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Quatuor Coronatorum

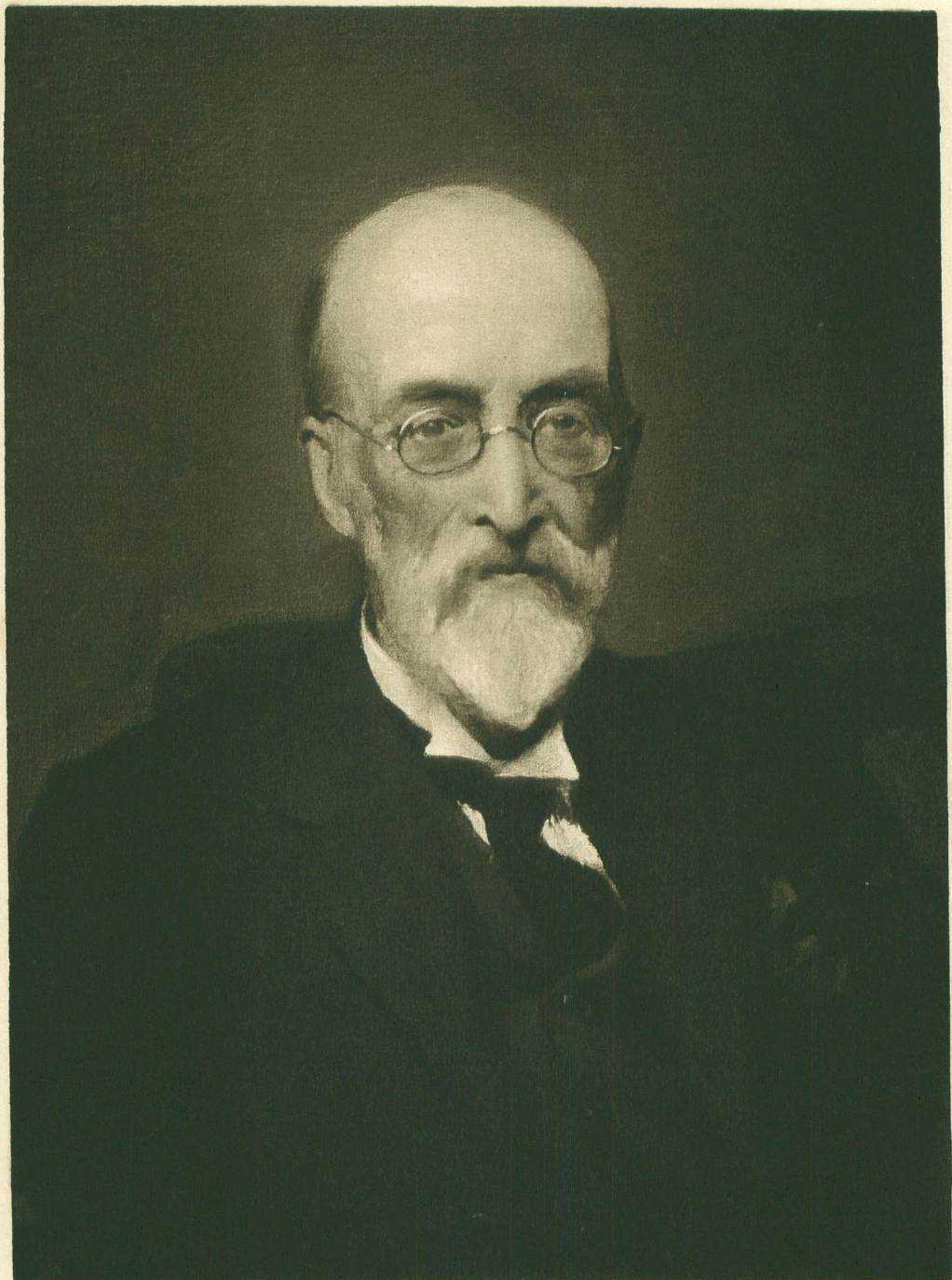
BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY COLONEL F. M. RICKARD, P.G.S.B.

VOLUME XLIX.

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1939.



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From a Painting by G. Spence Watson.

George Thomson

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Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

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

No. 2076.

VOLUME XLIX.

FRIDAY, 3rd JANUARY, 1936.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Douglas Knoop, M.A., W.M.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., I.P.M.; G. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., S.W.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., as J.W.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; S. J. Fenton, J.D.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., LL.B., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; A. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; and H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. G. C. Williams; Oswald Adamson; T. Lidstone Found, P.A.G.St.B.; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B.; E. Eyles; *Licut.-Col.* G. D. Hindley; F. Addington Hall; C. S. Bishop; A. J. Barter; Augustus Smith; R. A. Wall; A. Saywell, P.A.G.St.B.; H. Boutroy; E. F. Gleadow; A. H. Edwards; L. G. Wearing; A. Adams; H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; Albert Thompson; Jas. J. Cooper; R. M. Strickland; F. S. P. Munn; Thos. North, P.G.D.; Major A. Gorham; Wm. Lewis; C. F. Sykes; J. R. F. Maquire; D. L. Oliver; Henry A. Mackmin; Geo. Sarginson, P.G.St.B.; H. B. Q. Evans; E. D. Laborde; W. Brinkworth; A. F. Cross; W. Morgan Day; F. H. H. Thomas, P.A.G.Swd.B.; S. R. Clarke; W. T. J. Gunn; R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B.; S. W. Freeborn; M. J. Popkin; A. J. Freeman; Rev. G. Freeman Irwin, P.G.Ch.; H. D. Elkington; and John Weir.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. R. Harveyson, Old Finchleians Lodge No. 5409; and S. T. Saunders, London School Board Lodge No. 2611.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Chap.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Dr. G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., I.G.; B. Telepneff; W. I. Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M.; and W. Jenkinson.

Thirty-seven 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 3rd, 1936.

Present:—Bro. Douglas Knoop in the Chair, with Bros. W. J. Songhurst, J. Heron Lepper, W. J. Williams, C. Powell, W. K. Firminger, H. Poole, F. W. Golby, C. Adams, S. J. Fenton, L. Edwards, Lionel Vibert, Secretary, and R. 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 1935.

BRETHREN,

It is with deep regret that we have to report the death, on 5th June, of Bro. Dr. John Stokes, Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Yorkshire, West Riding. He was Master in 1926. The valuable services rendered by him to the Lodge are recorded in the *Transactions*. We have also with much regret received the resignation of membership of Bro. the Rev. A. W. Oxford, M.D., owing to his failing eyesight. We note with pleasure that a member of the Lodge has once more been appointed Prestonian Lecturer, in the person of Bro. Lewis Edwards. The total membership of the Lodge now stands at 24.

We have once more to report a reduction in the membership of the Correspondence Circle during the year. On the 30th November, 1934, we had a total of 3,190. Sixty-nine were removed from the list for non-payment of subscription, 121 resigned, and we lost 63 by death. On the other hand, the number added during the year was only 190, a loss on balance of 63, bringing the total to carry forward 3,127. We can only repeat what we said last year as to the very difficult position in which we are placed by this continual shrinkage.

During the year Parts i. and ii. of Vol. xlv. were issued. Part iii. has now been distributed. In the accounts now presented to the Lodge approximately £1,200 each has been reserved for Vols. xlvi., xlvii., and xlviii. Subscriptions amounting to £582 2s. 6d. are still owing, but, as in last year, a considerable proportion of this amount is held at our credit in Australasia as it cannot be remitted home at the present rate of exchange without serious loss.

Our various proposals for further publications are held up for want of the necessary funds. As in last year, a brief statement of the activities of the Lodge during the year has been drawn up and circulated to all members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle; it 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 New South Wales, Bro. T. L. Rowbotham, who had done excellent service for us for twenty-five years, died in June, and his place has not yet been filled. Bro. T. J. Perry has accepted the appointment of Local Secretary in Staffordshire, where we were unrepresented, and Bro. C. H. Taunton has taken charge of S. Lancashire and Merseyside, a new district: in both instances with beneficial effect. For Brighton and Hove Bro. Oswald Adamson has replaced Bro. Sample, who has had to give up the work as he no longer resides in the area. In Michigan our interests are now represented by Bro. C. A. Conover, Grande Scribe E. But as the printed list will show there are many areas still where we have no Local Secretary.

For the Committee,

DOUGLAS KNOOP,

in the Chair.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the year ending 30th November, 1935.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
To Cash in hand	273	5 9	By Lodge	43	10 6
„ Lodge	51	9 0	„ Salaries, Rent, Rates and		
„ Joining Fees	92	18 6	„ Taxes	727	11 2
„ Subscriptions: 1935	1085	10 5	„ Lighting, Heating, Clean-		
„ do. 1934	134	2 10	„ ing, Telephone, Insurance,		
„ do. 1933	28	4 9	„ Carriage, and Sundries...	130	13 5
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„ priated	94	13 0	„ Library	33	6 1
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„ Binding	26	11 0	„ Postages	185	14 9
„ Sundry Publications	283	8 6	„ Local Expenses	3	6 2
„ Interest and Discounts	39	16 2	„ Cash in Bank	59	4 2
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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

Portrait of Prince Henry the Navigator. The *S.J. Card* from *A.Q.C.*, vol. ix.

By Bro. F. J. UNDERWOOD, Worcester.

The 1823 reprint of Curll's issue of the *Praise of Drunkenness*. It reproduces Curll, completely, including the date, 1723, with no indication that it is in fact a reprint of 100 years later.

From the Provincial Library, Wores. The book has in it also the P.L. Bookplate.

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

A Candid Enquiry into the Principles and Practises . . . of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of BUCKs [etc.]. London. MDCCLXX.

Frontispiece, and also the trade card of J. Godwin.

Vide paper on the Bucks by W. H. Rylands in *A.Q.C.*, iii. He gives their constitutions, and ritual and a series of songs, etc., and tentatively dates their origin in 1723. They were prominent in the 1750's.

By Bro. D. KNOOP.

Founder's Jewel of Lodge No. 3911 (1929).

Presented to the Lodge.

By Bro. H. C. DE LAFONTAINE.

Silver Portuguese Dish, with arms, cross and globe.

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

Bro. H. C. DE LAFONTAINE read the following paper:—

THE PORTUGUESE ORDER OF CHRIST.

BY H. C. DE LAFONTAINE.



It may seem extraordinary that this title should head a paper read in a Craft Lodge, and evidently it would be out of place, were it not that we are now assembled in a Lodge of Research, and that already in this Lodge the subject has been brought forward, in connection with the higher degrees of Freemasonry, on more than one occasion. Let us collect some of the references from former numbers of our *Transactions*, so that we may not enter baldly and without preface on the consideration of a subject which may not be well known to some of our younger brethren.

In vol. xi. of the *Transactions* we find John Yarker writing that "although the Order of Knights Templar was suppressed by the Martyrdom of its Grand Master in 1314, it has never been entirely extinguished . . . The King of Portugal protected the Order in his dominions, but acceded to the request of Pope John XXII. in 1319 to change the name to 'Knights of Christ', and charge the red cross of the order with a white one. With these slight changes the Order remained intact until 1522, when the then Portuguese King made the Crown its Master".

In vol. xvii. Ladislav de Malczovitch, who contributed several papers on Knight Templary to our Society, lays it down "that the Order of Christ in Portugal is in some sense, at least, a continuation of the Templars, is well known".

In vol. xx. E. J. Castle asserts his conviction on this question in these terms:—"It is known that in Spain the Templars were fully acquitted, and, though when Clement suppressed the Order, the Templars ceased to exist as such, the brethren and their property were only transferred to another Order".

In vol. xxvi. Chetwode Crawley delivers a smashing, though to my mind somewhat misdirected, blow against any question of relationship between the two Orders. These are his words:—"Now and again it has been assumed that the Order of Christ perpetuated in some way the Order of the Temple. It was asserted that the intimate relations existing in the first half of the nineteenth century between the Freemasonry of Ireland and the Freemasonry of Portugal might well be the channel through which the Templar traditions reached modern Freemasonry. Beyond similarity of object, however, no connection can be discerned between the two Orders".

Great movements are sometimes doomed to final destruction and consequent loss of inspiration. When the Crusaders as a body went forth to conquer Palestine and place the Cross where the Crescent insolently raised its head, they were aflame with a loyal and patriotic enthusiasm. As Knight Templars they were pledged to hold aloft what was to them the symbol of salvation, but evil communications often corrupt good manners, and the glamour and softness of the East dimmed in many cases the most pious resolutions. In process of time they accumulated riches, they heaped up riches to their own destruction, and the downfall came, swift as vengeance from on high, to remind them of their tarnished faith. But were they as guilty as they were made out to be? You have to consider that they were to a large extent the victims of the cupidity of a French king and the

insensate envy of an unrelenting Pope. And the end of it was that both these personages perished miserably soon after their insatiate thirst for wealth and property had been satisfied. Portugal was the happy exception to the universal scene of carnage, and I do believe that this little country preserved to us the Templar traditions through a considerable period, almost till our modern system of Templary came into existence. I have described Portugal as being a little country, but what of it in the hey-day of its glory? We seem to have lost sight of the fact that in former days Portugal was a mighty power, and that what is called "The Golden Age of Portugal" revealed to us great kings, great discoverers, great artists, great sculptors, and other notable men who helped to keep alive the arts and crafts in the fullest exuberance. It was only through the incompetence of subsequent rulers, whose riotous extravagance sapped the life-blood of the nation, that she fell into the decadent position in which she now is, a country almost without a remnant of her former greatness, and yet through all these varying changes a constant and firm ally of the English nation.

Now let us revert to the question of the early Templars and discover some details regarding them. We are told that "with great humility they assumed the title of 'Poor Fellow Soldiers of Christ'." Baldwin, the then king of Jerusalem, assigned to them a part of his palace which stood near the former site of the Temple, and from this circumstance is derived the name of Templar. Saint Bernard prescribed a Rule for the Order, which rule is still extant. It consists of seventy-two chapters, the details of which are remarkable for their ascetic character. He prescribed for the professed knights white garments; esquires and retainers were to be clothed in black. To the white dress was subsequently added a red cross, to be worn on the left breast as a symbol of martyrdom.

It is said that from the French Templars established in Paris the Duke of Sussex received the degree and the authority to establish a Grand Conclave in England; but this was convened once, and no more than once, for the Duke afterwards discountenanced all Christian and chivalric Masonry. The English Masonic Templars are probably derived from that body called "The Baldwin Encampments of London, Bath, York, and Salisbury, which it is claimed were formed by the members of the Preceptory which had long existed at Bristol. The Baldwin Encampment claims to have existed from time immemorial.

So far as the establishment of the Order of Christ is concerned, we must go back to an early period, and address ourselves to a short study of Portuguese history.

I will not weary you with recounting all the dilemmas and difficulties into which the downfall of the Templars plunged Portugal and surrounding States, as illustrated by the Provinces of Spain. Suffice it to say that to conciliate all things, King Diniz, or Denis, the wise and beneficent ruler of Portugal at that time, conceived a means by which all contentions might be put to rest, and that was to convert the Templars into a new Order, and to restore Templarism in Portugal under a new form. He submitted the idea to the Pope, who approved of it, and on March 15th, 1319, John XXII., the reigning Pontiff, published a Bull creating a new military Order in Portugal, under the name, style, and title of the Order of Christ. This new Order held somewhat similar rules to those of the Templars. The Pope appointed as Grand Master of the new Order a Knight of the Order of Aviz, and the former Master of the Templars, Vasco Fernandes, entered the Order as a simple knight. King Denis, in bestowing the properties of the Templars on the new Order, expressly stated "that the Order of Christ was created in reformation of the Order of the Temple, which had been dissolved". Such was the scrupulous probity of the King, that, when giving to the new Order the former possessions of the Templars, he ordered the restitution likewise of the

rents which the Treasury had collected since the suppression of the Templars. He also gave to the new Order the castle of Castro-Marim, and here the Cross of Christ brethren established themselves. All the former Templars resident in Portugal entered the new Order as professed knights; only one individual was foreign to the old Order, and that was the new Grand Master, Gil Martin, who, as we have already heard, belonged to the Order of Aviz. (As there may be some who are wondering what the Order of Aviz may be, let me here say, in parenthesis, that the origin of this Portuguese Order is somewhat lost in obscurity, but it has been assigned to the time of Alfonso Henriquez, a prince who was revered by his subjects.)

To return to our history. We are told that the solemn commencement of the Order began with the investiture of the Master. This took place in the chapel of the royal palace. King Denis was present, with the members of his Court, also the following ecclesiastics, the Bishops of Evora, Guarda, Viseu, and Lamego. All the knights of the Order of Aviz accompanied the Master-Elect, who had governed them for three years, being a model of wisdom and prudence, and whom they were yielding up to the new Order. After the usual religious ceremony, celebrated with great pomp, the prelate of Cister (or Cintra) removed the habit of the former Order, and invested the Master of the new Order with the white scapula and cap belonging to it, and delivered up to him the sword, seal, and flag, with the Cross of Christ quartered thereon in red and white.

When the first Master died in 1321, the Order of Christ was flourishing and powerful, and this was due to his zealous efforts, directed with prudence and virtue; but we must never forget that the main influence was the enlightened and generous policy of the King. It was the Order of Christ which furnished the most intrepid and courageous men to plough the unknown seas, and which afforded so great an impetus to the civilization of the world. Dom Diniz could not have foreseen that the adventurous spirit of his descendants would carry the Portuguese hosts, with uplifted cross and sword in hand, to the confines of the most remote East, but his poetic soul offered its homage to the glorious past of those heroes of the battles of Faith.

As we consider the characteristics of the early rulers of Portugal, there is a name that no doubt has stirred the imagination of many Englishmen, and that is Prince Henry the Navigator, the third son of the illustrious King John I. He claims our attention as having been in due course Master of the Order of Christ. He reformed the statutes of the Order, and for that purpose held a General Chapter in 1449. He also made Thomar the capitular place of assembly. Our time will not be wasted if we spend some few minutes considering his career. It has been well said that Prince Henry was totally deficient in those finer qualities, those Saxon characteristics transmitted through Queen Philippa to his other brothers; those indefinable elements, compounded of sentiment, melancholic emotion, contemplative tranquillity, and transcendental impulses, which, in their infinite variety, tend to produce the most sublime, as well as the most elfish and erotic types of poets. Prince Henry was thus a typical Peninsular, positive, hard, determined, practical in everything—in his actions, his vivid enthusiasms, and his deeply-laid plans. He may well engage our attention, for he brings in his person England and Portugal into close proximity, as his mother was the daughter of our John of Gaunt.

Prince Henry's grandiose ideas of a great new empire starting from the Peninsula, spreading through Morocco to all Africa, and from thence to the boundless limits of unknown continents, became realised. His countrymen, therefore, are indebted to him, as also is civilised Europe for one of its three or four fundamental conquests and discoveries. It is for these reasons that his memory has been handed down, almost as that of a legendary hero, in spite of

these ignoble actions that marred his later life, and the total lack of those finer qualities which distinguished the other sons of John I. Chaste and abstemious in body, he was a soldier and at the same time a zealot; his mind was essentially mystical, and he saw in his visionary plans nothing less than revelations from heaven itself. He was a true scientist. He spent whole days and nights studying, experimenting, meditating, bent over the primitive geographical charts of his time, seeking ever after positive realities, facts which could be applied to the everyday things in life. In his scientific ardour he knew no bounds of caste or country; he was accused even of favouring the Jews because he encouraged the study of medicine, which in those days was a perquisite of the Jews, handed on from the Arabians. In 1481 the University of Saint Denys was reconstructed under his encouragement. In it he created a Chair of Medicine, himself furnishing a room in which he placed a portrait of Galen, that celebrated physician of old time; and as the University had "no proper building wherein they could read or make their writing, for which purpose a room had to be hired", he bought some premises in the parish of Saint Thomé in 1448, and granted twelve marks of silver per annum for the maintenance of the first Chair of Theology, the money being derived from rents in the island of Madeira.

I am fond of thinking of this prince, sitting in loneliness in his simply furnished dwelling on the barren Portuguese promontory of Sagres, straining his eyes over the vast expanse of ocean, dreaming of those unconquered and almost fabulous lands, wherein great riches abounded, and almost magical potentates, such as the famous Prester John, held sway. The spirit of conquest was in his blood; he was hampered by family ties and "devoirs"; and he strained at the leash like an impatient greyhound. My mind wanders down through the ages, and I am not unmindful that even to-day dreams of conquest take hold of purposeful men, who, forgetting the common dictates of humanity, strike down all who would oppose their senseless projects.

And now see Prince Henry, immediately after his father's death, persuading his King-brother, Duarte, or Edward, to send a war-like expedition to Africa. He became so obsessed with the idea that, he proposed changing his motto, "Talent a bien faire," to the word "Ida," which signifies "expedition," the letters being the initial letters of "Iffante Dom Anrrique," i.e., "The Infante Prince Henry." An attack was made on Tangier in 1437, and it turned out to be a lamentable failure. The terms of surrender entirely crushed all hope of further conquest in this direction for many years. The town of Ceuta, which had previously been captured, had to be given up, and Prince Henry's brother, Prince Fernando, was left a hostage in the enemy's hands. Prince Henry somewhat half-heartedly offered to take his brother's place, but without effect, and poor Fernando, after languishing in captivity till 1443, expired. The Moors looked upon Fernando as a saint, or rather said that he would have been one had he been a Mohammedan, inferring this sanctity from his chastity and the miracle of his having lived so long cramped in his cell. After his jailers had unfettered him, they washed the body, and were about to bury it when the Sultan ordered it to be eviscerated and hanged in front of the city walls. Eventually the body was taken down, encased in a lead coffin, and buried in the city walls. Later, the people credited his tomb with miraculous influence. The story of this tragedy was published throughout Europe by the great Spanish dramatist, Calderon de la Barca, in his play, "The Constant Prince," wherein we are told of King Edward's futile attempts to ransom his brother; of Fernando's resignation; and of the callous ambitions of Prince Henry.

This sacrifice of his brother was an ineradicable stain on the character of Prince Henry, and in his remorse he turned his mind to instituting further voyages of discovery. King Edward granted to Prince Henry the fifth part of

all the products brought to the kingdom by the explorers from newly-discovered lands, and no one was allowed to approach Portuguese shores with an armed vessel without special permission from the Prince. The sea was looked upon as his own dominion, it was his "Mare clausum".

Even in his old age Prince Henry's indomitable spirit was not crushed, for when in 1458 the Portuguese fleet arrived at Sagres, the aged Prince boarded his ship to take command of the expedition that captured Alcácer, a success that was the prologue to others at Tangier and Arzila, victories that, though occurring after he had passed away, gave him the cognomen of "Africano" for all time.

A modern writer has aptly said that "Prince Henry turned Crusading into a profession, and the Order of Christ into a company of navigators".

We have seen that Prince Henry fixed the headquarters of the Order of Christ at the Portuguese town of Thomar. This little town nestles at the foot of an immense limestone crag, upon the top of which stand the extensive remains of the celebrated Castle of the Templars. The most Western of the three strongholds is used as a monastery; the central height consists of a ruined tower, in the midst of shattered battlements of unusual thickness; while that on the East is the most important and best preserved.

King Manuel, who succeeded Prince Henry in the Mastership of the Order of Christ, who was noted for his interest in all that pertained to architecture, and whose memory is perpetuated by that peculiar style of ornamentation known as Manueline, set about enlarging the church at Thomar. A new impetus was given later to the building operations by King John III., who converted the Order into a monastic brotherhood, making the construction of living-quarters a necessity. The master of the works was the great Portuguese architect, João de Castilho, who added a nave to the church, and built four of the five dormitories of the West cloisters: the main cloister, begun in 1545 by João, was finished by another prominent architect, Diogo de Terralva, in 1562. In 1580 Philip II. of Spain was proclaimed King of Portugal before the church door, and the importance of Thomar was at an end.

It is very many years since I visited Thomar, and in these days of rush and hurry, the remembrance of things seen becomes dulled and dimmed. But I shall never forget the awesome feeling which possessed me as I stood and gazed in wonder at the buildings which I beheld. It was something so new, so fascinating, so utterly unlike all that one had imagined; a fairyland of stone, an engrossing spectacle in the art of sculpture. I was possessed by the same feeling when I saw, near to Thomar, the church of Batalha, the Battle Abbey of Portugal. This group of buildings, though unfinished, stands in solitary and lonely grandeur, one of the marks of the Golden Age of Portugal. Much might be said about it, but we must hark back to Thomar, with which we are concerned.

I should like here to interpose a description of Thomar, as it appeared to Martin Hume, a well-known writer on Spain and Portugal. This description is taken from a very interesting little book, called *Through Portugal*, the date of which is 1907. This is what he writes:—"Upon an ancient slab let into the sides of the Templar church an inscription tells how Dom Affonso, first King of Portugal, and Gualdim Paes, Master of the Portuguese Templars, constructed this edifice in 1108. Joined to this ancient structure is one of the most astounding specimens of Manueline architecture in Portugal, built in the early sixteenth century when all the country was pulsating with new life and eager longings. It is the choir and chapter-house, and behind them is the ruin of the great monastery of the Order of Christ. Words are weak to convey an idea of the capricious splendour of the choir and chapter-house, so far as they remain undefaced, for later ages have done their best to spoil the edifice. Eight cloisters have been built around it, and tacked on to it, during the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries. Its lovely Manueline doorway has been marred, and the East end of the building blocked as high as its upper windows by the "cloister of the Philips". But, notwithstanding all the vandalism, enough of the Manueline building remains intact to strike the beholder with reverent wonder of the intricate beauty of the work, and the inexhaustible invention of the design. Inside the grave old round church of the Templars, to which this gorgeous edifice was to serve as a choir for the warrior monks of Christ, a fine Byzantine altar stands in the centre. The interior of the edifice itself is a quaint and curious mixture of Byzantine, Moorish, Romanesque, and Gothic, the pillars being painted and gilded in oriental taste, whilst the splendid canopy over the central altar is pure Gothic". After many details about these buildings, the writer concludes his description thus:—"The visitor to Portugal who misses Thomar has failed to see a relic which, in its way, has hardly an equal in Europe".

