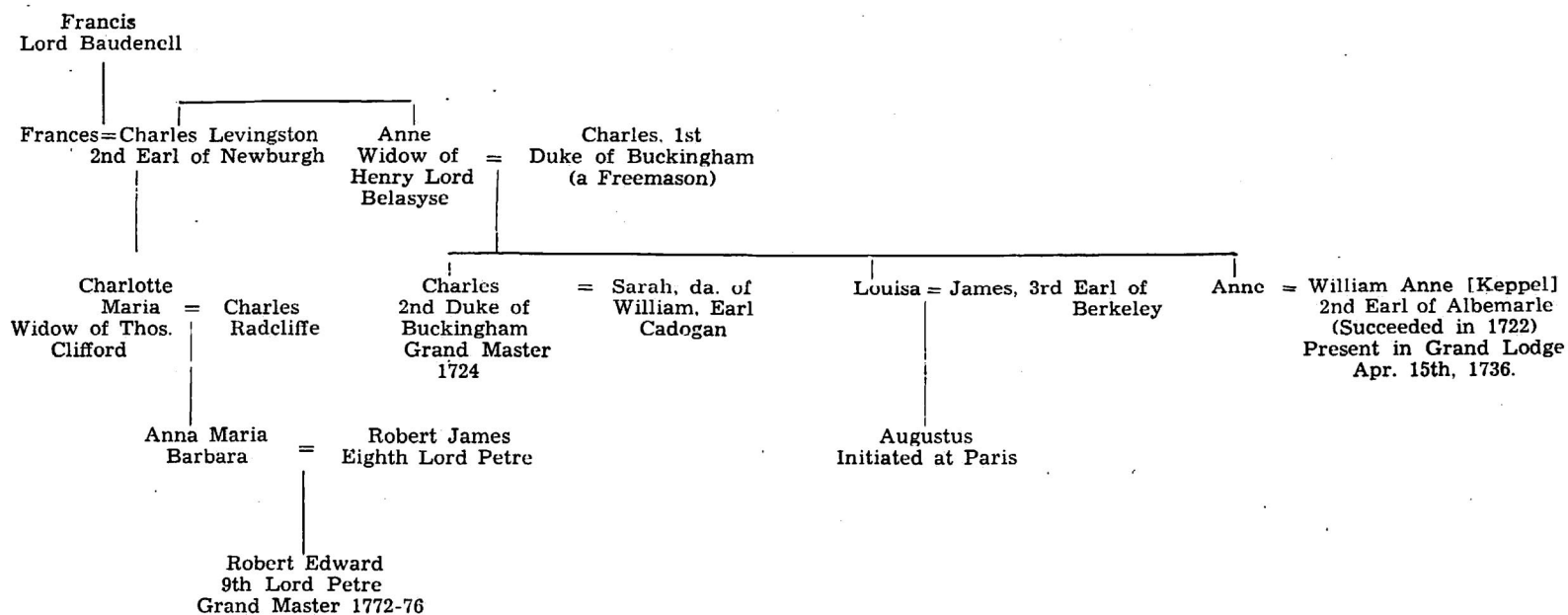
In *Pickle the Spy*, Andrew Lang describes how Prince Charles Edward was sheltered in the Convent of St. Joseph at Paris by Mdle. Lucion, a lady styled "La Grande Main" in the Prince's cypher. Since Montesquieu was on friendly terms with the Prince and also resided in Rue Dominique, in which the Convent was situated, it might be inferred that the "philosopher" of the correspondence was Montesquieu. In *Companions of Pickle*, Lang identifies the "philosopher" with the Abbé Condillac. Montesquieu and Ramsay both belonged to the Abbé Aloy's Club de l'Entre-sol, which strangely enough met at Herault's residence in the Place Vendôme. See Vice: *Histoire de Montesquieu*, p. 69.

¹ Augustus, the eldest son of the distinguished admiral, James, 3rd Earl of Berkeley, K.G. The Earl was at that time staying at the Chateau d'Aubigny, lent to him by the Duke of Richmond. He died there in August, 1736. Teder has confounded Sir George Barclay, the would-be assassin of William III., with the Earl of Berkeley, and our Bro. Yarker has been deceived by Teder's error. (*A.Q.C.*, xx., 23).

² Alexander Cunningham (afterwards Sir A. Cunningham), Dick and Alan Lumsden, were at this time passing through Paris on their way to Rome. The former in his Journal records "1736 August 2nd West to Mr. Alexander our banker: saw there Dr. Hickman who travelled with the Duke of Kingston and Mr. Digs. That day we dined with Captain Urquhart, a Scot's gentleman and in the Spanish Service, who was to go to Mr. Horn to meet the Earl Marshal then at Valencia in Spain." Is this Mr. Digs the "Hon^{ble}. Colonel Digs" who belonged to the Bear and Harrow Lodge? At Rome, Cunningham was made a mason in the Roman Lodge.

³ Evelyn [Pierpoint], 2nd Duke of Kingston-upon-Hull. His aunt, Mary Pierpoint, is the well-known letter-writer, Mrs. Wortley Montague, whose sister, Frances, married the famous Jacobite leader, John [Erskine], Earl of Mar. The 1st Duke of Kingston's mother was a daughter of Sir John Evelyn. See Evelyn's Diary, 1687, June 6th.

⁴ He became Duc de la Vrillière. In August, 1724, he had married Amelia de Platten, the reputed daughter of George I. Philip [Dormer], 4th Earl of Chesterfield (Anderson, *Constitutions*, 1738, p. 112) married Melosina de Schulemburgh, another natural daughter of George I. These facts are calculated to damage the theories propounded by Teder in his "Feuilles Maçonniques" in *L'Initiation*, vols. 63-71, and served up by Bro. Yarker in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xx. Teder erroneously states that the second Duke of Richmond was a Roman Catholic. It is a remarkable fact that the Duchess of Portsmouth, although so urgent in securing the admission of Charles II. into the Church of Rome, brought up her son (the first Duke) as an English Churchman. On the eve of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the first Duke was packed off to France, and was received into the Roman Catholic Church in the presence of Louis XIV., an oration on that occasion being delivered by Bossuet, but the Duke did not remain a Roman Catholic, and his son never was one. In order to fasten Roman Catholicism and Jacobitism on the Lodge de Bussy, Teder writes that "We see him [*i.e.*, Waldegrave] figure under the name of Lord Waldegrave (at Compiègne) in a list of the Pretender's agents drawn up by the Free Briton, No. 131, of June 1732," and he adds in a footnote "See also the *Gentleman's Magazine* of June of the same year. In an article entitled *The Stratagems of the Pretender and his Agents, etc.*, Lord Waldegrave figures in a fine place with Irish Abbé Dunn, General Dillon, the Scottish merchant, Arbuthnot of Paris, Dr. Arbuthnot, of London, Dr. Wogan an Irishman established at Paris, Lord Dunbar (Murray) etc." (*L'Initiation*, April, 1906). This article in the *Gentleman's Magazine* is professedly an extract from the article in the *Free Briton*, and not an independent source of information! The article relates to one Tomson, who had been charged with the fraudulent administration of the Charitable Corporation, and fled to Rome, where he placed his services at the disposal of James III., but only to receive a reply *non tali auxilio neq. defensoribus illis*. The Arbuthnots had been instructed to secure Tomson's arrest, but (owing to the Ambassador Waldegrave's absence from Paris) they had not been able to get the required authority. This is all Teder had to show for making the British Ambassador at Paris an agent of the Pretender! Teder refers to the *lettres de cachet* signed by St. Florentin for the molestation of Protestants. It was his business to execute the orders of his Government in which he was merely an official. It fell to him, for instance, to send the Du Barry into exile. Bro. Tuckett (*A.Q.C.*, xxxi., p. 26) quotes from a MS. by S. L. Simonnet, Prieur d'Heurgeville:—"March



Pelham, Armiger, Cotton and Clement. Lord Chewton is the Earl of Waldegrave's eldest son, James, born in 1715, who succeeded to the title on April 11th, 1741. Clement was a Swiss pastor employed by the Earl of Waldegrave as tutor for his children.¹

On November 30th, 1745, the Duke of Northumberland wrote to the second Duke of Richmond: "There is the greatest reason to think that the second son of the Pretender is taken in the *Soleil* and passes for your cousin Ratcliffe's son."² With some French troops and some Irish and Scots in French service, Charles Radcliffe had embarked at Dunkerque on November 22nd, but the *Soleil* was captured off the Dogger Bank by the *Sheerness*. The person supposed to be Prince Henry Benedict, the future Cardinal of York, was Charles Radcliffe's second son, James Clement Radcliffe. Perhaps the Duke of Northumberland was not referring to the fact that Richmond and Radcliffe were cousins by reason of their descent from Charles II., but to the fact that Richmond was cousin to Radcliffe's wife, the Countess of Newburg. For this relationship I must refer you to the accompanying table. And here, once again, the Webbs come into the story. Sir John Webb of Odstock, the father, if the identification can be accepted, of John Webb of the Bear and Harrow Lodge, had married Barbara, daughter and eventual heiress of Thomas Belasyse, second Viscount Fauconbridge. Incidentally, our brother John Webb would be a great grandson of Oliver Cromwell.³ The family ties are bound more closely by the fact that the mother of this Sir John Webb, who had formerly been the wife of John Bloomer, of Hatherop in Gloucestershire, was a daughter of Francis Maria [Browne], the 3rd Viscount Montague. A family connection between John Webb and the Duke of Richmond and Lord Teynham may be traced in this way:—

1742. M. de Bellevue, Seneschal of the Town of Nantes, received very precise instructions against the Society in question recently, Letters from the Chancellor of the Cardinal de Fleury, the Controllers General, and the Sieur de Saint-Florentin." It was precisely because Saint Florentin and his father were so colourless in their opinions that they were able to maintain themselves in office. They were officials, but not politicians.

¹ Bro. Moss in the second part of his recent paper refers to this Pierre Clement as the writer of *Les Fri-Maçons*, *Hyperdrame*, and mentions that Clement, who had lost his reason, died at Charenton.

² *A Duke and his Friends*, p. 476.

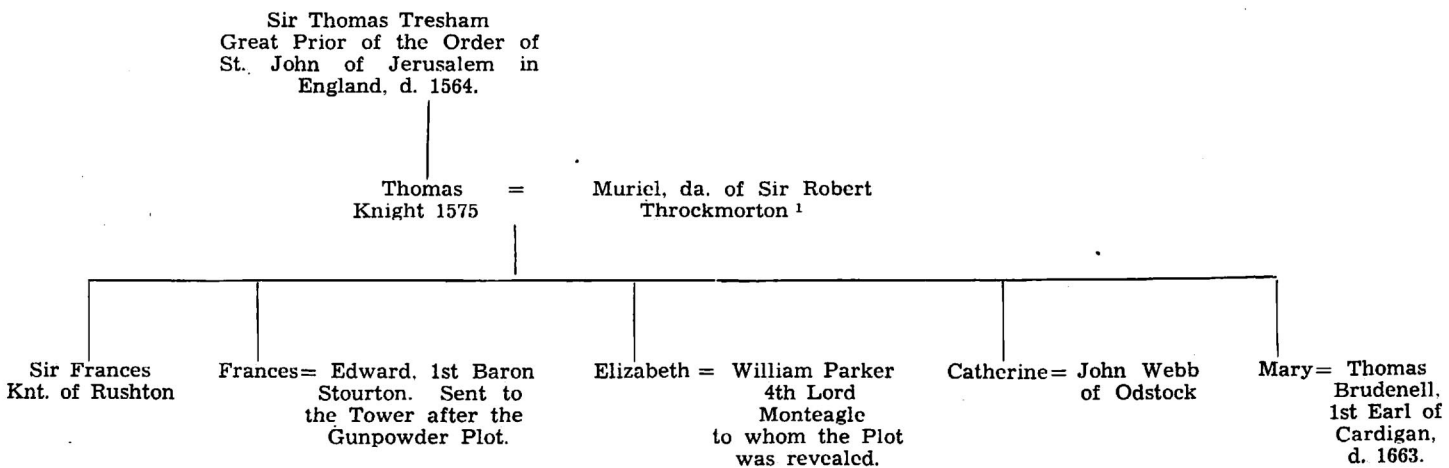
³

Oliver Cromwell

|
Mary=Thomas Belasyse, 2nd
Lord Fauconbridge

|
Barbara = Sir John Webb of Odstock
|
John Webb

By an Act passed August 24th, 1653, marriages could alone be solemnised by Justices of the Peace. Cromwell, says Clarendon, yielded to "the importunity and folly of his daughter. Mary was first of all publicly married by Cromwell's chaplain, but afterwards married by a priest of the Church of England, Dr. Hewet, and with the rites of the Church on November 17th, 1687, at the Chapel Royal, Hampton Court Palace." Dr. Hewet was afterwards executed for a plot in which he had been very little concerned.



¹ His descendant, John Courtney Throckmorton, born 27th July, 1753, became the 5th Baronet, and was Prov. G. Master of Berkshire in 1817. He was one of the Committee formed in 1787 "to watch over and promote the public interests of Roman Catholics," and he served on this body with Lord Petre, Lord Stourton and some other Masons. His son, William, was a very energetic member of the Royal Lodge.

On the occasion of his installation as Grand Master, 19th April, 1732, we read:—

“The Lord Viscount Montague our Grand Master being Master of the Lodge at the Golden Spikes at Hampstead, desired such Brethren as pleased to dine with him there on Wednesday the 26th Inst. and accordingly

His Grace the Duke of Norfolk.

His Grace the Duke of Richmond.

The R^t. Hon^{ble}. the Earl of Strathmore.

The R^t. Hon^{ble}. the Lord Carpenter.

The R^t. Hon^{ble}. the Lord Teynham.

and above one hundred Brethren more dined with the Grand Master at the House of B^t. Cap^t. Talbot being the Golden Spikes at Hampstead, at which time the Grand Master resign'd his Chair as Master of that Lodge to the Right Hon^{ble}. the Lord Teynham.” (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 218.)

The family name of Lord Teynham was Roper, a name of which Collins says “from Mustard it changed to Rubra Spalthan, Rospear, Rousper, Rooper, and Roper.” (*Peerage*, vii., p. 71.) It will be recollected that Margaret, the famous daughter of Sir John Moore, executed in the reign of Henry VIII., married William Roper, of Eltham. His younger brother, Christopher Roper,¹ of Linsted in Kent, married Elizabeth Blore, of Teynham, and Christopher's son, John, was created Baron Teynham in 1618. Christopher, the 5th Earl (d. 1688), married Elizabeth Frances, da. of Francis, the 3rd Viscount Montague. Three of their sons in time succeeded to the Barony, the third being Thomas, eighth Baron Roper of Teynham, and father of the Master of the Lodge at the Golden Spikes. Grand Master Montague and Henry, the Master of the Golden Spikes Lodge, were first cousins once removed, and, as we have seen, Anne Roper was the second wife of John Webb Esq^r. The tenth Baron Teynham died in 1781.²

6. THE EARLS OF STRATHMORE AND CRAWFORD.

We must now pay our attention to the Wor. Master in 1732 of the Lodge at the Bear and Harrow, John [Lyon], the fourth Earl of Strathmore, who on his death in 1712, left four surviving sons by his wife, Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, daughter of Philip [Dormer], the second Earl of Chesterfield. Each of the sons in his turn succeeded to the Earldom.

John, the fifth Earl, in 1715 raised a strong regiment of infantry for the service of James III., and fell at Sheriffmuir. His brother, Charles, the sixth Earl was a lad of sixteen when he entertained King James III. at the ancestral home of Glamis, where in attestation of his claims, James touched for the King's Evil. It is related that “all the patients on whom he laid his hands recovered.” As the sixth Earl, he married a lady of a family distinguished by its historical

¹ He was taken prisoner by the rebels in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion.

² The name of Henry Roper appears in the 1723 MS. List of the Lodge at the Swan at Ludgate St. (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 13), which Lodge removed to the Three Tuns, Newgate St. (*Ibid.*, p. 29). But as the tenth Lord's parents were married in 1704, the identification seems impossible. Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, daughter of the 2nd Earl of Chesterfield by his wife, Lady Elizabeth (daughter of the first Duke of Ormonde), married John, 5th Earl of Strathmore, the eldest brother of the Earl, who was Master of the Bear and Harrow Lodge.

connection with the glories of the British Navy—Lady Susan Cochrane,¹ second daughter of John, fourth Earl of Dundonald. He died on May 11th, 1728, of a wound accidentally inflicted in a scuffle, and was succeeded by James, the future Master of the Bear and Harrow Lodge. James, the seventh Earl, married in 1731 a daughter of George Oliphant, M.D. We have seen that he was Master of the Bear and Harrow Lodge in 1732. On May 28th, 1732, while he was in Scotland he was elected to follow Lord Montague as Grand Master, but as he was in Scotland, Lord Southwell “was so good as to take the Trouble to stand Proxy for the Earl of Strathmore on the next Grand-Feast-day.” So he was installed by proxy on 7th June, 1733. On Tuesday, 13th December, 1733, he appeared in his office at the Quarterly Communication at the Devil Tavern within Temple Bar. His rule was comparatively a brief one, for on 18th March, 1734 (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 238), the Deputy Grand Master announced that the Earl’s affairs necessitated his repairing to Scotland before the termination of his grand-mastership, and consequently John, Earl of Crawford, was elected, and on the 30th of the same month installed as Grand Master. Bro. Murray Lyon has reproduced a Minute of the Mary’s Chapel Lodge, Edinburgh, 7th August, 1733, which shows that Bro. the Earl of Strathmore, while in Scotland, was masonically employed:—

Present: the Right Honourable James Earle of Strathmore, present Grand Master of all the Lodges in England, and also chosen Grand Master for this present meeting. The which day the Right Honourable John Earle of Crawford, John Earle of Kintore² and Alexander Lord Garles³ upon application to the Societie, were admitted entered apprentices and also received fellow crafts as honorary members. The same day Patrick Lindsay and Archibald McAulay, Esqueirs, late Lord Provosts of Edr., having both formerly been admitted entered apprentices in this Society, were likewise admitted and received fellow crafts therein as honorary members thereof.” (Murray Lyon: *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, p. 170.)

It would be quite impossible within the limits of the present paper to sketch even in the briefest fashion the splendid career of the heroic John [Lindsay], the 20th Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, who succeeded to the Earl of Strathmore as Grand Master on the 30th March, 1730. He came into the

¹ After the death of her first husband, she married her factor, George Forbes, Master of Horse to Prince Charles in the '45. Her ancestor, Lord William Cochrane, was Warden of Lodge Kilwinning in 1678. One of his daughters married Alexander [Montgomery], 9th Earl of Eglinton, and although this Earl of Eglinton took an active part in the suppression of the Fifteen, there is a good deal of evidence in the *Stuart Papers* of his friendly attitude to the Stuarts. The ninth Earl of Eglinton (died February 18th, 1729) was father of Alexander, the tenth Earl, Grand Master Mason of Scotland. In the Addenda on p. 486 of his *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel)*, Murray Lyon corrects an error made on p. 53, where it was stated that John [Kennedy] Earl of Cassillis and Alexander 8th Earl of Eglinton had “filled the highest offices in the Lodge Kilwinning while they were apprentices.” The 10th Earl of Eglinton [“Eggleton” in the Minutes] visited Lodge Old King’s Arms on May 28th, 1745. Gustave Bord, *La Franc-Maçonnerie en France*, p. 68, states that the act de décès of the Chevalier Ramsay, who died at Saint-Germain-Laye, May 6th, 1748, was signed by Charles Radcliffe and “Lord Eglentown.”

² John [Keith] 3rd Earl of Kintore, born 21st May, 1699. Master of the Lodge of Aberdeen 1726: Grand Master Mason of Scotland 1738: succeeded Lord Raymond as G.M. of England, April, 1738.

³ Garlies. Alexander Stewart, son and successor in 1746 to his father, John, 5th Earl of Galloway. His mother was Catherine, daughter of the 9th Earl of Eglinton; he married first Anne Keith, daughter of William, Earl Marischal, by whom he had an only daughter, who married Kenneth [Mackenzie], eldest son of the attainted Earl of Seaforth, and secondly Catherine, youngest daughter of John, 4th Earl of Dundonald. Grand Master Mason of Scotland, 1757-58. Died September 24th, 1773. Despite his Jacobite relatives, Lord Garlies was certainly not a Jacobite. See *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton*, Sc. Hist. Soc., p. 53.

title on the death of his father on January 4th, 1714. We find in *Read's Journal* for December 15th, 1733:—

On Tuesday last at a Lodge held at the Bear and Harrow in the Butcher Row without the Temple the Right Hon. the Lord Crawford was admitted a Free and Accepted Mason.¹

7. MASTER MASONS' LODGES.

A Master Masons' Lodge met at the Bear and Harrow Lodge in 1733: it bore the number 116 in the 1729 Engraved List, and, according to Lane's *Records* (p. 64), was erased in 1736. In a paper on Master Masons' Lodges read by Bro. Lane at one of the earliest meetings of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge he expressed the opinion that this Lodge No. 116 was composed mainly of members of the Bear and Harrow Lodge. This Master Masons' Lodge is stated to have been "erased" in 1736. I am inclined to think that "absorbed" would have been a truer description of this termination.

8. THE DECLINE OF THE LODGE.

After the Installation of Viscount Montague the Minutes of Grand Lodge do not record any occasion on which he was present at that august assembly. Our late Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins appears to me to have drawn an erroneous impression from this fact when he hints that Lord Montague's abstention from Grand Lodge was due to religious difficulties.¹⁸ We meet with him at a well attended installation meeting at Hampstead. The *London Evening Post* of Saturday, April 29th, 1732, describes a benefit performance of Farquhar's *Recruiting Officer*, given at the Lincoln's Inn Field Play House for the benefit of "Mr. Milward, a Free Mason," attended by one hundred Brethren "who attended their Grand Master [Lord Viscount Montacute²] on foot in procession, cloathed with white aprons and gloves, from the Bear and Harrow in Butcher Row," and adds that the Earl of Strathmore and Lord Teynham were present. This does not suggest shyness.

Nevertheless, the first name on the 1732 List of Members of the Lodge which had removed from the Bear and Harrow has vanished when those draft Minutes I have spoken of lie before us.

¹ Rawlinson's list of 1733 and Pine's Engraved list of 1734 show a "Scotts Masons" Lodge at the Devil Tavern. The Lodge at the Devil Tavern, No. 8 in 1729, "the Union Lodge," moved to Daniel's Coffee House without Temple Bar in 1735: the "Scot's Masons" Lodge were working at Daniel's Coffee House in 1736. The *Daily Post*, December 30th, 1738, records: "We hear that on Saturday last there was a numerous Meeting of Master Masons at the Bear Tavern in the Strand, who have agreed to hold a Master Masons Lodge there for the Future every Sunday night on extraordinary Business." This apparently was a different Tavern. See Anderson's list of London Lodges (*Constitutions*, 1738, p. 188): "78. Bear Tavern in the Strand," constituted "26 August 1735, 2nd and 4th Tuesday." The Lodge whose history we are concerned with had left the Bear and Harrow. In 1707 a number of antiquaries met every Friday evening at the Bear in the Strand. In 1708 they made the Young Devil in Fleet Street their place of assemblage. Their next resort was the Fountain in Fleet St. In 1717 they formed the members into the Society of Antiquaries. In 1726-7 the Society met at the Mitre in Fleet St., of which John Innocent was landlord.

² *English-speaking Freemasonry*, p. 134. Our late Bro. G. W. Daynes, in *A.Q.C.*, xli., describes an inscribed block of stone discovered during the rebuilding of the Bank of England:—

Mr. THOMAS DUNN	} MASONS.
Mr. JOHN TOWNSEND	
ANNO MASONRY. 5732	
Ld. MONTACUTE. G. MASTER.	

On January 16th, 1735, there are only five members present in Lodge:—

W^m. Blunt. Master.
Charles Trinquand.
Chas. Pawley.
James Tomkins.
Henry Burdox.

A Bro. Tomkins from the Lodge at the Half Moon in Cheapside (now the Globe, No. 23) is admitted as a joining member.

On January 23rd the names of three other members appear:—

John Balace.
Thomas Crawford.
Richard Long.

On February 20th the officers are:—

Chas. Trinquand. Master.
Chas. Lawley. Senior Warden.
Thomas Crawford. Junior Warden.

On August 20th, 1736, the officers are:—

Chas. Pawley. Master.
John Lee Pell. Senior Warden.
—— Thomson. Junior Warden.

The Minutes for November 18th, 1737, are remarkable:—

“The Lodge met this Day, R^t. Worshipfull took the Chair being unanimously elected and accordingly chose his Wardens Rob^t. Fage Esq^r. and M^r. John Calahan.

“Agreed that the Master hold his seat for three months only.

“ . . . Brothers King, Calahan and Hancock were admitted members of the Lodge by consent of all the present members.”

Among the visitors on this occasion there is a name which looks like that of “Trinquand.”

On November 18th, 1737, we have a longer list of members:—

Thos. Thompson. Master.
Rob^t. Fage Esq^r. S. Warden.
Timothy Calahan. J. Warden.
John King.¹
David Hancock.
Thomas King.
Mauser Bransley.
Joseph Burr.
Henry Burdox.
Charles Pawley.
Isaac Meure Esq.²
James Adderley

On November 6th, 1738, Charles Pawley is Master once again, and his Wardens are John Banks and Thos. King. After this we have to turn to the other end of the book where it is used as a temporary attendance book and read on September 3rd, 1739 [? 1734]:—

¹ A John King served as Steward, January, 1731, and was a member of the Lodge at the King's Head, Fleet St. (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 180, and see p. 144.)

² Steward, 1733. (*Ibid.*, p. 231.)

Present

Br. Oates. Mas^r.¹
Br. Angier. Sen. Warden.
Br. Pawley. Jun. Warden.
Br. Parker.²
Br. Cosin.
Br. Bull.
Br. Crawford.

One of the impressions which a perusal of this crude apology for a Minute Book leaves on my mind is that the Lodge very largely owed its continued existence to the labours of Bro. Charles Pawley, whose name does not appear in any of the Grand Lodge lists of members. Bro. Thomas Crawford, whose name appears in the 1732 list of members at the Bear and Harrow, was, I believe, the keeper of that Tavern, and the removal of the Lodge to another Tavern may perhaps have been occasioned by Bro. Crawford's demission of his post. He, in 1731, had been one of the founders, and was the first Junior Warden, and in 1732 Senior Warden, of the Lodge at the Castle, Highgate, which met for the first time and initiated a candidate on June 19th, and was formally constituted by Bro. T. Batson, D.G.M., on behalf of Lord Lovell, on June 27th. A Minute of the Castle Lodge, July 2nd, 1731, runs: "Order'd that a sett of jewells of y^e same make and price of those belonging to the University Lodge are bespoken for y^e use of the Lodge, and that Bro. Carpenter, of y^e Crown Lodge on Snow hill, doe prepare y^e same, and that Bro. Crawford, the Jun. Warden doe take care to gett them forewarded." The meeting at which this order was given took place, not at Highgate, but at "Brother Crawford's at y^e Bear and Harrow in Butchers Row." (Sadler: *Thomas Dunckerley*, p. 106.) In the *Daily Journal* for May 25th there is an advertisement of tickets for the Annual Feast which may be procured, among other places, at "Crawford's at the Bear and Harrow without Temple Bar."

Among the members on the 1732 list is "Mr. Cosin." James Cosin was a Steward at Lord Montague's installation. We find this name Cosin in the draft Minute Book. Possibly the bearer is the James Cosin who published in 1745 *The Names of the Roman Catholics, Nonjurors, and others, who refus'd to take the Oaths to his late Majesty King George*, collected by Cosin's father, when he was Secretary to the Commissioners for forfeited estates. "Robert Fage Esq^r," appointed Warden on November 18th, 1737, is perhaps the Member of Parliament for Steyning in 1734, who succeeded to a baronetcy in 1736, and died in 1740.

At the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge held on November 26th, 1728 (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 89), a petition was presented "signed by Gerald Hatley, Joseph Burr, and Obadiah Wynne," the Master and Wardens of a Lodge held for some time past at Bishopsgate Coffee House, declaring their intention and earnest desire to be constituted as soon as it will meet the convenience of the Deputy Grand Master to confer that honour upon them, and humbly praying to be admitted among the regular Lodges at this Quarterly Communication." Burr Street in Wapping to this day commemorates the residence of the wealthy merchant family of Burr, who traded with Holland, and were established in the parish of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate. The "Princely" Duke of Chandos married for the third time, April 14th, 1736, the widow of Sir Thomas Duval,

¹ Probably James Oates, of the Anchor and Baptist's Head in Chancery Lane, who visited the Lodge at the Castle, Highgate, on June 27th, 1731. (Sadler: *Dunckerley*, p. 105.)

² Probably William Parker, Vintner. (Sadler: *Op. Cit.*, p. 105.)

³ The name is probably not Wynne, but Wylde.

M.P. for Harwich. Mrs. Pendarves (Madame Delaney) wrote to Dean Swift: "The Duke of Chandos has made a great noise, and poor Duchess is often reproached with being bred up in Burr Street, Wapping." The lady from Wapping is said to have brought £40,000 to her husband as her dot! There were, in fact, three closely related families. A sister, Lydia, of Sir Thomas Duvall, married John Vanhalten (spelt in various ways), a member of a great merchant family residing once at Devonshire Square, Bishopsgate. Another, Sir Thomas, had bequeathed property in Essex, which he had inherited from his mother, who was by birth a Burr, to his cousin, David Burr. The Lodge which presented the petition of Bishopsgate Coffee House Lodge was in 1727 at the Magpie in Bishopsgate without. It removed to the Whitehart¹ in the same neighbourhood, and in the G. Lodge MS. List of Members you will find "Mr. James Vanhussen" and "Mr. John Vanhussen." (*Q.C.A.*, x., pp. 34 and 170.)

9. THE BEAR AND HARROW TAVERN.

We will now go in search of the spot where once the Bear and Harrow stood. Most of us will remember Holywell St., the "Booksellers Row," running parallel with the Strand and leading to St. Clement's Church. Proceeding eastwards down Holywell we would, before the buildings in this district were demolished in order to make room for Aldwych, have found on the north side of the Church Picket's Street—a street which commemorated an alderman of that name who in 1802 executed house improvements in this locality. Timbs in his *Curiosities of London* (p. 767):—"From opposite Ship-yard extended an obtuse-angled triangle of buildings, the eastern line formed by the vestry-room and almshouse of St. Clement's, and the sides by shops; the whole called the Butcher-row, from a flesh market granted here by 21 Edward I., at first shambles, but subsequently houses of wood and plaster; one of these, a five storied house, *temp.* James I., was inhabited by Count Beaumont, the French Court Ambassador: here the Duc de Sully was lodged for one night in 1603, until 'the palace of Arundel' could be prepared for him. From a Bear and Harrow orgy, Nat Lee, the dramatic poet, was returning to Duke Street, when he fell, 'overtaken with wine,' in Clare Market, and died. Here was also Clifton's eating house, a dining place of Dr. Johnson. . . . The almshouses were removed in 1790. . . . In a house in Butcher Row, east of Clement's Inn, by the confession of Winter, he, with Catesby, Wright, and Guy Fawkes, met, and there administered the oath of secrecy to the conspirators, and afterwards received the Sacrament in the next room."

TENTATIVE LIST OF MASTERS AND WARDENS.

[The election probably took place half-yearly.]

1730. Not known.
 1731. The Earl of Strathmore.
 1732. Not known.
 1733. do.

	Master.	S. Warden.	J. Warden.
1734.	——— Oates ?	——— Angier.	Charles Pawley.
1735.	Jan. William Blunt.	Charles Trinquand.	Charles Pawley.
	Feb. Charles Trinquand.	Charles Pawley.	Thomas Crawford.
	Aug. Charles Trinquand.	Joseph Moore.	——— Stebling.

¹ A print of this Inn is in *A.Q.C.*, xix. About 1820 the building was modernised; but before that it had the date 1480 carved on its front.

1736.	Aug.	Charles Pawley.	John Lee Pell.	Thomas Thompson.
	Nov.	Charles Pawley.	Henry Burdox.	
1737.	July.	Charles Pawley.	W. Southerton.	
	Nov.	Thomas Thompson.	Robert Fage.	Timothy Calahan (? Calighan)
1738.	Nov.	Charles Pawley.	John Banks.	Thomas King.
1739.		——— Marshfield.		
1740.		——— Richardson.		
1741.		——— Fremoult.		
1742.		——— Taylor.		
1743.		——— Dowes.		
1744.		——— Walters.		
		——— Howele.		
1745.		——— Dowes.		
		——— Lynne.		
1746.		——— Kaines.		
1747.		——— Lynne.		
1748.		——— Stephenson.		

TENTATIVE NAMES OF MEMBERS LATER THAN THE 1732 LIST.

Date of first mention.		
1734 (?).	——— Angier.	
	——— Oates.	
	Charles Pawley.	
	——— Parker.	
	——— Bull.	
1735.	Richard Tomkins.	Joined January 16th.
	Ach. Vanderist.	Made a Mason February 20th.
	James Tomkins.	
	Robert Fage.	Joined March 5th.
	John Adderley.	do. March 11th.
	Daniel French of Hampstead.	do. March 19th.
	——— Gowland.	do. do.
	Henry Hatsole Esq ^r .	do. April 2nd.
	M ^r . John Hale of Bristol.	do. do.
1736.	Anthony Browne Esq ^r .	Made a Mason June 11th.
	M ^r . Brittenfield.	do.
	M ^r . Watts.	do.
	John Lee Pell.	do.
	Henry Burdox.	
	——— Marshal.	Made a Mason at a "private lodge."
	——— Spurton.	do.
1737.	W. Southerton.	
	Timothy Calahan [Calighan].	Joined November 18th.
	John King.	
	David Hancock.	
	Isaac Meure Esq ^r .	December 2nd.
	Manser Bransley.	
	Joseph Burr.	
1738.	John Banks.	
	Thomas Avis.	
	James Janeway.	
	John Sheffield.	

APPENDIX I.

The present paper is an off-shoot from a larger inquiry I have been making into the subject of Roman Catholic and Jacobite contributions to Masonic life in the eighteenth century. Avoiding the temptation to arrive at conclusions, I have endeavoured simply to collect the facts. The history reveals the fact that a number of members of the Craft were descendants from Charles II., for instance:—

Francis, Duke of Buccleuch, son of the Duke of Monmouth, who is the son of Charles II. by Lucy Walter.

Henry, Earl of Deloraine, brother of above.

Charles [Beauclerk], 2nd Duke of St. Albans, grandson of Charles II. by Eleanor Gwynne, was a member of the Queen's Head at Bath.

Charles, Duke of Richmond, grandson of Charles II. and Louise de Querouailles, Duchess of Portsmouth.

The following table shows the descent. Several masons of importance descended from Charles II. by Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland. I have included in this table the descent of the earliest Dukes of Beaufort in order that the table may be of use on another occasion:—

Henry [Somerset]
1st Duke of Beaufort
Refused oath to William III.
d. 1699

Charles = Rebecca, da. of
Marquis of Worcester. Sir Josiah Child
d. 1698. of Wanstead.

Henry = Mary, da. = Rachel, da.
2nd Duke of B. of Charles of Baptist Noel
d. 1714. Sackville 2nd Earl of
Earl of Gainsborough.
Dorset.

Henry, = 1 Frances, da. of
3rd Duke of B. Sir Jas. Scudamore,
d. 1746. who after divorce
= Charles, natural
son of the 1st Duke
of Grafton.

Charles Noel
4th Duke
of B.
d. 1756.

Sir Edward Lee = Charlotte Fitzroy
5th Bart. of Ditchley. 1st
Earl of Litchfield. 1st
d. 1713.

George Henry, = Frances Hales Arthur Dillon
2nd Earl of L. Count in France.
Init. Queen Head's Jacobite Earl.
Lodge at Bath. d. 1757.
d. 1743.

George Henry
3rd Earl of L.

Charlotte = Henry
11th Visct. Dillon.
d. 1787.

Charles
12th Visct. D.
Assumed the additional name
of Lee.
D.G.M. 1768-74.
d. 1813.

Frances=Wm. Jernin

Henry
5th Duke of
B.
d. 1803.
G.M. 1767-71.

Henrietta=Watkin Williams
Wynn, 4th Bart.

Henry Augustus
13th Visct. D.

Henry Charles
6th Duke of B.
Prov.G.M. Gloucestershire, 1799.
d. 1835.

Henry
7th Duke of B.
Prov.G.M. Gloucestershire, 1845.

as II. — Barbara Villiers
Duchess of Cleveland

Henry F. = Isabella, da. of
1st Duke of Grafton. Henry [Bennett],
d. 1690. 1st Earl of Arlington.

Charles = Henrietta, da. of
2nd Duke Charles, Marquis
Init. at the Horn of Worcester, son
Lodge. 1730. of the 1st Duke of
Beaufort.

Anne Fitzroy = Thomas Lennard
Earl of Sussex.

Anne = Henry [Roper] 8th
Baron Teynham

Philip
9th Baron T.
d. 1727.

Henry
10th Baron T.
Of the Bear and
Harrow Lodge.

= Catherine
da. of
John
Powell,
of Sandford,
Oxford.

Anne = John Webb

ingham, Bart.

Henry
11th Baron T.

John = Anne Gabrielle
2nd da. of Francis
Head, Bart., and
Widow of Moses
Mendes.

Frances = Thomas Webb,
Bart of Odstock.

APPENDIX II.

In the text of my paper I have spoken of the connection between James, the 1st Earl of Waldegrave, and James II. I need do nothing more than point out here that the widow of the 2nd Earl, Maria, was the second illegitimate daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, and that after her husband's death this lady married, 6th September, 1766, H.R.H. William Henry, Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh, 3rd son of H.R.H. Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, initiated in 1737. This Duke of Gloucester was initiated into masonry in 1766 in the Britannic Lodge.¹

Bro. Oxford, in his Introduction to *The History of the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge, No. 4*, gives an extract from the *Leeds Mercury* of January 20th-27th, 1729-30, showing the initiation in that Lodge (the Horn at Westminster) of "the Earl of Portmore."² Sir David Colyear, Bart., was the son of Sir Alexander Colyear, who, under the assumed name of Robinson, had served under William III. in Holland. Created Lord Portmore and Beachness in the Scotch Peerage in 1669, David Colyear was promoted Earl of Portmore in 1703. Having served in the Flemish War and in France, he was Commander-in-Chief in Scotland in 1710, Governor of Gibraltar in 1713, and was a representative Peer from 1713 to 1715. About the year 1716 his correspondence with the Jacobite agents is frequent.³ He is always about to join the good cause, but never does so. In 1696 he had married Catherine, Countess of Dorchester, daughter of the witty but scurrilous Sir Charles Sedley, and mistress of James II. He died on January 2nd, 1730, and it must have been within a few weeks of his father's death that Charles, his son and successor, became a Mason. In February, 1732, the second Earl was sent as Envoy to Don Carlos on the latter's taking possession of Parma and Placentia: from that year to 1747 he was one of the Representative Peers for Scotland. He married Juliana, widow of the 3rd Duke of Leeds, who died May 9th, 1731.⁴

The mention of the Duke of Marlborough in connection with the Earl of Waldegrave leads me on to observe that John, 2nd Duke of Montague,⁵ Grand Master in 1721, married Lady Mary Churchill, daughter of the great Duke.

¹ The visitor to Hampton Court Palace, if he wanders along the river by the Great Terrace, will come to the Pavilions which look across the river to Thames Ditton. They were occupied by the Duke of Gloucester. After the death of the Duchess in 1807, Mr. Law (*Hist. of Hampton Court Palace*, iii., p. 325) says, they were assigned to the Duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria and G.M. of the Antients, and he "occasionally resided here till his death in 1820." The three daughters of the 2nd Earl of Waldegrave were very famous beauties, and are known to us in that respect is a picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds. One of them, Lady Charlotte Maria, married the fourth Earl of Grafton.

² "A Lodge of the Antient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons was held last night at the Horn Tavern, Westminster, when were present the Duke [*sic*] of Kingston, Grand Master, Thomas [*sic*] Blackerby Esq^r., Deputy Master, Duke of Richmond, Earl of Sunderland, Lord Inchiquin, and many more Lords and Gentlemen, and five Masons were made, viz., the Earl of Portmore, Stephen Fox, Roger Holland, and the Hon. W. Forbes, and W. Martin. Dr. Desaguliers officiated part of the ceremonies on this occasion."

³ *Stuart Papers* (Hist. Records Commission), vol. ii., *passim*.

⁴ Lionel Cranfield [Sackville], 1st Duke of Dorset, Viceroy of Ireland in 1732, married Elizabeth, daughter of Lieut. Gen. Walter Philip Colyear, and his son Charles is the Earl of Middlesex associated with the Lodge at Florence and the famous Sackville Medal. See Bro. J. Heron Lepper's article in *A.Q.C.*, xxxviii., p. 310.

⁵ John, 2nd Duke of Montague, died in 1747, leaving two daughters:—

1. Isabella, who married (1) William [Montague], 2nd Duke of Manchester (d. 1739), and (2) Edward Hussey, who assumed the name of Montague, and was created Earl Beaulieu.
2. Mary, who married Earl of Cardigan, on whom the title of Duke of Montague was bestowed.

Our Grand Master, the Duke of Montague, belonged to the branch of the Montague [De Monte Acuto] family to which "of Boughton" was attached. His father, Ralph, had been ambassador at Paris, and very much concerned in the sending of

On the death of Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, October 24th, 1733, the title of Marlborough passed to Charles, 5th Earl of Sunderland, the second son of her sister, Anne. Bro. Oxford (*Op. Cit.*, p. 14) shows that this Earl of Sunderland was made a mason at the Horn Lodge in January, 1730, whereas his elder brother Robert (died November 27th, 1729) had been so made at Chichester. *Read's Journal*, February 8th, 1733, records: "On Tuesday night last several persons of quality were admitted into the Ancient Society of free and accepted Masons by the Duke of Sutherland, Master, at his Grace's Lodge in Pall Mall." The London residence of our Grand Master the Duke of Montague was a house on the site now covered by the British Museum, and it has been described as "without comparison the finest building in the whole city of London and county of Middlesex, Hampton Court alone excepted." The living of the adjoining Church of St. George, the Duke bestowed on Bro. Dr. William Stukeley, M.D.

Masons who are readers of the late Duke of Richmond's *A Duke and his Friends* are familiar with the passage which records Dr. Desagulier's "holding Chapters" at Ditton. Ditton Park, Bucks, came into the possession of Ralph, the 1st Duke of Montague. It had belonged to his grandfather, Sir Ralph Winwood, and it passed, on the death of his son without issue, to Ralph, Lord Montague, whose mother was Anne, daughter of Sir Ralph Winwood.¹

APPENDIX III.

"I must now make an excursion to the opposite side of the town [Preston], in order to record a voluntary institution of a very singular nature, but nearly connected with the history of the County, and, at one period, with the politics of the nation. At an obscure inn in the neighbouring village of Walton, has been held from the beginning of the last century, a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen, styling themselves the mayor and corporation of the ancient borough of Walton. All the proceedings were conducted with ludicrous formality: and they had a register, which still remains, together with a mace, a sword of state, and three large staves covered with silver, on which are inscribed the names of the successive officers of the Society from the year 1702. The Register does not commence till three years after. The officers of this whimsical fraternity were a mayor, deputy mayor, recorder, two bailiffs, two sergeants, a physician, a jester, a macebearer, a poet laureat, who furnished copies of very bad verses entered among the records, and lastly a town-clerk. Under this semblance, however, of sport and jolity, there seems to have been concealed a practical purpose. The members who appear till about the year 1740 were Catholic and Jacobite nobility and gentry, and here seem to have been concocted their plans for the restoration of the exiled family. In the year 1709 the Mayor was the most noble Thomas Duke of Norfolk; Sir Nicholas Sherburne of Stoneyhurst,² mayor's boy; Sir William Pennington, Bart., town's bailiff. Charles Townley³

Louise de Querouailles to England. In April, 1730, the Duke of Richmond, Louise's grandson, and the Ambassador's son ascended Rook's Hill, near Goodwood, to make Charles [Calvert], 5th Lord Baltimore, a Mason. This Lord Baltimore is said to have been present at the initiation of Frederic, Prince of Wales. A curious light on him is thrown by the letters of Madame Delaney. His mother was a daughter of the 1st Earl of Lichfield, whose wife was Charlotte Fitzroy, daughter of Charles II. by Barbara Villiers.

¹ The bulk of the correspondence of the Dukes of Montague was preserved at Montague House in Whitehall by the Dukes of Buccleuch and Queensbury. See Hist. MS. Commission, *Report on the MSS. of the Duke of Buccleuch; Preserved at Montague House, Whitehall*, vol. i., 1889.

² The Duke's father-in-law. Stoneyhurst Hall, rebuilt by Sir Richard Shireburne in 1892, ultimately came into possession of Mr. Thomas Weld, of Lulworth, and since 1794 has been the home of the famous Jesuit School.

³ Richard Towneley of Towneley, who had married a sister of Lord Widdrington, was taken a prisoner in the '15, but acquitted. Colonel Francis Towneley was executed after the '45.

of Townely, Esq^r., deputy mayor. In 1711 the mayor was the unfortunate James, Earl of Derwentwater. In 1715 no meeting was held, for a very obvious reason. In the accounts of 1745 is the following entry:—'P.S. 2.6 for fixing the plates upon the staves which was taken off on account of the rebels coming hither,' but the word rebels is written upon an erasure, and I suspect on the word duke. They only became rebels after their defeat. But about this time I observe a mixture of Whigs, so that as all political confidence must have been destroyed, everything of a political tendency in the Society must have ceased. The year 1766 is the last in which the meeting continued to be respectable. It has since fallen into the hands of inferior tradesmen, who are still possessed of the insignia of office, and who continue to assemble with the same old formalities, but with neither the danger nor dignity of their predecessors.' *An History of Richmondshire*. By Thomas Durham Whitaker, L.L.D., 1823. Vol. ii., p. 428.

APPENDIX IV.

A complete history of the Webb family would be a most valuable contribution to the history of English social life. The earliest member of the family I have been able to trace is a Webb who entertained at his house in Salisbury King Henry VII. The Webbs were in Tudor times merchants, and I am informed that their marks are identifiable in St. Thomas' Church, Salisbury. The family provided that city with Mayors and Members of Parliament, and in course of time advanced their position by marriage with the nobility. During the Civil War they were conspicuous for their adherence to the Royal Cause. One branch of the family was Anglican, and the mother of Archbishop Laud was by birth a Webb, and another member of the Anglican branch was Lord Mayor of London in 1591. Collins' list of nonjurors shows Sir John Webb, the 3rd Baronet, whom I take to be the father of the John Webb of the Bear and Harrow Lodge, as possessed of landed property in eleven different counties, as well as a house in London. Besides the houses at Odstock, the drawing-room of which forms the shell of a still standing farm house, and the mansion at Hatherop, the family had a large house at Canford, parts of which exist in Canford School. It appears that much of the Webb property would have passed, on the death of the 6th Baronet in 1797, to his daughter Barbara, who married Anthony [Ashley Cooper], 5th Earl of Shaftesbury, had not her father directed that it should be held in trust during her lifetime and that of her daughter, who married the Hon. William Francis Spencer Ponsonby (Lord Mauley, 1838). Canford House, rented to English Discalced Carmelite nuns in 1804, was afterwards occupied by Lord Wimbourne's family, and is now a Public School. The third Baronet's contributions to the cause of the Chevalier St. George are mentioned in the *Stuart Papers*. He died at Aachen in 1745 in the same year as his eldest son, John.

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Firminger for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. W. J. Williams, seconded by Bro. G. Elkington; comments being made by or on behalf of Bros. B. Telepneff, C. F. Sykes, G. W. Bullamore, and T. F. Anderson, of St. George's and Corner Stone Lodge No. 5.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

It is with pleasure that at your suggestion I rise to make certain comments on the paper we have for our consideration to-night. Such a paper could only have been written by one versed in genealogical lore and in the History of

the Jacobites during the troublous times which culminated in the 1715 and 1745 Rebellions.

The body of the document and the elaborate footnotes give evidence of a vast amount of reading and general investigation.

In considering the result it is desirable we should constantly remember the opening paragraph of Appendix I., viz.:—"The present paper is an off-shoot from a larger inquiry I have been making into the subject of Roman Catholic and Jacobite contributions to Masonic life in the eighteenth century".

The same Appendix gives a genealogy which is included "in order that the table may be of use on another occasion".

Therefore we must not regard the present paper as more than an instalment, although it is to some extent complete in itself so far as it adheres to the careers of the Members of the Lodge held at the Bear and Harrow.

The fact that the main objective of the essay is the Jacobite phase has, perhaps, somewhat deflected our Brother's path from a strict adherence to the announced topic of the paper; but doubtless the Brethren have often found that an excursion into side issues may be more generally interesting and instructive than a rigid and austere regard to absolute relevance.

It is to be hoped that the massed material now before us will be considered and where advisable commented on by our Brethren who delight in what are not always endless genealogies.

Our Brother has not been content with making mere assertions, but in the footnotes he has supplied us with ample means of testing the accuracy of his statements. I do not pretend to have verified more than a very few of the results he has arrived at, but it is due to him to say that where I have checked the body of the text it has almost invariably stood the test, even in some cases where at first view a doubt arose in my mind.

I remember that our erudite Brother Wonnacott called my attention a few years before his death to the fact that many members of the University Lodge were also named as members of the Bear and Harrow Lodge, and having regard to the erasure of the University Lodge in 1736 and the continuance of the Bear and Harrow Lodge he thought it likely that the University Lodge had become, or, at the time the lists of names was prepared, was in process of being absorbed by the Bear and Harrow Lodge. It was not until 1736 that University Lodge was recorded as erased, but it is more than likely that the process of dissolution and absorption which led to erasure had culminated some considerable time before the actual erasure.

It is significant that both Lodges met at the same Tavern. Hence it was that the necessity arose for the first time in the History of Grand Lodge for a distinction being made so as to avoid confusion between the two Lodges meeting at the same place. Thus the University Lodge is the first private Lodge which had a name of its own as distinguished from the name of the meeting place.

The Warrant of the original Bear and Harrow Lodge was (according to Lane) dated 26th February or 25th March, 1730. That of the University Lodge was dated 14th December, 1730.

Eleven names are italicised in the proof as being members of both Lodges. Probably the Reverend Mr. Walter is identical with the Rev^d. William Walters in the University list.

The following notes are mainly gathered from Musgrave's *Obituary* and may be worthy of consideration as supplementing the paper. The particulars given by Musgrave are enclosed in square brackets:—

Tho^s. Batson Esq. D.G.M.

[Tho. Batson, Jurise, of the Middle Temple, who died October, 1740. *London Magazine*, 510.]

This brother seems to have induced Bro. Blackerby, J.P., the Treasurer of the Charity Fund, to accept Promissory notes for £16:18:0 belonging to that Fund, instead of the actual cash. When Bro. Blackerby after his resignation was called on to pay over his balance to a Successor it was not (at any rate in the first instance) forthcoming in cash so far as that £16:18:0 was concerned. (See *Q.C.A.*, x., 295, 298, 299, 319.)

Geo. Rooke Esq. Grand Warden.

[Son of Sir Geo. Rooke, the Admiral, died 24th Nov., 1739. *London Magazine*, 629. *Ann Eur*, 475. *Gent. Mag.*, 606. *P.S.*, 58/502, 575.]

James Chambers Esq. formerly G.W.

[James Chambers, Banker, died 27th Sep., 1733. *Gent. Mag.*, 496.]

Arthur Moore.

[Arthur Moore, of Latherlands, died 11th June, 1734. *Gent. Mag.*, 330.]

John Ward of Newcastle.

He later on became 6th Baron Ward in 1740, and first Viscount Dudley and Ward in 1763, and was Grand Master in 1740. (See *Masonic Personalia*, *A.Q.C.*, xl., 238.)

The Hon^{ble}. Col^l. Pitt. Steward.

[Col. John Pitt, uncle of the E. of Londonderry, d. 9th Feb., 1754. *Lond. Mag.*, 92. *Gent. Mag.*, 95.]

John Selwyn Esq^r.

[John, sen^r., of Matson, M.P. for Gloucester. 6th Nov., 1751. *G.M.*, 523. *L.M.*, 524; or John, jun^r., of Cumberland, M.P. for Whitechurch. 27th June, 1751. *L.M.*, 284, 332.]

John Webb Esq.

[John Webb, Governor of Upnor Castle, d. Nov., 1733. *H.R.C.*, 43. *L.M.*, 586. *G.M.*, 607.]

Perhaps our Brother can tell us whether this is the same person as the John Webb of whom he gives particulars.

Governor Tinker.

[Jeremiah Tinker, Governor of Cape Coast Castle, Africa, d. April, 1738. *H.R.C.*, 15.]

In a footnote it is stated that a Governor John Tinker was Prov.G.M. of the Bahamas in 1752, but this does not show that he was a Governor in 1732. Perhaps Jeremiah Tinker is the more likely identification. The paper also refers to a General Tinkler.

Governor Burrington.

[Governor, North Carolina, died 22nd Feb., 1759. *L.M.*, 108.]

Alex^r. Holbourn Esq.

[Sir Alex. Holborne, B^t., of the Navy. 22nd Feb. (or January in *G.E.C.*), 1772. *S.M.*, 109, 111. *A.R.*, 165. *G.M.*, 195.]

This Baronet may be the same person as the Mason or a relative. If so, he succeeded to the Baronetcy 26th July, 1758, and after being in a Debtors' prison, died in mean lodgings called Harrow Dunghill, Southwark. (See *The Complete Baronetage* by G.E.C.)

John Bridges Esq.

[Six Clerks Office. 5th Aug., 1742. *G.M.*, 443. *L.M.*, 413. *S.M.*, 390.]

Claude Crispigney Esq.

[Secretary to the South Sea Company, at Camberwell, died 6th Oct., 1782. act, 78. *G.M.*, 503.]

Mr. Robert Dyer.

[Robert Dyer, Stamp Office. 14th Sep., 1763. *G.M.*, 465. *L.M.*, 505.]

The paper refers to certain members who were artists. To these should apparently be added Mr. Delane.

[Denis Delane, Actor, died 1st Ap., 1750. *Chetwode's Stage*, 130. *G.M.*, 188.]

Bro. C. F. SYKES *writes*:—

Papers of the nature of that to which we have been privileged to listen are a distinct contribution to the Masonic history of London.

A little further detail as to the neighbourhood concerned may not be devoid of interest.

Butchers' Row, with houses on both sides, lay to the East of St. Clement's Church, between Ship Yard and St. Clement's Lane on the North. Strype says that the butchers' quarter was on the South of the Row. There was a line of houses on the North side of the Church, and the street between Butchers' Row and the junction of Wych Street with Holywell Street was known as Backside of St. Clement.

The 'Bear and Harrow' stood on the North side of Butchers' Row at the entrance to Bear and Harrow Court, of which Strype says: "Bear and Harrow Court, so called from such a sign, a noted Eating House, at the entrance to it".

The area behind Butchers' Row on the North was a very congested one, numerous courts opening out of it into the Row. Bear and Harrow Court was the eighth counting westward from Ship Yard and was at the West end of the Row near to St. Clement's Lane. The court was long and narrow and ran from Butchers' Row to Boswell Court. A reference to Ogilby's map of 1677 renders these topographical particulars quite clear.

The West portion of the area concerned was at one period quite a good residential neighbourhood. Walford says that St. Clement's Lane in the reign of Queen Anne was the Bond St. of London. Boswell Court in the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century contained many residences of the 'quality'.

There is thus reason why an aristocratic lodge such as that at the Bear and Harrow established itself there.

Later in the eighteenth century the neighbourhood degenerated and parts of it, especially the eastern portion, became a sink of iniquity. The district was improved by the demolition of Butchers' Row and construction of Pickett St. in 1802. This latter street, together with thirty courts to the rear of it, was in turn demolished in the third quarter of the nineteenth century to provide a site for our present Law Courts.

One writer, whom I have consulted, terms the 'Bear and Harrow' the 'Bear and Hound'. The former name is that generally accepted, though the latter is more easy to understand since bear baiting was formerly well known and practised in this country.

In section 9 the writer of the paper mentions the house of Count Beaumont in Butchers' Row. This was a fine old house presenting an interesting exterior towards the street decorated with roses, crowns, fleur-de-lys and dragons. It bore the date 1581, so was comparatively new when the Marquis de Rosny (afterwards Duc de Sully) made his short stay there in 1603.

The house where Winter and his fellow conspirators met (also alluded to in section 9) was identified in a book, *Gunpowder Treason*, as that on the East side at the entrance to St. Clement's Lane, but the identification appears to be inconclusive. Illustrations of this house and Beaumont House appear in *Old Time Aldwych* by Charles Gordon.

In addition to the Lodge at the Bear and Harrow the neighbourhood has items of Masonic interest. Mr. Diprose in his *Walk round St. Clement Danes*, states that Benjamin Franklin (whose Masonic activities were dealt with by Bro. Lafontaine a few years ago) lived for a time at 19, Casey St. Peter Cunningham in his *Handbook of London*, writing of Shire Lane, says: "Neere the Globe in Sheer Lane" lived Elias Ashmole the antiquary and here Antony à Wood records his having dined with Ashmole'.

In 1741 Paul Whitehead and Esquire Casey, the latter surgeon to the Prince of Wales, organised a procession of Mock Masons which passed along the Strand but was not permitted to go through Temple Bar.

Next year the Scald Miserable Masons assembled in the Strand near Somerset House and marched eastwards towards the City. These processions were intended to ridicule and insult the Freemasons who held their annual procession at the same time. They appear to have received an effectual check in 1744, for the *General Advertiser* of 3rd May that year has: "Yesterday several of the Mock Masons were taken up by the Constables empowered to impress them for His Majesty's Service and confined till they can be examined by the Justices".

BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

This paper has greatly interested me. I believe that Jacobite Freemasonry was the great channel for the transmission of our secrets when we ceased to be an operative fraternity. The remnants of the four old Lodges were merely "honorary journeymen" who had obtained membership of lodges of accepted masons during the rebuilding of London. They could have known little or nothing of Freemasonry beyond the word itself. Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 show that the attempt to control them came from outside. The organisation then formed underwent modification and eventually gathered to itself additional degrees of Freemasonry and issued warrants to existing lodges of Freemasons. It would be in the higher degrees that Jacobite sympathisers would gather, and the popularity of the initial degrees behind which they worked would act as an effective screen. Although non-political outwardly, it is possible that the duty to God, King and country was not modified into civil, moral, and religious duties and that there was no misapprehension as to which King was meant. It is not surprising that the union of the accepted Masons with the Freemasons was fostered by Jacobite sympathisers. As the University Lodge met at the Bear and Harrow there were three lodges meeting at this tavern and multiple membership was almost sure to arise. The question whether the masters' lodge was erased or absorbed depends really on the continuance of the third degree. In the history of the Old King's Arms Lodge as related by Bro. Calvert the same conditions appear to have resulted in the absorption of the lower degrees by the masters' lodge. The original plan of modern Grand Lodge was probably a rank and file of apprentices with a governing body of fellows who were to confer this degree on the masters of the apprentice lodges. It is difficult to be sure when the third degree became a necessity, and lodges of the third degree may have petered out in the early days and left the supporting lodge intact.

Bro. Firminger identifies the Lodge at the Old Paul's Head with that held at the Mitre. I can find no evidence for it and it may be a guess based on the position in a list. I think it preferable to regard it as arising from the union of the Queen's Head, Hollis Street, and Legg Tavern Lodges. In the Queen's Head list of 1725 (G.L.) appear the names of William Jones, William Gulston, and Papillon Ball. These are the first, second and fourth names on the Rawlinson list of St. Paul's Head members. Number six is Richard Cock, which suggests the Richard Cox of the G.L. list. Benjamin Wellington, William Boulter and William Hart are numbers three, eight and nine of the Rawlinson list, and are in the 1725 Legg Tavern list, while number ten, Jno. Powell, may be Tho. Powell of the Legg Tavern.

As Grand Lodge had no authority over independent masons I have thought it possible that this sword carrying was originally a bribe to Bros. Gulston and Co. to induce them to come under the modern lodge banner instead of maintaining their right to act as they pleased. Having surrendered their birthright for this mess of pottage the right of the Grand Master to appoint his sword bearer came into play and resulted in this petition.

BRO. FIRMINGER writes, in reply:—

While thanking Bro. Williams for his kind remarks, I must explain that, having worked for some long time on a far wider subject than the title of the present paper indicates, I learned that our Bro. Moss had in readiness a paper which would cover much of the same ground as my own. To avoid printing twice over so much of the same matter, I allowed my own paper, which was due to be read some time ago, to stand over, and, in adopting this course, I have been able to make use of some of my materials in the discussion of Bro. Moss's paper.

Bro. Williams asks whether I consider the John Webb, who was Governor of Upnoor Castle and died in 1738, to be the Bro. John Webb whom I would identify with the eldest son of Sir John Webb, of Oldstock. My answer is in the negative, for the son of the baronet and brother-in-law of Viscount Montague died in 1745.

In reply to Bro. Bullamore's kindly criticism, I find that on consulting my copy of *Q.C.A.*, x., I had actually set a note of interrogation against the words "removed from the Mitre, Covent Garden", in Bro. Songhurst's footnotes on page 116. Unfortunately, in writing note referred to, I forgot my feelings of scepticism. I cannot delete the footnote, for to do so would be, so to speak, to remove the peg on which Bro. Bullamore has hung his hat. With his theory as to the descent of the St. Paul's Head Lodge I disagree, but I believe that he is entirely right in saying that there is no continuity between either the Mitre in Covent Garden or the Rummer in Paternoster Row with the St. Paul's Head. I will venture to give my reasons for this opinion, in order that my footnote may not seem to darken counsel in the future.

Among the eighteen Lodges represented at Grand Lodge on the 19th of December, 1727, was "St. Paul's head Ludgate street" (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 77). Bro. Songhurst in a footnote identifies this Lodge with one "removed from the Ship, behind the Royal Exchange". Now Bro. Crossle has shown, in an article in the *Transactions of the Lodge of Research*, No. 200 I.C., 1923, that the names of members of the Ship behind the Royal Exchange, as they appeared in the 1723, are for a great part names of Irishmen. Of the 39 names on this list, four only re-appear in later lists, and the Ship behind the Exchange, is not to be found in the 1728 Engraved List. It held the 23rd place on the 1725 Engraved List, and

on the 1728 Engraved List that place is occupied by the Lodge meeting at St. Paul's Head, Ludgate Hill. The 1729 Engraved List has:—

18. [Arms of St. Paul's Head]	Ludgate Street	First Wednesday	May 5th 1723.
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The "1730" MS. List seems to tell us another tale. On that list, the eighteenth place (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 158) is occupied by the Crown on Ludgate Hill—a Lodge unknown to the MS. List of 1725 and the Engraved Lists of 1728 and 1729. The compiler of the "1730" MS. List assigns to the Paul's Head Lodge the fortieth place, which in the 1729 Engraved List had been assigned to the Lodge working at the Rummer in St. Paul's Church Yard.

On July 11th, 1729, both St. Paul's Head Lodge and the Rummer Lodge were separately represented in Grand Lodge. The date of Constitution assigned by the 1729 Engraved List to the former Lodge is May 5th, 1723, to the latter Lodge "April, 1725". The Engraved List of 1738 assigns the May 5th, 1723, Constitution to Lodge 18 working at the Sun in Holborn, and the April (no day specified), 1725, Constitution to No. 40 working at the Sun in St. Paul's Church Yard. Both of these Lodges were represented in Grand Lodge on Dec. 27th, 1736. The Compiler of the "1730" list had, as we have seen, set down St. Paul's Head in the place assigned to the Rummer in the 1729 Eng. List.

The 1728 Eng. List shows the Rummer P.R. as No. 53 and the Mitre, Covent Garden, as 68. The latter Lodge occupies the 62nd place in the "1725" MS. List, but falls out of mention in the 1729 Eng. List. Bro. Songhurst writes (*Q.C.A.*, xxxvi., p. 144): "No. 68 at the Mitre, Covent Garden, appears to me, to be the 75th Lodge in the 1725 List, which was constituted in April, 1725, at this house, becoming No. 40 in 1729". But it was the Rummer P.R. which became No. 40 in that year. When Bro. Songhurst was editing his volume of *Early Grand Lodge Minutes*, no copy of the 1728 Eng. List—the list he has so admirably reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, xxxvi.—was available. The circumstance that in the "1730" MS. List the St. Paul's Head appears fortieth, combined with a conjecture that the Mitre, C.G., and the Rummer stood in a line of descent, would not unnaturally lead one to connect in descent those Lodges, the St. Paul's Head and the Lodge of Cordiality, which last was erased in 1830. In the 23rd note on the Engraved List of 1728 Bro. Songhurst has written: "No. 23 at the St. Paul's Head, Ludgate Street, was apparently the Lodge which met at the Three Tuns, Newgate St. It went out of existence before 1729". The names of Members of the Three Tuns on the "1725" MS. List (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 29), when compared with the names of members of the Swan at Ludgate (*Ibid*, p. 13), show that this is only a case of a removal of the Lodge from one house to another. The Three Tuns occupies the 23rd place in the "1725" MS. List, and the St. Paul's Head the same place in the 1728 Eng. List. From June 25th, 1728, to April, 1737, the St. Paul's Head was continuously represented in Grand Lodge. I can, therefore, see no reason for saying that it went out of existence before 1729, but an examination of the personnel of the 1725 List of Members of the Lodge at the Three Tuns with the personnel of the "1730" List of Members shows that between the dates of these two lists the 23 brethren who had met at the Three Tuns had been entirely replaced by 63 new members, and that this new element consists of brethren closely connected with Bro. Rawlinson.

Bro. Bullamore conjectures that the St. Paul's Head Lodge represents a union of the Queen's Head, Hollis Street, and Legg, Fleet St. It seems to me that it is more probable that the latter Lodge was absorbed before 1728 into the Lodge meeting at the Red Lyon, Tottenham Court Road. Consider the personnel of the two Lodges in the "1725" List:—

*Red Lyon, T.C. Rd.**(Q.C.A., x., p. 36).*

Mr. John Randolph. Ma^r.³
 Mr. W^m. Hart.¹
 Mr. Tho. Hooper.³ } Wardens.
 Edm^d. Gomond.²
 Jn^o. Barnes.⁴
 Tho: Neal.³
 Tho: Crawford.⁵
 Lewis Buck.⁶
 Rich^d. Stone.⁴
 Jam: Latouche.⁸
 John Watkins.³

*Legg Tavern, Fleet St.**(Ibid, p. 39).*

Mr. Lewis Buck. Ma^r.
 Mr. Benjamin Wellington.⁷ } Wardens.
 Mr. W^m. Hart.¹
 Tho: Hooper.³
 Rich. Stone.⁴
 Jn^o. Daintree.³
 Jn^o. Randolph.³
 Jn^o. Fry.³
 W^m. Boulter.⁹
 Jn^o. Watkins.³
 Tho: Powell.³
 Tho: Winstanley.³
 W^m. Fry.³

The Red Lyon is No. 43 on the 1728 Eng. List, and No. 16 on that of 1729. On March 2nd, 1732, Grand Lodge considered "a complaint made by several Brethren of the Lodge at the Red Lyon in Tottenham Court Road against their present Master and Wardens". The nature of the complaint may be gathered from the resolution passed: "That the Lodge at the Red Lyon in Tottenham Court Road, is regularly moved by the present Master and Wardens: and Majority of the Lodge, to the Goat at the Foot of the Hay Market", etc. So the Compiler of the "1730" MS. places in the sixteenth place the "Goat at the Foot of the Haymarket". In this list the name of "Mr. Alex^r. Pope" appears. The Master is Isaac Dubois, and the Wardens Sam^l. Marriot and William Bodle, at least eleven foreign names in the list of thirty-five members. Only two names, Richard Stone and John Barnes carried over from the "1725" List. The only point of contact between the Red Lyon Lodge and the Philo-Musicae et Architecturae Societas is that on Sept. 2nd, 1725 (*Q.C.A.*, ix., p. 62), the Society was visited by "Ja: Latouche, Master of the Red Lyon, Tottenh: & Warden Sen^r. of the Fr. Lodge". The Society was visited by unnamed member of the Legg Lodge on Nov. 26th, 1726, and again on March 9th, 1727. (*Ibid*, pp. 171 and 191.) There is no cross membership.

The date of Constitution assigned to the Red Lyon is April 3rd, 1723. In 1739 Anderson shows it at La Guerre Tavern: the Engraved List at the Turk's Head, Temple Bar.

Returning now to the connection between the St. Paul's Head and the Societas, we find on the "1730" MS. List four persons who had belonged to the Societas. All four had been admitted to the Societas on the same day—Feb. 16th, 1727:—

Richard Mason. Cabinet Maker. Of the "late Lodge at the Globe in Queen St." (*Q.C.A.*, ix., p. 167.)

Richard Cock [Plumer]. Cox in the "1725" List of the Queen's Head in Hollis St.

Joseph Samson. Haberdasher.

John Thomas. Banker. His name appears in "1730" as a member of four Lodges.

¹ Warden in "1723". St. Paul's Head, "1730". Goldsmith. (Rawlinson.)

² Master do.

³ No later list.

⁴ Goat at the Foot of the Haymarket. "1730".

⁵ Perhaps the keeper of the Bear and Harrow, and a member of that Lodge and of the Castle at Highgate. "1730".

⁶ Perhaps the Louis Buck of the French Lodge. "1729".

⁷ Third on the Rawlinson List of the St. Paul's Head. A Surgeon.

⁸ G. Warden of the French Lodge. "1725".

⁹ In Rawlinson's St. Paul's Head List, but not in G.L. "1730"

It appears that Cock or Cox is the only person who was a member of both the Hollis St. Lodge and the Societas who belonged to the St. Paul's Head at the time when the "1730" List was compiled. The Rawlinson List of Members of the St. Paul's Head enumerates 107 members and must be later in date (possibly 1733-34) than the "1730" MS. List of Members, and it is the Rawlinson List which gives us the far more important names—Gulston, Knevett, Jones, Papillon Ball, and Grant, the first three of whom had belonged to the Hollis St. Lodge.

The protest made by "several Masters of Lodges" in behalf of the Master of the Lodge held at St. Paul's head in Ludgate Street" against Bro. Moody carrying the Sword of State was reported to Grand Lodge on May 29th, 1733. (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 230.) The D.G. Master observed that before the late Duke of Norfolk had presented a Sword to be carried before the G. Master, "the Master of the Lodge at the St. Paul's Head, usually carried the Sword belonging to that Lodge (as being a very good one)". The directions for the procession when the Duke himself had been invested prescribed "the Sword to be born by the Master of the Lodge to whom it belongs" before the G. Master Elect on the left, while on the right the Book of Constitution was to be carried on the velvet cushion by the Master of the Senior Lodge. What took place in this respect when Lord Colerain was invested as proxy for Lord Lovell on March 27th, 1731, is not recorded, but on April 13th, 1732, when Viscount Montague was invested, the Sword was carried by Bro. Moody, and not by the Master of the St. Paul's Head. The protest made by the Lodge must have been made before May 29th, 1737, and it was signed by:—

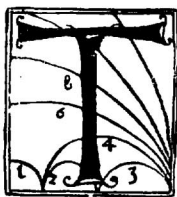
Jno. Jesse. Master.
 W^m. Jackson }
 Jno. Mordaunt. } Wardens.
 W^m. Archer.
 R^d. Cock.
 And^r. Beach.

Jno. Davenport.
 Jno. Coward.
 Edwd. Good.
 W^m. Davis.
 Jno. Broadley. [Bradley ?]
 W^m. Williams.
 Edmund Buck.
 R^d. Rawlinson. D.C.L.
 R^d. Hill
 F. Baker.
 — Rixton.

Edmund Buck is no doubt Edmund Bick of the "1725" List, and Broadley is Bradley. Fotherly Baker (D.G. Master 1741-51) is in the Rawlinson but not the "1725" List.

Of these petitioners, the only one who belonged to the Queen's Head Lodge in Hollis St. and the Societas is R. Cock. I am therefore not inclined to accept Bro. Bullamore's theory that the right of carrying the Sword was conceded to a St. Paul's Head Lodge, an amalgamation of the Queen's Head and the Legg Lodges, as a bribe to secure its surrender to the jurisdiction of Grand Lodge. To me it would seem more likely that the suppression of that claim led the Lodge to open its doors to former members of the Societas.

FRIDAY, 3rd MAY, 1935.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., W.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M., as I.P.M.; G. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., as S.W.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M., as J.W.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; and W. J. Williams, P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. C. F. Sykes, G. D. Elvidge, A. G. Harper, H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C., Carl J. Blyh, C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg., H. Courlander, P.G.St.B., R. T. Woods, L. G. Wearing, F. P. Reynolds, Robt. A. Card, S. N. Smith, W. Morgan Day, W. J. Mean, J. Ingram Moar, P.G.St.B., P. E. Rowe, F. Addington Hall, G. W. South, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.D.C., F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., N. S. Ellis, J. F. H. Gilbard, A. F. Cross, Geo. C. Williams, Thos. North, P.G.D., J. S. Kirkwood, T. M. Scott, W. Brinkworth, A. L. Mond, P.A.G.D.C., H. A. Horsnell, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, J. Lagden, S. A. V. Wood, A. F. Ford, A. W. White, H. Johnson, Wm. Edwardson, E. W. Marsou, H. Douglas Elkington, H. L. R. Matthews, Chas. S. D. Cole, A. C. Martin, and T. H. Casbourne.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. L. F. Dixon, Dagenham Lodge No. 4699; Ernest L. Stevens, Industries Lodge No. 4100; F. A. Hagger, Commemoration Lodge No. 2663; and C. A. D. Axham, Wood Green Lodge No. 2426.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; B. Telepneff, S.W.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., J.W.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., I.P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., Stew.; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; John Stokes, P.G.D., P.Pr.A.G.M., W.Yorks., P.M.; B. Ivanoff, Stew.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Mdx.; and W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Down.

One Grand Lodge, one Provincial Grand Lodge, two Lodges and forty 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. Rt. Rev. The Bishop of Lincoln, D.D., Grand Chaplain; V.Rev. Canon W. E. R. Morrow, M.A., Past Grand Chaplain; David Rice, M.D., and A. B. Napier, Grand Deacons; J. C. Mitchell, Alfred Allen, Jason Edwards, and Alfred Page, Past Grand Deacons; H. Watkins Thomas, Past Assistant Grand Registrar; A. Y. Mayell, F.R.I.B.A., Grand Superintendent of Works; F. L. Morfee Walsh, M.C., Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works; J. E. Grosvenor, Deputy Grand Director of Ceremonies; Arthur Atkinson, Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; H. F. Whyman, R. V. Awdry, A. H. Barron, Ernest Howard, James Johnstone, F.R.C.S., W. S. Ling, L. S. Mills, Dr. A. L. Mond, Harry Richardson, Arthur Senior, M.B., John H. Smyth, and F. J. Underwood, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; E. E. Smith, Grand Standard Bearer; A. J. Blake, F. P.

Box, J. C. Browne, Wm. Butcher, H. Courlander, W. H. Hope, A. P. S. Salter, and G. P. Turner, Past Grand Standard Bearers; F. Howkins, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer; and H. Douglas Elkington, a Grand Steward for the year.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

A sermon preached at St. Paul's, Deptford, Kent, on June 24th, 1738, by James Bate, M.A., Rector, before the Society of Ubiquarians.

Ref. *Misc. Lat.*, O.S., pp. 46 and 73, and N.S., xix., 111.

A sermon preached at St. James', Westminster, on March 1, 1716, by the Bishop of Bangor, Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, before the Stewards and Society of Antient Britons.

Ref. *A.Q.C.*, xxvii., 42.

The Ubiquarians are not otherwise known: they appear to have also had a branch of their Society at Barbados; and this is one of two sermons preached before them. The second was on 24th June, 1752, also at Deptford. From this sermon of 1738, it can be gathered that they had a secret means of recognition and taught the practice of religion and virtue.

The Ancient Britons are similarly only known from various newspaper notices of their meetings. They were still extant in 1816.

By Bro. the Rev. H. POOLE.

Plaster Casts of a Gormogon Medal at the British Museum. The usual device and inscription, but circular, not the usual oval. Not hitherto reported in this shape; the date also is 1800, later than any other specimen as yet known. *Presented to the Lodge.*

Postage Stamp. Honduras; with a view of the Masonic Temple at Tegucigalpa. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. A. I. SHARP, Le Havre.

Two wooden models, representing masons, from Switzerland.

Original Document. Address of Loyalty to the Duke of Parma, Sovereign Grand Commander, from the members of the 33° of the A. & A. Rite in the French possessions in America, dated 1813, June. It is signed by, among others, De La Hogue, and bears the signature of Cambacérès as well. *Presented to the Lodge.*

Three satirical broadsheets; French; exhibiting the degrees of the A. & A. Rite, etc. One is arranged as a sort of race game to be played with dice, and the figures are all recognisable portraits of politicians of the period, 1905, with their actual names only thinly disguised. *Presented to 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. W. J. WILLIAMS read the following paper:—

THE USE OF THE WORD "FREEMASON" BEFORE 1717.

BY BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS.

PART. I.

PRELIMINARY.

The essay now presented is an attempt to bring together all the instances I have yet found of the word "Freemason" before 1717. The various ways in which the word is spelled and the direct derivatives from it are also included.

The general arrangement of the items is chronological, but there are a few groups which are dealt with separately as it would have been confusing to deal with such classifications as (*e.g.*) the Old Charges and Wills by interlacing them in order of date through the miscellaneous instances.

As to Wills, it will be observed that they are dealt with in a general manner and not (save in a few instances) in detail. When and if opportunity arises I hope to be able to set forth particulars of many Wills of Freemasons and Masons which have been gathered together as the result of prolonged searches in Records which for the most part remain unprinted. The testamentary items now included are mainly those collected by Begemann and Gould as they appear in their printed works. No attempt has here been made to discuss the bearings of the collected materials or to state any conclusions formed in the process of collecting and arranging the items. Any remarks which are made by the way must not be regarded as enunciating any theory on the subject.

It is hoped that as the examples of the use of the word range over a period beginning 1376 and ending before 1717 they will of themselves impart much light on Masonic history.

The whole of the volumes of *A.Q.C.* have been ransacked so that it may be considered that nearly all instances previously printed in those *Transactions* are here dealt with, especially as the Brethren have noted some items I omitted.

The word "Mason" without the prefix "frée" is not the subject of this paper. In a few cases it occurred in such a way as to make it inconvenient to exclude it.

The negative result of the induction here made is perhaps not the least important. The term does not occur until late in the history of great building operations such as Cathedrals, Abbeys and Castles. No indication appears to have come to light of any Papal or Regal authority having led to the use of the prefix "Free." The operatives concerned (for anything that appears) seem to have originated the use of the prefix among themselves without any warrant other than their own desire to distinguish themselves.



S members of a Society entitled The Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons we are naturally interested in the use of the word "Freemason" prior to the year 1717 when the Organisation of the Grand Lodge was taken in hand.

The meaning of the adjective "Free", whether prefixed mediately or immediately to the noun "Mason", has been the subject of numerous articles, but whether the true solution of the problem has ever been stated it is hard to say. Perchance the solution does exist in one of the many alternatives which have been promulgated, but probably even the author of the solution was unaware of its correctness. There may have been more than one meaning at the same time and a variation of meanings at different times and places. The same author has been known to record different solutions within the covers of one book. For instance, Bro. Conder (*Hole Craft*, p. 33) has a footnote:—

"Freemasons. Many writers have thought that this term comes from the freedom conferred on the Masons by the papal bulls, which we are told were from time to time issued in their favour. The general opinion now (1894) is that a free mason meant nothing more than a mason *free* of his gild or company. Nevertheless there are many who consider it was used to distinguish a freestone mason (*maçon de franche pierre*) from a rough mason or one who simply built up plain walling, etc. It is possible also that in early times it was used frequently to denote a marble mason or sculptor. Just as we use the term freehand drawing in contradistinction to mechanical drawing."

At p. 70 Bro. Conder states that there is just a possibility that the freemasons mentioned in 1376 were in reality the marblers or sculptor-masons who, according to Stow, were amalgamated with the masons before 1633.

We will if possible leave the tangled web of derivations and in this paper endeavour to collect the main instances of the usage of the word prior to the year 1717.

In the course of our voyage of investigation down the stream of time we may collect materials for consideration by subsequent explorers.

The word "Freemason" first comes within the ken of the historian in the City of London Letter Book H. There was on the 9th August, 1376, in the 50th year of the Reign of Edward III. an assembly of persons elected by each mystery and deputed to serve as a Council for the City of London. They then pledged themselves under oath to serve the City.

The various trades or "misteries" as they were styled in a period when French or Norman French was frequently used for legal and other records, were thus represented by their proper delegates.

Looking at the Record itself we find that under the title "Fremasons" two names "Thomas Wrek" and "John Lesnes" appear; and the next entry without any space intervening is that of the Brewers.

Evidently at that stage of the written record the recorder had thought he had completed the list of the representatives of that Craft. But on looking again at the actual record we find that there is a line struck through the entry and there are also evident traces of the use of a knife emphasising the cancellation by an attempt to erase the entry. There are also the explanatory words "*quia postea*" which is as much as to say that that particular entry had been struck out because the persons named appear in a later entry.

This later entry, however, does not appear under the description "Fremasons" but under the word "Masons" and in the next column of the list.

It does not require a great effort of the imagination to visualise the incident. Thomas Wrek and John Lesnes present themselves as representing their Craft which they name "Fremasons." They arrive early on the scene. But later on come John Artelburgh and Robert Henwyk and present themselves as accredited representatives of their Craft.

But the Registrar tells them that the "Fremasons" have already put in their appearance and have been entered up accordingly. The later comers insist that they are entitled to have their names recorded also. The Official says we cannot have one entry "Fremasons" and another "Masons" and asks, may be, what is the correct title of their gild or fraternity. Whether the second pair claimed to be Fremasons or not we have no means of knowing; but the solution was that all four were able to prove themselves to be representatives of the "Masons" and so were recorded thus in the final entry:—

Masons: Thomas Wrek, John Lesnes, John Artelburgh, Robert Henwyk.

A photograph of both entries is to be seen in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xli., following p. 136.

It is possible that this incident is a recrudescence of the question which was brought before the City Council in the year 1356 when the masons who were "hewers" on the one side and the masons who were "setters and layers" on the other submitted their differences for decision, with the result that the workers in stone were to some extent amalgamated and authorised to do both kinds of work if within their competence.

It is abundantly clear that the actual work of a man who shaped the stone before or after it was incorporated in a building, was very different in its nature from that of the man who fixed or cemented the stone in its place in the growing structure.

The stone might be hewn into shape in the Lodge or Workroom, but it could only be put into position on the actual site. A man who had merely to fix the stone in place might not have any occasion to go into the Lodge at all. Thus we find that the two classes were distinguished in the time of Henry VIII., A.D. 1538, by calling one class Lodgemen freemasons and another class "Setters." There was also a class called "rough layers." (See *King's Master Masons*, *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliii., p. 104.)

1383.

The Grete Sentence of Curs Expounded.

[The Major Excommunication expounded by John Wyclif
(or a follower of his)]

The best account of this discovery is in *Misc. Lat. (New Series)*, vol. xiii., p. 29 s.g. (August, 1928), in a note by Bro. E. H. Dring. Only one paragraph is here quoted:—

"Also all new fraternities or guilds made of men seem openly to run in this curse. For they conspire many false errors against the common fraternity of Christ, that all Christian men take in their christendom, and against common charity and common profit of Christian men. And thereto they conspire to bear up each other, yea in wrong, and oppress other men in their right by their wit and power. And all the goodness that is in these guilds each man oweth for to do by common fraternity of Christendom by God's commandment. And they bring in much pride, vanity and waste, cost, and trust in men's help

more than in God's; and thus they bring in much evil and no good, more than God commanded first; but they let [impede] much unity, peace and charity of Christian people, and maintain error of wrong and great disention, and much simony and let poor men's alms and livelihood that lie bedridden blind and feeble. Also men of subtle craft, as free masons and others seem openly cursed by this sentence. For they conspire together that no man of their craft shall take less on a day that [? than] they set, though he should by good conscience take much less, and that none of them shall make true solid work to let other men's winning of the craft, and that none of them shall do ought but only hew stone, though he might profit his master twenty pounds by a day's work by legging [laying] on a wall without harm or paining himself. See how this wicked people conspireth against truth and charity, and common profit of the land, and punisheth them that help freely their neighbours."

This was transcribed from the MS. of the Corpus volume at Cambridge and appears first to have been printed in Dr. G. G. Coulton's *Social Life in Britain* at p. 490.

It shows that Wyclif (or other the author) did not admire the procedure of the freemasons of those days.

His complaint has found parallels in our own days and also in other lands so far as regards the general principle of workmen refusing to overlap the work of other men in a different department of the same craft. Then again he condemns the limitation of entrance into the craft by making apprenticeship difficult and so reducing the potential number of workers.

Herein the actual man who ultimately has to pay for the job has always had a grievance against the workman.

It would seem also that though the City ordinances of 1356 allowed any mason if competent to act both as hewer and layer there were freemasons who confined themselves to the one branch of the work and would neither overlap or suffer themselves to be overlapped by those who did the other class of work.

1396.

In the Patent Rolls at the Record Office under date 14th June, 1396 (*Anno* 19 Richd. II.), the entry of which the following is a translation occurs. (The Latin has been reproduced, by photography in *A.Q.C.*, xliii., between pages 88 and 89.) The translation is taken from the Printed Calendar of Patent Rolls for that year at page 719:—

License for the Archbishop of Canterbury to take 24 masons called "fre maceons" and 24 masons called "ligiers" for executing certain works of a college to be by him erected at Madenston and to pay them from his own moneys until the works are completed and meanwhile they are not to be taken by the King's officers or ministers for his works.

by p.s.

It will be seen that this is a license to the Archbishop of Canterbury to take 24 *lathomos vocatos fre maceons* and 24 *lathomos vocatos ligiers* for work at Maidstone.

Thus it is clear that at that time there were two classes of *lathomos* so readily distinguishable as to be indicated as to one kind as "fre maceons" and as to the other kind as "ligiers", that is to say layers.

This would appear to indicate that the adjective "free" did not imply any particular franchise but was merely used as a convenient term to distinguish the masons who were not layers from those who were layers.

These three entries as far as I know are the only instances yet made public where the term free mason is used up to the year 1396. The first in 1376 is in the Letter Book H. of the City of London; the second in 1383 in the Corpus MS. of Wyclif's writings at Cambridge; and the third in 1396 is in the Patent Rolls at the Record Office in London.

Each of them seems to point to a distinction between two kinds of Masons.

1396-7. 1425-6. 1426-7.

EXETER MASONRY.

A.Q.C., xii., p. 209, gives extracts from *Lives of the Bishop's of Exeter* and a History of the Cathedral by the Rev. George Oliver, D.D. (Exeter, 1861).

[The following references to Freemasons occur, but it must at once be said that in the Rolls for 1396-7 the word *Fremason* does not occur although Oliver suggests that it does, and Britton (being misled by Oliver) actually and more than once italicises the word *Freemason*.

The word in the Roll is *cementarius*.]

A.D. 1396-7. Plumbers, Carpenters and Heliers generally received 5d. a day, but the Freemasons were allowed 6d.

A.D. 1424-5. "8s. were received from the Bishop's Steward towards the yearly pension of 26s. 8d. allowed by the Chapter to John Harry, Freemason, who had been employed by the Bishop's Steward for 16 weeks at Chudleigh at 6d. a day, and other Masons were allowed but 5d. a day. Labourers 4d."

A.D. 1426-7. "John Wrolston and John Harry freemasons were sent this year from Exeter to Bere to provide stone."

"The above excerpts are from the Appendix No. 4 Fabric Rolls of Exeter Cathedral. The author of this volume is not the *Masonic* Dr. Oliver."

W. J. Hugan.

In the *Freemason* for 16th July, 1881, is a letter from Mr. Wyatt Papworth to Bro. Gould recording his conclusions as to the occurrence of Free Mason in the Exeter Rolls.

He concluded that letter by saying "it may be taken for granted that the reference is correct and 1396-7 stands good."

Apparently Bro. Gould very wisely did not take it for granted but referred the point to Exeter, and the result was "Mr. Jerman and Rev. H. Reynolds the chapter librarian vainly searched the Fabric Roll of 1396 for the name of William Foundyng *freemason* mentioned by Britton in his Exeter Cathedral 1827 p. 96."

As a consequence of his investigation Bro. Gould only cites the Exeter Fabric Rolls as containing in 1426 (the 5th year of Henry VI.) the following entry:—

"John Harry fremason opañti ibim p. septam 3s.

John Umpray fremason p. hanc septam nl q hic recessit."

At my request Bro. T. H. Andrew, of Exeter, has inspected the 1396-7 Roll and after consultation with the custodian and a person accustomed to writing of that period confirms that the word *fremason* does not occur in that Roll.

Bro. Andrew wrote to me as follows:—"According to the information at present available the earliest reference to 'Liber Cementarius' in the Exeter Fabric Rolls is to be found in the Roll for 1423, where the following entry occurs:—'Joh. Harry, Liber Cementarius, p^d. iijs'. This man's name and

description recur regularly from that date to the year 1453. In 1455 he was succeeded by Wm. Fundy, Liber Cementarius, who carried on as such until 1479. These memoranda have been extracted from the MS. notes of the late Sir William St. John Hope. I have not been able to see the original Rolls for these dates".

1412.

The Contract for building Catterick Church is printed in the *Masonic Magazine* for June, 1882, p. 485. It is only noticed here for the purpose of stating that the term free mason is not found therein. The Contractor was Richard of Cracall, mason, and frequent use is made of the words "mason crafte".

BUILDING CONTRACT BY A NORWICH FREEMASON.

1432.

In *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxv., p. 34, is an article by Bro. Daynes entitled *A Masonic Contract of A.D. 1432*.

In his prefatory remarks Bro. Daynes states that on the Freemans Roll at Norwich the names of John Horn in 1428 and Nicholas Berkyng in 1431 occur. They are both described as Freemasons.

In 1474 a William Ryngware (who had been apprenticed to Thomas Ryngware, Mason) was described as a Freemason.

In the Freeman's Roll commencing in 1317 and continuing (with many gaps) until 1603 only 13 are admitted as Freemasons. The total number of Rough Masons and Fremasons is 177.

The Contract is fully transcribed in *A.Q.C.* and is an "indenture mad betwixt Thomas Wetherby, Surveyor of the godys of the Comon of the Citee of Norwiche Thomas Ball and Nicolas Stanhowe tresorers of the same citee on the on party and John Marwe citeseyn of Norwich fremason on the other party." It is for the construction of "the newe comon kaye of Norwich" and contains several points of interest on which Bro. Daynes commented.

He was to be paid £53. 6. 8 and was to have delivered to him "cloth sufficient for a gowne as is conuenyent for his degre atte feste of Cristemcsse" then next. Bro. Daynes also discovered that John Marwe had to find "Richard Reyner of Thornegge fremason" as surety.

(He also names Nicholas Shaxton as "ye fremason" so described in a Muster Roll stated to be of about 1457.)

The mention of "his degre" is interesting; though probably it did not bear the special significance we now attach to that word.

The word "degre" as applied to the status of a Freemason also occurs in certain of the Old Charges, for instance, in Harleian No. 1942 MS. Charge, f. 3, which has been attributed to the second half of the seventeenth century.

(Other occurrences are in Grand Lodge 2 and in the Harris and Roberts group of Charges.) But more important are the occurrences of the word "degre" in the *Regius Poem*, lines 38, 142 and 360.

1434.

CONTRACT FOR BUILDING THE NAVE OF FOTHERINGAY CHURCH.

In Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. vi., part iii., page 1414, is a copy of a deed dated 24th September in the 13th year of the reign of Henry VI. (1434). Dugdale copied from the deed itself which in 1669 was in the possession of Will. Pierpont of Thoresby. (Where is it now?)

The parties to the deed are (1) Will. Wolstan squier, Thomas Pecham, clerke, commissares for the then Duke of York, and (2) Will. Horwood free-mason dwelling in Fodringhey.

Horwood undertook to make up a new body of a kirk joyning to the quire of the college of Fodringhey.

The document itself might well form the subject of a special paper in our *Transactions*. My extracts are necessarily brief. References to materials include "freestone," "rough stone" and "clene hewen ashler":—

"during all the sayd werke the said Will Horwode shall nether set mo[re] nor fewer free masons, rogh setters ne leyes [layers] thereupon but as such as shall be ordeigned to haf the governance and ofersight of the said werke, undre my Lord of Yorke well ordeigne him and assigne him for to haf."

The penalty for failure to perform his contract within a reasonable time was to be that Horwode should yield his body to prison at my lord's will, and all his movable goods and heritages at my said lord's disposition and ordinance.

Bro. W. H. Rylands printed the Contract in the *Masonic Monthly* for July, 1882 (at page 10), prefacing it with useful observations and annotating it with explanations of several of the terms occurring in the document.

He copies a note (on page 11) which wrongly states the date as 1425.

1435.

Gould, i., 308.

In a footnote (4) Gould on the authority of Papworth mentions John Wode masoun, who contracted to build the tower of the Abbey Church of St. Edmundsbury "in all manners of thinges that longe to free masonry."

Bro. Gordon Hills gave me information which enabled me to trace the original authority for this quotation. The following is a copy of the Contract itself, derived from the Register of Abbot Curteys which is in the British Museum, the reference being Additional MS. 14848.

There is a printed transcript of the Contract in *Archæologia*, xxiii., 330-2:—

Indentura fact inſ Abbâtem Priorem & Cont^u de S^{co} Edm^o & Joliem Wode, masoun, pro reparaçone & reformã magni Campaniſ, cuiſ tenor sequiſ in hⁱ verba.

This bille indentyd maad att Bury the xxv day of Auguste, yn the zer of Kyng Herry the VJ, aftir the conquest the xiiij between Willyam Abbot of seynt Edmundys monasterye of Bury aforeseyd, P'our & Couent of the same place on the to ptye, and John Wode, masoun, of Colchest^r, on the todir ptye, bereth wytnesse of certeyn couen'tys maad betwix the seyde Abbot, P'our and Couent, and the seyde John Wode, that ys to seye, the seyde John Wode schal werke w^t on švât vp on the stepil in the seyde monasterye in all mañ thynges that longe to fremasounrye, fro the feste of seynt Michael next folwyng aftyr the date afore relisyd, yn to the terme of vij zeer aftir next folwyng, takyng zeerly of the seyde Abbot, P'our and Couent, for hys stypend and his šuauntes x.li yn mony at iiij termys in the yeer, that ys to seye, Christemasse, Estre, Mydsom^e, and Micheelmasse, be the handys of the mayšt of the werkes assynyd be the Chapet^r. And the seyde John Wode schal haue hys bord in the Couentys halle for hym and hys man, for hym self as a gentilman, and for hys šuaunt as for a yoman; and therto too robys, on for hym self of gentilmannys livere, and for hys šuaunt anothir of yomānys lyvere of the Sexteyñ: And

yf no lyvere be youe, he shall haue for the seyd robys xxiiij.s. iiij.d. And for so myche that the seyd John shal haue hys robe, and mete and drynk in the P'ourys name, as on of hys gentilmen, therfore, such tyme as he ys not occupyed in hys werk, he shal be tendyng vp on the P'our, and not goo out of towne passyng too dayes yn a quart, lesse than he haue a special leue of the P'our and of the mayst of the werkes: And yf he or hys man be absent from hys werk passyng ij dayes in a q'rt, than the mayst of the werk shal wyth drawe hys stipend aftyr the rate of the foreseyd x.li. that ys to seye, for hys stipend eũy day that he ys absent from hys werke v.d. and for his sũaunt iiij.d. And in caas be he or hys sũaunt falle seek, as longe as he ys fro hys werk he schal not take for hys stipend, but alowe the mayst of the werk for eũy day, as yt ys seyd afore; Neũtheles the seyd Abbot, Priour and Couent gt'untyn, that althow the seyd John or hys sũaunt be cause of infirmyte may not werke, zyt yf they will come to halle to ther mete, they shal haue yt there frely, and in non ither place, so that the infirmyte be not continually vp on them wherethorw they be lyke no more for to werke. In Wytnesse of all that ys seyd to fore vn to the too ptye of thys bille indentyd, restyng in the handys of the sayd Abbot, Prio' & Couentys syde, the seyd John Wode hath sett to hys seel: Un to the todir ptye of tli same bille indentyd, restyng on the seyd John Wodys syde, in the name of the seyd Abbot, P'our & Couent, the Priour hath sette to hys seel. Youyn in the foreseyd monastye the yer and day afore rehersyd.

By subsequent agreement preserved in the same record, the Abbot was authorized to send as many workmen to the building as he might think expedient, paying into Wode's hands, as master of the works, for their wages and maintenance three shillings per man weekly, in the winter months, and three shillings and fourpence in summer.

(Indentura dat. 1 Sept., 17 Hen. VI. *Ibid*, fo. 308b.)

(This last agreement is in Latin.)

1438.

In the Mayor's Court (City of London) Plea and Memoranda Rolls A. 65 m. 1 b. is the following entry (communicated by Bro. Knoop on information from Mr. A. H. Thomas, the Deputy Record Keeper):—

9th April, 1438. Grant of all her goods and chattels from Amabelia Bastan, widow to John Bastan, "Fremason", William Bastan, goldsmith, citizens of London, Roger Bastan of London, grocer, and William Chedworth of London.

1441.

The entry as to "Fremasons" was as we have seen deleted from the City of London Letter Book H. in the entry dated 1376. The next time I have found that word in those Letter Books is in the Calendar of Letter Book K. at p. 257 in a list of Masters of divers Misteries sworn anno xix. and xx. Henry VI. (1440 or 1441).

The following is a copy of the entry:—

"Carpenters and Fremasons: John Croxton, John Broun, Richard Brid, Richard Bryght, sworn Masters . . . August."

(John Croxton is described on pages 250, 276 and 314 as "masoun". Probably John Broun was his colleague. John Crokston and one Edmund Warlowe had been sworn on 21st June, 7 Henry V. (1419), as Masters of the Masons (Lathami) to well and faithfully govern the said mistery and present any defects they might find to the Mayor and Aldermen or to the Chamberlain of the said City for the time being.)

This entry shows that the same man was sometimes called "Freemason" and at others "Mason". Many other instances could be cited.

1442 to 1460.

ETON COLLEGE.

A.Q.C., xlv.

In the paper by Douglas Knoop, M.A., and G. P. Jones, M.A., on *The Building of Eton College*; 1442-1460, much authentic and relevant information is given as to the use of the term "freemason" and other terms associated with the said Building.

It would be misleading to purport to abstract the effect of their researches. It must for our present purpose be sufficient to say that it appears under the section headed "Masons' Wages" that in the wage-book of 1442-3 there is a three-fold division into "ffr'masons, harde hewers, row masons."

The books for 1444-5 and 1445-6 use the word "lathami" in lieu of "ffr'masons", but in 1445-6 there is also an account giving the descriptions:—"lathomi vocati ffreasons; lathomi vocati hardhewers", and apparently the term "freemason" does not occur again.

In 1453-4, 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60 there is another three-fold division into:—"cementarii, positores, cubatores".

The writers of that paper state:—

"In these various classifications the terms ffr'masons, lathomi, lathomi vocati ffreasons, and cementarii all appear to refer to the hewers or cutters and to be interchangeable; the same men are entered under the different descriptions in the different wage lists".

The extant wage records cover a period of 8 years 4½ months out of a total of 18 years 7½ months. (Feb., 1441-2, to Sept., 1460.)

During the full period covered by the paper referred to the authors conclude that in all 460 freemasons worked at Eton. The names of 293 are preserved.

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 summers of 1456-57, 1458-59, and 1459-60.

1443.

In the Parliamentary Rolls, vol. v., p. 112, presented A.D. 1443, is a Statute regulating the wages of Free Masons, Master Carpenters, Master Tylers or Schlatters, Rough Masons, Meen Carpenter and other artificers concerning Building.

It is printed in English and French in the Statutes of the Realm, vol. ii., 1377-1501, 23 Henry VI., c. 12, p. 338.

The Statutes were then enacted in French. The French was "Frank Mason" and I have not yet ascertained the date when the translation into the English equivalent "free mason" was first made.

The wages of Freemasons from Easter to Michaelmas were not to exceed 4d. per day with meat and drink and without meat and drink 5½d.

For the rest of the year the rates were a penny less. Rough masons were to have no more per day than 2½d. with and 4d. without meat and drink Easter to Michaelmas: and 3d. or 4½d. per day for the rest of the year.

1456 and 1457.

Calendar of Patent Rolls, 34 Henry VI., m. 12.

P. 288. 1456, April 29. Westminster.

Protection with clause *volumus* for one year for Thomas Basset late of London "mason" *alias* "fremason", citizen of London. staying in the Company of the King's esquire John Nanfan, warden and governor-general of the Isles of Jernesey and Gwernesey. on the safe-keeping and victualling thereof.

by bill of p.s. etc.

Patent Rolls, 35 H. VI., part i., m. 9, Westminster 1457.

March 18, p. 335.

Revocation of the protection with clause *Volumus* for one year granted of late to Thomas Basset late of London "mason" *alias* "fremason" and citizen of London to stay in the Company of the King's esquire John Nanfan warden and governor-general of the Isles of Jernesey and Guernesey on the safe-keeping and victualling thereof; because he tarries in London and the suburbs thereof, as the sheriffs have certified.

I am indebted to Bro. Dr. J. F. Nichols, Secretary of the British Archaeological Society, for the following note on the clause *Volumus*:—

P. 4. "The writ of Protection was one of the most ancient, as it was also one of the most highly valued of all royal missives. Besides the simple and indefinite Protection first used, several variants can be found which have been distinguished by the insertion of a clause for a particular purpose. Of these, those furnished with the clauses known as *Volumus*, *Nolumus*, *Profectums*, and *Quia moratur* are well-known, their object being to afford protection to persons engaged in the King's service for certain periods and in varying degrees with regard to exemption from legal process".

Hall, *Formula Book of Diplomatic Documents*, p. 58.

1468-9.

The London Bridge accounts quoted by Knoop and Jones (*A.Q.C.*, xlvii.) show that Freemasons (*cementarii vocati Freemasons*) 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 'pavyngston', and in placing them in position.

Later in the same paper the same authors state that outside London from the middle of the fifteenth century 3s. 4d. per week was being paid to freemasons on certain important jobs; in London, wages were approximately 2d. per day higher, 8d. or 8½d. being the predominant rates.

1470.

From the Appendix to 1st Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, p. 107.

The Corporation of Wells, Somerset.

The Convocation Books, 2nd vol.

In page 89 of this volume dated 1470 there is a contract in English by John Stowell of Wells "freemason" for building a Jesse altar in St. Cuthberts Church. "an entry of great interest from the extreme minuteness of the description."

(Altar and canopy almost entirely destroyed. Some fragments of the canopy remained.)

The Report stated that a Mr. Serel had printed but not published the Contract.

(The same matter is also noted in *A.Q.C.*, xviii., 52).

ARMS.

In 1472 a Grant of Arms was made in favour of "the Hole Crafte and felawship of masons". This grant was signed and sealed by the then Clarenceux King of Arms of the South Marches of England. It was granted in response to a petition of the aforesaid Hole Crafte and felawship of Masons.

He does not refer specifically or exclusively to the London Company of Masons nor does it use the term "Freemason."

The unrestricted scope of the grant was probably deemed a warrant for its adoption by Masons of all kinds (including hewers, layers and setters) throughout the Realm. The London Masons alone could not have claimed to be the Hole Crafte and felawship of Masons. It was perhaps regarded by Masons and others as recognising the members of the Craft as a Corporate body; and having had such an honour conferred upon the Craft the more skilled Craftsmen thenceforth used (more than they had done before) the prefix "Free" to which they were certainly now entitled as having such an honourable distinction officially conferred upon them.

No person entitled to the privileges of such a grant could be looked upon as in bondage.

Later on the said Arms came to be referred to as the Arms of the Freemasons.

1477.

Thomas Norton of Bristol.

"The Ordinall of Alchemy"

This work remained only in MS. until 1652, when Elias Ashmole printed it and other Alchemical documents in a book entitled *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*.

Norton dissuades unskilled persons from tampering with Alchemy and in this connection says:—

"As Gouldsmithes whome we shoulde lest reprove
 "For sights in their Craft moveth them to beleewe;
 "But wonder it is that Wevers deale with such warks,
 "Free Masons and Tanners with poore Parish Clerks;
 "Tailors and Glasiers woll not thereof cease.
 "And eke sely Tinkers will put them in the prease
 "With great presumption."

This is purely an incidental use of the term.

1481.

A grant of Arms was as we have seen made to the Hole Crafte and felawship of Masons in the year 1472.

The London Masons realised the honour so conferred upon their Craft and before long (namely, in 1481) they petitioned "To the full honourable lorde and discrete Soveraignes mair and Aldermen of the Citee of London" to grant that the articles therein set forth might by "your Auctorite and grete wisdoms" be Accepted Admitted and holde for ferme and stable to endure from this tyme "forward for evermore". But these articles did not use the word "Freemason" though they use an expression which might be deemed equivalent thereto. The Petitioners style themselves "the goods Folke of the Crafte mistere or science of masons enfraunchesed of the said Citee" and also of "certain persones enfraunchesed of the said Crafte mistere or science of masons of this Citee" and again of "Any persones enfraunchesed of the said Crafte science or mistere".

(These ordinances of 1481 are exactly copied in *The Mediæval Mason* by D. Knoop and G. P. Jones; Manchester University Press 1933, at p. 251 *seq.*, as they appear in the MS. of the City of London Letter Book L., fols. 165 *seq.*)

1509-10.

Letter Book M., fol. 168.

Here we have a further step taken.

After reciting that on 19th February 1480-1 (Anno 1 of Henry VIII.) "probi homines Artis sive mistere de Fremasons "Civitatis Londoniensis" petitioned the right honorable lord the Maire of the Cite of London and the Worshipfulle sovereignes "the Aldermen of the same Mekely besechyn your good lordship and discrete wysdoms your pour oratours the holle felliship of the craft mistere or science of Fremasons enfraunchesed within this Citie" . . .

They then recite the 1481 ordinances but decorate them to the extent of stating that the 1481 grant was unto the Wardeyns of Fremasons (although as we have seen that crucial word does not appear in the 1481 grant) . . . in continuing the same recital they speak of "almaner werkes and thinges the whiche belong and apparteigne to the science of Fremasons within the Citie of London and suburbes of the same." They also speak of freestone marblestone or hardstone of Kent. Among the new articles conceded are two beginning:—"Also that no Freemason nor Mason". This differentiation between Freemason and Mason may have been made to prevent any alleged culprit saying: "I am not a Freemason but only a Mason and therefore the ordinance does not apply to me". The document concludes thus:—

"Also that the Wardeyns of Fremasons for the tyme beyng shall have the serche of alle persones as occupie the said crafte or science with these ordinaunces that is to say plumme rule compas levell and squyer".

The ordinances made in 1521 (Letter Book N.) were made on a petition of the Wardeyns and Company of the mistere of Mason Fremen of this Citie. Hence it appears that the Company were not uniform in their practice as to the description of their Fellowship.

1481-84.

In the Building Accounts of Kirby Muxloe Castle the Masons are divided into two classes, *lathomi ffre* and *lathomi rough* (*Leicester Arch. Soc.*, vol. xi., 1915-16, p. 234.)

[Communicated by Bro. Knoop.]

1485.

A.Q.C., xvii., 176.

The following note quoted from the *New English Dictionary* was communicated by Bro. Andrew Oliver:—

1484. Churchwardens Account Wightoft Lincolnshire (Nichols 1797).

Paid to William Whelpdale freemason for making of the Crucifix in the Chirehth.

WELLS CATHEDRAL.

(Freemason in 1490 and 1661).

The Royal Commission on Historical MSS. have published two vols. on the Records of Wells Cathedral. References to Masters of the Fabric of the Church go back (*inter alia*) to 1298, 1329 and 1368. The masons are styled sometimes 'lathomos' and sometimes 'cementarii'.

In 1391 (16th April) a payment was made to a Tiler for mending masons' "logg" in the corner 10d. (Vol. 2, p. 20.)

In 1449-50 16s. 10d. was paid to a mason hired at various times to hide the goods and jewels of the Church. (Vol. 2, p. 78.)

In 1457-8 a new key for the "logg" cost 2d. But I have not found the term freemason before 1490, October 23. The following entry of that date occurs at vol. 2, p. 120:—

William Attwodde, freemason, for his good service in his art of freemasonry to God, the Church of Blessed Andrew and the Dean and chapter was granted the same office that William Smythe also freemason late had in the cathedral church together with a yearly pension of 26s. 8d.: he must have his place or dwelling house within the City of Wells and must faithfully do what may be required, before everything else and without excuse.

(In *The Freemason*, xiv., 538, this entry seems to have been in the mind of "Masonic Student" as belonging to the fourteenth century, but in the next week's issue he quotes the 1490 item.)

In the accounts of Dr. Piers "keeper of the Fabric" in 1660-61, £29. 19s. was paid to the Fremason, Jan. 11 to Dec. 24, 1661.

(Gould also more briefly refers to the appointment of Attwoode and quotes the original Latin. Vol. ii., p. 154.)

RADCLYFF CHURCH, BRISTOL, &c.,

about 1490.

In a manuscript (No. 210) in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which was edited by James Nasmith, formerly a fellow of that College, and printed and published at Cambridge in 1778 (British Museum 688 g. 13) is a work entitled thus:—*Itinerarium sive Liber Rerum Memorabilium Willelmi Botoner Dict. de Worcester.*

At page 220 is a description of the artistic work on the North door of the Church of St. Stephen being the handiwork of Benet le free-mason.

And at page 268, under the heading *Radcliff Church*:—

Dimensio sive proporcio artificiosissime de freemason-work operata in porta hostia occidentalis ecclesiae Radclyff.

The west door fretted in the hede with great gentese and small and fylled with entayle with a double moolde costely don and wrought. Latitudo portae 7 pedes. Altitudo portae 9 pedes.

The square in the dore etc. etc.

1507 to 1512.

A.Q.C., xviii., 52.

A.Q.C., xviii., 52, has a note by Bro. S. Russell Forbes referring to entries in the Churchwarden's accounts for the Parish Church, Croscombe (near Wells, Somerset), in respect of the making of a "George" for the large sum of £27. 11. 8 between 1507 and 1512 by John Carter, Jorge Maker, *Freemason* of Exeter.

The subject is also dealt with in *Miscellanea Latomorum* (1928), vol. xiii., 39 and 50, as well as in A.Q.C., xli., 219.

1512-1517.

Gould ii., 146 (note 3).

During the erection of Christ Church College, Oxford, 1512-1517, John Adams was the Freemason and Thomas Watlington the Warden of the Carpenters. (*Transactions*, Royal Institute of British Architects 1861-2, pp. 37-60.)

1512.

A.Q.C., xv., 199 and 202.

This reference shows that in 1512 at Norwich Rough Masons had to serve an apprenticeship. This is here mentioned lest it might be supposed that Rough Masons were merely persons who had drifted into the less skilful part of the Craft without being trained as apprentices.

Page 202 records at length a bill dated in 1512 exhibited by the Masters of the Craft of Rough Masons at Norwich.

1535 to 1711.

Gould also on pp. 154, 155 and 156 gives the following instances:—

1535. Rec. of the goodman Stefford, Freemason, for the Hole stepyll wt Tymbr, Iron, and Glas xxxviii^l. (*Records of the Parish of St. Alphage, London Wall*, City Press, Aug. 26, 1882.)

1536. John Multon, Freemason, had granted to him by the prior and convent of Bath "the office of Master of all their works commonly called freemasonry, when it should be vacant". (*Trans.*, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861-2, pp. 37-60.)

1590-1 (March 19). John Kidd of Leeds, Freemason, gives bond to produce the original will of William Taylor Junior of Leeds. (*Freemasons Chronicle*, April 2, 1881.)

1604. Feb. 12. Humfrey son of Edward Holland ffremason baptized. Quoted from W. H. Rylands MS. collection.

Gould also quotes from Orlando Jewitts *The late or debased Gothic buildings of Oxford* 1850, as follows:—

1610-13. Wadham College, Oxford, was commenced in 1610 and finished in 1613. In the accounts "the masons who worked the stone for building are called Freemasons or Freestone Masons while the rest are merely called labourers." It is curious that the three statues over the entrance to the hall and chapel were cut by one of the freemasons (William Blackshaw).

1627-8. Louth Steeple repaired by Thomas Egglefield, Freemason, and steeple mender. (Note, *Archæologia*, x., 70-98, gives interesting extracts from an old Book as to the original building of Louth Steeple in 1500 to 1518.)

1638. Will of Richard Smayler of Nether Darwin, co. Lancs. Free Mayson. In the inventory of his goods reference is made to certain implements belonging to a Mayson.

1711. April 29. Jemima, daughter of John Gatley, freemason, Baptized (at Lymm, Cheshire).

(Several other instances quoted by Gould are included elsewhere in this paper.)

1520.

CITY OF LINCOLN.

Common Council Book 1511-1541, f. 1,096. 23rd April, 1520.

Also in this present the Indenture made betwyn Mr. Irchenett on thon partye and Willm. Spencer fremason and hys felows on thothe partie for the buldyng off the Gyldhall and it is agreid yt when Mr. Wymark off hys gudnes hath graunted to oversee & order the worke off the same he schall have money delivered to hym in hys hand to pay every workman ther wages & also to pay ffor all other charges yt shall come to be pd for the same.

Also it is agreid yt the same Mr. Wymark schall have full actorytie to make almaner careage within ye citie yt shall nede ffor the same and Mr. Maier to aide hym att all tymes when nede schall requyre and also he to take carpenters & other artificers & laborers yt schall nede to ye same.

(The above extract was kindly made by Bro. Hill, of Lincoln, at my request. I had found it referred to in one of the Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission.)

1508-1585.

The Patents appointing Master Masons to the King do not (so far as I know) use the term Freemason.

In my paper entitled *The King's Master Masons* (*A.Q.C.*, xliii., 75-135) are several incidental references to the use of the said term, *e.g.*, p. 100. John Hylmer and William Virtue are named as "Freemasons" in an Indenture dated 5th June, 21 Henry VII., 1508, for vaulting the roof of St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

P. 104, sundry references to Freemasons in 1538 including "Wages of freemasons 1 warden and 9 lodgemen. Wages of the wardens and 23 lodgemen freemasons. Freemasons, a warden at 4/-: 11 setters at 3/8d., 29 lodgemen at 3/4d.

Prests to 5 freemasons and 33 rough layers coming from a distance.

P. 105 (1539) Freemasons working in the Mason's Lodge within the town at hewing hard stone for Becham Bullwerke.

To William Shorowde freemason and his companions. Several items for carrying stone to and from the Mason's Lodge.

William Burgate, Warden of the Freemasons.

P. 109. 28 September 1585. Cornelius Cuer was one of the "Marbelers" who applied to the Corporation of the City of London to be united with the Company of the Freemasons.

P. 110. Various uses of the term in connection with Nicholas Stone. Bro. Conder records him as being a member of the Acception or Society of Freemasons associated with the London Company of Freemasons.

1526.

The following extract from the *Pilgrimage of Perfection* as printed by Richard Pynson printer to King Henry VIII. had apparently until 1932 escaped notice by the general body of Masonic students.

No earlier printed use of the term Freemason appears yet to be known.

A photograph of the two pages containing the passages extracted was printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliii., p. 256, as soon as possible after its discovery, but it is now produced in ordinary type.

Bro. Wallace Heaton is now the happy possessor of a copy of the original 1526 book. Wynkyn de Worde printed another edition in 1530. The passage extracted contains a most impressive statement of the terms of operative masonry as applied to high things.

Extract from the 1526 *Pilgrimage of Perfection*:—

The thynde boke
The Fyfthe day
The first chapter

fo. xv. (signature C C C 3)

Than after we have been in the furnace of temptations and tribulations keeping our souls unbroken we shall be as pure as the gold. Than if we be touched with a sharp word we shall yield a benign and gentle answer and give a sweet silver sound as the tried silver. Than we shal be delyvered out of our prentyshed and be made freemen. For as in ye iiij dayes past we were but as prentyses and now in this day we shall be made freemen. Before in the foure dayes past we were but as servauntes bounde to lerne the crafte of the exercise of vertues; and nowe this day we shal be as maysters of ye crafte.

Example. The free mason setteth his prentyse firstlong tyme to lerne to hewe stones and when he can do that perfetly he admytteth hym to be a free mason and choseth him as a conyng man to be a maister of the craft & maketh hym a setter or orderar of the same stones whiche setting of stones though it be ferre greater connyng than is the hewing of stones yet it is lesse labour and more quyetnes. So in these iiij dayes past we must as prentyses labour cōtinually and lerne to hewe polysshe and square the precious stones of vertues which be to be put in the temple of god buylded in our soules of the whiche temple Saint Poule speketh in this wyse. The temple of god is holy whiche temple ye be. And also saynt Bernarde maketh an hole treatyse of the buyldyng of this temple and calleth it the house of clere cōscience (Margin. Pri. cor. 3 De interiori domi cōsci edifican.)

In li de
similitudi
ca. 130
et 131

And that all our labour in these first fyve dayes may well be cōpared to a buyldyng the holy doctor Saint Anselme wytnesseth whiche wrytyng of the same gostly exercise sayth that the degrees of ascension to the perfection of these holy gyftes may be assembled or lykened to a buyldyng and that cōveniently. Of the whiche buyldyng (as concernyng this our purpose) the foure walles be the iiij cardinall vertues, the stones of the sayd walles ben the other particuler vertues annexed to the sayd cardinall vertues whiche we called the morall vertues.

The rofe that coverth al is the theologicall vertue hope. The foundation feyth. The wyndowes giving lyghte love & charite which we call the sterre of grace whose vii beames ben the vii gyftes of the holy goste.

Of the whiche the gyfte of gostly counsell of the whiche we entreate this daye is the fyfthe in order. To the perfection of the whiche gyft if we desyre to attayne we must as prentyses labour surely in the iiij dayes past & lerne diligētly to hewe square and polysshe the precious perles and dyamondes of the holy vertues rehersed in the iiij dayes past. And that so done by the lyghte of this holy gyfte of gostly counsell we shall be able as maisters in that science to order the sayd vertues and sette them eche in his proper place and order for that is the property of the gyft of gostly counsell. And so to buylde to almighty god a glorious and pleasaunt temple in our soules we as the workemen and he as the principall authour and maister of the worke.

(*Note.*—The next section draws lessons from Tabernacle & Temple.—W.J.W.)

The colophon reads:—Thus endeth the seventh and last day of the pylgrimage of perfection. Imprinted at London in Fletestrete besyde Saynt Dunstan's church by Richard Pynson priter to the kynges noble grace. Cū privilegio. Anno domini 1526.

A MS. note in the 1526 edition suggests that the author may have been William Bond who was a clerk (bachelor of devinyte) at St. Mighell Coventry (now the Cathedral).

The 1526 edition is in quarto.

(Wynkyn de Worde printed it in folio form in 1530-1 and in that edition the passage is at p. 142.)

Both are splendid specimens of typography.

British Museum references:—G 11740 (1526 edition) and 223 k i. London. Mccccxxj. The xxiiij daye of February.

1530.

FREEMASONS AND MASONS AS BRIDGE BUILDERS.

Miscellanea Latomorum, vol. xiii. (N.S.), p. 139.

The above reference gives particulars of payments made in 1530 for rebuilding the middle bridge over the River Brent at Hanwell.

The following are extracts:—

In Septia Sce Margarete Pay^d. to Gabriell Caldam fremason the xxiiijth day of July the said weke for iij days labor at xd the day. ijs vjd

Itm paid to perse Kyngfeld the said day and weke for iij days worke at ixd y^e day for setting worke ijs iiijd

Then follow payments for "his prentes"; to John Parker herdhewer and his prentes and to labourers.

The items recur periodically and payments appear to Gabriell Caldam for labor by his prentices William Gye and William Holmes.

Caldam is the only worker called fremason. He also was paid for stone supplied.

The Will of Gabriel Caldam, Freemason, was proved in the Commissary Court of London on 23rd Aug., 1570, and that of William Holmes, Citizen and Freemason of London, on 21st Feb., 1545, in the same Court. Caldam's Will described him as of Waltham Holy Cross, Essex, and he desired to be buried there. He gave to the Company of Free Masons London "twentye shillings".

1531-32.

The accounts relating to Westminster Palace show payments for hard stone coynes, etc., to Thomas Harunden of 'Monshelwynshelsey' Kent "fremason" and to Gabriel Cauldeham, of London "fremason" for stones or chimneys. Harunden later in the same accounts is described simply as "mason" and a Thomas Harunden appears among the hardhewers at 3s. 4d. a week. These accounts also show payments to Thomas Foxe and John Markaunte, freemasons, of their expenses while travelling to take masons. Markaunte himself worked at Westminster Palace as hardhewer at 3s. 4d. and as setter at 3s. 8d. a week and a Thomas Foxe appears among the masons at 3s. 4d. (P.R.O., T.R.Misc. 251 and 252).

[The above was communicated by Bro. Knoop.]

There was a Thomas Herunden appointed King's Master Mason on 4th February, 1528-9. (See my paper *King's Master Masons*, *A.Q.C.*, xliii., p. 102.) The Thomas Herunden above named made his will dated 4th August, 1534. in which his address is stated as in the Parish of Bocton Mownchilsey, otherwise called Bocton quarry in the County of Kent. He left his quarryes to his son Edward and appointed John Clyffe of Este Farley mason his supervisor to help his wife in the sale of his stone. Will proved in Prerogative Court of Canterbury on last day of September, 1534. (Register Hogen folio 18.)

9 September, 28 Henry VIII. (A.D. 1537).

In Ancient Deeds at Record Office, vol. 5, item A 13095 is thus described:—

Feoffment by Thomas Redeman of New Braynford "fremason" to Richd. Parker and others of a cottage in New Braynford between the tenement of John Redeman his brother and the tenement now in the tenure of Myghele Andriow to the use of Katherine his now wife. remainders. Attorney to deliver seisin John Redeman fremason.

(One Henry Redman was Master Mason to Henry VIII. and a photograph of a Memorial Brass is in *A.Q.C.*, xl., 170. In his Will dated 1st July, 1528, he described himself as fremason of West Brentford. Other particulars as to the Redman family appear in my paper *The King's Master Masons*, *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 75-135.)

1537.

Bro. Conder in *The Hole Craft*, at p. 104-5, prints a polling list of "The Company of Free Masons." The list contains 37 names.

He states that this is the first time the masons are called "Free Masons", and that the Company was from that time until 1656 so termed.

We have seen, however, that the Fraternity styled themselves Freemasons when petitioning the City Corporation in 1509-10.

1538-39.

The accounts relating to building work at Codyngton, *i.e.*, Nonsuch Palace use "fremasons" as a general heading to include setters at 3s. 8d. a week and 'lodgemen' at 3s. 4d. It may be noted that 'freemasons prested' for the works are listed separately from rough layers, also pressed, and that freemasons were paid 1d. an hour for overtime while rough layers received 7d. for 10 hours. These accounts show payments of expenses while taking masons to Thomas Forard 'fremason' and Thomas Frelove, 'fremason' (P.R.O. *Arch. K.R.* 477/12).

1542.

John Ellis, Walter Cloose, Harry Odye and William Burton, working at Westminster, are listed under the heading of 'fremasons.'

(Brit. Mus. MS. 10109.)

(These two items are communicated by Bro. Knoop.)

1542.

Freemason, xxviii. 17 (1892).

The above reference sets forth a transcript made by Humphrey Wanley in 1694 of a MS. written by Ab. Bohun of Gray's Inn, dated 1542. It was in the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum. The document is an Indenture of Covenants between Cuthbert Joyner, Symon Parker, John Jet, Aldermen of the City of Coventrie and Henry Over and Cristofer Waren, Citizens of the same on the one partie & Thomas Phillips of the town of Bristow *freemason* & John Petit of Wellingborough in the County of Northampton on th' other partie.

The document is lengthy. The following are extracts from it:—

Phillips and Petit thereby contracted for £187. 6. 8 to set up a new Crosse of good suer seasonable freestone (the steps to be of harder stone) the Crosse to be erected in the Coventry market place called Crossecheapinge after the form of a Cross redie made and set up in the town of Abyngton. The Cross was to be 45 foot above the highest step. They also contracted "at their own charges to procure find and make an house or lodge for masons to work in "during the time of Making the same crosse".

The following later references to the Coventry Cross are obtained from *Misc. Lat.*, xix., 30, and Gould, i., 304:—

Taunton's *History of Coventry* at p. 110 has the following note on the Ancient Cross that formerly stood in the Broadgate, Coventry:—

"This splendid building was erected by Thomas Philips, Free Mason and John Pettit Builder, of Wellingborough in the County of Northampton in the year A.D. 1542 and 1543. After having stood for more than 120 years this glorious monument was in 1669 thoroughly repaired and restored to its original brilliancy.

"Subsequent neglect permitted decay to do its work until the year 1771 when the dilapidation had become so complete that the remainder of this splendid pile was taken down."

1547.

In Patent Rolls Calendar, vol. 1, p. 203. 1 Edw. VI.
part vi., m. 27.

22 March, 1547.

License to George Owen of London to grant property in Dondry, Soms.,
in the several tenures of (inter alia) John Kynge "fremason".

Patent Rolls. Edward VI. Calendar Appendix, 1.

Fine Roll. 1 Edward VI. P. 310.

1547 22 June.

(6) General livery in Middlesex for John More of the King's household and Agnes his wife in right of the latter aged 17 years and upwards as daughter and heir of John Moulton "fremason" who died 30th January 1. Edward VI., seised of 3 parcels of meadow called Market Medowes, a moor called Longmore, a close called Sandpittfield alias Pytteclose and Gravell Pytclose and 2 meadons adjacent to that close in the parish of St. Margeret Westminster late of St. Peter's Monastery Westminster holden of the King in chief by the hundredth part of a knight's fee and a yearly rent of 20/s (in warrant 20th part and no rent) worth yearly £11. 13. 4. Also of a messuage within the Sanctuary of Westminster and 3 messuages in Longdyche in the City of Westminster holden of the King in free burgage of that City and worth yearly 24s. [II. 869. Court of Wards 26 May. English]

This John Multon or Moulton was a King's Master Mason and is referred to in my paper on the King's Master Masons (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xliii., pp. 75-135).

His Will (which contains some interesting details) was proved 7th March, 1546 (=1547) in the Consistory Court of London. Regr. Thirlby, fo. 101.

He desired to be buried in St. Margaret's Westminster, and provided for 13 sermons to be preached at 3/4d. each.

He is probably the same person as the John Multon, Freemason, referred to in another part of this paper under date 1536.

1549.

(*A.Q.C.*, xv., 203).

Norwich Record headed: "Assembly 31st May, 3rd Edward VI. 1549"

This reference gives a copy of an ordinance by the Norwich Authorities reciting a Petition by the inhabitants and Citizens of Norwich being artificers of the "mysteryes scientes and occupacions of masoncraft of knowne reputed" and called by the name of Rough masons bricklayers & Fremasons Reders. "Carpenters & Tylerscraft".

This imposed penalties on intruders into these crafts. It is observable that six building trades are included in the term masoncraft. [Other items on pages 205 *sqq.* point to the same aggregation in the Fellowship and Companye of Masons within the Citie of Norwich (1574).]

May I for once be irrelevant and draw attention to *A.Q.C.*, xv., 211, showing that in 1559 at Norwich Thomas Knotte was apprenticed to Michael Knott Rowemason and that the apprentice was to be taught "to play in and uppon the vyoll vyolette and harpe as also to synge playne song and pryksonge at his own proper costs and charges. At the end of his term the apprentice was to receive iiij li a sufficient vyoll, a vyolet and a harpe one trowell on plumbe-rewle on handaxe on square and doble apparel &c. in wollen & Linnen &c." (This Rowemason clearly cultivated the liberal science of music as incident to his craft.)

1548 and 1549.

Act of Parliament II. Edward VI., cap. 15.

This statute enacted that no person or persons should at any time after the 1st April, 1549, interrupt, deny, let or disturb any Freemason, Rough Mason (and other workers named) to work in any of the said Crafts in any City, Borough or town corporate albiet such persons do not inhabit or dwell in such city Borough or town corporate.

But this was repealed in the next Session by an act Chapter 20 so far as it concerned craftsmen of the City of London.

The repealing statute recited the obnoxious clause and gave reason as follows:—

And forasmuche as in the City of London being the King's chamber and most ancient City of this Realm, the Artificiers and Craftsmen of the arts crafts and mysteries aforesaid are at great costs and charges as well in bearing and paying of taxes tollages and subsidies, Scot, Lot, and other charges as well to the King's majesty as to the said city and at many and sundry triumphs and other times for the King's honour; and that if Forrens should come and work amongst them within the liberties of the said city, contrary to their ancient privileges that the same should be a great decay of cunning and an impoverishment and driving away of the free men being artificiers of the crafts and arts and misteries aforesaid within the said city of London to the great hurt or destruction of the said city.

(The Acts are fully set out in *Masonic Magazine* 1881-2, vol. ix., pp. 326 &c., and in Gould, i., 373-5.)

1550.

In 1550 Bishop Coverdale had printed and published a translation from the German of a small treatise by Wertmuller entitled *A Spiritual and Most Precious Pearl*. Wertmuller wrote the little book for children. The word which Coverdale renders twice as free mason is, in the German, "Steinmetz".

The following quotation was cited by Gould in his *History of Freemasonry*, vol. ii., p. 154:—

"The free mason hewyth the harde stone and hewyth of here one pece and there another, tyll the stone be fytted and apte for the place where he wyll laye them. Even so God the heavenly free mason buildeth a christen church, and he frameth and polysheth us, whiche are the costlye and precyous stones, wyth the crosse and affliccyon, that all abhominacyon and wickedness which do not agree unto thys glorious buyldynge myghte be removed and taken out of the waye. 1 Petr. II."

(In our own *Transactions*; in the list of accessions to the Grand Lodge Library; and in the note opposite the Preface to Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins' book *English Speaking Freemasonry*, this passage is stated to be the Earliest published use of the term "Freemason". Indeed in the book last mentioned the date of printing is given from an Edition printed in 1593.

Yet all the time a reference to the *New English Dictionary* under the word Freemason would have revealed the magnificent passage hereinbefore quoted from the *Pilgrimage of Perfection* in its two editions of 1526 and 1531.

These facts are mentioned so that the Brethren may be reminded of the great utility of that Dictionary when they are investigating the history of any word whether connected with Masonic or other studies.

The Dictionary however does not contain the Coverdale quotation, although the little book has been frequently reprinted and I found I had two nineteenth century editions of it among my own books.)

1551 to 1553.

There are two fragments rescued from the 1666 Fire in London of a Register of Admissions of Freemen included in a book by Charles Welch in 1908, issued by the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, entitled *Register of Freemen in the City of London* (B.M. R.Ac. 5668/4). (They cover the period December, 1551, to September, 1553.)

The following are copies of entries relating to the Craft:—

P. 13. Billingsgate 5/s. Robert Pyk. s. of Robert Pyk of the town of Calais mason appr. of Thomas . . . tsam cit. and Merchant Taylor &c.

P. 24. A freemason whose name is not given is mentioned as a witness.

P. 26. John Richardson freemason is named.

P. 80. Cripplegate 4/s. . . . as Prentall s. of John P. of Hurley co. Berks. husbandman appr. of Thomas Weste cit. and Freemason. Served with same. Witness same Thomas in presence of Nicholas Ellys, Warden. Admon (=Admission) said day and year. Entry N. 19 June. 37 Henry VIII. Fee 4/s.

[The original MSS. are in B.M. Egerton MSS. 2408.]

The above Nicholas Ellys was made Master Mason to Edward VI. on 19th April, 1547.

1559.

A.Q.C., xvii., 60.