We have lingered some time in the glowing enthusiasm of the Middle Ages, so let us now betake ourselves to a consideration of more modern times, and transport ourselves to France, where the Order of the Temple is supposed to have carried on a continuous though chequered career, according to certain documents, from the actual time of the suppression of the Order. There are some curious statements put forward in a French work entitled *The Secret Statutes of the Templars*. This was published in Paris in 1860. From this we learn that in 1808 a sumptuous funeral service was held at Paris in the church of Saint Paul and Saint Anthony, the occasion being the anniversary of the death of De Molay, the Grand Master who was burnt at the stake in the time of the persecution. A Canon of Notre Dame, the Abbé Clouet, appeared in the pulpit in a strange costume, which was afterwards ascertained to be the vestments of a Primate of the Order. A similar service was held in 1824 in the church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. It was then said that the great Napoleon had been initiated in the Order in 1805, and that his name was inscribed in the archives of the Order, which are preserved at Thomar, together with those of the Knights of Christ, inheritors and possibly continuators (excuse the ugly word) of the Temple in the Peninsula.

The Grand Masters who, according to the statutes of the Paris Templars, have continued the succession are twenty-five in number, and the last mentioned is Sir William Sidney-Smith, who was born in London in 1746, and who died at Paris in 1840. It is said that he was offered the Grand Mastership of the Order of Christ, but refused it.

Amongst the eminent men who are said to have been members of French Knight Templary are Fenelon, Massillon, Frederick II., Lacedepede, Lenoir, the Dukes of Sussex and of Wurtemberg, etc. The actual rules of the French Order are contained in the statutes which were re-arranged in 1706, under the direction of Duc d'Orleans. The statutes of Dijon, those of Paris, and the Leviticon of the thirteenth century, are preserved only as historical documents belonging to the original Order. Quasi-public ceremonies have revealed at Paris the existence of the modern Templars. One can judge of the modifications that the Order underwent at their hands by analysing a rare work which was published at Paris in 1825. This was entitled, *Manuel des Chevaliers de l'Ordre du Temple*. In this book it is asserted that, after the dispersion of the Templars, two of their number, who had abandoned the regulations, instituted in Scotland, with Robert Bruce, Scottish Masonry, the source of all actual Masonic rites and ceremonies. A certain Marc Larmenius, who is said to have succeeded Jacques de Molay, condemned these sectarians and declared them to be excommunicated. Under the Grand Masters, who succeeded Larmenius, the Order of the Temple, although forced to work in a stealthy manner, spread anew over the earth.

France, England, Germany, Portugal, Italy, and even America, associated together in its re-establishment.

We must now return to the past, and enter into a consideration of the statutes which governed the Order of Christ. There is a Portuguese manuscript in the British Museum which contains all the rules of the Order. According to the manuscript this was written in Thomar in the year 1503. I have endeavoured more or less imperfectly to render into passable English one or two of these rules, and these I will read to you, as faintly indicating what were the rites and customs of the Order. I hope this will not weary you, but I must remind you that they are an integral part of this paper. It might be well if I gave you briefly the headings of some of the rules, that you may see how varied they are in character. I will enumerate them:—"Of fasting; The eating of meat; Of silence; Division of goods; Obtaining of pardons; Of penitence; Wax for the altar; The novices or postulants to be instructed; A Master of Grammar to be appointed; How the Convent rations are to be distributed; Appointment of Steward, Organist, and Physician; How to act on death of Master", and so forth.

The rules or statutes appear to be eighty-nine in number, though twenty-four of these may be considered as preliminary to those that follow. The first rule (or rather, explanatory statement) is headed "How the Convent of Thomar is the head of the whole Order", and it runs thus:—"Since we find that on the first establishment of this Order of Jesus Christ, the Pope Johannes XXII., who ordained and established it, wished and ordered that the Convent and head of the whole Order should be at Castromarim, on account of this region being for the exercise of cavalry and a frontier against the Moors, who were still in those parts, and subsequently by the grace of God were expelled and thrown out from that district; and seeing that the land was and is poor of food and that the said Convent could not subsist there, the Master with the Council of the Order, but without authority from the Pope, removed it to diverse parts of these kingdoms—and then to Thomar, where it now is and which is a more adequate and better situation for this Order; therefore by apostolic authority we approve, confirm, and decree the said transfer and situation of the Convent at Thomar, where it now is, and the same to be the head of the Order, such and in the same guise as it was at Castromarim".

This is followed by twenty-four rules, of which I will trouble you with only one, as a specimen. Rule XXIV. speaks of the penitence ordered to those who do not observe what is ordered them. It says: "Considering the frailty of persons and the malice in the present times we are moved in this reformation, or more truly dispensation, to diminish and minimise some of the things in the regular observance, and which refer to the fasts and prayers; therefore, wishing to remove scruple in this connection, we desire that the Religious Brothers, Knights, and Friars, in the things herein determined, should not be governed by the ancient usages, nor should incur the pain of mortal sin for not observing some of the old or new ordinations of the Order, excepting such cases in which an expressed penalty is given by us, or which are themselves mortal sins; they shall, however, be obliged to temporal punishment of fasts, prayers, flagellations, and claustral seclusion, And this we leave to the consciences of the Master, the Prior, visiting members, and other persons to whom falls the duty of carrying this out, or of requesting correction. And to those who were diligent in the carrying out of these things of ancient observance, we grant, by the authority of Christ and of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and of the Church to us committed, besides what they merit, the blessings and indulgences of the Order, which are many".

Here there occurs a break, and we begin a new set of regulations, the others having been enacted, as I see, in the year 1440. These new statutes are thus prefaced:—"Here follow the definitions of the Chapter that the King,

our Lord, Governor of the Knighthood of our Lord Jesus Christ, held at the Convent of the Village of Thomar in the month of December of the year one thousand five hundred and three ”.

The eighth rule in this collection tells us of the persons that should be received in the Order—“The ‘cavalleiro’ that is to be received as ‘freire’ should be of noble birth, or well brought up, a gentleman or esquire, known to be a good man, of fifteen at least and over, but not over more than fifty: so that neither on account of being younger nor of being older may he be prevented from rendering service to God and to his Order in feats of chivalry, for which it was established. And the men who are lame or married and who may not take up arms, may not be received in the Order, even although they may be of the prescribed age ”.

Rule XII. is of some interest as showing “the manner in which the Novice will enter the Order”. This is the ceremony:—“Two knights will go to fetch the Novice and will throw over him the ‘bentinho’ without its having been blessed, for this will be done on his making the profession. They will come with him before the Master and will throw themselves on the ground, when the Master will ask, ‘What do you demand?’ To this will be answered, ‘God’s mercy, and the aid of you all’. The Master will ask them to rise, and when the Novice is on his feet he should be signified of the austereness of the Order. The Master, or whoever he may order, should then ask the Novice if he be free of the law; if he serf, majordomo, or receiver of dues of any lord to whom he may have to account; if he owe anyone any sum which he cannot pay, or if he had entered any other Order; whether he has promised pilgrimage to the Holy House of Jerusalem or to Rome, because he who wishes to enter this Order has to be free and emancipated from all these things. He is admonished to love poverty and chastity, to be obedient to his Master, have no will of his own but to do what the Master or the Order may command; he should not enter this Order with a view as to what he will receive, but should do so for the service of God and be in hope that the Master will provide for him in the Order, according to how he lives and to what he deserves. He will, moreover, be told that when he wishes to rest he will be told to work; that when he wishes to eat, he will be ordered a fast, and that when he wishes to fast, he will be ordered to eat, so that nothing will be according to his wish—he will also be told that he can be one year and one day before being professed of the Order, and if he wished he could leave before that time, or the Order might expel him if he were found to be unsuitable”. I would here venture to say that a careful study of the wording of this Rule may suggest to some certain seeming points of similarity between what is here set down and our Craft ritual as practised even to-day.

We learn from Rule VIII. that when the Novice is professed, at a certain time during the ceremony, the Master will take his hands between his own, and the knight being on his knees before him, will cause him to say, after he has repeated his name at length, “I, Frey so and so, am pleased to enter this Order of our Lord Jesus Christ, and make to God and you profession of goodness and obedience till death, and to the other Masters who may be appointed during my lifetime”. The Master then kisses him on the face and he becomes professed. Then the “bentinho”, the white cloak and cross will be brought, and after these have been blessed, the Master will invest the knight. The ceremony concludes with various orations and prayers.

You may be wondering what the word “bentinho” may mean. A Portuguese dictionary identifies it with the word “scapular”, but it is something separate and distinct, as can be seen by Rule XV., which treats of the “Size and Make of the Bentinhos”. Here is the Rule:—“Since we find by ancient definition of this our Order that the Bentinho should be of white woollen

manufacture of five hands and of one conto or less in length, opened at the middle to admit the head going through, without this aperture being extended down to the ends as some do; We define and ordain that they should be so made and worn in all times. By this Bentinho they will always be reminded that they are under the obligation of obedience to their Master and also of humility to their neighbour". It appears to me that this garment must have been very like what is called an alb, a vestment used in the service of the Mass, only in this case the alb would be sleeveless.

As to the "scapular", there seem to be various explanations of its form. In the *Handbook to Christian and Ecclesiastical Rome* I find the following passage:—"Saint Benedict added a special item of monastic costume, the scapular, to be worn when the monk was at work. The scapular is a long strip of cloth, generally of the colour of the habit, which is passed over the head and hangs down the whole length of the habit, back and front. It may be regarded as an apron to protect the monk while working, or as a mutilated tunic, of which the sides and arm-pieces are wanting. This work-a-day item has become the sacred garment of Western monachism, a parable of the dignity of work, a continued remembrance that 'laborare est orare'". There is also a form of scapular, generally worn by secular persons, which consists of little pieces of dark cloth, joined by strings, by which it is suspended round the neck. I am inclined to think that this is the scapular referred to in the Rules, otherwise the poor knights must have been overburdened with garments. I notice in illustrations in old books that the brethren of this Order had a sort of house costume, as well as a warlike equipment, and robes of ceremony to be worn on special occasions. At this juncture, as we are on the question of dress, it may be useful to make an extract from Rule II., taken from the first set of Rules:—"Since we do not find in any rule nor establishment a definite habit that this new Order was to wear and see that by custom they wore a red cross on the chest on a white ground, and on the occasion of the feasts they wore white cloaks wide at the ankle, and on other days loose upper coats and cloaks of other colours not prohibited; wearing moreover scapulars both day and night under the doublet; so we ordain and approve and command that the habit they are to wear in the Order should be as aforesaid, of dresses such as they previously wore and in such a manner that the white cloaks that they are to wear at the Chapter and feasts, and in which they will receive the Communion and will be buried, should touch the ankle, open at the right side . . . The knights on account of their exercise in arms and cavalry should have their dresses reaching at least to the knees, wearing their tunics and cloaks in such a guise that the cross should always fall in front of the chest, which is its place".

I have given you the Rule with regard to the admission of Novices; I think, as a pendant to that, I ought to give you the Rule "As to the Election of the Master, and how this is to be done Item. Whereas the election of a new Master should be made and ordained with such perfection that it should be such as would please God, and so that the Order may be best ruled and governed for the good and benefit of the knights; following in this respect the ancient definitions and statutes; We define and ordain that henceforth for all times, the following shall be observed. Firstly the Chief Commendatory will, until the Master is elected, assume the government of the Order; the Sacristan will keep the sword, standard, and seal of the Master, and Dom Prior will then call by his letters to General Chapter to the said Convent and nowhere else, all the Commendatories, Knights, Vicars and Friars of the Order, making it known to them that the Master is dead, and appointing a certain date, which cannot exceed ten days from the day on which the Master died, to present themselves in person at the said Convent. Being thus all assembled, Dom Prior will say the Mass

of the *Espiritu Sancto*. The Mass over, they will proceed to the Chapter in procession, singing the hymn 'Veni Creator'. Once seated in the Chapter, Dom Prior will command them that they should all commend themselves to the Holy Ghost to enlighten their hearts, that the Master, then to be elected, should be the one best to serve God and the Order. This said, Dom Prior will receive the oath on the holy Gospels from those present that they will truly and without friendship elect nine knights, God-fearing and conscientious, who will well and truly effect the election of the said Master''. As the wordiness of this Rule may prove to you rather long and tedious, I will endeavour to paraphrase the remainder. The nine knights, together with some officials, "without seeing or speaking to one another", now retire, and deliver their votes signed and sealed to Dom Prior, who having received them, opens them and announces who has been elected as Master. Upon this being divulged, the Chief Commendatory hands him the government of the Order; the Sacristan hands him the sword, standard, and seal "in the most reverential manner". Whilst the "*Te Deum*" is being sung, the new Master, with attendant officials and knights, goes in procession to the high altar. The Abbot of Alcobaca will receive the oath from the Master "as it is given in the Bull of Pope Johannes, which is as follows: 'I, Dom Frey so and so, Master of the Brotherhood of Cavalry of Jesus Christ, from this hour and in future will be faithful to Saint Peter and to the Holy Apostolic Church of Rome, and to my Lord the Pope and his successors canonically created and elected. I shall not disclose with advice, consent, nor in fact at the cost of my life or limb, or of being hopelessly imprisoned, the advice to me entrusted by him or his messengers, or by letters, to his injury; I shall not disclose the Papacy of Rome nor the things of Saint Peter. The Legate from the Apostolic See on his coming or leaving I shall treat with honour, and to his needs I shall attend. Called to his Synod, I shall go, if I am not legitimately prevented. I shall visit by myself or by someone else the Houses of the Holy Apostles, if by Apostolic permission I am not absolved from so doing. The properties belonging to the Order I shall not sell, give, or pledge, nor will I in any other manner give away aught without authority from the Pope of Rome. So help me God''. The first duty of the new Master is to do homage to the King.

I propose to devote the concluding section of this paper to architecture, and I make no apology for so doing, inasmuch as architecture is the science of making designs for buildings, which buildings grow into shape by the ingenuity of masons, workers in stone, whose implements are constantly alluded to in our speculative craft ceremonies. I will first mention some celebrated architects and masons who belong to the period we have had under consideration, and we will try to glean some particulars about them, even if they be of the most scanty description. But our thoughts must be principally centred on Thomar.

There were two stone carvers working at Thomar in 1512 and 1513. João de Castilho, by birth a Biscayan, was the most famous architect of his time. He is said to have been born about 1490, but from what we know about him an earlier date ought to be assigned. He lived long enough to become a complete convert to the style of the Renaissance, and in his latest additions to Thomar no trace of the Gothic is left. He died shortly before 1553. A document which has been discovered states that his daughter was to receive on his death a substantial pension.

Mattheus Fernandes, the elder, had been till 1480 Master of the royal works at Santarem. He was followed by João Rodrigues. Mattheus is mentioned as being a vassal of the King, judge in ordinary of the town of Santa Maria da Victoria, and Master of the works at Batalha. He was followed by another Mattheus Fernandes, probably his son, and then came João de Castilho.

It is not without interest to learn that, like architects of the present day, João de Castilho often found very great difficulties in carrying out his work. Several times does he write to the King about the difficulty of getting oxen. On March 4th, 1548, he writes:—"I have written some days ago to Pero Carvalho to tell him of the want of carts, the works at Thomar remaining without stone these three months. I would ask 20,000 reis [about £4:10:0] to buy five oxen, and with three which I have I could manage the carriage of a thousand cart-loads of worked stone—and if your Highness will give me these oxen, I shall finish the work very quickly, that when your Highness comes here you may find something to see, and have contentment of it". Later he again complains of transport difficulties, and in the year when he retired, 1551, he writes in despair asking the King for "a very strong edict that no one of any condition whatever might be excused, because in this place those who have something of their own are excused by favour, and the poor men do service, which to them seems a great aggravation and oppression. May your Highness believe that I write this as a desperate man, since I cannot serve as I desire, and may this provision be sent to the magistrate and judge that they may have it executed by their officer, since the mayor here is always away, and never in his place".

With the death of Dom Manuel the most brilliant and interesting period in the history of Portuguese architecture comes to an end. Gothic, even as represented by Manoelino, disappeared for ever, and Renaissance architecture, taught by the French school at Coimbra, or learned in Italy by those sent there by Dom Manuel, became universal, to flourish for a time, and then to fall even lower than in any other country.

Except the Frenchmen at Coimbra, no one played a greater part in this change than João de Castilho, who, no doubt, first learned about the Renaissance from Master Nicolas at Belem; Thomar, also, his own home, lies about half-way between Lisbon and Coimbra, so that he may well have visited his brother, Diogo, at Coimbra and seen what other Frenchmen were doing there; but in any case, whoever it may have been who taught him, he planned at Thomar, after his return there, the first buildings which are wholly in the style of the Renaissance and are not merely decorated with Renaissance details.

The mention of Master Nicolas, the Frenchman, leads me to remark that he was the first of the Renaissance artists to come to Portugal. In 1524 the then King of Portugal orders one hundred gold "cruzados" to be paid to Diogo de Castilho and to Master Nicolas for work executed, and two years later another letter granted Diogo the privilege of riding on a mule. The wording of the letter says: "To give room and licence to Dioguo de Castylho, master of the work at my palace at Coimbra, to ride on a mule and a nag seeing that he has no horse, and notwithstanding my decrees to the contrary".

Another Frenchman, who should be mentioned, is Jean de Rouen, who left Normandy in 1521, and went to Coimbra, where he carved the pulpit in the church of Santa Cruz.

As to the actual architectural details exhibited at Thomar I must make acknowledgment to Mr. W. C. Watson for much interesting matter which comes to us through his well-known work, *Portuguese Architecture*, published in 1908, a work which is said to be the leading authority on that subject. In one of the chapters he writes: "Seeing how close the intercourse was between Lisbon and India, it is perhaps no wonder that, in his very interesting book on the Renaissance Architecture of Portugal, Albrecht Haupt, struck by the very strange forms used at Thomar, and to a lesser degree in the later additions to Batalha, propounded a theory that this strangeness was due to the importation of Indian

details . . . With regard to Thomar, where the detail is even more Indian-looking, the temptation to look for Indian models is still stronger, owing to the peculiar position which the Order of Christ held at Thomar, for the knights of that Order for some time possessed complete spiritual jurisdiction over India and all other foreign conquests".

Whilst talking of buildings it is interesting to note that the chapel or small chancel which Prince Henry built from out of one of the eastern sides of the old Templar church was dedicated to Saint Thomas of Canterbury.

In another chapter of his book Mr. Watson writes: "There is perhaps no building in Portugal which so well tells of the great increase of wealth which began under Dom Manuel, or which so well recalls the deeds of his heroic captains, as that of Thomar. Well may the emblem of Hope, the armillary sphere, whereby they go their way across the ocean, be carved all round the parapet, over the door, and beside the West window with its wealth of knots and wreaths. Whether or not João de Castilho meant the branches of coral to tell of distant oceans; the trees, of the forests of Brazil; and the ropes, of the small ships which underwent such dangers; is of little consequence. To the present generation, which knows that all these discoveries were only possible because Prince Henry and his Order of Christ had devoted their time and wealth to the one object of finding the way to the East, Thomar will always be a fitting memorial of these great deeds, and of the great men, Bartolomeo Diaz, Vasco da Gama, Affonso de Albuquerque, Pedro Cabal, and Tristão da Cunha, by whom Prince Henry's great schemes were brought to a successful issue".

I remember seeing in one of our cathedrals some ornamentation in stone work round about the choir which forcibly reminded of this Manuealine decoration. I cannot now remember which cathedral it was, but I know that it was either Rochester or Bristol; I should fancy the latter. I called the attention of the verger to it, but he seemed oblivious as to whether any notice had previously been taken of the circumstance.

The armillary sphere, already mentioned, is the device peculiar to Prince Henry as a navigator. The dictionary describes it as being "a celestial globe with hoops representing the different astronomical circles such as the equator, ecliptic, etc., in their natural order and relative positions".

From Muirhead's *Southern Spain and Portugal* I cull the following:—"The thirty years of the reign of Dom Manuel the Fortunate, the period of Portugal's greatest glory as a world-power, are reflected in art by the development of a strongly marked national style and a wave of building and rebuilding all over the country—the outstanding characteristic of Manuealine art is its realism and the adoption of certain peculiar forms of ornament. Thistle-heads, coral branches, and ropes, and other attributes of ships abound, and everywhere is seen the armillary sphere, the Cross of the Order of Christ, and the 'Cinco Quinas' the arms of Portugal. At the famous battle-field of the 'Campo de Ourique', where Alfonso defeated five Moorish kings in 1439, he adopted as his coat-of-arms, in memory of the event, their five shields, each charged with the five wounds of Christ, recalling the vision of the Crucifixion which came to him on the night before his victory".

I trust that this paper, however imperfect it may be, has aroused in you some slight degree of interest, and has served to show that even in what we may call outside matters, we always find traces of that vast branch of science which is compacted together under the generic title of what we may be pleased to call Freemasonry.

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A hearty vote of thanks for his interesting paper was unanimously passed to Bro. de Lafontaine, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by Bro. Elkington; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. L. Edwards, A. Gorham, G. P. G. Hills, G. W. Bullamore, B. Telepneff, W. W. Covey-Crump, and B. A. Smith.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

It is a pleasure to have to voice one's thanks for so entertaining a paper as that which we have just heard. Bro. Cart de Lafontaine has tantalized us with so many brief references to wide and interesting subjects as to make us forgive him only on condition that he deals on another occasion with one or more of the following subjects which he has only touched on in his paper:—Knight Templary in France at the beginning of the eighteenth century; the ceremonies of the monastic and chivalric orders as compared with those of Freemasonry; the operative master masons of and in Portugal; the influence of the religious opinions of the Duke of Sussex in the development of the Craft.

However, I must not blame the reader of the paper for not doing what he did not set out to do, but should say something of the main topics of his discourse.

In considering the contributions of the various nations to what is called civilisation, it is too frequently the case that we leave out the important part which has been played by the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula, and of this fact the paper is a timely reminder. Portugal was the first European country where the Templars settled, and it was the last to preserve any remnant of the

Order. Bodies like the Order of Christ, the Order of St. Benedict of Aviz, the Knights of Calatrava, so to speak, canalise the fierce but intermittent energy of the Crusaders. When the necessity for a religious fighting force against Islam in the Peninsula, thanks in great part to their efforts, was no longer there, their attention and their efforts were directed to the conquest and evangelisation of North Africa, as Bro. Cart de Lafontaine has told us. Perhaps I may add one or two facts to his statement. Naturally he deals more with the glorious period of the Order of Christ than with its decay, but in fairness it should be noted that even before the end of the fifteenth century it became necessary for the Pope Alexander VI. to commute the vow of celibacy for that of conjugal chastity in view of the prevalence of concubinage among its members. Later there arose such a divorce between the religious and the chivalric sides of the Order that the Knights at large in the world lost almost all connection with the Monks at the Convent of Thomar. It is worthy of note that all three Orders which have been mentioned were under the Cistercean Rule, a revised and stricter version of that of St. Benedict—*conugetes optime pesima*.

It may be of interest to quote a passage from the essay of Dr. Edgar Prestage¹ on the chivalry of Portugal in the volume on chivalry which he has edited. He speaks of a play by Gil Vicente called the "Boot of Hell," in which four *fidalgos*, Knights of the Order of Christ, who have died fighting the Infidel in Africa, are challenged by the Devil, who seeks to take them with him, but one boldly replies: "Look with whom you are speaking", and another: "We died in the parts beyond (the sea), and seek to know nothing else"; while an Angel welcomes them, for "those who fall in such a conflict, are saints and deserve eternal peace"—a fine tribute to the Order at its best.

With regard to the two French Masons mentioned in the paper the information given in Banchal's *Nouveau Dictionnaire . . . des Architectes Français* (1887) may be of interest. I translate it:—

"Rouen (Jehan de),² master of the works and sculptor, was summoned to Portugal about 1510 [is our Brother right in saying "1521"?] with several artists, his compatriots, to work in the Church of the Holy Cross at Coimbra. He constructed the altars and the stone altarpieces of this Church from 1510 to 1517".

"Rouen (Nicolas de),³ master of the works and sculptor, was summoned about 1510, to Portugal, with Jehan de Rouen, Jacques Longuin and Phillippe Edouard, to build the Church of the Holy Cross at Coimbra. In 1517, he was ordered to build the doorway of the Church at Belem. His is also the Chapel of the Convent of Our Lady de la Peña, near Cintra (Lance)".

Bro. B. TELEPNEFF writes:—

I should like to support warmly the vote of thanks due to Bro. de Lafontaine for his fascinating paper on the Portuguese Order of Christ.

The connection of this Order of Chivalry with what remained on the Iberian Peninsula of the Knights Templar Order after the latter's dissolution, is ascertained by all the historians of the Portuguese Order. Its connection with Freemasonry, in spite of some vague allegations and some peculiar French Rites, seems more than doubtful. In fact, the whole question of any connection between the Templar Order and Masonic Lodges, whatever certain legends and traditions may say, is still a problem to be solved; but this dilemma was, of course, outside the subject of the paper under review.

¹ p. 161.

² 1513.

³ 2514.

It is, perhaps, not quite right to speak of Portugal as a small country, unless it be in comparison with its past grandeur; one must remember that, unlike her neighbour Spain (and what a past greatness this name conjures to our mind!), Portugal is still a vast colonial "Empire". It suffices to say, that it ranks even now among the greatest colonial powers of the European Continent, its colonies embracing over 800,000 square miles and comprising in Africa the Cape Verde Islands, St. Thomas and Prince's Islands, Portuguese Guinea, Angola and Portuguese East Africa or Mozambique; in India, Goa, Damão and Diu; in China, Macao; and in the Malay Archipelago part of Timor.