Bro. Chetwode Crawley forwards this note by Bro. H. F. Berry:—

In the Churchwarden's accounts of the parish St. Peter Cheap London (*Journal of the British Arch. Association*, vol. xxiv., p. 248, 1868) occurs the following entry:—

"1559. Paid the "ffremason" for cutting away St. Peter's Tabernacle, and the Holy Water Stook".

circa 1561.

THE LOSELEY BUILDING ACCOUNTS.

In *Archæologia*, xxxvi., 284 (1855) extracts appear from the private account book of Sir William More of Loseley. At page 294 begins an account of the expenses of building Loseley House in and after 1561 and up to 1569. The accounts include frequent references to masons and their wages, meat and drink. The total cost in 8 years was £1660. 19. 7½.

P. 300. Itm to Mabbanke the mason and his man for 51 days work the one xd. the other vd. a day. iij li. iijs. ix d.

(meat and drink were vd. a day.)

xx

P. 301. Itm to Mabbanke the ffremason for iij xij dayes xd (misprinted xijd) the daye.

iij li xvjs. viijd.

Itm to hym for xvi days more after the rate afsd xiijs. iiijd.

Itm to Wyfold a freemason after ix d the daye for 60 days xlvs.

P. 303. To Gyllane a freemason for his yers wages iiii li.

for his meate and drink after iij the daye vi li.

for his two liveries xxs.

for certain tooles bought for him vs. xd.

P. 305. Itm to the stone leyers after sondrye prices besydes their meate and drynke xix li. vjs. xjd.

For thr meate & drynke after ivd the day one w^t. an other xiiij li. viijs. vjd.

Itm to the ffremasons and hewers of stone after sondrye prices by the daye xxvij li. ijs. iiijd.

Itm for theyre meat and drynke, after iij the days xxx li.

(A similar pair of items is on p. 307.)

P. 308. Itm to the freemasons and stone leyers after sondrye prices by the day xlvij li. iijs.

Itm theyre meat and drynke after iiijd the daye one w^t an other xv. li.

1563.

The Rutland Wage assessment of 1563 printed in J. E. T. Roger's *History of Agriculture and Prices*, Vol. IX., p. 122, refers to the "freemason which can draw his plat, work and set cunningly". (See later under date 1610.)

1563.

In Bro. Dring's provisional list of the use of the term in print (*A.Q.C.*, xxv.) the earliest example is from a book printed in London, April 1563, and entitled: "A Booke in Englyshe metre of the great Marchaunt man called Dives Pragmaticus" . . . very pretty for children to read . . .

Bro. Vibert's account of the reference is that in the preface "we have the words: 'Al Free masons, bricklayers and dawbers of walls'. Dives is explaining how all conditions of men may have wares of him for money and must come or else send to his shop for gear; all occupations to him must resort. He then gives a list of every occupation that he can think of which takes up fifty-five lines. The Freemasons come after the Shoemakers and Cobblers and before the Carpenters and Joiners. The poem was reproduced in facsimile by Messrs. Quaritch for Manchester University in 1910."

13 Elizabeth, 15th November (1571).

Letter Book X., fo. 101b.

The description given is "the companye of the Fremasons."

22nd Elizabeth, 28th April (1580).

The expressions used are:—

Orders for ye companye of Fremasons
(several times) and also:—

"the said arte of Freemasons"

"allmaner of Fremasons work and workes done by anye persone or personnes as well of the said fellowshippe as other within this Cytie or the liberties thereof."

22nd Elizabeth, 31st May (1580).

William Kyrwyn was appointed to the office of the Cyties Mason then void by the death of Phillippe Paskyn Fremason.

1575.

Historical MSS. Comm. Part II.

Marquis of Salisbury, Hatfield MSS.

as quoted by Mr. F. C. Price in *A.Q.C.*, ix., 25.

P. 106 of Report.

Peter Kempe to Lord Burghley:—

1575 Sep. 7. Can make no bargain yet for his Lordship's works. Divers freemasons have sent word they will talk with him, but as yet they come not; in the meantime he raises stone so as to be in readiness. If his lordship is too hasty he will but hinder himself in their prices for they be subtell in their doings as any craftsman in this land.

1577-8.

In the Catalogue of Charters and Rolls, vol. 2, at the British Museum is the following entry:—Freemasons—Award by the Master in St. Mary's Staining parish 1578.

Reference Charters add. 7589.

This document is on parchment and dated 18th January, 1577 (8). It relates to a controversy between Sir Nicholas Bacon, Knight (therein described as Lord Keeper of the greate seale of England) and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster as to disputed boundaries.

The sworn viewers of the City of London had been directed to report on the facts. They are described as Thomas Peacock, Thomas Spencer, Robert Maskell and William Kerwyn the four Masters of the Carpenters Freemasons and Tilers. The award was in favour of Sir Nicholas and is endorsed by him "The survie of the Viewers of London concerning my house in Silver Street called Bacon House".

1578.

Historical MSS. Commission. Appendix 10 to 15th Report.
Shrewsbury Corporation papers (page 19).

1578, 19th August.

Robert Prebell freemason lately in work with Edmund Cornwall Esq., offers to take in hand the piece of work for the covering of the fountain or cistern of the "conduit" at the end of Fish Street and the little conduit at the Wyld Cope with free stone according to a plat or patterne by him now shewed. But forasmuch he is a mere stranger and unknown to the Bailiffs and cannot being a stranger find the sureties they require he offers to take the work in hand and finish it before 20 October next at the furthest for the sum of 20l. and for the payment of his workmen to take but 20 marks, after xxxiij. s. a week until the work be finished and upon the finishing to receive the residue being 20 nobles and enters into covenants for performance. (Fol. 223 of a volume belonging to the Shrewsbury Corporation and described at page 18 of the said Appendix.)

This was noted in *A.Q.C.*, xiii., 124.

1578.

Freemason, xxiv., 334 (1890).

In a letter from Bro. Rivington is the following:—

"The title of 'Freemason' occurs as early as 1578. In June of that yeare Richard Wylde sonne of Thomas Wylde, late cytizen and freemason of London deceased was bound apprentice to Christopher Barker."

(This is in the Records of the Stationers Company of London.)

1580.

In *A.Q.C.*, xxviii., 58, is a note by Bro. C. G. Chambers:—

The following reference is taken from *The Acts of the Privy Council of England, New Series*, vol. xi., 1578-1580, London. Printed for Her Majesty's Stationery Office by Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1895. Page 449 under date 17th April, 1580:—

A warraunt to the Threasurer of the Chamber to paie unto the wife of Christofer Battie, freemason, lately deceased, the somme of xlv vs. vid. as parcell of an accompt of liii^{li} ix s. iiij^d for wages for

him and his servauntes under the late Erle of Essex for her Majesties service in Ulster in the Realme of Irelande, which said somme was not remembered among the said Erles reckoning in the closing up of his accompt.

The name of Christopher Batty appears in a list of members of the Masons Company of London in 1563.

(See Bro. Conder's *Hole Crafte*, p. 300.)

1585.

In Conder (p. 119) is printed:—

“A reconing of the Company of Free masons for the trayning of VIII. men for the muster before her Majesty.”

The first item is:—

In primis for presse money to VIII. soldiers VIII^s.

These soldiers were mustered at Greenwich and were paid at the rate of twelve pence per day.

(Conder gives as his authority *Lansdown MS.* 818, folio 174.)

27 Elizabeth, 20th July, 1585.

(Letter Book named &c., fo. 57).

The Freemasons and Marblers were united together so that the said Companies should be one entire bodie and be called and termed by the name of Freemasons and Marblers.

The City Records for the reigns of Elizabeth, James 1st and Charles 1st repeatedly refer to the Companie of Freemasons and describe certain persons as freemasons. The last instance I have noted is dated 9th November, 1654, which refers to Thomas Cartwright a member of the Company of Freemasons.

For details I refer to my paper entitled *Masons and the City of London* (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., pp. 117-135).

Notwithstanding all this the Company when they petitioned Charles II. in 1677 for a Charter of Incorporation described themselves as Masons and were so described in the actual Charter and in the later one granted by James II.

Thus they continue to be called Masons.

Bro. Conder informs us that in 1655-6 “The prefix Free in this year was dropped and the Company styled the Worshipful Company of Masons” and also “Before the year 1654 the Company is styled in its yearly accounts, The Company of the Freemasons of the City of London: but after that date it becomes the Company of Masons.”

(*The Hole Crafte*, pages 173 and 175.)

1593.

This year was published a printed book entitled “Horolographia or the Art of Dialling, teaching . . . not only for Students of the Arts Mathematical, but also for Architects, Surveyors, Freemasons, Sailors, and others.” There was another edition in 1633. Apparently the use of the term Freemason was only made in the hope that they might so be induced to buy the book. Brother Dr. J. F. Nichols, however, mentions that the book appears to deal with some sort of “Director” which would be of service to builders in laying out the ground plan of a building, *e.g.*, in setting out a right angle.

1578-1597.

Freemasons and the Triangular Lodge and other buildings under Sir Thomas Tresham.

The Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission on Various Collections, vol. iii., was published in 1904 and contains particulars of the MSS. of T. B. Clarke-Thornhill Esq.

Sir Thomas Tresham was owner of Rushton Hall, Northants.. He was one of the foremost leaders of the loyal Roman Catholic party in the reigns of Elizabeth and James 1st. He died in 1605 not long before the Gunpowder plot. He was frequently imprisoned on suspicion and during most of his career was compelled to pay heavy fines as a recusant.

The documents at Rushton Hall were discovered in 1828. Whilst a very thick partition wall was being pulled down the workmen came to a very large recess or closet in the centre of it in which was deposited an enormous bundle containing the manuscripts and some theological books wrapped up in a large sheet. The papers covered the period 1576 to November, 1605.

Those which concern us relate to the building operations of Sir Thomas Tresham. Among them are account books thus described at p. 93 of the Commissioners' Report:—

“Account Books.

“1593 September, 1597 [8] January. George Levens' accounts of payments to workmen &c. with weekly memoranda of the progress of Sir Thomas Tresham's building operations. Five paper books numbered 1 to 5. Also a similar one for 1600-1”.

Reference was made at *A.Q.C.*, viii., 98, to the Triangular Building, but this was incidentally in connection with the monograph upon “The Buildings of Sir Thomas Tresham” by Mr. J. Alfred Gotch.

That book is very interesting from an architectural standpoint, but it seems clear that Mr. Gotch had not the manuscripts before him which were made public in the introduction to the said Report. The first in date is an agreement made on 2nd July, 1578, between Sir Thomas Tresome (he signed Tresame and does not seem to have written his name as Tresham) and William Grombold. I do not transcribe this because it does not include the word “freemason.” It is, however, clear that Grombold was a freemason, as in a letter from Sir Thomas dated in 1604 he wrote: “I would have you speak with Pyfforde and the free-masons Drew, Tyrroll, Gunn and the Grombolds.” That agreement related to works to be done at Rothwell Crosse.

The Triangular or Warrener's Lodge was the next undertaking and the documents enable us to follow the building operations stage by stage as George Levens (steward of Sir Thomas) has in a series of account books for the years 1593-1597 noted its progress with the utmost detail. The free masons employed on the Triangular Lodge were Thomas Tyrroll, his three sons John, William, and Thomas, jun., Thomas Drewe and his son John Drewe.

The heading of the first book is:—

“Ane accompte of the charges of the Warryner's Lodge defrayed to mazons, carpenters, laborers &c. begun July 28th 1594”.

From this I take the following extracts as the full particulars are lengthy:—

“The first weke, ending August 3. 1594, free mazons hewing coynes, rough mazons scaplinge stone and laborers digging stones at Widow Davies.”

"The second weke, August 10, scaplinge stone, hewing coynes, digging stone at the Pondhead and gravage &c. Digging the foundations of the Lodge."

"The thirde weke, ending August 17, makeing the truffle [trefoil] windowes for the lowest storie, and preparing steppes readie to bringe up the stayres. The roughe mazons laying all this weke brought the wall two foote from the bottom of the foundation. Tho. Tiler laying of his kill" [*i.e.*, kiln].

"This weke ending August 24, the free mazons finished the lowest truffle windowes. Tirroll brought up the steps and perpoint with the side walls, which were raised this weke from the foundation to three and a half fote highe. The carpenters begonne their first flore. Tyler burnt the kill" . . .

"October 26. This weke the windowes sett upp and the walls brought upp so high as the scutchions are to come on. Four scutchions made, the rest after made by Drewe. All the free mazons for the more parte of this weke busied about setting of the said windowes consisting of manie stones; also in setting splayes and bringing up the perpointe wall."

A summary of payments shows that to the end of that year the total paid was £103. 11. 9 and included:—

	£.	s.	d.
Free Masons	37.	14.	5
Rough Masons	22.	13.	7½

1595, May 10.

Free mazons worke in bringenge up the tunnell of the chymnye to the ridge of the house.

May 17. Free mazons about the tunnell of the chimney and squaringe three crocketts for the crestes ——— . . . Parris finishing the 10 (?) armes and those on the north windowes and north west corner."

[Parris was a specially skilled freemason who carved the elaborate devices on the escutcheons. There is evidence that he worked at Cambridge also.]

May 25. "Free mazons squareinge and moldinge eight crockett crestes, and setting up the tunnell of the chymney to above the base."

June 7. "Free mazons workinge ashler and squareinge two of the gole end stones. Parris this weke and the last finishinge five crestes."

June 28. "The free mazons setting the skutchens on the windowes, bringing up the pairpoint wall at the stayres' hedd and setting splayes. The layers scaplinge white stone, and makeinge even the wall to the foot of the skutcheons"

July 4. "The free mazons hewing stone for the perpoint wall and making the architrave for the chymney and some part of the freeze. The roughe mazons scapling inside stone. Parris and his manne finishing three maydenheds and beginning two falcons."

July 11. "The free mazons finishing the architrave and cornishe for the chymney and four of the topstones for the piramidesses. Parris and his manne wrought allmost two falcons and the third begonne."

July 18. "Tho. Tirroll all the weke about the base and spire of a piramidis. Ould Tirroll John Tyroll and Hence all this weke about five of the topstones and the freeze of the chymney. The layers all the weke scapling inside stone."

The entries proceed but at such length that the details, which are all very interesting, would overload this paper. Suffice it to say that all work of hewing stone, carving, fashioning, squaring and setting it appears to have been done by the free mazons, leaving the rough mazons and layers to do the scapling to the stone and bring or build up the walls and gable ends. The work occupied a little more than three years. The final entry appears to be one dated 24th September, 1597.

The introduction to the Commissioners' report includes several interesting explanations of the numbers and carvings on the Lodge, but those who are interested will doubtless refer to the report itself.

At page xlvii. of the introduction the entries show that at Rushton Hall the layers were employed in "squareing the stone for the rayles" and "takeinge down the wall in the gallerie for the windowe of six lightes and hewing stone "and bringeing up part of that wall agayne."

It is manifest from the documents that Sir Thomas Tresham intended to have his own ideas carried out in the buildings referred to and gave his directions with critical accompaniments. He described some of the work as "my buyldyngs, or rather may be trewly termed dawbinge, botchinge, and bunglinge."

(The rates of payment to the workmen per day were Free masons a shilling, rough masons, tenpence. Parris, the free mason who did the more elaborate carving, got one shilling and three pence, but was often paid by piece-work. Introduction, p. lv.)

The report also contains full explanations of many of the symbols used in the Triangular Lodge building. It was erected in honour of the Holy Trinity.

1594.

Another example of the introduction of the term with the idea of pushing the sale of the book occurs in:—

"Thomas Blundevil. His exercises" . . .
(Published 1594).

In the preface dealing with the subject of Geometrie the then writer commends that part of the work which a friend had translated "not only to my "satisfaction, but also the great commoditie and profite of all those that desire "to be perfect in Architecture, in the Arte of Painting, in free Masons craft, "in Joyners craft, in Carvers craft, or any such like Art commodious and "serviceable in any Commonwealth."

Several editions of the work were issued. The seventh appeared in 1636.

Historical MSS. Commission. 15th Report, page 161, vol. 1.

County of Wilts.

III. Tables of Wages 1602-1685.

P. 165. Wages by the daye for these Artificers following:—

For a Maister Carpenter.

For a maister free Mason.

For a Maister rough Mason.

(Master Bricklayer, Plumber, Glasier, Carver, Joiner, Millwright, Wheelwright and Plaisterer follow in the list.)

None of these shall take by the day from Michaelmas to the Annunciation of our Lady with meat and drink of wages not above vd. and without meat and drink not above xd. and from the Annunciation of our Lady to Michaelmas not above vid. with meat and drink and without meat and drink not above xid. by the daye.

For every common workeman of journeymen of theise seyenses from Mich. to Annunciation the wages are to be not above iiid. with and viid. without food.

Provision is also made as to apprentices pay.

In 1655 (p. 172) the rates for Masters were 6d. or 12d., 8d. or 1s. 3d. Including Master Freemason and Master Rowemason.

On the same page the wages for a Hellyer or Tyler were fixed at vd. or xd. or vjd. and xijd.

Statute 5 Elizabeth, c. iv. (1603).

(Gould, i., 377).

The Statute of Apprentices though providing for apprenticeship in a number of trades, including carpenter, "roughe mason", bricklayer, makes no mention of freemasons or of masons in general.

Gould comments on this at p. 379 and suggests that the term *Freemason* "though perhaps in common or successive use, applied to denote a stonecutter, "a contractor, a superior workman, a passed apprentice or free journeyman, and "a person enjoying the freedom of a guild or company, had then lost—if indeed it "ever possessed—any *purely* operative significance, and if for no other reason was "omitted from the statute, as importing a sense in which it would have been "generally misunderstood."

1607.

William Thorne, freemason, working at Clarendon, was paid 14d. a day. (P.R.O., *Exch. K.R.*, 542/22.)

[Per Bro. Knoop.]

1608.

The next extracts are from a work by Edward Topsell entitled *The History of Serpents or the Second Booke of Living Creatures*. London. Printed by William Jaggard, 1608.

The British Museum reference is 435 h 8.

At page 72 (the subject being Bees):—

"They builde their Combes with such an Architectonicall prudence that Archimedes in respect of them seems to be no body."

At page 81 (the subject being Drones):—

"If you looke toward their Art or science of Building they are to be accounted excellent devisers of the frame and chiefe Maisters of the whole worke.

For as the Bees do fashion out the combes of the Drones nighe the King's Pallace: so againe for the like counterchange of kindness the Drones are the sole inventors and principall work-maisters of the Kings Court.

The Drones further much the Bees for the procreation of their issue, for they sitting upon their kind or generation, the Bees are shaped and attaine to their figure, and therefore for the maintenaunce eduction, and defence of a new yssue, they receive the more friendly entertainment

For not onely they are great helpers to the Bees in any architectonicall or cunningly devised frame . . . but also they do good in helping and succouring their going by giving them much warmth and kindly heat, which the greater it is (unless there be some lacke of Hony in the meane space) the greater will the swarme be.

In summe, except they should stand the Bees in some good stead, the Almighty would never have enclosed them both in one house, and as it were made them freemen of the same City. Neither doubtless would the Bees by maine force violently breake in upon them as being the Sworne and professed enemies of their Common-wealth, except when their slavish multitude being so much increased, they might feare some violence or rebellion; or for lacke of provision: at which time who seeth not that it were farre better the Maister Worke-men; free Masons, and Carpenters might be spared than the true labouring Husbandman and tiller of the Earth? Especially since that missing thesè, our

life is endangered for lacke of meate and other necessities, and those other for a time we may very well spare without our undoing, and for a need, every one may bulde his owne lodging."

(The same passages are also printed at p. 650 of the *History of Four-footed beasts and Serpents*, by Edward Topsell, London, 1658. British Museum reference 435 h 7).

The extracts are produced at length as showing the setting of the word "free Masons". Such words and phrases as "Architectonicall prudence", "Art or Science of Building", "excellent devices of the frame and chiefe Maisters of the whole worke" are interesting to us as speculative masons. Edward Topsell seems to have had a soft place in his heart for the Drones. It is pretty clear that his ideas of the natural history of Bees and Drones differ from those of modern apiarists. He wrote at a time when the Queen Bee was looked upon as the King. I think these passages are here produced for the first time in any Masonic publication.

1608.

BM. 1732 c 10.

The Booke of Five Collumnes of Architecture called Tusca, Dorica, Ionica, Corinthia et Cōposita Drawne and counterfeited after the right Semetry and cunning measure of Free-Masons: Gathered with great diligence by Hans Bloome out of Antiquities for the benefit of Free-Masons, Carpenters, Godsmithes, Painters, Carvers, In layers, Anticke Cutters, and all other that delight to practice with the Compasse and Squire.

Translated out of Latin into English by I.T. London. Printed by Simon Stafford for the widow of Hans Wotnell, and are to be sold at her house in Paules Church yard 1608.

This is a full copy of the Title-page. In Bro. Dring's list it is followed by an Edition the print of which in the B.M. 558 d 14 has the title mutilated (but Bro. Dring ascribes to it the date *circa* 1610).

Bro. Dring also states that he has seen an earlier edition dated 1601. (The two are numbered 3 and 4 in his list.)

I have referred to the original Latin edition by Joannem Bluom dated 1550 and printed at Zurich (B.M. 559 12). It contains no exact literal equivalent to "Freemason" but has on its title-page "Utilis est hic liber pictoribus, sculptoribus, fabris, aerariis et que lignaris, lapicides, statuariis, et universis qui circino, gnomone, libella, aut alioqui cārte mensura opera sua examinant."

1609.

Freemason, xxxii., 219 (1894).

A letter from Bro. J. Tydeman, P.M., Sec. 2372, gives the following copy of an inscription on an old brass at the old Parish Church (St. Mary the Virgin) Cheshunt, Herts.:—

Here lyeth Bvried ye body of Eli-
zabeath Garnett Ye Wife of Ed-
ward Collen Citizen and Freemasō
of Londō Who dyed Ye 24th daye of
Septeber 1609 being 33 Yeres of age.

Above this inscription is in copper a lady kneeling in front of an open Bible which is upon a scroll rest.

1610.

From *Archæologia*, xi., 200:—

The rates of wages of Servants Labourers and Artificers set down and assessed at Okehoam within the County of Rutland by the Justices of Peace there the 28th day of April, A.D. 1610.

At p. 203:—

A free mason which can draw his plot, work, and set accordingly, having charge over others

before Michaelmas with meat	8 ^d .	without meat	12 ^d .
after Michaelmas ,, ,,	6 ^d .	,, ,,	10 ^d .

A rough mason which can take charge over others

before Michaelmas with meat	5 ^d .	without meat	10 ^d .
after ,, ,, ,,	4 ^d .	,, ,,	8 ^d .

The same volume of *Archæologia* at p. 208 gives the rates of wages as fixed at Warwick Quarter Sessions in 36 Charles II. (*circa* 1684) as follows:—

	By the Day with meat and drink.	without
A free mason	6 ^d .	1 ^s . 4 ^d .
A master brick mason	6 ^d .	1 0
Their servants and apprentices above the age of eighteen	4 ^d .	8 ^d .

1614.

From C. H. Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*.

Cambridge 1845, vol. 3, pp. 62-3.

1614.

This year Henry Kinge and Nathaniel Cradock with the King's sanction and at the joint charge of the University and Town undertook to convey water by pipes from the new river to the market place and there to erect a conduit of stone.

At a Common Day held on the 10th of May the Corporation ordered that the cutting of the soil of the town for the conveying of the water to a conduit intended to be made and the placing of the said conduit should be referred to Mr. Edward Potts Mr. John Andrewes North Harrison and Henry Kinge provided always the business should be effected.

On the 9th of August "John Simes and Jeremy Lestebidge Free Masons did laye the first free stone for the foundation of the Conduit in the Markett Place. The leade Seasterne sowdered and sett in the 15th day by John Kendall Plommer."

[*Note*.—Reference to this was made in the *Freemason*, xxviii., 84 (1892).]

1615.

Historical MSS. Commission, 15th Report, p. 88.

County of Wilts. Records.

1615 [6] Petition in Jan. from Thomas Sweete, freemason, for payment of his work in erecting the new buildings annexed to the Council House in the City of New Sarum. Although the work is finished and his accounts examined he has not been paid and he has had to sell his goods to pay his workmen.

1619-1620.

The Will of Edward Fortho of Fortho, Co. Northants, Esquire, dated 20th February, 1619-20, and proved 9th September, 1620, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (Register Soame, fo. 86), expresses the desire of the Testator to be buried in the Chancel of Fortho Parish Church and directs that his freemason Edward Henseman shall make his tomb.

(There are probably other references to Freemasons and their work to be found in old Wills made by persons who employed them, and if the Brethren discover any the publication of items would be of service.)

1620.

Conder at pages 138 and 139 copies the heading of the earliest extant account book of the Company of Freemasons thus:—

1620.

The account of James Gilder M^r. William Ward and John Abraham Wardens of the Company of Freemasons within the Citie of London beginning the first day of Julie 1619 and ending the day of Julie 1620 of all receite and payment for and to the use (of) the same Companye as followeth:

1622 (as to deed dated about 1450).

William Burton's, *The Description of Leicestershire*.

This volume is 578 i 15 in the British Museum Library. The preface is dated 1622.

The following clause occurs at page 315:—

In this place (*i.e.*, Woodhouse in the Hundred of West Goscote) Henry Lord Beaumont Earl of Boughan built here a very faire and stately chappell of Ashler Stone 1338 13 Ed. III. It was again repaired in the 28 of Henry the Sixt for I have seene a Deede of Covenants made between Robert Farnham of Quardon of the one part and a certaine free Mason for the new building of the Steeple and the repaire of the Church dated the said 28 of Henry the Sixt. It was then new glazed and repaired as I shall guesse by the armes of King Henry the Sixt standing in the East window of the Chappell . . . This village is in the Parish of Barrough.

(The 28th year of Henry VI. began September 1st, 1449.)

In *A.Q.C.*, vol. xix., 144, is a note by Bro. Hextall calling attention to this item.

1631-1633.

Bro. Hugban, writing in *The Voice of Masonry*, vol. x., for October, 1872, page 433, made this disclosure:—

We were engaged sometime since in investigating the Records in the Archives of the Grand Lodge of England, and were rewarded by the discovery of three copies of the MS. Masonic Constitutions, two of which we have just published in our last work, "*Old Charges of British Freemasons*". We had all but concluded our search when the final result surprised us, for tied up with the MSS. on Masonry, we found the following which certainly is of value and interest to the Masonic student, and to our certain knowledge have never before been noticed in *print*.

Whitehall, April 26, 1830.

Sir: I have been given to understand that the accompanying copies of Papers deposited in His Majesty's State Paper Office, will not be uninteresting to your Royal Highness, and I have therefore the Honour and satisfaction of transmitting them to your Royal Highness. I have the honour to be, sir, with sentiments of great respect, your Royal Highness's most humble servant.

Robert Peel.

His Royal Highness, the Duke of Sussex, K.G. &c., &c.

The papers in question are dated March 12, 1631-2, March 19, 1631-2, April 15, 1631, November 1633, November 11, 1633, and December 20, 1633, and have reference to the estimated expenses of "the new Buildings at St. John's College, Oxford", and certain correspondence thereon, by Archbishop Laud (then Bishop of London), Dr. William Juxon, President of St. John's College, and three Freemasons who were the contractors. It seems that the sum agreed on for the work was insufficient to adequately remunerate the Craftsmen because of their improvidence during the work, and hence they petitioned the Archbishop of Canterbury for a special gratuity.

In consideration of their losses by their contracts for the new buildings, the Archbishop generously paid them the sum of £170.13.4, although they were not entitled to more than the amount specified in the contract, viz: £997.11.10.

We have transcribed the petition and receipt for the information of the craft. The remaining papers not being of any masonic value.¹

"To the Most Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Arch-Bishop of Cant: His Grace, &c."

"The humble Petition of Richard Maude, Hugh Davies, and Robert Smith, *Freemasons*."

"Most humbly sheweth that your poore Petitioners did heretofore undertake ye doing of your Grace's great worke, for ye beautifying and enlargement of St. John's Colledge in Oxford; and yt through theyr owne indiscretion and improvidence in following yt worke, they have suffered soe great loss thereby yt unlesse your Grace vouchsafe in pittie to relieve ym, they, their wives and children are utterly undone: and your Petitioners shall never be able hereafter to follow theyr profession againe, having noe other meanes of maintenance to lyve by.

In consideration whereof, they most humbly beseech your Grace even for God's sake, to give £100 to your Petitioners towards theyr losses, wch will be a great comfort to ym in this theyre extremity, and as meane to keep yem from prison.

But if your Grace, out of your owne goodness will vouchsafe to enlarge your guift to one hundred markes more (though they confess yt neyther in justice or equity they can expect one penny). Your Grace shall thereby enable yem not onely to free theyr sureties, and themselves from danger of imprisonment, but also encourage yem with comfort and cheerfulness to follow theyr vocation, for ye maintenance of yem selves and theyr families.

But they appeale onely unto your charity, and whatsoever it shall please your Grace to give them, as they shall with all thankfulness recyve ye same, and acknowledge therein your Grace's bounty to yem and that next under God, to be ye author of theyr future welfare, soe they, their wives and children, (as in duty bound,) shall ever pray for your Grace's long life, in all good health and happyness to continue.

Endorsed

November, 1633.

¹ These are curious illustrations of the operative experience of our masonic predecessors and in continuation of this department we quote from Dr. Plot's work, which we have perused for our purpose.

"The copy of the Masons' Petition about St. Johns &c."

December 20th, Ao. Dni., 1633.

"Received ye daye and yeare above written, by us Richard Maude, Hugh Davies and Robert Smith, of the Citty of Oxon, *Freemasons*, from Ye Right Worshipful Dr. Bailye, President of St. John Baptist coll. Oxon, the full sum of one hundred, seaventy pounds, thirteen shillings, foure pence, which said summe wee acknowledge to be the gift of ye Most Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, his Grace, freely bestowed upon us, out of his Grace's mere charity and pittie; commiserating yt misery and want which our owne negligence and carlesness, in his Grace's woroke, in ye college aforesaid, had brought upon us. Having formerly received from Lufton, his Grace's agent there, in full discharge of what, either in justice or equity, we could anyway claime or demand, to ye day of the date of theese presents, for any drafts, modell, workmanship, stufte or materials whatsoever used or employed in His Grace's building in ye college aforesaid, the full summe of nyne hundred ninety seven pounds, eleven shillings and ten pence; whereby but through our own defalt wee might have beene very large and sufficient gainers, without any other allowance or consideration made unto us. In witness whereof we have heerunto sett our hands ye day and yeare first above written, and for the receipt of ye first premised summe.

(Signed) Richard Maude

(Signed) Hugh Davies

(Signed) Robert Smith

The Voice of Masonry was published in the U.S.A., and although Bro. Gould referred briefly to it in his *History*, I was unable to find the publication in Grand Lodge Library, Quatuor Coronati Library, or the British Museum. The Grand Secretary of Iowa very kindly supplied me with the extracts now quoted. They are of interest as illustrating the financial difficulties of the Freemasons of that period and also by reason of the connection of Abp. Laud with the affair. In another part of this paper it will be seen that St. John's College, Cambridge, was the occasion of similar trouble.

1632.

A.Q.C., xvi., 85.

In a Review of the *Transactions* of the Lodge of Research No. 2429 Leicester this statement is made:—

Bro. G. F. Lancaster (P.G.P. Eng.) has communicated an instance of the early use of the term Free Mason, taken from the Oglander Memoirs 1595-1648.

"He browght owt of ye Lowe Counterye one John le fleminge, a good "Free Mason, whom he employed abowt ye mason woorke for ye bwyldinge of "Quarre" (1632). Quarre is in the Isle of Wight.

1633-4.

The Churchwardens' accounts of St. Christopher's, London (edited by E. Freshfield; see p. 50), refer to Mr. Priestman and Mr. Keffyne 'ffremasons'.

[Per Bro. Knoop.]

1634.

Henry Chetham.
The Compleat Gentleman and
The Gentleman's exercise.

In 1622 Henry Chetham issued a book called *The Compleat Gentleman*. This edition does not use the word Freemason.

In 1634 there was an edition of the same work with additions. The main addition had a separate title-page and the page numbers started again. The title-page was crowded with details to attract purchasers.

The following is an abbreviated copy:—

The Gentleman's exercise of an exquisite practise as well for drawing all manner of Beasts in their true Portraitsures . . . with . . . observations for all young Gentlemen and others

as also

Serving for the necessary use and generall benefit of divers Trades-men and Artificers as namely Painters, Joyners, Free-Masons, Cutters and Carvers &c for the farther gracing beautifying and garnishing all their absolute and worthy pieces either for Borders, Architects, or Columnes &c.

By Henry Peacham, Master of Arts.

The 1634 Edition was printed in London for John Marriott.

In 1661 another edition was printed in London for Richard Thrale, and this edition is in the Grand Lodge Library.

The use of the word Free-Masons will be seen and the word Architect also appears in a way not consonant with Grammar.

In the first part of the volume there is a chapter on Geometry in which passages occur as to the use made of that Science to surmount difficulties about Land ownership in Egypt.

1641.

In Ben Jonson's works (Cunningham's edition, vol. 1, p. 221) is "Love's welcome. The King and Queen's Entertainment at Bolsover at the Earl of Newcastle's the 30th of July, 1634."

This was printed in 1641.

The following extracts occur:—

The King and Queen being retired were entertained with a Dance of Mechanics.

"Enter the Second Quaternio. Chesil the carver; Maul the fremason; squire Summer the carpenter; Twybil his man.

O Chesil, our curious carver! and Master Maul our Free-mason, Squire Summer our Carpenter; and Twybil his man: stand you four there, in the second rank, work upon that ground."

1647 and 1648.

Freemasons at Shrewsbury.

(A.Q.C., xv., 190-1).

Three interesting references occur:—

(1) A petition to the Maior &c. of Shrewsbury by Thomas Wright of Shotton. "Humbly showeth that Hee is a Free Mason by p'fession and hath been workman to this Corporacon these thirtye years and more wherein He hath performed honestly what work hee undertooke although it was many times to

his losse and in the worke this year by him taken at Montfords Bridge for that part of it that lyeth in the Libertyes of Shrewsbury he hath saved the Corporacon at least XX£ that it would have coste to another workman." He petitions to be made a Burgher freely and asks that his son Joseph who is also a Free Mason may be admitted a Burgher for £5 payable by instalments.

(Petition was granted.)

Date is given as 19 1647 (month omitted).

(2) A somewhat similar petition by Thomas Langford of the said Towne Free Mason. He stated he had been employed by the Corporation for 20 years "and when a Garrison was placed in Bromcroft Castle yor petitioner adventured his life to make up the Towre there when other workmen refused it——"

He obtained the Free Burghership for £5 by instalments.

Petition dated 7 April 1648.

(3) 25 August 1648.

"The humble petition of Thomas Wright the younger Freemason Humbly sheweth that he hath been a workman to this Corporacon sev'all years that he hath ventured his life in the Parliament service since the beginning of the Warrs and nowe is one of the County Troope and by God's assistance will continue in the said service soe longe as ther is use of him till the unhappye differences in the Kingdom be settled."

He was admitted a Free Burges of the Corporacon on payment of £5 by instalments.

1650-51.

In the City of London Repertory 61 to 93 is an entry that William Everden was translated from the Shipwrights to the Freemasons' Company.

1597 to 1697.

Miscellaneous items in Gould, ii., 159 (note 5).

Further examples of the use of the word *Freemason* under the years 1597, 1606, 1607 and 1624 will be found in *Notes and Queries*, August 31st, 1861, and March 4th, 1882, and the *Freemasons' Chronicle*, March 26th, 1881. The former journal, July 27th, 1861, cites a Will dated 1641 wherein the testator and a legatee are each styled "Freemason", and September 1st, 1866, mentions the baptism of the son of a "Freemason" in 1685, also his burial under the same title in 1697.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

The building works done for the Colleges at Cambridge are recorded with considerable details in an important work by R. Willis & Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, published in 1886 and consisting of four volumes.

The Colleges and University buildings are dealt with systematically and a separate section is devoted to the Building operations connected with each College, etc.

Agreements for the building work and accounts of expenditure are quoted and in the process the term "Freemason" is frequently used. After consideration it seemed to me that the most convenient course would be mainly to follow the order observed in the work cited, rather than to attempt to interlace the varying dates in chronological order.

Corpus Christi College.

Vol. i., p. 293.

History of the separate Chapel.

Date 1583-4.

For y^e Chappell dore of y^e Lady Bacon rec^d.xx^{li}

Bargained wth John Martin fremason for his workmanshipe of y^e stone
woorke of y^e same accordinge to y^e revised plat [wth y^e armes and creastes] xx^{li}

Itm to Martin y^e fremason for his labour viiiij dayes in traveling to y^e
quarry for to bye y^e sayd stone and to helpe to lode y^e same to y^e carts & goinge
wth them to y^e waters-side wth y^e sayd stone at 14d a day ixs iiijd

Item [p^d to John Martin] for y^e working of a marble stone for y^e
threshold of y^e dore vs

(*Note.*—In Historical MSS. Commission Report, Appendix to 1st Report,
p. 65, it is stated that the accounts of Building this College Chapel begin in 1578.
The Masons are here distinguished “as rough masons” and “freemasons.” Also
noted *A.Q.C.*, ix., 25.)

King's College Chapel.

4th Jan. 1512-13.

Contract for finials &c. of King's College (and other works).

John Wastell is described as master mason.

“Provided alwey that the said John Wastell shall kepe continually lx
Fremasons werkyng uppon the same werkes assone as shalbe possible for hym to
call them in by vertu of such Commissyon as the said surveyour shall delyver
unto the said John Wastell for the same entent.

Vol. i., p. 613.

Contract for further works.

4th August 1513.

This included the following:—

“Provided alwey that the said John Wastell shall kepe continually lx
fremasons werkyng uppon the same.”

Vol. i., 529.

Pavement.

1614-15.

Solutⁿ. Hen. Thorp free mason for p^t of the marble layd in the Chappell
and unpaid for iiij^{li}

Christ's College, Cambridge, 1661 &c.

Vol. ii., p. 208.

For work done in 1661.

4 pillars of wood resting on stone bases.

“To y^e Free Mason for bases for y^e Pillars of y^e Chappell and mending
y^e Floore” 0.16. 0

College order 3 March 1700-1701.

Then agreed that M^r Robert Grumbold Freestone Mason should have
fifty pounds advance money of the College towards y^e paving y^e Chapple with
Marble.

P. 211. Oct. 25, 1703. Paid the freestone Mason his bills in full

196.00.00

P. 212. Mich. 1671.

To Grumball y^e Free Mason for Work about y^e Turret

1.15.00

1524-5.

Willis & Clark, vol. ii., 282-3.

Under date 1524-5.

St. John's College.

P. 282.

Item gyffin to the Master mason of Ely for drawing a draught for my lordes tumbes and for his avyse of the chapell
iij*s* iij*d*

P. 283. 1532-3.

Item to Mr Lee the fremason for makynge and setting up the tumbes
vj*s* xij*s* iij*d*

Item to Mr Lee the freemason in full payment for my lordes tumbes and for stone to the same tumbes
iij*s*

These items relate to the Chantry and tomb built in his lifetime for Bishop Fisher who is now in process of being accorded the title of Saint. He was executed on 22nd June, 1535, for refusing to acknowledge Henry VIII. as head of the Church. Therefore the tomb was never used. It was finally demolished in 1773-4. It is illustrated at p. 286.

Vol. ii., 693, Note 2.

Referring to Ralph Symons (architect who worked at Trinity College, St. John's College and Emmanuel College).

In a document dated 10th January, 1587, Symons described himself as of Barkhamstedd in the County of Hartford, Freemason.

As to Emmanuel College "The workmanship wheareof touching the stone worke hath been wrought and perfourmed by the said Ralphe whearein he hath shewed himself verie diligent and carefull.

At vol. ii., facing p. 256 is a *facsimile* of part of his design for west side of second court of St. John's College. This design is signed by him in a very distinctive way the 'a' in Ralph being marked in a way recalling certain masons marks.

Vol. ii., 250-1.

7th August, 1598.

The book copies a lengthy agreement beginning thus:—

Agreement between Master Fellowes and schollers of the Colledge of St. John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge on thone parte and Ralph Symons of Westminster free mason and Gylbert Wigg of Cambridge in the County of Cambridge free mason on the other parte for the building and perfectinge of their new building.

(The document is lengthy and specifies the work in detail.)

Vol. ii., p. 255. This gives particulars of a supplementary agreement dated August 9th, 1599, between the same parties including "Raulff Symons and Gilbert Wigg fremasons on ye other part."

The designs and documents are in St. John's College Library and are said to be important and almost unique.

These operative brethren failed in or about 1605 when they had finished their work to obtain payment from the College authorities of the amount they claimed as due to them. They therefore prepared a petition thus endorsed: "To the King's most excellent Majestie. The humble petition of Raphe Symons and Gilbert Wigge fremasons". It would seem that the petition was not presented, but on a Counterclaim by the College authorities judgment was obtained in favour of the College and Gilbert Wigge was imprisoned in default of payment. He pleaded for mercy which was ultimately shown.

(ii., 257.) In the course of the work Ralph Symons lost the use of one of his hands and he appears to have left soon afterwards, for in a summary of accounts dated 9th April, 1605, Gilbert Wigge speaks of him as "late of Cambridge." Whether this implies that Ralph Symons had died or had merely left Cambridge is not clear, but the authors infer that he had died.

In any case this seems to have been a sad end to an industrious career in the course of which Ralph Symons had gained much approbation by reason of his good work for other Colleges.

His portrait hangs in the gallery at Emmanuel College, and the inscription beneath it records that he built that College and Sidney College and thoroughly reformed a great part of Trinity College. The picture shows the head: and the right hand grasping a large pair of compasses. A photograph of it has been obtained by the kind offices of Bro. Commander Smith, of Cambridge, who has rendered other aid.

Trinity College.

Vol. ii., 452-3.

1528-1536.

King's Hall.

Extracted from an account headed "Cost of the great Tower".

Imprimis to y^e Fremason upon an earnest peny

xs

It' payd to y^e Fremason For y^e Fyrst payment at the sealyng off the Indentures.

[The name of this Fremason was John Shereff.]

On page 454 are notes of further payments to him and:—

"Item afterward I paid hyme as hit appeys by his quittans iiij^{li} iiiij^s." (One payment was made to him at London.)

(At p. 475 is the note as to Ralph Symons' portrait which is hereinbefore mentioned.)

Emmanuel College.

Vol. ii., p. 706.

The College preserves the original of the Contract next mentioned:—

For the New Chapel.

Dated 17th February, 1667-68.

Articles of Agreement between John Breton Doctor of Divinity of Emmanuel Colledge in Cambridge . . . of the one part and Simon Wise of Dean in y^e County of Northampton and Nicholas Ashly of Ketton in y^e County Rutland Free-Masons of the other part.

Wise and Ashly agreed to provide Stone called Ashler white and good stone at y^e Quarry of Ketton and to sett it up upon the foundation of a Chappell there to be built to y^e ground-table.

Wren had prepared drawings for the works.

P. 223. 27th May, 1715. Paid Mr Grumbold the freestone Mason for the new Wall £42.06.00

(There are also other references to Robert Grumbold, including payment of £33. 1. 4 for casing the Gatehouse with freestone.) (22nd July, 1714.)

P. 226. Mich. 1670, Lady day 1671. To y^e Free Mason for work about y^e Diall 00.08.00

St. John's College, 1625 &c.

Vol. ii., p. 268. Feb. 4th, 1625.

"To Grimbald the free mason for himselfe and his man" 11.19. 7

Vol. ii., p. 277.

Bridge at St. John's College.

Account for 1711-12.

To Rob^t. Grumbold Free mason his bill for worke and stone used about
y^e peers at y^e end of y^e Back Lane next Trinity College £1.17. 3

1687.

Vol. ii., p. 275.

The gateway nearest the Bridge had been made by Grumbald, as the name is spelt, in 1687.

(Audit book 1686-7.)

To Robert Grumbald for y^e stone Cornish Archetrave and other stone work
over y^e great Bridge gate 14¹¹

Robert Grumbold died on 7th December, 1720, aged 82. His gravestone on the south external wall of the chancel of S. Botolph's Church bears the following inscription:—

"Here lieth in hope of a Joyfull Resurrection the Body of Robert
"Grumbold who died December 7. 1720. Aged 82 years."

He was master mason in 1676 at the building of the new library of Trinity College, and in 1716 he rebuilt the fountain at Trinity College. Some of his work was done under Sir Christopher Wren.

Trinity College.

Willis & Clark, vol. ii.

P. 490.

The first payment for wages paid to Freemasons and to Bricklayers was made in 1604, April 14th.

Imprimis paid to John Symes for five dayes worke beginning to work
about y^e Hall vs xd

Trinity College Chapel.

P. 562, 1554-5.

Michaelmesse gyven in earnest money unto good man Perse y^e rughe mayson
at the bargaen makyn of the chappell walls to be mayd and buylded upp for thre
score poundes xijd

P. 562, 1556-7.

The expenses of y^e newe chappell contains an Account for wages to work-
men extending over 36 weeks from the week ending 6 January to that ending
9 Oct. Eleven workmen, on the average, 7 freemasons and 4 rough-masons were
employed in each week.

P. 568.

"Item to Thomas Warde going with the commission into Northampton-
shire and Lincolne for fre masons iiijs viijd", and sundry masons receive press
money on charges coming to Cambridge.

P. 376, 1643.

Given to free masons bricklaiders carpenters and upholsterers for remouing
y^e hangings and railles in y^e chappell xxvijs

Clare Hall.

Vol. i., p. 101.

1662.

To Aristot. Drew freemason for working y^e Pedestalls and capitalls on each side y^e gateway and 112 foot and half of water table 007.17.04

P. 102, 1669, May 15th.

To R. Grumbold y^e free-Mason and Bradwell his Partner and y^e Sawyers y^e first bill £4. 12.05

Similar entries occur (see p. 104).

The name is sometimes written "Grumball".

1646.

In the Diary of Elias Ashmole, which was first printed in 1717, the following occurs:—

H

1646, Oct. 16, 4. 30. p.m.

I was made a Free-Mason at Warrington in Lancashire with Col^l. Henry Mainwaring of Karincham in Cheshire. The names of those that were then of the Lodge.

Mr. Rich. Penkett Warden, Mr. James Collier, Mr. Rich. Sankey, Henry Littler, John Ellam, Rich. Ellam and Hugh Brewer.

(For *facsimiles* of this and the following entry see *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxv., 239, and vol. xi.)

1682.

The same diary has also the following entry:—

March 1682. 10. About 5H p.m. I rec^d. a Summons to appear at a Lodge to be held the next day, at Mason's Hall, London.

11. Accordingly I went & about noone were admitted into the Fellowship of Free Masons. S^r. William Wilson, Knight, Captⁿ. Rich: Borthwick, Mr. Will: Woodman, Mr. Wm. Grey, Mr. Samu^ll Taylour and Mr. William Wise.

I was the Senior Fellow among them (it being 35 years since I was admitted). There were present beside my selfe the Fellowes after named.

Mr. Tho: Wise M^r. of the Masons Company this present yeare, Mr. Thomas Shorthose, Mr. Thomas Shadbolt, Waindsford Esqre, Mr. Nich: Young, Mr. John Shorthose, Mr. William Hamon, Mr. John Thompson, & Mr. Will: Stanton.

We all dyned at the Halfe Moone Taverne in Cheapeside, at a Noble dinner prepared at the charge of the new-accepted Masons.

(As to Richard Ellam, who was present when Ashmole was made a free-mason, reference is made to his Will in the section of this paper dealing with Wills.)

1657.

Battersea Churchwarden's accounts for 1657 include the following item:—

"P^d. to Tho^s. Goodridge freemason for making the stepps at the Church both for stone and workmanship 16. 7d."

(per Bro. C. F. Sykes, *A.Q.C.*, xlii., p. 112.)

1663.

A.Q.C., xiii., 126.

Extract from Register of Births in parish of Kippax near Leeds, Yorkshire, viz.:—

Ann Smyth daughter of William Smyth free Mason baptized the nineteenth of April 1663. Kippax Registers.

(Communicated by T. A. Withey.)

1675.

An apprenticeship Indenture.

In *A.Q.C.*, v., 173-4, the following appears in an article by Bro. W. H. Rylands, entitled "The Masonic Apron":—

This Indenture made the Second day of Februarie in the yeare of our Lord according to the English Accompt One thousand Six hundred Seaventy and Five Witnesseth that Symon Bond sonne of Mary Tompkins Wife of Richard Tompkins of B^{pp}. Ilchington in the County of Warwick yeoman late Widdowe and Relict of John Bond with the consent of his said Father in Lawe and Mother hath putt himselfe an Apprentice with John Cooke of Harbury in the said County of Warwick Free Mason and as an Apprentice him to serve to learne the trade of a Free Mason from the date hereof Vnto the full end and tearme of seaven yeares next ensuing, during which tyme the said Apprentice his said Master faithfully shall serve his secretts shall keepe his Commandements lawfull and honest shall obey, he shall not committ fornication nor contract himself in Matrimony, Nor inordinately waste his Masters goods Nor lend them without his leave, Taverns nor Alehouses of custome he shall not haunt neither shall he play at Vnlawfull Games But shall behave himself as a dutifull servant both in word and deed, And the said John Cooke his said Master doth hereby Covēnt that he the said John Cooke will teach and Instruct his said Apprentice in the trade of a Free Mason by the best means he can and will during the said tearme allow him sufficient wholsome and competent Meate drink Lodging and Aprons (All the Rest of his Apparrell being to be p'vided by his said parents during all the said tearme) In Witnes whereof the said John Cooke and his said apprentice to these p'sent Indentures Interchangeably have putt their hands and seales the daye and yeare first above written.

Sealed and deliv'd in the
p'sence of us

Rob Archer
John Sherley

the m'ke of
—b
Symon Bond



A double-headed
Eagle displayed.

1676-7.

The following item was communicated by Bro. Nicholls, Secretary to the British Archæological Society:—

Work on the Charles I. statue at Charing Cross.

20. Joshua Marshall, Master Mason for the peddistall, carving the releives, enriching the capitall, paveing with Purbeck stone within the railes and placing xxviiij great stoope stones without the circle and other Free Masons workes relating thereunto as by agreement £404. 2s. 6d.

Declared A/c Pipe Office Roll 3290.

(D. G. Denson, *London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, vol. vi., N.S., p. 473.)

1681.

Freemason, xli., 312.

A letter from Bro. Edward Fry Wade, P.G. Sec., Somerset, states:—
 “I have in my possession a Deed of 33 Charles II. (1681) relating to property at Prestbury, Gloucestershire, wherein one of the parties is described as John Norris of Prestbury ‘Free Mason’.”

1686.

Extract from *Natural History of Staffordshire* by Robert Plot, LL.D. (This has been checked with the first edition dated 1686. It is also in Gould, ii., 163.)

§ 85. “To these add the customs relating to the County whereof they have one of admitting Men into the Society of Free-masons, that in the moore-lands of this County seems to be of greater request than anywhere else, though I find the Custom spread more or less all over the Nation; for here I found persons of the most eminent quality that did not disdain to be of this Fellowship. Nor indeed need they, were it of that Antiquity and honour that is pretended in a large parchment volum they have amongst them containing the History and Rules of the craft of masonry.”

(Plot then continues and gives the substance of some clauses in one of the Old Charges.)

“Into which Society when they are admitted they call a meeting (or Lodg as they term it in some places) which must consist at least of 5 or 6 of the ancients of the Order whom the Candidates present with gloves, and so likewise to their wives and entertain them with a collation according to the custom of the place. This ended they proceed to the admission of them which chiefly, consists in the communication of certain secret signes, whereby they are known to one another all over the Nation, by which means they have maintenance whither ever they travel: for if any man appear though altogether unknown that can shew any of these signes to a Fellow of the Society, whom they otherwise call an accepted mason, he is obliged presently to come to him from what company or place soever he be in, nay, tho’ from the top of a Steeple (what hazard or inconvenience soever he run) to know his pleasure and assist him” . . .

(After referring to the Statutes of 3 Henry VI. and 5 Eliz., Plot concludes:—)

“Yet this Act too being but little observed ’tis still to be feared these Chapters of Free-masons do as much mischief as before, which, if one may estimate by the penalty, was anciently so great, that perhaps it might be usefull to examine them now.”

This last clause has incited Masonic apologists to enter into elongated defences of the Craft. For my own part I cannot help thinking that Plot (who was Chief Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum and presented Ashmole with a copy of the *Natural History of Staffordshire*) was merely pulling the legs of his acquaintances who had been made free-masons and if he could have anticipated that he would be taken seriously he would have congratulated himself on the success of his joke.

1681 and 1690.

The Present State of London by Thomas De Laune.

London, 1681 (2nd Edition, 1690).

At page 319:—

(18) Masons.

"The Company of *Masons* called *Free-Masons*, were a loving Brotherhood for many ages, yet not regulated into a Society till 12 H. 4. Their arms Sable on a Chevron between three Castles Argent, a pair of Compasses of the first."

(The Arms are depicted in the margin of the book.)

It would be interesting if we could discover what ground there was for saying that the Masons were not regulated into a body till 12 Henry IV. My searches have been without result.

The Letter Books of the City of London as calendared do not appear to contain any reference to such an event in that reign.

Stow himself states concerning the Masons Company "of what antiquitie that Company is I have not read."

In Strypes' edition of Stow (published 1720) is also a statement as follows:—

"The Company of Masons being otherwise termed Free Masons of ancient standing and good reckoning by means of affable and kind meetings divers times and as a loving Brotherhood should use to do, did frequent this mutual assembly in the time of King Henry IV. in the 12th year of his most gracious reign."

Their arms granted by William Hankeston (sic) Clarenceux King at Arms 13 Edward IV.

Strypes' edition added greatly to Stow's work and it may be that Strype relied upon Hatton's *New View of London* published 1708.

1687.

Bro. Ivor Grantham has furnished me with the following:—

Extract from the Steward's Accounts, Cowdray, Midhurst, Sussex.

January 12th 1657 (page 28 of 1657/8 Volume of Accounts):—

paid to Francis Hille the free Mason for the hewing of foure hundred thre score and seaventeen thre ffoote of stone in the north heath wh are used at the Towers in Cowdray Housse towards the Reparation of them at the price of foure pence (sic) the ffoote: for the quoiners the Ashelers and the kants In all amounting to the some of viij: xvij: 4½:

Randle Holme, 1688, &c.

The Masonic Magazine, Jan. 7th and February, 1882 (p. 256 seq. and 309 seq.)

Gould, vol. ii., 181, &c.

A.Q.C., xlv., 68-69.

In the *Masonic Magazine* above mentioned is a ten page article by Bro. W. Harry Rylands, F.S.A., entitled *Freemasonry in the Seventeenth Century: Chester 1650-1700*, and an Appendix as to Wills of persons mentioned in the list mentioned in the section of this paper which deals with the Old Charges.

Bro. Rylands' first article above mentioned quotes largely from Randle Holme's *The Academie of Armory*, printed for the Author, Chester 1688, folio. This Randle Holme was the third of that name. He died 15th March, 1699-1700, and was buried at St. Mary's, Chester.

The following extracts are supplementary to what I have set forth in connection with the Old Charges:—

Page iii. "Terms of Art used by Free Masons Stone-Cutters".

Page 393 § is the following:—

“I cannot but honor the Fellowship of the Masons because of its Antiquity and the more as being a Member of that Society, called Free-Masons. In being conversant amongst them I have observed the use of these several Tools following some whereof I have seen born in Coats Armour”.

cxli. “In this square [referring to a plate] are three Free Masons tools very useful in their trade”. He then describes a shovel and other tools.

cxliii. “In this square is three other Free Masonry Tools”—Mallet, Mattock and Trowel.

Page 460. “For it is ever a term amongst Work-men of the Free Masons Science, to put a difference between that which is called a Column and that which they name a Pillar, for a Column is ever round, and the Capital and Pedestal answerable thereunto.”

P. 466, lxvi. Referring to pillars and columns he says:—“I shall in two examples set forth all their words of art used about them; by which any Gentleman may be able to discourse a Free-Mason or other workman in his own terms.”

After a description of the five orders he sums up, thus:—“Those that desire further instruction in the Theorick part of Free Masonry, they may peruse Sebastian Serley printed 1611, Peter de le Muet and Andrew Palladio. Both Englished by Golfrid Richards, Vitruvius and others.”

Randle Holme did not print a second volume which he had partly prepared, but his material was published, with the description “Second Volume”, by the Roxburghe Club, in 1905.

Bro. Rylands quotes very largely from the MS. of the 2nd vol., but I only copy those items with which we are immediately concerned:—

Masons or free Masons. S on a cheveron. betw. 3 towers A. a paire of compasses extended S (of olde the towers were triple towered) “the crest on a Wreath, a Tower A. the Escochion is cotized with two columes of the Corinthian Order O. Motto is, In the Lord is all our Trust: the free Masons were made a Company 12 H. IV.”

In the same article by Bro. Rylands is an illustration of an engraved plate prepared for Randle Holme's second volume and showing in figure 18 a curious representation of the Arms of the Freemasons with the two columns attached to the arms as supporters and with spherical balls on the top of the columns. Holme's description of the plate is:—“He beareth Sable, on a Cheveron betweene three towers argent: a pair of compasses extended of the first w^{ch} is the Armes of the Right Honored & Right Worshipfull Company of free-Masons whose escochion is cotized (or rather upheld or sustained or supported) by two columnes or pillars of the Tuscan or Dorick or Corinthian orders.”

(These arms are illustrated in Gould, ii., 181.)

At page 273 Bro. Rylands expresses his opinion (and he was always both accurate and cautious) that many will consider that in all probability the documents referred to are “some of the original papers (or at least copies) belonging to a lodge of Freemasons existent at Chester somewhere about the “middle of the seventeenth century.”

Bro. Rylands also (at p. 272) refers to Randle Holme's distinction between the “Fellowship of Masons” as builders, and the “Society called Freemasons” while at the same time he appears to wish a connection between the two to be inferred.

[*Note.*—Print of 2nd vol. of Holme.]

Perhaps it may here be noted (see *A.Q.C.*, xlii., 313-4) that Randle Holme was related to Daniel Chalenor who died in London 1st March, 1636, and was in his Will described as "Cittizen and freemason of London." He was also a freeman of Chester in 1615, but had been apprenticed in London 15th May, 1607.

In his second article in the *Masonic Magazine* Bro. Rylands produces evidence that some of the persons named in the list of freemasons of the Lodge at Chester were not operative masons. That evidence has been examined and supplemented by the paper *The Lodge of Randle Holme at Chester* by Bros. Coulthurst and Lawson. (*A.Q.C.*, xlv., 68-89.)

1688.

Joshua Marshall.

A.Q.C., x., 12.

Conder (*Hole Craft*), 208.

This paper would be incomplete without special reference to a paper by Bro. G. W. Speth in *A.Q.C.*, x., 10-33, entitled *Free and Freemasonry; a tentative enquiry*.

That paper and the ensuing discussion could most profitably be reprinted. It contains a list of ten companies, &c., who used the adjective Free in front of their trade designation.

It is only quoted now because at p. 12 he says:—"In a deed of 1668 Edward Marshall, a member of the London Company is styled 'citizen and Freemason of London'."

Bro. Conder gives a little further information in the following footnote No. 2 to *Hole Craft* at p. 208:—"Although the Company dropped the title of Freemason in 1655 yet we find the members so described as late as 1668 as by the following Deed between Matthew Hunter, Clerke, Rector of Newbold Pacie in the County of Warwick, and Edward Marshall, citizen and Freemason of London relates to land etc. in the preceints of the late dissolved Priory called White Fryors in the suburbs of the City of London, with signatures of Matthew and Sarah Hunter, dated 1668."

Edward Marshall was in 1661 appointed by Charles II. to the office of King's Master Mason (*A.Q.C.*, xliii., 112), and a Monument to his memory is still to be seen in the Church of St. Dunstan in the West, Fleet Street.

1690-1716.

A.Q.C., v., 228-9.

Bro. John Yarker signed this note:—

Yorkshire Masons and Freemasons. In the *Yorkshire County Magazine* for this month (August, 1892) there is a reproduction of the Parish Register of Thorp Salvin which makes a noteworthy distinction between the trade of mason and freemason or freemason. Thomas Wildsmith, who had a large family of children between the years 1690 and 1713 is described as freemason, and there were intermarriages with the family of Allin. Thomas Allen, who had children baptized between 1696 and 1707, is described as mason, as is John Alin or Allin, who married Elizabeth Wildsmith in 1724. On the other hand, there are the baptisms of John, son of John Turner, jun., freemason in 1716, and Elizabeth, daughter of John Barlow, mason, in 1698. To whatever we may attribute this professional distinction, it seems to prove that there was a recognition of a difference between a Mason and a Freemason.

.1691.

The original MS. of John Aubrey's *Naturall Historie of Wiltshire* is in the Bodleian Library. A copy is also in the Library of the Royal Society at Burlington House. Aubrey deposited it with that Society. The book was not printed until 1847, when it was edited by John Britton. Gould (ii., 6) prints two extracts from it as follows:—

Reverse of Fol. 72.

1691

after Rogation Sunday

Mdm. this day [May the 18th being Monday] is a great Conven-

Accepted

tion at St. Paul's church of the Fraternity of the Free Masons: where Sr. Christopher Wren is to be adopted a Brother; and Sr. Henry Goodric . . . of Y^e Tower, & divers others— There have been kings, that have been of this Sodalitie.

Fol. 73.

Sr. William Dugdale told me many years since, that about Henry the Patents

third's time, the Pope gave a Bull or diploma to a Company of Italian Architects to travell up and downe over all Europe to build Churches. From those are Adopted-Masons

derived the *Fraternity of Free Masons*.

They are known to one another by certayn Signes & Marks and Watch words: it continues to this day. They have severall Lodges in severall Counties for their reception: and when any of them fall into decay, the brotherhood is to relieve him &c. The manner of their Adoption is very formall, and with an Oath of Secrecy.

1694.

In Appendix C. to Knoop and Jones' paper on the London Masons (*A.Q.C.*, 1935) is a report taken from the Masons' Court Book of a general search made on September 26th, 1694. It begins:—

We marched to view and take an account of freemen and prentices pursuant to an Order of a Court of Assistants.

This contains several entries such as:—

William Cutlar served John Rydley not free.

William Morton. Mason free.

Thomas Anderson. Q. whether free.

Josua Hiam served his time with Pursar & Holland now at work for Mr. Danins in the country not free.

One of them bound to Mr. Newman and is made free of the Clothworkers.

It would seem that "free" in this case meant in some cases that the person named had served his time and in other cases that he had not only served his time but had been admitted 'free' of the Masons Company or of some other City Company.

This search was taken after an Act of Common Council dated 11th September, 1694 (Appendix D. to said paper), whereby it was ordered that Masons must not be admitted freemen of Companies other than the Masons Company. Penalties were recoverable on breach.

Scottish Usage (1696).

The *Chetwode-Crawley* MS. and the *Edinburgh Register House* MS. (the latter bearing date 1696) do not use the term Freemason. This indicates a close connection with Scottish practice. They both refer to Lodge Kilwinning.

In his paper on the *Early Freemasonry of England and Scotland* (*A.Q.C.*, xliii., at p. 198, etc.) Brø. Vibert discusses the Minutes of Mary's Chapel and states that in 1636 and 1637 the phrase occurs "the heall mesteres frie masons off Edinbroch". He agrees with Bro. Lyon that the phrase is here merely an abbreviation of friemen masones and has no other significance.

1700 (*circa*).

A.Q.C., xxviii., 28.

In a paper entitled "*Free-Mason*" about 1700 A.D. Bro. Hextall gave extracts from a book entitled *The City and Countrey Purchaser and Builders' Dictionary: or the Compleat Builders' Guide* . . . by T. N. Philomath, London, 1703, 8vo., 288 pages.

On p. 143 of that book is this:—

Free-Masons Work. V [See] The Particulars in their proper places of the Alphabet.

and at p. 181:—

House . . . Some ingenious Workmen that understand the Speculative Part of Architecture or Building: But of these knowing sort of Artificers there are few because but few workmen look any further than the Mechanical, Practick or Working part of Architecture; not regarding the Mathematical or Speculative part of Building, thinking it to be of little or no use . . . such men as affirm that the Theory or Speculative part of Architecture was of no use, because, they say, it is false.

The full name of the Author of the book quoted by Bro. Hextall is Richard Neve. Two other editions were issued in 1726 and 1736. Bro. Hextall discusses the points arising from the extracts I have quoted and from others and he stresses the use of the word "speculative" as being different from that suggested in the Ritual.

I ask that Bro. Hextall's valuable article should be read at length as this note is entirely inadequate except as an indication.

In a footnote Bro. Hextall gives another instance of the use of the term Freemason. It appears that at the Old Grammar School, Nantwich, Cheshire, there was this inscription:—"Richard Dale, Free Mason, was the Master Carpenter in making this buyldinge, anno domini 1611", and a large double triangle was conspicuous in a gable above. (*Studies from Old English Masons*, by C. J. Richardson, F.S.A., 1842; *A History of Nantwich*, by James Holl, 1883.)

Sloane MS. B.M. 3329 (No. 142).

about 1700.

This document is headed "A Narrative of the Freemasons word and signes."

It professes at some length to make known how "they discover other by signes". The following extracts relate to our topic:—

"if you come where any masons tooles lyes lay y^m. in form of a square they will presently know y^t. a freebrother hath been there or a free brothr. coming where free masons are at work if he takes some of their tooles and lay y^m. in form of a square it is a signe to discover him."

Later on in the document:—

“Here followeth their Private discourse by Way of Question and Answer”

Questioner: Are you a Mason

Answer: Yes, I am a freemason

Q. Who is there on earth that is great^r. than a freemason.

A. He y^t. was caryed to ye highest pinnicall of the Temple of Jerusalem.

The oath (extract):—

The mason word . . . you shall keep secrett . . . from Man Woman and Child Stock or Stone and never reveal it but to a brother or in a Lodge of Freemasons and truly observe the Charges in ye Constitucon.

(The MS. was first published by the late Rev. A. F. A. Woodford in 1872 and again in 1885, and the part headed “Here followeth their private discourse” is printed at length in Conder’s *Hole Craft*, p. 227, etc.)

It need only be said that any Brother who reads it for the first time will realise that he is being told things he never knew before.

1701.

The *Masonic Magazine*, 1873-4, at p. 214, has an article by Bro. Hughan on “The Alnwick MS. and Records of the Alnwick Lodge.”

These records include “a good copy of the Masons’ Constitutions” evidently of date 1701, but more important than that are the bye-laws headed “Orders to be observed by the Company and Fellowship of Free Masons at a lodge held at Alnwick, September 29, 1701, being the genll head meeting day.”

Sixty-nine signatures are attached, some of which were written in 1701.

Two rules may be quoted as indicating the use of the word “free”:—

12th Item. That noe Fellow or Fellows within the lodge shall at any time or times call or hold Assemblys to make any mason or masons free: Nott acquainting the Master or Wardens therewith For every time so offending shall pay £3. 6.8.

13th Item. Thatt noe Rough layers or any others thatt has not served their time, or admitted masons, shall work within the Lodge any work of masonry whatsoever (except under a Master) for every such offence shall pay £3.13. 4.

Bro. Hughan adds that “from the earliest minute to the last (ranging from 1703 to 1757) the lodge was of an operative character.”

I plead that the Brethren will not fail to consult the full print of the whole article by Bro. Hughan, as it is lengthy and thoroughly illuminating.

1707.

Bradford-on-Avon.

On one of the exterior walls of the Parish Church at Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire, is the following inscription:—

This Valt was built by
M^r. Anthony Methwen
John Deverell 1707
Free Mason.

The above is a corrected version (verified by a photograph) of a note by Bro. G. Trevelyan Lee in *A.Q.C.*, xxvj., 219.

In the original note the first name is rendered as “John Methwen” instead of “M^r. Anthony Methwen”.

1708.

In Hatton's *New view of London* (published 1708) at p. 611 the following occurs:—

Masons Hall situate in Masons Alley in Bazing hall Str, as you pass to Coleman Str. This Company were Incorporated about the year 1410, having been called the Free Masons, a Fraternity of great account who have been honoured by several Kings and very many of the Nobility and Gentry being of their Society. They are governed by a Master, 2 Wardens, 25 Assistants, and there are 65 on the Livery, the fine for which is 5*l* and that for Steward 10*l*. They may take one Apprentice and after chosen Warden 2. Their Armorial Ensigns are, Azure on a Chevron betn. 3 Castles Argent, a pair of Compasses somewhat extended of the 1st. Crest a Castle of the 2d.

The Tatler, 1709 and 1710.

The following quotations are taken from the *Tatler*, Edition 1823. B.M. 2040 a:—

Vol. i., page 203. June 9th, 1709 (No. 26).

"My reason for troubling you this present is to put a stop if it may be to an insinuating increasing set of people who, sticking to the letter of your treatise and not to the spirit of it, do assume the name of 'Pretty Fellows' no, and even get new names as you very well hint. Some of them I have heard calling to one another as I have sat at Whites' and St. James's by the names of Betty, Nelly, and so forth. You see them accost each other with effeminate airs. They have their signs and tokens like freemasons."

Vol. iii., page 317. May 2nd, 1710 (No. 166).

"This order of the Insipids has produced great numbers of tolerable copiers in painting, good rhymes in poetry and harmless prejectors in politics. You may see them at first sight grow acquainted by sympathy insomuch that one who had not studied nature and did not know the true cause of their sudden familiarities would think they had some secret intimation of each other like the Free-masons".

The writer of these two letters was Richard Steele. The significance of the allusions is discussed in Gould's *History*, vol. ii., 275-7.

(About 1713).

At the close of the *Stanley MS.*, dated 1677, is the following:—

"Prophecy of Brother Roger Bacon".

free Masons beware Brother Bacon advises
Interlopers break In & Spoil Your Divices
Your Giblin & Squares are all Out of Door
and Jachin & Boaz shall bee Secretts no more:

This particular Prophecy has been considered to have originated in or about the year 1713. In the discussions which have arisen as to the number of degrees in olden time it has been put in evidence as proof that at least two sets of secrets were in vogue at the time it was written.

(See in particular an article by Bro. G. W. Speth in *A.Q.C.*, xi., 52).

I gratefully incorporate the following notes by Bro. G. Y. Johnson, Librarian York Lodge:—

I am glad to learn that Bro. W. J. Williams is collecting all the early instances where the word "Freemason" is used. In the Register of the "Freemen of the City of York" I have traced eighteen entries where the term occurs. The first two are in the year 1591 and the full list is as follows:—

- 1591 Georgius Collier, fremason
- 1591 Xpoferus Cowrcher, fremason
- 1619 George Buck, freemason
- 1647 Robert Tindall, fremason, per redemp.
- 1647 Robert Trollop, freemason, per redemp.
- 1663 Chris. Hopwood, freemason, per redemp.
- 1687 Leonardus Smith, free mason
- 1689 Thomas Sarjeant, free mayson
- 1689 Johannes Hopwood, freemayson, fil. Chr. Hopwood, freemayson
- 1691 Johannes Douglas, free mason
- 1702 Geo. White, free mason, per red.
- 1703 Thomas Falkingham, free mason
- 1709 Johannes Kirby, freemason
- 1712 Thomas Serjant, fil. Thomae Serjant, free mason
- 1713 Thomas Pape, freemason
- 1732 Sampson White, freemason, fil. Georgii White, freemason
- 1739 John Bradley, free mason
- 1744 Charles Mitley, carver and free-working mason, per ordinem

(*The Surtees Society*, vols. 96 and 102.)

Although the last entry—Charles Mitley—is not described as a freemason, I have added his name to the list as the term "free-working mason" is new to me and suggests that a change in the title was taking place about this time.

The Register of the "Freemen of York" commences in the year 1272 and the first time the word "Mason" is recorded is in the year 1296. This is the only case before 1300. There are sixty Masons between 1301-1400 and sixty-six between 1401-1500, but only ten between 1501-1600, and only four between 1601-1700.

The first time the word "breklayer" is recorded is in 1592; there are nine up to 1600 and two-hundred-and-thirtynine between 1601-1700. The word is spelt "breklayer", "breaklayer", "brekelayer" or "bricklayer".

There are four "rughmasons" in the Register, one each in 1379, 1397, 1428 and 1431, and one "Waller" in 1396.

The word "free" is also used in connection with "free laborers" and "free porters". The first time the words "free laborer" or "free labourer" are recorded is in 1627, and from that date to 1700 there are one-hundred-and-twentythree, many of them being "free laborer, for life".

The first time the words "free porter" are recorded is in 1676, and there are only six up to 1720.

In the York Lodge Library there is an MS. written by Mr. W. M. Knipe in 1853 which states that there was in the Churchyard of "St Mary Bishophill The Younger" a tombstone erected to "Christopher Hopwood, Free-Mason, who dy'd A.D. 1673"; this tombstone has since disappeared.

1712, 1713, 1714, 1716.

The Lodge at York.

In another part of this paper reference is made to the endorsement on the *Scarborough Manuscript Roll* (E. 11). and to the endorsement thereon recording that at a private Lodge held at Scarborough on 10th July, 1705, six persons who signed their names were admitted into the Fraternity of Freemasons.

This is evidence of the existence of a Lodge meeting and admitting Freemasons at Scarborough in 1705.

There are two papers in *A.Q.C.*, xiii., as to the Lodge at York: (1) By Bro. Hughan at p. 11 entitled *The York Grand Lodge* and (2) at p. 93 by Bro. T. B. Whytehead (then Master of Quatuor Coronati Lodge) entitled *The Relics of the Grand Lodge of York*. The second paper includes a copy of the first entries in a document described at page 5 as:—

"No. 7. Another parchment Roll containing the Manual Subscriptions &c. of persons made Masons in the Grand Lodge. It begins March 19th 1712 and ends with the minutes of a Lodge 4th May 1730".

The following extracts are copied line for line from the original Roll and include the whole of the entries prior to 1717. This exact copy has been carefully made by Bro. G. Y. Johnson, Librarian of York Lodge, aided by Bro. F. R. Worts, of Leeds:—

March the 19th: 1712:

At a private Lodge held at the house of James
Borehams Scittuate in Stonegate in the City of York

Mr Thomas Shipton Mr Caleb Greenbury Mr J^o_n: Norryfon

Mr J^o_n: Ruffell J^o_n: Whitehead and Francis Norryfon

were all of them Severally Sworne and admitted into the
Honourable Society and fraternity of free Mafons:

Geo: Bowes Esq^r Dep^t President:

J^o_n: Wilcock also admitted
at the Same Lodge:

} Tho^s Shipton
Caleb Greenbury
Jn^o Norrison
John Rufsell
fran: Norrison
John Whitehead
John Willcock

June the 24th: 1713

At A Generall Lodge on St Johns Day at the house of James
Borehams Scittuate in Stonegate in the City of York Mr John
Langwith was Admitted and Sworne into the Hononourable
Society and fraternity of free Masons:

S^r Walter Hawxworth

Kn^t and Barr^t President

Jn^o: Langwith

Auguft the 7th: 1713

At a private Lodge held then at the house of James Borehams
Scittuate in Stonegate in the City of york Robertt fairfax Esq^r and
Tobias Jenkins Esq^r was Admitted and Sworne into the Hono^{ble}:
Society and fraternity of free Mafons as also the Reverend
Mr Robertt Barker was then Admitted and Sworne:
before:

Geo: Bowes Esq^r Dep^t President

Rob^t: Fairfax

T Jenkyns

Rob^t Barker:

December the 18th: 1713

At a private Lodge held then at the house of Mr James
Borehams Scittuate in Stonegate in the City of york Mr Tho: Hardwick

Mr Godferey Giles and Mr Tho: Challener was admitted and Sworne into the Hono^rble Society and Company of free Mafons before the Worshipfull

S^r Walter Hawxworth Kn^t and
Barr^t President:

Tho: Hardwick
Godfrey Giles
his
Thomas T Challoner:
marke

1714

At a Generall Lodge held then on the 24th of June at Mr James Borehams Scittuate in Stonegate in York John Taylor of Langton in the Woulds was Admitted and Sworne into the Hona^rble Society and Company of free Mafons in the City of York before the Worshipfull

Charles ffairfax Esqr
John Taylor:

At St Johns Lodge in Chrifinmas 1716

At the houfe of Mr. James Borehams Sittuate Stonegate in York Being at a Generall Lodge Held then by the Hono^rble Society and Company of free Mafons in the City of york John Turner Esqr was Sworne and Admitted into the Said Hono^rble. Society and fraternity of free Mafons

Charles ffairfax Esqr Dep^t Prefident:
John Turner.

These entries and the papers whence they derive are very interesting and are provocative of comment. I merely observe:—

(1) That the title Grand Lodge is not used in this Roll before 1717 or at all. The term "Grand Feast" occurs in an entry on the same Roll dated Dec. 27th, 1725: "Grand Master or Deputy" and "Grand Master and Lodge" occur July 6th, 1726, and "Grand Master", "Deputy Grand Master" and "Grand Wardens" June 24th, 1729.

(2) The title of the institution is the "honourable Society and Fraternity of free Masons", or, "the hon^{ble}. Society and Company of Freemasons", or, "the hon^{ble}. Society and Company of Freemasons in the City of York".

(3) The Lodges held on 24th June, 1713, and 24th June, 1714, and at Christmas, 1716-1721, are termed General Lodges. The Christmas Lodges are headed "At St. John's Lodge". Each of the other three Lodges is termed a Private Lodge.

(4) The head of the Society was entitled "President".

(5) A perusal of the two papers referred to makes it clear that the Society was not composed of operatives.

(6) The document containing the extracted entries appears to be in the nature of a Register of Members. At *A.Q.C.*, xiii., 6, is an extract from a letter dated 29th August, 1778, from Bro. Jacob Bussey, G.Sec. (York), stating that he had inspected an Original Minute Book of that Grand Lodge beginning at 1705 and ending in 1734.

An alleged Charter in 1147.

In *A.Q.C.*, vi., p. 112. is a copy made in 1822 of a Charter dated at Edinburgh, 5th March, 1147, purporting to be granted by David the first (King of Scots) and witnessed by:—

Prince Henry my Son
Earle, John of Menteith.
Earle, Duncan of Lennox.
Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow.
Robert, Bishop of St. Andrew.
Gregory, Bishop of Dunkell and
Walter de Ridale.
"To which is affixed the King's Seal
which is all defaced.
A correct copy of the ancient Lodge
Charter by a Brother."

This document was held by Bro. W. H. Rylands and Bro. W. J. Hughan to be a forgery.

It is here recorded because it has the following sentences:—

"itim. That the free Masons in Stirling shall hold a Lodge for ever in the burgh of Stirling".

"itim. I . . . command that none tack in hand any way to disturb the free operative masons . . . or do any injurie to any free masons":

The document is interesting as showing how much it is possible for a forger to rely upon the credulity of that part of the human race styled freemasons.

Part II. will include the use of the word "Freemason" in Tombs, Wills, Charters, the Old Constitutions or Charges, and Ireland.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Williams, on the proposition of Bro. G. Elkington, seconded by Bro. H. Poole; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. G. Y. Johnson, G. W. Bullamore, D. Flather, D. Knoop, G. P. G. Hills, J. F. Nicholls, C. F. Sykes, and S. N. Smith.

Bro. D. FLATHER writes:—

I have just finished reading Bro. Williams' paper, and am more than ever inclined to think that the solution of this much debated question lies in the fact that while the term Free-mason was often very loosely employed, it was primarily intended to apply to a man who was neither an apprentice or a journeyman but was his own master and therefore independent either of a gild or of service to other than those who employed him as a general contractor for the work or as architect and clerk of the works.

He cites Thorp Salvin. This is a very small hamlet, situated seven miles from the nearest quarry, and there would certainly be no local or general Gild nearer than Lincoln, 25 miles away. In other words, Wildsmith would be a *Master* mason, and Allin a working mason or perhaps even a *Foreman*.

Bro. S. N. SMITH said:—

The portrait of Ralph Symons now hangs in the Hall of Emmanuel College, and not in the Gallery. Although the inscription on this portrait styles him the "most skilful architect of his age", very little seems to be known about him. He is called "of Barkhamstedd" in 1587, in the earliest Cambridge document, but "of Westminster" in one of 1598. John Simmons of Arberfield in Berkshire, Bricklayer, was a surety for him in the latter year, and would probably be a relative.

Ralph Symons was the architect who built the earliest buildings of Sidney Sussex College. My father presided over this College as Master for 26 years, and I remember that there was in the Library of the Master's Lodge an old manuscript book in which was Symons' signature. The present Master kindly allowed me to borrow this book, and I have had photographs taken of three of its pages. The book was a day-book kept by the first Master whilst the College was being built, in which he recorded all payments made in connection with the building.

The first payment—of £20—was made to Ralph Symons on 23rd: March 1594/5 and, at the same time, he was paid 20s/2d. for the carriage of stone from Barrington. As a receipt for both these payments he initialled "R.S." in the margin of the book.

The next payment was on the 19th: April 1595 and was made to "Gilbert Wigge for Mr. Simans". Wigge seems to have been Symons' "Warden"—though he is nowhere called by that name—and numerous payments were made to him for Symons. He signs his name "Gilbert Wigge" in the same handwriting as that on the design for the Second Court of St. John's College, of which there is a *facsimile* in "Willis and Clark".

Symons *initialled* for two more payments, but for the payment which he received on 6th: March 1595/6 he makes his "Mark" in the margin of the book; *vide* Illustration. (The photographs are the same size as the original.)

For the next payment, on the 24th: April 1596, he signs his full name, spelling it Rafe Simans; *vide* the Illustration. He continued to sign in this way, except for one occasion when he initialled "R.S." and once when he spelt his name Simens, until 14th: May 1597. For the payment on that day he uses the same form of signature as that on the design for the Second Court of St. John's; *vide* the Illustration. In this, "Rafe" is in the form of a monogram, Simons is spelt with an *O* and the *I* is combined with the first stroke of the *M*. All his subsequent signatures in this book are in this form, which differs entirely from his "Mark".

The reproduction of the Portrait does not bring out the inscription legibly. The text is as follows:—

EFFIGIES RODULPHI SIMONS, ARCHITECTI SUA ÆTATE
PERITISSIMI, QUI PRÆTER PLURIMA ÆDIFICIA ABEO
PRÆCLARE FACTA,

[The Portrait.]

DUO COLLEGIA EMMANUELIS HOC SYDNII ILLUD
EXTRUXIT INTEGRÉ MAGNAM ETIAM PARTEM TRINITALIS
RECONCINNAVIT AMPLISSIME.

Bro. C. F. SYKES *writes*:—

For some years I have been interested in the subject of this evening's paper. During this period I have collected many examples of the use of the word 'Freemason' prior to Grand Lodge Era and I know something of the labour entailed in the compilation of a paper such as that of this evening.

FRANCIS RICHARDUS HENRICUS IACOBUS ET ALII PRINCIPES
QUI IN REGIA SCHOLA ARTHURICA VIVUNT



DE REGIA SCHOLA ARTHURICA SIGILLUM

RALPH SYMONS


*Reproduced, by permission, from the original painting
at Emmanuel College, Cambridge.*

11 Paid unto laborer for a week's work in the college
upon the 5 of February, 1541

12 Paid unto Ralph in and upon the 5 of February
the sum of 2
as appeared by his count book to this book, 1541

13 Paid unto the master of the college in parts of payments
for the sundry of timber from the university for to the
bridge upon the 12 of March the sum of 2
as appeared by his count book to this book, 1541

14 Paid unto William Dorman of 12 for butting
the timber at the bridge upon the 12 of March
the sum of 2
as appeared by his count book to this book, 1541
Sum of repairs for building 21- 10- 8.


 Payed unto Richard Lister of Browne yewens in
 yabro of payment for 10 thousand livers on the
 23 of April 1500 sum of 2
 as appoynted by his said M^{ty} to his bookes Wythyn. ~~Shall~~

Payed unto 4 laborers for a weekes worke on the
 24 of April 1500 sum of 2
 as appoynted by his said M^{ty} to his bookes Wythyn.

Payed to our laborer for goinge to Buryngton 2 vid

Payed unto Rafe Simas on the 24 of April
 1500 sum of 2
 as appoynted by his said M^{ty} to his bookes RAFE x SIMAS

Payed unto within maner of Rowse for 4 shadron of
 lins on the 25 of April 1500 sum of 2
 as appoynted by his said M^{ty} to his bookes
 as appoynted by his said M^{ty} to his bookes
 43-19-8

89

Payed unto Rafo Emamb on the 14 Days of
May the sum of 2
pounds by the hands of Ralph Symons

Received from ^{of which story passed} Ralph Symons for the
sum of 6 of the said sum of 2 pounds on the 14th
of May the sum of 2

of which story passed
sum 40 at London

Payed unto William Doute in full discharge of
the 22 pounds of timber on the 14 of May the sum of 2 pounds
as appoynted by the marks

M

Payed for the carrying of our load of staves from
Buryngton the 14 of May 2

Entry in Day Book of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge,
showing Signature of Ralph Symons in form of a Monogram.

Bro. Williams has on other occasions given us evidence of his assiduity in the cause of Masonic research and he now places us further in debt to him. He certainly merits our thanks for the present contribution he makes to our Masonic knowledge.

In addition to Wm. Horwode, John Wode, John Stowell, John Hylmer and Wm. Vertue mentioned in the course of the paper, I have a note:—

1494 William Este, freemason, Oxford

(*Gould*, i., p. 308, footnote.)

Under date 1443 Bro. Williams states that the Statutes were then enacted in French, that the term 'Frank mason' was then employed and that he had not yet ascertained when the translation into the English equivalent 'Freemason' was first made.

I find I have a note or two regarding this point:—

1495 The wages of artificers were again fixed,—a free mason, master carpenter, and rough mason were to take per day 4d. with diet, and 6d. without, between Easter & Michaelmas, and during the rest of the year 3d. and 5d. respectively. Master masons and master carpenters, taking charge of work and having under them six men, were to receive 5d. with diet, and 7d. without. The penalty for taking more was 20s.; and for giving more, 40s. During the summer half-year, each workman and labourer was to be at work before 5 A.M., to have half an hour for his breakfast, an hour and a half for his dinner, at such times as sleeping was permitted him; but at other times, then but one hour for his dinner, and half an hour for his "none meat".

(*Gould*, i., p. 367.)

The word freemason occurs here for the first time in the actual statutes.

(*Gould*, i., p. 367, footnote.)

1514 The act of 1495 was reenacted

(*Gould*, i., p. 369.)

For the same year I have a note that this mentioned freemasons under the term 'frank masons' and I am not clear whether it refers to the 1514 Act or that of 1495.

1515 "on the humble petycyon of the freemasons, rough masons, carpenters", and other artificers "wythin the Cytie of London" and in consideration of the heavy expenses to which they were subject, it was enacted that, except when employed on the king's works, the artificers, labourers, and their apprentices, working within the city or the liberty of the same, might take the same wages which they had been in the habit of doing prior to the statute of 1514

(*Gould*, i., p. 369.)

Gould does not give the actual quotation of the term freemason from the statute of 1495, though he states this was the first use of the word in the statutes. There is, however, the actual quotation from the 1515 act, and perhaps Bro. Williams will inform us if either these statutes afford the first occasion on which the term was used in such documents.

In the preliminary paragraph the writer of the paper in the rough proof stated that the whole of the volumes of *A.Q.C.* had been ransacked and that all

instances previously printed in these *Transactions* might be considered to be dealt with. The following are included in my notes:—

- 1508 Sir Wm. Conyers, Captain of Berwick on Tweed employed 5 free-masons, 20 rough masons and 25 labourers for the repair of the Town & Castle

(*A.Q.C.*, vii., p. 137.)

- 1574 Extracted from the manuscript borough records of Aldeburgh (Suffolk)

1574	For iii ^{or} dayes of a man for ye church	ii ^s . viii ^d .
	To ye Freemason	vi ^{li} xii ^d .
	To michell ye mason for his workmanshippe in the house	xxxv ^s .

(*A.Q.C.*, xxxiii., p. 185.)

- 1591-1600 Two Freemasons were admitted to the freedom of York. After this date & until 1760 on an average one every ten years was admitted.

(*A.Q.C.*, xli., pp. 293 and 298.)

Other of my notes affording examples not included in the paper are:—

- 1517 In an article in the *Edinburgh Review* by Sir F. Palgrave, on the "Architecture of the Middle Ages" are given some curious accounts of the fabric of Hampton Court Palace, extant among the public records of London. The following items are extracted from the entries of the works performed between the 26th February, 27 Henry VIII., to March 25th, then next ensuing:—

Freemasons

Master, at 12d. the day, John Molton, 6s.

Warden, at 5s. the week, William Reynolds, 20s.

Setters, at 3s. 8d. the week, Nicholas Seyworth (and for three others), 13s. 8d.

Lodgemen, at 3s. 4d. the week, Richard Watchet (and twenty-eight others), 13s. 4d.

(*Greater London*, Walford, vol. i., p. 144.)

- 1519 The Mercers' Company by Letters Patent 1st July 1519 were allowed to retain and hire William Thorne, freemason then in their employ and 20 other persons freemasons and also bricklayers, carvers, joiners and other artificers wherever they could be secured in the country.

(*Some account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in the Cheap*, London, John Watney, F.S.A., pp. 94-5.)

Bro. Williams is too modest in his extracts from his paper, *The King's Master Masons*. The following, I think, certainly deserves inclusion, though he may consider it embraced in "sundry references to Freemasons in 1538". The mission entrusted to the two men concerned was a responsible one and that they were selected for the job suggests their superiority, ability and trustworthiness:—

- 1538 Thomas Forard freemason costs of riding into Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Herefordshire &c 30 days; and Thomas Frelove freemason riding into Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire for the like purpose 10 days 26^s/8^d

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

In bringing together the various early uses of the word Freemason Bro. Williams has rendered good service to students. He points out that remarks which are made by the way must not be regarded as enunciating any theory on the subject, but I do not think that these by-the-way remarks should be allowed to pass without comment.

In discussing the petition of the Freemasons in 1509-10 (Letter Book M) Bro. Williams accuses them of "decorating" the ordinances of 1481 with the word freemasons which they do not contain. My more trustful disposition supposes that there were ordinances of the Freemasons ratified on that date and that no copy of them is now known. I am confirmed in this by the claim of Miles Man in 1724 (*Conder*) that the Freemasons in 1481 were granted a livery to be worn according to their several degrees. He quotes from the Constitutions of the Freemasons of 1481. As the object of Miles Man was to demonstrate the right of the Masons to be considered a livery company, his decoration of the document would be against their interests. I prefer to suppose that he quoted an actual document correctly, as did also the Freemasons of 1509.

Bro. Williams goes on to suggest that the mason fremen of 1521 (Letter Book N) were the same body as the Freemasons of 1509-10 and that the company were not uniform in the description of their fellowship. He also points out that although John Croxton appears as master of the Freemasons in the 1441 list of masters of misteries (Letter Book K), John Croxton is described elsewhere as Mason. He thus disposes of the Guild of Freemasons as a fellowship apart from the Masons. But he omits to explain why the list of 1441 from which he selects John Croxton freemason also contains an entry which reads:—

Masons John Hardy, William Goodburgh, sworn wardens.

Bro. Williams' disinclination to recognise the two guilds is perhaps due to the obsession that the Freemason entry in the list of 1376 was cancelled and partly obliterated at that date. It must be borne in mind that the early discoverers of this list were not aware of the cancellation. They quoted two representatives for the Freemasons and four for the Masons, the duplication of names being overlooked or disregarded. The photograph of the entry must not be taken too seriously as evidence, for when I saw the document some years ago I came to the conclusion that the entry had been gone over in modern black ink, and no doubt it is this modern writing that the photograph records. As to the penknife, it may have been used between five and six centuries ago to eradicate the word Freemasons, but, on the other hand, its use may only date back to the inking over period.

As a working hypothesis it is possible to link together harmoniously the facts concerning the early Masons and Freemasons, if we assume that there was a secular guild of Masons contemporary with a religious guild of Freemasons. But if we follow Bro. Williams in his desire for one guild only, lists such as those of 1356 and 1441, which mention both Masons and Freemasons, are stumbling blocks. The anti-Freemason clerk with his penknife in 1356 gets rid of one difficulty, and I should like to know how Bro. Williams deals with the 1441 list. Does he suggest that the clerk in 1441 inadvertently omitted to use his penknife on the Freemason entry and also abstained from adding John Croxton to the Masons John Hardy, William Goodburgh as he should have done?

It looks easier to accept all these documents as written and accept the two guilds they mention.

REVIEWS.

CATALOGUES OF THE MUSEUM AND LIBRARY OF THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND. Compiled and arranged by Major Sir Algernon Tudor-Craig, *K.B.E., F.S.A., P.G.D.*, Librarian and Curator. Three volumes. Vol. I., China, Glass and Regalia. Vol. II., Prints and Portraits. Vol. III. (in preparation), Books and Manuscripts. £5 5s. (to subscribers). Issued by the United Grand Lodge of England, London. 1938.



THE two sumptuous volumes now published demonstrate that the authorities at Grand Lodge are determined to spare no expense in providing us with the most complete statement possible of the treasures that are exhibited in the galleries of the museum.

The first volume consists of 341 pages of text, copiously illustrated, there being 15 colour plates besides the numerous blocks. The second volume reproduces 53 portraits. Even now it is not possible to put on record all that there is in the museum: the catalogue only describes what is actually to be seen in the show cases.

The method followed is that each case in turn is described and illustrated in detail. As the cases are to a large extent homogeneous, we can thus survey at one time the whole of the collection of any particular ware, or type of glass. But obviously this is a collection which is constantly being added to. As time goes on, it is bound to be the case that the arrangement of the show cases will be modified; pieces will be added, or earlier specimens replaced by finer ones of later acquisition, or it may be necessary to introduce additional cases, involving redistribution. All this will tend to affect the value of the present catalogue as a guide. Then it constantly happens that a case contains some extra item, not of the same type with its other contents, and this is catalogued as it occurs, without reference to its nature. Thus there are three Sketchley tokens listed. But there is no technical description of them, and in fact they are only part of a large collection which Bro. Poole has recently classified scientifically. When the tokens generally come to be catalogued, his classification will no doubt be adopted. Actually the present catalogue as projected makes no mention of coins and medals. But the Grand Lodge possesses a very fine collection, only some of which have found their way into the show cases. In Volume I. 50 medals are catalogued, because they embody portraits. But it is understood that this section of the museum will be dealt with later on in a supplemental volume.

Volume III. will no doubt follow a different system. A library of this size can only be catalogued by subjects, the books being located by press marks. Any system which attempts to keep books on one subject together, regardless of size, inevitably wastes much space.

Of the contents of the museum itself it is unnecessary to say anything here. It is extraordinarily rich in china and glass. The masonic jewels form an immense collection, although our Librarian is at times distressed by their false heraldry. The portraits include specimens of the work of many of our great painters. Now, at last, we are able, in our new premises, not merely to have all this adequately displayed in the ample gallery accommodation available, but we also have it all adequately described and illustrated.

The catalogue will enable many to realize, perhaps as they have never done before, what a wealth of interesting and valuable material is to be found in the galleries of the United Grand Lodge.

October, 1938.

L.V.

JOHN JAMES JOSEPH GOURGAS, 1777-1865.

*Conservator of Scottish Rite Freemasonry.**By J. Hugo Tatsch.**Official Publication of the Supreme Council, Northern Jurisdiction.
Boston, Mass. 1938.*

To members of the A. & A. Rite in this country the name of Gourgas will be familiar principally as that of the Sovereign Grand Commander, when, in 1846, our own Supreme Council received from Boston what Dr. Oxford calls the Second Charter, the authority under which it was constituted, and in virtue of which it is working to-day. But Gourgas played a very important part in the history of the Rite as a whole, and the title now given him of Conservator is well applied. But for him the Rite itself might well have ceased to function entirely, at all events in the Northern Jurisdiction, and its derivative bodies would either never have been constituted, or at best have derived their authority from some less authentic source. At the request of the Supreme Council, Northern Jurisdiction, Bro. Tatsch has written the present monograph, by way of celebrating the one hundred and twenty-fifth year since its formation. It represents an enormous amount of research. He has traced the family back to ancestors in France and Switzerland in the early seventeenth century, and has given us a tentative genealogy of all the Gourgas descendants of its founder, the Rev. Paul Durand, a Huguenot Pastor at Gallargues in France. He has also been able to find and reproduce portraits of many of the early members of the family, and the Frontispiece is one of Gourgas himself.

Paul Durand died in, or after, 1661. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes drove the family to take refuge in Switzerland, and the French Revolution, a century later, led two brothers, Mark and John James Joseph Gourgas, to settle in the United States. There are to-day descendants of Mark in Massachusetts. John James Joseph was by profession an accountant, and although the family fortune, which had been considerable, had been dissipated by the political troubles in France, he seems to have always had at all events a competence. There was a French Lodge in New York, L'Union Française, which was warranted by a Deputy Grand Master, on behalf of the Grand Lodge of France, in 1797. It was originally refused recognition by the Grand Lodge of New York, but in 1798 the majority regularised their position, and were duly warranted by the New York Grand Lodge as No. 14. It was in this Lodge that Gourgas was initiated on 19th May, 1806. But he only remained a member of it for two years, and appears to have taken no further interest in Craft Masonry.

The Supreme Council at Charleston, the first to be formed in the whole world, had come into existence in 1801. De Grasse Tilly, one of its organisers, founded the Supreme Council at Paris in 1804, and later on organised others in Italy, Spain and Belgium. Rose Croix Chapters were formed at New York in 1797 and 1806, and in July of that year Gourgas was perfected in this latter Chapter. Bideaud, another of the organisers of the Charleston Supreme Council, was in New York in that year, and he conferred upon Gourgas and several others the thirty-second degree. These Brethren thereupon formed a Sovereign Grand Consistory.

In 1813 De La Motte, Grand Treasurer General at Charleston, arrived in New York, and conferred on Gourgas the thirty-third degree. At that time there were at work in New York the Grand Consistory of 1806, two Chapters constituted by Abraham Jacobs, working up to the 18° and 16° respectively, and a rival Grand Consistory constituted by Cerneau in 1807. De La Motte recognised the Consistory formed by Bideaud, and the two bodies that Jacobs had inaugurated, and now, on August 5th, 1813, he constituted them a Supreme Council for the

Northern Jurisdiction, in which Gourgas became Grand Secretary General. The Cerneau body was not prepared to unite with the others, and went its own way.

In 1832 Gourgas became Sovereign Grand Commander, an office he held until 1851, when he resigned on account of infirmities and old age. He still retained his interest in the Rite, however, and till his death fourteen years later continued to correspond with the Supreme Council and to assist it with his advice. But this period, 1832 to 1851, was one of great difficulty in the United States for all Masonic organisations, and it is not too much to say that, but for Gourgas, the Supreme Council of the Northern Jurisdiction would never have survived.

In 1820-21, owing to defective information at their disposal, the Charleston Supreme Council were warranting independent Chapters within the territory of the Northern Jurisdiction. But the matter was very soon amicably adjusted. They had lost all their records in a series of disastrous fires, including their copies of the Constitutions of 1761 and 1786. But Gourgas now supplied them with copies and also with rituals. These in their turn have all since disappeared.

The rival Supreme Council was now flourishing, whereas Gourgas' own body was inactive and in 1832 would almost seem to have consisted of Gourgas himself and no one else. (p. 35.) Between 1832 and 1842 he had with him Giles Fonda Yates, but the most that can be said to have been done during this period was that these two kept the Supreme Council alive. In 1842, however, following on the formation of a Council of Princes of Jerusalem at Boston, the Supreme Council resumed its activities and admitted a number of new members. It also transferred its headquarters to Boston, and it now shared in the increasing prosperity of masonry generally in the States.

When in 1851 Gourgas laid down his office the tide had turned, and no more trouble came upon the Supreme Council until 1860. Dissensions then arose between the rival Supreme Councils, and within the Northern Jurisdiction itself. Gourgas, in his retirement, was appealed to, and the course of action he advised was adopted, and harmony was eventually restored, although not till after many years.

The one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Supreme Council of the Northern Jurisdiction will be marked by celebrations in all the Chapters subordinate to it, in which the memory of Gourgas will be honoured, with the present work as a text book for those who will speak of his great services to the Rite. Bro. Tatsch has provided them with ample material, carefully gathered and authenticated; his monograph is the work of a student and an enthusiast.

April, 1938.

L.V.

RECORDS OF THE LODGE OF UNITY, No. 71, LOWESTOFT.

By Bro. J. E. A. Sorrell.

No. 71, founded in 1747, is now within nine years of its bi-centenary if we consider merely the date of constitution and do not examine too curiously the weak places in its record. Bros. Knocker and Youngman had previously published papers on it, and Bro. Hamon Le Strange also devoted to it a considerable section of his history of Freemasonry in Norfolk, dealing with its history until it migrated to the adjoining Province. But it has had to wait till now for its historian, and this, as it turns out, is a fortunate circumstance, for Bro. Sorrell has given us a careful and reliable account of the Lodge, and the compilation of the very complete appendix must itself have involved an immense amount of labour, not to say drudgery. It occupies more than a third of the whole work.

In the absence of any minute books prior to 1795 the early history has had to be reconstructed from Grand Lodge and Provincial Grand Lodge records

and any other available source, and is necessarily fragmentary. This was the fourth Lodge to be constituted in the county—the Province was not formed till 1759—but only one other of the original quartette survives to-day. The other Lodges were the Lodge at the Maid's Head, the very important records of which have been made familiar to us by the late Bro. Daynes and others, the Duke's Head at Kings Lynn, and another Lodge at Norwich which to-day is No. 52; its history was written by Hamon Le Strange.

The Warrant was lost early in the nineteenth century. But a Warrant of Confirmation granted in 1810 gives us all the places of meeting, and in 1754 the Lodge at the Union Coffee House commenced its minute book by giving lists of members of all the other Norwich Lodges. The records of Provincial Grand Lodge furnish us from time to time with names of Masters, and the G.L. Register of Country Members has also yielded a good many names of members.

Founded originally at Norwich the Lodge moved to Acle, on the road to Yarmouth and about half-way between the two places, in 1785, and the only other record of this period is a note in Lane that it was erased in February, 1790, and reinstated in April, 1791. But the reinstatement was followed by a transfer to Yarmouth itself and when the minutes begin the Lodge is meeting there, at the Bear, Bridge Foot. This inn no longer exists. With regard to the erasure, Bro. Sorrell has been unable, he says, to elicit any information from the G.L. records. But the G.L. Minutes are quite clear. At the meeting of 10th February the very first on a long list of Lodges which are erased, having ceased to meet or neglected to conform to the Laws of the Society—which in practice means not having subscribed to the Charity—is No. 83, Queen's Head, Acle, Norfolk. The reinstatement was effected in April, 1791, after they had sent up a contribution of two guineas.

The minute book provides us with the names of some meeting places that are not recorded by Lane, presumably because they were never reported, and the minutes themselves throw no light on these migrations.

In 1793 the Lodge of Unity, No. 531, was founded at Yarmouth, entirely with one exception, by members of the Lodge at the Bear. It met at the Half Moon, but seems to have transferred to the Bear prior to 1804, and the two Lodges may for some time have been meeting at the same house. But in 1809 the present Lodge transferred to the Half Moon and one gathers that Unity was by this time derelict, as the present Lodge then adopted its name, which it could hardly have done if the original Unity had still been at work. This, at all events, is what appears from G.L. records, although in the actual minutes the name is not brought into use till 1821.

We now come to quite an unusual incident. After January, 1811, we get an entry of a meeting at the Duke's Head, Gorleston, in December, 1812. But only three of those recorded as present are identifiable as members of the Lodge, and this is followed in January by a meeting with four more new names. The next entry, on June 7th, 1814, finds the Lodge at Lowestoft. What had happened was that the Tyler, Bro. Clarke, had removed to Gorleston, a small harbour a couple of miles south of Yarmouth, but in Suffolk, and apparently he took the Warrant with him and the minute book and attempted to form an irregular Lodge. He had the support of the Master, and one or two others of the Brethren. But the Lodge generally did not follow him. What they did was to carry on without either the Warrant or the minute book, and they applied for a Warrant for a new Lodge. This was actually constituted by the Provincial Grand Master as Perseverance, No. 636. Lowestoft is in a different Province, Suffolk. There is no record of any permission to transfer the Lodge from either Yarmouth or Gorleston. The names that appear in this minute of 1814 include one Brother from Yarmouth, Gideon Coustos, who had been a frequent visitor to Unity. He had been Master of United Friends. Bro. Clarke's name does

not appear. The irregular Lodge at Gorleston had no doubt collapsed, and what happened apparently was that Coustos had managed to recover the Warrant and the minute book—this was the Warrant of Confirmation only granted four years previously. There was no object in reviving the Lodge at Yarmouth where Perseverance had taken its place and absorbed the old membership. Such of their names as are recorded do not include Coustos. So Coustos took his Warrant to Lowestoft, where he was at once able to form a Lodge and initiates were also forthcoming.

Were it not for the connecting link provided by the Warrant (and the minute book) it would be impossible to look on this as anything else than an entirely new Lodge. But it worked under the Unity Warrant, retaining the number and the name as well it would appear, and the records. The new departure was followed by a five year dormancy, but there was then a revival and the Lodge has been at Lowestoft ever since. Of Perseverance we hear no more; it was erased in 1828. Bro. Clarke's high-handed action may possibly have been the outcome of a split in the original Lodge.

The subsequent history, with which Bro. Sorrell deals in detail, presents the usual features of periods of prosperity alternating with periods of low vitality. A portrait of the then Provincial G.M., Sir Edward Astley, was presented in 1796, but one gathers it no longer exists, and the same is to be said of a banner provided in 1839.

In 1850 the Lord Mayor of London was present at the Installation in another Lodge. There was a great banquet, and the Master and the Lord Mayor exchanged aprons. One can only hope that the apron which remained in Suffolk was the better of the two.

In 1868 the Lodge had a die cut for a Centenary Jewel of their own design. But they were refused permission to wear it. The die and one specimen of the jewel are still in their possession.

The subsequent history is one of increasing prosperity and we can all join this interesting old Lodge in looking forward to celebrating the two-hundredth year since the original constitution.

March, 1938.

L.V.

NOTES.



HITHERTO-UNKNOWN GORMOGON MEDAL. — There exists in the British Museum what may well be the only surviving specimen of a Gormogon medal which is exceedingly closely related to the very beautiful one of which a number of examples are known, and which has often been reproduced. The following is a description:—

Obv: Within an inner circle, a full-length figure of the Emperor of China seated on an ornamental throne, on a carpeted dais of three steps. Above is a tasselled canopy, from which a curtain hangs in voluminous folds at the sides and back. Below, in very small letters, I H (or possibly I N, for the maker of the die). Around the outer circle, commencing at the top, * C : Q : KY · PO : SIN : IMP : I · VOL : CEC : ORD : GOR : FUND : ANNO : INSTITUTION^a. 8800.

Rev: The sun, with face and sixteen rays, alternately straight and curved, a dragon above; and on a scroll which almost encircles the whole, UNIVERSUS SPLENDOR UNIVERSA BENEVOLENTIA.

Silver. Size 47 mm. Weight: 27.72 gm.



The history of the obscure anti-Masonic, and probably Jacobite, club which used the name of Gormogon, and to which the Duke of Wharton, Past Grand Master, transferred his interest when piqued at the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, has been dealt with fully by Bro. R. F. Gould (*A.Q.C.*, viii., 114-155).

The Obv. reading on the better-known medal is C·Q·KY·PO·Æ CUM·VOLG·ORD·GORMOGO, which can be interpreted in the light of the newspaper extracts quoted by Gould as, "Chin-Quan Ky-Po, Oecumenical Volgee of the Order of the Gormogons"; and it will be seen that the inscription on this new piece differs only in the addition of SIN:IMP:I—presumably "First Emperor of China"—and of FUND:, the significance of which is not clear.

Corresponding with ANNO·INSTITUTIONE 8800 on this new piece, the cartouche at the base of the other medal reads AN: INST/8799, which seems to date it as of the previous year. This medal was considered by Gould to be of about 1724, *i.e.*, about the date of the earliest references to the Order, and of Wharton's connection with it; but Bro. W. J. Hughan has shown (*A.Q.C.*, xv., 65) from the evidence of the hall-mark on a similar specimen (though not from the same die) that it is more likely to be of 1794-5. This is perhaps supported by the date AN: INST: 8799, which suggests the addition to the current date of 7000, or perhaps more likely 7004, much in the same way as the Masonic Fraternity added 4000 to obtain the 'year of light'. It may be remarked that the earliest known reference to the Order, in the *Daily Post* of 1724, describes it as "instituted by Chin Quaw Ky Po, the first Emperor of China . . . many thousand years before Adam".

The situation is made more perplexing by the Obv. date of the earlier piece, AN: REG: XXXIX. Bro. W. H. Rylands, in the discussion following Gould's paper, pointed out that the 39th year of the reign of George III. fell in 1798-9; but it is difficult to see any meaning in such an allusion, if intended.

The later medal throws no light on this problem; but it has one feature which tends to confirm the late date suggested. This is the signature I H, if that is the correct reading. The only English medallist known to whom these initials could apply was John Gregory Hancock (fl. 1783-1815), who, however, usually signed I.G.H. or simply H. He is known to have designed the 1802 medal which bears the portraits of George, Prince of Wales, and William, Duke of Clarence (signed HANCOCK); while Marvin (*Medals of the Masonic Fraternity*, Supplement No. 1073, p. 180) describes a medal presented to one James Bankes, 1790, which also bears the same initials on a cartouche beside the

silver mark. There are, it should be added, several German medallists of the period whose initials were either I H or I N.

The evidence thus points strongly to a date for both pieces at the very end of the eighteenth century—an occurrence very difficult to explain, in view of the fact that the latest reference to the Order otherwise known is at least fifty years earlier. One is driven to the conclusion that there must have been a recrudescence of the Order, presumably for the dissemination of Jacobite principles, at the very close of the century.

September, 1938.

H.P.

Boyne Lodge, No. 84 I.C.—In *A.Q.C.*, ix., the late Bro. Chetwode Crawley gave some account of this fine old Lodge, which has met in Bandon for two centuries, and drew the bulk of his material from Bro. George Bennett's *History of Bandon*, published in 1869. In this article it was stated that since the compilation of that History the old Lodge Minute Books had been missing. It is pleasing to record here that, owing to the energy of Bro. James E. S. Beamish, the present secretary of No. 84, one of these books, covering the period 1785-1838, has now been recovered, and that information contained in it greatly supplements what was given in the *History of Bandon*. For example, the list of French prisoners of war who either joined or were initiated in the Lodge during the years 1746-7 can be increased by many names. The same holds good of other soldier craftsmen, for, like other Munster Lodges, No. 84 drew many of its members from British regiments, and the names of many of them have now become available for reference. Incidentally, the most interesting case to me is that of Major-General Sir Eyre Coote, whose membership caused Bro. Crawley such heartburning: he turns out to have been not the victor of Wandewash, but another of the same name who commanded the Cork district in 1797.

Bro. Beamish has written an account of the book he has so happily discovered, and let us hope that this will eventually be printed for the information of all interested. He is heartily to be congratulated on his find.

August, 1938.

J. HERON LEPPER.

OBITUARY.



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

Reinhart Theodor Baelz, of London, E.C., on 11th February, 1935. Our Brother was a P.M. of Deutschland Lodge No. 3315, and was elected to the Correspondence Circle in 1930.

Thomas Frederick Beach, of West Norwood, on 19th December, 1934. Bro. Beach was a member of City of London Lodge No. 901, and of the Carnarvon Chapter No. 1572. He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1922.

John T. Bennett, of Ipswich, on 4th April, 1933. Our Brother was P.M. of Prince of Wales' Lodge No. 959, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since March, 1913.

Thomas Bennion, of Brisbane, N. Queensland, in October, 1934. Bro. Bennion was P.M. of Lodge No. 768 (S.C.), and a P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1892.

Robert William Bourne, of Bishopstoke, Hants. Our Brother was P.M. of St. George's Lodge of Harmony No. 32, and a member of the Chapter attached thereto. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1890.

Dr. **Alexander Bruce Cheves**, of Paignton, Devon, in February, 1935. Bro. Cheves was a member of Lodge of Freedom No. 4027, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

Lieut.-Col. **James Cecil Balfour Craster**, of London, S.W., on 29th June, 1935, at the age of 80. Bro. Craster held the rank of Past Deputy Grand Sword Bearer and Past Grand Sword Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1896.

Edward Percy Debenham, of St. Albans, Herts., on 16th December, 1934. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1893.

Joseph Thomas Senior Dyer, of Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex, in October, 1934. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in 1926.

Montague Flamank Edyvean, of Bodmin, Cornwall, in February, 1935. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.R., and P.Pr.G.D.C. (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1925.

Andrew Ellor, of Manchester, on 6th January, 1935. Bro. Ellor held the rank of P.Pr.G.Treas., Cheshire, and P.Pr.G.St.B. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1898.

Peregrine Paul Fellowes, of E. Griqualand, in February, 1935. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Sword Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1909.

Emil Frenkel, of New York City, on 12th December, 1934. Bro. Frenkel was P.M. of Lodge No. 279, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1903.

James Cardwell Gardner, M.B., of Amersham, Bucks., on 25th March, 1935. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in March, 1901.

William Geoghegan, M.B.E., D.L., of London, S.W., on 29th December, 1934. Bro. Geoghegan was P.M. of Lodge No. 620 (I.C.), and P.K. of Chapter No. 620 (I.C.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

William Kendrick Gill, of Duluth, Minn., on 11th January, 1935. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Master, and was a member of Chapter No. 20. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1933.

William Hills Gorham, of Seattle, Wash., on 6th April, 1935, at the age of 73 years. Bro. Gorham held the distinction of being the first Grand Historian of Washington, and was P.H.P. of Seattle Chapter No. 3. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1905.

Frederick Houghton, of London, N., on 3rd February, 1935. Our Brother was a member of Bromley St. Leonard Lodge No. 1805, and of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

John William Iliffe, of Sheffield, on 26th March, 1935. Bro. Iliffe was Sec. of Royal Brunswick Lodge No. 296, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1912.

Harry Jennings, of Leeds, in June, 1934. Our Brother was a member of Royal Wharfedale Lodge No. 1108, and had been associated with our Correspondence Circle since March, 1914.

George Henry Kitchener, of Horndon-on-the-Hill, Essex, on 10th February, 1935, aged 75 years. Bro. Kitchener held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Pursuivant, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1910.

Toivo Kontio, of Helsinki, Finland, on 13th June, 1933. Our Brother held the office of Grand Secretary. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

Stuart Peterson Larkworthy, of London, N.W., on 2nd December, 1934. Bro. Larkworthy was P.M. of Hampstead Lodge No. 2408, and J. of Old Union Chapter No. 46. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1930.

Frank Edward Lemon, of Redhill, on 22nd April, 1935, aged 76 years. Our Brother had attained London Rank, and was a P.M. of University of London Lodge No. 2033. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1905.

George Easdon Leslie, of Buenos Aires, on 19th November, 1934. Bro. Leslie held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

George Lewis, of Nuneaton, in 1934. Our Brother was a P.M. of Abbey Lodge No. 432, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1913.

William Lewis, of Buenos Aires, on 30th December, 1934. Bro. Lewis had attained the rank of P.Dis.G.D., and was P.Z. of Patron Saints Chapter No. 3641. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1921.

Thomas Martin, of London, N., on 7th February, 1935. Bro. Martin had attained London Rank, was P.M. of Lewisham Lodge No. 2579, and P.Z. of Harringay Chapter No. 2763. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

Joseph Harris Parker Mew, of London, W., on 6th December, 1935. Our Brother was a member of Albany Lodge No. 151, and of the Hengist Chapter No. 195. He had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since November, 1912.

Thomas Henry Moore, of Menston in Wharfedale, on 7th August, 1934. Bro. Moore was Sec. of Royal Wharfedale Lodge No. 1108, and a member of Fairfax Chapter No. 3255. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1921.

Harold Perkins, of Beckenham, Kent, on 16th May, 1935. Bro. Perkins was P.M. of Assembly Lodge No. 4357, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1930.

Rev. Preb. **George Henry Perry**, M.A., of London, E.C., on 19th February, 1935, aged 82 years. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Chaplain and Past Grand Scribe N. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1919.

Rev. **Charles Pettman**, of Queenstown, Cape Colony, in March, 1935. Bro. Pettman held the rank of P.Dis.G.Ch., S. Africa, E. Div. He had been associated with our Correspondence Circle since March, 1906.

Sir **W. Herbert Phillipps**, of Adelaide, S. Australia, on 6th January, 1935. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge No. 38 (S.A.C.), and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1898.

William Tredrea Pryor, of Nkana, Rhodesia, killed in a mine on 24th November, 1934. Bro. Pryor was a member of Mufulira Lodge No. 5326, and of Victoria Falls Chapter No. 5327. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1934.

William Charles Henry Raitt, of Edmonton, Alberta, in January, 1935. Our Brother was a member of St. Mary's Lodge No. 63 (E.C.), and had been associated with our Correspondence Circle since October, 1913.

Thomas Lees Rowbotham, of Sydney, N.S.W., on 16th June, 1935. Bro. Rowbotham held the rank of P.Dis.G.Ins.W., and Past Grand H. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1906, and for many years acted as Local Secretary for New South Wales.

Charles Stephen Schurman, of St. Paul, Minn., on 18th December, 1934. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge No. 171, and P.H.P. of Chapter No. 1. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1915.

William Henry Scott, of Providence, R.I., U.S.A., in 1935. Bro. Scott held the rank of Past Grand Master, and Past Grand High Priest. He was one of the senior members of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1889. For many years he acted as Local Secretary for Rhode Island.

James Wilson Shaw, J.P., of Rutherglen, on 1st April, 1935. Our Brother was P.M. of Lodge No. 976, and was elected to the membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1933.

John Stokes, M.A., M.D., of Sheffield, on 5th June, 1935. Bro. Stokes held the office of Pr.A.G.M., W. Yorks., and the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1910, and was elected to full membership of the Lodge in October, 1922, of which he was a P.M.

The Hon. **Ira Warren Stratton**, of Reading, Pa., U.S.A., on 11th August, 1934. Our Brother was a member of Lodge No. 62, and of Chapter No. 152. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1927.

Joseph Fish Townsend, of Rochdale, on 3rd May, 1935. Bro. Townsend held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., E. Lancs., and P.Z. of Hope Chapter No. 54. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1935.

William C. Wise, of London, S.E., on 20th May, 1935, aged 74 years. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1910.

St. John's Day in Harvest

MONDAY, 24th JUNE, 1935.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bro. W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., W.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., I.P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M., as S.W.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., J.W.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., Stew.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., Stew.; David Flather, J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; B. Ivanoff; and Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Mdsx.

Also the following Members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. C. G. Astley Cooper, Ed. M. Phillips, F. Addington Hall, C. B. Mirrlees, Harry Kedge, T. A. R. Littledale, T. M. Scott, C. A. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg., Alfred Wells, A. H. Wolfenden, Robt. A. Card, Barry S. Anderson, H. F. Hann, F. A. Greene, T. W. Marsh, Jas. Wallis, T. Y. Samuel, J. F. Nicholls, Geo. C. Williams, R. Wheatley, Major-Gen. Sir G. M. Franks, P.G.S.B. (I.C.), A. Thompson, A. B. Starling, E. S. M. Perowne, F. H. H. Thomas, P.A.G.S.B., W. Morgan Day, J. Lagden, H. Johnson, H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C., A. E. Gurney, Eric Alven, Percival E. Rowe, C. F. Sykes, E. Eyles, A. Adams, A. H. Crouch, R. W. Strickland, S. S. Huskisson, A. F. Cross, W. W. Williams, L. G. Wearing, J. J. Cooper, A. F. Ford, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, R. F. J. Colsell, W. P. Breach, A. H. Edwards, J. F. H. Gilbard, R. Girdlestone Cooper, Wm. Smalley, A. G. T. Smith, Chas. S. D. Cole, H. W. Martin, and A. F. Cohen.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. A. Kent, P.G.Insp.Wkgs., Victoria; Herbert A. Ranson, P.M., Anglo-American Lodge No. 2191; Harry Rawlinson, Queen Anne Lodge No. 242 (Dis. Columbia C.); J. R. Lumb, Bromfield Lodge No. 4233; C. W. Cooke, Latimer Lodge No. 4705; S. A. Bacon, P.M., Baltic Lodge No. 3006; Fred. S. Box, P.M., Ronaldshay Lodge No. 3376; A. Page, L.R., P.M., Clerkenwell Lodge No. 1964; H. C. Taylor, Lodge of Faith No. 141; W. T. Cox, Industries Lodge No. 4100; A. E. Osborn, Borough of Acton Lodge No. 4368; and W. B. Lock, P.M., Old Lawrentian Lodge No. 4141.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Geo. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., S.D.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; B. Telepneff; *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; and W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.D., Co. Down.

Nineteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

BRO. DAVID FLATHER, P.M., read the following

IN MEMORIAM.

DR. JOHN STOKES.

BRETHREN:

It is with very great regret that I have to announce the death of Bro. Dr. John Stokes, the Master of this Lodge in 1926.

He was born on 12th December, 1865, in Sheffield, where his family had been long established. He was educated at Sheffield Royal Grammar School and at Durham University, and his University distinctions included the degrees of M.A., M.D., LL.B., and B.Sc. He was also M.R.C.P. and M.R.C.S., and at a comparatively late stage in life he was called to the Middle Temple as a Barrister-at-Law. In Sheffield University he held various lectureships, and he possessed a wide knowledge of botany and geology. He was also a keen and expert archæologist, being one of the Founders of the Hunter Archæological Society.

He adopted the profession of medicine and until just before his death held the appointment of Physician to the Sheffield Children's Hospital. During the Great War he served on the Western Front in the R.A.M.C. and was given the rank of Major. He was a member of several medical Societies and contributed articles to the *Lancet*; he was the joint author, in 1899, of the *Pocket Pharmacopeia*. He also wrote *The History of the Cholera Epidemic of 1832 in Sheffield*. He was a widely travelled man with a sound knowledge of several foreign languages.

His Masonic career commenced in 1887, when he was initiated in Britannia Lodge, No. 139. He was Master of his Mother Lodge in 1896 and a Founder of White Rose of York, 2491, and University, 3911. In our own Lodge he joined the Correspondence Circle in March, 1910, was elected to full membership on 6th October, 1922, and occupied the Chair in 1926.

His other distinctions in the Craft included Junior Grand Deacon of England in 1924, Assistant Provincial Grand Master, Yorks., West Riding, in 1928, and Deputy Prov. G.M. in 1932. In the R.A., into which he was exalted in the Phoenix Chapter in 1889, he received Grand Rank as P.A.G.Soj. in 1924, and was Provincial Grand J. for three years, and Provincial Grand H. in 1932. He was a Founder of the White Rose of York and University Chapters, in both of which he occupied the Chair of First Principal. He was also associated with many other degrees, attaining Grand Rank in the Mark and K.T. and the 32° in the A. & A. Rite. He was Honorary 9° in the Soc. Ros. in Anglia.

His first contribution to Masonic research was the history of the Chapter of Paradise, which he wrote in 1898. He also wrote the histories of the De Furnival Preceptory, White Rose of York Conclave, and Britannia Mark Lodge. In 1922, in collaboration with Bro. David Flather, he published the *History of the R.A. in Sheffield*. He also collaborated in writing *Masonic Memorials of the Celebration of the Union of the two Grand Lodges at Sheffield in 1815*, and other similar pamphlets. In 1924, in conjunction with Bro. J. W. Iliffe, he wrote an account of the Portraits in the Masonic Hall, Sheffield, giving full biographical details of the originals, and in 1933 he brought out *Some Account of the Provincial Grand Masters of Yorkshire, West Riding*. He had issued a short address on R.A. Masonry in 1925, and he gave a fuller address to the Provincial Grand Chapter, which was published in 1930; by invitation he read this before Grand Chapter on 5th August, 1931.

He was appointed Prestonian Lecturer in 1928, when he took for his subject the Masonic Teachers of the Eighteenth Century, dealing in particular with Meeson and Ladd, whom he may be said to have rescued from the obscurity into which they had been allowed to fall.

To our own *Transactions* he contributed a paper on the *Sheffield Masonic Benefit Society* in 1921, *A.Q.C.* xxxiv., and *Notes on some Sheffield Worthies*, in 1922, *A.Q.C.* xxxv. He also at various times wrote reviews for our pages and sent in comments on papers read in Lodge. For his Inaugural Address he chose as his subject Desaguliers, and gave us a very valuable biographical study of this great mason, which he subsequently expanded and published separately. It is the fullest available study that we have of our third Grand Master.

After many months of illness, during which he still, under great difficulties, persisted in attending as far as possible to his duties as Deputy Prov. G.M., he died at Sheffield on June 5th, 1935. The funeral on June 8th at the Cathedral was attended by over a thousand masons hailing from every Masonic body in the Province and of many medical and public bodies. The Lodge was represented by Bros. Douglas Knoop and myself, but, in accordance with what were known to be his own views on the matter, there were no wreaths.

For a more complete and eloquent testimony to our Brother's worth and attainments I would refer you to *A.Q.C.* xxxviii., 308.

Thus, W.M., I give you the formal obituary record of Bro. Dr. John Stokes.

May I add to this my own personal tribute?

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

French Broadside; reprint of G.O. Manifesto with a list of Deputies who are masons.

French defence of the Craft and statement of its objects; also a broadside, identical in format.

By Bro. COXHILL, of Brasenose.

Minute Book of the Loyal Orange Institution of England. Lodge William Dill-Mackay, No. 890.

This was an Australian body meeting in England from 1918 March to December, when it was closed down, to resume in Australia.

Presented to the Lodge.

Lent by Bro. S. W. L. RICHARDS, of Cricklade.

Finch Certificate, issued to Sidney Richards by the Godolphin Lodge, No. 235, St. Mary's, Scilly, on May 7th, 1813.

Lent by Bro. HENRY WESTON, Canterbury.

The original account book of a Canterbury Gild, the Fellowship of Carpenters, Joiners, Masons, Bricklayers, Glasiers, Painters, Coopers and Turners. 1651 to 1714. *Vide Misc. Lat.*, xix., 129. No evidence of any non-operative membership.

Copy of newspaper cutting from *Poor Robins Intelligencer* Oct. 10, 1676.

Meeting of accepted masons, Rosy Cross, Hermetics, etc. Printed as a Note in *A.Q.C.*, xlv., part 3.

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

Bro. DAVID FLATHER read the following paper:—

THE FOUNDATION STONE.

BY BRO. DAVID FLATHER.

The subject of the laying of foundation stones . . . is one of some interest; the history of this portion of Masonic ceremonies has yet to be written. The idea is a very old one, and to trace its development and growth would be a curious study.

W. H. Rylands, *A.Q.C.*, xi., p. 151.



THE ceremonial laying of Foundation Stones is the one remaining link between Operative Masonry and the Speculative Masonry of our time, and it is amazing that, considering the vast amount of study and research which has been devoted to Masonic History and Archæology, so little attention has been given to this subject.

In planning this paper, my first intention was to deal only with the Ceremony as it was from time to time included in the *Book of Constitutions*, and to point out several incongruities in the details, but it soon became apparent that a fuller consideration of the whole subject was desirable, and, in particular, that an effort should be made to arrive at some understanding of the origin of the custom.

When a custom, an art, or an opinion is fairly started in the world, disturbing influences may long affect it so slightly that it may keep its course from generation to generation, as a stream once settled in its bed will flow on for ages.

Edward B. Taylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. i., p. 70.

Encouraged by this quotation I will endeavour to trace an outline from the early origin of the custom, through the ages, to the present time, though it must be obvious that it is not my intention, nor am I able, to place before you an original essay, and must be content to gather together the known facts, and to record some of the discoveries and opinions of those who have in times past studied the various aspects of the subject.

Much that has been written or recorded can only be found in rare books or in those volumes of our *Transactions* which are too often inaccessible to many, and I hope, therefore, that, although the extracts which I shall make from other writings will of necessity be somewhat extensive, they will be justified by the light thrown on this most interesting subject.

Our first enquiry on the question of Foundation Stones must be directed into Folklore and the discoveries of the traces of primæval man.

We are probably correct in assuming that when early man felled a tree, he did so in fear that the spirit of the tree would avenge the deed unless some kind of propitiation was offered.

We may therefore, I think, assume that the fact of employing a tree trunk as the first or main support of a hut or other building required a sacrifice to a God or a bribe to a Demon.

We shall find in folklore and in the records of ethnologists much light on the subject that will enable us to deduce the true origin and trace the development of the ceremony.

Perhaps, therefore, it would help us if we first consider the word "Sacrifice" in its broadest sense—for the moment, neglecting consideration of the motive. "Sacrifice" is, in effect, Prayer—*i.e.*, an appeal by man to a power superior to himself.

Prayer, as we understand it to-day, is on a higher plane, and it is perhaps only possible when it emanates from minds more cultured than those of primitive peoples.

The meaning of Sacrifice, as given in the *Oxford Dictionary*, consists in "the destruction or surrender of something valued or desired for the sake of something having a higher or more pressing claim." Thus a sacrifice may be inspired by: (1) homage or worship of a God, (2) a gift or bribe offered to a God in order to obtain some desired objective, (3) a propitiation offered to an avenging God or spirit to induce him to overlook a fault or to refrain from anger or punishment. In all these cases the suppliant makes his offering and his request as if to a man, though to a man of higher or superior power and authority.

No doubt the primitive idea of man was that the gift was something which would be valued by the Deity on an intrinsic basis, and only after long years of evolution would a suppliant come to believe that the value placed on the gift by the Deity lay in the virtue of the giver in voluntarily depriving himself of something which he valued—in other words "self sacrifice."

We have no means of knowing with certainty what were the nature and object of sacrifices performed by primitive man, and can only judge from a few scattered evidences that the sacrificial instinct actually existed; but a study of the folklore and the actual examples still existing amongst savage races at the present time justify the opinion that from the earliest times in the life of the human race, the instinct of sacrifice has existed.

I need only refer to that learned and comprehensive work *The Golden Bough*, by Sir James George Frazer, or *Primitive Culture*, by Dr. E. B. Tylor, where a vast amount of interesting facts is recorded, which deal with the question of "Sacrifice" in all the varied phases of life—both among savage and civilised races.

Here are recorded many types of sacrifice, as, for example, to ancestors, to kings, to the sun and moon, to trees, to the sea, to water spirits, to the dead, to the gods of harvest, to corn and wine, etc. I must, however, confine my notes to those sacrifices most nearly associated with the main subject of this paper: the erection and completion of buildings.

In Sumatra, where there was a general belief that every tree was possessed of a spirit or demon, it was the custom, on felling a tree, to plant another in its place and to make an offering of food or drink on the spot, in order to propitiate the tree spirit and to ward off its vengeance on the woodman. When the tree was used in the construction of a building a further ceremony of sacrifice had to be made before the building could be occupied. The sacrifice consisted in killing a goat or other small animal or bird and smearing the door posts, roof and floor with the blood.

In some parts of Greece at the present time it is customary, on the commencement of a new building or a bridge, to kill a cock or a lamb and to allow the blood to flow upon the foundation stone; the body is then buried beneath the stone. This, surely, may be an indication that at some period it may have been customary to make a human sacrifice in order to ensure strength and stability to the building.

In other places it was generally believed that the shadow of a man was a manifestation of his soul or his spirit. In Bulgaria and Roumania it was, until recent years, the custom to arrange that the shadow of a man might fall upon the spot where the first stone or timber was to be laid in the ground.

Here again we have a trace of an earlier sacrifice of a human life for the purpose of ensuring stability and permanence to the building.

In Bangkok, when a new Gate to the City was to be built, or an old one renewed, it was in former times the custom to sacrifice three slaves by crushing them under the great beam which was employed as the foundation.

Without giving more illustrations (although there is a large number on record, taken from all parts of the world) it may be stated that the custom of making Building Sacrifices has undoubtedly been universally practised throughout the ages; and that the invariable basis has been that of a Blood Sacrifice, either human or animal, in reality or by symbol.

COMPLETION SACRIFICES.