Portugal was by no means always friendly to Great Britain. Her disputes with the latter, not infrequent before, came to a head on January 12th. 1890, by the dispatch of an ultimatum from the British Government to Lisbon. Later, however (in November of the same year), an agreement between the two countries was signed: amicable relations were soon re-established and continued . . .

Freemasonry was ever a potent but disturbing factor, since its inauguration in 1727 or thereabouts, in the life of Portugal. The Portuguese Lodges very early became definitely political, and were later strongly influenced by the Grand Orient of France. They certainly had a connection with Irish Freemasonry, and even now, I believe (either in an open or a clandestine way), there exist in Portugal Lodges adhering to the Grand Lodge of Ireland as their progenitor. There is, however, not a scrap of evidence, so far as my rather hurried enquiries go, to show that there ever has been any connection between the Portuguese Freemasonry and the Order of Christ. Rather on the contrary . . .

The history of the Order of Christ itself shows the difficulty (if not impossibility) of such an inter-communication existing at any time in the eighteenth century.

What is, briefly stated, the ascertained history of the Order of the Knights of Christ?

It was founded on the abolition of the Templars by Denis of Portugal in 1318, the Pope John XXII. concurring and retaining also the right to nominate to the Order. In 1552 the Order was re-formed as a distinct Portuguese Order and the Grand Mastership vested in the Crown of Portugal. In 1789 its original religious aspect was abandoned; with the exception that *its members had to be, as before, of the Roman Catholic faith*, it was entirely secularized. It was at the same time that the Order of St. Benedict of Aviz (formerly of Evora), founded in 1162 also as a religious order, was secularized and became solely an order of military merit. Evora had been a fairly important town in ancient Portugal; some of the buildings still extant testify to its rôle in Portuguese history. The Aviz dynasty of the Portuguese Rulers was practically extinguished with its last great King, Emanuel I. (1495-1521), whose dream it was to weld together the Spanish and Portuguese dominions into a single world-wide empire ruled by the House of Aviz—an ambition not to be fulfilled . . . The Order of St. James of Compostella, a branch of the Spanish Order of that name, also was secularized in 1789. These three Orders were granted a common badge uniting the three separate crosses in a gold medallion; to the separate crosses was added a red Sacred Heart and a small white cross. The Order of Christ's papal branch still survives as a distinct Order.

There is, nevertheless, a vestige of connection between Freemasonry of the so-called "higher" degrees and the Order of Christ; puerile as it seems to be, to say the least. In 1807 a Portuguese, called Nuny, endeavoured to establish at Paris, in those days as before, a hotch-potch of strange grades and rites, a System denominated "the Order of Christ". He assured those who were willing to listen to him that an appropriate warrant from the Order's authorities was in his hand. The Paris Lodge of the Bee took kindly to his words. A new degree was added and worked, superseding the 33rd degree of

the Scottish Rite, and purporting to be "an Initiation into the Order of Christ". The highest degree of the new System was to be called "Souverain Grand Commandeur du Temple".

We have to be grateful to Bro. de Lafontaine not only for the exquisite way in which he has expressed his thoughts and impressions on the interesting subject of his paper, but also for those suggestions of a further research into the origin and history of Masonic Knightly degrees, which it gives to every thoughtful Masonic student.

Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

Notwithstanding a somewhat unattractive title, the paper is very interesting; and the simplicity of its style will doubtless make it widely welcomed by our Correspondence Circle. Not too long nor too abstruse, yet scholarly and reliable, it deals with the fate of the Templars from an angle new in our *Transactions*, and will be of permanent value there.

There are just two little *lapses calami*, which for the sake of accuracy, should be mentioned.

The first is Bro. de Lafontaine's assertion that "from the French Templars in Paris the Duke of Sussex *received the degree*" (*italics mine*). The Duke was initiated (in 1798) in the Lodge *Victorious Truth* (chartered by Royal York of Friendship G.L.) at Berlin. That Lodge then worked several extraneous degrees, though not a Templar rite—this latter being at the time in disrepute in Berlin. But if the Duke subsequently received anything of that kind in Paris, surely it would be admission into what purported to be the veritable Templar Order; and doubts as to its genuineness may explain his aversion for it as a Masonic appendage.

The other slip (unless it is a misprint) is that "in 1481 the University of Saint Denys was re-constructed" under encouragement from Prince Henry the Navigator. May it suffice to say that Prince Henry died on 13th November, 1461, at the by no means "old age" of 67?

I gladly support the vote of thanks to Bro. de Lafontaine, which will be unanimously passed by the Brethren.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

I have been interested in this paper on account of its reference to Templar tradition.

The founding of the Order of Christ with the membership and property of the Portuguese Knights Templar establishes a continuity which may be misleading. To my mind, the fatal blow was the replacing the master. The substitution for him of a non-Templar nominated by the Pope did away with Templar allegiance to their old Order through the master and replaced it by vows of fealty to a master with no Templar interests. If the Order of Christ at the same time took over Templar modes of recognition this would tell heavily against any secret transmission.

In France and England, suppression instead of substitution would favour a secret tradition. Although the Charter of Larmenius has been condemned as a forgery, this was chiefly because the transcript failed to abbreviate words in the manner of a document of the time of Larmenius. But when the original Charter in cypher came to light, the abbreviations were found to be there. The extended spelling had been the work of the copyist. The document is not as old as the time of Larmenius, but this can be explained if the custodians replaced a worn-

out manuscript with a true copy and then destroyed the original in the interests of secrecy. Of course, it can also be explained, like all old manuscripts, as the product of an anonymous forger at an unknown date in an unknown place. The value of this explanation is that any indications of genuineness can be attributed to the skill of the supposed forger.

Bro. Malcovitsch when taking the English Masonic degree of Knight Templar recognised one of the signs as being given traditionally by the ghost of a Templar suicide in Hungary. Coincidence cannot be ruled out, but seems rather far-fetched. My own belief is that until comparatively recent times, tradition, going back in some cases to the stone age, formed a great part of the knowledge of the mass of people. Within the fellowships, gossip relating to other and defunct fellowships must have been transmitted as pearls of wisdom to be expanded into revivals of fellowships when the need or opportunity arose.

Such a belief renders it unnecessary for me to postulate a skilled crook at the head of the pedigree of every masonic degree or manuscript.

Bro. B. A. SMITH writes:—

I have read Bro. de Lafontaine's paper on "The Portuguese Order of Christ" with great interest.

The quotation from Chetwode Crawley ("Now and again it has been assumed that the Order of Christ perpetuated in some way the Order of the Temple") is curious and interesting, if his further statement ("Beyond similarity of object, however, no connection can be discerned between the two Orders") refers to those Orders and not to the Freemasonry of Ireland and Portugal.

Since the Order of Christ was invested with all the wordly possessions of the Portuguese Templars by that strangely honest man of his day, Dom Diniz, and the whole of the Portuguese Templar Knights enrolled in the new Order, *en masse* with their old master, Vasco Fernandes, the connection would appear to be remarkably like a complete succession.

And these are well documented facts, not bold and uninformed guesses, though there are plenty of these latter to be found about the Portuguese Templars.

In *The Masonic Record*, vol. iii., p. 1017, there is a reprint of an article from *The Architect*, in which it says: "The Order of Knights Templar was founded at Thomar", etc. It is news to me that the Order was founded in Portugal at all, but the Portuguese Templars were a going concern in 1126 at Fonte-Arcada, and work on the fortress at Thomar was not started until 1160 under Gualdim Paes, the sixth master, so far as I can find.

The Tower of S. Vicente at Belem, near Lisbon, has been described as a Templar tower and later as a tower of the Templars' successors by Bro. Ward (*Masonic Record*, vol. i., p. 263, and vol. ii., p. 593). But it was not built till 1514 to 1519, and was part of a scheme which Dom Manoel had for building a series of defensive towers on the Tagus. It never had any connection with the Templars or the Order of Christ; it was a royal fortress.

The great Dom Enriques (Henry the Navigator), when Master of the Order of Christ, built the magnificent Convent of Jevonymos on the Tagus near Lisbon, and this he made over to the Order shortly before his death.

The Templars were the main support of Dom Affonso Enriques, who enrolled in the Order in 1129, in creating Portugal as a separate kingdom under his rule and freeing the country from the Moors. The history of Portugal and its crown is inextricably mixed with the history of the Order in Portugal.

The Order of Christ adopted a cross of the ordinary long and short arms type, which continued to be used on the insignia of Grand Commanders of the Order until the revolution in 1910, but the Templar type of cross is still a kind of national emblem, with or without the sphere superimposed thereon.

Dom Manoel had silver coins minted bearing the cross of the Order of Christ and the old Templar device, "in hoc signo vinces".

In his day the Order had 450 commanderies scattered over a large part of the then known world.

It is interesting to note that, at the end of the fifteenth century the Order had an appointment of a "Professor to administer the principles of science", in addition to a physician (who had the status of "King's Physician" and the freedom of the country), a master of grammar and logic, and a librarian.



FRIDAY, 6th MARCH, 1936.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Douglas Knoop, *M.A.*, *W.M.*; W. J. Soughurst, *P.G.D.*, *I.P.M.*; George Elkington, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*, *S.W.*; W. J. Williams, *P.M.*, as *J.W.*; Lionel Vibert, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*, Secretary; F. W. Golby, *P.A.G.D.C.*, as *S.D.*; and Major C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *P.G.D.*, *I.G.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. R. Dawson, Geo. F. Pallett, Ed. M. Phillips, C. A. Melbourne, *P.A.G.Reg.*, J. F. Tarrant, Norton Milner, G. T. Harley Thomas, *P.G.D.*, Carl J. Blyh, Joseph C. de Costa, W. Morgan Day, T. W. S. Hills, *Col.* F. M. Rickard, *P.G.Swd.B.*, F. R. Radice, G. D. Elvidge, E. F. Gleadow, *Comdr.* S. N. Smith, F. Addington Hall, *Lieut.-Col.* G. D. Hindley, F. S. Henwood, A. Thompson, R. W. Strickland, Robt. A. Card, Wm. Lewis, J. F. Nichols, A. B. Starling, A. F. G. Warrington, Geo. C. Williams, L. G. Wearing, A. H. Wolfenden, E. Eyles, Percival E. Rowe, Cecil Powney, *P.G.D.*, J. P. Hansel, A. E. Cross, E. D. Laborde, A. H. Goddard, D. L. Oliver, T. M. Scott, G. Redfern, R. H. Clerke, W. Brinkworth, Wm. Smalley, H. Douglas Elkington, James J. Cooper, and J. H. Smith.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. McDade, *P.M.*, Ferramenta Lodge No. 4926; Victor Edmonds, Robert Burns Lodge No. 25; Leslie A. Harrington, *W.M.*, Scots Lodge No. 2319; and Raymond Oliver, *W.M.*, Middlesex St. David's Lodge No. 5460.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, *P.Pr.G.Ch.*, Westmorland and Cumberland, *P.M.*; R. H. Baxter, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Mdsx.*; B. Ivanoff; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, Chap.; David Flather, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; B. Telepneff; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, *P.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*; Cecil Powell, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson; G. P. G. Hills, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*, *P.M.*, *D.C.*; S. J. Fenton, *J.D.*; *Dr.* Geo. Norman, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; H. C. de Lafontaine, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Sussex*; and J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *LL.B.*, *P.G.D.*, Ireland, *P.M.*

Seven Lodges, one Lodge of Perfection, one Class of Instruction, one Lodge of Improvement and Thirty-seven Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON.

Certificate. City of York } To the Searchers of the Porters' Company,
to wit } in the said City.

Permit the Bearer hereof. John Laken of Middlewater Lane in the
said City to work in your company as an un free a ~~Free~~ Brother,
during the pleasure of the Lord Mayor, for the time being, he
demeaning himself according to the Rules of the said Company. Dated
this 30th Day of April, 1822.

J. Spencer

Mayor

underlines are in MS.

("a free" is in print, and cancelled)

By Bro. GEO. F. PALLETT.

Certificate of Hon. Membership of The Lodge Estrella del Tequendama No. 4,
under the Grand Lodge of Republic of Colombia at Bogotá. Issued to
G. F. Pallett in recognition of his Masonic merits.

Presented to the Lodge.

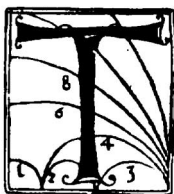
A cordial vote of thanks was passed to those Brethren who had lent objects for
exhibition and made presentations to the Lodge.

Bro. DOUGLAS KNOOP read the following paper:—

THE BOLSOVER CASTLE BUILDING ACCOUNT, 1613.

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP AND G. P. JONES.

INTRODUCTION.



THE first castle at Bolsover¹ is believed to have been built fairly soon after the Conquest by William Peveril. It was intermittently in the possession of the Crown and at length was granted, in 1583, to Sir George Talbot, later the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, whose successor, the seventh Earl, leased it to Sir Charles Cavendish in 1608 and sold it outright to him in 1613, at which time the Castle, it is believed, was in ruins.² This Sir Charles, the youngest son of the famous Bess of Hardwick by her second husband, erected the building to which our Account relates. On his death at Bolsover in 1617, the Castle descended to his eldest surviving son, William, who was raised through successive steps in the peerage and became Duke of Newcastle in 1665. He added to the Castle the long range of terrace buildings, now roofless and partly ruined, and the riding school and stables. His buildings and his father's were sequestered, and their demolition was begun, during the Interregnum, but his brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, bought them and, on his death, in 1654, they passed to his nephews, first to Charles Cavendish, who died in 1659, and thereafter to his brother Henry, second Duke of Newcastle, who died in 1691. The first Duke returned to Bolsover after the Restoration and died in 1676. Eventually, by the marriage of Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley to the second Duke of Portland, in 1734, the Castle came into the possession of that house, in which it has since remained.³

The turreted rectangular keep and the extensive range of Renaissance buildings stand impressively on the crest of a ridge above the valley of the Dowley, about five miles east of Chesterfield and eight miles north-west of Mansfield. Coal mining below them has caused a subsidence of the earth and there are now wide cracks in the massive, but worn and decaying, masonry and in the floors. The only part of the buildings which has been inhabited in recent times, apart from a caretaker's flat over the stabling, is the Keep (commenced in November, 1612), to which our Account relates. Its panelling, mural paintings and marble fireplaces are still there and very well preserved, but it has become necessary to reinforce with timber some of the pillars, which figure so prominently in our Account and have, for more than three centuries, borne so heavy a weight.

In view of the very great interest of Bolsover Castle to the student of Renaissance architecture in England, it is unfortunate that the identity of the designer cannot be established with certainty, though there can be little doubt as

¹ The best history of the Castle is R. W. Goulding, *Bolsover Castle* (fourth edition, 1922). Older accounts will be found in Samuel Pegge, *Sketch of the History of Bolsover and Peak Castles*, 1785 (in Nichols, *Bibl. Topog. Brit.*, 1790) and Glover-Noble, *History . . . of the County of Derby* (1829), vol. ii.

² Pegge, *op. cit.*, p. 16. Our Account corroborates the view.

³ We desire to acknowledge our great indebtedness to the Duke of Portland for generously depositing the Building Account in the Sheffield University Library for our inspection, and for allowing this transcript to be made and printed, and to the Trustees of the late Lord Leverhulme for a grant in aid of research, which has facilitated this and other investigations.

to his family. Our Account, near the bottom of every column except the first, contains an entry relating to "Smithson's charges for himself and his horse", and it is thus clear that this man, whose Christian name is never given, was employed in some supervising capacity, and may well have been the architect. It may be noted, however, that the Account shows no payment of a fee, salary, or wage to any master mason or architect, so that the remuneration of the man responsible was presumably charged to some other account. The bearers of the name whom we are able to trace are as follows:—

1. *Robert Smithson* [1535-1614], described on his tombstone¹ in Wollaton Church as "Mr. Robert Smythson, Gent., architector and surveyor to the most worthy house of Wollaton, with diverse others of great account". He is said to have been master mason and architect at Longleat.²
2. *John Smithson*, architect, who built the riding house at Welbeck Abbey in 1623 and the stables in 1625.³
3. *John Smithson*, who made "a plott for the glasse house" at Wollaton in 1615.⁴
4. *Jo. Smithson*, whose signature appears on one of the Smithson drawings which were bought from the Smithson family of Bolsover by Lord Byron some time before 1762.⁵
5. *John Smithson*, buried at Bolsover, 16th November, 1634.⁶
6. *Huntingdon Smithson*, who died at Bolsover, 27th November, 1648.⁷
7. The descendants of *Huntingdon Smithson*.⁸

¹ Reproduced in M. S. Briggs, *The Architect in History*, p. 245. The Accounts relating to Wollaton (see *Hist. MSS. Com.*, *Middleton MSS.*, p. 269) apparently neither prove nor disprove that he was the architect. For payments to Robert Smithson in connection with Wollaton, see *ibid.*, p. 452.

² Sir Reginald Blomfield, *Short History of Renaissance Architecture*, p. 39.

³ R. W. Goulding, *op. cit.*; Vertue, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (Horace Walpole's edition, 1765, vol. ii., pp. 38-9).

⁴ *Hist. MSS. Com.*, *Middleton MSS.*, p. 500. That the Smithson of our Account had some connection with Wollaton is suggested by the sum of 2s. 6d. paid to "the brickman that came from Wollaton". As no brick appears to have been used at Bolsover during the period of our Account, the brickman, who was doubtless known to Smithson, presumably visited Bolsover in an advisory capacity, very possibly to ascertain whether the earth at Bolsover was suitable for brickmaking.

⁵ J. A. Gotch, *Development of House Design, etc.*, *Journal R.I.B.A.*, xvi., pp. 41 *seq.* Some of the drawings are reproduced by M. B. Adams in "Sundry Draughts and Plans by Huntingdon Smithson, of Bolsover", *Journal R.I.B.A.*, xiv., pp. 366 *seq.* There is no proof that the drawings were the work of Huntingdon Smithson (see Gotch, *loc. cit.*).

⁶ Bolsover Parish Registers. The Vicar of Bolsover, Rev. Canon J. E. Paget, very kindly gave us every facility to examine the Registers, which commence in 1603, and the assistance of our colleague, Mr. D. Hamer, greatly eased the task of searching them. Unfortunately, the entries hardly ever give professions or descriptions.

⁷ His tomb is now in the church at Bolsover, but, probably, not in its original position. The epitaph reads as follows:—

Reader beneath this plaine stone ly
Smithsons remainders of mortality
Whose skill in architecture did deserve
A fairer tombe his mem'ry to preserve
But since his noble gifts of piety
To God to men justice and charity
Are gone to heaven a building to prepare
Not made with hands, his friends contented are
He here shall rest in hope till th' world shall burn
And intermingle ashes with his urne.
Huntingdon Smithson
Gent.
Obiit IXbris 27 1648.

⁸ See Appendix.

We may probably take all the men named John Smithson in this list as identical. If so, as he was an architect and buried at Bolsover, he may well have been in charge of the building of the Castle. Huntingdon Smithson, according to R. W. Goulding, was his son¹ and probably assisted him. This, though the relationship cannot be proved, seems reasonable, and is not inconsistent with the little that is known of Huntingdon Smithson. The tombstone credits Huntingdon Smithson with skill in architecture and he is said to have been living in Bolsover in 1601.² His will,³ unfortunately, is not very informative. It is a nuncupative will, Smithson having been in the quaint phrase of the document, "surprised by his sickness in his intellectuals". The inventory attached to it shows that his property was estimated at the value of £960. 16. 0. The books (not specified) and mathematical instruments in his study, valued at £20, may indicate a connection with architecture, and the forty loads of limestone in his possession may indicate a connection with building, though the limestone might also have been intended for agricultural uses. The bulk of the property was in leases, live stock, crops and farming gear.

On three occasions the names of two other men are associated in the Account with that of Smithson: a Mr. Lukin is stated to have been twice at Bolsover with him at the end of 1612 or the beginning of 1613; in August, and again in September, 1613, the diet of a Mr. Kellam was paid for, in addition to that of Smithson, to the amount of 7s. 2d., which suggests that he was about 25 days at Bolsover. We have failed to trace either Lukin or Kellam, nor have we been able to discover any definite indication as to who acted as clerk of the works and kept the particulars and prepared the Account. He was possibly a steward or bailiff of Sir Charles Cavendish, to judge by the following entry in May, 1613:—

Money given to the workmen Pd. the workmen that was given them
by my master, 13s. 4d.

A very similar entry occurs in August. On the other hand, it may have been Smithson himself, although in all cases where his charges are concerned he is referred to in the third person.

The Building Account relates in the main to the first sixteen months of the re-building of the Keep or Castle proper. A few entries towards the end of the Account refer to "the house", or "the old house", presumably one and the same building. The construction or re-construction of this was apparently nearly finished before the Account ceased in March, 1614, glass being purchased for it in that month. The later accounts relating to the building have unfortunately not survived; our Account breaks off abruptly in March, 1614, with the heading written but no details entered, and it may well be that the man who acted as clerk of the works was removed or died suddenly (in which case he was clearly not Smithson) and that his successor started a new account book which cannot be found amongst the Portland MSS.

As previously mentioned, a castle had existed on the site for many years. We are disposed to think, however, that by the early seventeenth century, when Sir Charles Cavendish bought the estate, very little of the previous castle was left

¹ *Op. cit.* Briggs. *Architect in History*, p. 245, thought that Huntingdon Smithson was the son of Robert Smithson. Vertue (Walpole's edition, 1765, ii., 38-9) says, wrongly, that John Smithson died in 1648, and quotes, inaccurately, Huntingdon Smithson's epitaph to prove it. According to him, John Smithson was sent to Italy to collect designs for Bolsover.

² Pegge, *op. cit.*, with no authority indicated.

³ The will and inventory, in the Birmingham Probate Registry, were abstracted for us by the Rev. Frederick A. Homer, F.S.A.

(though whether as the result of decay or of deliberate demolition, we are unable to say) and that a good deal of the stone had been removed for other purposes, for although our Account shows that labourers, women and boys were paid for "taking down old walls", the sums expended were so small that no very serious clearing of the site could have been carried out.

According to our calculations, the sums spent from 2nd November, 1612, to 12th March, 1614, amounted to £666. 12. 2., which can be analysed as follows:—

Getting rough stone at quarries	£94. 18. 6	
Carriage of stone	70. 17. 7	
	<hr/>	
Stone		£165. 16. 1
Freemasons and layers		228. 7. 3½
Labourers at Castle		103. 1. 11½
Labourers at limekiln and carriage of lime	61. 14. 10	
Coals for limekiln and carriage of coal	38. 7. 4	
	<hr/>	
Lime		100. 2. 2
Getting sand and carriage of sand		2. 16. 0
Carpenters and sawyers		35. 12. 8
Smiths' work		14. 3. 4
Bracken and thatching		6. 11. 10
Smithson's charges		6. 19. 0
Miscellaneous		3. 1. 10
		<hr/>
		£666. 12. 2
		<hr/>

The arithmetic of the Account being somewhat uncertain, our total does not absolutely agree with that which, in a different handwriting from the original, has been entered at the end of the Account; further, there is an element of doubt about how some of the cost of labour should be allocated between labourers at the limekiln and labourers at the castle, so that our analysis must be regarded as approximate only.

EXTENT OF THE BUILDING OPERATIONS.

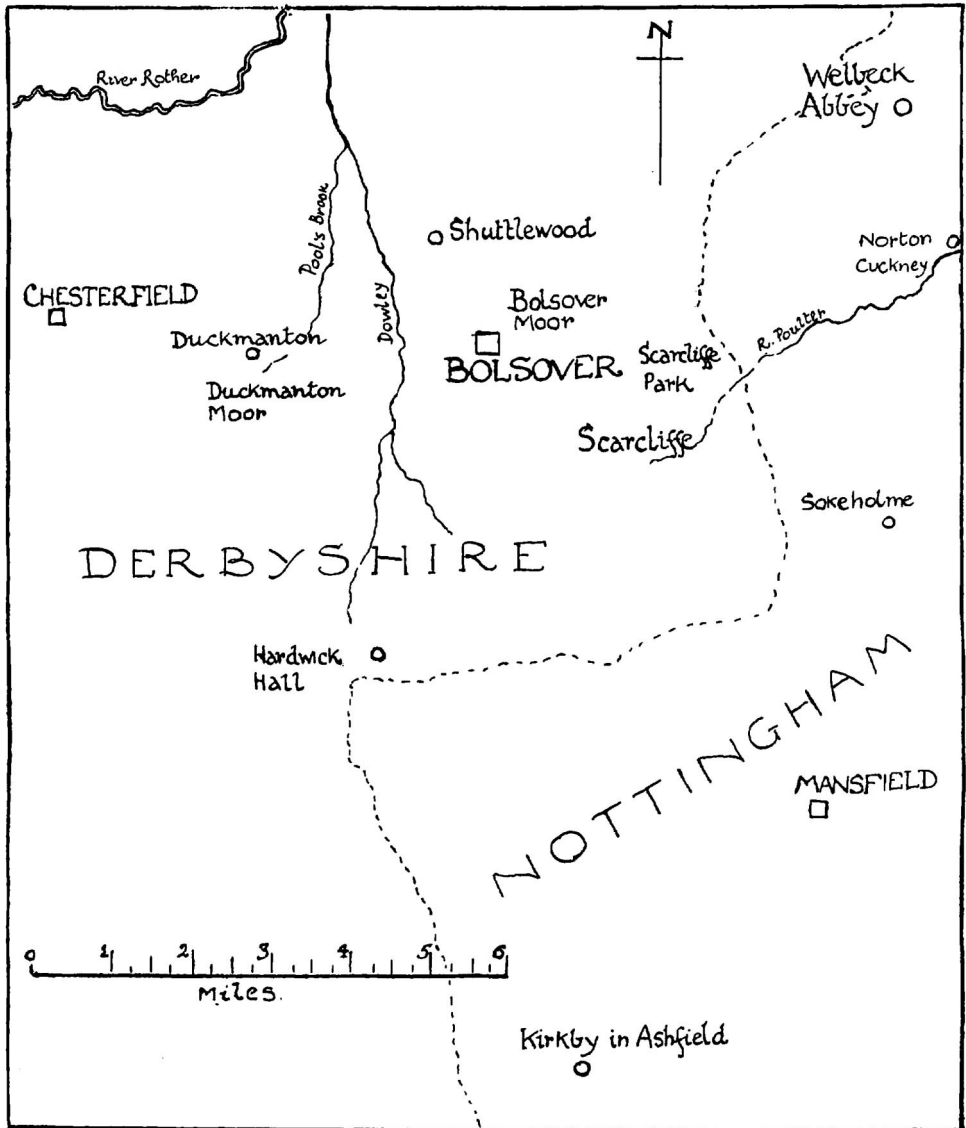
The average weekly expenditure during the active building season of 1613, from the commencement of March to the end of October, was roughly £12 a week. Owing to the fact that the entries in the Account not infrequently take the form of payments to "A. B. and his fellows" or to "x labourers", it is impossible to determine exactly how many workers were employed at any one time, but the number of different names that can be traced each fortnight was generally 40 to 50, so that unless the *unnamed workers* were also set out by name under a different heading, which was almost certainly the case to some extent, the total number of workers actually engaged at any one time was something greater, perhaps 50 to 60. This estimate may be compared with an average of 102 (excluding carters) employed at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-80,¹ 38 (excluding boatmen and carters) employed at Beaumaris Castle and 93 (excluding boatmen and carters) employed at Caernarvon Castle in 1316-17,² some 70 to 80 (without quarriers or transport workers) employed at Eton College in 1444-45³ and 23 or 24 employed at Carreglwyd in 1636.⁴

¹ Knoop and Jones, *The First Three Years of the Building of Vale Royal Abbey*, A.Q.C., vol. xlv., p. 15.