Although it has no special bearing upon our main subject, I might briefly refer to the fact that in addition to the sacrifices made as a preliminary to the erection of a building there were also similar rites connected with the completion of them, and having for their object the exorcism of harmful spirits, or the admission of beneficent ones. It is possible that this custom may have survived in what is to-day practised in the form of a consecration or dedication ceremony.

It is in my recollection that in my boyhood it was the custom that when a house was being built and the roof timbers raised, but before the slating or tiling, the owner or contractor gave a supper to the workmen, which was known as the "rearing" supper, and the occasion was marked by the flying of a flag from a spar fixed on the highest point of the building. It is possible also that the custom which still persists for the owner of a new house giving a "house warming" party to his friends may be a survival of the old "completion sacrifice."

Enough has, perhaps, been said to indicate the underlying belief or superstition upon which the custom of laying Foundation Stones is based, and we may now pass on to consider how these old superstitions and Pagan Rites persisted, though in a form recognised and applied in a more or less spiritualised form by civilised peoples.

The explorations of Archæologists in Europe and other parts of the world have brought to light many evidences of customs in connection with the foundation of buildings and bridges, and especially is this the case during the recently increased activity of European and American expeditions in Egypt, Chaldea and Rome.

The results of these discoveries are so recently in the public mind that it is not necessary to recapitulate them here.

The earliest reference to this subject of the Foundation Stone which occurs in the Lodge *Transactions* is the paper by Bro. W. J. Chetwode Crawley: *Two Corner Stones laid in the Olden Time* (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxiv., p. 21).

The paper describes the Two-Headed Eagle of the Ancient and Accepted rite, and shows that this device, representing the "Storm Bird," was used in a memorial or record which had been deposited in the Foundation Stone at Tello, identified with the City of Lagash in Babylonia.

This memorial consisted in two Terra Cotta cylinders upon which was an inscription in Cuneiform which, when translated, proves to be a "Foundation Record" deposited by Gudea, the Ruler of Lagash, in the Foundation of a Temple about the year 3000 B.C., that is 2,000 years before the building of Solomon's Temple. Bro. Crawley does not quote the whole of the lengthy inscription, but gives a general outline of it which has a remarkable similarity with those records and statements which it is still the custom to include in the deposits made, within or beneath, our modern Foundation Stones.

The record narrates the acts which led to the building of this Temple, and tells how the design was given to Gudea by the God.

Bro. Crawley points out the remarkable parallel with the revelation by God to Moses recorded Exodus xxv., 9, of the design for the construction and furnishing of the Tabernacle. He also tells us that a fine statue of Gudea was found near the site of the Temple, the figure being in a seated position; upon his knee is what we should term a tracing board, and a rule, skirret and pencil are depicted near by. Bro. Crawley states that the inscription describes the ceremony of laying of the corner stone. Unfortunately we have no record of these details, though it is possible that a transcript may be found under the reference to the work of the discoverer, Mons. Thureau Danguin, given by Bro. Crawley (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie—Strasbourg*, 1904, vol. xviii., p. 119).

In the same paper Bro. Crawley quotes from a valuable essay by Dr. Edouard Naville upon *The Foundation Chamber of King Solomon's Temple*. The quotation is too long for inclusion here, but I very strongly recommend it for study, especially to those Brethren who are interested in the Royal Arch traditional History. It raises some most interesting questions, and indicates the possibility of an actual historical confirmation of the Irish version.

This paper by Dr. Naville will be found in the *Memoires de l'Institut de France; Academie des Inscriptions et Belles—Lettres*, vol. xxxix., 1910.

A lengthy summary of the paper was published in the Midsummer number of the *Athenaeum*, 1910.

The two Lectures and Appendix on *Builders' Rites and Ceremonies*, by Bro. G. W. Speth, which was reprinted by the Lodge in 1931 and published as Q.C. Pamphlet No. 1, is a classic which all should study.

It may be quixotic on my part, but I have carefully abstained from making any extracts from this most valuable work, feeling that, coming from such an authority and being accessible to all, it should be studied independently of the present paper.

I trust, therefore, that from the extracts I have taken from Bro. Chetwode Crawley's paper and from the study of Bro. Speth's Lectures we may accept as a certain truth that the primary origin of the ceremony was the making of a human, or at least a blood sacrifice as a measure of security or protection, and that, in course of time, and as civilisation developed, there was added to it the desire to perpetuate the name, the words, or even the personality of an individual or a people.

As the belief in the necessity of Sacrifice became extinguished by time and circumstance the desire for perpetual remembrance grew stronger and more spiritualised until it reached our modern standard. Thus, from the original and primitive object which prompted the making of a Foundation Sacrifice, and in step with the progress towards a belief in re-incarnation and the idea of a future life, there came the impulse to create a perpetual record of the individual and his achievements, and thus, in the early days of civilisation, the foundation stone became the receptacle or the custodian of such records.

As we shall see, later the term "Foundation Stone" was frequently replaced by "Memorial Stone." This was particularly the case in Scotland.

The Babylonian records and exhibits in the British Museum are particularly rich in specimens of memorials and votive offerings found beneath or within foundations and of actual records in the form of hexagonal cylinders, bearing lengthy inscriptions telling of the warlike exploits and the building activities of the ancient Kings.

BIBLICAL REFERENCES.

As our Masonic system and ritual is so closely interwoven with Bible History and references it is best to deal with it as a separate section, although in doing so it may be necessary to traverse some of the ground a second time.

I might point out that we shall frequently find the terms "Foundation Stone," "Memorial Stone" and "Corner Stone" used as alternative descriptions.

First, then, let us consider the Biblical reference to blood sacrifice in the laying of a Foundation Stone.

The most striking reference to the human sacrifice is found in the prophecy of Joshua made at the taking of Jericho (Joshua vi., 26):—

"Cursed be the man, before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this city Jericho; he shall lay the foundation thereof in his firstborn and in his youngest son shall he set the gates of it."

Five hundred years later, in the days of Ahab, this curse was ignored by Hiel, the Bethelite, who set to work to rebuild the city in defiance of God's command, and, as we read in I. Kings xvi., 34, he reverted to the heathen practice of making a human sacrifice by laying the foundation of the city upon the living body of his eldest son Abiram, and planting the posts of the city gate upon that of his young son, Segub.

Throughout the Bible, both in the Old and New Testaments will be found many references to "Foundation" and "Corner Stones," but as they are mainly employed to illustrate symbolic or doctrinal lessons it is not necessary to deal with them here. The building of King Solomon's Temple being the central subject of our Masonic tradition is, therefore, of chief importance in dealing with this part of our subject.

Although the first Temple has always been described as "Solomon's Temple," it should not be overlooked that David his father was the real architect, who initiated the design, selected the site and made great preparation of the materials required for the building. Nor let us forget that the valuable help and support which Hiram King of Tyre gave to Solomon was, as stated: *"for Hiram was ever a lover of David"* (I. Kings v., 1).

I might here digress to explain that there are, or were, two types of foundation stones, one of which may be more adequately described as "the first stone," being the first or lowest stone upon which the first wall of a building is to be erected—the other type being a complete floor or platform covering the whole site of the building and bearing the whole weight. If the latter method were employed, it is obvious that the first to be laid could be described as the "Corner Stone." Similarly, if a continuous foundation were laid at the foot of the walls of the complete building, then again the corner stone would be the first of these stones to be laid down.

With regard to the position of this stone in relation to the general boundaries of the building it is most probable that either from superstition or religious requirement, some particular point was adopted, the most likely being at the Eastern end as being the point at which the sun rises. The later adoption of a point being the North-Eastern corner I will deal with later.

In the Biblical account of the building of Solomon's Temple there is no reference to any ceremonial laying of the foundations, but there is a significant record in I. Kings v., 17:—

"And the King commanded and they brought great stones, costly stones and hewed stones to lay the foundation of the house. And Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders did hew them and the stonesquarers: so they prepared timber and stones to build the house."

As we see in the following chapter, v. 7:—

"And the house when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither; so that there was neither hammer nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building."

Thus agreeing with our Masonic tradition and perpetuating the rule of Moses that an altar raised to the worship of God should be built of rough unhewn stones upon which no iron tool has been used which would have polluted it.

There is a slight though indirect indication of a ceremonial laying of the foundation in I. Chronicles viii., 16:—

“Now all the work of Solomon was prepared unto the day of the foundation of the house of the Lord, and until it was finished.”

Although we have no record of any ceremonial stone laying, yet, having in mind the details of other ritual instructions as given by Moses, applicable to almost every occasion of domestic life and religious worship, there is a great probability that for this great national and religious event there must have been an important and impressive ceremony.

It is very certain that, when the second Temple was built, the foundations were laid with great ceremonial and rejoicings, as is recorded in Ezra iii., 10-13:—

10. *“And when the builders laid the foundation of the Temple of the Lord they set the priests in their apparell with trumpets, and the Levites, the sons of Asaph, with cymbals to praise the Lord, after the ordinances of David King of Israel.”*

11. *“And they sang together by course, in praising and giving thanks to the Lord, because He is good, for His mercy endureth for ever toward Israel. And all the people shouted with a great shout, when they praised the Lord, because the foundation of the house of the Lord was laid.”*

12. *“But many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers who were ancient men that had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice, and many shouted aloud for joy.”*

13. *“So that the people could not discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people; for the people shouted with a loud shout, and the noise was heard afar off.”*

Here, truly, is a very real record of a carefully organised ceremonial, though, perhaps, the foremost thought in our mind must be the pathetic and heart-stirring picture of those “ancient men,” remembering the former glory of the first Temple, and with the sad experiences of their exile still fresh—yet brushing aside all sadness and being overwhelmed with a great joy on seeing the fulfilment of their prayers and their dreams, and the coming (as they hoped) of the return of their God to His people and of His people to their God.

The reference to the Ordinances of David in verse 10 will be found in I. Chronicles vi., 31:—

“And these are they whom David set over the Service of Song in the house of the Lord, after that the Ark had rest.”

Does not this suggest to our minds the possibility that David in his design and preparations for the Temple had even planned the ceremonial to be observed on the completion of the Temple by the deposition of the Ark in the Holy place?

I might here quote from the words of Isaiah a reference which may have some bearing on the question of the laying of the stone. Isaiah xxviii.:—

16. *“Therefore thus saith the Lord God. Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation: he that believeth shall not make haste.”*

17. *“Judgment also will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet.”*

I ask you to note in this passage:—

- (1) "a tried stone"
- (2) "a sure foundation"
- (3) "will I lay to the line"

for in my opinion these three properties of the laying of a foundation stone are the essential ones upon which the ceremony should be based. When we come to consider the details of such a ceremony this point will be of value.

Another reference to the foundation occurs I. Kings vi., 37:—

"In the fourth year was the foundation of the house of the Lord laid."

While I do not wish to suggest that there is no special significance in the fact, yet it is perhaps well to explain that at all times, both in prophecy and in the records of the building, the Temple was essentially the "House" for the Lord to dwell in, and it was only in a consequential sense a house or a temple for the worship of God.

Turning again to the foundation of the Second Temple. Ezra v., 16:—

"Then came the same Sheshbazzar and laid the foundation of the house of God which is in Jerusalem."

It will be remembered that the building had been delayed for something like fifteen years, owing to shortage of funds, failing enthusiasm, and internal conflict. The above quotation forms part of a report sent to King Darius, who had enquired as to the progress of the work. It is no part of our present subject to deal with this question, but it appears evident that, in spite of the fact that there had already been a ceremonial stone laying, the order had been given by Darius to proceed, and that his official representative, Sheshbazzar, acting under instructions, had laid a foundation stone.

There is some conflict of opinion as to the identity of Sheshbazzar, it being held by some authorities that this was the Persian name of Zerubbabel. It is, however, quite agreed that this person was the ruling Prince or Governor of Judea appointed by Cyrus.

MODERN CUSTOMS.

It is not necessary to extend further our review of the Biblical references to our subject as there is still much ground to be covered, especially as we have taken the really important one of interest to Masonry—the Temples at Jerusalem. We may now pass forward to consider the subject of Foundation Stones and Ceremonies in relatively modern times.

Although there are many records of stone laying in the British Isles, perhaps the most interesting to Freemasons are those of the Royal Exchange in London and of St. Paul's Cathedral, for while there is no evidence that either of these functions was in any way connected with organised Freemasonry, yet the fact that they took place during a period in which Freemasons' Lodges were known to exist, creates the hope that, even in some small way, Masonic ideas, or even actual ritual, may have been employed.

THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, LONDON.

We have only a very brief record of the laying of the foundation of this important building, but as it is from the pen of Bro. the Rev. John Entick, M.A., it is well worth quoting.

In his *History of London, Westminster and Southwark*, 1766, vol. ii., p. 51, the following account will be found:—

"Sir Thomas Gresham, Merchant, of London, made an offer to the lord Mayor and Citizens, to build at his own expense a commodious edifice to meet and transact business . . . Sir Thomas Gresham; who, accompanied by divers Aldermen, laid the first brick of the new building on the 7th June 1566: each Alderman also laid his brick, and a piece of gold for the workmen."

I have not found any other instance where more than a single stone or brick has been employed in this ceremony, although of comparatively recent years the method has been practised in the building of nonconformist churches.

A most valuable and exhaustive paper by Bro. Edward Conder on the Foundation Ceremony of the Royal Exchange was read before the Lodge, and will be found in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xi., p. 138. As this volume may not be accessible to some Brethren, I give some extracts which bear more particularly upon our subject.

Bro. Conder, quoting from the records of the House of Commons, gives the following:—

"September 20th, 1667.

The Committee resolved at Gresham College that as his Majesty had pleased to interest himself in re-building the Exchange, they thought it their duty to lay the elevations and plans of the structure before him; for this purpose they requested the Lord Mayor, two Members of the Corporation, two of the Mercers Company and Mr. Jerman, one of the City Surveyors, to wait upon the King with them."

We find another and valuable contemporary record in the diary of Samuel Pepys, under the date 23rd October, 1667, which shows that the King, no doubt interested in the plans submitted to him by the Deputation, had agreed to pay a visit to the site and to lay the foundation of one of the principal pillars:—

"Sir W. Penn and I back into London and there saw the King with his kettle-drums and trumpets, going to the Exchange, to lay the first stone of the first pillar of the new building of the Exchange; which, the gates being shut, could not get in to see; but with Sir W. Penn to drink a dram of brandy, and so he to the Treasury Office about Sir G. Carterets accounts, and I took coach and back again toward Westminster, but in my way stopped at the Exchange, and got in, the King being newly gone; and there find the bottom of the first Pillar laid. And here was a shed set up, and hung with tapestry, and a canopy of state and some good victuals and wine, for the King, who it seems did it."

(Samuel Pepys' Diary, vol. vii., p. 165, 1923 Ed.)

A footnote after the above reads as follows:—

"Oct. 23, 1667. This day having been appointed for the laying of the foundation stone of the Royal Exchange in the place where it formerly stood, His Majesty was pleased to be present, and assisting at the solemnity; and accordingly went on horseback, attended by several persons of quality of the Court, to the place where the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Sheriffs, and a Committee of the Mercers Company waited to receive him. His Majesty with the usual ceremonies placed the first stone and was afterwards entertained on the place with an excellent treat, where he was pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood on the two Sheriffs, Mr. Dennis Gauden and Mr. Thomas Davis."

(Rugge's Diurnal).

After the Great Fire, and until the new building was complete, Gresham House was used for the purposes of the Exchange, so that the Committee referred to would be a building committee appointed by the Exchange, and they arranged for the deputation to wait upon the King in company with the Architect, Edwin Jarman. It should also be noted that the laying of the actual foundation stone

of the building took place on the 7th June in the previous year, and, therefore, as the building was completed and officially opened in November, 1667, it is obvious that it was nearing completion when the King laid the foundation of the first pillar. The pillars surrounding the building were, of course, of an ornamental and exterior character and formed no essential part of the structure, but one may be permitted the conjecture that by selecting the "first Pillar" there may have been a desire in some way to symbolise the addition of two or more "Pillars" to the complete building.

Dealing next with the description given by Samuel Pepys, this does seem to show that there was a definite ceremonial: the covered shed with walls embellished with tapestry, means for excluding the crowd of curious sightseers, the knighting of the two Sheriffs, and, lastly, the submission of the plans to the King. All these points indicate a ritual performance of ceremonial based upon the operative work of the Mason Builder.

Bro. Conder is most helpful on this point as to the existence and practice of an old rite for the laying of foundations:—

"While taking into consideration this occasion of laying the foundation stone of one of the chief pillars of the Exchange, we must not imagine that the King was launching a new ceremony on the Citizens; but rather that he was following a custom of great antiquity in the civilized world."

On referring to Anderson (*Constitutions* 1738, p. 102) we find that while Rugge states that the King with the usual ceremonies laid the first stone, and Pepys says "the first stone of the first pillar," Anderson speaks of the "foot-stone":—

"The King levelled the Footstone of the new Royal Exchange in solemn Form on 23 Oct. 1667."

Anderson uses the same term when (p. 103) he records the building of St. Paul's Cathedral:—

"London was rebuilding apace; and the Fire having ruined St. Paul's Cathedral, the King with Grand Master Rivers, his Architects and Craftsmen, Nobility and Gentry, Lord Mayor and Aldermen, Bishops and Clergy &c. in due form levell'd the Footstone of new St. Paul's . . ."

Here again Anderson uses the term "Footstone," and I call attention to this point as it will be necessary to refer to this when we come to consider the variations in the character of the ceremonial.

ECCLESIASTICAL CEREMONIES.

In the Mediæval and Roman Churches there was definite liturgical ceremonial devoted to the laying of Foundation Stones, in which the great symbolic idea of a perfect stone was ever present, and in all probability there was at least an indication of a design to demonstrate its perfection and its suitability for receiving the benefit of Consecration.

In the modern Anglican Church there is no liturgical provision for this ceremony, that in use being only of a generally uniform character with the inclusion of such variations as the authority concerned may desire.

Referring again to the order of procedure in the above described ceremony we find it is as follows:—

- (1) The stone is blessed before being laid
- (2) The stone is "anointed"
- (3) The stone is lowered into position
- (4) The Master Mason proves the stone with square, level and plumb
- (5) There is a procession round the outline of the walls of the intended building

May I pause here to explain that I was led to study the question of the Foundation Stone by the fact that in one of the ceremonies in which I took part the stone was laid and the ceremony proceeded right up to the cementing and lowering of the stone before the proving of the stone took place. There are other points connected with the proving of the stone which I will leave for later consideration, but I would here ask you to note that in this ancient ceremony, as well as in our modern use, the stone is blessed and laid before it has been proved to be square and perfect.

I might also add that the same mistake was made at the ceremony of the Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Masonic Peace Memorial on the 14th July, 1927, and that throughout our modern forms of the ceremony, both civil, ecclesiastic and Masonic, the error is perpetuated.

MASONIC CEREMONIES.

There are, no doubt, many interesting records of Foundation ceremonies which could be quoted, but enough has been said to indicate the antiquity and the persistence of the custom, and we may therefore proceed to enquire into the subject more particularly in connection with our ancient Craft.

This particular ceremony appears to have been most widely practised by our Scottish Brethren, if we may judge from the records in some of the Lodge Histories. For example, in the *History of the Mother Lodge, Kilwinning*, by Bro. Robert Wylie, 1878, we find twenty-eight records of the laying of Foundation Stones. About one-third of the whole book is devoted to this subject.

The earliest record of a formal and official Masonic ceremony is that of the laying of the Foundation Stone of the New Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh by the Earl of Cromarty, Grand Master of Scottish Masons, on 2nd August, 1738.

This record will be found in the *History of Freemasonry*, by Alexander Lawrie, 1804, pp. 153-156.

The Grand Lodge of Scotland was formed and instituted on Saint Andrew's Day (30th November), 1736.

Lawrie's record following the first annual meeting of the Grand Lodge, held 30th November, 1737, shows the eagerness of our Scottish Brethren to support charity in general and to make provision for distressed masons in particular, as the following extract will show:—

The benevolence and liberality of the different lodges were amply displayed by their generous donations for the building of the Royal Infirmary; and that particular attachment to the brethren of the order, which by the principles of Freemasonry, they are bound to cherish, was also exemplified in their eager exertions to procure an apartment of the Hospital for distressed Masons, who, from the very nature of their profession, are more exposed to accidents than any other class of labourers.

Lawrie, p. 153.

I feel that I must pause here to point out the evident fact that at this time the Grand Lodge was still very largely interested in the Operative Craft, and considered that, whether an operative was a member of a regular Lodge under its jurisdiction or not, his welfare was a responsibility of the Craft as a whole.

A letter was received by the Grand Lodge from George Drummond Esq^r. one of the Commissioners of Excise, and President of the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, informing them that the foundation stone of the Hospital was to be laid on the second August 1738, between three and four in the afternoon and requesting the presence of the Grand-Master and his brethren, to give their countenance and assistance to the undertaking. With this request the Grand Lodge unanimously complied.

On the 2^d of August 1738, between three and four oclock in the afternoon, the foundation Stone of the New Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh was laid in the following manner

The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council, preceded by the city officers and mace, walked in procession, from the council-chamber, to the ground where the foundation was dug. Immediately after them came the Free and Accepted Masons, in their proper cloathing and jewels, after the following order.

*The Tylers of the several lodges of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood.
Such Brethren as did not belong to the Grand Lodge, walking by threes.
The Lodges as they stand enrolled; the youngest walking first, by threes;
the Master being supported by the Wardens.*

The Officers of the Grand Lodge

The Nine Stewards, by threes

The Secretary with his Clerks

The Treasurer with his Purse

The Grand Wardens

The Grand Master, attended by those Brethren of distinction who did not represent any particular Lodge.

The Surgeons from their Hall; and along with them, several of the Lords of Session; the Dean, and many of the Faculty of Advocates; the Writers of the Signet; the Presbytery of Edinburgh; several of the Incorporations, and a great number of persons of quality and distinction.

Lawrie, pp. 153-155.

Having in mind the fact that when the Grand Lodge of Scotland was instituted only thirty-three of the hundred Lodges invited to attend the first General Assembly were represented, and that for many years a number of old Lodges insisted on maintaining their independence, it is therefore interesting to note that Brethren not being members of Lodges under the authority of Grand Lodge were encouraged to be present and take a part in the ceremony.

When the company came to the ground, the Grand-Master, and his brethren of the free and accepted Masons, surrounded the plan of the foundation hand in hand; and the Grand Master-Mason, along with the preses of the Managers of the Royal Infirmary, having come to the east corner of the foundation where the stone was to be laid, placed the same in its bed; and after the Right Honourable the Lord Provost had laid a medal under it each in their turns gave three strokes upon the stone with an iron mallet, which was succeeded by three clarions of the trumpet, three huzzas, and three claps of the hands.

Lawrie, p. 155.

In order not to prolong these extracts, it may be briefly noted that, as contribution towards the building, quarry owners gave stone and lime, merchants gave timber, farmers undertook free cartage, journeymen masons gave hewn stones and even the common labourers agreed to work one day each month without pay.

George Drummond, who apparently initiated the arrangement of this function, was a member of Canongate Kilwinning Lodge. He was elected Junior Grand Warden in 1738, and Grand Master Mason in 1752, and it was he who, as Grand Master, laid the Foundation Stone of the Royal Exchange, Edinburgh, on 13th September, 1753.

The account of this ceremony is taken from Preston's *Illustrations*, 10th edition, 1801, pp. 248-255. There is no reference to it in the 9th edition, it having been inserted at a point corresponding with the end of the first paragraph on p. 284 of that edition.

It is also recorded in the *History of Freemasonry*, published under the name of Alexander Lawrie, which we now believe to have been written by Sir

David Brewster, the great Philosopher and Scientist, when he was only twenty-three years of age. How he could, at such an early age, have attained to such knowledge of the History of the Craft it is difficult to understand.

The record in Lawrie is almost identical with that of Preston, though the latter has more elaborated some of the details. In all probability both accounts are based upon the reports in the newspapers of the time. Although the whole report of the proceedings is of the greatest interest as evidence of the strong hold which Freemasonry had upon the popular ideals, I must content myself by quoting only those parts which are of particular application to our subject:—

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the several lodges, with their Masters at their head, met at Mary's Chapel in Niddry's Wynd, and at half-past three the procession began to move from the Chapel in the following order the City Guard covering the rear.

- (1) *Operative Masons not belonging to any lodge present*
- (2) *A band of French Horns*
- (3) *The Lodges present arranged as follows*
The Military Lodge belonging to General Johnston's regiment
The Thistle Lodge
The Scots Lodge in Canon Gate
Holyrood House Lodge
Vernon Kilwinning Lodge
Canongate from Leith Lodge
Dalkeith Lodge
Lodge of Journeymen Masons
Canongate and Leith, Leith and Canongate Lodge
Leith Kilwinning Lodge
Canongate Kilwinning Lodge
Mary's Chapel Lodge
All the Brethren properly clothed, and the Masters and Wardens in the jewels of their respective lodges with their badges of dignity, formed the last rank of each Lodge
- (4) *Gentlemen Masons belonging to Foreign Lodges*
- (5) *A band of Hautbois*
- (6) *The Golden Compasses carried by an Operative Mason*
- (7) *Grand Secretary, Grand Treasurer and Grand Clerk*
- (8) *Three Grand Stewards with their rods*
- (9) *Three Grand Stewards with their rods*
- (10) *The Golden Square, Level and Plumb, carried by three Operative Masons*
- (11) *A band of French horns*
- (12) *Three Grand Stewards with their rods*
- (13) *The Grand Wardens*
- (14) *The Cornucopia and Golden Mallet carried by an officer of the Grand Lodge and an Operative Mason.*
- (15) *The Grand Master supported by a Past Grand Master and the present Substitute*

A body of Operative Masons

A Company of the City Guard covered the rear

p. 250

The whole brethren amounting exactly to 672, walked uncovered.

Preston's Illustrations, 1801, p. 249.

The Masonic procession was joined at the head of Niddry's Wynd by the military, including a Company of Grenadiers. As the procession approached the site, word was sent to the Lord Provost and the civil authority that the Grand Master was ready to receive them. The whole procession was then marshalled into their allotted positions.

p. 251

On the west side of the place where the Stone was to be laid, was erected a Theatre covered with tapestry, and decked with flowers for the Lord Provost, Magistrates, counsel and attendants; on the East was erected another theatre, for the Grand Master and his officers, on which was set a chair for the Grand Master.

Before the chair was a table covered with tapestry on which were placed two silver vessels filled with wine and oil; the golden jewels, and the cornucopia which had been carried in the procession.

The Ceremony of laying the stone now commenced. By order of the Substitute Grand Master the Stone was slung in a tackle, and after three regular stops, let down gradually to the ground, during which the Masonic Anthem was sung, accompanied by the music, all the Brethren joining in the chorus. The Grand Master, supported as before, preceded by his officers and the Operative Masons carrying the jewels; then descended from the theatre to the spot where the stone lay, and passed through a line formed by the officers of the Grand Lodge. The Substitute Grand Master deposited in the Stone, in cavities made for the purpose, three medals with the following devices:

These medals were specially struck for this purpose, but it is not necessary for our present purpose to repeat the inscription on these, or upon the stone, which was in Latin and rather lengthy.

The former Grand Master and the Substitute retiring, two operative Masons came in their place and assisted the Grand Master to turn over the stone, and lay it in its proper bed with the inscription undermoft.

The Grand Master then taking his station at the east of the stone, with the Substitute on the left, and his wardens in the west, the operative who carried the Square delivered it to the Substitute, who presented it to the Grand Master, and he having applied it to the part of the stone which was squared, returned it back to the operative.

The operative who carried the plumb then delivered it to the Substitute, who presented it also to the Grand Master, and he having applied it to the edges of the stone, holding it upright, delivered it back to the operative.

In like manner, the operative who carried the level, delivered it to the Substitute, and he presented it to the Grand Master, who applied it above the stone in several positions, and returned it back to the operative.

The Mallet was then presented to the Grand Master, who gave three knocks upon the stone, which was followed by three huzzas from the brethren.

An Anthem was then sung, accompanied by the music; during which the cornucopia, and the two silver vessels containing the wine and oil, were brought down to the stone. The cornucopia was delivered to the Substitute, and the vessels to the wardens.

The Anthem being concluded, the Substitute presented the cornucopia to the Grand Master who turned out the ears of corn upon the stone.

The silver vessels were then delivered by the wardens to the Substitute, and by him presented to the Grand Master who poured the contents upon the stone saying "May the bountiful hand of Heaven supply this City with abundance of corn, wine, oil, and all other conveniences of life."

The Grand Master then repeated these words

"As we have now laid this foundation Stone may the Grand architect of the universe, of his kind providence, enable us to carry on and finish the work which we have now begun . . ."

The ceremony was concluded with a short prayer for the fovereign, the senate of the city, the fraternity of Majons, and all the people.

Bro. Preston concludes his report with the following note, which I have included as it seems to confirm my own view that it was Preston who was responsible for the insertion in the *Book of Constitutions*, of rules for the laying of Foundation Stones in the 1815 edition:—

I have been thus minute in the above details, not only that an event of such importance to the Society might be recorded, but that it might serve as an example worthy of imitation in ceremonies of a similar kind on a future occasion.

Preston, p. 256.

Bro. Preston having, as he says, recorded these proceedings in great detail, no doubt felt that, as the Ceremony of laying the Foundation Stone of Freemasons' Hall on 1st May, 1775, was on very similar lines, it was unnecessary to do more than make a brief note of it.

I must, perforce, follow his example, for the details of the ceremony which are given in the 1784 *Book of Constitutions* (p. 312) are somewhat meagre, though it is very probable that the actual ceremony would follow closely the one which Preston so evidently approved:—

1784

p. 312

The grand master, his officers, and the Brethren entered the ground in the following order of procefsion

Two tylers, with drawn Swords to clear the way

mufic

Brethren not in office, two & two

Grand stewards, two & two

Provincial grand Masters juniors walking first

Past Grand Officers, juniors walking first

Present grand officers

After the procefsion had marched three times round the ground in this form, the grand officers, preceded by Thomas Sandby, Esq^r. the architect, entered a trench made for the occasion, and proceeded to the north-east corner.

The grand secretary then read the inscription on a plate, which was to be deposited in the foundation stone, as follows:

It is not necessary to repeat this rather lengthy inscription, which was in Latin.

A translation of the above inscription being read by the grand-secretary, the grand master deposited the foundation stone.

The deputy grand master then presented the square to the grand master who therewith tried the corners of the stone, and returned it to the deputy, who gave it to the architect.

The senior grand warden presented the level to the grand master, who therewith tried the stone horizontally; and returned it as before.

The junior grand warden presented the plumb-rule to the grand master, who applied it properly, and then returned it as before.

The grand master then struck the stone with a mallet three times; upon which the grand treasurer waved his wand, and the grand honours were given.

The grand master having deposed the inscription, the grand treasurer waved his wand & the grand honours were repeated.

After the singing of an anthem and the delivery of an oration the procession was resumed and continued round the ground three times as at the entrance, and then returned to the carriages.

A more detailed report of the laying of the Foundation Stone of Freemasons' Hall is given by Capt. George Smith in *The use and abuse of Freemasonry*, 1785, page 81.

We could multiply the references to this ceremony which occur in the Histories of Lodges and the public records, but enough has been said to indicate how general has been the practice and, in particular, that throughout the period of Grand Lodge existence Freemasons have consistently maintained the old traditions from which the custom was born.

Before we proceed to consider the ceremony as ordered by the *Book of Constitutions* it may be useful to refer to the comments and opinions of a few of our older Masonic writers, for they will be helpful to us as showing the views of Brethren who lived and worked in what we may call the "middle ages" of the Grand Lodge period.

Anderson gives us brief records of the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Parliament House in Dublin, 1728/9, by Lord Carteret; the Palace of Whitehall by James I., A.D. 1667, and the Church in St. Martin's in the Fields, 1721, which latter, by the way, was laid at the South-East corner. I do not find, though, that Anderson has expressed any views upon the character or the details of the ceremony.

Preston evidently was profoundly interested in the subject, and was at great pains to record full details of many of the occasions when the ceremony was practised. In fact, as I have stated elsewhere, there is great probability that to Preston we owe the form of the ceremony and its actual inclusion in the 1815 *Book of Constitutions*.

Bro. George Oliver, at all times most prolific in his writing and all too often fertile in his imaginings, has dealt rather fully with this subject, and in the main I must refer you to his works.

In his *Book of the Lodge*, 1856, p. 47, Oliver devotes a whole chapter to the subject, though it mainly consists of a recapitulation of the Ceremony. In several of his works he touches upon the subject, giving particulars of various points in the ritual. In his edition of Preston's *Illustrations*, p. 243, the following note occurs:—

"The following directions respecting the building of Lodges, are contained in the book of Helvetian Ceremonies, already often cited, and I believe are strictly attended to in Germany and France. The proper time for beginning to build a Lodge is from the 15th April to the 15th May. Some think the 18th April is the most Masonic day . . . The Foundation-stone is in the corner of the Ammonites."

His reference to the book of Helvetian Ceremonies is rather mysterious. In a number of cases he makes the same reference; in *Historical Landmarks*, p. 256, he calls it the "Helvetian Ritual," and in another case he fixes the position of the Foundation Stone as being in the "Corner of the Amorites."

After a considerable search and many enquiries I have failed to trace such a book, and I am almost compelled to assume that it existed only in his imagination. Possibly he may have been inspired by the revival of Masonic activity in Switzerland, which came about in the year 1816, that is to say, about the time that Oliver was most prolific in his Masonic writing and work.

In several of his books we find footnotes dealing with the Ritual and Symbolism of the Foundation Stone Ceremony, but I find nothing that has any real value in regard to the History, or which throws any new light upon the Symbolism.

Macoy also refers to "The Helvetian Ceremonies," but he is evidently basing his remark upon Oliver.

It may perhaps be useful to refer to the practice of our American Brethren, and I would therefore refer to *The Masonic Monitor*, by Z. A. Davis, published at Philadelphia 1847.

Bro. Davis does not give a form of Ritual, but describes the Ceremony. He describes the assembly of Masons and the civic authorities, and tells us that the Grand Lodge is opened in some convenient place adjacent to the site; that the "necessary cautions are then given from the Chair and the lodge is adjourned and the Brethren form a procession to the appointed place."

After an ode suitable to the occasion has been sung:—

The Grand Master commands silence, and the necessary preparations are made for laying the stone, on which is engraved the year of Masonry; with the name and titles of the Grand Master &c. &c.

The workmen's tools are presented to the Grand Master; who applies the Square, plumb and level to the stone, in their proper positions, and pronounces it to be "well formed, true and trusty."

The Stone is next raised up, by means of an engine erected for that purpose, and the Grand Chaplain repeats the following prayer:

"May the Grand Architect of the Universe grant a blessing on this foundation stone which we have now laid; and by His Providence enable us to finish this and all our works with skill and success.—Glory be to God in the Highest."

Response by the Brethren: As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be Amen—so mote it be—Amen.

Solemn music is next introduced; after which the Grand Treasurer by the Grand Master's command places under the stone various sorts of coin and medals of the present age; and the stone is placed as it is to lie.

Masonic Monitor, Z. A. Davis, 1847, p. 94.

The usual consecration with corn, wine and oil then follows. The Grand Master makes a short invocation.

He then strikes the stone thrice with the mallet: and the honours of Masonry are given.

The Grand Master then delivers over to the master workman the various implements of architecture intrusting him with the superintendence and direction of the work.

This account is somewhat vague as describes the raising of the stone, but omits the actual placing of it on the ground. It is, however, interesting to note that the accuracy of the stone is proved by the Grand Master before he declares it to be "well formed, true and trusty." I have included this extract as it is the only example I have been able to find in which the stone is "proved" before it is placed in position.

THE BOOK OF CONSTITUTIONS.

The order for the Ceremony of Laying a Foundation Stone appears for the first time in the 6th edition, 1815, being the first issued by the United Grand Lodge. We cannot attribute this innovation to the influence of the "Antients," as the ceremony is nowhere mentioned in any edition of the *Ahiman Rezon*,

As I have already suggested, I believe that its inclusion was definitely due to Preston.

Although there were but few alterations in the order for the Ceremony throughout the period in which it appeared in the *Constitutions*, it is best that we have it before us in its original form:—

B. of C., 1815

p. 131

OF PUBLIC CEREMONIES.

Ceremony of laying a Foundation-Stone &c. by the M.W. Grand Master

The grand lodge having been opened, at a convenient place, and the necessary directions and instructions given it is adjourned. The Brethren being in their proper clothing and jewels, and wearing white gloves, the procession moves in the following order—viz.

Two grand tylers with drawn Swords

Music

Brethren not members of any lodge, two and two

The lodges according to their numbers;

Juniors going first

Members of the grand stewards lodge.

Officers of grand stewards lodge

Architect or builder with the mallet

Grand organist

Grand superintendent of works with the plan

Grand director of ceremonies

Grand deacons

Grand secretary, with book of constitutions on a cushion

Grand registrar with his bag.

Grand treasurer with his staff.

Grand chaplain.

Past grand wardens.

Past provincial grand masters.

Provincial grand masters.

Past deputy grand masters

Visitors of distinction

Junior grand warden, with plumb.

*Steward
with wand }*

Standard of the grand lodge

*{ Steward
with wand*

Senior grand warden with level.

*Steward
with wand {*

*Volume of the sacred law
square and compasses
on a velvet cushion.*

*{ Steward
with wand*

Deputy grand master, with square

*Steward
with wand }*

Standard of the grand master.

*{ Steward
with wand*

Grand sword bearer.

Most worshipful grand master.

Two stewards with wands

Grand tyler with drawn sword.

Having arrived within a proper distance of the spot, the procession halts, the brethren open to the right and left, so as to leave room for the grand master to pass up the centre, he being preceded by his standard, and sword bearer, the

grand officers and brethren following in succession from the rear, so as to invert the order of procession. The grand master having arrived at his station, on a platform, an ode is sung or music played (as previously arranged).

The stone being prepared and the plate with the proper inscription, the upper part of the stone is raised, by an engine, the grand chaplain repeats a prayer, and the grand treasurer having by the grand master's command, deposited on the plate various coins of the present reign, the cement is laid on the lower stone, and the upper one is let down slowly, solemn music playing. Being properly placed, the grand master descends to the stone, proves that it is properly adjusted, by the plumb rule, level, and square, which are successively delivered to him, by the junior grand warden, senior grand warden, and deputy grand master; after which, the architect or builder delivers to him the mallet, with which the grand master gives three knocks.

The grand master then delivers to the architect or builder, the several implements for his use. The plan and elevation of the building are presented by the grand superintendant of the works, to the grand master, for his inspection, and having approved them, he gives them to the architect for his guidance.

The grand master re-ascends the platform, music playing. An oration suitable to the occasion, is delivered. Some money for the workmen is placed on the stone, by the grand treasurer.

The procession then returns to the place from which it set out, and the lodge is closed.

Book of Constitutions, 1815, p. 131.

It will be seen at once that this is not in any sense a "rite" or even a "ceremony"; it is, in fact, nothing more than a descriptive explanation of suitable procedure, and, therefore, it necessarily leaves all but the vital points to be applied according to the judgment or preference of those responsible for the proceedings.

For over a hundred years these instructions have appeared in the many editions of the *Book of Constitutions* with only very slight or trivial alterations.

Two points, however, may be noted. In the first place, the three stops in the lowering of the stone to which we are accustomed and which were used at the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Masonic Million Memorial. This important symbolic action has not, at any time, been included in our ceremony. The other point is, that at some time after the year 1871 the consecration of the Stone by corn, wine and oil, with the necessary inclusion of the consecrating vessels in the Procession, was introduced. I might add that this consecration is included in the *Scottish Constitutions* of 1848.

This is perhaps the most suitable place to indicate that, at some date after the 1919 edition the entire section on the laying of Foundation Stones has been removed from the *Book of Constitutions*. It is remarkable that this fact does not appear to have been noticed, and I cannot refrain from an expression of regret that such an interesting link with Operative Masonry should have been removed from our *Constitutions*. In saying this, I am not unmindful of the fact that the old ceremony has been used by the Most Worshipful Grand Master on two vitally important occasions.

Having ventured to make certain adverse criticisms of the form and detail of the ceremony as continuously practised, it becomes necessary to justify these criticisms. Perhaps the best, though the more lengthy, method of doing this is to put before you a reasoned outline of the whole ceremony, so that from such an outline we may be able to construct—or perhaps I should say "reconstruct"—a ceremony which shall co-ordinate the correct Operative procedure with the true Speculative Masonry.

In pursuing this plan it may be desirable to include some details which, while being symbolically desirable, may not be expedient or even practicable for inclusion in a public ceremony.

In order to treat the subject exhaustively it will be necessary to refer to a number of points which are not necessarily parts of the ceremony itself. It may be useful, therefore, to consider, step by step, the various sections of the ceremony and the underlying Operative or Speculative ideas involved.

We have already dealt with the original object and the superstitious and Religious ideas involved, as well as the Historic records of individual occasions. It therefore remains only to consider the subject from the point of view of the present day practice of the rite and the Masonic Symbolism involved.

THE POSITION OF THE FOUNDATION IN RELATION TO THE BUILDERS.

It is not enough to quote our Craft ritual and agree that the position of the "First or Foundation Stone" has from time immemorial been at the North-East Corner.

It may be agreed that as a general rule the foundation stone of a building has been laid in the Eastern boundary of the building. In most of the records which I have consulted, the position has not been recorded, though in what we may term Christian times the position has generally been in the East. Remembering, however, the remote antiquity of the custom, we may perhaps agree that the position with relation to the structure to be erected has always been dictated by the character of the intended structure. Thus, foundation of a circular hut would be in the centre where the "king pole," upon which the weight of the roof depended, would fix the place of sacrifice.

A city gateway would call for two foundations, one for each gatepost or tower; for a bridge over a river, the take off from one bank or both; and in the same way, for an angular building, the first or foundation stone would be, not in the centre, but at a point from which a right angle could be generated.

A rectangular building could not be erected from a central datum point, but must be designed and erected from a given straight line, at one extremity of which another line at a true right angle could be erected.

Long before the Christian era the Solar worship and all its variants looked to the rising sun, constructed stone circles and temple buildings so as to face the East. Here, however, is a difficulty which confronts us, for the exact point at which the sun breaks the horizon changes from day to day, so that, unless a definite day is chosen to lay the stone and the direct line from East to West of the ray of light on that day is made the central line or axis of the building, then all the care and ingenuity of the builder will be in vain to secure balance and completeness in the whole building. It may, of course, be agreed that by arbitrarily selecting a spot on the Eastern side of the site and plotting a straight central line as the axis of the building, it would be possible under modern conditions to erect the building.

Remembering, however, the scientific limitations of the ancient and particularly the Mediæval builders, we are perhaps safe in thinking that, having arbitrarily fixed a point on the site to represent the extreme Northern limit of the line running North and South (therefore facing East), they generated thereon, either by the 3, 4, 5 or some other method, a true right angle thence, by the same means marking out the site to the dimensions and forms of the ground plan of the building, and thus the North-East corner would, in effect, become the "birth place" of the building, and the dual name of "Foundation Stone" or

"Corner-Stone" would be a correct designation, although there are records of the stone being laid at other points upon a North and South line, as, for example, that of the church of St. Martin's in the Fields.

Anderson, 1738, p. 121; records:—

"King George I. sent his Lord Almoner and Surveyor General attended by Brother Gib, (the architect of that Grand Pile) with many Free Mafons in a solemn Procefsion from the Palace to level the Footstone of the South East Corner by giving it 3 Great Knocks with a mallet in the King's name."

It is not, perhaps, necessary to pursue this point in further detail, though I cannot refrain from pointing out an interesting coincidence between ancient practice and Masonic custom: The North-East position for the Foundation Stone sacred to Masonry, whose Patron St. John the Baptist, upon whose Holy day this 24th June the Sun rises at a point North-East. Very probably this fact would be known, at least to the Mediæval builders, and thus an established custom would be strengthened and perpetuated until it became a landmark of the Order.

There is much more to be studied on this subject, and I would refer to the classic papers by Bro. Sir Charles Warren (*A.Q.C.*, vol. i., p. 48) and by Bro. William Simpson on *The orientation of Temples*, published by the Lodge in 1897.

THE FOUNDATION STONE.

I find but few instances where either the form or dimensions of the Stone are indicated, though the general inference is that it must be a "perfect" stone, both in regard to its nature and form, and we cannot have a better standard than that already quoted from Isaiah xxviii., 16:—

"Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation. He that believeth shall not make haste.

"Judgment also will I lay to the line and righteousness to the plummet."

We may presume, therefore, that the Stone must be either a perfect cube or at least of a form in which the sides and top are absolutely flat and parallel, and that all corners form a perfect square.

The quality of perfection lies in the uniformity and homogeneity of the substance and of exact and perfect craftsmanship in working it to the desired form. The sides of the Stone being square, it is equally suitable for a position at a corner, as a corner stone, or along the straight side of the wall, though both as a symbol and as a technical term the words "corner-stone" convey the true meaning of the sacrifice quite as effectually as "Foundation-Stone"; the former indicating a binding together of the structure; the latter, the stability of the whole building.

THE DOUBLE STONE.

Having in mind the numerous instances where a "Foot-stone" is referred to, it will be useful to consider this point.

No doubt that "foot-stone" was frequently used as an alternative to "Foundation-Stone" in the sense that it is the first stone at the foot of the wall, but there are many records which show that a double stone was employed. Unfortunately, I have failed to find any instance which would explain the reason for the dual stone, and we can only surmise that it was intended as a means of secreting and sealing up within the wall those documents and coins which it became the custom to deposit. We might even, without straining too much the

probability, attribute it to the desire of insuring the permanent security of the building in such cases as were affected by the character of the ground. For example, where the excavation went right down to the rock, no foot-stone would be necessary, but where there was no solid rock, but soil of a looser nature, it might seem to the builder necessary to insert a foot-stone as a substitute for the solid rock. This also would account for the ceremonial "levelling" of the foot-stone which is frequently referred to.

INSCRIPTIONS AND CAVITIES.

From the very earliest of civilised times an essential part of the custom has been the inclusion of an inscription either upon the exterior surface of the Stone or in a recess within it. I have already made references to several variations of the method. Most of the recorded inscriptions were very lengthy and were generally in Latin. Where the inscription was cut upon the face of the Stone, the position was, of course, so arranged that the Stone was above ground level, so as to be legible. In many cases, however, the inscription was engraved upon the copper or silver plate which covered the cavity in which the documents and coins were deposited. Where a dual stone was used, the recess was cut in the foot-stone, and after the deposition of the papers and coins (usually inserted in a glass phial) the engraved plate covered the cavity, the top of the foot-stone covered with mortar or cement, and the upper stone lowered into position. I might here refer to the act of spreading the cement, or mortar beneath the Stone, when it is a single stone, or upon the foot-stone when a dual one.

So far as I have been able to find, this part of the ceremony is of comparatively modern use, or, at least, its use from a symbolic point of view was not appreciated or looked upon as being an essential part of the ceremony.

CIRCUMAMBULATION.

Circumambulation has ever had its place in ceremonial worship and other phases of religious life. We remember the procession of the Israelites at the siege of Jericho, and there are countless references to the rite in Classic History.

In connection with the laying of Foundation Stones we have references to a procession round the whole site of the proposed building, and in others we find that the Masons formed a circle around the place where the Stone is to be laid, the Brethren joining hands. This, however, has never been a recognised act in the official ceremony, but it is perhaps worthy of being recorded here.

Having now, though I fear, very inadequately, made a general statement on this most interesting subject, it only remains to consider the ceremony as, until recent years, it has been included in the *Book of Constitutions*. I propose to conclude with a brief but exact outline of the official ceremony as it appears in the 1919 *Book of Constitutions* and as actually practised at the Stone laying of the Masonic Million Memorial and that of the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls. To this I shall venture, though with much trepidation, to suggest a revised and reasoned form for a more logical sequence in those actions which should constitute a Masonic ceremony.

CEREMONY OF LAYING A FOUNDATION STONE &c.,

BY THE M.W. GRAND MASTER.

The Grand Lodge having been opened at a convenient place, and the necessary directions given, it is adjourned; (the Brethren being in their proper clothing and jewels, and wearing white gloves) and the procession moves in the following order.

In connection with the two ceremonies above referred to, a Grand Lodge was not opened.

It may perhaps be interesting to note that the official instructions require that a Grand Lodge should be opened and afterwards adjourned for the carrying out of the Public Ceremony, after which the procession returned and Grand Lodge was closed.

It must be remembered that by long custom, neither Grand Lodge, Provincial Grand Lodge, nor Private Lodge could ever be "adjourned." This point was definitely confirmed by vote of Grand Lodge in the year 1856, and yet in 1919 this error was continued, although it must be admitted that from the earliest Masonic periods the practice has existed.

Then follows the instruction for the order of procession in the form to which we are accustomed. We may, however, take note of those articles of special use in the ceremony which are carried by the appropriate officer:—

- (1) *The Cornucopia with corn*
- (2) *Two Ewers with wine and oil*
- (3) *The Plate bearing the inscription*
- (4) *The Book of Constitutions*
- (5) *Phial containing Coins*
- (6) *The Plumb Rule*
- (7) *The Level*
- (8) *The V.S.L.*
- (9) *The Square*

At the laying of the Foundation Stone of the Masonic Million Memorial, the procession was somewhat altered and enlarged, as will be seen from the following list:—

- (1) *The Plans*
- (2) *The Trowel*
- (3) *The Plate*
- (4) *The Roll*
- (5) *The Phial containing Coins*
- (6) *The V.S.L.*
- (7) *The Plumb Rule*
- (8) *The Level*
- (9) *The Cornucopia with corn*
- (10) *The Ewer with wine*
- (11) *The Ewer with oil*
- (12) *The vessel with Salt*
- (13) *The Square*
- (14) *The Maul*

Here we see the first use of the Trowel as an essential part of the implements used, although reference to the spreading of the cement has previously and frequently been referred to.

Amongst the consecrating vessels has now been included a vessel for salt, and we can no doubt look upon this innovation as being taken from the ceremony of Consecrating a Lodge where by custom the four substances of corn, wine, oil and salt are used. The order of precedence in the procession is also altered by the consecrating vessels being placed after the Plumb Rule and Level.

Also we see that the *Book of Constitutions* has been omitted. This is to be regretted, for from ancient times the Book of the Law, or Constitutions, has always been given a prominent place in our proceedings. It will also be seen that the Maul is now included, though, of course, this implement has always been used in the ceremony.

Now as to the actual operations constituting the Ceremony as laid down in the *Book of Constitutions*. They are as follows:—

- (1) *The upper part of the Stone is raised*
- (2) *Prayer*
- (3) *The inscription on the plate is read*
- (4) *Coins are placed in the cavity*
- (5) *Cement is laid upon the lower stone*
- (6) *The upper stone is laid down slowly*
- (7) *The Grand Master proves the stone with plumb rule, level and square*
- (8) *The Mallet is handed to the Grand Master*
- (9) *The Grand Master gives three knocks*
- (10) *The Cornucopia and Ewers are handed to the Grand Master who streus the corn, and pours the wine and oil with the accustomed ceremonies.*
- (11) *The Grand Master delivers to the Architect or Builder, the several implements for his use*
- (12) *The Plans are presented to the Grand Master*
- (13) *The Grand Master presents them to the Architect or Builder*
- (14) *An oration is delivered*
- (15) *Money for the workmen is placed upon the Stone.*

In order not to prolong unduly a paper which has already extended far beyond the original plan, I will proceed to examine the details of the actual ceremony of the Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Masonic Memorial on the 14th July, 1927, making only such brief comments as may be necessary:—

- (1) *The Grand Master is requested to lay the Stone*
- (2) *The Stone is raised*
- (3) *The Plaid containing the Roll and Coins, is placed in the Cavity*
- (4) *The inscription upon the Stone is read*
- (5) *The Grand Master receives the Trowel and spreads the cement upon the lower Stone*
- (6) *The Upper Stone is lowered by three movements*
- (7) *The Maul is handed to the Grand Master who strikes the Stone at each corner, Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence & Justice*
- (8) *The Plumb Rule is handed to the Grand Master who proves the Stone Plumb*
- (9) *The Level is handed to the Grand Master who proves the Stone Level*
- (10) *The Square is handed to the Grand Master who proves the Stone Square*
- (11) *The Maul is handed to the Grand Master who strikes the Stone three times and declares the Stone, "well and truly laid"*
- (12) *The Consecration by Corn, Wine, Oil and Salt is carried out*
- (13) *The ceremony concludes with Prayer and the Patriarchal Benediction*

Thus, Brethren, the ceremony of Laying the Foundation of the Great Masonic Memorial was enacted—a ceremony inspired by primeval custom, practised by civilised nations through the ages and adopted by Ancient and Accepted Masons as a great symbol of Stability, and one which we hope will be continued through all time.

I wish it were possible to accept this form of the ceremony as a fixed Ritual never to be changed, and yet I am impelled to say that, as it stands, the ceremony is logically and symbolically imperfect and incorrect in many of its details.

I fully understand, that in making this assertion I am running hazard, not only of criticism, but of condemnation. However, as undoubtedly the ceremony as now used is an extensive variation of that first promulgated in the *Constitutions* of 1815, I trust that my comments may at least be accepted as leading to a more complete understanding of the subject.

I would first point out that the spirit and intention of the whole ceremony tends to connect it with the Second Degree. The work of the Master Mason of necessity follows the laying of the Foundation in the raising of the superstructure. Symbolically, the production of the Foundation Stone is the duty of the skilled craftsman, and the chief working tools employed in the ceremony are those of the Fellow-Craft.

The whole ceremony can be divided into sections with appropriate instructions and Prayers attached to each, viz.:—

- (1) The preparation of the Stone and the site
- (2) The Proving of the Stone by the Square
- (3) The Proving of the site (or foot-stone) by the Level
- (4) The Laying of the Stone
- (5) The proving of the Stone by Level and Plumb
- (6) The Consecration and final declaration by the M.W.G.M.

- (1) The Stone as we know must be square and either of cubical form or at least with plain parallel sides and ends.

In order that it may be lifted and lowered there should be inserted in its upper side a "lewis" with a ring from which it may be suspended.

The cavities should not be in the Stone itself, but in the foot-stone. The cavity should be cut so as to have a rebate into which a steel or bronze plate can be dropped after the records and coin are deposited, over which the cement will be spread.

The foot-stone must not be less in size than the base of the Foundation Stone, though it may be larger and so arranged as to form a socket into which the Stone will fit.

Where the excavation for the Foundation lays bare the natural rock, a foot-stone can be dispensed with.

- (2) The opening part of the ceremony should consist in the proving of the Stone by the Grand Master, for which the following procedure is suggested:—

M.W.G.M.: Brethren, we are about to lay the first Stone of a building which is to be raised to the Glory of the G.A.O.T.U. and for the purpose of &c., &c., &c., . . . Such a Stone must be of perfect form, strength and beauty, let us therefore satisfy ourselves that it is worthy of its duty.

The M.W.G.M. receives the Square, proceeds to the Stone and tests those parts which are to be square.

M.W.G.M.: Brethren, having tried the Stone with the implement of my office, I declare it to be good work and square, a perfect Stone in which the Craftsmen have well done their duty.

M.W.G.M.: Brother Senior Warden, in order that the place whereon the Stone is to rest may be true and level to receive it, you will test it with the implement of your office.

Senior Warden proceeds to the spot, applies the level, returns to the G.M. and reports:—"M.W.G.M., I have tested the ground (or foot-stone) and proved it to be level and suitable to receive the Stone."

The records and coins are then deposited, the inscription (if any) on the plate, is read.

The Trowel is presented to the M.W.G.M. by the Architect.

- (4) The M.W.G.M. spreads the Cement, the Stone is lowered with the usual stops.

The Maul is handed to the M.W.G.M., who strikes the four corners, saying: "In Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence and Justice may this and all our work be grounded."

- (5) "Brother Senior Warden having now laid this Foundation Stone you will ascertain that it is truly level." (This is done.)

Senior Warden: "M.W.G.M., I have tried the stone and it proves to be perfect and level."

M.W.G.M.: "Brother Junior Warden, this perfect Stone being proved level do you try it to see that it is truly upright." (This is done.)

Junior Warden: "M.W.G.M., I have tried the Stone and it proves to be perfect, true and upright."

M.W.G.M.: "Then Brethren, our work being proved by Square, Level and Plumb" (strikes three times with Maul (1) at South side, (2) at West side, (3) at East side), "By the Power and Authority in me vested and in the name of the Great Architect of the Universe I declare this Stone to be well and truly laid."

From this point onwards the ceremony proceeds to the customary Consecration ceremony.

In making these suggestions it may be objected that there is too close a similarity with parts of our esoteric ritual. I am not prepared to object to such a criticism, although I do wish to emphasise the fact that the Ceremony as practised is badly arranged and is not in accordance with that logical sequence of action to which we are accustomed, and I trust that some attention may be given to this view.

In conclusion, I would also urge that the "order for the Laying of Foundation Stones" should again be inserted in our *Book of Constitutions*. As I said at opening, it is the only actual link remaining between Operative and Speculative Masonry, and, for that reason alone, it should be officially recognised and perpetuated.

Its outlines and basic principles should be regularised and no longer allowed to be altered and distorted at the whim of those who are responsible for its use, but should resume its place as a highly spiritual and dignified ceremony worthy of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons.

Since this paper was written I found a most interesting reference to the use of three Foundation Stones in Vol. 107 of the Surtees Society, being a description of the Ancient Rites of the Cathedral Church of Durham. In this it is recorded that on 11th August, 1093, Malcolm King of Scotland, Bishop William and Prior Turgot "laid the three first Foundation Stones of the Cathedral."

This opens up a further field for enquiry into ancient Church Customs and Ceremonial.

The laying of one Stone is quite understood, as also is the laying of two Stones, one being the base or footstone and one being the foundation or first stone of the actual building; and so—in connection with the building of a

Christian Church—it would be understandable that three Stones—as symbolizing the Holy Trinity—would be recognised as a suitable ritual. One may even venture to suggest that, although there appears to be no reference to a special ceremony—the fact that the Scottish King and the two dignitaries of the Church being recorded as layers of the Stone—it is almost certain that a Special Ceremonial of a more or less public character was held.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Flather for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. W. J. Williams, seconded by Bro. D. Knoop; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. L. Edwards, J. F. Nichols, G. W. Bullamore, B. Telepneff, H. T. C. de Lafontaine, W. W. Covey-Crump, W. Jenkinson, and the Secretary.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

I rise to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our Brother Flather for the excellent, instructive and thought-provoking paper he has given to us.

The following remarks are submitted for consideration:—

Our Brother treats the passages in *Joshua vi.*, 26, and *I. Kings xvi.*, 34, as clearly referring to blood sacrifices in the laying of a Foundation Stone. At a first glance the texts as rendered in the Authorised Version tend to support that view, although it seems somewhat incongruous that an intentional sacrifice should be regarded as a penalty.

The Revised Version makes the meaning clearer. There in *Joshua vi.*, 26, we read: “with the loss of his firstborn shall he lay the foundation thereof and with the loss of his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it”, and in *I. Kings xvi.*, 34: “he laid the foundation thereof with the loss of Abiram his firstborn and set up the gates thereof with the loss of his youngest son Segub”.

It therefore appears that the meaning is that when Hiel the Bethelite rebuilt the fortifications of Jericho in defiance of the prohibition, he was punished with the loss of his two sons.

I have consulted several leading Commentaries, old and recent, on the passages referred to, but have not found any even to suggest that Hiel's sons were placed in the foundation. *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, under the word “*Foundation*”, states that there may be a reference to Foundation Sacrifices.

In addition to the references to the Foundations of Solomon's Temple, cited in the paper, I would refer to *II. Chron. iii.*, 3 (*R.V.*): “Now these are the foundations which Solomon laid for the building of the house of God. The length by cubits after the first measure was three score cubits and the breadth twenty cubits”.

As to the Royal Exchange, it occurred to me that the Repertory of the City of London might include an account of the Ceremony. There are numerous entries in the Repertories as to both the original building and the 1667 rebuilding, but the Ceremonies are not recorded, although I found a resolution appointing a Committee to receive the King on the 1667 occasion.

It would seem that it was not the practice of the City authorities to record in their Journals any Ceremonies which took place outside their Council Chamber.

The Brethren will remember the record in *A.Q.C.*, xli., 160, of the discovery of a Masonic inscription on the base of a pillar at the Bank of England.

The paper before us refers briefly to the mention by Bro. James Anderson of the laying of the Foundation Stone at St. Martin's in the Fields. Our Brother

cites only the 1738 Edition of the *Constitutions*. The footnote to page 44 of the 1723 *Constitutions* may be quoted as supplementary:—

“The Bishop of Salisbury went in an orderly procession duly attended and having levell'd the footstone gave it two or three knocks with a Mallet upon which the Trumpets sounded and a vast multitude made loud acclamations of Joy: when his Lordship laid upon the stone a Purse of 100 Guineas as a present from his Majesty for the use of the Craftsmen”.

(An Inscription was cut in this Foundation Stone and a Sheet of Lead put upon it, and Anderson gives a copy of the Inscription, the date being stated as 19th March, 1721, the Old Style date equivalent to 1722 now.)

But later on, as Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins informed us in *A.Q.C.*, xxii., p. 69, *Mist's Weekly Journal* of May 26th, 1722, noted that: “As the First Stone of the Foundation of the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields under Ground was sometime ago laid on the Behalf and by the Command of his Majesty by the Bishop of Salisbury, Lord Almoner; so the first stone of the Foundation at the same Corner above Ground, being 12 foot above the other, was laid with a great deal of Ceremony by the Society of Free-Masons who on that occasion were very generous to the Workmen”.

Bro. Anderson seems to have overlooked or been ignorant of this Ceremonial laying of the first stone above ground.

Now that Bro. Flather has called particular attention to the omission from the *Book of Constitutions* since 1919 of the very interesting and important Ceremony of Laying a Foundation Stone, we shall all probably join in the hope that future editions will not be lacking in that respect. The *Book of Constitutions* is the only thing in the nature of Masonic literature presented to the Initiate, and anything which will lighten the heavy weight of the perusal of that fundamental book should be restored to its rightful place. Our Brother records that when the Foundation Stone of the Building in which we are now assembled was laid, the V.S.L. was used, and it is well that it should be so.

The Foundation Stone of the old building has disappeared, and in its turn the same thing will happen to the Foundation Stone of this Building, but the V.S.L., that Great Light in Freemasonry, tells us of “a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens”, and of “a City which hath the Foundations whose Architect and Maker is God” (Heb. xi., 10, R.V. margin).

Bro. H. T. CART DE LAFONTAINE writes:—

With regard to the visit to the Royal Exchange, Bro. Flather says that the laying of the actual Foundation Stone of the building took place “in the previous year”, but Conder writes that the Foundation Stone was laid on May 6th, 1667, and Pepys makes the statement that the Royal visit was made on October 23rd, 1667. Pepys tells us that he could not get in to see the actual ceremony, and only secured entrance after the King had departed, but he made up for any disappointment he may have had, for, to quote his own words, “there I did eat a mouthful & drink a little, & mighty merry for a quarter of an hour”.

Pepys says of the Sheriffs who were knighted on the occasion, “I do find Mr. Gauden in his gown as sheriffe, & understand that the King this morning knighted him, which I am mightily pleased with; & I think the other Sheriffe, who is Davis, the little fellow, my schoolfellow the bookseller, who was one of Audley's executors [Hugh Audley, the usurer] & now become Sheriffe; which is a strange turn methinks”.

This man, Thomas Davis, was the son of John Davis. He was born in 1631 and educated at S. Paul's School. He died in 1679 and was buried in St. Sepulchre's, where there is, or was, a monument to his memory. He became an Alderman and eventually Lord Mayor, being enriched by the legacy of Hugh Audley. After Audley's death a tract appeared, called "The Way to be Rich, according to the practice of the great Audley, who began with 200£ in 1605, and dyed worth 400,000£, November, 1662". Davis, although so enriched, had his skeleton in the cupboard, for we read that on December 24th, 1652, there died John Davis, of Old Jury, "broaker, a prisoner buried in S. Olave's, Old Jewry".

Now as to the other Sheriff. Mr. (afterwards Sir Dennis) Gauden was a Victualler of the Navy, and therefore in constant contact with Pepys. It is amusing to reflect that on November 28th, 1661, Pepys writes:—"To the Fountain tavern & there staid till 12—0 at night. Then Mr. Gauden being almost drunk had the wit to be gone, & so I took leave too, & it being a fine moonshine night he & I footed it all the way home, but though he was drunk he went such a pace as I did admire how he was able to go". This worthy evidently possessed means, for at one time he gave Pepys £500 as a present after they had settled some business regarding Tangiers.

The large house at Clapham in which Pepys died was built by Gauden, and intended as a palace for the Bishops of Winchester; his brother, Dr. John Gauden, then expecting to be translated from Exeter to that see, but he was promoted to Worcester. Sir Dennis was ultimately ruined, and his villa was purchased by one whose name is quite familiar to readers of the Diary, William Hewer.

As to Gresham College, Bro. Condor alludes to a Committee meeting there on September 20th, 1667, and the immortal Diary records that on September 7th, 1666, "our Merchants first met at Gresham College, which, by proclamation, is to be their exchange". The proclamation ordered "Gresham College to be used instead of the Royal Exchange, which is burnt."

Pepys, at another time, alludes to what he calls the New Exchange. This was erected on the South side of the Strand on the site of the stables of Durham House. The first stone was laid on June 10th, 1608. It was a much frequented place after the Restoration, and the destruction of the Royal Exchange in the Great Fire caused it much prosperity for a time. It was taken down in 1787. So evidently Gresham College was used more exclusively for civic business.

BRO. B. TELEPNEFF writes:—

I must congratulate most heartily Bro. Flather upon the production of such a fascinating and instructive paper as the one submitted to the Lodge to-day.

To follow up the Continental practice of the Laying of the Foundation-Stone would prove, I feel, a very interesting piece of work, but would, obviously, require a careful and prolonged study of the subject and a paper for itself. I shall, therefore, limit myself just to the following brief remarks.

For a considerable time, already long before the Great War, no Masonic procession or processions, in which Freemasons as such would be taking part, had been, in practice, tolerated in Germany. No ceremony of a kind which could possibly hint at some proceedings similar to the Laying of the Foundation-Stone, as, fortunately, still known in Great Britain, is now to be traced, so far as my present inquiries go. There remain, however, survivals, in a distorted form, in some places far from the "madding crowd", which might possibly contribute a link between the ancient custom of a sacrificial victim and its present day humanised off-springs.

As regards Oliver's statement concerning a Book of Helvetian Ceremonies, "strictly attended to in Germany and France", this is, I should think, one of his usual "*faux-pas*", as a result of a customary neglect of proper inquiry and understanding, though containing a grain of truth. Might not the Ritual alluded to, of the so-called Helvetian Ceremonies, be referred to the solemn Assembly at Bern on St. John's Day, 1819, when the Consecration of the Grand Provincial Lodge at Bern, according to English customs, took place, "a festival more beautiful than any ever witnessed by Freemasons in Switzerland", and to which deputations of Lodges "of German and French languages" appeared "in considerable numbers"; this, however, meant *Swiss* Lodges, working in the two respective idioms!¹

In conclusion, I should like to add my voice to the support of that vote of thanks which is undoubtedly due to Bro. Flather for his excellent and suggestive essay.

Bro. Rev. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

I have read Bro. Flather's paper with much pleasure and profit. It fully accords with his appeal to us to meet the desire of many members of our Correspondence Circle who deem our *Transactions* too stiff to maintain their interest, and I welcome it accordingly.

His contention about the "Double Stone", i.e., the footstone and the foundation stone, seems to me, too, an important matter which seldom, if ever, receives the notice of our ceremonial stone-layers. Obviously it is very necessary that the footstone (or base) should be tested and proved truly horizontal in order that the "foundation-stone" about to be laid thereon may likewise prove "true". It is all very well to take such preparatory work for granted when the ceremony is being conducted by a non-Mason; but if the ceremony is "Masonic" it should include compliance with all technical details.

I would like to support the vote of thanks which will, I know, be passed to Bro. Flather.

Bro. J. F. NICHOLS writes:—

It has been noticed in certain Saxon churches (e.g., Kingsbury, Middlesex) that the corner stones of the Nave are "Sarsens", i.e., fairly large sandstone boulders, more or less roughly shaped. Whether these stones were used because of their association with pagan worship, or merely because of their structural strength, in districts where building stone was not readily obtainable, is perhaps a matter of conjecture.

It has also been observed (*Roy. Com. Hist. Monts., Essex*, vol. 4, p. xxxii.) that in certain late pre-Norman churches the angles are seldom true right angles, and that the ratio of the width to the length is as 1 to $\sqrt{3}$, i.e., the diagonal is twice the width. I suggest the explanation may be that in place of the 3, 4, 5 cord a single cord knotted at its middle was used.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

As Bro. Flather has all too modestly limited the scope and the length of his paper, perhaps I may add a few instances from Mortet's "*Receuil de Textes relatifs a l'Histoire de l'Architecture*" dealing with first or foundation stones, some of which instances seem curiously to foreshadow customs dealt with in the paper.

¹ There were present, besides, only a few Brethren from Northern Germany. See, for instance, *Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei*, Leipzig 1867, Band III. Seite 241.

Not only from the quotation from Bro. Conder's paper as to a set ceremonial, but also from many single examples, we find that the placing of the first stone was an event to be commemorated.

There is an account¹ of the laying of the first stone of the reconstructed abbey-church of La Consomme in the diocese of Aujoulême in 1171, when, after the celebration of mass, the convent proceeded through the cloister door singing the response, *Deum exiset Jacob de terra sua vidit, gloriam Dei*, with the bishops in their white vestments and with the abbot and other assistants, with cross and holy water, with tapers and with incense, and came through the infirmary cloister to the place in which the first stone to be laid awaited them. Then after the response was concluded, the litany recited, and after another response and a collect, in the presence of bishops, abbot, and the brethren, the first stone was laid as a foundation for the altar of the Blessed Virgin. The stone was moreover carefully inscribed throughout its surface, having a circle at each corner in the form of a wheel and another in the centre; in each of these five places the words "*Pax Hic*" were inscribed and in the blank spaces were given the date of the foundation laying and the names of the Pope, the Bishop of the diocese, and of the Kings of France and England.

With regard to the ceremonial laying of other stones in addition to the first, it is interesting to note that two accounts are given of the consecration of the Abbey Church of Bec by Archbishop Lanfranc, in one² of which he is said to have (previously) begun the church by laying the second stone with his own hand, and in the other³ to have laid the first stone after "Heolwin the Abbot", which comes to the same thing.

Mortet⁴ gives a curious quotation from the chronicle of Lambert of Arduus which is perhaps worth translating and reproducing. He tells how Arnold, the seneschal of Count Eustace of Bologna (c. 1060), constructed two sluices in a marsh near Arduus, close to the mill, and between the two on the marsh close to the foot of a hill, built a high mound or keep (*dunjonem*) to serve as a symbol of strength and as a rampart. The keep was so strong as to have given rise to a local legend—the chronicler remarks "What industry among mortals and what kindness among brute beasts!"—that it was built by a bear, and that in an innermost recess there was a small stone placed above a deposit of fine gold, as a portent of happy omen, there to remain for ever.

In an account⁵ of the building of the fortress of Saphet, in Syria, by the Knights Templar (c. 1240), we read that when everything was ready for beginning the building, the bishop, with a benediction and with due solemnity, laid the first stone, and on the stone offered a pascal gilt cup, filled with money, to assist in the ensuing work.

I do not know if the brethren are aware that Pierre de Roissy, who lived at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, wrote a work called the *Speculum Ecclesie* or *Manuale De Mysteriis Ecclesie*, in which he, as we say, spiritualized or symbolized the parts of a church. We can very pertinently note the paragraph on the square corners and the polish of the stone in which he says that "The squared stones signify the squareness of the virtues of the saints, which are Temperance, Justice, Fortitude, and Prudence. The polished stones represent the saints polished by patience in adversity". Thus we have a link connecting the Laying of our Foundation Stone in 1927 with Master Peter of Roissy in 1200.

¹ Vol. ii., pp. 124-5.

² Vol. i., 47.

³ *Ibid.*, 246.

⁴ Vol. i., 181-2.

⁵ Vol. ii., 262.

Bro. W. JENKINSON writes:—

Bro. Flather is to be congratulated on his valuable contribution on "The Foundation Stone", a subject of supreme importance in the history of the Craft.

It has not been possible to consult the references quoted by our good Brother in the time at my disposal, but I have read with increasing interest every line of the paper. It is not within my province to criticise the deductions made by our Brother from the mass of material he has so skilfully brought together, and I can only offer a few oddments from the history of the Irish Craft which bear on the paper.

References to members of the Irish Constitution taking part in the ceremonies connected with the laying of the foundation stones of public buildings are not met with to anything like the extent of those quoted from the history of the sister Grand Lodge of Scotland, and though undoubtedly there were occasions when our Irish brethren took a prominent part in such functions, the student has to spread a very wide net to obtain even small results.

The earliest typographical reference in which the Irish Craft figure is that quoted in the paper now before us, when, according to Anderson, the foundation stone of the Parliament House, Dublin, was laid with Masonic ceremonies on the 2nd February, 1728-9. Some ten years ago attention was drawn to the serious inaccuracies in Anderson's version of what took place on this occasion¹. A correct account of the actual happenings will be found in Pennell's *Constitutions*, 1730, pps. 37-38; Gilbert's *History of the City of Dublin*, vol. iii., p. 73 *et seq.*; and *Trans., The Lodge of Research, Ireland* (1924), p. 148 *et seq.*

Bro. Anderson seems to have adopted Pooh-Bah's sententious remarks, and considered that Pennell's plain and unvarnished statement of facts required some "corroborative details intended to give verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative". Warned by Anderson's method of mishandling facts, it may not be out of place to ask here whether the details given by Lawrie concerning the laying of the foundation stone of the New Royal Infirmary have been verified, either with original records or contemporary Press reports.

It may be mentioned that the Irish *Ahiman Rezens* contain no ritual for the laying of foundation stones. Other than the Ceremony for the Constitution of a New Lodge, which appears in all the Irish Constitutions, no other ceremony is given except in the A.Rs. for 1817 and 1820, in each of which we find the Funeral Service, taken from Preston's Illustrations.

I have noted four instances of the Irish Craft taking part in public ceremonies:—

(1) Laying of the key-stone at St. Patrick's Bridge, Cork, of which the account under date September 25th, 1789, reads:—

"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, down the new street, called St. Patrick Street, and advanced to the foot of the new bridge, which was decorated on the occasion with the Irish Standard, the Union flag, and several other ensigns. Here they were saluted with nine cannon, the workmen, dressed in white aprons, lining each side of the bridge. The procession advanced up to the centre of the last arch, where they were received by the commissioners and the architect. 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

¹ Lepper and Crossle, *Hist. G.L.I.*, vol. i., p. 73 *et seq.*

cushion adorned with tassels and gold fringe, was placed upon it. Lord Donoughmore as grand-master, thereupon in due form gave three distinct knocks with a mallet.

The commissioners were then called upon to mention the intended name of the bridge, which being communicated, the grand-almoner of Munster emptied his chalice of wine upon the key-stone, and the grand-master, in the name of the ancient and honourable fraternity of 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. After this the procession marched over the bridge and its portcullis, and having surveyed them were again saluted with nine cannon".¹

- (2) The laying of the foundation stone of the Belfast White Linen Hall, 28th April, 1783.

The following extract is copied from the inscription on a copper plate recovered from cavity of the foundation stone when the White Linen Hall was demolished in 1896 to make way for the present City Hall. The plate is preserved in the Free Library and Museum, Royal Avenue, Belfast:—

"The first stone of the Belfast White Linen Hall was laid the 28th April, A.D. 1783, in the year of Masonry 5783, by John Brown, Esq., Worshipful Master of the Orange Lodge of Belfast, No. 275, High Sheriff of the County of Antrim, Major of the Belfast Battalion of Volunteers, assisted by the Wardens and Brethren of said Lodge, and accompanied by the Members of the other Lodges, the Sovereign, Burgesses and principal inhabitants of the town, in aid of which building the Orange Lodge presented the Managers with the sum of One Hundred Pounds".

- (3) Laying foundation stone of new bridge at Cork, 1828.²

"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".

This is the only instance I have found of the use of the word "foot stone" for foundation stone.

- (4) Laying of foundation stone of Primate Alexander Synod Hall, Armagh. 27th July, 1912.

The Press report of this ceremony is naturally incomplete in some essential details, and moreover is too lengthy to quote verbatim, but thanks to the fraternal kindness of my friend, V.W.Bro. E. G. Kimmitt, Armagh, Prov. G.D.C., and acting P.J.G.W. on the occasion, I have been supplied with the original MS. ritual then used. The stone was laid by R.W.Bro. His Grace the Lord Primate, John Baptist Crozier, 33°, Senior Grand Chaplain G.L.I., assisted by R.W.Bro. Major E. J. Richardson, 32°, P.D.G.M., Armagh. For comparison with Bro. Flather's outline a similar note of the ceremony is given, and as we of the Irish faith may not publish esoteric details, I have transcribed

¹ Gibson's *History of the County and City of Cork*, vol. ii., p. 326 *et seq.*

² *Early Years of Harmony Lodge, No. 555, Fermoy*. Paper read by W.Bro. J. Heron Lepper, P.M., in 1935. The bridge was possibly that known as the Anglesea Bridge, erected 1830 (Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, under "City of Cork", vol. i., p. 411.) But see Note 14 to Bro. Lepper's paper, from which may be inferred that the procession might not have materialised.—W.J.

the complete MS. and a copy of it has been deposited with the Secretary of this Lodge for inspection of those interested.

An outline of the ceremony is as follows:—

- (1) The Architect presented the plans and requested the R.W.S.G.C. to lay the stone.
 - (2) Prayer by the P.G.Chaplain.
 - (3) Inscription to be placed in stone read by Secretary of Diocesan Board.
 - (4) Documents, etc., placed in stone.
 - (5) The stone tested by the P.D.G.M.
 - (6) Stone then lowered into position with three motions.
 - (7) P.S.G.W. tests stone with Level.
 - (8) P.J.G.W. tests stone with Plumb.
 - (9) Consecration with Corn, Wine and Oil.
 - (10) Invocation.
 - (11) R.W.S.G.C. spreads Corn, etc., with Trowel.
 - (12) Three blows given to stone with Maul, stone declared duly laid, and plans returned to Architect.
- Salute. National Anthem.
-

BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

The commencement of the building at the N.E. corner I regard as a necessity arising from early methods and beliefs. Orientation was obtained by utilising the rising sun, whose first rays would cast a shadow from an upright rod on to a levelled plot of ground. Variation of the rod from the strict perpendicular would give rise to error, so an improvement would be to hold out a plumb-line just as the sun was rising. Some trace of this method lingers in one of the side degrees.

Having marked the line of the shadow, the right angle would be marked by a line drawn to the south in accordance with the belief that such sun-wise motions were salutary, and, in the reverse direction, evil.

The right angle having been obtained, the next step would be to fix a right-angled stone upon it, and to this stone the building could be added. The correctness of the orientation would depend upon this stone, so that it was necessary to test it when in position. This strikes me as the really archaic feature of the ceremony. It appears to be a mistake because it no longer matters. But originally the object was to fix a selected stone so that the walls of the building added to it were upright, at right angles to one another, and correctly oriented in accordance with the position of the sun on the day of the ceremony. This gives us a variation from N.E. on St. John's Day in Summer to S.E. on St. John's Day in Winter, with true East at the equinoxes.

The Indian Freemasons' Friend for 1865 gives an account of the laying of the foundation stone of the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, on Saturday, March 4th, 1865. The procedure was orthodox, and I cannot agree that the arrangement shows any error, although testing came after laying. I quote a paragraph:—

“A phial containing coins and the above inscription on vellum was deposited by the Provincial Grand Treasurer in the cavity prepared for it in the stone.

At the request of the Vice-President of the Institute, the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor laid cement on the lower stone, while the upper one was let down slowly to solemn music played by the Governor-General's Band.

The Provincial Grand Master then received the plumb-rule, the level, and the square, successively, from the Junior Grand Warden, Bro. Callan, the Senior Grand Warden, Bro. Abbott, and the Deputy Grand Master, Bro. Roberts, and after proving the stone, declared it to be truly and well laid, with three knocks with the mallet. The Grand Wardens and the Deputy Grand Master then handed the cups of corn, wine, and oil to the Grand Master, who poured them on the stone."

The orientation is accepted, the trueness of the right angle where the stone is to be laid is accepted, and it has been customary to accept the trueness of the stone for the purpose also. There is, of course, no reason why these items should not be tested, beyond the fact that they are part of the work of preparation and not of the ceremony itself. But it is not a mistake to accept the preparations.

Bro. Flather raises an interesting point as to the shape of the perfect ashlar. I have always looked upon the word "perfect" as referring to the perfect figure of the cube with three equal dimensions as well as to perfection of finish. If the "double cube" is sometimes regarded as the perfect ashlar, there may be the possibility that this is a corruption of *perpent* ashlar. The *perpent*, *perpin* or *parping* ashlar was a stone whose length was the thickness of the wall, so that a smooth end of the stone appeared on each face. But I favour the view that the early perfect ashlars were cubical. There was a time when building stones, as far as possible, were fashioned into cubes, and the idea behind it was no doubt some form of sympathetic magic. Orientation utilised the stability of the universe. The perfect ashlar symbolised and invoked the stability of the world. Lethaby has suggested that the change to an ashlar 12 inches by 18 inches took place when knowledge of the world was increased from East to West, so that the known world was an oblong. It may seem absurd that the building stone was accommodated to the shape of the known world, but sympathetic magic must be regarded as an effort at science rather than a superstition. In medicine it led to the doctrine of signatures and in homœopathy a similar logic seems to hold.

Bro. Flather will find an early instance of ceremonial multiple stone-laying in the translation of the Ledger Book of Vale Royal Abbey. In A.D. 1277 the King laid a stone, the Queen laid one for herself and one for her son Alphonso; the Earl of Cornwall, the Earl of Gloucester, the Earl of Warwick and other gentlemen of the King's party each laid a stone on the site of the great altar.

If we suppose that this stone-laying was accompanied by the orthodox mediæval church ceremony, and that the Royal party were honorary Freemasons, we get a possible line of descent for our present day ritual. A gild formed to build a church would possess many members who were not practical masons, and the more important ones could lay stones in the church ceremony under the guidance of the practical members.

Although there has been foundation ceremonial from the earliest times, the changes in the art of building must have rendered the ceremony much like the knife that had had several new blades and new handles fitted.

The idea of sacrifice and gradual substitutions may bring us to the modern practical enclosure of coins and documents, but I think that originally there was no thought of sacrifice. The object was to convert the victim into a ghost or spirit that would haunt the site and protect the building. Much the same sort of protection is obtained by dedicating a church to a saint and placing his body beneath the altar. The translation of the relics, as effectually as the building sacrifice, converts the building into the tomb of a dead man whose spirit will be present and act as a guardian. But although the result

is the same, it is difficult to imagine any ceremonial relationship unless the martyrdom of the saint was enacted as an introduction to the enshrining of his remains.

Bro. VIBERT said:—

I have a few notes here on certain ceremonies observed in the Roman Church which may be of interest. When Pope Julius II. laid the foundation stone of the citadel of Civita Vecchia he spread mortar in the form of a cross and put under the stone a vase full of coins. This was in the XV.

At the consecration of an altar which consists essentially in placing the stone in position, the proceedings begin with a sprinkling with holy water, which on this occasion is salt and water. Ashes are then mixed with it for a further sprinkling. Wine is then mixed with it. With this mixture the bishop consecrates the altar stone by making 5 crosses on it with his thumb. Then cement is mixed with the holy water and this mixture is used to prepare the cavity into which the relics are to be placed, which is either in or under the altar stone. The relics in their special receptacle having been deposited, the upper stone is then placed in position and is in its turn consecrated. It is censed, anointed and blessed. Incense is then placed on the altar in five places on crosses made of holy water, oil, chrism and wax, and is then lighted. Afterwards the altar is ceremonially cleansed. It is then ready, and Mass is forthwith celebrated at it.

It will be noticed that here the salt comes in as an ingredient in the holy water; the ashes are a detail that we have no knowledge of. I have been trying to find out just where our own use of salt comes from, but have not arrived at any satisfactory explanation. Nor is the symbolism of it very clear to my mind. The whole subject is one of considerable interest, and we are all very grateful to Bro. Flather for having brought it to our notice, and for the interesting suggestions he has been able to make.

Bro. FLATHER writes, in reply:—

WORSHIPFUL MASTER and BRETHREN.—

I thank you very sincerely for your reception of this paper and for the most generous terms in which you have accorded me your thanks.

In writing this paper I had two objects in view, first to try to fill a gap in our Masonic History upon a subject which, while being perhaps the last trace of Operative work remaining in Modern Freemasonry, had not, up to the present, been made a special subject for our enquiry, and, secondly, that I might make an appeal for the restoration to our *Constitutions* of a ceremony.

With the first of these objects, though I admit a desire to induce and encourage a wider study of the subject, I am led to hope that some Brethren may decide to build upon the ground which I have endeavoured to prepare. Indeed, the comments which I have received have largely contributed towards a wider knowledge of the subject, and for this I am very grateful.

As regards the second objective, I am still hoping that means may be found to re-instate in our *Book of Constitutions* the order for the Ceremony of laying Foundation Stones and of revising it so as to give it a truly logical and symbolic form.

I thank Bro. W. J. Williams for his kindly comments as well as his criticism, which is always welcome and never severe. I cannot, however, agree to his suggestion as to the correct reading of Joshua vi., 26. In my view, even the Revised Version definitely shows that Joshua's works constitute a prophecy

and a curse, and I rely upon *A new Commentary*, p. 194, which quotes *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible*, by Driver, pp. 66-72. Bro. Williams and I may agree to differ, but the implication remains, viz., that both in the prophecy and its fulfilment there is definite reference to the Custom of Foundation Sacrifice and clear evidence that whether only in tradition or in actual practice the Custom was known, even if not actually practised.

I am very grateful to Bro. Williams for the additional references to the Ceremony, which with his accustomed industry he has contributed, for in doing so he has added greatly to our knowledge and therefore justified my hope that the paper might awaken interest on the subject.

To Bro. Lafontaine also am I greatly indebted by his most interesting addition to the record of the Royal Exchange and to what he rightly terms "the Immortal Diary" of Samuel Pepys.

Bro. Telepneff is probably correct in his suggestion that the basis of Oliver's reference to the "Helvetian Ceremonies" may be Assembly at Bern in the year 1819. Since writing my paper I have made a further, but fruitless, search through Oliver's books, but the want of indexes makes it a difficult task. I find, however, in *Gould's History*, vol. iii., p. 293, in the section relating to Switzerland, he refers to the "Helvetic Rite", and on page 294:—

"Grand Orient of the Helvetic Rite. This body re-opened on March 9, 1816, with nine Lodges. . . . The system was strengthened by some Geneva Lodges and a few new ones, and in 1820 Bergier d'Illens succeeded Verdeil as G.M."

Although this has no connection with the main subject, it may help us to be charitable to Oliver and to conclude that he may have had some knowledge of a Ritual such as that to which he refers.

I thank Bro. Covey-Crump for his corrections, which have now been noted in the paper.

I agree that I was in error in stating that the Sun rises on St. John's Day "exactly" at the North East point of the horizon. In order that the actual fact on this might be placed on record, I consulted my friend Mr. Fred Clements, who is a well-known amateur astronomer, who very kindly gives me the following explanation:—

"With regard to the position of the Sunrise at various times of the year, as you will fully appreciate, the movement of the Sun is apparent only, and is caused actually by the inclination of the Earth's axis to the Ecliptic or actual path along which the Earth moves. The axis of the Earth is inclined to the plane of the Ecliptic and the Sun apparently moves North or South of the celestial equator in accordance with the position of the Earth during the year.

The celestial equator is in the same plane as the Earth's equator, and the Equinoxes are the points where the plane of the celestial equator cuts the Ecliptic. This occurs in September and March, when the declination of the Sun, when its angular distance North or South of the celestial equator is at the Equinoxes, zero.

At the Winter solstice in December and the Summer solstice in June the declination of the Sun is greatest, being in December 23°-26' South of the Equator and in June the same amount North of the Equator.

Now to an observer at a point on the Earth's equator at the time of the Equinoxes the Sun rises due East and sets due West.

In June it rises 23°-26' North, which is practically E.N.E., being within 1° of the point on the compass between E. and N.E.

In the same way in December the Sun rises $23^{\circ}-26'$ South, which is at E.S.E. for all practical purposes.

In brief, therefore, to summarise, it can be taken that the Sun rises at the Equinoxes in March and September at a point on the horizon due E. and sets due W. At the Summer solstice in June it rises E.N.E. and sets W.S.W., and in the Winter solstice in December it rises E.S.E. and sets W.N.W."

From these facts, therefore, it would perhaps be permissible to say that on St. John's Day the sun rises approximately North East; I would, however, emphasize the importance of the papers quoted, viz., those by Bros. Sir Charles Warren and William Simpson.

Bro. John F. Nichols raises a very interesting point with regard to the character of the stones used for foundation stones in the early churches, and it would be well worthy of further examination to ascertain if there may have been a custom of using stones of Pagan origin, and, in particular, stones which were of different geological character from those employed in the building itself. In this connection I might point out that at the little church at Rudston in E. Yorkshire there is—at a distance of about thirty feet from the N.E. corner—a monolith of millstone grit which stands upright to a height of about nine feet from the ground.

The nearest point where this kind of stone exists naturally is about thirty miles away, and it is probable that in its present form and position it is far older than the church itself.

I am very grateful to Bro. Lewis Edwards for his very valuable and instructive contribution, which goes far to justify my choice of this subject.

Similarly Bro. Jenkinson contributes a very valuable addition, particularly as my sources for research into Irish practice and records were so limited. I am particularly pleased to see by the ceremonial used at Armagh in 1912 that the Stone was tested (? with the Square) before being lowered into position, and is then tested with Level and Plumb, consecrated and declared as being well and truly laid.

While I appreciate the suggested procedure by Bro. G. W. Bullamore as to the possible method by which the early masons laid down the ground plan of buildings, it is quite probable that more than one method may have been in use. In any case, it must be clear that in preparing the ground for the building of a Christian Church, the first essential was the need to find the true East and West line, and this could only be done by noting the exact position of the Sun at noon, an observation that could be made at any season of the year. If there was a rule that the Foundation Stone must be laid at the North East corner without any special reference to the position of the rising Sun on St. John's Day, then the East and West axis line having been obtained by a noon observation it would be a simple matter to ascertain the exact line N.E. and S.W.

I am afraid that I cannot agree with Bro. Bullamore when he claims that it is not wrong to test the Stone after it is laid in its final position.

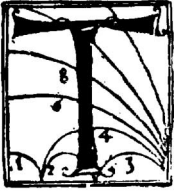
The intention, expressed or implied, is that the Foundation is laid upon a "Perfect" Stone and unless the selected Stone is symbolically perfect, not only in composition but geometrically, it must be rejected.

Neither do I agree that the origin of the sacrifice was for the purpose of protecting the site by means of a "haunting demon", though it may have developed into that form at some period. In my view it was originally a propitiatory sacrifice to an otherwise revengeful spirit.

I thank Bro. Vibert for his interesting comments and in particular I wish to thank him for his patience in dealing with my copy and the many valuable points upon which he has helped me.

SUMMER OUTING.

HEREFORD.



THIS visit was made on Thursday, 4th, to Sunday, 7th July, 1935. Those taking part were:—

Bros. F. J. Baldwin, St. Helens, P.Pr.A.G.Pt., Worcs.; Wm. N. Bacon, London, P.A.G.D.C.; Thos. Baldwin, Bognor Regis, W.M., 1726; A. Blackhurst, Grange-over-Sands, P.M., 4765; H. Bladon, London, P.A.G.D.C.; F. M. Boniface, London, P.M., 2694; G. S. Collins, London, P.A.G.D.C.; W. Morgan Day, London, 2860; H. O. de Lafontaine, London, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; H. K. Duckworth, Grange-over-Sands, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; S. Duckworth, Grange-over-Sands, P.M., 1715; Erskine Edmonds, Lydbury North, P.A.G.D.C.; Lewis Edwards, London, P.Pr.G.W., Mddsx., 2076; Wm. S. Ellis, Newark, P.Pr.G.D.C.; J. F. H. Gilbard, London, 56; F. W. Golby, London, P.A.G.D.C., I.G., 2076; Wm. Barry Gregar, Weybridge, P.Pr.G.D., Essex; John W. Hall, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W.; G. D. Hindley, London, P.Pr.G.R., Worcs.; G. Y. Johnson, York, P.Pr.G.W.; H. Johnson, Guildford, L.R., P.M., 2191; Dr. F. Lace, Bath, P.A.G.D.C.; F. J. C. Lilley, Glasgow, G.Stwd., P.Pr.G.D.C.; H. W. Martin, London, L.R.; C. A. Newman, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W.; C. E. Newman, London, 4453; Stanley Palmer, London, P.G.St.B.; J. Herbert Parker, Lowestoft, P.Pr.G.W.; G. C. Parkhurst-Baxter, London, P.M., 1826; T. Pickles, Kendal, P.Pr.G.W.; Cecil Powell, Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; B. N. Pullen, London, J.W., 5267; J. H. Pullen, London, P.Pr.G.D., Surrey; A. S. Quick, London, P.M., 2183; W. Readman, Middlesbrough, D.Pr.G.Org.; T. E. Rees, Walsall, 654 (S.C.); A. P. Salter, London, P.G.St.B.; W. Scott, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, P.Pr.G.D.; Thos. Selby, Egglecliffe, P.G.St.B.; W. J. Songhurst, London, P.G.D., W.M., 2076; Dr. R. Stansfeld, Hailsham, I.P.M., 4006; E. Tappenden, Hitchin, P.A.G.St.B.; Lionel Vibert, London, P.A.G.D.C., P.M. and Sec., 2076; E. J. White, Bath, P.Prov.G.St.B., Wilts.; W. J. Williams, London, P.M., 2076.

The Local Committee, on which were representatives of all Lodges, headed by Bro. the Dean of Hereford, Pr.G.M., and Bros. E. R. Dymond, F. Newton, and T. B. Feltham, the Town Clerk, made all arrangements to ensure a pleasant visit.

The party from London arrived about 4 p.m.; and the Brethren were divided between the Green Dragon and the City Arms Hotels. After arrival, a visit was paid to the City Museum, in Broad Street, where the Curator, Bro. F. C. Morgan, very kindly described many interesting items.

Dinner was taken at the Green Dragon Hotel; after which a reception was held by the Pr.G.M. and Local Brethren at the Masonic Hall, Kyrle Street, with an exhibition of Masonic curios, amongst which was to be seen a Tracing Cloth (mentioned by Bro. E. H. Dring in *A.Q.C.*, xxix., p. 277), designed by Wm. Roberts, of Rochdale, who died in 1890.

On the Friday morning we proceeded to visit the Booth Hall, the re-discovery of which occurred by accident in 1919, when the collapse of a chimney exposed to view some handsome old timber work; then the Old House, a fine

specimen of Jacobean domestic architecture, which contains a collection of old furniture of the same period; and then the Town Hall, where the City Plate and Charters were on view.

In the course of the morning we assembled at the Cathedral and were shown round by the Dean; the Cathedral is said to be a perfect series of specimens of different styles of English architecture. Amongst the special items of interest was the Mappa Mundi (Map of the World), a good example of a medieval map, dated about 1300, a sheet of vellum measuring 65 inches by 53 inches, which had been discovered under the floor of the Lady Chapel.

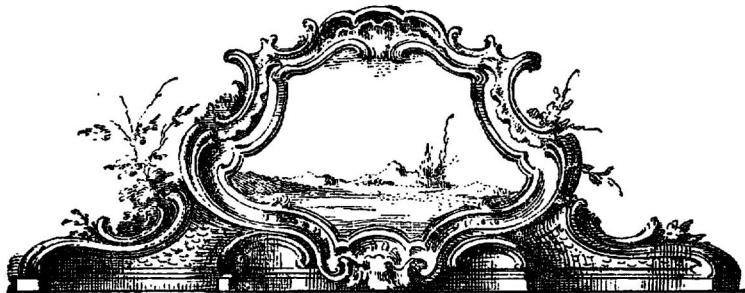
After lunch at the Masonic Hall, as guests of the Local Brethren, we went by motor to Kilpeck, where the Church was inspected under the guidance of Mr. G. Marshall, F.S.A. From Kilpeck we went *via* Wormbridge to Abbey Dore, visiting the Cistercian Abbey, now the Parish Church. The Abbey, founded in the middle of the twelfth century, for nearly a hundred years after the dissolution of the monasteries suffered from neglect and depredation, until a portion was restored and re-roofed by the then Lord Scudamore.

Thence, through the Golden Valley, to Vowchurch, and by kind permission of the Vicar we inspected the Church, of which the Jacobean woodwork was described by Mr. G. Marshall.

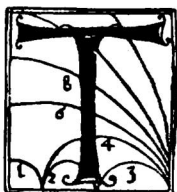
On Saturday morning we drove to Brinsop Court and viewed the collection of curious birds. On to Weobley, where we inspected the Church, and afterwards the quaint old timbered houses in the village. After visiting Dilwyn Church we proceeded *via* Eardisland to Leominster; and, under the guidance of the Vicar, Rev. W. G. Moeran, and Mr. G. Marshall, inspected the Priory Church, remarkable for the possession of three naves; the original nave, dating from the early part of the twelfth century, is considered one of the finest specimens of Early Norman work in England; the central nave dates from the thirteenth century, and the third nave from the fourteenth century;—the specially attractive feature of this last lies in the beautiful windows.

After tea at the Masonic Hall, at the invitation of the W.M. and Brethren of the Royal Edward Lodge, No. 892, we returned to Hereford *via* Mortimer's Cross and Pembridge; and the evening closed with an "At Home" to the Local Brethren at the Masonic Hall, when Bro. L. Vibert read a paper: "A Survey of Masonic Research".

On Sunday we attended Service in the Cathedral; and after lunch returned to London by the 4 o'clock train.



FRIDAY, 4th OCTOBER, 1935.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., W.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., I.P.M.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., J.W.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Mdsx., as S.W.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; *Major* C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., Stew.; B. Ivanoff; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; and W. J. Williams, P.M.

Also the following Members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. J. W. Stevens, P.G.St.B., G. P. Turner, P.G.St.B., C. M. Browne, W. Lee Roberts, Robt. A. Card, I. G. Samuel, H. Chown, P.A.G.St.B., J. H. Clark, E. Eyles, F. Addington Hall, A. E. Gurner, Thos. North, P.G.D., P. J. Crawley, C. W. Butler, Ernest J. Marsh, P.G.D., S. N. Smith, E. E. Sharp, C. K. James, C. F. Sykes, W. Morgan Day, R. Girdlestone Cooper, Geo. C. Williams, L. G. Wearing, A. F. Cross, *Sir* A. Y. G. Campbell, P.G.D., P.Dis.G.M., Madras, Damer Dawson, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., Wm. Lewis, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., Percival E. Rowe, Henry A. Mackmin, James J. Cooper, R. H. Clerke, P.G.St.B., F. S. Henwood, and A. F. Ford.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. L. A. Engel, A.G.St.B.; Arthur J. Turner, Earls Court Lodge No. 2765; W. G. Jones, P.M., Cholmeley Park Lodge No. 4270; A. M. Anderson, W.M., Research Lodge of Wellington No. 194 (N.Z.C.); and H. R. Edgcombe, Oeconomia Lodge No. 5487.

Letters of apology were reported from Bros. G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; D. Flather, J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; B. Telepneff; G. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., S.D.; W. Jenkinson; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., LL.B., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; and G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.

Two Lodges, one Lodge of Instruction and Twenty-nine Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. F. W. DAVEY, P.A.G.Reg.

Pierced jewel; S. and C., 24 inch guage, Level and Pl. Maul, straight-handled trowel, 47th Prop. on an apron, all within G. On sq. Virtute et Silentio. Nous vivons sur F.E. Quarre. On G: W. Hayman. 31. Silver, but no hall-mark.

These jewels are almost certainly English, possibly from the North, and the French is always blundered.

Similar jewels; Worcester exhbn. Nos. 560, dated 1798, 931. *Vide* also 1104. Also No. 47 in Worces. Catalogue, and A.Q.C., xiii., 76, 91.

Probable date 1790-1800. The only likely Lodges, with No. 31, are Antients, now Mount Moriah, 34; London; and Moderns. Medina. I. of W., now No. 35. Both have very full lists of members in G.L.R. and the name does not occur.

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Ivory figure of a freemason with moveable arms and legs; he has various w.t. in his hands, and wears a plain apron.

By Bro. E. A. BARNARD, Cambridge.

Certificate; Craft, G.L. of Scotland, issued to Henry Smith in 1864.

Certificate; Mark; issued by G.Chap. Ireland to Henry Smith in 1866.

Certificate; R.A.; issued to Henry Smith by G.Chap. Ireland in 1867.

These two last, the degree conferred by Chapter 387 Malta.

Clearance Certificate. Leinster Lodge, 387, I.C., Malta, issued to Henry Smith in 1871. With MS. addition that he held the office of J.W. for the usual period of six months from Dec., 1866, to June, 1867.

Presented to the Lodge.

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

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS read the following paper:—

THE USE OF THE WORD "FREEMASON" BEFORE 1717.

BY BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS.

PART II.

TOMBS, etc.

Henry Yevele, 1400.



THE earliest funeral monument in which the word "Freemason" is used and of which I have found a record is that mentioned by Stow in *A Survey of London* (first edition 1598, page 167).

Under the heading "Bridge Warde within," he states that:—

On the East side of this Bridge warde have yee the fayre Parrish Church of S. Magnus in the which church have been buried many men of good worship whose monumentes are now for the most part utterly defaced. I find Henrie Yevele, Freemason to Edward the thirde, Richarde the second and Henry the fourth who deceased 1400, his monumente yet remaineth.

(This church was destroyed in the 1666 fire and the monument does not remain.)

William Kerwyn, 1594.

The beautiful Tomb of William Kirwin still stands in the ancient church of St. Helen, Bishopsgate. It has been frequently described. (See Rylands' article in *Masonic Magazine*, September, 1881; Conder's *Hole Craft*, pp. 125-127; and Gould's *History*, ii., 155). (See also Hatton's *New View of London*, published in 1708, and two photographs in the London County Council Survey of London—St. Helen's.)

Kirwin's own Arms appear in addition to the Arms of the Masons Company. On the South side of the Tomb is the following inscription:—

"Here lyeth the Bodie of William Kirwin of this
 "Cittie of London Free Mason who departed this
 "Lyfe the 26th day of December AN^o D^o 1594".

This is only one of the Inscriptions.

This worthy was admitted Master Mason and one of the four sworn viewers of the City, and on his death Andrew Kyrwin, Freemason, was admitted to those offices in his stead. (14th January, 1594-5.)

This is on record in the City Letter Books for that date (L.B., A.B., fo. 361b). William Kyrwyn's appointment is in Letter Book Z., fo. 61b, dated 31st May, 1580, in place of Phillipe Paskyn, Freemason, deceased.

William Kerwyn's name frequently appears in the City and in other Records. Perhaps one of the most interesting of such Records is in an Award dated 18th January, 1577-8, by Thomas Peacock, Thomas Spencer, Robert Maskall and William Kerwyn, the four Masters of the Carpenters, Freemasons and Tilers. The parchment Award is in the British Museum, the Refce. being to Charters and Rolls, vol. 2, Add 7589. The four Masters were resorted to in connection with a boundary dispute between Sir Nicholas Bacon (Lord Keeper of the Great Seal) and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

The Award was in favour of the Lord Keeper. He endorsed it as "concerning my house in Silver Street called Bacon House."

Walter Hancox (1599).

The 10th Report of the Historical MSS. Committee (Appendix, part 4, p. 423) records an entry in the parish registers of Holy Trinity, Much Wenlock.

Walter Hancox, free mason, was buried the 16th day of September (1599).

The full record is in *A.Q.C.*, xxxii., 74, so that only part of the note is here copied:—

This man was a skilfull man in the art of Masonry, in setting of plottes for buildings and performing of the same ingravinge in alebaster and other stone or playster, and in divers other gifts that belong to that art, as dothe appeare by his workes whiche may be seene in divers parts of England and Wales, most sompteouse buildings, most stately tombes, most curyous pictures.

His Will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (Regr. 76 Kidd). He is therein described as a Freemason and refers to work done by him for Sir Edward Symson Kn^t. and also at Montgommerie.

In the Will the surname is spelled Hancocks.

In Appendix 10 to the 15th Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. I find the following at p. 60 (Corporation of Shrewsbury MSS). 1595 11th Nov^r.:—

High Ercall.

Letter to the same from Sir Francis Newport.

Hearing that they intend to build a new Market House he commends to them a mason of approved skill and honesty Walter Hancocke. It is not unknown to them that the writer has had great cause to make trial of workmen and therefore can write well of his own knowledge and experience that they cannot match the man in these parts in science and judgment of workmanship or in plainness and honesty to deal withal: prays that he may undertake the work more in good will to the Town than to him although he loves the man well: knows that if Mr. Justice Owen were in the country he would say as much on Hancocke's behalf.

This is a rare example of a testimonial in favour of a Freemason.

John Akroyd, 1613.

John Bentley, 1615.

In Anthony Wood's *Survey of Antiquities of the City of Oxford* (edited by A. Clark for the Oxford Historical Society, 1899) reference is made to memorials (p. 303) as to John Akroyd in St. Marie's Church, Oxford, who was buried there 11th September, 1613. It embodied the Arms of the Freemasons. He was described as Chief Builder of the Schools.

(p. 304-5.) As to John Bentley in St. Peter's in the East, Oxford. Wood gives a copy of a long inscription in Latin and a translation thereof. The first part is:—

Here lies John Bentley of Yorkshire most skilful architect of the new part of the Library and of the new Schools who died Dec. 3 A.D. 1615 in the 41st year of his age.

Wood closes by stating "over it all are still remaining the freemasons arms" (which he describes). "This person also built Merton College great quadrangle".

Much more as to Akroyd and Bentley is printed in a paper by Bro. T. W. Hanson, *Halifax Builders in Oxford*. This paper was read 2nd October, 1928, and is in the *Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions*.

John Ackroyd's Will was dated 3 September, 1613. He therein describes himself as of Halifax co. York "freemason".

John Bentley's Will, dated 23 November, 1615, was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 6th February, 1615-6. He describes himself as Freemason of the University of Oxford.

John Stone (1617).

In *A.Q.C.*, xxvi., 301, is a full note of a very interesting tomb and tablet at St. Giles Church, Sidbury (Devon).

The inscription on the tablet, which is photographed, is:—

An Epitaph upon ye Life and Déath
of JOHN STONE, FREEMASON, who
Departed Y^s Life, y^e first of
JANUARY, 1617,
& Lyeth heer under buried.
On our great *Corner Stone*
this *Stone* relied
For blessing to his building
loving most
to build *God's Temples*
in which workes he dyed
and lived the *Temple*
of the Holy Ghost
in whose lov'd life is proved
and Honest Fame
God can of *Stones*
raise seede to *Abraham*.

William Cuer in 1618.

Dingley's *History in Marble*, published by Camden Society in two vols. The following is from a note by the Editor, J. G. Nichols:—

Vol. 2, p. 155:—

Indenture for erection of Tomb of James Montague, Bp. of Winchester in the Abbey of Bath, Nov. 25, 1618.

Parties (1) Sir Charles Montague of London Knt. (2) William Cuer citizen and free mason of London and Nycholas Johnson of the p'ish of St. Savior in Southwark, Surrey, Carver.

The contract is somewhat lengthy and gives detailed specification of the work which was to be done "according to one plott thereof drawne and by the said William & Nicholas already delivered to the said S^r. Charles Montague".

The contract price for work and materials and carriage to Bath was fixed at £200.

The deed is signed and sealed by W. Cuer and N. Johnson, and when the Camden Society issued the book it was in possession Baroness North.

The Monument itself is well illustrated in vol. 1, plates xix. and xxix.

The Bp. was described as Edwardus Montacutus de Boughton. P. 159. "The same William Cuer erected the fine monument of Roger Aston at Cranford Middlesex". Particulars of contract are in Lyson's *Middlesex Parishes*, 4to., 1800, p. 289, and *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1800.

William Cuer was one of the King's Master Masons under James I. Inigo Jones complained that he did not attend at Whitehall to work on the Building there. As a consequence of this Nicholas Stone was called in to do the work. This appears in a letter dated April 4, 1622, from Inigo Jones and Thomas Baldwin in the Appendix to 4th Report of Historical MSS. Commission, vol. 2, p. 310.

In the Report Cuer's name is misspelt EUER.

William Cuer was buried August 4th, 1632.

The surname Cuer is frequently rendered Cure in the records.

William Mason (1639).

Thomas F. Ravenshaw's *Anciente Epitaphes* is cited by Bro. W. H. Rylands at *A.Q.C.*, xi., 159, as follows:—

The inscription was found at Abbot's Kerswell, Devon, and is here recorded as an instance of the symbolical use of the term "Free Mason" following on the track of the Pilgrimage of Perfection and other like writings. It will be observed that William Mason was a "Minister of the Word".

William, sone of Arthur Mason of Cornwood
a hopeful Minister of the Word, in his
journey from Exon was here with much love
and grieffe interd. May 25 Año Dni: 1639 then aged 28.

Mason, how is't that thou so soon art gone
Home from thy worke? What was the fault i'th' stone
Or did thy hammer fayl, or did'st suspect
Thy Master's wages would thy worke neglect?
Christ was thy CORNER-STONE, Christians the rest;
Hammer the Word, Good Life thy Line all blest,
And yet art gone, 'twas honour not thy crime
With stone hearts to work much in little time:
The Master saw't; and tooke the off from them
To the bright stones of NEW JERUSALEM:
Thy worke & labour men esteem a base one
God counts it blest. Here lies a blest FREE MASON.

William Smith (1646).

In Conder's *Hole Craft*, at p. 166, the following Memorial is noted as being in the Church of St. Olave, Hart Street, in the City of London (where Pepys the Diarist attended):—

Here lyeth the body of William Smith
Citizen and Freemason of London
who lived to the age of 66 years
and departed this life the 25th day of January 1646.

The tombstone bears the Arms of the Masons' Company with the plain chevron.

(William Smith was Master of the Masons' Company in 1640.)

There is also a note of this in *A.Q.C.*, iv., 247.

I tried to find the memorial in the Church, but failed. I therefore wrote to the Rector, who also could not find the memorial. It has evidently been destroyed or perhaps exists in a reversed condition in the Church. It is clear from the Register of Burials that William Smith, mason, was interred there in January, 1646.

1657.

From R. Willis & Clark's *Architectural History of Cambridge*, 4 vols., published 1886 (7815 s I at B.M.):—

Vol. iii., p. 533.

Thomas Grumbold, note i. His gravestone may still be seen against the west wall of the churchyard of St. Benedict with the inscription:—

"Here lyeth the body of Thomas Grumbold Free-Masson
who was buried ye 15th of August Anno dom. 1657";

and in the Register for the same year we find

"Goodman Grumbold buried August 15".

(*Note.*—The same volume gives further information as to the Grumbold or Grumball family. They came to Cambridge from Raundes in Northamptonshire, a place famous for its quarries. In 1639 Thomas Grumball, who worked at the rebuilding of Clare Hall, built the East Gate and in 1640 designed the bridge leading to the then newly-acquired walks. It is probable that he may be identified with "Grimball the free mason" who was employed on the stone work of St. John's College Library in 1625.)

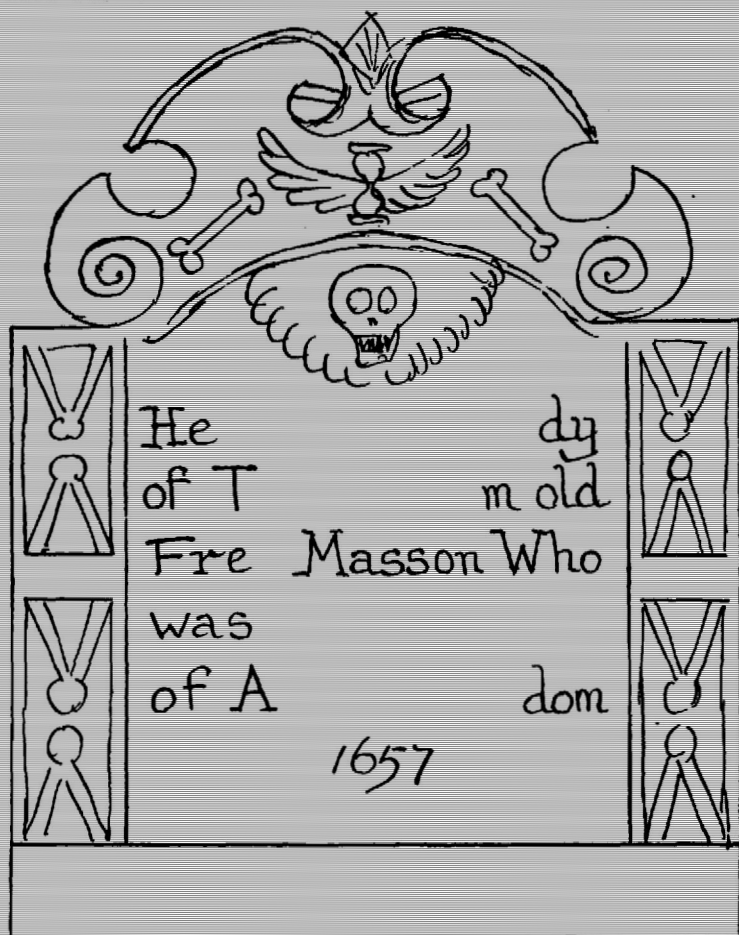
The book above cited was published in 1886, and as it did not follow that what might be seen in 1886 remained in 1935, W.Bro. Commander S. N. Smith, of Cambridge, kindly undertook to examine and report. (He is the local representative at Cambridge of Q.C. Lodge.)

This is a résumé of his two reports, dated February, 1935:—

"(1) I went and had a look in St. Benedict's Churchyard this morning. There seems to have been a 'general post' of the headstones there. There are two rows of them in the space between the Church and the neighbouring Corpus Christi College, the longer row being now against the wall of the College which is the South wall of the Churchyard. Thomas Grumbold's headstone is almost the middle one of the row, but they are in no particular order. Alas, it is very much worn, indeed if you had not given the exact wording, it would not have been identifiable".

"(2) Taking advantage of a bright day I again went to St. Bene'ts. Churchyard this morning armed with a large magnifying glass. By the time I arrived there the sun had reached its maximum altitude and darting its rays with meridian splendour into the Churchyard, enabled me (with the aid of the magnifying glass) clearly to distinguish some of the lettering that I had before so imperfectly discovered: I enclose a rough sketch in which I have marked (in ink) all the letters to which I could swear. All the original lettering shows but not clearly enough to identify any letters (other than those I have shown in ink) except by guessing. There is no doubt whatever about 'Masson' nor about the 'F' of 'Free', but the 'r' is not very clear and the second 'e' is quite illegible.

“The stone was slightly convex where the lettering was; if it had been flat it might have worn better in the middle”.



S. N. S.

Valentine Strong (1662).

Gould's *History* (ii. 40) records an inscription on a monument at Fairford, Gloucestershire, as follows:—

Here lyeth the body of Valentine Strong
Free Mason.

He departed this life
November the . . .
A.D. 1662.

Here's one that was an able workman long,
Who divers houses built, both fair and Strong.
Though Strong he was, a Stronger came than he,
And robb'd him of his life and fame we see;
Moving an old house a new one for to rear,
Death met him by the way and laid him here.

(Valentine Strong was the parent of the Stronges who helped to build St. Paul's Cathedral under Wren.)

Robert Beadles (1682).

The Royal Chapel of St. Katherine was in the nineteenth century demolished to make way for the London and St. Katherines Docks.

In "Antiquities in Middlesex and Surrey," 2nd vol. of *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica* (appendix, p. 20), London, 1790, the following occurs:—

No. 47. At the head of the former on a grave stone is this inscription:—

"Here lieth the body of Robert Beadles,
free-mason and citizen of London and one
of his Ma^{ties} gunners of the Tower, who
departed this life (to enjoy a better) the
8th day of April 1682 being then aged
43 years 350 daies"

"He now rests quiet in his grave secure
Where still the noise of guns he can endure;
His martial soul is doubtless now at rest
Who in his lifetime was so oft opprest
With care and tears and strange cross acts of late
But now is happy and in glorious state.
The blustering storm of life with him is o'er }
And he is landed on that happy shore }
Where 'tis that he can hope or fear no more. }
Thus his cross stars too suddenly has hurl'd
His parts and courage to the other world".

Bro. Sykes first called my attention to this tombstone, which appeared to him to record an instance of a Freemason who was not an operative Mason.

His supposition is, however, I think, excluded by the discovery of the Will of the said Robert Beadles. It is registered in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (Cottle, fo. 42).

He is therein described as Robert Beidles of the precinct of St. Katherine's near the Tower in the County of Middlesex *Mason*.

After a devout preface, including a bequest of his soul into the hands of Almighty God, he gave certain small legacies to his Mother, his sisters, and his servant Charles Kerby, and then to his son-in-law Charles Pomy and his wife "my daughter Phebe Pomy" one half of his household goods and the residue to his wife Mary Beadles whom he appointed executrix. Will was dated 22 March 1681-2 and signed Robert Beidles.

(In the Will the surname is also spelled Beedles and Beadles.)

His widow obtained probate on 24th April, 1682.

In April, 1678, when a General Search was made by the Masons Company he was called upon at his house to make what we may call a token payment and he and 23 other Masons paid a total of 8/s. as recorded in the Masons' Court Book. (See Appendix A. to paper on the London Masons, of Bro. Knop and Mr. Jones at Q.C. Lodge, January, 1935.)

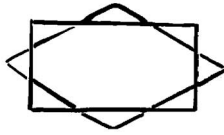
1683.

A.Q.C., xxviii., 60.

Contains a reproduction of a rubbing of a stone in the outside wall of the Church at Ellenhall, Staffordshire:—

ANNA COPE
1683. T. H.
FREEMASON.

By the side of the stone there is another one inscribed Jonathan Cope, .
and with this device very crudely cut.



The inscription T. H. Freemason seems to have been made for the same reason that leads monumental masons now to advertise themselves on tombs they erect.

George Bowes (1689).

There is a tombstone at Wensly, Yorkshire, with an inscription:—

“ George Bowes, Free Mason.
Buried Decem. ye 26. 1689 ”.

At the head of the stone the Mason's Arms are shown. The stone is illustrated in the *Masonic Magazine*, 1881-2, page 240, with a brief note by Bro. T. B. Whytehead, entitled “ A Pre-Historic Brother ”.

(The word “ Pre-Historic ” is perhaps not strictly applicable to a death in 1689.)

Roebuck (1708).

Amongst the epitaphs in Holy Trinity Churchyard, Hull, is the following, under date 1708 Dec. 27:—

“ Sarah Roebuck, late wife of John Roebuck, Freemason ”.
(Gould, ii., 156.)

It will be seen from the examples cited in this paper that although the London Company of Masons reverted to the title Masons instead of Freemasons, some members of the Craft continued to use what they appear to have deemed the more honourable and distinctive appellation “ Freemason ”.

WILLS OF FREEMASONS.

It is noteworthy that in the numerous Wills of Masons which are on record prior to 1449 not one of them (so far as my searches go) describes himself as a Freemason.

The Wills enrolled in the Court of Husting of the City of London include Masons' Wills going back to 1288.

Those recorded in the Registers at Somerset House of the Commissary Court of London, the Archdeaconry Court of London and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury show no single instance, so far as I have observed, of any Will by a Mason calling himself Freemason, until the year 1456 as hereinafter stated.

In fact, the earliest occurrence I have yet found anywhere of the word “ Freemason ” in a Will is in the Will preserved at Oxford of Thomas Elkyns dated 29th September, 1449. He therein describes himself as Thomas Elkyns de Oxonis “ Freemason ”.

(The Will in Latin is printed in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. i., p. 229, published 1873-4.)

If any particular franchise or excellency attached to the prefix “ free ” one would have expected to find it in the Wills of such eminent members of the Craft as (for instances) Henry Yevele and Walter Walton, who both held commanding positions in the Craft and had been honoured by being granted Royal Patents, the first as King's Master Mason to three Kings in succession, and the second (in 1397) as Chief surveyor of all stone cutters and masons for the King's works in England.

Neither in the Patents nor in their Wills does the term free mason occur. In both classes of documents they are described as masons. Certain deeds and documents are also extant wherein they and others are described as "masons" without prefix.

In his Will dated 25th May, 1400, Yevele describes himself as mason and citizen and free man (liber homo) of the City of London. Stow in his *Survey of London*, published 1598 and 1603, refers to Yevele's then extant monument in St. Magnus Church and calls him "freemason", but does not purport to give a copy of the inscription on the monument.

Walton, who made his Will on 16th August, 1418, styles himself "Civis et Mason London", and he gives to Thomas Perpoyns Mason "meum capucium de vetere liberata mistre mee", the correct translation of which seems to be "my cloak of the old livery of my mistery".

(The original Latin of this Will is printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xli.)

The first London Will known to me in which the description "Freemason" is applied to a testator is that of Hugh Wortley Citizen and Freemason of St. Mary at Hill. That Will was proved in the Commissary Court of London on 20th October, 1456, and thenceforth it would seem that the description Freemason was for many years used in Wills proved in that Court to the exclusion (save in all but a very few cases) of the words "Mason", "latomus" and "cementarius". It should, however, be recorded that in 1451 William Godebrowth by will dated 27th February, 1450 (=1451) made a bequest in favour of one Thomas, described as citizen and freemason, London, for his labour. (Reg^r. Sharp, fol. 23.)

(Between 20th October, 1456, and 27th October, 1586 (both inclusive) I have noted in that Registry 25 Wills. Of these no less than 20 described the Testator as a freemason.)

The surnames and years of the 20 called Freemasons are:—

Wortley	1456
Clerk	1458
Hill	1483
Marche	1517
Warn	1518
Lincke	1525
Whelis	1526
Hill	1527
Pope	1532
Ellwar	1533
Serle	1533
Reddman	1536
Homes	1545
Burpham	1550
Chamberlyn	1550
Fant	1550
Weste	1564
Caddam	1570
Watsonne	1577
Ashton	1586

The surnames and years of the five called Masons are:—

Gerald	1457
Kyngeston	1457
Hawte	1540
Paskyn	1557
Pane	1586

In the Archdeaconry Court of London the 33 recorded Wills of Masons and Freemasons show that between 1407 and 1762 there were 18 Testators described as Freemasons and 15 called Masons.

The books of that Court searched cover the period 1368 to 1781, and the facts may thus be summarised:—

In the fifteenth century.

There were three called Masons	}	3
(1407, 1407 and 1410)		

In the sixteenth century. None		—
--------------------------------	--	---

In the seventeenth century. Five	}	5
(1627, 1684, 1693, 1698, 1700)		

In the eighteenth century. Seven	}	7
(1716, 1722, 1733, 1734, 1751, 1755, 1762)		

—
15

In the fifteenth century in the same Court

There were none called Freemasons		—
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In the sixteenth century

There were five called Freemasons	}	5
(1549, 1551, 1580, 1596, 1600)		

In the seventeenth century

There were twelve called Freemasons	}	12
(1603, 1603, 1603, 1616, 1625, 1625, 1625,		
1625, 1637, 1643, 1674, 1686)		

In the eighteenth century

There was one called Freemason	}	1
(1709)		

—
18

Thus it will be seen that so far as my searches in those Archdeaconry Records go there is no instance after 1410 and until 1627 of a Testator being described as "Mason". During the same period, although in the same records there was none described as "Freemason" before 1549, there were thirteen so described from 1549 to 1625 inclusive.

The Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

There are numerous Wills of Testators described therein as Masons or Freemasons recorded in the Calendars and Registers of this Court, but in this paper I do not propose to enumerate or analyse them. A selection of their names and descriptions with dates has been printed in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxxviii., 209-10, and 105 and 106 of such Wills as were proved in 1605 to 1629 and in 1653 to 1656.

Oxford Wills of Freemasons.

A list of Freemasons' Wills proved in Oxford from 1581 to 1730 inclusive has been published in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xl., pages 214, 215, 216. It includes 52 items, of which 48 were dated before 1717.

Wills in York Registry.

The *Freemason* dated 14th June, 1902, prints a communication setting out a list of fourteen entries between 1558 and 1616 of Wills of Freemasons.

This and the other lists for London, Oxford, etc., prove that the term freemason was adopted by craftsmen throughout the land.

Perhaps some Brother in Yorkshire may be able to amplify the particulars by inspecting the registers and abstracting the purport of any references to the craft.

Begemann in his list of 104 occurrences up to 1737 of the term Freemason, free stone and rough mason, clearly deemed this York list as important because he inserted the fourteen items in that list, intermingling them with other items in their strict chronological order.

The full list follows:—

York Registry.

Proved:—

2nd March, 1558. Gilloo Philip, York, Fremason.

Dated 12th August, 1558. Vol. 15, 3, 282.

22nd July, 1574. Bingham Averey, Carlston, Kingstone (Notts.), Fremason.

12th July, 1582. Londesdale James, Bridlington, fremason.

Dated 20th February, 1581. Vol. 22, 272.

29th Novr., 1592. Hills, John, Wyllyngtown Streets, par Maidstown Co. Kent, free mason.

Dated 30th September, 34 Eliz. Vol. 25, 1,074.

29th March, 1593. Childe, John, Darfelde, freemasonne.

Dated 24th January, 1591. Vol. 25, 1,236.

3rd Oct., 1605. Tomlinson Richard, Topcliffe, freemason.

Dated 9th Jan., 1603. Vol. 29, 681.

14th July, 1607. Hellywell Lawrence, Bracewell, freemason.

No date. Vol. 30, 361.

12th Oct., 1607. Halley William, Goteham (Notts.), Freemaision.

Dated June 16th, 1608. Vol. 31, 174.

3rd Oct., 1611. Coore Ambrose, Burnsall, Freemason.

Dated 3rd May, 1611. Vol. 31, fo. 687.

6th Jan., 1613. Yorke. Peter Beverley, freemason.

Dated 1st Nov., 1613. Vol. 32, 639.

4th May, 1615. Roberts, Thomas. Wollaton, Notts., freemason.

Dated 22nd Jan., 1614. Vol. 33, 525.

8th May, 1617. Shutt, William, Alswith, freemayson.

Dated 20th Dec., 1616. Vol. 34, 460.

22nd Jan., 1616. Hobson Robert, Crofton, Freemason.

Dated 17th July, 1615. Vol. 34, 349.

18th July, 1616. Yorke, Thomas, Tuxford, Notts., freemason.

Date 30th March, 1616. Vol. 34, 121.

In *A.Q.C.*, xiii., 177, the following two Wills in the York Registry are also recorded. They were then communicated by Bro. T. A. Withey:—

Proved 19th October, 1568. Nowell; Richard, of Swillington, "fre mayson".

Proved 20th August, 1570. Prestone, Robert, Swillington, "free mason".

(Vol. 20, fol. 9.)

Richard Ellom, 1667.

In the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. lx. (1881-2), at page 235, in a paper by Bro. W. H. Rylands, entitled *Freemasonry in the Seventeenth Century*, is an Abstract of the Will of Richard Ellom of Lymme co. Chester *Freemason*, dated 7th September, 19th Charles II., 1667, and proved 17th Jan., 1669-70.

This Richard Ellam was one of the persons then of the Lodge at Warrington when Elias Ashmole was made a Freemason.

Probably he was an operative, as he describes himself as Free Mason in his Will, and although others who were then of the Lodge were accorded by Ashmole the prefix Mr., this prefix was omitted in naming Henry Littler, Richard Ellam, John Ellam and Hugh Brewer.

CHARTERS TO FREEMASONS, 1565-1671.

There is no trace of any Charter of Incorporation granted either to Masons or to Freemasons in London before those granted by Charles II. and James II. to the Masons' Company.

The word Freemason does not occur in either of them.

Lincoln, 1565.

In 1565 a Charter was granted by the Corporation of Lincoln (who evidently deemed themselves entitled to grant it) to the Tilers, Masons, Bricklayers, Plasterers, Pavers, Tilemakers, Glasiers, Limemakers, Milners [Millers] and Thekers [Thatchers] in eleven ordinances, but here again the term Freemason does not appear to be used.

This, however, was not because the term was not in use at Lincoln.

In 1520, 23rd April, there was an Agreement with William Spencer, freemason, and his fellows for the building of the Gild-hall. This is recorded on fo. 109b in the first Register of municipal proceedings beginning at 1421:—

1566, August 22. Agreed that Hugh Pye freemason shall have his franchise for 25s. and the officer's fees. (Register, vol. iv., fol. 14b.)

1572, April 22. Hugh Pye, Freemason, to have his freedom for 26s. 8d. and the officer's fees so that he will remain in the city to work when he shall be required by the mayor for the time being. (Regr., iv., fo. 63b.)

There is no explanation why the second of these two entries was needed. Perhaps Hugh Pye did not avail himself of the 1566 franchise.

(These particulars as to Lincoln are extracted from Appendix, part viii., to 14th Report of Historical MSS. Commission, pages 27, 60, 61, 66.)

The Exeter Charter, 1586.

(*A.Q.C.*, xli., p. 225, etc.)

On 29th March, 1586, the Mayor, Bayliffs and Comynalte of the Citty of Exeter granted a Charter of Incorporation to the Carpenters, Masons, Joyners, Glasiers and Paynters of that Citty and County.

The Joyners seceded in 1685 and the Mayor &c. granted a new Charter to the Carpenters, Free Masons, Masons or Bricklayers, Glassiers and Painters of the said City.

It bears date 20th March, 1684 (that is 1685 N.S.).

It is significant that the Masons are dealt with as a classification additional to Freemasons.

Both Charters are printed fully in *A.Q.C.* and are followed by Acts, Orders and Ordinances emanating from the same authority.

The Oxford Charter, 1604.

12th November, 1604, is the date of a Charter of Incorporation of the Company of Freemasons, Carpenters, Joiners and Slaters of the City of Oxford. A full transcript from the Patent Rolls, 2 James I., part 4 m.m., 13-16, is in vol. xl., 1927, of *A.Q.C.*, pp. 217-223.

The Charter was granted by James 1st himself. It is better to leave the Brethren to read the Charter itself and the abbreviated translation thereof which was furnished by Bro. Vibert.

Gould, vol. ii., 150-1, refers to the existence of this Charter, and says that "Richard Maude, Hugh Davies, and Robert Smith of the City of Oxon, Freemasons", so described in a receipt given by them December 20, 1633, the *contractors* for the erection "of new buildings at St. John's College, were probably members of this guild". (As to this receipt fuller information is given in part 1 of this paper under date 1633.)

1638, &c.

Durham Charter Byelaws, &c.

A.Q.C., xxii., 19.

In an article by Bro. Harry Brown, entitled *Notes concerning the Masons' Guilds and the Marquis of Granby Lodge of Freemasons in the City of Durham*, an account is given of Charters granted by Bishops of Durham to Masons and others and dated 1594, 1609 and 1638.

The first two do not use the term Freemason. The Charter by Bishop Morton dated 16th April, 1638, designates the grantees as "The Company, Societie & fellowship of free masons, rough masons, wallers, slaytors, Pavers, Plaisterers and Bricklayers." A photograph of the Charter and a Manuscript thereof were included in Bro. Brown's paper.

The Masons' Guild still existed when the paper was written.

The translation occupies more than five full pages of A.Q.C. The Byelaws dated 1657 are also printed at p. 29 *seq.* and include the term "Fellowship and Society of Free Masons. Rough Masons" &c., as in the Charter.

Opposite page 20 is a photograph of a page of the Orders book showing an entry dated 1680 and using the same title of the Society.

The Arms of the Society, reproduced from the original in the Guildhall, Durham, are shown in a photograph in A.Q.C., xxii., p. 213.

This is dated 1784, and at the top is the statement "Incorpor^d. 12 Hen. IV."

This Coat of Arms is a combination of five, the first being that of the Masons' Company with single towers and Plain Chevron. The whole is surmounted by a single Tower.