² Knoop and Jones, *Castle Building at Beaumaris and Caernarvon in the Early Fourteenth Century*, A.Q.C., vol. xlv., pp. 11, 12.

³ Knoop and Jones, *The Building of Eton College, 1442-1460*, A.Q.C., vol. xlv.

⁴ Knoop and Jones, *The Carreglwyd Building Account, 1636*, *Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society*, 1934, p. 37.



ORGANISATION OF THE BUILDING OPERATIONS.

1. *Supply of Materials.*

(i.) *Stone.* The stone required was obtained from four different sources, apart from any old stone on the site which may have been utilised:—

(a) *Shuttlewood Quarry*, situated two or three miles north-north-west of the Castle, appears to have been the principal source of supply, more especially for the better kinds of stone, used for ashlar, door jambs, steps, etc. The Account shows many payments for baring the ground, for getting rough stone, for scappling wall stone and for freemasons' work done at the quarry, to facilitate which a lodge was erected there when the building work began.

(b) *The Town Quarry* was presumably at Bolsover itself. It apparently yielded only an inferior stone, used for walling. As at Shuttlewood, the work was done by labourers and masons in the employ of those responsible for the building operations.

(c) *The Moor Quarry*, referred to in Column 18 as Bolsover Moor, and situated a mile or two north-east of the Castle, was not used at the outset, the earliest reference to it being in April, 1613, when some "oven stone" was obtained. During the winter of 1613-14, however, more substantial quarrying operations appear to have been undertaken, as payments were made for baring the quarry and for scappling wall stone. The stone was also used for cutting quoins and splays, though the Account does not indicate where the stone was worked.

(d) *Old stone from Kirkby*, presumably Kirkby Hardwick, about a mile north-east of Kirkby in Ashfield, and some nine miles south of Bolsover, is first mentioned in the Account in December, 1613, when a mason was paid for working "window stuff" that came from there.¹ At the beginning of 1614, working 64 loads and then 58 loads of stone were carried from Kirkby to Bolsover at a cost of 4s. a ton, and in February payments were made to masons for working old stone that came from Kirkby. The practice of pulling down old buildings and utilising the stone, more especially the dressed stone, in the erection of new buildings, can be traced at least as early as the thirteenth century,² but after the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century the practice became much more common.³ Whether the building at Kirkby was an ecclesiastical or lay building there is nothing in the Account to show, but we are disposed to think that it was a house.

(e) *Old stone on the site*, the result of taking down an old wall (for the sorting of which various payments were made during the winter of 1613-14), was in all probability used for filling.

(ii.) *Lime*. The Account shows that from the end of January to the middle of March, 1613, workmen were employed making a limekiln, situated apparently quite close to the Castle, as on no occasion can any charge for the carriage of lime be traced, though there are numerous entries relating to the carriage of coal and of limestone to the kiln. The kiln started working in March, 1613, and from that time until the Account closes a year later very substantial sums were spent on getting limestone (at 2½d. or 3d. per load), carrying it (at 5d. per load) and breaking it (at 1½d. or 1 3-5d. per load); on purchasing coal (at 3s. per load) and carrying it (at 1s. per load) to the limekiln, and on hiring labour to work at the kiln. According to our analysis, £100. 2. 2, or 15 per cent. of the total expenditure of £666. 12. 2 shown in the Account, was incurred in connection with the limekiln. The percentage of the total outlay made in respect of lime at Bolsover, namely, 15 per cent., though less than the corresponding figure of 21 per cent. incurred at the erection of Kirby Muxloe Castle in 1480-84,⁴ was nevertheless very high compared with the expenditure at the erection of Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-80 and at the repair of Rochester Castle in 1368, at both of which undertakings it was only about 2½ per cent.⁵

(iii.) *Sand*. Whilst some apparently came from the old wall which was being pulled down, as payments were made for sorting such sand, the rest was obtained at a cost of one penny a load for getting and 8d. per load for carriage, but there is nothing in the Account to indicate where it came from.

¹ Sir Charles Cavendish held land in Kirkby at his decease in 1617 (*Cal. S.P.D.*, 1611-1618, p. 460), and had been engaged in litigation with regard to lands there and elsewhere in 1615 (*ibid.*, p. 334).

² Knoop and Jones, *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 55.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁴ *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*

(iv.) *Timber.* No very large amount appears to have been used during 1613, and it was not until the beginning of 1614 that steps were taken to obtain substantial supplies. In March, April and July, 1613, boards were purchased for making hods, wheelbarrows, etc.; in April also, wood was bought out of Searcliffe Park (about two miles south-east of Bolsover) to make "fleakes" (flakes=hurdles, wicker shields) for scaffolds. In September, two sawyers were paid for felling timber for "lautes" or "lantes" (? means laths). In November, a sum of 15s. was paid for the carriage of five loads of poles from Soulcombe (Sokeholme, about six miles away to the south-east) to Bolsover. These poles were required for scaffolds, but it is not indicated how they were obtained. At the commencement of 1614, however, carpenters were being paid for felling, squaring and sawing timber, and labourers were being paid for making eight saw pits. We can trace no entry for the carriage of timber, and so can form no opinion as to how far it had to be transported. The presumption is that the trees were felled somewhere on the Cavendish estates, as there is no entry referring to the purchase of trees.

(v.) *Bracken.* A small quantity was purchased in 1612 to thatch the two lodges. In October, November and December, 1613, labourers and women were paid for getting bracken for "the cover of the walls of the house", doubtless to prevent these being damaged by frost during the winter, a very common protective measure in the Middle Ages.¹ In some cases the bracken is merely stated to be for the cover of the walls, but whether the stonework of the Castle, as well as of the house, was covered, there is nothing definite to show, though as layers continued to be paid for work at the vaults during the winter, we are disposed to think that at least some of the stonework of the Castle was not covered.

2. *Transport of materials.* Apart from filling stone and sand obtained by pulling down the old wall, every kind of material used directly or indirectly for the building of the Castle—building stone, limestone, coal for the limekiln, sand for the mortar, poles and "fleakes" for the scaffolds, bracken for covering the walls—had to be transported for longer or shorter distances. In each case the work appears to have been paid for at so much per load, the charge being approximately 5d. per load per mile. In the case of the stone from Kirkby, the Account shows that (unnamed) Kirkby men were paid for the carriage, and it is not unlikely that Henry Woode, who carried the poles from Sokeholme to Bolsover, was a Sokeholme man, as his name occurs in no other connection. The rest of the carriage, in so far as names are mentioned, was undertaken by eight men,² though in at least two of the cases the men named were leaders of parties. The presumption is that these eight men and their associates were from the immediate neighbourhood of Bolsover. In no case do those responsible for the building operations appear to have provided their own teams and carts, as was sometimes the case in the Middle Ages,³ and as also occurred for a time at the contemporary building operations at Wadham College, Oxford.⁴

3. *Smith's Work.* Most of this, whether it took the form of supplying materials, such as nails, hodplates or new quarry tools (e.g., hammer, stone axe, wedges, gavelocke, kevel) or of mending and repairing quarry tools, was undertaken by the (unnamed) smith of Bolsover. The door hooks, grates for the wet

¹ See *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 132.

² ——— Bucher. ——— Kichen. ——— Clay, George Shemell, Roger Rowson, Henry Statham and his fellows, Ralph Souter and his fellows, ——— Hallam.

³ See *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 51.

⁴ T. G. Jackson, *Wadham College, Oxford*, p. 31.

larder and window bars were made by Bowkett, the smith of "Norten" (? Norton Cuckney, some 6½ miles east of Bolsover), who presumably was regarded as a more skilful craftsman. Both smiths appear to have been paid by the piece, and never by time.

4. *Lodges.* In the first column of the Account there is reference to two lodges, one described as "the lodge at Shuttlewood quarry", the other as "the Town Lodge". That much stone in the Middle Ages was wrought in the quarries is well known,¹ and it is likely that in all these cases there were lodges in the quarries, though the only definite evidence of the existence of such lodges with which we are acquainted relates to Huddleston quarry in the fifteenth century and Sandgate quarry in the sixteenth century.² Thus it is not surprising to find a lodge at Shuttlewood quarry. "The Town lodge" may have been at the Town quarry, or in the immediate vicinity of the Castle. As the Town quarry apparently produced only wall stone, which would doubtless be scapped in the open, we are disposed to think that the Town lodge was near the site of the building, more particularly as the old stone from Kirkby was worked up at the Castle. Both lodges were framed by the carpenter and thatched with bracken by the thatcher, whilst in the case of the Shuttlewood quarry lodge there was a payment to a mason for walling. Apart from these early entries, there is no further reference in the Account to either lodge.

THE LABOUR EMPLOYED.

1. *Masons.* The three terms used in the Account to describe the stoneworkers are "free mason", "mason" and "layer". The principal connections in which they occur are as follows:—

- "free masons and layers at the walls" or "at the foundation",
- "free masons at setting of the walls",
- "masons and layers at the lime kiln and scappling",
- "masons and layers at the foundations and walls",
- "masons and layers at the vaults and centres",
- "layers at scappling of arch stone",
- "layers at the foundations and walls",
- "layers at the vault of the cellar".

Frequently the stoneworkers are not described, but their names and earnings are given against such marginal headings as:—

- "free masons' work done at Shuttlewood quarry",
- "stone scapped at Shuttlewood quarry" or "at the Town quarry",
- "dressing oven stone at the More",
- "at hewing quoynes and splays",
- "setting of the larder pillar",
- "free stone wrought that came from Kirkby",
- "masons' work wrought at Castle of old stone that came from Kirkby",
- "free masons' work of 'parrelinge' of ashlar and other stone from Kirkby".

After careful consideration of the various groupings and the names which appear under each, we are disposed to think that the terms "freemason" and "mason" are used as equivalents and that we are concerned with only two categories of stoneworkers, viz., (i.) "free mason" or "mason" and (ii.) "layer".

¹ See *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

(i.) *Freemasons.* The operations under the heading "free masons' work done at Shuttlewood quarry" include the working of ashlar, step, door jambs, window stuff, ground table, legement table, water table, corbels, archstones, and all the various parts required for the pillars in the kitchen and larders. The ashlar is sometimes described as "axed ashlar", the step as "axed step", the paving as "axed paving", whilst certain inner quoins for the inside of the house are described as scappled: thus the freemasons must have worked with stone-axe or stone-hammer, as well as with mallet and chisel. Such marginal headings as "free masons and layers at the walls" and "free masons at setting of the walls" show that the freemasons were also concerned with laying or setting. It was certainly Symson, one of the men sometimes paid for freemasons' work at Shuttlewood quarry, who set the larder pillar, doubtless a responsible job, as the pillar had to be built up of various separate pieces. On the other hand, when freemasons were employed at the walls, no very superior workmanship would appear to have been called for.

Unfortunately, all those engaged on freemasons' work at Shuttlewood quarry at any particular time are not named in the Account, which usually refers to "A.B. and his fellows" or "A.B. and C.D. and their fellows". To judge by the amounts paid for working stone and by the prevailing rate of day wages, we are disposed to think that six or eight freemasons were commonly employed at any one time at Shuttlewood quarry, and presumably a dozen or more different men in the course of the sixteen months. It is only possible, however, to trace seven by name as having worked there at one time or another. Of these, two are never named in any other connection,¹ one also wrought old stone that came from Kirkby,² and four were paid on various occasions for scappling, laying or setting.³ There were, in addition, three men who wrought old stone from Kirkby,⁴ and one who worked quoins and ashlar at the Moor,⁵ who must be regarded as freemasons. There is also a group of six men described as "free masons at setting of the walls": of these six, two did free masons' work at Shuttlewood quarry and are included above⁶; the other four⁷ cannot be traced as hewers, but nevertheless must presumably be classed with the freemasons. Thus we can trace fifteen freemasons. It may well be that there were others, who were either never entered in the Account by name, or only entered by name amongst the layers, as there does not appear to have been any very sharp dividing line between the two categories of stone workers.

(ii.) *Layers.* The work done by the layers appears to have consisted of laying and of scappling or rough-dressing stones with a hammer. In many cases the men engaged on scappling are not described. Instead their names and earnings are set out against such marginal headings as "stone scappled at Town Quarry" or "at Shuttlewood Quarry". In some cases the names are not all set out, the Account reading, for example, "Pd. Denes Mason and his fellows for scappling 8 roods of wall stone at the Town quarry. 12s." Although this method of posting the Account is not so common in the case of the layers as in the case of the freemasons, it nevertheless leaves an element of uncertainty as to whether all the layers, who at one time or another worked at Bolsover between November, 1612, and March, 1614, are named in the Account. The number of

¹ Baram and Goodwin.

² Crokes.

³ Thomas Johnson, John Raffell, Shawe (Shore), Symson.

⁴ John Adams (who also hewed quoins and splays of More stone), Hawlee and Thomas Mason (who also worked with the masons and layers at the vaults).

⁵ Tomlinson.

⁶ John Raffell and Symson.

⁷ Lankester (who also worked with the masons and layers at the walls), Leptrote (who also worked as a scappler and as a layer), John Meatam (who also worked as a layer), and Raffell (who also worked as a scappler and as a layer).

stoneworkers appearing in the Account as only laying or scappling stone is twenty-one,¹ on the assumption that "Jarvis" and "Meatam's man" are identical, which seems probable.

Thus in the Account, thirty-six stone workers are named who can be divided into fifteen freemasons and twenty-one layers, but we repeat that we do not think that there was a very sharp dividing line. Several of the men appear to have turned their hands to whatever work called for attention, in very much the same way as the masons employed at London Bridge during the Middle Ages.²

Masons' Wages. All the freemasons' work done at Shuttlewood quarry, and practically all the scappling, were paid for at so much per foot or rood, so that nearly two-thirds of the payments made to masons represented piece-wages, and only a little over one-third day-wages.³ How much the masons earned per day whilst paid by the piece, there is nothing to show. It is possible, of course, that where a payment by the piece was made to "A.B. and his fellows", A.B. was a sub-contractor paying his men day rates; however, we are not disposed so to read this type of entry,⁴ but rather to regard the men as partners. In the case of several of the men, it is not possible to ascertain their time rates, as they are never entered in the Account as having worked for a daily wage, but there is sufficient evidence to show that 12d. a day was the predominant rate for freemasons, and also, though in a less marked degree, for layers. The facts revealed by the Account are as follows:—

15 Freemasons

6 @ 12d. per day
2 @ 11d. per day
1 @ 10d. per day
6 with no day-rate

15

21 Layers

9 @ 12d. per day
5 @ 10d. per day
1 @ 6d. per day
1 @ 4d. per day
5 with no day-rate

21

Apart from the fact that the 6d. and the 4d. were paid to boys, there is nothing in the Account to show why some received only 10d. or 11d. instead of the more usual 12d. In the only case where one layer is described as the man of another,⁵ he was paid 12d. after the first fortnight at 10d., so that the status of the craftsman does not seem to have affected his remuneration. On the other hand, there are three other cases where the rate was put up after the first fortnight,⁶ which suggests that when first engaged they were tried at a low rate and that their wage was raised as soon as they had shown themselves proficient.

The information concerning winter rates is but slight, as we can trace only six masons who were paid daily wages in the months of November, December and January; of these, one definitely,⁷ and one possibly,⁸ were in receipt of

¹ Allen, Arnefield, Copley, Croft, Marshall, Denes Mason, Meacocke (=Maycocke), Edward Meatam, Meatam's man (=Jarvis), Nobell, Ouldalle, Pallamon, Thomas Raffell, Arthur Reade, Reade's boy, Rotherforthe, Roylles, Roylles's boy, Peter Smith, Stancall, Woode.

² See Knoop and Jones, *London Bridge and its Builders*, A.Q.C., vol. xlvii.

³ According to our calculation, £143. 17. 6½ was paid in piece-wages and £84. 9. 9 in day-wages to freemasons and layers.

⁴ E.g., "Pd. Richard Baram and his fellows for 200 foot of axed ashlar at 2d. the foot 33s. 4d. Pd. them for 69 foot of door jamb at 5d. the foot 27s. 1d. Pd. them for 32 foot of step at 2½d. the foot 6s. 8d. £3. 7. 1."

⁵ "Meatam's man".

⁶ John Meatam (freemason) raised from 10d. to 12d., Thomas Mason (freemason) raised from 10d. to 11d., and Woode (layer) raised from 9d. to 12d.

⁷ Thomas Raffell was reduced from 10d. to 9d. for two fortnightly periods in December, 1613, and January, 1614, and then restored to 10d.

⁸ The 9d. paid to Woode when first engaged in January, 1614, may have been a winter rate corresponding to a summer rate of 10d. Subsequently he was paid 12d.

9d. in December and January, as against 10d. in summer. The other four appear to have suffered no reduction in winter. In this respect they were favoured as compared with the masons employed at many earlier building operations.¹ In so far as layers were concerned, several of them were fortunate in being provided with scappling during the winter of 1612-13, when there was no laying, and during the winter of 1613-14, when there was but little laying available.²

Holidays. With regard to holidays, the Account is not very informative. The only definite reference is that to three holidays at Christmas, 1613, when eight labourers were paid ten shillings "for taking down one piece of the castle wall in the three Christmas holidays". In many of the fortnightly accounting periods no mason was paid for twelve days, but whether the masons worked short time because of holidays, or because of being partly engaged on piece-work, but not so named in the Account, or because of the weather, or for other reasons, it is impossible to say. Taking the dates as given in the Account, the maximum number of days worked by any mason in successive periods (which usually start and end on a Saturday) during the active building season from the beginning of March to the end of October was as follows:—

March 6 to March 20	11 days	July 10 to July 24	12 days
March 20 to April 3	9½ "	July 24 to August 7	11 "
April 2* to April 17	10 "	August 7 to August 21	11½ "
April 17 to April 30*	10½ "	August 21 to September 4	12 "
April 30 to May 15	11 "	September 4 to September 18	12 "
May 15 to May 29	9½ "	September 18 to October 2	11 "
May 29 to June 12	12 "	October 2 to October 16	11 "
June 12 to June 26	11 "	October 16 to November 6*	8 "
June 26 to July 10	12 "		

* *Sic.*

It may be pointed out that Easter Sunday in 1613 fell on April 4th and Whit-Sunday on May 16th, and the holidays associated with these festivals may have accounted for two of the short fortnights. It would be easy to draw up a list of possible holidays to account for other short fortnights, but we very much doubt whether after the Reformation so many saints' days were observed as in earlier times, and we think that the weather is the most likely explanation of some irregularity of employment amongst the layers who were the chief recipients of day-wages.

Comparison of rates with those paid elsewhere. For the decade 1613-22, the general average daily wage of a mason in England has been calculated as 12½d., the predominant rate of a mason at Oxford as 12d. and the predominant rate of a mason at Cambridge as 14d.³ These figures have to be compared with an average rate for freemasons and layers at Bolsover in 1613 of 11½d. and a predominant rate of 12d.

Continuity of employment amongst masons. Owing to the large amount of piece work and the frequent omission of names from the Account in connection with such work, it is impossible to be certain as to the periods for which different masons were employed at Bolsover, but a study of a tabulation of every name, fortnight by fortnight, for the sixteen months from November, 1612, to March, 1614, leads us to conclude:—

- (i.) That seven masons were employed more or less the whole time⁴;

¹ See *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 118.

² See *ibid.*, p. 132.

³ See *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 236.

⁴ Symson, Raffell, Thomas Raffell, John Raffell, Arnefield, Goodwin and Ouldalle.

(ii.) That twenty-three masons were employed for longer or shorter periods during the building season of 1613,¹ of whom only two apparently reappeared at the commencement of the following season²;

(iii.) That six masons began work at Bolsover early in 1614.³

2. *Carpenters.* Chester and his boy, "Young Chester" as he is described on one occasion, worked regularly at the Castle from the beginning of March, 1613, the father being paid 10d. a day (with the exception of eight weeks in November and December when he was paid only 9d.) and the boy 5d. a day (throughout the year). During the winter of 1612-13 some carpenters had been paid by the task for certain jobs such as framing the lodge and making barrows; no names are given and it is possible that they were Chester and his boy, but it is more probable that this work was done by one or more of the men who did odd jobs during the year and who were presumably local carpenters, which we do not think the Chesters were.⁴ In March, 1613, they were engaged in making wheelbarrows and hods, after which they were mostly concerned with scaffolding and centres, the latter, no doubt, in connection with the vaulting of the cellars. In December, they assisted in covering the walls, and at the beginning of February, 1614, they were employed in felling and squaring of timber.

During the year that Chester and his son were regularly employed, a good deal of casual woodworking was also paid for. In the spring of 1613, a carpenter⁵ was paid 2s. 2d. per dozen for making hurdles, and two others⁶ for sawing planks and trestles. A year later, one of these two was paid 10d. per day for felling and squaring timber. From the beginning of January, 1614, four other carpenters were employed, two,⁷ at 12d. per day and two⁸ at 10d., first "at the roof and floors", presumably of the old house which was being reconstructed, and then "felling, squaring and sawing timber". In the previous September, two sawyers⁹ were paid for sawing timber for centres and for felling timber for "lautes" and making "lautes", while for four days in October, two carpenters¹⁰ were paid 12d. a day for assisting Chester "at framing and sawing for centres".

3. *Labourers.*

(i.) *Quarrymen.* Although a casual examination of the Account suggests that there was no definite category of quarrymen, the term when used being

¹ Richard Baram (January-July), Stantall (January-April), Denes Mason (January-April), Shawe (February-October), Leptrote (February-October), Reade (February-May), Reade's boy (February-May), Roylles (March-August), Roylles's boy (March-August), Thomas Johnson (March-November), Allen (March-April), John Meatam (April-October), Edward Meatam (February-December), Meatam's man (April-December), Marshall (April-June), Pallamon (May-July), Meacocke (June-November), Lancaster (June-October), Peter Smith (August-September), Crofte (August-September), Copleye (August), Nobell (August-November), and Crokes (September-November).

² John Meatam and Edward Meatam.

³ Woode, Hawlee, John Adams, Tomlinson, Thomas Mason and Rotherforthe.

⁴ We are led to this view by the fact that the relationship between Chester and his boy is not disclosed until the very end of the Account, which suggests that it was unknown to the accountant, whereas in the cases of Robenson and his son and Raffell and his son the relationship is disclosed at the outset. Further, we have not traced a reference to the Chesters in the Bolsover Parish Register, though we cannot assert that none exists.

⁵ Lee.

⁶ Robenson and his son.

⁷ John Barowecloughe and Richard Barrow[cloughe].

⁸ Tuckeman and Turner.

⁹ Not named in the Account.

¹⁰ Kichen and Roughstone.

apparently interchangeable with "labourers",¹ a closer analysis shows that although some labourers who worked in the quarries performed a variety of other jobs, such as serving the layers, drawing water for lime, and digging at the foundation, the names of others are entered in the Account only under the heading "Getting stone at the quarry" or its equivalent. In many cases when work at the quarry was paid for by the foot no names are given, but in some cases of piece work and in all cases of day work they are, and we are thus able to trace the names of thirty men paid for work at the quarries. Of these, fourteen appear in the Account in no other connection and we are disposed to regard them as quarrymen, rather than as labourers, although the rate of remuneration was usually the same in both cases, namely, 6d. per day.² On one occasion Arthur Reade, a layer, was paid for 11 days at 10d. the day "for scappling of stone and directing of the quarry",³ and it may be that on other occasions one of the masons working at a daily wage in a particular quarry, was in charge of the quarrying operations there, although there is no entry in the Account to show it.

(ii.) *Limeburners.* The principal limeburner was James Wilson, who was in charge of the kiln for a few weeks from the time when it was first brought into use in March, 1613, and again during the winter of 1613-14. During the first period he was paid 10d. the day, during the second, 8d. the day, which was presumably the corresponding winter rate. In the summer of 1613, a limeburner called Norwood was in charge, who was paid only 7d. the day.

(iii.) *General labourers (men).* If from the sixty-nine men who can be traced by name under various headings equivalent to labouring, there be deducted the fourteen quarrymen and the two limeburners, there remain fifty-three men who performed one or more miscellaneous labouring duties such as getting, breaking or loading limestone, baring quarries, digging foundations, taking down old walls, tempering mortar, sifting and harling lime, drawing water for lime, sorting and cleansing wall stone and sand, and serving the masons and layers. Some of this work, such as digging foundations, sorting stone and sand and getting and breaking limestone, was sometimes paid for at piece rates, but most labouring was paid for by a daily wage of sixpence. In a few cases, the payment was sevenpence or even eightpence.