The Gateshead Charter, 1671.

In Gould's *History*, vol. ii. (following p. 464) is an illustration of the Arms of the Freemasons taken from the above Charter. The motto is shown as "In the Lord is all our Trust".

At page 196 of the same volume particulars are given of the said Charter. It was granted by the Bishop of Durham, April 24th, 1671, to "Miles Stapylton, Esquire, Henry Frisall, gentleman, Robert Trollap, Henry Trollap and others exercising the several trades of Freemasons, Carvers, Stone-cutters, Sculptures, Brickmakers" (and eleven other trades).

Bro. Gould observes that the Freemasons occupy the post of honour and informs us that on the north side of a mausoleum at Gateshead stood (according to tradition) the image or statue of Robert Trollop with his arm pointing towards the town hall of Newcastle of which he was the Architect and that underneath were these lines:—

Here lies Robert Trowlup
Who made yon stones roll up
When death took his soul up
His body filled this hole up.

The Charter provided that one of the four wardens "must allwaies bee a Freemason" and that assemblies should be held on certain days including the days of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.

The fellowship was empowered to make freemen and brethren.

Gould gives further particulars and makes comments and records the burial entries of "Henry Trollop, free-mason, on November 23, 1677, and Mr. Robert Trollop, masson, on December 11, 1686."

The Charter itself is copied in full in *A.Q.C.*, xv., 156-161, as part of a paper by Bro. W. H. Rylands, entitled *Charter incorporating the Trades of Gateshead*, 1671.

The name Gateshead is rendered Gateside.

"FREEMASON" IN THE OLD CHARGES PRIOR TO 1717.

The *Regius Poem* and the *Cooke MS.* do not use the word or any derivative of it.

The same remark applies to the *Lansdowne MS.*, which is regarded as written about 1560 A.D.

Most of the following extracts and some of the comments are taken from the volumes of *Masonic Reprints* issued by this Lodge.

Against each MS. referred to I have given the Classification letter and number, as in Bro. Poole's *The Old Charges*, 1924.

Bro. Poole tells me that in the column of dates given in his book he is not to be understood as expressing his own views as to the dates. He gave them as the dates attributed to the MSS. by the various Commentators.

Bro. Poole is in possession of complete copies of the text of every one of the extant MSS. He has favoured me with a statement (to be found in the Appendix) showing all the occurrences in all the known existing MSS. of the term Freemason or its cognate forms and derivatives.

I have placed my extracts in the order of classification shown in Bro. Poole's book by letters and numerals, as this will facilitate reference and comparison between the classified list and the extracts and Bro. Poole's Appendix.

It is evident that the term "Freemason" and its cognates came into the documents at a late stage in their history.

It is not found in the *Regius* or in the *Cooke* or in any of the *Plot* family. (C.2 of that family has been endorsed with the words "1687 Freemasons Charge", which is clearly an addition to the original MS.)

Nos. 1 and 2 of the *Tew* Group do not contain the term, but it is used in Nos. T.3, 4, 5 and 6.

The *Grand Lodge* Family (D.) is headed by D.1, which is actually dated 1583. The term does not occur in the 1583 document. All the other members of that family are much later in their attributed dates.

The *Sloane* Family (E.) is headed by the *Thorp* Branch containing Nos. E.16, 10, 17 and 19. The term Freemason is absent altogether in that, the leading Branch. No. E.16 is dated 1629.

The *Sloane* Branch of E. is headed by E.1, dated 1646, and there again the term is not to be found.

The *Hope* Branch (c.) consists of Nos. 5, 8, 9 and 18. The term occurs sporadically in Nos. 8 and 18.

The *Embleton* Branch (d.) consists of Nos. 2, 11, 13 and 22. The term only occurs sporadically in No. 22.

The *Scarborough* MS. belongs to the *Sloane* Family and is dealt with in my extracts.

The *Roberts* Family (F.) is prolific in the use of the term.

It has been stated that this "family of five versions appears to have 'branched off' from the main line of descent earlier than the Grand Lodge Families, for it retains several genuine survivals from the Tew type".

Inspection of F.1 (printed in 1722) clearly shows that whatever was the original text on which it was founded the compiler had made additions.

The *Spencer Family* (G.) of six documents are all dated in the eighteenth century, and are all outside the scope of this paper, unless we credit the *Inigo Jones MS.*, which bears a date 1607, as being a product of the seventeenth century. (See Extract and notes.)

As to the Sundry versions and Missing MSS., I leave Bro. Poole's succinct Appendix to speak for itself.

Perhaps it may not be out of place to submit the following for consideration:—

- (1) The term freemason and its derivatives is of late introduction in the MSS.
- (2) It is found more often than not in reference to the obligation of Apprentices to give due heed to the higher rank of Freemason to which they may aspire.
- (3) The earlier term "Mason" included all members of the Hole Craft of Masonry whether individual members were chief men in the Craft or Subordinate—whether they were Masters of the work or inferior in the quality and importance of their work, whether they were hewers, setters, layers, or wallers, or otherwise comprised within the term Freemason, Row, Ruff, or Rough Masons.
- (4) In the fact that some of the Charges wherein the term "Freemason" occurs the Craftsmen are prohibited from supplying forms or moulds to those who are not Freemasons we have evidence that at that stage in Masonic operative history the Freemasons excluded from their fellowship those who were not so highly skilled and qualified as themselves.

Therefore those Charges were antagonistic to a large body of men who were masons though not claiming to be freemasons but being designated by themselves and their employers as (*e.g.*) Rough Masons.

1687 A.D.

The William Watson MS. (C.2).

This is a decorated copy in the form of a Roll.

It bears at its head a rough but bold drawing of the Masons Arms, and the Motto "In the Lord is al our Trust". At the end the name and date

Edward Thompson
Anno Domi 1687

are very boldly texted.

The body of the document does not contain the word Freemason or its derivatives, but the Roll is endorsed "1687 Freemasons Charge". Whether that endorsement was made in 1687 I know not.

The Buchanan MS. Roll (T.3).

Undated, but probably written about 1660 to 1680.

(*Facsimile Q.C.A.*, vol. iv.)

The introduction speaks of the Charges "that belongeth to every Freemason to keepe".

Later it states that Edwin (son of Athelston) commanded that it (the history, &c.) should be Read or Told when any free mason should bee made for to give him his Charge.

Then comes:—

"The Manner of takeing an oath at the makeing of free Masons".

Charges 3 and 4 use the terms "free Masons" and "free mason" and that section concludes thus:—

"These are the charges in generall that belong to all free Masons to keep both Masters and Fellows".

Then follow the *Charges singular*, but although there are eighteen of them the term free mason is absent except in clause 5, which runs thus:—

"And also that noe Master or Fellow shall take any allowance to bee allowed to make any free mason without the Consent of Sixe or five at the Least of his Fellowes and that they bee free borne and of good kindred and not a bond man and that he shall have his Right Limbes as a man ought to have"

The *Beaumont MS.* (T.4) is attributed to A.D. 1690, and has at the heading to OB. "at the making (of) free masons", and, in the Charge B.5, "to make any free mason".

The *Kilwinning Edinburgh MS.* (D.8).

Attributed to the second half of the seventeenth century.

This is printed in HUGHAN'S *Unpublished Records of the Craft* (p. 50).

In the Introductory paragraph this sentence occurs:—

"And also to those that be heere we will charge by the Charges that belongeth to every free Masson to keepe".

It seems strange that the prefix "free" should have crept into that MS. in that place and that it does not recur in the document.

Melrose MS., 1581.

(X.i.) and copy thereof, dated 1674 (D.12).

These two documents are known respectively as *Melrose No. 1* and *Melrose No. 2*. *Melrose No. 1* is missing, but it was copied for Melrose Lodge in 1674.

Bro. Vibert deals with these MSS. in his paper on *The Early Freemasonry of England and Scotland* (A.Q.C., xliii., 195). He states that "the text contains a long charge found nowhere else as to taking apprentices in which the words 'frie mason' occur repeatedly".

Melrose No. 1 was originally "written in England and the words are used "in the English sense as designating the Craftsman". Bro. Vibert, however, goes on to state that in the Melrose Lodge Minutes dated 1674 and 1675 the expression "when any prentice is made frie mason" simply means that he "is passed frie to the trade and made a *frie mason*, that is to say a frie man, a "mason".

We may perhaps be entitled to doubt whether *Melrose No. 1* really contained the words *frie mason*. Copyists who are interested in a subject have an awkward knack of varying their copies to make them accord with their own current practice.

In the absence of the original MS. of *Melrose 1* (X.i.) I am inclined to think that the passage in *Melrose 2* containing references to frie masons and apprentices is not a copy of anything which was in *Melrose 1*, but merely an appendix added to bring the later document up to date. There was an interval of 193 years between the two documents.

Antiquity MS., 1686 (D.15).

Quoted from *A.Q.C.*, xx., 251.

This example of the *Old Charges* has the Arms of the City of London and those of the Masons' Company emblazoned on separate shields, above being the Royal Arms with the letters I. 2.R. (James II. King); the conclusion of the MS. reading:—

"William Bray, Free-Man of London and Free Mason. Written by Robert Padgett Clarke to the Worshippful Society of the Free-Masons of the City of London in the Second yeare of the Raigne of our most Gracious Sovereign Lord King James the Second of England &c.

Annoq. Domini 1686."

One special point is that this latter note refers not to the Masons' Company but to the "Worshipful Society of the Free-Masons of the City of London", which appears to have been equivalent to the acception associated with the Company.

It will be seen from the Appendix that this MS. includes:—

In the opening para., "the science of free masons or geometry" and "that belongs to every free mason to keep" and, at the close "at the making of a free mason or free masons".

The same remark applies to D. (d.) 15, 42 [18th (i.)] [1699] and 48 (48 is the *Fortitude* MS. discovered since Bro. Poole's book was published. It is included in Q.C. pamphlet 3.) The *Foxcroft* MS. omits the second "free" at the close.

The *Colne 1* (MS. D.19), seventeenth century (second half).

This is printed in *A.Q.C.*, xxxiv., 59 *sqq.*, together with a photographic *facisimile* of parts in a paper by Bro. E. B. Beesley.

The term free mason does not occur until line 436. It then occurs in the Apprentices Charges "4thly and that he shall keep councill in all things spoaken in the lodge or chamber by any Master or fellow being Master or freemason".

"5thly, that he Reverently behave himself unto all free masons being sworn brethren unto his said Master".

"6thly, not to use any carding dicing or any unlawfull gameing nor hant any Tavernes or Ale housis thear to waiste any manes goodes without his Masters license or some other free mason".

8thly. The phrase "his said Master or som other free mason" occurs.

The exclusive nature of the Charges is well illustrated in this MS. by the clause on page 65 (line 403): "fittently also that no master or felow make "any mould square or pille to any layer nor let any layer within lodge nor "without to laye moulde stones".

(A similar provision occurs in *Colne* MS. No. 2, D.19. which is transcribed as part of the same paper in *A.Q.C.*, xxxiv. *Colne* No. 2 is a later document and is attributed to the first half of the eighteenth century. It does not contain the Charge to Apprentices, and so omits the term Freemason.)

Note.—D. (e.), 20, the *Clapham* MS., also includes the Apprentice Charge and uses the term substantially as *Colne* (1).

The *Langdale* MS. (c. 1675), D. (b.), 40.

This is printed in vol. 3 of the *Proceedings* of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research, with a comment by the owner, Bro. R. H. Baxter.

It contains the word "fremason" once only and that is in the general charges. The clause runs thus:—

"no master nor fellow take no prentice but every 7 years once and the prentice to be free born and whole of his limbs as a perfect man ought to be and also that non be made A fremason not without the consent of his Fellows and they at least 6 or 7".

Bro. Hughan estimated the date of the MS. as 1670-80.

Bro. Poole classifies it as belonging to the *Dowland* Branch of the *Grand Lodge* family.

1659 A.D.

The *Sloane*, No. 3323, MS. (E.2).

This is a copy certified, signed and dated "Thomam Martin, 1659".

The last words of it are:—

"these things and all other matters that shall be discoursed to which belongeth the free masonry you shall faithfully keep soe help you God, and by the contents of that book".

The *Harleian* MS., No. 2054, fo. 29 (E.3).

(*Facsimile*, *Q.C.A.*, vol. iii.)

This MS. emanated from Chester and is attributed to the second half of the seventeenth century. The handwriting has been identified as that of the 3rd Randle Holme.

It is headed:—

"The 'Free Masons' orders and constitutions", but the word or words with which we are concerned do not appear except in that heading. With the MS. a separate scrap of paper was found in the same hand bearing the following writing:—

"There is severall words and signes of a free mason to be revealed to y^w. wch as yw will answ: before God at the Great & terrible day of Judgmt. y^w. keep secret & not to reveale the same in the heares of any pson but to the M^{rs}. & fellows of the said Society of Free Masons so helpe me God x^t."

There is also in the same volume at the British Museum a list or lists of 26 names and amounts beginning:—

"William Wade w^t. give for to be a free Mason"

This MS. Constitution with its additions is of great interest. It is one of the few examples of which the name of the scribe is known. He was Randle Holme, the third of that name. In his *Academie of Armory* (1688) he wrote: "I cannot but Honor the Fellowship of the Masons because of its Antiquity; and the more, as being a Member of that Society called Free-Masons". (Here he uses the word "Society", which is the word used in the said obligation.)

The heading would appear to be a later addition to the body of the document.

In *A.Q.C.*, xlv., 68, is a paper by Bros. S. L. Coulthurst and P. H. Lawson, entitled *The Lodge of Randle Holme at Chester*, which includes results of their researches.

MS. *York 4*, dated 1693 (E.9).

Belongs to the York Lodge, No. 236.

This MS. in the Apprentice Charge uses the word "fremasons" twice and the word "fremason" four times.

It is certified as follows:—

These be the Constitucions of the noble and famous History called Masonry made and now in practice by the best Masters and fellowes for directing and guideing all that use the said Craft, Scripted p me vicesimo tertio die Octobris, Anno Regni regis et Regina Gulielmy et Marie quinto Annoque domini 1693.

Mark Kypling.

The names of the Lodg.

William Simpson	}	Christopher Thompson
Anthony Horsman		Christopher Gill

Mr. Isaac Brent, Lodg War.

(Copied from Hughan's *History of Freemasonry in York*, p. 77.)

The *Scarborough* Manuscript Roll (E.11).

(*Facsimile* in *Q.C.A.*, vol. v.)

This MS. belongs to the Grand Lodge of Canada.

It does not contain the word "Freemason", but endorsed on it is this Memorandum:—

"M'dum. That att A private Lodge held at Scarborough in the County of York the tenth day of July 1705 before William Thompson Esqr. P'sident of the said Lodge & severall others brethren Free Masons the severall psons whose names are hereunto subscribed were then admitted into the said Fraternity.

Ed. Thompson.

Jo. Tempest.

Robt. Johnson.

Tho. Lister.

Samuell Buck.

Richard Hudson."

The MS. itself was evidently not a recent production when that endorsement was made. The interest for us is in the apparent use that was made of the document in relation to the admission of Free Masons into that Fraternity.

Bro. Poole in his book on "The Old Charges" records 1705 as the date, thus, for the purposes of his list, adopting the date of the endorsed Memorandum as the date of the document itself.

The endorsement is in a different handwriting from the body of the document, and the six names at the foot are clearly actual signatures.

Grand Lodge, No. 2, Manuscript Roll.

Circa second half of seventeenth century (F.2).

(*Facsimile* in *Q.C.A.*, iv.)

This contains the new articles and the Apprentices charge, and so mentions free masons, as do the other specimens of the *Roberts* family.

After the Charge belonging to an Apprentice follows:—

The oath for Secresie.

I A.B. doe in the presence of Almighty God and my Fellowes and Bretheren, here present, promise & declare, that I will not at any tyme hereafter, by any act or circumstance whatsoever directly or indirectly, publish, discover, or reveale, or make knowne, any of the Secretts, priviledges or Councells of the

Fraternity or Fellowship of Free masonry, which att any tyme hereafter shall be made knowne unto me. Soe Helpe me God, and the holy contents of this booke.

Harleian MS., No. 1942 (F.3).

Classified as probably written in the second half of the seventeenth century. (*Facsimile in Q.C.A., ii.*)

This has a clear reference in the introductory clause, viz.:—

“wee will declare what doeth belong to every free Mason to keep”

and in the New Articles:—

“26. Noe person (of what degree soever) bee accepted a free Mason unless he shall have a lodge of five free Masons at least whereof one to bee a master or warden of that limitt or devision wherein such Lodge shall bee kept, and another of the trade of Free Masonry”.

The words “Free Mason” occur in articles 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and “the Fraternity or fellowship of Free Masonry” in the obligation. Again “Free Mason” is in the further clauses for apprentices numbered 4 and 6.

The Inigo Jones MS. (G.2).

(*Facsimile Q.C.A., vol. vi.*)

This MS. bears a title-page with these words:—

“The Antient Constitution of the Free and Accepted Masons 1607”.

The pictorial emblematical Frontispiece is inscribed:—

“Inigo Iones Delin. MDCVII”.

The date is not accepted by Masonic Students who have made a special study of this class of documents. Bro. Rylands appears to have held that the date might be put back to 1655. Bro. Begemann pronounced that the MS. was an impudent forgery of a date subsequent to 1726.

The writing is exquisite, but the style of the penmanship and the nature of the Orthography are not such as were in vogue in the early part of the seventeenth century. It would seem, however, that the Scribe was not himself versed in words outside the ordinary vocabulary, for (if the *facsimile* in *Q.C.A., vi.*, is reliable) he rendered the word “Halidom” as “Itallidom”.

The word “Freemason” does not appear in the body of the MS.

APPENDIX BY BRO. POOLE.

Uses of the terms ‘Freemason’ and ‘Freemasonry’ in the *Old Charges*

This includes all references in all the known extant Charges.

A. Nil.

B. Nil.

C. Nil. (But C.2. is endorsed “1687 Freemasons Charge”).

T. group readings:—

opening para: “that belong(eth) to every free mason to keep” (3, 6).

heading to OB: “at the making (of) free masons” (3, 4, 5, 6).

Charge B.5. “to make any free mason” (3, 4, 5, 6).

also intro. to Charges B:

{ “that belong to all free Masons to keepe” (3).
 { “that every Free Mason should hold” (6).

sporadic:—

final para: "when any free mason should be made" (3).

Charge A.3. "that be free masons allowed" (3).

Charge A.4. "that every free Mason keepe Councill truly" (3).

Title: "The Constitution of the Right Hon^{ble}. and Worshipfull Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons" (6).

D.a. group reading:—

opening para: (all except Grand Lodge 1 read):—

"that (be)longeth to every free mason".

D.b. Charges B.: "non be made A fremason not without the conscent . . ." (40).

D.c. group readings:—

opening para: "to every free mason to keep"

intro. to Charges B.: "which belongeth to every free mason to keep" (17, 37).

D.d. group readings:—

opening para: "the science of free masons or geometry" (15, 42, 48).

ditto: "that belongs to every free mason to keep" (15, 42, 48).

close: "at the making of a free mason or free masons" (15, 42, 48), (but here Foxcroft (42) omits the second 'free').

D.e. Colne No. 1. (see before).

D.f. Nil.

D.g. group readings (by whole branch):—

opening: "that belongs to any (true) free mason to keep".

7 Lib. Sec.: "which science is (now) called free masonry" (but Dumf. 3 (25) omits 'free').

ditto: "Geometry, which is now called free masonry" (but Heaton (45) omits 'free').

OB: "the charges, secrets & mysteries belonging to free masonry" (Dumf. 3 (25) reads "to free masons".)

Charges 7: "to make (any) man a free mason"

Charges 8: "to be made a free mason".

Charges 10: "if upon examination they appear to be free masons" (Dumf. 3 (25) reads "to be such").

sporadic:—

Heading: "The free Masons Constitucons" (45), (Heaton).

D.h. sporadic:—Dumfries 2 (24) reads:—

Edwin: . . . "was made a freemason".

Edwin's Assembly: "qr he made freemasons".

Charges B.5. "is to be made free" for "is to be made Mason".

D.i. Nil.

D. sundry. Melrose 2 (12) reads:—

In the quite peculiar 'Appendix', which relates chiefly to the making of apprentices: opening:

"Ye charg was never given to any frie masone before this worthie clarke Euclyd did give ym yr is no frie mason neither Mr nor fellow yt ought to take any more prentices during his lifetyme but thrie . . ." with repeated allusions to 'frie masons'.

E.a. Nil

E.b. sporadic:—

last para: "to which belongeth the free masonry" (2).

Heading: "The free Masons orders and Constitutions" (3).

Title: "The History of the Free-Masons, now Miraculously Discover'd" (15).

E.c. sporadic:—

intro. to Charges B.: "yt Evry free Mason should hold" (8).

opening para: "that belongs to every free Mason" (18).

(See also Post under Apprentice Charge.)

E.d. sporadic:—

opening para: "which doth belong to Every Free Mazon" (22).

intro. to OB: "of Such as are made free Mazons" (22).

(See also Post under Apprentice Charge.)

E. Sundry:—

Endorsement on Scarborough MS. dated 1705 (see before).

F. group reading:—

opening para: "to every free mason to keep".

sporadic:—

Title: "The Old Constitutions . . . of Free and Accepted Masons" (1).

Title: "The Free Masons Constitutions" (4).

Edwin: "Caused a generall assembly of all Free Masons" (4).

intro. to OB: "Articles . . . added to the Free Masons' Worthy Charge" (4).

ditto: "every one that is a Free Mason . . ." (4).

Charge 15: "to make anyone a *Free Mason*" (4).

Charge 21: "the Yearly Meeting or Assembly of Free Masons" (4).

G. group readings (whole Family):—

opening para: "that (be)longeth to every free mason".

intro. to Charges B.: Spencer (i.) and Inigo Jones (2) read "that belong(s) to every free mason"

Heading or title: the same two MSS. have titles including the term "Free and Accepted Masons".

H. (Sundry). Dumfries 4 (i.):—

OB: (misplaced): "secrets . . . belonging to free masons".

Tho. Carmick (7):—

Charges: "You shall not Admit aney person to be made free Meason".

ditto: "If they upon Examination appear to be free Measons".

The Song which concludes the MS. consists of six 8-line verses, their last lines being:—

"Tis Cald free Measondry",

"Vnto free Measondry",

"from braue free Measondry", &c.

Apprentice Charge.

Roberts version (F.1): "Freemason" used frequently also in (F.2)

Grand Lodge 2: F.3 Harleian and F.5 Macnab.

Colne-Hope-Embleton version: ditto (but Dumf. 4 sometimes substitutes

"Mason" or "freeman").

New Articles.

"Free Mason" and "Freemasonry" throughout.

IRELAND.

1569.

The earliest instance given to me of the term "Freemason" being used in Ireland is recorded in *Miscellanea Latomorum* (1931), .xv., 11. The then informant was Bro. Jenkinson, of Armagh.

The Editor there reprints a reference to pages 112-113 of John J. Webb's *Guilds of Dublin*, as follows:—

The following by-law made in the year 1569 shows how the Council (*i.e.*, Common Council of Dublin) intervened to prevent undue limitation of the members of a particular craft to the detriment of the citizens. It reads:—
 "Whereas certeine abussis is thought by the assemblie to be in the fre masons of this cittie being few in number, not permitting other masons that be good craftsmen to occupie or labor in this cittie without exactinge and payinge (as it is affirmed) halfe ther daylie wages to the saide free masons; for avoidings of which abbuse, it is agreid by this assemblie that such forren masons, being good craftsmen, as will come to M^r. Maior and Mr. Recorder shalbe by them licensed and permitted to worke in this cittie, and within the fraunches of the same till the next assemblie for prooffe of ther workmanshipe and goode demeanor, and being founde then to be good workmen, and of honeste conversacion, shalbe admitted free into fraunches of this cittie, putting ther billes up to the assemblie, and that the said free masons, nor the master or wardens of the Corporacion, shal not vex, arreste, or sue the saide forren masons in the meanetime".

It will be observed that this quotation shows that in 1569 the Freemasons of Dublin were described as a Corporacion and that they had been exercising their powers to penalise forren masons.

The word "fre" is the adjective as first spelt, but it is written "free" in the rest of the quotation.

1602, &c.

Lepper and Crosslé's *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland* (vol. 1) contains a chapter dealing with the activities of the Craft in Ireland prior to 1717. (The term mason is noted therein several times.)

At page 28 reference is made to the "Freemason's Stone" which was in the Coombe District of Dublin: a monolith the existence of which appears to go back to 1602. Those authors quote from a publication in 1818 which quotes a document dated 1602.

The *History* quotes from the *Diary* of the first Earl of Cork as follows (pages 31 and 32):—

"March 1622/3. I agreed with John Lodden, freemason, in the presence of John Turner, of Cork, etc.

"Nov. 1622. John Lodden's work this summer came to £476.1.0 as was certified me under the hands of Mr. Nicholas Blacknoll, Frances Wharton, the freemason, and Augustine Atkins, the measurer.

"16th February 1636/7. I this day agreed and entered into covenants and articles with John Lodden, free mason, to erect and build at my sole charges a substantial bridge of lime and stone over . . . a very dangerous ford . . . for building and the absolute finishing of which bridge, it being a work of charity, I am to pay him one hundred pounds sterling".

The same *History* (page 33) records that in 1629, William Bedell, then Provost of Trinity College, wrote in his diary:—

"18th April 1629. The petition of the free masons and Bricklayers of Dublin answered".

(*The Particular book of Trinity College, Dublin*, London, 1904.)

Bro. Lepper, when noting this tantalising entry in *A.Q.C.*, said there was nothing in the book to show the points of the Petition, the nature of the reply or why the workmen addressed the College authorities.

1614.

Lepper and Crosslé, at pp. 33-4, record and illustrate a tablet in Carrickfergus Church. The following is the inscription:—

“This worke was begune 1614 Mr. Cooper then Maior and wrought by Thomas Paps free-mason: Mr. Openshaw being ye Parsone: Vivat Rex Jacobus”.

1663.

Phœnix Park, Dublin.

Ormonde MSS., New Series iii., p. 51 (Historical MSS. Commission).

Petition of Free Masons and Order thereon.

1663. May 5. Sheweth, having contracted with the R^d. Hon. Arthur, Earl of Anglesey, and John Lord Viscount Massereene for the building of walls to recover divers waste places about Dublin from the overflowing of the sea, to become dry ground for improvements, whereby this river will be made more navigable, and the strength and beauty of Dublin much increased, yet so it is that divers quarries of stone, where your petitioners should have been supplied with materials, and seized for your Grace's service whereby they are disabled to proceed in the said work

They humbly pray that since the adjacent quarries are taken up for your Grace's service, that they may have your Grace's permission and warrant not to be interrupted in any new quarry they shall discover, and they hope within a few days to open a quarry that will not only supply their own necessities but your Grace's also if need require, which they dare not attempt without your Grace's leave, because it requireth much labour and cost, yet without any private or public damage being upon a common waste. And they shall ever pray.

Endorsed at foot:—If the petitioners can find any quarry on the lands of the Phœnix, or Chappel Isold belonging to His Majesty, they are at liberty to open the same and to raise stones thereout for the use above mentioned.
Ormond.

(Note.—Chapelized is referred to 15 times in the quoted volume. William Dodson appears to have been contractor for buildings at the Phœnix and Chapelizard, but his work seems to have proved unsatisfactory.)

1688, Dublin.

In 1808 the Rev. John Barrett, D.D., and Vice-Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, was the Author of *An Essay on the Earlier part of the life of Swift*.

In that Essay was included a copy of the “Tripos” of Midsummer, 1688. The MS. is in Trinity College, Dublin. Sir Walter Scott included the “Tripos” in his edition of Swift's works, 1814.

Dr. Chetwode Crawley, who stated that it is impossible to credit Swift with any share in the composition, transcribed the portion relating to Freemasonry and commented thereon in an Introductory Chapter to H. Sadler's *Masonic Reprints and Revelations* (1898). The document itself is both interesting and amusing. The transcript occupies more than four printed pages and therefore cannot be produced here at length.

It is in the nature of a satirical skit. The title of the MS. is:—

A Tripos or Speech
Delivered at a
Commencement in the University
of
Dublin
Held there July 11, 1688,
BY
John Jones
Then A.B. afterwards D.D).

Extracts follow:—

"It was lately ordered that for the honour and dignity of the University there should be introduced a Society of Freemasons, consisting of gentlemen, mechanics, porters, parsons, ragmen, hucksters, divines" (22 other vocations follow) "who shall bind themselves by an oath never to discover their mighty no-secret, and to relieve whatsoever strolling distressed brethren they meet with after the example of the Fraternity of Freemasons in and about Trinity College by whom a collection was lately made for and the purse of charity well stuffed for, a reduced Brother, who received their charity as follows:"

(Then follows a list of contributions, all of which are in kind after the jumble sale method, except:

From Mr. Ryder, a groat.

From Sir Warren, for being Freemasonized the new way, five shillings.)

Reference is made in Latin to an anatomical specimen whereon "whether on the nobler or the hinder parts I know not for certain—the *Signum* (in plain English, the Freemasons' Mark)". (This quotation is from Dr. Crawley's translation.)

Then follows an Elegy upon "Ridley" (*i.e.*, the specimen), and, in Latin, mention is made of summoning a Lodge and of an arrangement that no one deserving of the extreme penalty of the law should be admitted into the Society of Freemasons. "As soon as this has been formally ruled and the Register of the Lodge produced, each of them, gentlemen and scoundrels alike, bids farewell to the other with most solid kisses indiscriminately bestowed" (as translated by Dr. Crawley).

The transcript ends thus:—

"I have left myself no friend . . . Ridley's ghost will haunt me for scandalising him with the name of Freemason . . . The Freemasons will banish me their Lodge and bar me the happiness of kissing Long Lawrence"

Dr. Crawley comments that his "quotations demonstrate that the Fraternity of Freemasons was so well known in Dublin in 1688 that a popular orator could count on his audience catching up allusions to the prominent characteristics of the Craft. His use of the theme proves that the Freemasonry known to him and his audience was conspicuous for its secrecy and for its benevolence. We can fairly deduce too that membership of the Craft was not confined to operatives, or to any one class. Otherwise the catalogue of incongruous callings would be without point".

My own observation is that the Society of Freemasons ordered to be introduced was distinct from the Fraternity of Freemasons in and about Trinity College, whose example the new Society followed.

The five shillings for being Freemasonized the new way also distinguishes the one Society from the other.

Lepper and Crosslé's *History* also refers to this "Tripos" document at pages 36-7, and at page 39 to the tradition that Elizabeth St. Leger (afterwards Aldworth) was before her marriage in 1713 inadvertently a witness to the proceedings of a Masonic Lodge held in her home in Doneraile House, and that being discovered she was forced by her father, who presided, to submit to initiation.

Those historians say that the story "in view of recent researches does not seem so impossible".

EPILOGUE.

On the derivation of the word "Freemason."

After the foregoing paper had been completed a review was made of the measure of success attained in recording the results of my enquiry.

I had just received the new book called *The 'Yorkshire' Old Charges of Masons*, edited by W. Bro. H. Poole and Bro. F. R. Worts.

Turning to the print of the *William Watson* MS., with the view to verify that it did not contain the term "Freemason," my attention was arrested by the occurrence of the word "free" on page 47, and on considering the context the conclusion emerged that the term "Freemason" was derived from Freemasonry and so meant a man who worked at the craft of Freemasonry.

It should be confessed that the *Old Charges* had never been the subject of more than superficial study by me, hence the suggestive phraseology of the clause in the *William Watson* MS. had escaped me. Having once arrived at the conclusion stated, the next thing was to ascertain whether the *William Watson* MS. stood alone in that respect. Bro. Poole, on page 46 of the aforesaid book, had written thus:—"The *William Watson* MS. is the most valuable member of its Family, the only other complete copy of the text being the *Henery Heade* MS., which seems rather less faithful. The text follows that of the *Cooke* MS. (of some fifty years earlier) very closely indeed down to the end of the French episode", etc. It may be mentioned that in computing the above fifty years Bro. Poole had in mind the date when the text, a copy of which is preserved for us in the *William Watson* MS., was first originated. That MS. itself was not written until, as its date shows, A.D. 1687, which is an interval of about 262 years, as there is good reason for fixing the date of the *Cooke* MS. at about 1425. (See page 39 of the said book.)

At line 77 of the *Cooke* MS., according to the *facsimile* in *Q.C.A.*, ii., the following sentence begins:—

"Owre entent is principally to trete of fyrst fundacion of the worthe syens of Gemetry and we were the founders therof as I seyde by fore ther ben vij liberall scyens that is to say vij sciens or craftys that ben fre in hem selfe the whiche vij lyuen only by Gemetry".

The brethren will not expect me to quote the repeated assertions in nearly all the MSS. that Geometry and Masonry are synonymous. I need only cite a phrase commencing at line 508 of the *Cooke* MS. "he" [*i.e.*, Euclid] "taught "to hem the crafte masonry and yaf hit the name of Gemetry".

The *Cooke* MS. was commented on by Bro. G. W. Speth in *Q.C.A.*, ii. When dealing with the passage hereinbefore quoted, Bro. Speth made this observation in a footnote:—"This is the only document to my knowledge that applies the term 'free' to the seven liberal sciences. If Masonry was a free (a liberal) science, were its professors therefore *free-masons*?"

I shall be glad to know whether anyone has attempted to answer Bro. Speth's question. The question and the answer occurred to me independently 45 years after the publication of *Q.C.A.*, ii., and being then ignorant of his pertinent question, I was entirely unbiassed by it.

When Bro. Speth wrote he could only rely upon the *Cooke* MS., and in the absence of corroboration he probably decided to do no more than record the inference which had occurred to him. He departed this life on 19th April, 1901.

The *William Watson* MS. was printed in the *Freemason*, January, 1891. The *Henry Heade* MS. (dated 1675) was printed in *A.Q.C.*, xxi., 161 *seqq.* Both these MSS. render the passage already cited from the *Cooke* MS. in terms so nearly identical that it is superfluous for me here to transcribe from them.

Thus we come to the point that inasmuch as "liberal" is equivalent to "free," therefore Geometry, being one of the Seven sciences, is free in itself. That is to say, it is Free Geometry. Further, it follows that, as "Masonry" is synonymous with "Geometry," it is Free Masonry, and hence those who are masters of that Art and Science are "Freemasons."

This is a simple and clear answer to the question which has for several years been the subject of so many essays and surmises and such widely divergent and unconvincing explanations. We need look no further for an answer. It is good to find that the answer is supplied by the ancient documents of the Craft.

In the *New English Dictionary*, under the word *Liberal*, the etymology is thus stated:—

"[a. OF liberal (F libéral)=Sp. Pg liberal.

It. liberate ad Latin liberālis pertaining to a free man. f. *liber* free.] A. adj.

1. Originally the distinctive epithet of those 'arts' or 'sciences' (see Art 7) that were considered worthy of a free man, opposed to *servile* or *mechanical*. In later use of condition, pursuits, occupations."

Of the examples given by *N.E.D.* only one is here quoted:—"1422 tr. Secreta Secret. Priv. Priv. 144. Liberal Sciencis, that is to Say free syencis, as gramer, arte, fisike, astronoyne and otheris".

Hitherto when the question has been discussed the arguments have turned upon the prefix "free" as applied to the workers rather than the work. I need not tabulate the various attempts to explain.

The Craft has been in possession of the true explanation ever since the date (c. 1425) of the *Cooke* MS. It must not be assumed that the *William Watson* and the *Heade* MSS. were the only copies made of the *Cooke* MS. or its progenitors or successors. Students of the *Charges* have given reasons for concluding that several other versions of the original text came into existence. Thus during the whole period covered by the *Cooke* MS. (c. 1425) and the *William Watson* MS. (1687) the members of the Craft had that explanation before them.

At Bury St. Edmunds in 1435 we meet with the term "fremasounrye".

In 1490, at Wells, William Attwodde, "freemason, for his good service in his art of *freemasonry*" was rewarded by the grant to him of the office of freemason in the Cathedral Church there, as more fully appears in the estimate quoted in this paper under date 1490.

The outstanding tendency of the *Old Charges* was in the first place to glorify the dignity of the Craft and to give it pre-eminence above all others.

Thus it was a great thing to belong to this worthy Craft, seeing that it was predominant among all the liberal (=free) arts and sciences.

This glory was reflected upon and participated in by those Masons who could claim to apply geometrical science to their work. As the science of freemasonry was free, so they were freemasons. They did not admit all who

were only occupied in the lower branches of building work (such as rough masons and layers) into the full dignities of their mystery, and, in fact, excluded such inferior and less scientific workers from that mutual aid and assistance which freemasons bound themselves to give to their fellows of the Craft.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Williams for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. D. Knoop, seconded by Bro. L. Edwards; comments being made by or on behalf of Bros. H. Poole, G. W. Bullamore, W. Jenkinson, W. Parkinson, and the Secretary.

Bro. L. VIBERT said:—

Bro. Williams' paper is a most useful piece of work, as it brings together for the first time an immense amount of information which has hitherto only been available in scattered references, which it would be a matter of great difficulty for the ordinary student to consult. In fact, he would not be able to do so satisfactorily unless he had access to more than one Masonic library. It has entailed a great deal of painstaking and laborious research, and we are accordingly most grateful to him. Obviously even now it is quite likely that further instances of the early use of the word *Freemason* can be cited, either as already recorded in some out-of-the-way work of reference, or as actual new discoveries. It is to be hoped that Brethren who can adduce such instances will now put them at the disposal of Bro. Williams, so that they can be incorporated as addenda when the paper is printed in *A.Q.C.* The main body of the paper naturally does not lend itself to criticism. But at the end Bro. Williams has come forward with a completely new suggestion by way of explanation of that old crux, the prefix *Free*. His hypothesis is that it was *Masonry* that was *free*, as being synonymous with Geometry, a *Free Science*, and that the *Free mason* was simply the practiser of the Free Science of Masonry. It is, of course, the case that no one outside the Craft itself would speak of Geometry as Masonry, or substitute the term Masonry when enumerating the Seven Sciences. And the actual adjective for the Seven Sciences was *Liberal*. But the quotation from the *Cooke MS.* shows that this word *free* was used as its equivalent, at all events, by the writer of that document. But Bro. Speth pointed out that he knew of no other instance of the adjective *free* being applied to the Seven Liberal Sciences, so that we can hardly claim that there was ever a recognised phrase: Free Geometry. The corresponding wording in the *William Watson* and *Henry Heade MSS.* does not help us, as at this point, they are simply transcripts of the *Cooke* or a closely similar text; they do not constitute independent evidence.

But Bro. Williams has produced an independent reference in 1422, when the word *liberal*, in association with the Seven Sciences, is explained as meaning *free*, as opposed to *servile*. In 1435 the actual term *freemasonry* occurs. It is true that this is many years later than the first recorded instance of *freemason*. But it may fairly be argued that, in the nature of things, the designation of the workman would be a word of more frequent occurrence than the word describing his calling, and more likely, therefore, to have survived in records. So that this by itself is not a fatal objection, as it may still be the case that the designation of the calling was the earlier of the two phrases, although there is, so far, no evidence to show it.

There is, however, another difficulty, and it was one which caused most of the trouble when the matter was being discussed by Bro. Speth and others in *A.Q.C.*, x. It is that the Mason is not the only craftsman to use this prefix, and while, in fact, we do not seem to meet with it in other callings that might

be associated with one or other of the Seven Sciences, as, *e.g.*, Grammarians, or Musicians, we get, for instance, Free Carmen, Free Vintners, Free Butchers, Free Gardeners, Free Fishermen, and there are many others where the suggested explanation is obviously inappropriate. It would be a laborious business to unearth the earliest instances of each of these terms. But unless the explanation is that they are all of later occurrence, and simply indicate a borrowing of an honourable, but really inapplicable prefix, there is still something to be done before we can accept Bro. Williams' very ingenious and simple suggestion unreservedly.

BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

It is with great pleasure that I second the vote of thanks to Bro. Williams for a paper of such interest. He has this evening played the part of "Old Mortality", but he has made the dry bones live and move and the dead and cold stones become eloquent.

I shall not attempt to deal at any length with a subject so full of detail as that before us, but there are just two or three points on which I may perhaps touch. Bro. Williams' reference to Walter Hancox, of Much Wenlock, recalls to my mind a walking tour of my own in Shropshire and my discovery of the record in the local guide-book, accompanied, however, in my mind, by the sad reflection that the matter had probably been noted already and the subsequent realization that this was indeed the case. A Scottish experience may also not be irrelevant. Some time ago, during a wait at Pennicuik, not far from the famous chapel of Roslyn, I came across several tombstones in the churchyard, probably of the latter half of the seventeenth century, which, though they now have no name visible on them, yet bear the distinctive emblems of operative masons in the form of square and compasses, though not arranged in the manner we now associate with the speculative craft.

Further, I can conceive that some of the information placed before us this evening might well form a footnote to Conder's *Hole Craft and Fellowship*—in my opinion, no mean tribute.

Bro. Williams has taken a new and ingenious point in his observations on the derivation of the word "Freemason". Perhaps its novelty and ingenuity have rather prejudiced me against accepting it, so I will leave it to be dealt with by others, as I feel sure it will be.

BRO. H. POOLE writes:—

I fear I cannot accept so readily as Bro. Williams does the interpretation of the word "Free" with which he concludes his paper.

Does the *N.E.D.* explanation of the word 'liberal' really push the matter any further? It is curious and significant that it explicitly makes the status of a "free" art or science depend on the "free"dom of the worker; roughly, "A free or liberal art is one which is practised by a free man". Are we any the wiser? Does the explanation not rather tell against the interpretation which Bro. Williams puts on the *Cooke* passage?

Even if any exact meaning for the word 'free' was in the mind of the writer, and the passage is to be regarded as a piece of logical reasoning (which I doubt), the quotation does not seem to me to entitle us to say more than that Masonry, which is Geometry, is a "Free" science because it is worthy of being practised (as it actually is) by "Free" Masons. And this brings us back very much where we were before.

But it seems to me that the opposition to '*servile* or *mechanical*' suggests a new line of thought. In our search for the origin of the term, we have usually thought of the word "Free" as opposed to '*servile*': I cannot remember any suggestion that it may have been intended to indicate a contrast with the '*mechanical*'—to distinguish, perhaps, the designer, the draughtsman, the carver, and so on, from the Mason who merely erected ready-cut stone according to plan.

My disagreement with Bro. Williams on this matter of interpretation must not, however, be allowed to interfere with my duty of joining in the thanks of the Lodge for the admirable way in which he has accomplished a most useful piece of work.

Bro. W. JENKINSON writes:—

I have read with much interest Bro. Williams' contribution on "The Use of the Word 'Freemason' before 1717".

Our sincere thanks are due to Bro. Williams for the valuable information provided in the mass of references which he has placed at our disposal in such a readily accessible form.

The conclusion set forth in the Epilogue, however, most merits sincere and hearty congratulation. Here our Brother's legal mind is seen in a masterly summing up, based on the fundamental rule of interpretation to which all others are subordinate, that a statute is to be expounded "according to the intent of them that made it".

Not a few attempts have been made to elucidate the meaning of the word in question, but it has remained for our Brother to give us in the contribution just read what appears to me to be the true interpretation, and one possessing the merits of simplicity and sound logical reasoning.

Bro. R. E. PARKINSON writes:—

Ormerode MSS., New Series III., p. 51 (*Hist. MSS. Commission*).

Petition of Free Masons & order thereon.

1663, May 5. Sheweth, having contracted with the Rt. Hon. Arthur Earl of Anglesey, and John Lord Viscount Massereene for the building of walls to recover divers waste places about Dublin . . . "desire leave to open quarries". Leave granted to open quarries "on the lands of the Phoenix or Chappell Isold, belonging to His Majesty".

I am afraid I cannot shed any light on this, but perhaps Bro. Heron Lepper can assist.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

Bro. Williams' suggestion that it was the masonry that was free and not the mason is arguable but not convincing. The seventeenth century view that the freemasons were a society of chapel builders whose original guild was Italian has nothing against it beyond the loss of the records of the Society of Freemasons. In the time of Henry III., Westminster Abbey was rebuilt, at least one Italian was engaged on the cutting of ashlar, and Westminster was practically a foreign settlement. The founding of a branch of a foreign guild merely necessitated the use of the rules of the guild. There was no central authority to whom they were responsible, and they would become an English guild as soon as a redaction of the rules was used for re-founding.

If we regard the free mason as a mason who has entered a religious guild which frees him from civic control when in the service of the church, we can understand why there were also free carpenters, or free fishers, or free sewers. The supplying of monasteries with fish or the making of ecclesiastical vestments would be works of religion also.

Monasteries and cathedrals possessed quarries and lodges of workmen, and the masons trained therein would be likely to pass out in the world as *oblates* and members of a religious guild that placed the service of the church before other work. I have never seen it stated that in mediæval times the secular powers had control of the fabric of the church. When neglect rendered necessary compulsory repairs it was the bishop who issued his commands that they should be carried out.

Reply by Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS:—

I thank the Brethren for their kind reception of the two parts of this paper. Special thanks are due to those who have made additions to the instances originally cited by me. For the most part these have been embodied in the revised print, but there are a few cases, such as the contributions of Bro. Sykes, where I have left additions to speak for themselves in their comments. Among others, my acknowledgments are due to Bros. Knoop, Vibert, Gordon Hills, Ellison, Dr. J. F. Nichols, and R. E. Parkinson. Other acknowledgments appear in the body of the paper.

Dr. Nichols was good enough to call attention to a mistake in the translation supplied to me in the very interesting Will of Walter Walton. This is in Latin and in English in my paper on *Archbishop Becket and the Masons Company of London, A.Q.C.*, xli., pp. 137 and 146. The Latin is: "meum capucium de vetere liberata mistere mee", and should be rendered as: "my cloak of the old livery of my mystery". I had expressed a doubt about the accuracy of the translation: "the livery of my old and free mistery".

There does not appear to be any warrant for introducing the word "free" into the translation, but it is important to find that the word "*liberata*" is rightly translated "livery".

The *Oxford Dictionary* under "livery" distinctly states that Mediæval Latin had "*liberata*" for "livery".

Consequently, I have deleted the reference to Walton's Will from the Epilogue.

It is to be noted that Bro. Gilbert Johnson, who is in charge of the York Archives, has very carefully revised my references to these Archives.

Such a paper as that presented by me could only approximate to a degree of completeness by the co-operation of the Brethren. I am conscious of certain still subsisting omissions and irregularities of arrangement, some of which have led certain brethren to allege as omissions instances which were actually printed in the rough proof.

As to the Epilogue, it is interesting to find that no one has been able to point out any inadequacy in the instances cited by me or in the conclusions arrived at. It is suggested that the solution of the problem is too simple. Such a suggestion is equivalent to an admission of the argument.

There is a story which deals with a similar case.

A Teacher had been at pains to demonstrate step by step to his class the Theorem Euclid 1, xlvij., the diagram of which is in the Jewel of our Past Masters. When he had brought his demonstration to its irrefragable conclusion, one of the pupils said, "But, of course, Sir, it is not really so, is it?"

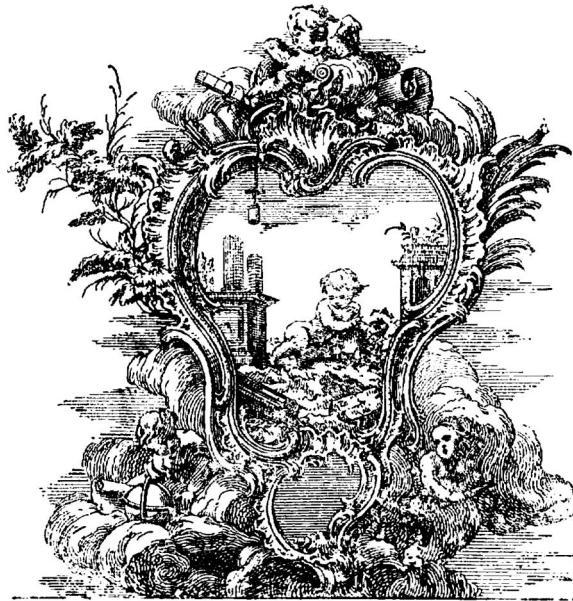
The point we have to consider is not why some other bodies, such as poulterers, &c., called themselves free poulterers, &c., but why the prefix "free" came to be in use in connection with "freemasonry" and "freemason".

In *A.Q.C.*, x., 10, in a paper entitled *Free and Freemasonry; a Tentative enquiry*, Bro. Speth dealt with the subject. He makes no allusion to the crucial passage in the *Cooke MS.*, and says nothing about the other MSS. containing a similar passage, but after referring to certain instances of the use of the term "freemason", dismisses the matter thus:—

The ordinary *journeyman* freemason stood therefore higher than the *master* rough mason and equal to the master bricklayer. But to deduce from this that the freemason was so called because he worked at freemasonry is to put the cart before the horse. It only teaches us that the freemason was a well defined artisan of a somewhat superior class, and cannot assist us to the derivation of the word.

He therefore entirely ignored or forgot his own suggestion derived from his study of the *Cooke MS.*, where that MS. expressly deals with the use of the word "free". Nor does he refer to any of the other MSS. where the same reasoning occurs over a long period of years in the official documents of the Craft, showing that the explanation given in the *Cooke MS.* was adhered to by the Craft for centuries.

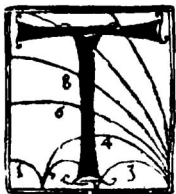
Bro. Bullamore will probably pardon me for not dealing with the points he raises on several matters. It seemed to me that I was bound to adhere to the subject of my paper.



GRAND PROCESSION

AT THE OPENING OF THE SHEFFIELD GENERAL INFIRMARY,
4TH OCTOBER, 1797.

BY BRO. DAVID FLATHER.



HIS broadsheet is of considerable interest, the only other copy which I know is exhibited in the Boardroom of the Infirmary.

It is, however, reproduced in the *Centenary History* published by the Board in the year 1897, which was written by the late Simeon Snell, F.R.C.S.

At the date of this event there were only two Lodges in Sheffield: Lodge 72, the last of the Antients Lodges, had amalgamated with the Britannia Lodge (Moderns) in the previous year.

The Minute Book of Royal Brunswick Lodge for this date is missing, but in the records of Britannia Lodge we find that on the 25th September a meeting was held to consider the arrangements for the procession. The Royal Brunswick Lodge members were present at this meeting. Also that the two Standards used in the procession should be purchased.

On the 27th September an "Extra" Lodge was held. The Lodge opened in the 3rd degree and then they proceeded to arrange the order of the procession. This is fully recorded in the minutes and coincides very nearly with the broadsheet—so far as regards the Masonic portion of the procession. It will be seen that in the broadsheet there is a reference to the "seventh" Lodge, but not to a "fifth". This was due to an error in writing the minutes, which was afterwards corrected in ink.

The print places in the rear of the procession "Masters of the Two Lodges" with white wands carrying the Warrant of Constitution of the Britannia Lodge, but in the Minute Book it reads "The Masters of the two Sheffield Lodges". This, of course, makes it quite clear that the other Lodges taking part in the procession were visitors by invitation and were probably from Rotherham, Doncaster, Buxton or even from Wakefield.

When the Foundation Stone of the building was laid 4th September, 1793, there were three Lodges in the procession, viz., Britannia, Lodge 72 (Antients), and Royal Brunswick. Lodge 72 amalgamated with Britannia in 1796. On this occasion the procession was of a much smaller proportion and there were no visiting Brethren or Lodges.

A similar procession was arranged when Sheffield celebrated the Union, which was not until July, 1815. In the year 1915 we held a Centenary of this function, report of which will be found in our *Masonic Memorials*, 1915.

The reference to the Royal Arch and Knight Templars is of great interest. At this date (1797) there was only one Royal Arch Chapter in the town, the Chapter of Loyalty attached to the Royal Brunswick Lodge, though the Royal Arch as well as the Knight Templar and Mark were being worked by Lodge 72,

as also were the grades of Excellent and Super-Excellent. (See *Royal Arch Masonry in Sheffield*—1922.)

The long list of Sick and Friendly and Trade Societies and Clubs is of very great interest, and although not connected with Masonry, is a very powerful illustration of the innate desire for men to come together for mutual aid in carrying out the great problems of life.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE ORDER

OF

The Grand Proceffion,

Which is to take place from

St. Paul's Church to the General Infirmary;

On Wednesday, the 4th of October, 1797,

BEING the day appointed for the opening of the Charity, and which is to fet out as soon as Divine Service is over at the Church.

The First Division will consist of the different Lodges of Free Mafons, in the following order:—

Two Trumpeters, on white Horses,
dressed in white.

Two Conftables with staffs.

Band of Music.

Two Tilers, with swords.

Standard, crimson Silk; Faith, Hope
and Charity.

A Steward with a pink Wand.

Vifiting brothers, in white Aprons
and Gloves, two and two to the
rank of their respective Lodges;
Juniors first.

Standard, in the centre of them, blue
Silk, Brotherly Love, Relief and
Truth.

A Steward with a pink Rod.

Flag of the Royal Brunswick Lodge.

Members of the Britannia and Royal
Brunswick Lodges out of Office, two
and two; Juniors first.

Royal Arch Banner.

Royal Arch Mafons, with Safhes, two
and two.

Knight Templars' banner.

Knight Templar Mafons, with Safhes,
two and two.

A Steward, with a pink Rod.

Architect with a square, Level and
Plumb, on a Cushion.

The Lodge, covered with white Sattin,
and carried by four Master Mafons.

Master of the Seventh Lodge, with
two filver Pitchers, containing Wine
and Oil.

Master of the Sixth Lodge, with a
gold Pitcher, containing Corn.

Standard, purple Silk, Justice, Forti-
tude, Temperance and Prudence.

The first Light carried by the Master
of the Fourth Lodge.

The Celestial and Terrestrial Globes,
carried by two Master Mafons.

The Second Light, carried by the
Master of the Third Lodge.

The Lewis, carried by a Master
Mafon

The third Light, carried by the
Master of the Second Lodge.

The Holy Bible, Square and Compaſs,
on a crimson velvet Cushion, with
gold Fringe and Taffels.

The Chaplain.

A Steward, with a pink Rod.

Two Secretaries, with green filk bags,
and Tranſaction books.

Two Treafurers, with blue Wands
tipped with gold.

Junior Wardens, with Pillars.

Senior Wardens, with Pillars.

Grand Sword

Book of Constitutions, on a blue filk
Cushion.

Masters of the two Lodges, with white
Wands, carrying the Warrant of
Constitution of Britannia Lodge.

Two Stewards, with pink Rods, to
close the Proceffion.

THE SECOND, OR CENTRE DIVISION

Will confist chiefly, of the different Officers and others belonging to the Infirmary, together with the Clergy, Truftees, Magiftrates, &c., and the three great bodies of the town in the following order,

Conftables, Charity Boys, Mafter Carpenters, Bricklayers, Mafons, Glaziers, Painters, &c. &c.

The Clerk of the Works;

Secretary and Architect;

The Committee;

Medical Gentlemen of the Infirmary;
The Clergy in their gowns, two and two;

The Truftees of the Charity, two and two;

The Magiftrates;

Conftables;

The Infirmary Flag of regal Purple, decorated at the top with different beautiful plumes of feathers, and infcribed with gold letters, "Sheffield General Infirmary.—Go and do thou likewise".

Full band of Mufic.

Clerk of the Cutlers' Company.

Old Mafter Cutlers', two and two.

Beadle of the Cutlers' Company.

The Mafter Cutler.

Wardens.

Company of Cutlers, two and two.

Conftables.

Town Beadles.

Town Collector.

His Affittants, two and two.

Constable.

Twelve Church Burgefles, two and two.

Charity Boys.

Conftables.

THE THIRD DIVISION

Will confist of the Mafters, Wardens, Affittants of Sick Clubs, as they are commonly called, preceded by different coloured Silk Flags, with the names of the Clubs infcribed thereon, in the following order as agreed upon at a Public Meeting held at the Cutlers' Hall.

Names of the Societies.

Eftablifh- ment.

The Tailors' Society,	September 20, 1720
Filemith Society,	March 2, 1732
Cutlers' Society,	April 6, 1732
Shepherds' Society,	July 1732
Old Unanimous Society,	April 12, 1733
Union Society,	January 4, 1740
Carpenters' Sick Society,	November 5, 1740
Society depending on Providence,	September 1, 1741
Grinders' Society,	March 16, 1748
Bifhop Blaze Club,	July 4, 1750
Old Gentlemen's Club,	July 5, 1750
Indefatigable Union,	April 15, 1752
United Society,	May 19, 1752
Reformed Society,	1752
Laurel United Society,	September 6, 1753
Providence Society,	1754
Friendly Society,	July 17, 1756
Careful Society,	January 25, 1758
Young Men's Sick Society,	February 12, 1759
Green Forefter Society,	1759
Trademen's Society,	July 10, 1761
Trademen Society,	1762
Braziers' Society,	February 21, 1765
Young Society,	February 22, 1767
Half-boot Society,	February 23, 1767
Mafons' Society,	April 21, 1767
Waterman's Society,	November 4, 1768
Benevolent Society of Tradefmen, &c.	July 15, 1773
Friendly and United Society,	February 21, 1780
Royal Union Society,	Auguft 9, 1782
Rodney Club,	September 6, 1782
Young Royal Society,	September 4, 1783
Revolution Society,	1788
Prince of Wales Society,	July 8, 1790
Scifforfmith Society,	April 3, 1791
Loyal Independent Volunteer Sick Club,	Nov. 10, 1794

∴ Besides the above, others are expected to join the Proceffion whose names have been omitted to be fent in foon enough for publication.

The Free Mafons are to range themselves about twelve o'clock, down Norfolk ftree, fo that the rear may terminate and halt opposite China-square, to leave a diftance from thence to the end of Union-ftreet, for the centre divifion to fall in on coming out of the church.

The third divifion is to form alfo, about the fame time, from Union-ftreet down towards little Sheffield-moor.

The firft Club, or Tailors' Society not to advance farther than Union-ftreet, fo as to leave the fpace from thence to China-square to take the centre divifion as juft ftated.

☛ The fpectators are pareticularly requested not to occupy the faid fpace.

The Proceffion being formed, will move through the following ftreets and places viz. Norfolk-ftreet, New-market-ftreet, Bull-ftake, Castle-ftreet, Snig-hill, Weftbar, Gibraltar, Shales-moor and White-houfe-lane to the Infirmary.

∴ Proper Officers will be fixed at the Infirmary to marfhall the Proceffion there, and to put it in motion for its return, which, when it arrives at the Workhouse, is to move up Weftbar-green, Broad-lane, Free-fchool, Town-head-Crofs, Upper part of Church-lane, Brailsford-orchards, Fargate, High-ftreet, Market-place and Angel-ftreet, where it will end at the Angel Inn.

N.B. At the clofe of the Proceffion a Dinner will be served up for thofe who may wifh to partake of it, at the Angel Inn, at 7s 6d each, Ordinary and Extraordinary.

The above form of the Proceffion is ordered to be fold for One Penny each, by JAMES MONTGOMERY only, at his Printing Office, in the Hartfhead, and by thofe Perfons appointed by him to fell the fame.



Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

FRIDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1935.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., W.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., I.P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M., as S.W.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., J.W.; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., I.G.; Major Cecil C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., Stew.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; David Flather, J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., LL.B., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; B. Ivanoff; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Mdsx.; and G. Hook, Tyler.

Also the following Members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Harry Bladon, P.A.G.D.C., Robt. A. Card, Fred. Matthewman, L. A. Engel, A.G.St.B., J. Johnston, G. Sarginson, S. R. Clarke, E. J. Blackwell, P. E. Rowe, A. Frankland Moore, S. N. Smith, C. G. Astley Cooper, John F. Nichols, G. T. Harley Thomas, P.G.D., Jas. J. Cooper, Thos. North, P.G.D., J. W. Stevens, P.A.G.Supt.W., C. F. Sykes, R. W. Strickland, Albert Mond, P.A.G.D.C., J. F. H. Gilbard, C. S. Bishop, C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg., H. M. Martin, W. T. J. Gun, A. F. Berkeley, F. W. W. Langley, A. F. Cross, L. G. Wearing, A. Trewinnard, Geo. C. Williams, Damer Dawson, W. C. Batchelor, Henry S. Phillips, Wm. Smalley, and W. Brinkworth.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. A. Kent, P.G.Insptr.Wkg., Vic.; J. P. Hansel, Pilger Lodge No. 238; H. M. Ridge, P.M., Radium Lodge No. 4031; Cromwell J. Curtis, P.M., Clerkenwell Lodge No. 1964; and M. Baines, Welcome Lodge No. 5055.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland; Ivor Grantham, M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; B. Telepneff; G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Supt.W., P.M.; G. Elkington, P.A.G.Supt.W., S.D.; and W. Jenkinson.

The resignation of Bro. *Rev.* A. W. Oxford, from the Lodge, was received with very great regret.

One Lodge and fourteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. Douglas Knoop, M.A., the Master-Elect, was presented for Installation and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. W. J. Songhurst, assisted by Bros. D. Flather, W. J. Williams, and Lewis Edwards.

The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. G. Elkington	S.W.
„ I. Grantham	J.W.
„ W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
„ J. P. Simpson	Treasurer
„ Lionel Vibert	Secretary
„ G. P. G. Hills	D.C.
„ F. W. Golby	S.D.
„ S. J. Fenton	J.D.
„ C. C. Adams	I.G.
„ B. Ivanoff	Stew.
„ L. Edwards	Stew.
„ G. Hook	Tyler

The W.M. proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried:—

“That W.Bro. W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., 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 SECRETARY drew attention to the following

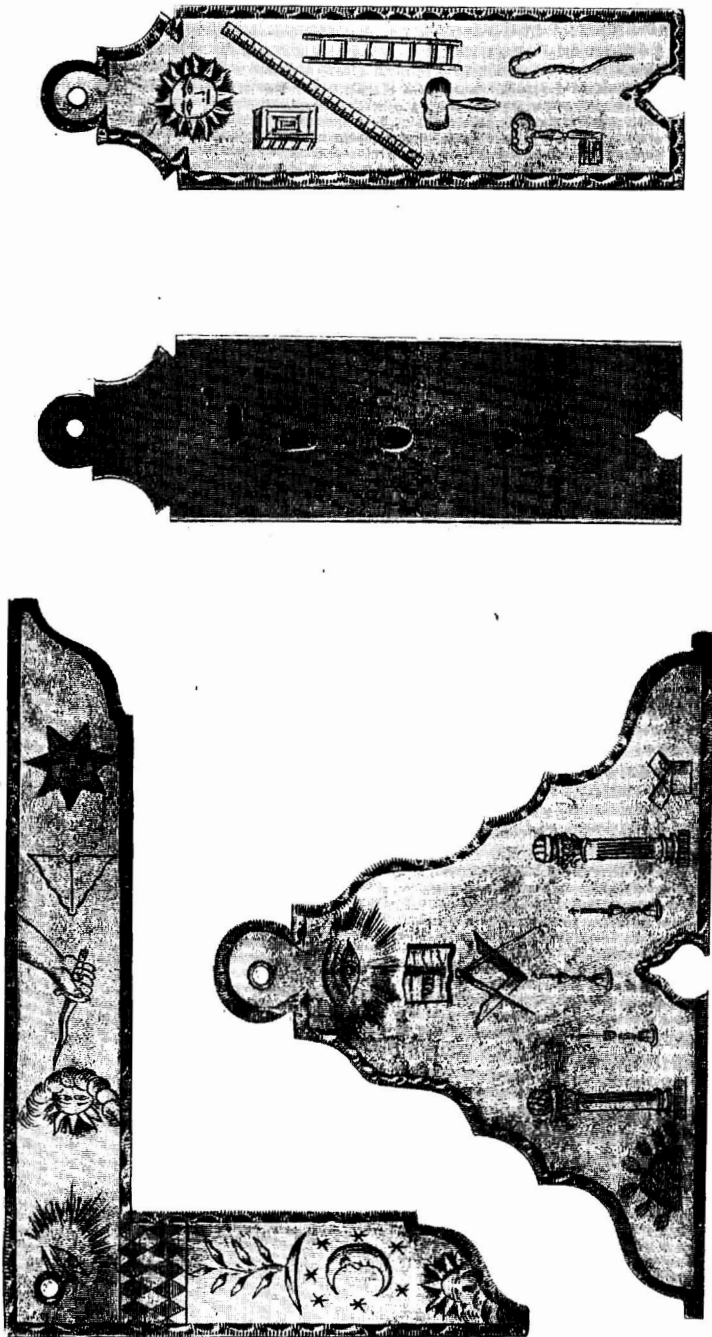
EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. M. THOMSON.

Three Officer's Jewels; Silver. Irish. Engraved with numerous symbols. Hall mark: Dublin 1795. The Lodge appears to be No. VII. This figure appears on the V.S.L. on the level. This was No. 7 on the G.L. Register. The maker's initials appear to be W.B., but they cannot be identified.

Centenary Jewel. Lodge of Regularity. No. 108. May 1855. Scythe and Hour-glass. Round it, on inner circle, the name and number of the Lodge; on an outer circle: Jam Centum floruit annos. May 5. 1855. No name of owner. Now No. 91.

Purchased.



Jewels of an Irish Lodge, Dublin 1795.

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Grand Chapter Certificate, England, of Stephen Jarman, 13.12.1853. It has an endorsement that he visited Zetland Chapter, N.S.W., in 1857. And another which reads:—

Freemason's Hall, Kurrachee, 31 Oct. 1859. I hereby certify that Bro. Jarman has received the degrees of Past Master, Ark Mariner, and Mark Master in a just regular and perfect Lodge held in each of these degrees.

R. McClumpha, R.W. Master Lodge Hope, No. 350.

P.Z. R.A. Chapter Faith and Charity.

There is also the smoke seal of the Lodge, which was a Scottish Lodge, now extinct.

Oval bronze token. 342 inside S. & C. Masonic Lodge of Harmony, Huddersfield. This was its number from 32 to 63; it is now No. 235. The use of the token is uncertain.

By Bro. J. O. LEWIS, of Frome.

Lodge Certificate of the Royal Clarence Lodge at Frome; a recent imprint from the original plate. The engraver was J. Doddrell in 1794. The Lodge was founded in 1790 as No. 560, and erased in 1838. The name was then assumed by a Lodge at Bruton, which also came into possession of the earlier Lodge's property and records.