(iv.) *Boys.* Six workers receiving 2d., 3d. or 4d. a day are definitely classed as "boys" in the Account, and we have placed in this group the ten other male workers paid at the rate of 3d. or 4d. a day, thus making sixteen boys in all. They were chiefly employed in serving the layers, but other work performed by them was taking down the old wall, sifting lime, harling lime, carrying sand and getting bracken for covering the walls.

(v.) *Women and girls.* Twenty-four women and five girls are named in the Account, the former receiving 3d. or 4d. a day and the latter 2d. Women were employed in taking down the old wall, serving layers, carrying sand, carrying filling stone, sorting stone and sand, getting bracken for covering the

¹ E.g., in Col. 7: "8 Labourers at getting rough stone at Shuttlewood quarry. Pd. the quarrymen for getting of 610 foot of rough stone at 4d. 38s. 3d." The following fortnight, under a very similar heading, the entry runs: "Pd. the labourers at Shuttlewood quarry for getting of 367 foot of stone and baring of the quarry at 14d. the foot 38s. 4d."

² One quarryman was paid 7d. per day and another 5d. For exceptional payments to labourers, see below.

³ In our analysis he is included amongst the masons. Masons are known to have directed quarries in the Middle Ages. The fifteenth century accounts relating to the building of Magdalen College show payments to John Grange, *latomus et custos quarrure de Teynton* and to Thomas White, *latomus et custos quarrure apud Whetle*. (Bloxam, *Magdalen College Registers*, II., 228.)

walls, and, more vaguely, "at the foundations" and "at the lime kiln". The girls were employed serving layers, "at the foundations" and "at the lime kiln". During most weeks in summer eight or ten women and girls were being employed at any one time.

Provenance of the Labour. We cannot say exactly how much of the labour employed on the Castle was found locally, but there is evidence to suggest that some of it was found in the parish, and some may have come from neighbouring parishes, whose registers we have not searched. The Bolsover Registers rarely give trades or professions and our Account does not always give Christian names, so that there is little possibility of using one record to identify persons occurring in the other. Moreover, the married women named in the Account might occur in the Registers under their maiden names without our being able to recognise them. In a search limited to a few hours we found in the Registers three¹ of the surnames borne by masons in our Account, two² of the surnames of people paid for carrying and twenty-eight³ of the surnames of labourers, male and female. Allowing for the possibility that a labourer in the Account might be no relation of a Bolsover family with the same surname, it still seems likely that most of the thirty-three persons whose surnames occur in both records were local people.

In several cases two or more members of the same family appear to have worked at Bolsover, which rather suggests that they were local people. Thus we find William Yeavlee amongst the labourers, Thomas Yeavlee amongst the boys, "Yeavlee wiffe" and Bess Yeavlee amongst the women. This family, assuming it was one family, calls to mind the famous fourteenth century mason-architect, Henry Yevele.⁴ The Bolsover Yeaveles not improbably came from Yeaveley in Derbyshire. The following further possible instances of family employment at Bolsover may be noted:—(i.) *Rodes*: a quarryman, a boy and a woman; (ii.) *Robenson*: two sawyers (father and son), a labourer, a wife (? *Else*) and a woman (*Mary*); (iii.) *Kichen*: a labourer and sons, a boy, a woman, a girl and a carter; very possibly the carter was the same as the labourer and the boy was identical with one of the sons grouped with the father on one occasion. There are numerous examples of two persons of the same name working at Bolsover, e.g., a married woman and a girl *Godlye*, a woman and a girl *Breeden*, two women *Wynter*, a quarryman and a woman *Fleming*, a labourer and a wife *Robe*, a labourer and a wife *Johnson*.

It is nothing new to find women and girls as labourers at building operations; they had been so employed at Caernarvon Castle in the early fourteenth century⁵ and at Chester in the sixteenth century,⁶ but we are disposed to think that the proportion of female labour to male labour at Bolsover, and the number of married women who can be traced as working there, namely, nine, was probably higher than formerly. If that was so, it may perhaps be attributed to the great fall in real wages during the sixteenth century,⁷ which in the case of married men exercising unskilled occupations would make supplementary family earnings almost essential.

¹ Meatom, Marshall and Stansall.

² Hallam and Statham.

³ Barker, Breeden, Bowlinge, Brookfield, Bell, Barlow, Butcher, Duckmanton, Godley, Hardy, Hodgkinson, Hydes, Johnson, Kichen, Miller, Peace, Roberts, Rogers, Rowson, Richardson, Robinson, Rodes, Shepstone, Spittlehouse, Winter, Wilson, Wherricke and Wildsmith.

⁴ See Knoop and Jones, *Henry Yevele and his Associates*, *R.I.B.A. Journal*, 25th May, 1935.

⁵ See Knoop and Jones, *Castle Building at Beaumaris and Caernarvon in the Early Fourteenth Century*, *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 19.

⁶ See Edna Rideout, *The Account Book of the New Haven, Chester, 1567-8*, reprinted from the *Trans. of the Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Ches.*, 1929, pp. 33 folg.

⁷ See *The Medieval Mason*, pp. 205 folg.

Conclusion.—The method of conducting building operations at Bolsover in 1613, bears a far closer resemblance to the direct labour system of the Middle Ages than to the contract system of modern times. The most modern feature at Bolsover was that the Castle was apparently planned and its erection supervised, not by a master mason, but by a professional architect who was on the spot much, though not all, of the time the building was under construction. On the assumption that the number of meals charged for each fortnight represented the number of days he was engaged on the job, Smithson attended on the average $8\frac{1}{2}$ days per fortnight from 6th March to Christmas, 1613, or roughly two-thirds of the maximum number of days. That he was there fairly regularly is also suggested by the fact that no warden or foreman appears to have been employed. The horse, for which provender was supplied, was probably used for riding to and from the quarries, though it may also have enabled him to supervise other work for which he was responsible.

Another respect in which conditions at Bolsover differed from those in the Middle Ages was the relatively large amount of piece work or task work for which masons, quarrymen and, in some cases, labourers, were paid. On the other hand, there do not appear to have been any large contracts, such as the £570 stone-work contract between John Akroyd, the mason-architect, and the authorities of Merton College, Oxford, in respect of work to be done at that College in 1609.¹ The contract system, however, was not universal at Oxford at this period, as a year later at the erection of Wadham College, we find the old direct labour system still being followed.² Other more or less contemporary cases of private building operations conducted on the direct labour system were the erection of Loseley Hall, near Guildford, in 1561-9,³ and of Carreglwyd, a substantial house in Anglesey, in 1636.⁴

With regard to the baring and working of quarries, the erection and operation of a limekiln, the construction of lodges, the felling and sawing of timber, the transport of materials, the frequent employment of most kinds of labour at day-wages by those responsible for the building, the Bolsover Account might relate to the thirteenth or fourteenth, instead of the early seventeenth century.⁵ A study of it clearly brings out the important point that the displacement of the Master Mason by the professional architect did not necessarily imply the displacement of the direct labour system by the contract system.

THE BUILDING ACCOUNT.

[The following document consists of eighteen paper sheets, about $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and varying in length from $15\frac{1}{2}$ to $25\frac{1}{4}$ inches, gathered and fastened at the top so that they can be rolled up. Every page, except the first, is divided into two columns (those from 1 to 22 being numbered), each containing the payments made, or due, in the period indicated in its heading. The columns are further divided into (a) a margin for headings, (b) the

¹ T. W. Hanson, *Halifax Builders in Oxford*, *Trans. Halifax Antiquarian Society*, 1928, p. 273. Incidentally, it may be noted that Akroyd, like Smithson, was to be provided with food and with accommodation for his horse. The College also entered into a £430 wood-work contract with Thomas Holt, the master carpenter. The Bursar's Accounts show, however, that, notwithstanding such contracts, a good deal of work was done by direct labour.

² T. G. Jackson, *Wadham College, Oxford*, pp. 29 *folg.*

³ J. Evans, *Extracts from the Private Account Book of Sir William More of Loseley*, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi., pp. 284 *folg.*

⁴ Knoop and Jones, *The Carreglwyd Building Account, 1636*, *Trans. Anglesey Antiquarian Society*, 1934.

⁵ For an account of the conduct of mediæval building operations see *The Mediæval Mason*, chapter iii.

detailed entries relating to those headings, with the amounts set out on the right-hand side, and, on the extreme right of the column, totals for two or more of those amounts added together.

In printing the document, we have, in order to save space and to make the Account easier to read, made the following changes:—

- (i.) Roman numerals, where they occur, have been changed to Arabic.
- (ii.) Headings, instead of being printed in the margin, are printed *in italics* at the beginning of the entries to which they refer.
- (iii.) In many cases small paragraphs of a line or two have been run together.
- (iv.) The columns are printed consecutively instead of collaterally.
- (v.) The orthography and punctuation of the original have, in general, been modernised. Proper names and, ordinarily, place-names have been left in the original spelling, though we have not attempted in every case, where the same name occurs repeatedly in different spellings, or differently contracted, to reproduce each variant as it occurs.

In altering the form of the document we have not changed its content. Every date, name, item and figure of the original is given, in the same order, in our transcript.]

ANNO: DOMINI: 1613

A BOOKE OF THE BUYLDINGE CHARGES AT BOULSOVER THE YEARE OF OURE
LORDE GOD: 1613: BEGININGE THE 2TH OF NOVEMBER 1612.

1. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work, from the 2th of November unto the 24th of December 1612.

	£.	s.	d.
<i>Free masons' work done at Shutelwod quarry</i> Pd. Walter Symson and John Raffell for working of 85 foot of door jamb at 5d. the foot 35s. 5d. Pd. them more for 307½ foot of ashlar at 2d. a foot £2. 11s. 3d.			4. 6. 8
<i>Rough stone got at quarry of Shuttellwd</i> Pd. the labourers at the quarry for getting of 391 foot of rough stone at 2½d. the foot 48s. 10d. Pd. them for the baring of the quarry at that time, being the first 38s. 11d.			4. 7. 9
<i>Stone scappled at the Town quarry</i> Pd. to Raffell and his son for scappling of 12 rood of wall stone at 2s. 6d. the rood 30s.			
<i>Rough stone gotten and baring of the Town quarry</i> Pd. the labourers for getting of 96 loads of wall stone at 3d. the load 24s. Pd. them for baring of the same quarry at the first time 17s.			3. 11. 0
<i>Carpenter work at the 'Loge' at Shut. quarry</i> Pd. the carpenter for framing of the 'Loge' at the quarry and making of wheelbarrows 11s. 4d.			
<i>Walling of the 'Loge'</i> Pd. for walling of the same 'Loge' to Armefeld 7s. 6d.			
<i>Bracken for thatching of the 'Loge'</i> Pd. for 300 of bracken for the cove[ring ?] of the same with carriage both of it and wood for the 'Loge' 4s. 10d.			23. 8

Carpenter's work at the Town 'Loge' Pd. the carpenter for framing of the 'Loge' at the Town 3s. 4d. Pd. the thacker for thatching of both the 'Loges' and getting of clods for the same 2s. 8d.

6. 0

Smith's work for Shuttellwode and the Town quarry Pd. the smith for one new hammer of 14 lbs. weight 2s. 4d. For a new stone axe 20d. For 10 new iron wedges 2s. 4d. For a new gavelocke 20 lbs. weight 3s. 4d. For 700 laute nail 14d. For 300 laute nail and a new kevell 2s. 8d. For a new gavlocke weighing 2 stone weight 4s. 8d.

18. 2

Limestone got by Wison beyond the Town Pd. to the labourers for getting of 40 load of limestone at 3d. the load 10s.

Summa totalis £ 15. 3. 3

2. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work, from the 24th of December unto the 23th of January 1612.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwod quarry Pd. Richard Baram and his fellows for 200 foot of axed ashlar at 2d. the foot 33s. 4d. Pd. them for 65 foot of door jamb at 5d. the foot 27s. 1d. Pd. them for 32 foot of stepte at 2½d. the foot 6s. 8d.

3. 7. 1

Wall stone scappled at the Town quarry Pd. Raffell and his son for scappling of 9 rood of stone at 22d. the rood 16s. 6d. Pd. Stancall and his fellows for scappling of 3 rood of wall stone at 18d. 4s. 6d.

21. 0

Rough stone got and baring of the quarry at Shuttellwo. Pd. the labourers of Shuttellwod for getting of 309 foot of rough stone at 1½d. the foot 31s. 4d. Pd. them more for baring of the quarry 12s.

43. 4

10 labourers at quarry at that time

Labourers at getting of wall sto. and baring of the Town quarry Pd. Fleminge for 12 days 6s. Pd. Duckmanton for 12 days 6s. Pd. Smalle for 12 days 6s. Pd. Lvne for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Rodes for 6 days 3s. Pd. Hardye for 7 days 3s. 6d. Pd. Bovles for 5 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Ottor for 6 days 3s.

34. 6

Labourers at making of the way into the Castle Pd. Hardye for 4 days 2s. Pd. Boulde for 4 days 2s. Pd. Slacke for 5 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Ottor for 5 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Robe. for 5 days 2s. 6d.

11. 6

Smithson's charges with money given to workmen Pd. Smithsonns charges, both for himself, and proven[der] for his horse, since the first begin of the work unto this day M^r. Lukin being there twice 8s.

Money given to a workman Pd. the brickman that came from Wollaton as given by master per me 2s. 6d.

10. 6

Summa totalis £ 9. 7. 11

Summa of these two £24. 11s. 2d.

3. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 23th of January unto the 6th of February 1612.

Free masons' work done at Shutellwode quarry Pd. Goodwin Baram and their fellows for working of 226 foot of axed ashlar at 1½d. the foot 28s. 4d. Pd. them more for working of 70 foot of axed stepte at 2½d. the foot 14s. 7d. Pd. them more for 43 foot of ground table at 3d. the foot 10s. 11d. Pd. them more for 92 foot of door jamb at 4½d. the foot 34s. 2d. Pd. them for 34 foot of axed paving at 1½d. the foot 4s. 3d.

4. 12. 3

<i>Rough stone gotten and baring of Shutellwode quarry.</i>	Pd. the labourers at Shutellwode for getting of 464 foot of rough stone at 1d. half farthing the foot	43. 6
<i>Workmen at making of the lime kiln</i>	Pd. Raffell for 8 days 8s. Pd. Tho. Rafell for 8½ days 7s. 1d. Pd. Ouldalle for 4 days 4s.	19. 1
<i>Wall stone scappled at both quarries</i>	Pd. Denes Mason and Stancall for scappling of 10 rood of wall stone at 12d. the rood 10s.	
<i>Carpenter's work for making of barrows</i>	Pd. the carpenter for making 4 wheelbarrows and 4 hand barrows for the quarries 7s. 6d.	17. 6
<i>Labourers at making of the way into the Castle and foundation.</i>	Pd. Slacke for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Boulde for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Otter for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Lvnne ¹ for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Smalle ² for 9 days 4s. 6d.	22. 6
<i>Labourers at taking down of the old wall</i>	Pd. Cristo. Slater for 8 days 4s. Pd. Patri Slater for 3 days 18d. Pd. Margereson for 5 days 2s. 6d.	8. 0
<i>Labourers at the lime kiln</i>	Pd. Turner for 10 days 5s. Pd. Wilson for 6 days 3s. Pd. Gorson for 7 days 3s. 6d. Pd. Sparke for 10 days 3s. 4d.	14. 10
<i>Labourers at getting of rough stone at the Town quarry</i>	Pd. Fleminge for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Duckmanton for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Rodes for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Lvnne for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Smalle for 9 days 4s. 6d.	22. 6
<i>Smith's work done for both quarries</i>	Pd. the smith for making of new quarry tools and for mending of other at both the quarries 8s. 9d.	
<i>Smithsones charges for himself and his horse</i>	Pd. Smithson for 6 meals for himself at 4d. 2s. Pd. for proven. for his horse 12d. 3s.	11. 9
Summa totalis £ 12. 11. 11		
Summa totalis £37 3s. 1d.		

4. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 6th of February unto the 20th of February 1612.

<i>Free masons' work done at Shutelwod quarry</i>	Pd. Shawe Baram Goodwin and their fellows for 405 foot of ashlar at 1½d. the foot £2. 10s. 7d. Pd. more for 64 foot of axed paving at 1½d. the foot 8s. Pd. more for 80 foot of ground table at 3d. the foot 20s. Pd. more for 27 foot of door jamb at 4½d. the foot 10s. 1½d. Pd. them more for 66 foot of axed stepte at 2½d. the foot 13s. 9d. Pd. more for 33 foot of chimney jamb at 3½d. the foot 9s. 7½d. Pd. more for 18 foot of window stuff at 5d. the foot 7s. 6d.	5. 19. 7
<i>is or 1½ this time at get[ting] stone at the quarry</i>	Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwode quarry for getting of 696 foot of rough stone and for baring at 1d. half farthing the foot	3. 5. 3
<i>Stone scappled at Shutelwod quarry</i>	Pd. Meatom for scappling of 5 rood at Shuttell. at 18d. the rood 7s. 6d. Pd. Stancall for 2 rood at 18d. at Shuttellwoode 3s.	

¹ 'Robe' above the line.

² 'harde' above the line.

	£	s.	d.
<i>Stone scappled at the Town quarry.</i> Pd. Denese Mason and his fellows for scappling of 33 rood at the Town quarry at 18d. the rood 49s. 6d.	3.	0.	0
<i>Workmen at the lime kiln and scappling of arch stone</i> Pd. Raffell for 11 days 11s. Pd. Ouldalle for 8½ days 8s. 6d. Pd. Tho. Raffell for 10 days 8s. 4d.	27.	10	
<i>Labourers at getting stone at the Town quarry</i> Pd. Duckmanton for 6 days 3s. Pd. Smalle for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Rodes for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Lynne for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Otter for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Mason for 5 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Garforde for 8½ days 3s. 6½d.	31.	9	
<i>Labourers at taking down of the old wall and some time at the spring against the Castle</i> Pd. Slacke for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Slater for 5 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Hardye for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Robe. for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Lauffitte for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Turner for 7½ days 3s. 9d. Pd. Boulde for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Gorson for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Sparke for 11½ days 3s. 10d.	44.	7	
<i>Women and boys at the taking down of the old walls</i> Pd. Marye Welles and other women for 100 days' work at 3d. the day 25s. Pd. more to others for 23 days at 2d. the day 3s. 10d.	28.	10	
<i>Task work at spring and Castle.</i> Pd. Jo. Spittellhouse for 8 days at the spring against the Castle 6s. 4d. Pd. Slatter for taking down one piece of the great wall 5s.	11.	4	
<i>Punch wood for the spring</i> Pd. the carpenter for fitting of punch wood for the spring 18d.			
<i>Carriage of clay and limestone getting</i> Pd. to Bucher and Kichen for the carriage of 23 loads of clay to the lime kiln 9s. 7d. Pd. for the getting of 60 loads of limestone at 3d. the load 15s.			
<i>Smythson's charges</i> Pd. Smithson for the charges both of himself and his horse 2s. 8d.	28.	9	
Summa totalis £58. 1s.	Summa totalis	£ 20.	17. 11

5. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work, from the 20th of February unto the 6th of March 1612.

<i>Free masons' work done at Shuttelwo. quarry</i> Pd. Goodwin Baram and the rest for wor[king] on 56½ foot of window stuff at 5d. the foot 23s. 6½d. Pd. them for 38 foot of door jamb at 4½d. the foot 14s. 3d. Pd. them more for 107 foot of ground table at 3d. the foot 26s. 9d. Pd. them more for 419 foot of ashlar at 1½d. the foot £2. 12s. 4½d. Pd. them for 47 foot of paving at 1½d. the foot 5s. 10½d.	6.	2.	9½
<i>Rough stone gotten at Shuttellwode quarry</i> Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwode quarry for getting of 667 foot of rough stone at 1½d. the foot	3.	9.	4
<i>15 labourers this fortnight</i>			
<i>50 rood of wall stone scappled at this pay at Shuttellwod</i> Pd. Meatam for scappling of 18 rood of wall stone at 18d. the rood 27s. Pd. Leptrote for 7½ rood 10s. 6d. Pd. Stancall for 8 rood 12s. Pd. Mason for 9 rood 13s. 6d. Pd. Reade for 8 rood 12s.	3.	15.	0

<i>Arch stone and wall stone scappled at Castle and at the lime kiln</i>		
Pd. Raffell for 9½ days 9s. 6d.	Pd. Tho. Raffell for 11 days 9s. 2d.	
Pd. Ouldalle for 10 days 10s.		28. 8
<i>Task work done at lime kiln and the foundation</i>		
Pd. Turner for finishing of his task of levelling the lime kiln 3s.	Pd. Slatter for pulling down of part of the old wall. 6s. 8d.	
Pd. Spittelhouse for casting of one rood of the foundation 6s.		15. 8
<i>Labourers at baring and getting of stone at the Town quarry</i>		
Pd. Mason for 10 days at 7d.	5s. 10d. Pd. Smalle for 10 days at 6d.	
5s. Pd. Lvnne for 10 days 5s.	Pd. Otter for 9 days 4s. 6d.	
Pd. Yeavlee for 10 days 5s.	Pd. Garforde for 7 days at 5d.	
2s. 11d. Pd. Berre for 4 days 2s.		30. 3
<i>For making of wheel barrows and hods with other necessities</i>		
Pd. Chester for 6 days at 10d.	5s. Pd. his boy for 6 days at 5d.	
2s. 6d. Pd. Robenson and his son for sawing of planks for wheel barrows 4s. 6d.		12. 0
<i>Labourers at digging of the foundation and casting of each</i>		
Pd. Slacke for 11 days 5s. 6d.	Pd. Slater for one day 7d.	
Pd. Robe. for 10 days 5s.	Pd. Hardye for 11½ days 5s. 9d.	
Pd. Lauffett for 9½ days 4s. 9d.	Pd. Rogers for 7 days 3s. 6d.	
Pd. Turner for 9 days 4s. 6d.		29. 7
<i>Labourers at the lime kiln</i>		
Pd. Boulde for 8 days 4s.	Pd. Gorson for 10½ days 5s. 3d.	
Pd. Sparke for 10 days 3s. 4d.	Pd. Yeavelee for 8 days 2s. 8d.	
		15. 3
<i>Women and boys at the carriage of earth and stone out of the foundations</i>		
Pd. Mariate and Godlye for 20 days 5s.	Pd. Wynter and Rogers for 16 days 4s.	
Pd. Kichen and Barber for 13 days 3s. 3d.	Pd. Godlye and Werewick 19 days 4s. 9d.	
Pd. Breden and Bruckfeeld 17 days 4s. 3d.	Pd. Hogeskinson and Robe wiffe 10 days 2s. 6d.	
Pd. Yeavlee and Breden for 10 days 2s. 6d.		26. 3
<i>Wenches and boys at the foundation</i>		
Pd. Hides and Godlye for 19 days at 2d.	3s. 2d. Pd. Hill and Breden for 16 days at 2d.	
2s. 8d. Pd. Kichen for 10 days 20d.		7. 6
<i>Getting of lime stone and carriage of the same</i>		
Pd. for the getting of 60 load of limestone at 3d. the load 15s.	Pd. to Claye for the carriage of 20 load of limestone at 5d. the load 8s. 4d.	
		23. 4
<i>Smithson's charges.</i>		
Pd. Smithson for his charges for 6 meals 2s.		
For proven for his horse for the same time 12d.		3. 0
Summa totalis		£ 22. 18. 7
Summa totalis £80. 19s. 7d.		

6. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 6th of March unto the 20th of March 1613.

<i>Free masons' work done at Shuttelwod quarry</i>		
Pd. Goodwin Baram and their fellows for wor[king] 526 foot of ashlar at 1½d.		
£3. 5s. 9d. Pd. them more for 38½ foot of ground table at 3d.		
the foot 9s. 7½d. Pd. for 4 foot of stepte at 2½d.	10d. Pd. for 4 foot of chimney jamb at 3½d.	
the foot 14d. Pd. them for 39 foot of penpen ¹ door jamb at 5½d.	the foot 17s. 10d. Pd. for 46 foot of window stuff at 5d.	
the foot 19s. 2d.		5. 14. 4

¹ *Perpins, perpenders or perpent* stones were "stones made just as thick as a wall, and showing their smoothed ends on either side thereof". See *O.E.D.* under *Perpender*. We have to thank Bro. Bullamore for calling our attention to the meaning of the word.

	£	s.	d.
<i>13 men at the quarry at getting stone this pay</i> Pd. the quarrymen for getting of 657 foot of rough stone at 1½d. the foot	2.	19.	9
<i>Stone scappled at Shutelwod quarry</i> Pd. Leptrote Roylles and their fellows for scappling of 32 rood of wall stone at 18d. the rood 48s.			
<i>Stone scappled at the Town quarry</i> Pd. Denes Mason and his fellows for scappling of 8 roods of wall stone at the Town quarry 12s.	3.	0.	0
<i>Masons and layers at the lime kiln and scappling</i> Pd. Raffell for 11 days 11s. Pd. Ouldalle for 11 days 11s. Pd. Tho. Raffell for 10 days 8s. 4d.			
<i>Carpenters at making of hods and other necessities</i> Pd. Chester for 12 days 10s. Pd. his boy for 12 days 5s.	45.	4	
<i>Labourers at baring and getting stone at the Town quarry</i> Pd. Mason for 10 days at 7d. 5s. 10d. Pd. Denes Mason for 2 days 12d. Pd. Bucher for 4 days 2s. Pd. Reade for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Smalle for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Lvnne for 12 days 6s.			
<i>Reade 11 days at this work at 10d. the day</i> Pd. Arthure Reade for scappling of stone and 'derecktinge' of the quarry 9s. 2d. Pd. Garforde for 10 days at 5d. 4s. 2d.	39.	5	
<i>Labourers' days' work at digging of the foundation</i> Pd. Spittelhouse and Slater for 2 days work at the foundation 15d. Pd. to Slacke Robe. and 7 other of their fellows for 70 days at the foundation at 6d. the day 35s. Pd. to Gorson and Sparke for 19 days at 6d. and 4d. .9s. 2d.	45.	5	
<i>The setting of the lime kiln</i> Pd. Wilson for one day at setting of the lime kiln 10d. Pd. 6 women for helping him at the same work 2s.	2.	10	
<i>Labourers at carrying of earth from the foundation and sand to the lime kiln</i> Pd. Godlye wiffe and Welles wiffe and 16 other of their fellows for 133 days at the foundation at 3d. 33s. 3d. Pd. Godlye and Kichen with 4 more of their fellows for 28 days at 2d. 4s. 8d.	37.	11	
<i>Task work done at the casting of the foundation</i> Pd. Derbye and Rogers for digging and casting of 2 rood of the foundation 12s. Pd. Spittelhouse and Slatter for 2 rood of the foundation 12s. Pd. Turner and Boulde for 1 rood 5s. 6d.	29.	6	
<i>Carriage of lime stone</i> Pd. Claye and his fellows for the carriage of 105 loads of lime stone 43s. 9d.			
<i>Carriage of coals</i> Pd. him more for the carriage of roo[ks] of coals 8s.			
<i>Coals for the lime kiln</i> Pd. the colliers for 6 rooks of coals for the lime kiln 18s.	3.	9.	9
<i>Breaking of lime stone</i> Pd. Wilson for breaking of 40 load of lime stone 5s. 4d.			
<i>Cast work in the foundation</i> Pd. Spittelhouse and Slatter in preste of their task of the foundation 10s. Pd. the carpenter for sawing of planks for trestles 2s. 2d.			
<i>Necessary provisions for 'hodes'</i> Pd. for 22 sise boards for hoods and trowes for the building 7s. 4d.	24.	10	

Smith's work for divers necessities for the building as may appear
Pd. the smith of Boulsover for making of divers new tools for
Shuttell woode quarry and the Town quarry and divers necessities
for hoodes and wheel barrows with guchenes and handelles for the
well and nails for all uses as by his particular bill may appear for
the same 25s.

Hurdles for scaffolds Pd. Lee for making of 5 dozen of hurdles
for the scaffolds 11s. 10d.

Smithson's charges at Boulsover Pd. Smythsonn for his charge for
8 meals 2s. 8d. Pd. for proven for his horse for the same time 16d. 40. 10
Summa totalis £ 28. 9. 11

Summa totalis £109. 9s. 6d.

7. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 20th of
March unto the 3th of April 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwo quarry Pd. Goodwin Baram
and their fellows for working 35 foot of window stuff at 5d. 14s. 7d.
Pd. them for 77½ foot of legmente table at 3½d. the foot 22s. 6d.
Pd. for 43½ foot of ground table at 3d. the foot 10s. 10½d. Pd.
for 32 foot of stepte at 2½d. the foot 6s. 8d. Pd. them for 46 foot
of paving at 1½d. the foot 5s. 9d. Pd. 397 foot of ashlar at 1½d.
49s. 7½d. 5. 9. 11

8 labourers at getting of rough stone at Shuttellwod quarry Pd.
the quarrymen for getting of 610 foot of rough stone at ¾d. 38. 3

Wall stone scappled at Shuttellwoode quarry Pd. Meatan for 5 rood
at 18d. 7s. 6d. Pd. Shore for 15 rood 22s. 6d. Pd. Stancall for
8 rood 12s. 42. 0

Layers at scappling of arch stone for arches Pd. Raffell for 9
days 9s. Pd. Ouldalle for 9 days 9s. Pd. Tho. Johnson for 9½
days 7s. 11d. Pd. Reade for 3 days at 10d. 2s. 6d. Pd. his boy
for 3 days 18d. Pd. Royles boy for one day 4d. 30. 3

Wall stone scappled at the Town quarry Pd. Mason for 7 rood
10s. 6d. Pd. Roylles for 10 rood 15s. Pd. Allen for 8 rood 12s.
Pd. Reade for 5 rood 7s. 6d. Pd. Stansall for one rood 18d. 46. 6

Labourers at getting of wall stone at the Town quarry Pd. Henrye
Mason for 10 days 5s. 10d. Pd. Wildesmithe for 10 days 5s. Pd.
Wilson for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Lyme for 10 days 5s. Pd. Yeavlee
for 10 days 5s. Pd. Garforde for 7 days 2s. 11d. Pd. Adamson for
8 days 4s. Pd. Bucher for one day 4d. Pd. Slatter for 3 days 21d. 34. 4

Carpenter's work at making of barrows hods and other necessities
Pd. Chester for 10 days 8s. 4d. Pd. his boy for 10 days 4s. 2d. 12. 6

Labourers at the foundation at digging and casting of earth Pd.
Spittellhouse for 3 days 2s. Pd. Slatter for 3 days 21d. Pd.
Turner for 6 days 3s. Pd. Boulde for 6 days 3s. Pd. Lauffite
for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Robe for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Otter for
11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Yeavelee for 10 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Sparke for
10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Smalle for 10 days 5s. 35. 1

£ s. d.

The lime burner and women both at the lime kiln and at the foundation Pd. Willsson for 3½ days 2s. 11d. Pd. 2 Breedens for 18 days 4s. 6d. Pd. 2 Wynters for 9 days 2s. 3d. Pd. 2 Robensones for 14 days 3s. 6d. Pd. Miller and Welles for 13 days 3s. 3d. Pd. Shipston and Hogkinson 14 days 3s. 6d. Pd. Bruckefelde and Willson for 7 21d. Pd. Yeavlee for 10 days 2s. 6d. 24. 2

Task work in digging of the foundation Pd. Spittellhouse, Slatter, Turner and Boulde for their task of digging and carrying away of one part of the foundation 23s. 6d.

Hurdles and other necessities for the use of the building Pd. Lee for making of 3 dozen of hurdles for the scaffolds 6s. 6d. Pd. for 15 syse boards for the making of hods and mortar tupes 6s. Pd. for 6 bowls for water 18d. Pd. 2 bucket for the draw well 20d. 39. 2

<i>Lime stone getting and breaking</i>	Pd. Willson for getting of 33 load of lime stone at 3d.	8s. 3d.	Pd. Wilson and Rogers for breaking of 60 load of lime stone	8s.	16.	3
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Carriage of lime stone and coals to the lime kiln Pd. Claye for the carriage of 27 loads of lime stone at 5d. 11s. 3d. Pd. him for the carriage of 9 load of coals and 1 load of wood for the lime kiln 10s. 6d.

<i>Coals for the lime kiln</i>	Pd. the colliers for 7 load of coals for the	
lime kiln 21s.		42. 9

The smith's work for divers necessities for the building Pd. the smith of Boulsover for mending and making of quarry tools for nails of all sorts hod plates and tube plates and iron for the buckets and divers other necessities as by his particular bill may appear 23s. 8d.

Smythson's charges Pd. Smythson for himself for 5 meals 20d.
for his horse for the same time 18d.; 3s. 2d. 26. 10

Summa totalis £ 24. 18. 0

Summa totalis £134. 7s. 6d.

8. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 2th of April unto the 17th of April 1613.

Free masons' work done at Skuttellwod quarry Pd. Good[win]
Baram and his fellows for working of 213 foot of ashlar at 1½d.
27s. 7d. Pd. them for 54 foot of paving at 1½d. 6s. 9d. Pd.
them for 48 foot of legmente table at 3½d. the foot 14s. 2d. Pd.
them for 23 foot of window stuff at 5d. the [foot] 9s. 7d. Pd.
them for 6 arch stones for the kitchen ranges 4s. 6d.

<i>The 1 corbell stone wrought</i>	Pd. for one corbell stone	2s. 4d.	
Pd. for 15 foot of axed steeppe	at 2½d. the foot	3s.	3. 6. 10

10 labourers at getting of free stone and wall stone at Shuttll quarry
Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwoode quarry for getting of 367 foot
of stone and baring of the quarry at 1½d. the foot 38s. 4d. Pd.
them for the bearing out of wall stone out of the quarry to the
scapplers 6s. 44. 4

Wall stone scappled at the Town quarry Pd. Leptrote for 5 rood 7s. 6d. Pd. Royle for 7 rood 10s. 6d. Pd. Reade for 12 rood 16s. Read was abated for bad scappling.

<i>Shuttellwode</i>	Pd. Shore for 6 rood 9s.	43. 0
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Layers at the foundation 5 in number Pd. Raffell for 10 days 10s.
Pd. Ouldalle for 9 days 9s. Pd. Tho. Johnson for 9½ days 7s. 11d.
Pd. Leptrate for 4 days 4s. Pd. Royle for 4 days 4s. 34. 11

Labourers at getting of wall stone at the Town quarry Pd. Mason
for 10 days at 7d. 5s. 10d. Pd. Lynne for 9½ days 4s. 9d. Pd.
Rowbothom for 6 days 3s. Pd. Garforde for 10 days 4s. 2d. 17. 9

The lime burner and women both at lime kiln and at the foundation
Pd. Willson for 11 days at lime kiln at 10d. the day 9s. 2d. Pd.
the 2 Breedens for 16 days 4s. Pd. the 2 Robensons for 17 days
4s. 3d. Pd. Shipston and Willson for 21 days 5s. 3d. Pd.
Hogskinson and Yevlee for 21 days 5s. 3d. 27. 11

Labourers at serving the layers and harling of lime Pd. Turner
for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Robe. for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Boulde for
10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Otter for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Willson for
8 days 4s.

4 labourers at drawing of water for lime Pd. Laufitte for 8 days
4s. Pd. Smalle for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Wildesmithe for 8½ days
4s. 3d. Pd. Wm. Yeavlee for 11 days 5s. 6d.

Boys at the sifting of lime Pd. Tho. Yeavlee for 10 days 3s. 4d.
Pd. Sparke for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Rodes for 6 days 18d. 51. 8

Wood for hurdles and scaffolds Pd. to Mr. Perpoyntes 'baylye'
of Skartcliffe Park for wood that made eight dozen of 'fleakes' for
scaffolds 10s. Pd. for the carriage of those 'fleakes' home being
four load 6s. 16. 0

Carriage of lime stone and coals for the lime kiln Pd. for 15 load
of coals for the lime kiln at 3s. the load 45s. Pd. for the carriage
of those coals from the pits to the lime kiln 18s. 3. 3. 0

Carriage of oven stone Pd. for the carriage of 4 load of oven stone
from the More 3s. 4d.

Lime stone getting and breaking Pd. for getting of 30 load of
lime stone at 2½d. the load 6s. 3d. Pd. for breaking of 36 load of
lime stone at 2s. 8d. the score 4s. 8d.

Carriage of lime stone Pd. for the carriage of 8 load of lime stone
at 5d. the load 3s. 4d.

Planks for trestle board Pd. to Robenson and his man for sawing
of trestles 4s. 6d.

'Coulles' for water Pd. for 4 'covlles' for the bearing of water
8s. Pd. for 2 shovels for the sifting of lime 2s. 4d.

Ropes for the well Pd. for 2 well ropes for the well for the drawing
of water 8s. 40. 5

Smith's work for the repair of quarry tools Pd. the smith of
Boulsover for mending of the quarry tools and making of other new
tools and divers other necessities for the buildings as by his particular
bill may appear 6s. 1d.

Smithson's charges Pd. Smithson for his charges for 10 meals
3s. 4d. Pd. for proven for his horse for the same time 2s. 11. 5

Summa totalis £ 20. 17. 3

Summa totalis £155. 4s. 9d.

9. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 17th of April unto the 30th of April 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwo, quarry Pd. Goodwin Baram and their fellows for 264 foot of ashlar at 1½d. the foot 33s. Pd. them for 23 foot of paving at 1½d. the foot 2s. 10d. Pd. them for 27 foot of axed stepte at 2½d. the foot 5s. 7d. Pd. for 10 foot of window stuff at 5d. the foot 4s. 2d. Pd. for 6 corbells for the vaults at 2s. the corbell 12s. Pd. for 4 'angell' stones for the same vault 4s. Pd. for 16 arch stones for the kitchen ranges at 8d. the stone 10s. 8d. Pd. them for 30 foot of legmente table at 3½d. the foot 8s. 9d. Pd. for scappling of inner coynes for the inside of the house 3s.

4. 4. 0

7 men la[bourers] rough stone and wall stone gotten at Shutelwod quarry Pd. to John Sidowe and other of his fellows for getting of 370 foot of stone and baring of the quarry at 1½d. the foot

38. 6

Wall stone scappled at Shuttelwood Pd. Royle Leptrote and Shore for scappling of 13½ rood wall stone 20s. 3d.

Wall stone scappled at the Town quarry Pd. Reade and Allen for scappling of 10 rood of wall stone 15s. Rede Shore and others for scappling of rough coynes for the foundation 5s. 6d.

40. 9

Layers at the foundation and walls Pd. Raffell for 10½ days 10s. 6d. Pd. Ouldalle for 10½ days 10s. 6d. Pd. Tho. Johnson for 10½ days 8s. 9d. Pd. Leptrote for 10 days 10s. Pd. Royles for 7½ days 7s. 6d. Pd. Edwarde Meatam for 4½ days 4s. 6d. Pd. Jo. Meatam for 4½ days 3s. 9d. Pd. Marshall for 9½ days 9s. 6d.

3. 5. 0

Carpenters and scaffolding and centres Pd. Chester for 11 days 9s. 2d. Pd. his boy for 11½ days 4s. 9d.

13. 11

Labourers at getting stone at the Town quarry Pd. Mason for 8 days 4s. 8d. Pd. Rowson for 6 days 3s. Pd. Garford for 4 days 20d. Pd. Reade for 4 days 20d.

11. 0

Lime burner at the lime kiln Pd. Willson for 4½ days 3s. 9d. Pd. Norwode for 11½ days 6s. 8d.

10. 5

Labourers at serving of the layers at the foundation Pd. Turner for 12 days 6s. Pd. Boulde for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Smalle for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Sidowe for 10½ days 3s. 6d. Pd. Sparke for 11 days 3s. 8d.

23. 11

Labourers at tempering of mortar and sifting and harling of lime Pd. Robe. for 12 days 6s. Pd. Otter for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Wilson for 12 days 6s. Pd. Yeavlee for 12 days 6s.

23. 6

Sifting sand and sleckinge of lime Pd. Lauffite for 9½ days 4s. 9d. Pd. Tho. Yevlee for 12 days 4s.

8. 9

5 labourers at drawing and carrying of water Pd. Wyldesmithe for 9 days at 7d. 5s. 3d. Pd. Wilken for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Borten for 7 days 3s. 6d. Pd. Lvnne for 12 days 6s. Pd. Rodes for 12 days 3s.

23. 6

6 women at the lime kiln Pd. Miller and Robenson for 19 days 6s. 4d. Pd. Robenson and Yeavle for 25 days 8s. 4d. Pd. Shipston and Hogskinson for 21 days 7s.

21. 8

£ s. d.

Women and boys at the foundation serving layers Pd. Breeden and Kichen for 18 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Willson for 4 days 12d. Pd. Kichen and Robartes for 17 days 2s. 10d. 8. 4

The getting and breaking of lime stone at the Castle for the lime kiln Pd. Dowman and his fellows for getting of 3 score load of lime stone at 2½d. 12s. 6d. Pd. Croper and Rogers for breaking of 5 score load of lime stone at 1½d. the load 12s. 6d. 25. 0

Carriage of lime stone and sand and oven stone from the More Pd. Shemell Claye and Rowson for the carriage of 73 load of lime stone at 5d. the load 30s. 5d. Pd. Rowson for the carriage of 4 loads of sand at 8d. 2s. 8d. Pd. Shemell Rowson and Claye for the carriage of 6 load of oven stone from the More 5s. 38. 1

Carriage of stone from Shuttellwode and coals for the lime kiln Pd. Shemell and Claye for 13 load of stone from Shuttellwode 15s. 2d. Pd. them more for the carriage of 17 load of coals for the lime kiln at 14d. the load 19s. 10d. 35. 0

Coals for the lime kiln Pd. Rennouldes the collier for 15 loads of coals for the lime kiln at 3s. the load 45s.

Smith's work for divers necessities for the building Pd. the smith of Norten for 5 pair of door hooks 5s. Pd. the smith of Boulsover for the making of 6 new wedges and repairing of both the quarry tools with other necessities 4s. 1d. 54. 1

Smithson's charges Pd. for Smythson's charges for himself for 5 meals 20d. for proven for his horse for the same time 12d. 2. 8

Summa totalis £ 26. 8. 1

Summa totalis £181. 12. 10d.

10. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 30th of April unto the 15th of May 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwod quarry Pd. Goodwin Baram and their fellows for 10 foot of window stuff at 5d. 4s. 2d. Pd. them for 13 foot of legmente table at 3½d. the foot 3s. 9d. Pd. them for 6 corbels for the kitchen and larder 12s. Pd. for 7 quarter stones for the same corbels 7s. Pd. for 11 foot of straight axed stepte at 2½d. the foot 2s. 4½d. Pd. for 15½ foot of winding stepte at 3d. the foot 3s. 10½d. Pd. for 128 foot of ashlar at 1½d. 16s. Pd. for 39 foot of paving at 1½d. 4s. 10d. 2. 14. 0

6 labourers getting of rough stone for the masons at Shuttellwod quarry Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwode quarry for getting of 300 foot of rough stone at 1¼d. 31s. 3d.

3 labourers at this work Pd. them more for the baring of the quarry and carrying out of wall stone to the scapplers 11s. 3d. 42. 6

Stone scappled at Shuttellwod quarry Pd. Shore for scappling of 6 rood 9s. Pd. Royles for 4 rood 6s. 15. 0

Masons and layers at the foundation and walls at Castle Pd. Raffell for 10 days 10s. Pd. Ouldalle for 5 days 5s. Pd. Tho. Raffell for 11 days 9s. 2d. Pd. Ed. Meatan for 11 days 11s. Pd. Leptrote for 11 days 11s. Pd. Royles for 9 days 9s. Pd. Marshall for 10½ days 10s. 6d. Pd. Meatan's man for 11 days 9s. 2d. 3. 14. 10

	£	s.	d.
<i>Dressing oven stone at the More</i> Pd. Reade for 6 days 5s. Pd. his boy 5 days 2s. 6d.		7.	6
<i>Carpenters at centres and scaffolds</i> Pd. Chester for 11 days 9s. 2d. Pd. his boy for 11 days 4s. 7d.		13.	9
<i>The lime burner and 6 women at the lime kiln and the foundation</i> Pd. Norwode for 11 days 6s. 5d. Pd. Robenson and Yevlee for 22 days 7s. 4d. Pd. Miller and Hoginson for 21 days 7s. Pd. Kichen and Breeden for 20 days 6s. 8d.		27.	5
<i>2 labourers at drawing of water</i> Pd. Wildesmithe for 11 days at 8d. 7s. 4d. Pd. Wilken for 11 days 7s. 4d.		14.	8
<i>Labourers at sifting and harling and tempering of lime for the work</i> Pd. Robe for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Otter for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Willson for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Yevlee for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Laufett for 9½ days 4s. 9d.		26.	9
<i>Labourers at serving of layers and carrying of sand to the lime</i> Pd. Turner for 10 days 5s. Pd. Smalle for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Boulde for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Lynne for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Greene for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Morten 2½ days 15d. Pd. Rodes for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Sparke for 4 days 16d. Pd. Yeaville for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Sydowe for 9 days 3s. Pd. Waites for 4 days 12d. Pd. Rowson for 4 days 12d. Pd. Kichen for 11 days at 2d. 22d.		43.	9
<i>Women at the foundation and carriage of filling stone and sand</i> Pd. Shipston and Robenson for 22 days 7s. 4d. Pd. Rodes and other Robenson for 18 days 6s. Pd. Stevenson and the other Breeden for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Fleeminge for 9 days 3s.		19.	8
<i>Carriage of stone from Shutellwode quarry</i> Pd. Henrye Stathem and his fellows for the carriage of 45 load of stone from Shuttellwode quarry 45s.			
<i>Getting and breaking of lime stone</i> Pd. to Dowman and his fellows for getting of 60 load of lime stone at 2½d. the foot 12s. 6d. Pd. Rogers and others for breaking of 60 load of lime stone at 1½d. the load 7s. 6d.		3.	5. 0
<i>Stone led from pinfold to Castle</i> Pd. Stathem and his fellows for the carriage of 33 load of stone from the Castle ditch to the Castle 7s.			
<i>Carriage of coals</i> Pd. for the carriage of 15 load of coals for the lime kiln 17s. 6d.			
<i>Coals for the lime kiln</i> Pd. the colliers for 15 load of coals for the lime kiln at 3s. 45s.		3.	9. 6
<i>Carriage of sand</i> Pd. Rawson for the carriage of 7 load of sand 4s. 8d.			
<i>Labourers in task at digging the foundation</i> Pd. Slater and his fellows for digging of part of the foundation 12s. Pd. to Rogers and Whalehouse for digging of part of the foundations 2s. 6d.		19.	2
<i>Carriage of lime stone</i> Pd. for the carriage of 29 load of lime stone 12s. 1d.			
<i>Smithson's charge</i> Pd. Smithsonn for his charges for 9 meals 3s. For proven for his horse for the same time 6d.		15.	7
Summa totalis £207. 1. 11d.	Summa totalis	£ 25.	9. 1

11. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 15th of May unto the 29th of May 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwode quarry Pd. Goodwin Baram and their fellows for work[ing] 112 foot of ashlar at 1½d. 14s. Pd. for 57 foot of paving at 1½d. 7s. 1d. Pd. for 24½ foot of axed stepte at 2½d. 5s. 1d. Pd. for 15 foot of window stuff at 5d. 6s. 3d. Pd. for 14 foot of door jamb at 4½d. 5s. 3d. Pd. for 4 foot of threshold for a door 12d. Pd. for 17 foot of chanell at 3d. 4s. 3d. Pd. for 7 arch stones for the pastrie range at 8d. the stone 4s. 8d. Pd. for one corbell for the larder 2s. Pd. for one 'angell' stone 12d. Pd. for 15 foot of legmente table at 3½d. the foot 4s. 4d. Pd. for one dresser window head 2s. 6d. 2. 17. 5

6 labourers at getting of stone at Shutt. quarry Pd. the labourers at Shutellwode for getting of 252 foot of stone at 1½d. a foot 26s. 3d.

Wall stone scappled at Shuttellwode Pd. Shore and Royles boy for scappling of 8 rood of wall stone 12s. 38. 3

Masons and layers at the foundation Pd. Raffell for 9½ days 9s. 6d. Pd. Tho. Raffell for 8½ days 7s. 1d. Pd. Leptrote for 9 days 9s. Pd. Royle for 9 days 9s. Pd. Marshall for 5 days 5s. Pd. Meatam for 9 days 9s. Pd. Jo. Meatam for 9 days 9s. Pd. Meatam's man for 9 days 9s. Pd. Pallamon for 9 days 9s. 3. 15. 7

Carpenters at scaffolding and centres Pd. Chester for 9 days 7s. 6d. Pd. his boy for 9 days 3s. 9d. 11. 3

Labourers at sifting and harling of lime Pd. Robe for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Otter for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Wilson for 9½ days 4s. 9d. Pd. Yeavle for 10½ days 5s. 3d. 20. 6

Labourers at drawing and carrying water Pd. Wildesmithe for 9 days 6s. Pd. Wilkin for 10½ days 7s. 13. 0

Labourers at serving of the layers and at the foundation. Pd. Turner for 3 days 18d. Pd. Smalle for 6 days 3s. Pd. Lvnne for 10½ days 5s. 6d. Pd. Lauffitt for 5 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Greene for 10 days 5s. Pd. Haies for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Rodes 8 days 2s. 8d. Pd. Tho. Yeavlee for 10½ days 3s. 6d.

2 labourers at digging the foundation Pd. Adamson for 6 days at digging of the foundation 3s. 31. 11

Women at the foundation and carrying of sand Pd. Yeavlee and Robenson for 16½ days 5s. 6d. Pd. Ward and Shipstone for 16 days 5s. 4d. Pd. Breeden for 6 days 18d. Pd. Kichen for 8 days 16d. 13. 8

The limeburner and 6 women at the lime kiln Pd. Norwode for 8 days 4s. 8d. Robenson and Hogskinson for 16 days 5s. 4d. Pd. Kichen and Rodes for 16 days¹ 4s. 8d. Pd. Miller wiffe and sone Breeden for 17½ days 5s. 10d. 20. 6

Task work done in digging and casting of the foundation Pd. Slatter and his fellows for their task in digging of one part of the foundation 10s. 8d. Pd. Adamson and his fellows for their task in digging of the foundation in crose partitions 6s. 16. 8

¹ 3d. and 4d. written above the line.

Carriage of stone from Shuttellwood lime stone and sand Pd. Henry Stathem and his fellows for the carriage of 98 load of stone from Shuttellwood £4. 18s. Pd. them more for 99 load of lime stone at 5d. the load 41s. 3d. Pd. Rawson for the carriage of 6 load of sand 4s.

7. 3. 3

Lime stone getting and breaking Pd. Rogers and his fellows for breaking of 43 load of lime stone at 1½d. the foot 5s. 4d. Pd. Bowlinge for getting of 20 load of lime stone at 2½d. 4s. 2d.

9. 6

Smith's work for divers necessities to the use of the building Pd. Bowkett the smith of Norton for 7 pair of door hooks at 12d. the pair 7s. Pd. the smith of Boulsover for the repair of the quarry tools and divers other necessities for the use of the building as by his particular bill may appear for the same 9s. 1d.

16. 1

Money given to the workmen Pd. the workmen that was given them by my master 13s. 4d.