By Bro. R. A. CARD.

Two "Finch" Symbolic Plates; photo-litho by B. L. Spackman. Numbered 2 and 4.

Another Plate, of a different series, numbered 3. This has a series of groups of letters, arranged cross-wise, which are those forming the passwords and other words associated with the Elu, and other French systems. In the centre a large cruciform diagram, symbolising the universe, the months, etc. The text of this is in English; the smaller groups are French. Below on a label: "If this you read you are a Brother indeed". Below that a monogram of S.K.I. S.K.T. H.A.B. This also is a photo-litho by Spackman.

Presented to the Lodge.

By Bro. Dr. RUSSELL FORBES.

A small reproduction of practically the identical chart just described, but with the letterpress at the head differently set; no number, and no name of printer or lithographer.

By Bro. S. J. FENTON.

Finch's *Masonic Key* of 1802, with plate.

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

The W.M. delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN OPERATIVE AND SPECULATIVE MASONRY.



NO member of the Craft can study the history of the mediæval mason without asking himself what connection, if any, there is between the operative masonry of the Middle Ages and the speculative masonry of the present day. Various masonic writers have discussed the problem, but, as with so many questions in masonry, periodical re-examination of the subject is called for in the light of new material as it becomes available.

It is to a re-examination of the problem that I propose to devote this address,¹ basing it partly on new material collected during recent years and partly on old material viewed from a somewhat different standpoint from that usually adopted.

At the outset, I wish to make it clear that my task is not to show how far back the operative masonry of the Middle Ages, with its 'customs' and its organisation, can be traced, but to emphasise such development and connection between the operative masonry of the Middle Ages and the subsequent speculative masonry as can be supported by historical evidence.

It has been customary, in approaching this problem, to focus attention primarily on masonic 'secrets' and, in a lesser degree, on the ceremony or ritual employed in making masons. I shall refer to both these matters later, but I wish first and foremost to lay stress on the unity and on the continuity of operative masonry in this country from the hey-day of Gothic architecture in the thirteenth century to the present time. Masonic writers have frequently assumed, firstly, that mediæval masonic institutions and 'customs' were solely associated with ecclesiastical architecture, as exemplified in cathedrals, abbeys, and priories, and, secondly, that there was a more or less complete break in building development and in masonry in the sixteenth century at the time of the Reformation. I am convinced that neither of these assumptions is sound.

The surviving evidence suggests very strongly that there existed a unity of mediæval masonry. There is, so far as I am aware, no warrant whatever, either for associating masons' 'customs' solely with Gothic architecture, or for drawing any sharp dividing line in this country between masons working on ecclesiastical buildings, sometimes described as "cathedral" or "church masons", on the one hand, and the general body of masons employed on lay work, sometimes described as "gild" or "town masons", on the other. There are references as early as the middle of the fourteenth century to a 'custom' relating to the payment of masons for holidays, but the only reference to masons' 'customs' in general, with which I am acquainted, occurs in 1539 in connection with the erection of Sandgate Castle, which was neither a Gothic nor an ecclesiastical building. On the

¹ The address is printed from the reading version used in Lodge. A somewhat fuller version, with notes and references, was printed for private circulation in December, 1935, and re-printed in Knoop and Jones, *An Introduction to Freemasonry*, Manchester University Press, 1937.

other hand, it is not easy to reconcile the fourteenth century masons' 'customs', which probably served as a basis for the Articles and Points of the *Regius Poem* and *Cooke MS.*, with all the provisions of the York Minster Masons' Ordinances, yet the Minster was unquestionably a Gothic building. There we have a very autocratic Cathedral Chapter laying down rules and regulations which the masons had to swear to keep, and little or no scope for a moderately democratic 'assembly' to legislate for the government of the craft.

That there was no rigid dividing line between masons employed on ecclesiastical work and masons employed on other work, is proved by the fact that mediæval masons in this country were interchangeable as between various types of building operations, this being true not only of ordinary craftsmen but also of master masons. In connection with the interchangeability of craftsmen, attention may be drawn to the following points:—Firstly, that masons employed on ecclesiastical buildings and masons employed in lay jobs were largely drawn from the same source, namely, the quarries in which stone was not merely dug, but commonly scappled and frequently cut into finished shapes; secondly, some of the masons employed on ecclesiastical buildings were drawn from castles and some of those employed on castles were drawn from abbeys and priories; thirdly, ecclesiastical building operations which enjoyed royal patronage obtained some at least of their masons by impressment, and there can hardly be any doubt that such masons were generally taken *outside* the fee of the Church; fourthly, where royal castles recruited their masons by impressment, as they commonly did, masons *inside* the fee of the Church were not always protected; lastly, on some occasions at least, local town masons were employed on cathedral work.

The interchangeability of master masons between ecclesiastical and other work may be illustrated by three examples from the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Walter of Hereford, who was Master Mason at the erection of Vale Royal Abbey from 1278 to 1280, was later Master Mason and Master of the Works at Caernarvon Castle. Henry Yevele, probably the best-known mason of the second half of the fourteenth century, combined amongst other offices that of Master Mason at Westminster Abbey and that of Disposer of the King's Works at Westminster Palace and the Tower of London. Richard Beke, employed from 1409 to 1435 first as mason and then as Chief Bridge Mason at London Bridge, was promoted from that position to be Master Mason at Canterbury Cathedral.

The Continuity of Masonry. It was common in the Victorian era for historians to write about revolutions in social history, such as the so-called 'Industrial Revolution', as if a sharp dividing line could be drawn between hand methods and machine methods, between the domestic system and the factory system, between small-scale and large-scale production. The present generation of historians realises that there are few, if any, abrupt transformations in the development of peoples and their social institutions. The changes associated with the Industrial Revolution can be traced at work long before 1760 and long after 1830. The rate at which changes occurred was no doubt faster after 1760 than previously, but the whole development, from the conditions prevailing in the earlier eighteenth century to the conditions prevailing in the later nineteenth century, can best be described as an evolution and not as a revolution. The same is true of the great changes which took place between the fifteenth century, practically the whole of which can be regarded as belonging to the Middle Ages, and the sixteenth century, the latter part of which can be regarded as belonging to modern times. The complex of changes then in progress is commonly summed up in the terms 'Reformation' and 'Renaissance', but neither of these movements was new or sudden: their roots go far back into mediæval history and their development and effects go forward into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Both the Reformation and the Renaissance exercised a great influence on the development of the building industry, but, as in other spheres of activity, the changes were gradual and there was no sudden break between the old and the new. So far as ecclesiastical Gothic architecture was concerned, the fifteenth century was an era of activity in the erection of parish churches, but the last age of wide enthusiasm for the monastic life was over long before Henry VIII. came to the throne. The Dissolution of the Monasteries merely marked a further slowing down in the amount of ecclesiastical building. The building activity of the Crown also tended to decline in the second half of the sixteenth century, but the long series of some 1,500 building accounts in respect of royal works, kept in the Public Record Office, relates to every reign from Henry III. to William and Mary and even later, *i.e.*, from the thirteenth century, the great era of ecclesiastical and castle building, to the seventeenth century, the age of Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren, and incidentally a period in which the existence of speculative masonry can quite definitely be traced.

As the Church, and in a lesser degree, the Crown, lost their importance as employers of masons in the second half of the sixteenth century, their place was taken by the nobility and gentry. As William Harrison, in his contemporary *Description of England*, bears witness, stone or brick buildings were replacing timber houses for the gentry. Other evidence of the continued existence of masons' work in various parts of the country is afforded by the maintenance of great stone structures such as London Bridge and Rochester Bridge, by the building activity which prevailed at Cambridge in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and by the numerous assessments of masons' wages during the first sixty or seventy years after the passing of the Statute of Apprentices in 1563.

Another great change in the building industry was that which took place in its organisation, but this too, like the change in employers and the change in styles, was gradual—I refer to the substitution, on important buildings, of the contract system for the 'direct labour' system, by which the employer had appointed certain officials, such as a master mason and a clerk of the works, to organise and administer the building operations, to arrange for supplies of materials and to engage the necessary craftsmen and labourers. The contract system on small jobs can be traced before the Black Death, but after that event it appears to have been applied to larger operations. In the second half of the fourteenth century Crown and Church, as well as feudal lords, let out some masonry work to contractors, although larger operations, such as those at Windsor Castle from 1350 to 1365 and on the nave of Westminster Abbey commencing in 1376, were still on the 'direct labour' system. In the fifteenth century that system continued to be adopted at larger operations, such as the erection of Eton College, but even in the fifteenth, and still more in the sixteenth century, cases of mason-contractors occur where they had not previously been found, *e.g.*, at Cambridge Colleges. It was not until the later part of the seventeenth century, however, that the 'direct labour' system was almost completely displaced by the contract system in London, and traces of the old system appear to have survived even longer in the provinces.

The substitution of Classical architecture for Gothic in this country was much more than a change in style; buildings came to be designed by professional architects or by scholars, whose knowledge was acquired from travel or from books, and the union of architect and craftsman in the same person, common in the Middle Ages, became less and less frequent. Gothic art had been part of the life of the people, in which craftsmen had frequently given expression to their own ideas. Renaissance art was remote from the people and belonged rather to scholars and courtiers. It is in this new interest of scholars in architecture and

in building that we have probably to look for the beginnings of speculative masonry.

The Renaissance was an age of inquiry, characterised by a revival of learning and an endeavour on the part of artists and scholars to understand and to model themselves upon the past. In Italy, where the movement originated, the re-introduction of Classical architecture represented a resumption of the art of Rome and was a definite revival; in England, the introduction of Classical architecture was a foreign importation, alien to the country and its people. Although artists and scholars in this country adopted Italian styles of building, it is possible that the antiquarian interests which the Renaissance aroused led them to probe into the history and customs of those responsible for our mediæval buildings, even though the style of those buildings was discarded for the time being as a barbarous product of the Dark Ages.

Sir William Dugdale, the compiler of the *Monasticon* and the author of a *History of St. Paul's*, may be cited as one instance of a seventeenth century antiquary for whose labours the modern student of ecclesiastical antiquities has cause to be grateful. Incidentally, it may be noted that Dugdale was acquainted with the Fraternity of 'adopted' masons.

Another seventeenth century antiquary, who showed an interest in mediæval building, was Elias Ashmole, who collected materials for a work on Windsor Castle. These materials, which are preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, were utilised by Tighe and Davis in the middle of the nineteenth century for their *Annals of Windsor*, and much more recently by St. John Hope, in compiling his great work on Windsor Castle. Certain of Ashmole's manuscripts are especially valuable because some of the building accounts and local records he used have been lost or destroyed since the extracts were made. Ashmole, whose third wife was a daughter of Sir William Dugdale, was not merely acquainted, like his father-in-law, with the Fraternity of 'adopted' masons, but was himself a Freemason.

The studies made by such antiquaries as Dugdale and Ashmole would show, in the first place, that the men responsible for mediæval buildings were neither scholars nor professional architects, but master masons who had passed through the stage of being working or operative masons to positions of planning and designing the buildings at the construction or re-construction of which they presided. It is difficult to trace the early careers of many mason-architects of the Middle Ages; it is known, however, that Richard Beke, Master Mason at Canterbury Cathedral from 1435, worked as a mason from 1409 to 1417 and as Chief Bridge Mason from 1417 to 1435 at London Bridge; that Robert Spillesby, Master Mason at York Minster from 1466 to 1472, was probably the man of that name who worked as a mason at Eton College in 1445-46; that Christopher Horner, Master Mason at York Minster from 1505 to 1522, was an apprentice at the Minster in the late 1470's and early 1480's and a mason there in 1495. Of the great mason-architects of the fourteenth century, Henry Yevele can be traced as a mason-contractor in London before he became King's Master Mason and Master Mason at Westminster Abbey, and William Wynford as an overseer of the masons at Windsor Castle before he became Master Mason at Wells Cathedral and later Master Mason at the erection of Winchester College and at the rebuilding of the nave of Winchester Cathedral.

In the second place, a study of the Masons' Fraternity would show that, in addition to working masons and ex-working masons, it had associated with it some persons of higher social standing. Some of these persons, such as the mayor, or the sheriff, or the local gentry, were probably associated with the masons' 'assembly' more or less as representatives of the Authorities. Others may very possibly have been non-operative members of the Fraternity, just as some of the members of a Gild or Company might have no connection with its particular trade. Thus, in the seventeenth century, William Suthis, King's Master Mason,

belonged to the Goldsmiths' Company, Caius Gabriel Cibber, the sculptor, to the Leathersellers' Company, and Samuel Fulkes, the great mason-contractor, to the Haberdashers' Company. In the case of a Craft Gild or Company, membership offered certain definite privileges: it was commonly a stepping stone to the freedom of the city or town and carried with it the right to trade and to share in the government of the municipality.

So far as is known, membership of the Masons' Fraternity carried with it no definite privileges, and we have to ask ourselves, therefore, firstly, who were these non-operatives, and, secondly, what attracted them to link themselves in some way with the Fraternity?

Regarding the first question, the most likely persons would be those who came into fairly close contact with the masons in their work and were interested in the problems of construction and ornamentation involved. These persons would frequently be clerics, who, either as clerks of the works, or in some supervisory capacity, participated in the administration of building operations on behalf of employers. In addition to master masons who had risen from the ranks of operative masons, there would be also craftsmen who were in process of rising from the ranks, amongst whom the clergy might well find men with whom they were quite ready to associate. When a mason's contract provided in one case that he and his man were to have "honorable maintenance" and in another that a mason was to have "his board in the county hall as a gentleman", and when we find masons dining with the Fellows at New College, Oxford, their treatment suggests that they had acquired a certain social standing. The fact that Henry Yevele and William Wynford, as early in their careers as 1369, were members of the King's Household and grouped with the esquires of minor degree, gives further support to this inference.

It was very possibly clerical non-operative members who first set down in writing the Articles and Points for which the masons' 'customs' probably served as a basis; it was almost certainly to them that the development of the so-called legend was due. The author of the *Cooke MS.*, with its numerous references and quotations, and the writer of the *Regius Poem*, with its various Latin crossheadings, were certainly men of some learning. The former implies that he belonged to the Fraternity, and must be regarded as a non-operative member. The legend obviously consists of several elements: the Athelstan legend may possibly have been an oral tradition amongst English masons, as no manuscript sources have been traced for it; it is also conceivable that the part of the legend relating to France was an oral tradition introduced into this country by French or Norman masons, though various manuscript sources for the Charlemagne legend were available for English writers; the Jewish and the Egyptian legends were almost certainly built up from various known sources by the fourteenth or fifteenth century clerics who were the masonic historians of their day.

The clerical non-operative member, who in all probability compiled the history of masonry embodied in the *Cooke MS.*, was a serious historian according to fourteenth century standards; his efforts may fairly be compared with those of Dr. James Anderson, who some three hundred years later compiled the history of masonry embodied in the 1723 and 1738 editions of the *Constitutions*. By common consent, the *Cooke* version of masonic history is nowadays described as legend, while the *Anderson* version, in so far as it brings the history of the building industry up to date, is regarded by most serious students as suspect, owing largely to the inaccuracies of the *masonic* statements which it contains.

The importance of the *Regius* and *Cooke MSS.*, and of contemporary or older MSS. which are now lost, as a link uniting mediæval operative masonry and modern speculative masonry cannot easily be exaggerated. These early manuscripts show us that fourteenth and fifteenth century masons in this country possessed a certain organisation, that their trade was subject to recognised

customs, embodied in so-called Charges, and that they were sufficiently interested in their occupation to encourage non-operative members of their organisation or Fraternity to set down the history of the building industry in writing. It is from that operative Fraternity with its legends and its customs that present-day freemasonry claims descent, and it is out of those legends and those customs that our rites and ceremonies have grown.

Regarding the second question, if, as seems probable, the first setting down and subsequent elaboration of the legend were due to this type of learned man, then at the outset, in any case, apart from any oral traditions, it could not have been the legend which attracted the non-operatives, and a desire to associate with the masons for other reasons must have been the attraction. Those reasons for joining the Fraternity might have been, firstly, a genuine desire for knowledge about architecture and art; secondly, a wish to participate in the masons' secrets, the existence of which is implied by the third Point of the *Cooke MS.*, which requires a fellow to "hele" the counsel of his fellows in lodge and in chamber; and, thirdly, curiosity to learn about any formal admission ceremony which might exist.

In so far as the non-operatives were clerics in fairly close contact with masons' work, it would seem likely that an interest in architecture and art would be the principal attraction. This may to some extent have involved the question of secrets, if some of the technical or geometrical knowledge amongst the operative masons was treated as a trade secret, which is quite likely. The masons' trade secrets were probably of two types, the one concerned with the working of stone and the other with planning and designing. Regarding the former, knowledge as to how to distinguish the line of bedding of a freestone, notwithstanding the evenness of its grain, would probably be a carefully guarded secret. Regarding the latter, a knowledge of certain practical rules concerning the construction of arches and vaults might very well be preserved as a secret. It is conceivable, however, that there was a third type of secret concerned with methods of recognition. There is said to have been a method of 'greeting' amongst German masons as early as the second half of the fifteenth century, and it is possible, though by no means certain, that they had a 'grip'. In Scotland there is mention of the 'mason word' in the seventeenth century minute books of certain operative lodges, but the 'mason word' could hardly have been communicated at a ceremony of admission of a fellow, unless it were done in a whisper or by taking the candidate into another room, as the Schaw Statutes of 1598 provided that two apprentices, in addition to six masters or fellows, should be present at the admission. Regarding English practice, the earlier versions of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry* appear to make no specific reference to the 'mason word' or that type of secret, but such reference occurs in two fragments generally attributed to the second half of the seventeenth century, which are associated with versions known as *Sloane MS. 3323* and *Harleian MS. 2054*. Whether they refer explicitly to something which had long existed, but had not previously been definitely alluded to, or whether they refer to a recent development, due perhaps to Scottish or to speculative influence, it is impossible to say.

In what concerns a formal admission ceremony, according to the *MS. Constitutions*, the person *who was to be made a mason* laid his hand on the Book, held by one of the oldest masons, whilst the Charges were read out, introduced by an Exhortation that the mason was to keep those Charges. As the Charges were addressed to masters and fellows, and as practically all versions distinguish between "taking an apprentice" and "making a mason", the ceremony, such as it was, of making a mason presumably applied, not to a boy or youth becoming an apprentice, but to a man, normally an ex-apprentice, becoming a qualified craftsman, or being made a freeman.

So far as apprentices were concerned, they would doubtless be bound by their indentures to keep their masters' secrets. Those would be the technical or trade secrets; secret methods of recognition, assuming they existed, would not affect apprentices, who had no liberty to seek work independently of the masters to whom they were bound. Thus there would be no call for the administration of an oath to apprentices.

Amongst masons in London in the seventeenth century, a distinction was made between "binding" an apprentice and "presenting" an apprentice, the former doubtless referring to signing the indentures and the latter to appearing before the Court of Assistants (at the next meeting after the binding), on which occasion the master paid a fee of 2s. 6d. "for presenting his apprentice". How old the system of "presenting apprentices" was, it is impossible to say, but there is nothing in the *Court Book* of the Masons' Company to suggest that it was more than a means of keeping check on the number and duration of apprenticeships and of securing some revenue for the Company.

The first indication, to my mind, that there was perhaps something which could be described as a ceremony, so far as apprentices were concerned, is the appearance of the Apprentice Charge at the end of certain versions of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* dating from the second half of the seventeenth century. Even this is by no means certain, however, for although the Apprentice Charge is definitely operative in character, there does not appear to be any evidence that it was ever used in an operative lodge. Of these versions containing the Apprentice Charge, those belonging to the so-called Roberts family also contain a Code of New Articles which strongly reflect the increasingly speculative character of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century masonry.

If clerics sometimes joined the Fraternity in the Middle Ages as non-operative members, there would be no reason why antiquaries should not have done likewise after the Renaissance. It is quite possible that they did, but there is definite evidence that by the seventeenth century a new type of mason, the 'accepted' or 'adopted' mason, had made his appearance. That an 'accepted' mason was not the same thing as a 'non-operative' mason is clearly shown by the fact that in London certain members of the Masons' Company who are known to have been masons by trade, joined the so-called 'acceptation', i.e., became 'accepted' masons, just as 'operative' masons may become freemasons at the present time. On the other hand, a man cannot be both an 'operative' and a 'non-operative' mason. The 'accepted' or 'adopted' mason of the seventeenth century was an intermediate link between the mediæval operative mason and the present-day freemason or speculative mason.

The three principal problems relating to speculative masonry in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries would appear to be, firstly, who were the men who became accepted or speculative masons; secondly, what induced them to become accepted or speculative masons; and, thirdly, how did speculative masonry evolve out of operative masonry?

With regard to the first problem, at least four catégories of men can be distinguished: firstly, landed gentry, such as Colonel Henry Mainwaring of Karincham in Cheshire; secondly, professional men and scholars, such as Elias Ashmole, the antiquary, and Randle Holme the third, the herald and genealogist; thirdly, men connected with the building industry, such as Nicholas Stone, the sculptor and tomb-maker, Sir William Wilson, the Leicestershire mason and architect, and a score of members of the building trades who belonged to the Chester Lodge about 1673; and fourthly, members of trades other than those connected with the building industry, such as the tanner, the tailor and the beer-seller, who also belonged to the Chester Lodge in 1673.

With regard to the second problem, different men were probably influenced by different motives. A herald and antiquary, like Randle Holme the third, might have been drawn to the Masons through the armorial bearings of the Fellowship of Masons which were granted in 1472. In his *Academie of Armorie* he refers to the Masons being made a Company, but, to judge by his own words, it was the antiquity of the Fraternity which appealed to him. His practical interest in the antiquity of the Fellowship is shown by the fact that he made a copy of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry*, which is now in the British Museum.

That a purely antiquarian interest might be the attraction in the eighteenth century is suggested both by an entry in the *Autobiography* of the well-known antiquary, Dr. William Stukeley, and by a letter, dated 16 October, 1754, written by the celebrated Welsh poet, Goronwy Owen. The former states that "curiosity led him to be initiated into the mysterys of Masonry, suspecting it to be the remains of the mysterys of the antients". The latter explains that "the chief thing that induced me to pry into this craft was that I fully believed it to be a branch of the craft of my ancient ancestors, the Druids of old". A similar interest possibly explains why such antiquaries as Lord Coleraine, Dr. Desaguliers and Sir Andrew Fountain joined the Fraternity in the early eighteenth century and may also account for antiquaries becoming speculative masons in the seventeenth century. There certainly existed in the seventeenth century an interest in Stonehenge, a subject on which Inigo Jones, for example, speculated and wrote.

The existence of a secret probably fascinated some. Goronwy Owen states that freemasonry would deserve praise even if it had no virtue but ability to keep a secret, and the fascination of a secret may have made itself felt in the seventeenth as well as in the eighteenth century.

With regard to the third problem, the probability is that the accepted masons slowly evolved out of the non-operative masons, firstly, by attaching more importance to the legend and less to the Charges of the old MS. *Constitutions*; secondly, by elaborating any signs, grips, or words which may have been in use among operative masons as secret methods of recognition, and, thirdly, by gradually dropping or modifying operative rules and regulations and developing instead moral teachings veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols.

Symbolism had been largely used by the Church in the Middle Ages to assist in inculcating moral lessons; on the other hand, there is little or no trace of it either in the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS., or in the later MS. *Constitutions of Masonry*. Immediately after the Reformation symbolism suffered a temporary eclipse, but before the end of the sixteenth century the Anglicans were making use of it, though it was not adopted by the Puritans until somewhat later. In view of the favour with which symbolism was generally regarded in the seventeenth century, it is easy to understand why its use might have been developed by speculative masons to assist in teaching the principles for which freemasonry stood. Similarly, in a century in which religious questions were widely discussed, and allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures was commonly practised, as is shown, for example, by the publication in 1688 of John Bunyan's *Solomon's Temple Spiritualised*, it would not be surprising to find that the use of allegory was introduced into freemasonry at that period.

The stages in the development of speculative masonry out of operative masonry cannot be traced with any certainty. The original "acceptance" probably consisted of one ceremony only. Elias Ashmole, the antiquary, in describing his own experience on 16 October, 1646, says, "I was made a free-mason at Warrington"; in referring to the Lodge at Masons' Hall, London, in March, 1682, he says that certain persons "were admitted into the Fellowship of Freemasons". In all probability, a gentleman who entered the Fellowship became forthwith a Fellow, the ceremony corresponding to that by which an operative mason was admitted to the Fraternity in the old days, with the addition,

very possibly, of any more recent ceremony in which apprentices were charged and obligated. One or more of the Fellows present at the ceremony may have extemporised some addresses for the benefit of the candidates, but the likelihood is that the basis of the ceremony was the old MS. *Constitutions of Masonry*, which were doubtless read to the candidates, stress probably being laid on the legend rather than on the Charges. Some indication of the conditions prevailing in the second half of the seventeenth century can be gathered from the contemporary statement of John Aubrey, the antiquary, that members of "the Fraternity of adopted masons" were known to one another by certain signs and watchwords, and that the manner of their adoption was very formal and with an oath of secrecy.

The London Masons' Company, with which the 'Acception' or lodge of accepted masons was connected, possessed a copy of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* in 1665 and 1676, and it is highly probable that the manuscript was used by the accepted masons. Another copy was completed on 16 October, 1646, the very day on which Ashmole was made a freemason, and there is some reason for thinking that the particular copy was used at this ceremony of acceptance. Another ground for believing that the MS. *Constitutions* played an important part in the development of speculative masonry, is the fact that the second half of the seventeenth century saw a considerable increase in the number of copies, and it would seem probable that they were being multiplied either to provide "new-accepted masons" with copies for themselves, or to serve as Charters for new Lodges.

During the later part of the seventeenth, or in the early part of the eighteenth century, a considerable elaboration of the formal ceremony of admission appears to have taken place, which can probably be associated with the growth of speculative masonry. The development of the Apprentice Charge previously referred to, although presumably intended for operatives, very possibly owed its being to speculatives. That was almost certainly the case with the 'Master's part', corresponding to the present Third Degree, which seems to have been evolved early in the eighteenth century by an expansion of certain parts of the legend, thereby ultimately leading to the Traditional History as we know it to-day. In what concerns the present First and Second Degrees, they appear to have been formed during this same period by a division of the original acceptance ceremony.

Although much of our present ritual dates from the later seventeenth or early eighteenth century, the foundation on which the ceremonies are based is genuinely old and bears the stamp of its mediæval origin. This applies both to the setting of the ceremonies in the Lodge, with its Master and Wardens, an institution which had been largely, if not entirely, displaced in the later seventeenth century by the mason-contractor, and to the ritual, in the arrangement and in the wording of which the influence of the old MS. *Constitutions of Masonry* can be traced. It is noteworthy, also, that the earliest development, so far discovered, of accepted masonry is associated with the London Masons' Company, which has an unbroken connection with operative masonry dating from the fourteenth century.

If it be true, as is highly probable, that our present rites and ceremonies were built up gradually in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by a series of elaborations of an early but simple admission ceremony, it is equally true that between the fourteenth and the eighteenth centuries numerous additions and modifications were made to the legend and to the Charges. Thus, for example, while there is no reference to King Solomon's Temple in the *Regius Poem*, there is a short reference in the *Cooke MS.*, a longer account in the sixteenth and seventeenth century versions of the MS. *Constitutions of Masonry*, and a still longer account in certain early eighteenth century versions. That

being so, the eighteenth century working has the same right to be regarded as the descendant of the fourteenth and fifteenth century working as the eighteenth century versions of the MS. *Constitutions* have a right to be regarded as the descendants of the *Regius* or *Cooke* MS., or of some contemporary or older version which is now missing. Whilst, however, sufficient versions of the MS. *Constitutions* have been discovered to make it possible to trace fairly adequately the various steps in the evolution of the legend and of the Charges, the dearth of information concerning such ceremonies and secrets as may have existed in operative and in early accepted days, makes it impossible clearly to define the steps in development which led from the operative masonry of the fourteenth century to the speculative masonry of the eighteenth century. It is necessarily largely a matter for conjecture.

In this address, I have attempted to piece together various conjectures bearing on the subject, in order to present a more or less continuous picture of development, but as I indicated at the outset, it is a problem for which no definite solution can be found, and time or circumstances will call for a periodical re-examination of the question.

At the subsequent Banquet, W. Bro. W. J. SONGHURST, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" in the following terms:—

Bro. Knoop was born at Manchester on 16th September, 1883. He was educated first at the Hulme Grammar School in that city, and then at the Handelschule at Osnabrück, and the College of St. Antoine at Geneva. He completed his education at Manchester University.

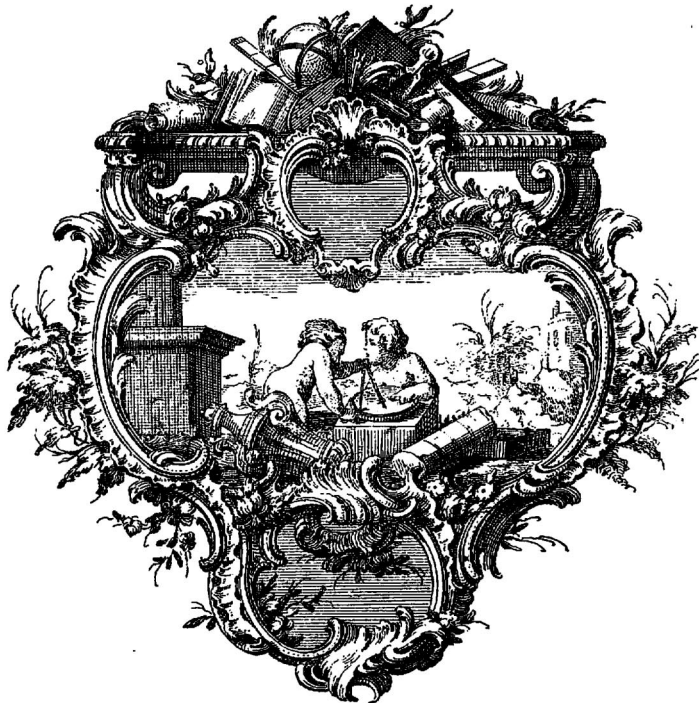
In 1906-7, with the aid of a Travelling Scholarship, he visited Canada and the U.S.A., and in 1913-14 he went round the world with an Albert Kahn Fellowship.

His first appointment was one in the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, where he served for eighteen months. He was then appointed Assistant Lecturer in Economics in the Manchester University. In 1910 he was placed in charge of the Economics section of the University of Sheffield, where since 1920 he has been a Professor. He has served also on various Trade Boards, and during the Great War he worked at the Ministry of Munitions. He is recognised as an authority on his particular subject, to which he has made valuable contributions, of which the following may be mentioned:—*Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration*; *Principles and Methods of Municipal Trading*; *Outlines of Railway Economics*; *The Riddle of Unemployment*.

His masonic career began in December, 1921, when he was admitted in the University Lodge, Sheffield, No. 3911. In our own Lodge he joined the Correspondence Circle in May, 1923, and was elected to full membership in 1931. He was exalted in Loyalty Chapter No. 296, and is a Founder of University Chapter, Sheffield, No. 3911. He was advanced in the Mark Degree in Cleaves Lodge No. 618, and is a Founder of the Lascelles Lodge No. 887. He belongs to also the De Furnival Preceptory in the K.T., and the Talbot Rose Croix Chapter. But there is more to be said. At this present moment, Bro. Knoop is M.W.S. of his Rose Croix Chapter, Preceptor of his Preceptory, Master of both his Mark Lodges, and Master of his Mother Craft Lodge. So he occupies simultaneously five chairs in one masonic body or another, and to-night we have installed him in a sixth. He belongs to also the White Rose of York Conclave in the Red Cross of Constantine, and the Hallamshire College of the Soc. Ros. in Anglia. He has been a generous supporter of our Charities; he is a Vice Patron of the R.M.I.G. and a Life Governor of the R.M.B.I.; he is also a Life Governor of the Mark Benevolent Fund.

His first contribution to our own *Transactions* was a paper: *Gild Resemblances in the Old Charges*. Since then, in collaboration with colleagues, Bro. Knoop has given us, as you will remember, a remarkable series of papers dealing with the mediæval mason, based on an elaborate analysis of actual building records. They are:—*The first three years of the building of Vale Royal Abbey; Castle Building at Beaumaris and Caernarvon in the early fourteenth Century; The Evolution of Masonic Organisation; The Building of Eton College, 1442-1460; London Bridge and its Builders; The London Mason in the seventeenth Century; Some Notes on Three early documents relating to Masons; and Some Building Activities of John, Lord Cobham*.

Besides this he has contributed a paper to *Archæologia Cantiana* on *Some new documents concerning the building of Cowling Castle and Cobham College*, and a paper on *Masons and apprenticeship in Mediæval England*, to the *Economic History Review*, and another to *Economic History: Masons' Wages in Mediæval England*. The same authors also contributed to the *R.I.B.A. Journal* a paper: *Henry Yevele and his Associates*, which has, of course, a special interest for us. To the *Transactions* of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society, there was contributed *The Carreglwyd Building Account*, and *The Repair of Beaumaris Town Wall, 1536-1538*. Finally, there has been published *The Mediæval Mason*, a work dealing with the whole subject, which has been adopted by the University as the official text book for students, and widely recognised as the first attempt to deal with the subject in a scientific manner.



NOTES.



FERMOY LODGE No. 555.—I should like to acknowledge some further kind help from correspondents towards throwing light on obscure points in my paper.

Bro. J. H. Wright, of Grange-over-Sands, demonstrates that the name "Loyal" was not affixed to the North Lancashire Regiment until the year 1881, and suggests that the truculent Brother Little may have come from a temporary regiment known as the Loyal Lincolnshire Volunteer Villagers. This name is certainly well worth being recorded.

In regard to the Germans who attended the Lodge in such numbers in 1810, Bro. J. M. G. Trotter, of Guernsey, has identified the Lodge 98 for me. It was Doyle's Lodge of Fellowship No. 98 Guernsey, and owed obedience to the Antients. He has also corrected the orthography of two of the names: for Böstler read Proestler, and for Kascholetz, Rodonitz. The rejected Hyde is perhaps a certain von Heyde. His further statement that the contemporary Army Lists spell some of these names in a variety of ways will not be challenged by anyone who has read their original signatures in the Fermoy Minute Book.

In expectation of favours to come I express my gratitude to the Brethren who have put these errors right.

September, 1938.

J. HERON LEPPER.

Ebrietatis Encomium, by Boniface Oinophilus—A Bibliographical Note.

—Having recently had occasion to look up the several editions of this book, I think it is worth while embodying the results in a short note.

The work is usually attributed to Robert Samber (references to the evidence are given in *A.Q.C.*, xi.).

It is a translation, on the whole fairly exact, of *L'Éloge de l'Yvresse*, 1714, by Henri Albert de Sallengre; the only material difference in the text being the addition of about two pages to chapter xv. This was originally entitled "Des Sçavans qui se sont enyvrez", which the translator enlarged into "Of Free Masons; and other learned Men, that used to get Drunk". The translator has also added at the end a few pages in the form of a "Postscript", and some more verse.

Of the original French, the following editions are to be found in the British Museum:—

- 1714 Original edition
- 1715 2nd edition
- 1715 3rd edition
- 1734 'nouvelle' edition
- (1798) 'nouvelle' edition

and I have not gone into the question of any others.

Samber's work appears in five forms:—

- (a). Original edition, publisher by E. Curll, 1723.
- (b). Second edition, ditto, 1743.

This has a new title-page, but is otherwise unaltered.

- (c). A reprint by C. Chapple, Pall Mall, 1812.

This has a new frontispiece of its own, and is in no sense a *facsimile*.

(d). Published, according to the title-page, by E. Curl (*sic*), 1723.

This is placed by the British Museum as "1823?". It is evidently intended to reproduce to some extent the antique style, but no attempt is made at a *facsimile*.

(e). Published by F. Pitman, Paternoster Row, 1873.

This was issued by a Temperance organisation as "Reprints on the Drink Question, No. 1", and contains a short bibliographical note.

It may be of interest to print in full the addition to chapter xv., which constitutes the sole Masonic interest of the work:—

IF what Brother *Eugenius Philalethes*, Author of *Long Livers*, a Book lately printed, and dedicated to the *Free Masons*, says in his Preface to that Treatise, be true, those Mystical Gentlemen very well deserve Place amongst the Learned. But without entering into their peculiar Jargon, or whether a Man can be sacrilegiously perjured for revealing Secrets when he has none, I do assure my Readers, they are very great Friends to the Vintners. An Eye-Witness of this was I my self, at their late general Meeting at *Stationer's Hall*, who having learn'd some of their Catechism, paid my Five Shillings, and took my Place accordingly.

We had a good Dinner, and to their eternal Honour, the Brotherhood laid about them very valiantly. *They saw then their high Dignity; they saw what they were, acted accordingly, and shewed themselves (what they were) MEN.* The *Westphalia* Hams and Chickens, with good Plumb Pudden, not forgetting the delicious Salmon, were plentifully sacrificed, with copious Libations of Wine for the Consolation of the Brotherhood. But whether, after a very disedifying Manner their demolishing huge Walls of Venison Pasty, be building up a spiritual House, I leave to Brother *Eugenius Philalethes* to determine. However, to do them Justice, I must own, there was no mention made of Politics or Religion, so well do they seem to follow the Advice of that Author. And when the Music began to play, *Let the King enjoy his own again*, they were immediately reprimanded by a Person of great Gravity and Science.

The Bottle, in the mean while, went merrily about, and the following Healths were begun by a great Man, the King, Prince and Princess, and the Royal Family; the Church as by Law established; Prosperity to old *England* under the present Administration; and Love, Liberty, and Science, which were unanimously pledged in full Bumpers, attended with loud Huzzas.

The Faces then of *the most antient and most honourable Fraternity of the FREE MASONS*, brightened with ruddy Fires; their Eyes illuminated, resplendent blazed.

Well fare ye, merry Hearts, thought I, hail ye illustrious Topers, if *Liberty and Freedom*, ye free Mortals, is *your essential Difference*, richly distinguishes you from all others, and is, indeed, the very Seal and Spirit of the Brotherhood, according to Brother *Eugenius Philalethes*. I know not who may be your *Alma Mater*, but undoubtedly *Bacchus* is your *Liber Pater*.

'Tis Wine, ye Masons, makes you free,
Bacchus the Father is of Liberty.

Col. Henry Mainwaring of Karincham.—Bro. Eustace B. Beesley has drawn attention to the fact that Morden's Map of the County Palatine of Chester, published in 1680, marks the locality of the place *Carincham*, the Karincham of Elias Ashmole's days, as lying between Goostre and Smetenham. At different times Carincham has been spelt:—

Caringham on Speere's Map in 1611

Karincham by Ashmole in 1646

Carincham on Morden's Map, 1680

Carincham

and

Kermincham

} according to Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*

No place named Caringham, Karincham or Carincham exists to-day, but the district is still named Kermincham.

The London Freemason in the Seventeenth Century.—In regard to Bro. Poole's attractive suggestion (p. 96 *ante*) that "the Lodge at the Ship behind the Exchange may have had a membership of a largely operative character, though working as a speculative Lodge under the Grand Lodge, there are some difficulties to be encountered. Bro. Poole cites the names of

"William Hoare, Mason (1723 List)"

"John Mason, app. to Mr. ffulkes (1723 List, also Swan, Greenwich, 1725 List)"

Now Bro. Crossle has shown that the Lodge behind the Exchange of the "1723" List was mostly made up of Irishmen resident in London, and he identifies John Mason with a London merchant, a friend of the Gascoynes and perhaps the eldest son of Sir John Mason of Waterford. The "Esq" after the name of William Hoare makes it at least doubtful if that person was an operative mason. But there is a further difficulty. Is it possible to trace continuity between the Ship behind the Exchange of the 1723 List and the Lodge meeting at that tavern in "1730"? Bro. Songhurst has it that the "1730" Lodge is a Lodge that had moved to the Ship from the Three Cranes. The Minutes of Grand Lodge show that the Three Cranes (in the Poultry) Lodge was represented at Grand Lodge in June, 1728, and that Lodge appears as No. 7 on the Engraved List of that year, and as No. 5, constituted July 11th, 1721, it appears on Pine's Engraved List of 1729. In the "1723" written List (*Q.C.A.*, p. 7) the Three Cranes had held the 8th place, while the Ship Lodge held the 36th. The latter Lodge appears in the 1725 Engraved List as the 36th, immediately after the Lion, Brewer St. (now the Tuscan Lodge), and the Dolphin, Tower Street. Its logical place on the Engraved List of 1728 (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., p. 140) would have been 30, but the space there is a blank. It has been stated that it re-appears in the 1729 Engraved List as No. 18, but in fact the No. 18 on that list is the Paul's Head, Ludgate St., stated to have been constituted May 5th, 1723. Bro. Songhurst, however (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 156), traces the "1723" Ship in "1730" to the Crown on Ludgate Hill, which holds the 18th place in the written "1730" List; but the Crown Lodge, while it does not appear on the Engraved List of 1729, was represented in Grand Lodge on November 25th, 1729. (*Ibid*, p. 107.)

Unfortunately, we have no list of members of the Crown Lodge. It thus looks as if the Lodge at the Ship behind the Royal Exchange, to whom in "1730" Bro. Thomas Dunn and John Townsend, referred to by Bro. Poole, belonged, was not the Ship of the "1723" List, but the Three Cranes of that List; and also it must be noted that the "1730" written List of forty members of the Ship Lodge in "1730" bears not a single name of a member who belonged to the Ship Lodge in "1723". Bro. Poole cites "William Price, Carver (1730 List)". This name appears in Bro. Rowlinson's List of 102 members of Lodge "71 at the

Bricklayer's Arms in the Barbican now removed to the Rose Tavern in Cheap-side", in which List we have also "William Squire, operative mason", and if the Red Book of Antiquity can be trusted, Master of that Lodge in 1721, and also "John Jones, operative mason", two bricklayers, and eight plasterers. Unfortunately, however, this William Price was a carver, not of stone, but of leather—a shoe maker.

W.K.F.

Old King's Arms Lodge.—I may perhaps be permitted to give yet another example of the literary style of the writer of these Minutes. The passage records the presentation to the Lodge of a portrait of its late Master:—

"Bro West was pleased to bring his kind Present of our late Friend and venerable Master Sir Cecil Wray according to his proposal of Decr 11th last which happened to be finished just before it pleased Almighty God to call him to Himself which appeared to the Society to be done with so much Dexterity and Happiness that it was by all carried in Order to make this worthy Bro some sort of amends and to show a decent Gratitude for the same it would make him a present of ten guineas which with about fourteen pounds that the frame and case came to and which the Lodge ordered should be handsomely done suitably to the Subject and the goodness of the Picture at the last Chapter". (June 7, 1736.)

W.K.F.

The Craft at Berwick-on-Tweed, 1794.—A hope was expressed many years ago that documents of Masonic interest might be discovered among the archives of the Seaton-Delaval family at the great house erected for it by Vanburgh in 1720-29, which now belongs to the Marquis of Hastings. In Part VI. of the 13th Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, however, some of the Seton-Delaval MSS. are calendared, and it is there (p. 186) stated that "these papers are now in the possession of Mr. John Robinson of Newcastle-on-Tyne". By mere chance I have come across at the British Museum a volume of bound-up pamphlets entitled "The Delaval Papers. How they were discovered: with Numerous Family Letters and others of National and General Interest. By John Robinson". These pamphlets were "published for the author at the office of *The Blyth Weekly News*, 103 Grey Street Newcastle", perhaps in 1860, and I conjecture that they are off-prints from that newspaper. The Author states that he was permitted to look through some old documents destined for immediate destruction, and that the papers he had rescued from so melancholy a fate he had deposited at the Society of Antiquaries in the Castle of Newcastle. It is strange that Mr. Richard Ward, who was responsible for the calendar in the Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission in 1893, should have failed to notice the documents Mr. Robinson had published. Perhaps some Newcastle member of our Correspondence Circle may be incited to 'have a hunt'. The only letter of direct Masonic interest I have come across in the pamphlets is as follows:—

"Mr. Bryers, Hartley Office, Seaton Delaval.

Ford Castle, Sept 11, 1794.

My dear Master.

I duly received your's, and also the things came safe to hand. Tomorrow I expect to go to Berwick to walk in grand procession with the Honorable and respectable Company of Freemasons from the Lodge to the play house with Lights and Music; but more of this I will give you when I write, being in haste.

Yours always, R.W.

P.S. I had the pleasure to be instituted Master of the Lodge last night. I expect to have Mr Sibbit made, if agreeable to Mrs Sibbit. R.W."

Mr. Bryers was the estate agent. The writer was R. Wastenness, the house steward, and Mr. Sibbit was the butler. I do not know if Ford Castle was ever a possession of Seaton Delaval, but among the Delaval papers there are letters from Sir Francis and Emanuel Blake to a younger Francis Blake, and letters addressed to Captain Blake Delaval. In 1751, according to Burke, Sir Edward Astley, Bart., married Rhoda, the eldest surviving daughter of Francis Blake Delaval, and sister of Lord John Delaval, from whom Lord Hastings is descended.

W.K.F.

The Lodge at "the Ship without Temple Bar".—The Engraved List of 1723 shows a Lodge meeting at the Ship without the Temple, but, unfortunately, the names of its members do not appear in the List of Members of "1723". The "1725" List of Members (*Q.C.A.*, x., 33), however, gives a list of officers and members which suggests that the Lodge was an eighteenth century predecessor of the present-day Cathedral Lodge. Its Master, Charles King, is doubtless the musician to whose career an article is devoted in *The Dictionary of National Biography*. He was Master of the Children of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1707, and 1730 a Vicar Choral. His Senior Warden was the "Rev^d. Mr. Washbourne". In the record-book (known as "the Cheque Book") of the Chapel Royal, I find that on June 30th, 1699, he was sworn "a gentleman extraordinary of the Chapel Royal", and in the same year Mr. William Washbourne and Mr. John Radcliffe were appointed "jointly to succeed to and share the Gospeller's place". From 1706 to his resignation of the living in 1736, Washbourne was vicar of Edmonton. He was also at different times Succentor and Subdean of St. Paul's Cathedral. He died and was buried in his family vault at Edmonton in 1737. The identity of the Junior Warden, the "Rev^d. Mr. Jackson", I have not been able to trace. The next on the list is "Tho. Edwards", and the Cheque Book shows that a Mr. Thos. Edwards was appointed Epistler of the Chapel Royal in 1699. Edwards had sung as a boy in the Chapel. After him comes "Tho. Gething"; a Thomas Gethin (*sic*) was one of the Gentlemen in 1720. Lower down in the List we have "Man Green". Can "Man" be "Mau", and stand for that well-known musician, Dr. Maurice Greene, Organist of St. Paul's in 1718, who died in 1755? Charles King, who died March 17th, 1748, was described by Greene as a "very serviceable man", and by the boys whom he trained he was commended as one whose

"Indulgence ne'er was ask'd in vain;
He never smote with stinging cane;
He never stopp'd the penny fees;
His boys were let do as they pleased".

The Dr. Radcliffe in the List is no doubt the Dr. John Radcliffe of St. John's College, Oxon, M.D. 1721; F.C.P. 1724; Physician of St. Bartholomew's Hospital; died 1729. The Radcliffe mentioned in the Cheque Book was the Rev. John Radcliffe, Minor Canon of Westminster, Confessor to the Royal Household, who died Oct. 29th, 1716, and was buried in the East Cloister of the Abbey.

Nothing is known of the Lodge after 1725. In 1732 another Lodge was constituted at the Ship without Temple Bar, and was working there in 1737. In 1738 Cæsar Ward and Richard Chandler are "booksellers at the Ship just without Temple Bar, London".

W.K.F.

John Byrom, M.A., F.R.S.—Born 29th Feb., 1691; died 1763.—It will be seen from the above dates that the person named (who is probably the John Byram named in *Q.C.A.*, x., p. 170, as a Member of the Lodge at the Swan in

Long Acre in 1730) was in his early prime in the days when the First Grand Lodge was in process of formation and development. He is best known as the writer of the well-known Christmas hymn beginning "Christians awake! salute the happy morn"; but he also achieved some distinction as the inventor of a system of Shorthand.

The present writer was recently imbued with an impulse that there might be something in connection with Byrom which would have some bearing on Freemasonry, and in the result made a short preliminary enquiry into the matter, the results of which are here recorded, as they may be of interest to others than himself.

Naturally, the book first sought for was that containing the published poems of the Author. These were printed in 2 vols. 8vo. in 1773, and reprinted in 1814, and again yet more recently in 3 vols. by the Chetham Society; but a perusal of the list of contents prefixed to the edition of 1814, which alone I have seen, does not indicate anything of Masonic reference.

It, however, appears that Byrom left a Private Journal which, with some correspondence and notes, was printed by the Chetham Society in the year 1854, etc., and consists of several volumes.

The Journal is a most interesting production and its perusal creates an atmosphere which the historian can hardly ignore if he desires to depict the manners and customs of the personalities of that period.

The first part of the first volume, as published by the Chetham Society (vol. 32) in 1854, yielded the following items.

At the very first opening of the book, page 315, the following verses arrested attention:—

Aug. 26th 27th (1728)

To Haddon John and Hayward Thomas greeting:
On Friday next there is to be a meeting
At ancient Bufton's where the brethren Wright,
Baskervyle, Swinton, Toft's facetious Knight,
[And] Lancaster and Cattel if he can,
And on the same terms Clowes the Alderman
Have all agreed to hold upon the border
Of Altrincham, a Chapter of the Order.

Now then sagacious brethren, if the time
Suits with convenience, as it does with rhyme,
I hope we safely may depend upon
The representatives of Warrington.
See that no business contradict your journey,
If any should, transact it by attorney:
On Friday morn be ready spurred and booted
That your convenience may not be non suited.

Moreover, brethren, if the time permit,
Bring something in your pockets neatly writ,
For thus it was agreed by all our votes
That ev'ry member should produce his notes:
"Bring every man some writing of his own,
"That we mayn't meet for theory alone",
Said the Grand Master, "but for practice also":
To which the general answer was "We shall so".

The last verse clearly refers to some shorthand writing, but why these references to "Brethren", to "a Chapter of the Order", to "the Grand Master"? Is it merely a casual coincidence that Warrington, the Masonic birth-place of Elias Ashmole, is referred to? Were there then at Warrington some Brethren who were in the local line of succession to him?

Thus, incited by the first passage seen, the early 200 pages of the volume were scanned.

At page 50, in a letter dated 18th July, 1723, written from London, it is said: "Dr. Desaguliers a famous man of the Royal Society passed through Oxford while we were there".

Page 76. (Journal, Thursday, Mar. 19, 1724):—

This day I was admitted Fellow of the Royal Society by Sir Hans Sloane.

Page 77. (Wednesday, April 1):—

I went and found Martin Foulkes there: we passed the evening with him, came away about 10 in Mr. Foulkes coach.

Thursday:—

Went to the Royal Society. Sir Hans President. Mr. Foulkes proposed Mr. Leycester in Dr. Smith's name and F. Jurin spoke for him, and I being asked by Foulkes if I did not know him said I knew him to be worthy.

April 23rd, 1724. Letter from John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom:—

To-day at the Royal Society Dr. Stukely gave me a subscription from Lord Pembroke who he says is very curious.

Page 90:—

Thence to the Club in Paul's Church Yard where we had two barrels of oysters one before and another after supper. Mr. Leycester, Glover, White, Bob Ord, Graham, Foulkes, Sloane, Derham, Heathcote, a talking gentleman I had never seen there before, paid 2^s/6^d apiece. Mr. Brown said they had got the gout. I told them I was going to establish a Cabala Club that were guessers.

Page 91:—

The Duke of Richmond was very merry and good company. Mr. Foulkes just mentioned me having found out shorthand but nothing more was said on it then.

I came to the Society in the coach with the Duke of R., Mr. Foulkes, and Mr. Sloan, and we talked about masonry and shorthand.

On pages 100 and 101 are further references to the Duke of Richmond and Foulkes and Stukely.

Page 109. 1725. Tuesday, April 6:—

Tom Bentley was there but would not go with us to Paul's Churchyard where Mr. Leycester and I went, Mr. Graham, Foulkes, Sloan, Montagu. I had a scallop shell and a welsh rabbit. Mr. Leycester and I walked home together. There was a Lodge of the Freemasons in the room over us, where Mr. Foulkes who is deputy grand Master was till he came to us. Mr. Sloan was for taking me upstairs if I would go: I said I would and come back if there was anything I did not like and then he bid me sit down.

[William Sloane, or Sloan, is named as a Freemason in *Q.C.A.*, x., 16 and 333.]

1725 (page 111). Mention again made of Dr. Stukely in connection with Shorthand.

1725. Tuesday, April 20 (page 121):—

Thence to Paul's Church Yard where were Foulkes, Graham, Brown, White, Cumberland, Heathcote and another gentleman of that name, a new member; we talked about Figg, Freemasons who were over our head, numbers, shorthand.

[Figg was the famous Prizefighter, James Figg, and a Freemason. See *Q.C.A.*, x., 26.]

1725. Tuesday, May 4th (page 128):—

.dined with the Ords and Mr. Leycester & Holmes at the Red Lion in Grays Inn Lane. From Grays Inn to the Club in Paul's Churchyard in a coach with Mr. Leycester & Bob Ord who read my verses about Figg there—ate cold lamb heartily which was rather wrong after so good a dinner—the Gormogon there.

Page 130. Thursday, May 6th (1725):—

Following mention of Dr. Desaguliers at the Royal Society. "Mr. Leycester and I went to Richards: thence to Mr. Hassel's chamber: thence with B. Ord to the King's Arms: the two Hassels came to us. We had beef collops. We talked much about Rosicrucian".

Page 131. 9th May, 1725:—

We talked about Stonehenge, about Dr. Stukely.

Page 146. Sunday, May 30th, 1725:—

Went to . . . Ormond Chapel when we heard Henley preach upon Romans the 8th chapter "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ".

An editorial footnote says he was attracted by Henley (the well-known Orator Henley) and not infrequently alludes to him.

Page 153:—

Dr. Stukely told me he was going into my country this summer.

Page 165:—

Mr. Foulkes said that Dr. Stukely had said that he could read the Egyptian hieroglyphics as well as English. I showed them Dr. Patrick's shorthand.

It seems not unlikely that closer study of the volume and of the succeeding volumes would throw more light upon the Masonic bearings of the Journal, but for the present it may suffice to have indicated the pages which bring us into touch with so many names of persons, such as Dr. Desaguliers, Martin Foulkes, Dr. Stukely, the Duke of Richmond, with whom the early Grand Lodge history is connected, as well as to show that Byrom in his Club in St. Paul's Churchyard talked about Masonry with some very distinguished Masons, including the Duke of Richmond and Martin Foulkes, was invited upstairs into the room where Freemasons were, but was not unduly solicited when he showed no eagerness to satisfy his curiosity.

Furthermore, mention is made of the allied topics of Orator Henley, the Cabala, the Gormogons, and the Rosicrucians. It would seem that the Freemasons meeting in St. Paul's Churchyard over Byrom's Club were probably members of the Lodge now known as Antiquity No. 2.

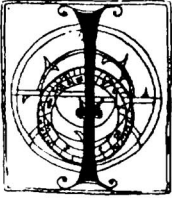
(It will be found that references to Byrom and his Diary were made in *A.Q.C.*, vols. xxix., 87, and xxx., 262.)

W.J.W.

REVIEW.

"DIE FREIMAUEREREI".

By Dieter Schwarz (Berlin, 1938).



SUPPOSE I must have read most of the attacks that have been made on the Craft during the course of two centuries, but I cannot recall any that evoked feelings of such extreme sorrow and disgust as this pamphlet of 64 pages, the title-page of which would read in English: "Freemasonry: its Point of View, Organization, and Politics. With a preface by Group-Leader Heydrich, Chief of the Security Police and of the Führer's Ministry of Public Safety". The author's name, Dieter Schwarz, appears in more modest type at the top of the page.

Let me say at once that his attempts at writing history need not delay us, for he has only a few pages to spare for this purpose, and thus his category of facts proves to be as scanty as his knowledge of the subject in hand; nor need we linger over his swashbuckling proclamations that when giants such as Goethe, Fichte, and Lessing spoke well of the Craft they did not really mean what we have thought they meant for a century and more; nor would it repay the time taken to hear what he has to say about Freemasonry as a factor in revolutions; nor yet should we tarry to smile at his belief that the Societies of Druids, Odd Fellows, Rosicrucians, and Rechabites are all really clandestine Masonic Lodges—propaganda like poverty makes us acquainted with strange bedfellows; so let us hurry on to where he really gets into his stride, as the deeper prints of the cloven hoof demonstrate, at the section entitled (I translate): "The Permeation of Bourgeois Society by the Jews with the help of the Masonic Lodges".

The swastika banner of anti-Semitism having thus been unfurled, he storms gallantly forward for the remaining 40 pages of the book, reslaying victims already slain, and heaping abuse upon the Fraternity that had the audacity to welcome the Jew as a man, as a friend, as a Brother. Because Freemasonry has set, and will continue to set, such a bad example in this respect, it has rightly, he tells us, been abolished in all Fascist and National-Democratic States.

This, of course, is inevitable in a Reich such as Goethe visioned:—

"Wo Missgestalt in Missgestalten schaltet,
Das Ungesetz gesetzlich überwaltet,
Und eine Welt des Irrtums sich entfaltet".

(Or, to attempt the impossible task of translation:—

"Where shapeless horrors blur and blend together,
While lawlessness enjoys its reign of terror,
O what a world is there, a world of error!")

Yes, I must agree with Herr Dieter Schwarz in one of his statements, and in one alone; in such a community the very word "Free" is suspect, and should and must be made contraband. We whose boast is that we are Free and Accepted will receive the disapprobation of the rulers of such a State as the proper and honourable badge of our Tribe.

January, 1939.

J. HERON LEPPER.

OBITUARY.



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

John Adam, J.P., of Glasgow, on 27th July, 1935. Bro. Adam held the rank of P.G.D.C., and P.Sub.Pr.G.M. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1919.

The Right Hon. Lord **Amphill**, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., etc., of Bedford, on 7th July, 1935, aged 66 years. Lord Amphill had held the office of Pro Grand Master since 1908; he held also the rank of Past Dis.G.M., Madras, Prov.G.M., Bedfordshire, and Pro First Principal. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1904.

Elmer Josiah Carter, of Missoula, Mon., in 1935. Bro. Carter was a member of Lodge No. 40 (Wash.), and of Chapter No. 25 (Wash.); and was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in October, 1899.

W. G. A. Edwards, of London, W.I, in 1935. Bro. Edwards held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Registrar and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1899.

John Whitman Emery, of Bridgton, Maine, in 1935. Bro. Emery was P.M. of Lodge No. 13, and P.H.P. of Chapter No. 30. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in 1923.

Cecil Robert Farrant, of Salisbury, in 1935. Bro. Farrant was a member of Lodge of Friendship and Sincerity No. 472. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1908.

Major **James Robert Green**, of Heathfield, Sussex, on 22nd August, 1935. Bro. Green held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was a member of Hartingdon Chapter No. 916. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1915.

Frank Greenwood, Mus.Bac., F.R.C.O., of Rochdale, on 3rd October, 1935. Bro. Greenwood held the rank of P.Pr.G.O., and was P.M. of Lodge of Harmony No. 298, and P.So. of the Chapter attached thereto. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 1930.

Sydney Vincent Harris, of London, E., on 1st November, 1935. Bro. Harris held L.R., as well as P.Pr.G.St.B., Essex. He was P.Z. of Philbrick Chapter No. 1662. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1918.

Thomas Frederick Isherwood, of Winchester, in 1935. Bro. Isherwood was P.M. of Mt. Edgumbe Lodge No. 1446, and P.Z. of the Lily Chapter of Richmond No. 820. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1907.

John Ingram Moar, of London, W.C., on 2nd August, 1935. Bro. Moar held L.R., and was P.M. of New Concord Lodge No. 813. He was a Life member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in March, 1898.

Ernest Smith Nutt, F.C.I.S., of Sheffield, on 7th August, 1935. Bro. Nutt was a member of the Wentworth Lodge No. 1239 and of the Milton Chapter attached thereto. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1907.

David Rice, of Norwich, on 31st July, 1935. Bro. Rice held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in March, 1914.

James Marrett Simpson, of Haverfordwest, in 1935. Bro. Simpson was a member of Cambrian Lodge No. 464, and of the Hwlfordd Chapter attached thereto. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 1932.

George Henry Smith, of Toronto, on 26th August, 1935. Bro. Smith was a P.M. of Lodge No. 326. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1912.

William Luther Smith, of London, on 30th July, 1935. Bro. Luther Smith had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 1926.

Harry Spencer, of Woking, in 1935. Bro. Spencer was a member of Kilburn Lodge No. 1608. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 1928.

Dr. **Th. G. G. Valette**, of The Hague, on 17th November, 1935. Bro. Valette held the rank of P.Dep.G.M., Dutch Indies. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 1930.

Harold Waller, of Stockton-on-Tees, on 13th November, 1935. Bro. Waller was a member of Lodge of Philanthropy No. 940, and of the Tees Chapter No. 509. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since 1934.



ST. JOHN'S CARD.



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1935:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.:—Grand Lodge Quebec, Montreal; Provincial Grand Lodge of Lincolnshire, Lincoln; Grosvenor Lodge No. 1257, London, W.C.; Doric Lodge No. 1433, Shanghai; Shillong Lodge No. 2866, Shillong, Assam; Baghdad Lodge No. 4022, Baghdad, Iraq; Edmonton Latymer Lodge No. 5026, London, N.; Senekal Chapter No. 643 (S.C.), Senekal, S. Africa; Great Northern Lodge No. 46, Peterborough, S. Australia; Sir Francis Burdett Lodge of Instruction No. 1503, Twickenham; Crook Lodge of Instruction, No. 2019, Crook, Co. Durham; Camberwell Lodge of Instruction, Camberwell, Victoria; Weston-super-Mare Masonic Library, Somerset; Durban. United Masonic Library, Durban, Natal.

BRETHREN:—Joseph Adamson, of Nottingham. 4467, 3414; Oswald John William Adamson, of Hove. P.Pr.G.D., P.Pr.G.So.; William Reginald Andrews, of Grimsby, Linco. 3804, 650; Thomas George Atkinson, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. W.M. 4523, A.So. 3619; James Bartlett, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 1626, 2260; Henry Norman Bassett, of Buenos Aires. J.W. 1105, A.So. 1355; Archibald Alfred Bateman, of Stourbridge. 2385, 498; Arthur Wesley Bavin, of Welshpool. I.G. 998, 998; Herbert Augustus Beeho, of Montreal. P.M. 106, 14; Sydney Martin Bell, Canterbury. 31, 31; William Percy Besant, of Harrow. P.M. 5220, J. 169; Arthur Lincoln Boston, of Melbourne. P.M. 161; Mark Bowles, of Hayes, Kent. 4847; James Glen Boyd, of Whitecraigs, Renfrews. S.B. 0, 498; Clarence Brain, of Oklahoma City. P.M. 36, P.G.M.; Arthur Leonard Bridgett, of London, S.E. 358, 358; Major Olaf Brinchmann-Hansen, of Oslo. "St. Olaf of the White Leopard"; Cecil Henry Martin Brooke, of Folkestone. P.M. 2587, 2587; Alfred E. Brooker, of Reigate, Surrey. 4981; Samuel Herbert Brookfield, of London, E. 1105; James Thomas Brownlie, C.B.E., of London, S.W. 4 (S.C.); William Johann Brummer, of Pretoria. P.M. 3455, 3455; David Bryce, of Horsham. W.M. 4905, 1141; Ernest Eric Burgess, of Kemsing, Kent. 5008, 5008; Lee James Bussey, of Gorleston-on-Sea. P.Pr.G.Treas. P.Pr.G.P.; George Symington Cameron, of Salisbury, S. Rhodesia. P.M. 1097 (S.C.); George Graham Campbell, of Stockton-on-Tees. 543, 543; Robert Arthur Card, of Seaford. P.M. 30, P.Z. 30; Americo Carnicelli, of Bogota, Colombia. G.D.C.; Ferdinard Gilbert Carruthers, of Kew. P.M. 2190, 2190; Anthony Chamier, of Singapore. P.M. 1152, P.P.J. 1152; Russell Melville Chirnside, of Whittlesea, Victoria. 431; Sir Ernest Clark, K.C.B., C.B.E., etc., of Hobart. G.M. Sydney Richard Clarke, of London, W.C. P.Pr.G.D., Mdsx. P.Z. 2021; James Wilbur Gent Cocks, of London, S.W. 859, 859; Alan F. Cohen, of London, E.C. 5175, 2738; Col. C. G. Astley Cooper, D.S.O., R.A., of Camberley. W.M. 1789; Edwin John Ronald Corin, of Bromley, Kent. I.G. 22, 507; James William Cozens, of Norwich. J.D., 943, A.So. 943; John Raymond Cross, of E. Barnet, Herts. 5026; Arthur Harold Crowther, of Glasgow. P.M. 1329, 189; William Robert Curry, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. P.Pr.G.W., Sc.N. 541; Louis Clement Cunat, of Buenos Aires. P.M. 3641, 3641; Alfred Martin George Daniel, of Frome. P.Pr.G.W.; Damer Dawson, of Claygate, Surrey. L.R., P.M. 1768, 1768; Richard Stuart Anning Day, of Sydney. P.M. 57; Garnet Dent, of Victoria; Alexander Donald Donald, of London, N. St. John, Cairo (S.C.); Frederick Herbert Dovey, of Worthing.

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Note.—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.

ERRATA.

- P. 103. Line from top 21. Before "Gravill" insert "63".
 P. 112. Footnote 2, line 4. For "friends" read "fame".
 P. 115. Footnote 2. For "Cunningham)" read "Cunningham-Dick)".
 P. 116. Genealogical table. For "Baudenell" read "Bandenell".
 Ditto (twice). For "Buckingham" read "Richmond".
 P. 119. Line 20. For "John" read "Thomas".
 P. 128. Line 5 from bottom. For "1892" read "1592".
 Line 6 from bottom. For "Stoneyhurst" read "Stonyhurst".