Smithsones charges Pd. Smithson for himself for 9 meals 3s.

16. 4

Summa totalis £ 24. 3. 11

Summa totalis £231. 5s. 10d.

12. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 29th of May unto the 12th of June 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwood quarry Pd. Goodwin Baram and their fellows for working of 124 foot of ashlar at 1½d. 15s. 6d. Pd. them for 66 foot of axed stepte at 2½d. 13s. 9d. Pd. them for 13 foot of legment table at 3d. the foot 3s. 9½d. Pd. them for 57 foot of window stuff at 5d. the foot 23s. 9d. Pd. for 19 foot of door jamb of the lesser mould at 4½d. 7s. 1½d. Pd. for one dresser window head for the 'pasterye' 2s. 6d. Pd. for 13 foot of channell for the kitchen at 3d. the foot 3s. 3d. Pd. for one springer for the vaults 2s.

3. 11. 8

7 labourers at rough stone at Shuttellwood quarry Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwode quarry for getting of 302 foot of rough stone at 1½d. the foot 31s. 5d.

Wall stone scappled at Shuttellwode quarry Pd. Shore for 6 rood 9s. Pd. Roylles for 5 rood 7s. 6d.

47. 11

Free masons and layers at the wall at the Castle Pd. Raffell for 11½ days 11s. 6d. Pd. Leptrote for 11 days 11s. Pd. Ouldalle for 11 days 12s. (sic). Pd. Royles for 12 days 12s. Pd. Marshall for 11½ days 11s. 6d. Pd. Meatam for 12 days 12s. Pd. Jo. Meatam for 12 days 12s. Pd. Maycoke for 12 days 10s. Pd. Tho. Johnson for 11½ days 9s. 6d. Pd. Pallaman for 12 days 12s.

5. 13. 6

Scaffolds and for the centres Pd. Chester for 12 days 10s. Pd. his boy for 12 days 5s.

15. 0

The lime burner and 6 women at the lime kiln Pd. Norwood for 11½ days 6s. 10d. Pd. Robenson and Woode for 23 days 7s. 8d. Pd. Robenson and Rodes for 23 days 7s. 8d. Pd. Miller wiffe for 11½ days 3s. 10d. Pd. Hogskinson for 8½ days 2s. 10d.

28. 10

2 labourers at bearing water Pd. Wildsmithe for 8½ days 6s. Pd. Wilken for 11½ days 7s. 4d.

Labourers at sifting of lime and harling of mortar Pd. Robe for 12 days 6s. Pd. Otter for 12 days 6s. Pd. Willson for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Yevelee for 12 days 6s. 37. 1

Labourers at serving of the layers at the walls of the foundation Pd. Haies for 12 days 6s. Pd. Bruckefeelde for 12 days 6s. Pd. Grene for 12 days 6s. Pd. Johnson for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Wode for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Lauffite for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Boulde for 11 days 5s. 6d. 39. 3

Labourers at digging of the west side of the foundation Pd. Slater for 9½ days 5s. 6d. (sic). Pd. Rawson for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Stevenson for 2 days 12d. Pd. Waytes for 7 days 3s. 6d. Pd. Bell for 2 days 12d. 16. 6

Boys at serving of layers at the foundation Pd. Rodes for 11½ days 3s. 10d. Pd. Yeavlee for 12 days 4s. Pd. Sparke for 12 days 4s. Pd. Kichen for 11 days 22d. 13. 8

Women and boys at the foundation Pd. Breed and Shiptone for 17 days 5s. 8d. Pd. Yeavle at 3d.¹ and Kichen at 2d.¹ for 23 days 6s. 6d. 12. 2

Lime stone getting and breaking and one sieve for lime Pd. Bollinge Dowman and Rogers for getting of four score load of lime stone at 2½d. the load 17s. Pd. for the breaking of 40 load of lime stone at 1½d. the load 5s. Pd. for one sieve for the sifting of lime for greate mortar 5d. 22. 5

Lime stone carriage and carriage of stone from Shutellwoode quarry Pd. Henrye Stathem and Ralfe Souther and Roger Rowson for 87 load of stone from Shutellwoode to the Castle at 12d. £4. 7s. 0d. Pd. them for the carriage of 29 loads of lime stone from the field to the Castle at 5d. the load 12s. 1d. Pd. them for the carriage of 17 load of stone from the pinfold to the Castle at 3d. the load 4s. 3d. 5. 3. 4

Coals bought and carriage of them from the coal pits Pd. the colliers for 16 loads of coals for lime kiln at 3s. the load 48s. Pd. them for the carriage of these 16 loads of coals from the pits to the Castle 16s. 3. 4. 0

The smith's bill for divers necessities for the work Pd. the smith of Boulsover for mending of the quarry tools and divers other work as by his particular bill may appear 3s. 4d.

Smithson's charges Pd. Smithson for his charges for 10 meals for himself 3s. 4d. 6. 8

Summa totalis £ 29. 12. 0

Summa totalis £260. 17s. 10d.

13. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 12th of June unto the 26th of June 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shutellwoode quarry Pd. for working of 66 foot of ashlar at 1½d. the foot 8s. 3d. Pd. them more for 76½ foot of axed at 2½d. the foot 15s. 11d. Pd. for 48 foot of legmente table at 3½d. the foot 14s. Pd. for 3½ foot of ground table at 3d. the foot 10½d. Pd. for 28 foot of window stuff at 5d. the foot 11s. 8d. Pd. for 7 foot of window stuff at 4d. the foot 2s. 8d.

¹ Inserted above the line.

Bases and other stuff for the pillar Pd. for 2 bases for the pillar of the great cellar 9s. Pd. for 4 foot of the pillar at 2s. 6d. the piece 10s. 0d.

Spout stone for the kitchen sink Pd. for one spoute stone for kitchen sink 14d. Pd. for 2 great stones for the kitchen sink 16d.

3. 14. 6

6 labourers at getting of rough stone at Shuttellwode quarry Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwode for getting of 261 foot of rough stone at 1½d. the foot

26. 11

Wall stone scappled at Shuttellwood quarry Pd. Shore for scappling of 3 rood of wall stone 4s. 6d. Pd. Roylles for scappling of 3 rood of wall stone 4s. 6d.

9. 0

Free masons and layers at walls Pd. Raffell for 9½ days 9s. 6d. Pd. Symson for 8 days 8s. Pd. Leptrote for 10 days 10s. Pd. Royles for 7 days 7s. Pd. Ouldalle for 10½ days 10s. 6d. Pd. for Meattam for 11 days 11s. Pd. Ed. Meattam for 9 days 9s. Pd. Marshall for 6 days 6s. Pd. Tho. Raffell for 11 days 9s. 2d. Pd. Meacocke for 11 days 9s. 2d. Pd. Pallamon for 5 days 5s.

4. 14. 4

Scaffolders at the foundation Pd. Chester for 11 days 9s. 2d. Pd. his boy for 11 days 4s. 7d.

13. 9

Labourers at tempering of mortar Pd. Otter for 9½ days 4s. 9d. Pd. Robe for 8 days 4s. Pd. Haies for 10 days 5s. Pd. Bruckeffeelde for 9 days 4s. 6d.

Labourers at drawing and bearing water Pd. Greene for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Willken for 9½ days 6s. 4d. Pd. Wildsmithe for 8 days 5s. 4d.

Labourers at sifting and harling mortar Pd. Willson for 9 days at 7d. 5s. 3d. Pd. Yeavlee for 9½ days at 7d. 5s. 6d. Pd. Johnson for 8½ days 4s. 3d. Pd. Wode for one day 6d.

Labourers at serving of the layers Pd. Slater for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Rawson for 7½ days 3s. 9d. Pd. Lauffett for 4 days at 6d. 2s. Pd. Boulde for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. oulde Bell for 5½ days 2s. 9d. Pd. Wheates for 1 day 6d. Pd. Wm. Bell for 5½ days 2s. 9d. Pd. Webster for 5 days 2s. 6d.

3. 14. 8

The lime burner and women at the foundation Pd. Norwoode for 9 days at 7d. 5s. 3d. Pd. Huginson and Rodes for 15 days 5s. Pd. Robinson and Warde for 17 days 5s. 8d. Pd. Robeinson and Miller for 17½ days 5s. 10d. Pd. Breeden and Yeavelee for 17 days 5s. 8d. Pd. Elyza. Yeavlee for 5 days 20d. Pd. Ellen. Kichen for 8½ days 2s. 1d.

31. 2

Boys at the foundation and carrying of sand Pd. Tho. Yeavlee for 8½ days 2s. 10d. Pd. Sparke for 10½ days 3s. 6d. Pd. Rodes for 9½ days 3s. 2d. Pd. Stevenson for 1 day 6d. Pd. Kichen for 6½ days 13d.

11. 1

Carriage of stone from Shuttellwod and lime stone and sand Pd. for the leading of 79 load of stone from the quarry unto the Castle £3. 19s. Pd. for carriage of 20 load of lime stone 8s. 4d. Pd. for the carriage of 21 load of sand leading 14s.

5. 1. 4

Getting of sand and lime stone. Pd. Rogers for getting of 30 load of sand 2s. 6d. Pd. for getting of 10 load of lime stone 2s. 10d. Pd. Slatter for digging of part of one portion of the foundation 8d.

6. 0

Smith's work for quarry tools Pd. the smith for repairing of the quarry tools nails and other necessities 3s. 3d.

[Hole in MS.—probably Smithson's charges for 9 meals]. 3s.

6. 3

Summa totalis £ 22. 9. 0

Summa totalis £283. 6s. 10d.

14. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 26th of June unto the 10th of July 1613.

Free mason work done at Shuttellwod quarry Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for working of 93 foot of ashlar 11s. 7½d. Pd. them for 13 foot of paving 19½d. Pd. for 41 foot of stepte at 2½d. the foot 8s. 7½d. Pd. for 19 foot of legmente table at 3½d. the foot 5s. 5d. Pd. them for 50 foot of ground table at 3d. the foot 12s. 6d. Pd. for 11 foot of window stuff 4s. 7d. Pd. them for 1½ foot of window stuff at 4½d. the foot 10½d. (sic)

45. 3½

Rough stone 'geate' at Shuttellwod quarry Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwod for getting of 306 foot of rough stone at 1¼d.

31. 10

Rough stone scappled at the quarry Pd. Royles boy for scappling of 5 rood of wall stone

7. 6

Free masons and layers at the walls Pd. Raffell for 10 days 10s. Pd. Symson for 7 days 7s. Pd. Lankester for 9 days 9s. Pd. Ouldalle for 10 days 10s. Pd. Leptrote for 11 days 11s. Pd. Royles for 9½ days 9s. 6d. Pd. Edwar[d] Meantam for 9 days 9s. Pd. Jo. Meantam for 10 days 10s. Pd. Tho. Johnson for 10 days 8s. 4d. Pd. Meacoke for 12 days 10s.

4. 13. 10

Scaffolder for scaffolding and centres Pd. Chester for 10 days 8s. 4d. Pd. Chester's boy for 10 days 4s. 2d.

12. 6

Labourers at tempering mortar and harling lime Pd. Otter for 8½ days 4s. 3d. Pd. Robe 7½ days 3s. 9d. Pd. Willson and Yeavlee for 16 days at 7d. the day 9s. 4d.

17. 4

Labourers at drawing of water Pd. Wildesmithe for 8½ days at 8d. 5s. 8d. Pd. Wilken for 2½ days at 8d. 20d.

Labourers at serving of the masons and layers Pd. Bruckeffeeld Rawson (sic) 7½ days 3s. 9d. Pd. Rawson for 8½ days at 4s. 3d. Pd. Greene for 10 days 5s. Pd. Hayes for 8½ days 4s. 3d. Pd. Slater 1½ days 10d. Pd. Boulde for 9 days 4s. 6d.

29. 11

Boys at serving of layers Pd. Sparke for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Yeavlee for 9 days 3s. Pd. Kichen for 8½ days 16d. Pd. Rodes for 9½ days 3s. 2d.

11. 2

The lime burner and women at serving the layers with filling stone and carrying of sand to the lime kiln Pd. Norwood for 9 days at 7d. 5s. 3d. Pd. Rodes wiffe for 9 days 3s. Pd. Alse Robenson for 9 days 3s. Pd. Miller wiffe for 9 days 3s. Pd. Margerye Warde for 9 days 3s. Pd. Marye Robenson for 9 days 3s. Pd. Yeavlee wiffe for 9½ days 3s. (sic). Pd. Bese Yeavlee for 5 days 20d. Pd. Hogskinson for 8 days 2s. 8d. Pd. Kichen for 8 days 2s. Pd. Breeden for 2 days 12d.

30. 7

	£	s.	d.
<i>Getting and breaking of lime stone and sand</i> Pd. for the getting of 20 load of lime stone 4s. 2d. Pd. Rogers for breaking of 20 load lime stone 2s. 6d.			
<i>Carriage of lime stone; getting sand</i> Pd. for the carriage of 3 load of lime stone 15d. Pd. for the getting of 10 load of sand 10d.	8.	9	
<i>Coals for the lime kiln and carriage of them</i> Pd. for 15 load of coals for the lime kiln at 3s. the load 45s. Pd. for carriage of 12 load of the same coals 12s.	2.	17.	0
<i>Carriage of stone and other necessities to the Castle</i> Pd. Stathem and Souter for the carriage of 84 load of stone from Shuttellwoode £4. 4s. Pd. for the carriage of 28 load of stone from the Town quarry to Castle 4s. 8d. Pd. for the carriage of 2 dozen of hurdles from Skartliff Park 2s.	4.	10.	8
<i>The weight of it ¼ stone</i> Pd. the smith of Boulsover for one iron for the kitchen range and fitting of it into his place 10s.			
<i>Repairing of the quarry tools</i> Pd. for the repairing of the quarry tools 3s. 2d.	13.	2	
<i>Smithson for his charges</i> Pd. Smythson for his charges for 10 meals	3.	4	
Summa totalis £305. 19s. 8d.	£ 22.	12.	10

15. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 10th of July unto the 24th of July 1613.

<i>Free masons' work done at Shuttelwod quarry</i> Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for working of 129 foot of ashlar at 1½d. the foot 16s. 1½d. Pd. them for 38 foot of axed stepte at 2½d. the foot 7s. 10d. Pd. them more for 27 foot of legmente table at 3½d. the foot 8s. Pd. them for 18 foot of ground table at 3d. the foot 4s. 7½d. (<i>sic</i>). Pd. for 6¼ foot of window stuff at 5d. the foot 2s. 7d. Pd. for 2½ foot of window stuff at 4d. the foot 10d. Pd. for 5 springers for the vaults at 16d. the piece 6s. 4d. Pd. for 4 quarter stones at 5d. 20d. Pd. for 2 plinths for the pillars of the great cellar 4s. Pd. for one astragulus for one of those pillars 4s.	2.	16.	0
<i>8 at getting of rough stone and baring of the quarry</i> Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwoode for getting of 254 foot of rough stone at 1¼d. the foot 26s. 5d. Pd. them for baring of the quarry 10s.	36.	5	
<i>Rough stone scappled at Shuttelwod quarry</i> Pd. Roylles for scappling of 3 rood of wall stone 4s. Pd. him more for mending of the pinfold wall 12d.	5.	0	
<i>Free masons and layers at the foundation</i> Pd. Raffell for 11½ days 11s. 6d. Pd. Symson for 3 days 3s. Pd. Lancaster for 12 days 12s. Pd. Ed. Meatam for 6 days 6s. Pd. Jo. Meatam for 12 days 12s. Pd. Ouldalle for 12 days 12s. Pd. Leptrote for 2 days 2s. Pd. Roylles for 2 days 2s. Pd. Jonson for 12 days 10s. Pd. Pallamon for 5 days 5s. Pd. Meacoke for 12 days 10s.	4.	5.	6
<i>Carpenters at scaffolding and centres</i> Pd. Chester for 12 days 10s. Pd. his boy for 12 days 5s.	15.	0	
<i>Labourers at harling and sifting of lime</i> Pd. Wildesmithe for 11 days 7s. 4d. Pd. Willson for 11 days 6s. 5d. Pd. Robe for 6 days 3s. Pd. Otter for 11 days 5s. 6d.	22.	3	

Labourers at serving of the layers at the foundation Pd. Yevlee for 11 days 6s. 5d. Pd. Bruckefeld for 4 days 2s. Pd. Grene for 12 days 6s. Pd. Willson for 7 days 3s. 6d. Pd. Bentlee for 6 days 3s. Pd. Johnson for 4 days 2s. Pd. Launcote for 4 days 2s. Pd. Hepnstalle for 6 days 3s. 27. 11

Boys at serving of the layers Pd. Sparke for 9 days 3s. Pd. Tho. Yeavlee for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Rodes for 11 days 3s. 8d. 10. 4

The lime man and women at serving of the layers with filling stone and carrying of sand to the lime kiln Pd. Norwode for 11 days at 7d. 6s. 5d. Pd. Also Robenson for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Margerye Robenson for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Marye Robenson for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Myller wiffe for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Rodes wiffe for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Yeavlee wiffe for 7 days 2s. 4d. Pd. Besse Yevlee for 5 days 20d. Pd. Hogskinson for 9½ days 3s. 2d. Pd. Kichen boy for 11 days 22d. Pd. Ellen Kichen for 10 days 2s. 6d. 36. 3

Carriage of stone from Shuttellwod and from the More and lime stone Pd. Henrye Stathem and his fellows for the carriage of 96 load of stone from Shuttellwoode quarry £4. 16s. Pd. them for 29 load of lime stone at 5d. the load 10s. 5d. Pd. them for 12 load of sand from the More 8s. Pd. them for 6 load of stone from the More for the ovens 6s. 6. 0. 5

Spittelhouse for getting of lime stone and stone for ovens Pd. John Spittelhouse for 1 day at getting of stone from the More and for breaking of 20 load of lime stone 4s. 2d.

The smiths for door hooks and other necessities Pd. Boukett the smith for 10 pair of door hooks 10s. Pd. the smith for mending of the quarry tools and other necessities 3s. 8d.

Smithson's charges Pd. Smithson's charges for 8 meals 2s. 8d. 20. 6
Summa totalis £ 21. 15. 7

[Edge of MS. gone]

16. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 24th of July unto the 7th of August 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwod quarry Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for working of 163 foot of ashlar at 1½d. the foot 20s. 4d. Pd. them for 22 foot of axed stepte at 2½d. the foot 4s. 7d. Pd. them for 8 foot of legmente table at 3½d. 2s. 4d. Pd. them for 12 foot of ground table at 3d. the foot 3s. Pd. them for 14 foot of door jamb at 4½d. the foot 5s. 3d. Pd. them for 4 foot of window stuff at 5d. the foot 20d. Pd. them more for 4½ foot of window stuff at 4d. the foot 18d. Pd. them for 4½ foot of pillar at 2s. 6d. the foot 10s. 8d. Pd. for one astragulas for the pillar 4s. Pd. for 3 springers for the vaults 4s. Pd. for 4 'angell' stones at 5d. the piece 20d. 2. 19. 0

Rough stone and baring the quarry Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwode for getting of 268 foot of rough stone at 1½d. the foot 27s. 9d. Pd. them more for the baring of the quarry 4s. 31. 9

Wall stone scappled Pd. Roylles boy for scappling of 5 rood of wall stone 7s. 6d.

	£	s.	d.
<i>Boards for the building</i> Pd. for 30 inch board for the making of hods and other necessities for the building 11s. 2d.	18.	8	
[No heading]			
Pd. Raffell 10½ days 10s. 6d. Pd. Symson 10 days 10s. Pd. Lankester for 11 days 11s. Pd. Leptrote for 9 days 9s. Pd. Ed. Meatom for 5 days 5s. Pd. Jo. Meatom for 10 days 10s. Pd. Roylles for 5½ days 5s. 6d. Pd. Ouldalle for 11 days 11s. Pd. Johnson for 11 days 9s. 2d. Pd. Meacoke for 11 days 9s. 2d.	4.	10.	4
<i>Carpenters at scaffolds and centres</i> Pd. Chester 11 days 9s. 2d. Pd. his boy for 11 days 4s. 7d.	13.	9	
<i>Labourers at harling and sifting of lime and carrying of water</i> Pd. Wildesmithe for 4 days 2s. 8d. Pd. Norwode for 8 days 4s. 8d. Pd. Wilson for 9 days 5s. 3d. Pd. Yeavlee for 11 days 6s. 5d. Pd. Otter for 12 days 6s. Pd. Robe for 6 days 3s.	28.	0	
<i>Labourers at serving the layers and getting of filling stone and sand</i> Pd. Haies for 7 days 3s. 6d. Pd. Buckfelde for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Grene for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Hepenstall for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Johnson for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Bentlee for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Tho. Wilson for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Launcelett for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Sparke for 10½ days 3s. 6d. Pd. Yeavlee for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Rodes for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Kichen for 2 days 4d.	2.	12.	7
<i>Women at carrying of filling stone and sand</i> Pd. Alse Robenson for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Marye Robenson for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Rodes wiffe for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Miller wiffe for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Warde wiffe for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Hogskinson for 11 days 3s. 8d.	22.	0	
<i>At hewing quoynes and splays</i> Pd. Shore for 10 days at hewing of quoynes and splays for the inside of the house 10s.			
<i>Getting and breaking of lime stone for the building</i> Pd. Spittelhouse and his fellows for getting of 80 load of lime stone at 3d. the load 20s. Pd. Willson and their fellows for breaking of 24 load of lime stone at 1½d. the load 3s.	33.	0	
<i>Carriage of stone from Shuttelwod and lime and stone for filling</i> Pd. Henrye Stathem and his fellows for carriage of 35 load of stone from Shuttellwode quarry 35s. Pd. them more for the carriage of 25 loads of lime stone 10s. 5d. Pd. them more for the carriage of 2 load of stone from the Castle 4d.	2.	5.	9
<i>Smithson's charges</i> Pd. Smithson's charges for 10 meals	3.	4	
Summa totalis £347. 13s. 5d.	Summa totalis	£ 19.	18. 2

17. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 7th of August unto the 21th of August 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwood quarry Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for working of 191 foot of ashlar at 1½d. 23s. 11d. Pd. them for 19½ foot of stepte at 2½d. the foot 4s. Pd. them for 4 springers for the vaults at 16d. the piece 5s. 4d. Pd. them for 4 quarters for the same vaults 20d. Pd. them for 11 arch stones for the kitchen stairs at 7d. the stone 6s. 5d. Pd. them for 2½ foot of pillar at 2s. the foot 5s. Pd. for 2 stones for the capital of the pillar 4s. 8d. Pd. them for one square stone for head of the pillar 3s. 8d.

2. 14. 8

Rough stone gotten at Shuttellwode quarry Pd. the labourers at Shutellwood quarry for getting of 241 foot of stone at 1½d. the foot 25s. 1d. Pd. them more for the baring of the quarry 6s. 31. 1

Wall stone scappled at Shuttelwode Pd. Roylles boy for scappling of 5 roods of wall stone at 18d. 7s. 6d.

Free masons and layers at the walls Pd. Symson for 11½ days 11s. 6d. Pd. Raffell for 11 days 11s. Pd. Ed. Meattam for 5 days 5s. Pd. Jo. Meattam for 11½ days 11s. 6d. Pd. Leptrote 10½ days 10s. 6d. Pd. Royles for 10½ days 10s. 6d. Pd. Ouldalle for 11½ days 11s. 6d. Pd. Smithe for 5 days 5s. Pd. Tho. Johnson for 11½ days 9s. 7d. Pd. Meacoke for 5½ days 4s. 7d. Pd. Crofte for 5½ days 4s. 7d. 5. 2. 9

Scaffolding and centres Pd. Chester for 12 days 10s. Pd. his boy for 12 days 5s. 15. 0

Labourers at carrying of water and harling of lime Pd. Wildesmithe for 7 days 4s. 8d. Pd. Norwode for 9½ days 5s. 6d. Pd. oulde Norwode for 10 days 5s. 10d. Pd. Wilson for 9 days 5s. 3d. Pd. Robe 7½ days 3s. 9d. Pd. Otter for 2 days 12d. 26. 0

Labourers at serving of the layers Pd. Bruckeffelld for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Greene for 11½ days 5s. 9d. Pd. Launcote for 10 days 5s. Pd. Johnson for 10 days 5s. Pd. Sparke for 9 days 3s. Pd. Yeavlee for 10½ days 3s. 6d. Pd. Rodes for 10½ days 3s. 6d. Pd. Hepnstall for 9½ days 4s. 9d.

At loading lime stone Pd. Whitacker for 6 days 2s. 37. 0

Women at serving of layers and carriage of sand from the old wall Pd. Robenson wife for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Warde wiffe for 6 days 2s. Pd. Miller wiffe for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Rodes wiffe for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Marye Robenson for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Ellen Hogskinson for 9 days 3s. 18. 4

Carriage of lime stone and stone from Shutellwode Pd. to Henrye Stathem and his fellows for the carriage of 20 load of stone from Shutellwod 20s. Pd. them more for 10 loads of coals for the lime kiln 10s. Pd. them for 78 load of lime stone at 5d. the load 31s. 8d. 3. 1. 8

Lime stone breaking Pd. for the breaking of 38 loads of lime stone at 2d. load 6s. 8d.

Lime stone getting Pd. Spitellhouse and their fellows for getting of 90 loads of lime stone at 3d. the load 22s. 6d. 28. 10

Coals for the lime kiln all winter Pd. for 10 load of coals for the lime kiln 30s. Pd. for 27 half inch boards for hods and trowes and other 10s. 1d. 40. 1

Money given to workmen Pd. the workmen as given by my master at the 12th of August 5s. 6d.

Smithson's charges Pd. Smithson's charges for 10 meals 3s. 4d. 8. 10
Summa totalis £ 21. 4. 3

Summa totalis £368. 17s. 8d.

18. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 21th of August unto the 4th of September 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shutellwo quarry Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for 187 foot of ashlar at 1½d. the foot 23s. 4d. Pd. them for 2 stones for the nether part of one pillar 5s. Pd. them for 2 stones for the capital of the pillar at 3s. 6d. Pd. for one whole springer for one of the pillars of the cellar 3s. 6d. Pd. for one half springer for one of the pillars 18d. Pd. for 7 arch stones for the arches of the stair cases at [blank] the stone 3s. 6d. Pd. for one half plinth for the pillar of the kitchen 2s. Pd. for one astragulus for a pillar 4s.

2. 6. 4

6 labourers at getting rough stone at Shutellwoode quarry Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwoode for getting 187 foot of rough stone at 1½d. the foot 19s. 5d. Pd. them for baring of the quarry and carrying out of wall stone 8s.

27. 5

Wall stone scappled Pd. Copleye for scappling of 2 rood of wall stone at Shuttellwoode 3s. Pd. Amefeelde for the scappling and getting of 3 roods of wall stone at Boulsover More 7s.

10. 0

Free masons and layers at the walls Pd. Symson for 9 days 9s. Pd. Raffell for 10 days 10s. Pd. Ouldalle for 12 days 12s. Pd. Lankester for 12 days 12s. Pd. Leptrote for 11½ days 11s. 6d. Pd. Ed. Meattam for 10 days 10s. Pd. Jo. Meattam for 11½ days 11s. 6d. Pd. Royles for 3 days 3s. Pd. Smithe for 10 days 10s. Pd. Shore for 12 days 11s. (sic). Pd. Tho. Johnson 9 days 7s. 6d. Pd. Nobell for 6 days 6s. Pd. Meakoke for 12 days 10s. Pd. Crofte for 10 days 8s. 4d.

6. 11. 10

Scaffolding and centres Pd. Chester 12 days at 10s. Pd. his boy for 12 days 5s.

15. 0

At carrying water and sleeking and harling lime Pd. Willdsmith for 9 days 6s. Pd. Norwod for 10 days 5s. 10d. Pd. Willson for 11 days 6s. 5d. Pd. Otter for 8 days 4s.

22. 3

Labourers at serving of the layers and free masons Pd. Yeavlee for 12 days 7s. Pd. Robe for 2 days 12d. Pd. Tho. Wilson for 12 days 7s. Pd. Grene for 12 days 6s. Pd. Lancote for 5 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Johnson for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Hepenstalle for 9 days 4s. 6d. Pd. Robenson for 6 days 3s.

35. 6

Boys at serving of layers Pd. Sparke for 12 days 4s. Pd. Rodes for 12 days 4s. Pd. Yeavlee for 9½ days 3s. 2d. Pd. Wherwicke for 9 days 3s. Pd. Peace for 4 days 12d.

15. 2

The lime burner, and women at serving of layers Pd. lime burner for 12 days 7s. Pd. Rodes wife for 10½ days 3s. 6d. Pd. Miller wiffe for 12 days 4s. Pd. Robenson wiffe for 11 days 3s. 8d. Pd. Marye Robenson for 12 days 4s. Pd. Hogskinson for 11 days 3s. 8d.

25. 10

Carriage of lime stone coals and wall stone Pd. Henrye Stathem and Souter for the carriage of 28 load of stone from Shuttellwoode quarry 28s. Pd. them more for 36 loads of coals from (sic) the lime kiln 36s. Pd. them for 2 load of stone from the More 2s. Pd. them for 20 loads of lime stone at 5d. the load 8s. 4d. Pd. them 81 load of wall from the Town quarry 13s. 2d. Pd. for 2 loads of sand 16d.

4. 8. 10

Sawing of timber for centres Pd. for 2 sawyers for sawing and breaking of timber for centres 14s.

Breaking of lime stone Pd. Spitellhouse for breaking of 22 loads of lime stone 3s. 8d. Pd. him more for loading of coals and making of saw pits 20d.

19. 4

Coals for the lime kiln Pd. for 10 load of coals for the lime kiln 30s.

Smith's work for nails and quarry tools Pd. the smith for nails of all sorts for the centres 4s. 9d. Pd. him more for mending and repairing of the quarry tools 4s. 3d.

39. 0

Kellomes and Smithson's charges Pd. the 30th of August for Mr. Kellam's diet at certain times 4s. 6d. Pd. Smythson's charges for 10 meals 3s. 4d.

7. 10

Boukites reckoning for [illegible] Pd. Boukett the smith [remainder of page perished].

(£)

19. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 4th of September unto the 18th of September 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwoode quarry Pd. Goodwin Crokes and their fellows for 70 foot of axed ashlar at 1½d. the foot 8s. 9d. Pd. them for 12 foot of window stuff 5s. 6d. Pd. for one quarter stone for the springer of the pillar 12d. Pd. them for 10 arch stones for 2 arches for the stairs 5s. Pd. for one base for the pillar 4s. Pd. for 2½ foot of the pillar for the kitchen 5s. 10d.

30. 1

Labourers getting of rough stone Pd. the labourers for getting 206 foot of rough stone at 1½d. 21s. 5d. Pd. them more for the baring of the quarry there and making trial in other 2 places 14s.

35. 5

Stone scappled for wall stone Pd. Peter Smithe and other for scappling of 7 rood of wall stone 10s.

Timber sawn for centres Pd. to two sawyers for sawing of timber for centres 24s.

34. 0

Free masons and layers at walls Pd. Raffell for 12 days 12s. Pd. Walter Symson for 12 days 12s. Pd. Lancaster for 12 days 12s. Pd. Ouldalle for 12 days 12s. Pd. Leptrote for 10 days 10s. Pd. Ed. Meatam for 6 days 6s. Pd. Jo. Meatam for 6 days 6s. Pd. Peter Smithe for 12 days 12s. Pd. Shore for 12 days 11s. (sic). Pd. Nobell for 12 days 12s. Pd. Johnson for 12 days 10s. Pd. Meakocke for 12 days 10s. Crofte for 11 days 9s. 2d.

6. 14. 2

Scaffolding and centres Pd. Chester for 12 days 10s. Pd. his boy for 12 days 5s.

15. 0

Labourers at serving of layers and other work Pd. Wildesmithe for 11 days 7s. 4d. Pd. oulde Norwode for 12 days 7s. Pd. Yeavlee for 12 days 7s. Pd. Willson for 12 days 7s. Pd. Otter for 12 days 6s. Pd. younge Norwode for 12 days 7s. Pd. Thos. Wilson 12 days 7s. Pd. Greene for 12 days 6s. Pd. Johnson for 12 days 6s. Pd. Hepenstalle for 12 days 6s. Pd. Robenson for 12 days 6s. Pd. Hayes for 12 days 6s. Pd. Kynder for 12 days 6s.

4. 4. 4

<i>Boys at serving of the layers</i>	Pd. Sparke for 12 days 4s.	Pd. Yeavlee for 12 days 4s.	Pd. Rodes for 12 days 4s.	Pd. Wherwicke for 12 days 4s.	Pd. Peace for 12 days 3s.	Pd. Deane for 8 days 2s. 8d.	21. 8
<i>Women at the lime kiln and carriage of sand</i>	Pd. Robenson wiffe for 12 days 4s.	Pd. Miller wiffe for 12 days 4s.	Pd. Marye Robenson 12 days 4s.	Pd. Hogskinson for 12 days 4s.	Pd. Rodes wiffe for 12 days 4s.		20. 0
<i>Lime stone getting</i>	Pd. Spittellhouse and his fellows for getting of 50 load of lime stone at 2½d. the load 10s. 5d.						
<i>Lime stone breaking</i>	Pd. them more for breaking of 30 loads of lime at 1½d. 3s. 9d.						
<i>Stacking of coals</i>	Pd. them more for stacking and piling up of 100 load of coals 4s. 2d.						
<i>Getting of sand</i>	Pd. for getting of 3 load of sand and for filling of lime stone 17d.						19. 9
<i>Coals for the lime kiln</i>	Pd. for 10 load of coals for the lime kiln 30s.						
<i>Grates for the great cellar</i>	Pd. Boukett the smith for 12 grates for the great cellar 36s.						3. 6. 0
<i>Carriage of stone from Shuttellwoode and other places</i>	Pd. to Henrye Stathen and his fellows for the carriage of 29 loads of stone from Shuttellwoode 29s.	Pd. them more for the carriage of 51 load of coals from the pits 51s.	Pd. them for 27 load of sand at 8d. the load 18s.	Pd. for 52 loads of lime stone at 5d. the load 21s.	Pd. them for one day with their draughts pulling up of pipes 2s. 8d.		6. 1. 8
<i>Traces and other necessities for the building</i>	Pd. for 6 dozen of traces for the scaffolds 6s.	Pd. one sieve for sifting of lime 5d.	Pd. for one lock for the Castle chamber door 6d.				6. 11
<i>Smythson's [charges]</i>	Pd. Mr. Kellomes charges for . . . 2s. 4d.						
[?Smithson's charges]		3s.					5. 8
[Rest perished.]							

20. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 18th of September unto the 2th of October 1613.

<i>Free masons' work done at Shuttellwoode quarry</i>	Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for 152 foot of ashlar at 1½d. the foot 19s.	Pd. 2 foot 4 inches of pillar for the kitchen 5s. 6d.	Pd. for half a capital for the same pillar 2s. 8d.	Pd. for 2 stones for the upper part of the capital of the pillar 3s. 8d.	Pd. for one quarter of one springer 10d.	Pd. for 21½ foot of window stuff at 5d. the foot 9s.	Pd. more for one quarter springer 10d.	41. 6
<i>Labourers at getting of rough stone and baring of the quarry</i>	Pd. the labourers for getting of 200 foot of rough stone 20s. 10d.	Pd. them more for baring of the quarry and making trial in other places of Shuttellwoode 12s. 6d.						33. 4
<i>Wall stone scappled at Shuttellwoode quarry</i>	Pd. to Meatam and others for scappling of 11 roods of wall stone at 18d. 16s. 6d.	Pd. Croftes for 4 days at hewing of splays and coyne 3s. 4d.						19. 10

Free masons and layers at the foundation Pd. Raffell for 10 days 10s. Pd. Symson for 6 days 6s. Pd. Ouldalle for 10½ days 10s. 6d. Pd. Lankester for 10½ days 10s. 6d. Pd. Jo. Meatam for 2½ days 2s. 6d. Pd. Leptrote for 11 days 11s. Pd. Shore for 10 days 9s. 2d. Pd. Nobell for 2½ days 2s. 6d. Pd. Meacoke for 6 days 5s. Pd. Johnson for 10½ days 8s. 9d. 3. 15. 11

Scaffolding and centres Pd. Chester for 12 days 10s. Pd. his boy for 12 days 5s. 15. 0

Labourers at serving of layers and harling of lime Pd. Wildesmithe for 9 days 6s. Pd. ould Norwode for 4½ days 2s. 7d. Pd. Yeavelee for 10½ days 6s. 1½d. Pd. Willson for 10½ days 6s. 1½d. Pd. Otter for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Wilson for 6½ days 3s. 9½d. Pd. Greene for 8½ days 4s. 3d. Pd. Johnson for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Hepenstalle for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Robenson for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Haies for 9½ days 4s. 9d. Pd. Kynder for 10½ days 5s. 3d. 2. 19. 10½

Boys at serving of the layers Pd. Sparke for 9½ days 3s. 2d. Pd. Rodes for 10½ days 3s. 6d. Pd. Yeavlee for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Deane for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Wherwicke for 10½ days 3s. 6d. Pd. Peace for 10½ days at 3d. 2s. 7d. 19. 5

Women at the lime kiln and other work Pd. Robenson wiffe for 10½ days 3s. 6d. Pd. Miller wiffe for 10½ days 3s. 6d. Pd. Rodes wiffe for 10½ days 3s. 6d. Pd. Marye Robinson for 10½ days 3s. 6d. Pd. George Peace for 8½ days 2s. 10d. 16. 10

Lautes for centres Pd. 2 sawyers for sawing of timber for centres and for felling timber for lautes and making of lautes 6s.

Boukette the smith pd. for iron work Pd. Boukett the smith for 4 grates for the weat larder 15s. Pd. him more for 36 window bars weighing 12 stone 30s. 2. 11. 0

Coals for lime kiln Pd. for 10 load of coals for the lime kiln 30s.

Breaking of lime stone Pd. Spittellhouse for getting of 40 loads of lime stone at 2½d. 8s. 4d. 38. 4

Carriage of stone from Shuttellwood and other places Pd. Raulfe Souter and his fellows for carriage of 40 loads of lime stone 16s. 8d. Pd. them for 15 load of stone from Shuttellwode quarry 15s. Pd. for 2 load of cliftes from the Coppie for lautes 2s. Pd. them for the carriage of 122 load of vaulting stone from the Town quarry to the Castle at 2d. 20s. 4d. Pd. them for 6 load of wall stone from the More 6s. Pd. for 2 load of clay for centres 10d. Pd. for the carriage of 3 load of coals from the pits 3s. 3. 3. 10

Smithson's charges Pd. Smithsones charges for 8 meals 2s. 8d.

Summa totalis £ 21. 17. 6½

Summa totalis £445. 11s. 10½d.

21. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 2th of October unto the 16th of October 1613.

Free masons' work at Shuttellwood quarry Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for working 159 foot of ashlar at 1½d. 19s. 10d. Pd. them for 4 stones under the base of the kitchen pillar 2s. 8d. Pd. them for 6 foot of window stuff for the kitchen windows 2s. Pd. for half a springer for the pillar head of the kitchen 1s. 8d. Pd. for one foot of the pillar body for the kitchen 2s. 6d. Pd. for one stone for the capital of the pillar 2s. 8d. 32. 4

<i>7 labourers at getting of stone and baring the quarry</i>	Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwode for getting of 220 foot of rough stone at 1½d. the foot 22s. 11d. Pd. them more for baring of the quarry and bearing out of wall stone out of the quarry 13s. 4d.	36. 3
<i>Wall stone scappled and the stone gotten</i>	Pd. Arnefeld for the scappling and getting of 5½ roods of wall stone at 2s. 2d. the rood	11. 11
<i>Free masons at setting of the walls</i>	Pd. Raffell for 11 days 11s. Pd. Symson for 10 days 10s. Pd. Lancaster for 11 days 11s. Pd. Jo. Raffell for 7½ days 7s. 6d. Pd. Jo. Meatam for 11 days 11s. Pd. Leptrote for 7½ days 7s. 6d.	
<i>Layers at the vault of the cellar</i>	Pd. Ouldalle for 11 days 11s. Pd. Nobell for 5½ days 4s. 6d. Pd. Shore for 5½ days 5s. 1d. Pd. Meacoke for 11 days at 10d. 9s. 2d. Pd. Tho. Raffell for 11 days 9s. 2d.	4. 16. 11
<i>Carpenters at making of centres and scaffolding</i>	Pd. Chester for 12 days 10s. Pd. his boy for 12 days 5s. Pd. two sawyers for 5 days at sawing wood for the centres 5s.	20. 0
<i>Labourers at carriage of water</i>	Pd. Wyldsmythe for 5½ days 3s. 8d. Pd. Yevlee for 8½ days 4s. 11d.	8. 7
<i>Labourers at sifting and harling up of lime</i>	Pd. Willson 11 days at 7d. 6s. 5d. Pd. Norwode for 4 days at 7d. 2s. 4d. Pd. Otter for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Johnson for 8 days 4s. Pd. Hepenstalle for 10½ days 5s. 3d. Pd. Robenson for 10 days 5s.	28. 3
<i>Labourers at serving of the layers at the wall</i>	Pd. Kynder for 10 days 5s. Pd. Hayes for 8 days 4s. Pd. Greene for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Barker for 4 days 2s. Pd. Wherwicke for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Sparke for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Rodes for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Yeavlee for 9 days 3s. Pd. Peace for 7 days 21d.	31. 3
<i>The thatcher at covering of the walls of the house</i>	Pd. the thatcher for 5 days at the walls of the house 4s. 2d. Pd. his man for serving of him for 5 days at 6d. 2s. 6d.	6. 8
<i>Labourers and women at getting of bracken for the cover of the walls</i>	Pd. Thorpe for 4 days at mowing of bracken for the walls 2s. Pd. Robenson wiffe for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Rodes wiffe for 4½ days 18d. Pd. Miller wiffe for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Marye Robenson for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Hogskinson for 7 days 2s. 4d. Pd. Richardson for 4 days 16d. Pd. Whitacker for 2 days 6d.	17. 8
<i>Lime stone gotten for the lime kiln</i>	Pd. Spittellhouse for the getting of 40 load of lime stone at 2½d. 8s. 4d. Pd. Willson and his fellow for getting of 30 load lime stone at 1½d. 3s. 9d.	12. 1
<i>Coals for the lime kiln</i>	Pd. for 10 load of coals for the lime kiln 30s.	
<i>Nails for the centres</i>	Pd. the smith for nails for the centres of all sorts 5s. 6d. Pd. for the repairing of the quarry tools 10d.	36. 4
<i>Carriage of stone from Shuttellwode and other places for the use of the building</i>	Pd. for the carriage of 10 load of lime stone 4s. 2d. Pd. for 62 loads of stone from the Town quarry 10s. 4d. Pd. for 3 load from the cundite 15d. Pd. for 7 loads of stone from Shittellwode quarry 7s. Pd. for 6 loads of bracken for the walls 3s. Pd. for 6 load of stone from Shuttellwode quarry 6s. Pd. for the carriage of one load of slate for pyninges 18d. For one load of clay for the centres 5d.	33. 8

Smythson's charges [*rest perished*] Pd. Robarte Hardye for the
grase of Smithson's horse . . . the . . . of May . . .
of October 6s. 8d. . . . 2s. 8d.

9. 4

[*Rest perished.*]

22. The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 16th of
October unto the 6th (*sic*) of November 1613.

Free masons' work at Shutelwode quarry Pd. Goodwyn and his
fellows for working of 84 foot of ashlar 10s. 6d. Pd. them more for
one half springer for the larder pillar 2s. Pd. Crookes and Johnson
for 155 foot of ashlar at 1½d. the foot 19s. 4½d.

31. 10½

9 labourers at baring and getting of rough stone Pd. the labourers
at Shuttellwod for getting of 239 foot of stone at 1½d. the foot
24s. 11d. Pd. them more for the baring of the quarry and carrying
out of wall stone 12s. 6d.

37. 5

Wall stone scappled at the More Pd. Ouldalle and his fellows for
scappling of 4 rood of wall stone at 18d. the rood 6s. Pd.
Arnefelde for getting of stone and scappling of 2 rood of wall stone
at 2s. 2d. the rood 4s. 4d.

10. 4

11 labourers at baring of the quarry at the More Pd. to Yeavle
Wilson and 9 other labourers for baring and opening of the quarry
at the More

28. 9

Layers at the vaulting of the great beer cellar Pd. Symson for 8
days 8s. Pd. Raffell for 8 days 8s. Pd. Jo. Raffell for 4 days 4s.
Pd. Ed. Meatam for 5 days 5s. Pd. Jo. Meatam for 2 days 2s.
Pd. Ouldalle for 3 days 3s. Pd. Nobell for 4 days 4s. Pd. Tho.
Johnson for 4 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Maycoke for 3 days 3s. 6d. (*sic*)

40. 10

Carpenters at framing and sawing for centres Pd. Chester for 12
days 10s. Pd. Kichen for 4 days 4s. Pd. Roughstone for 4 days
4s. Pd. Chester's boy for 12 days 5s.

23. 0

Labourers at serving of the layers and making of mortar Pd. Wm.
Yeavlee for 3 days 18d. Pd. Wilson for 5 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Otter
for 5 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Johnson for 4 days 2s. Pd. Hepenstall for
5 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Robenson for 6 days 3s. Pd. Kynder for 6
days 3s. Pd. Haies for 3 days 18d. Pd. Greene for 10 days 5s.
Pd. Norwode for 4 days 2s. 4d. Pd. Sparke for 10 days 3s. 4d.
Pd. Wherwicke for 5 days 20d. Pd. Rodes for 6 days 2s. Pd.
Yeavlee for 6 days 2s.

34. 10

Getting of bracken and thatching of the walls Pd. to five women
for getting of bracken for the cover of the walls 16s. 2d. Pd. for
mowing of bracken 3s. Pd. the thatcher for 4 days 3s. 4d.

22. 6

Coals and getting of lime stone Pd. for 10 load of coals for the
lime kiln 30s. Pd. getting of 60 load of lime stone at 2½d. the
load 12s. 6d.

42. 6

*Carriage of stone and divers other necessities for the use of the
building* Pd. for the carriage of 2 load of stone from the More
and 4 from Shuttellwode quarry 6s. Pd. for 26 load of stone from
the Town quarry 4s. 4d. Pd. for 17 loads of lime stone at 5d. the
load 7s. 1d. Pd. for one load of wattlinges from Skartcliffe Park
2s. Pd. for 3 load of bracken out of the Park 18d. Pd. for four
load of bracken from Shuttellwode 4s. Pd. for 2 load of clyftes
from the cople for lantes 2s.

26. 11

<i>The smith's work for nails and other necessities for the work</i>	Pd.	
for three thousand of lant nail for centres	4s. 6d.	Pd. for one new quarry hammer of one stone weight
	2s. 7d.	Pd. for 6 new wedges for the quarry
	15d.	Pd. for 6 cramps
	6d.	8. 10
<i>Smithson's charges</i>	Pd. Smythson charges for 9 meals	3. 0
		Summa £ 15. 9. 9½
Summa totalis	£480 2s. 10d.	

[23.] The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the first of November unto the 14th. of November 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwo quarry Pd. Godwin and his fellows for working of 100 foot of ashlar 12s. 6d. Pd. them more for 42 foot of stepte at 2½d. the foot 8s. 9d. 21. 3

Rough stone gotten and baring of the quarry Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwo quarry for the getting of 142 foot of rough stone at 1¼d. 13s. 9d. Pd. them more for the baring of the quarry and bearing out of wall stone 15s. 28. 9

Layers and carpenters at the wall Pd. Raffell for 8½ days 8s. 6d. Pd. Johnson for 7½ days 6s. 3d. Pd. Chester for 11 days at 9d. 9s. 2d. Pd. Chester's boy for 11 days 4s. 7d. 28. 6

Wall stone scappled at the More Pd. Ouldalle for scapping of 5 rood of wall stone 7s. 6d. Pd. Meatam for 3 rood 4s. 6d. Pd. Meacoke for 3 rood 4s. 6d. Pd. Arnefelld for 3 rood 4s. 6d. 21. 0

Work done for the cover of the walls Pd. the thacker for 5 days 4s. 2d. Pd. his labourer for 5 days 2s. 6d. Pd. five women for getting of bracken for the thatcher 5s. 11. 8

Labourers at the foundation and making of mortar Pd. Greene for 10 days 5s. Pd. Sparke for 9 days 3s. Pd. Rodes for 9 days 3s. Pd. Wilson for 2 days 12d. Pd. Robenson for 3 days 18d. 13. 6

Labourers at the More at baring of the quarry Pd. Yeavelee, Johnson and 8 more of his fellows for 71 days' work at baring of the quarry at the More for wall stone 34s.

Lime stone breaking Pd. Spittellhouse for 3 days' work and for breaking of 7 load of lime stone 2s. 7d. 36. 7

Coals for the lime kiln Pd. for 10 load of coals for the lime kiln 30s.

Carriage of poles for scaffold Pd. Henrye Woode for the carriage of five load of poles from Soulcome to Boulsover 15s.

Paid the smith for the quarry tools Pd. the smith for 4 wedges and for laying of one kevell 2s. 6d.

Smythson's charges Pd. Smythson for his charges for 7 meals 2s. 4d. 49. 10

Sum £ 10. 12. 3¹

£480. 2s. 10d.¹

¹ In a different ink

[24.] The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 14th of November unto the 27th of November 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwode quarry Pd. Godwin and his fellows for working of 144 foot of ashlar 18s. Pd. them for working of one astragulus for the larder pillar 4s. Pd. them for one base for the same pillar 4s. 6d. Pd. them for one plinth for the same pillar 2s. 4d. Pd. them for 2 foot of the body of the same pillar 5s. Pd. them for 39 foot of stepte 7s. 8d. 41. 6

9 labourers at getting of rough stone and baring of the quarry Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwode for getting 222 foot of rough stone at 1½d. the foot 21s. 1d. Pd. them more for the baring of the quarry and carrying out of wall stone 8s. 9d. 29. 10

Wall stone scappled at Shuttellwode quarry Pd. Ouldalle for scappling of 5 rood of wall stone 7s. 6d. Pd. Meatam for 9 rood 13s. 6d. 21. 0

Wall stone scappled at the More Pd. Meatam for 4 rood 6s. Pd. Armefelde for 3½ rood 4s. 6d. 10. 6

Layers and other workmen at the buildings Pd. Raffell for 12 days 12s. Pd. Tho. Raffell for 10 days 8s. 9d. Pd. the thacker for 5 days 4s. 2d. Pd. Chester for 12 days 9s. Pd. Chester's boy for 12 days 5s. [38. 11]

Labourers at the lime at serving of workmen Pd. Wildesmythe for 4 days 2s. 4d. Pd. Robinson for 8 days 4s. Pd. Greene for 12 days 6s. Pd. Wildesmythe for Rodes 4s. Pd. Sparke for 11 days 3s. 8d. [20. 0]

Wall stone gotten at the Town quarry Pd. Sturdye Hepestalle and 8 more of their fellows for getting of wall stone at the Town quarry 34s. 8d.

9 labourers at baring of the quarry at the More Pd. Willson and Yeavlee and 7 more of their fellows for baring of the quarry at the More for wall stones 9s. 6d.

Ground at the More bared by task Pd. Davye for baring of one rood of ground at the More quarry for wall stone 10s. 6d. [54. 8]

Bracken gotten for the cover of the walls Pd. Miller wiffe and 4 more of her fellows for getting of bracken for the cover of the walls of the house 10s. 4d.

Carriage of stone for the vaults and for cover of the walls Pd. Shemell Hallam and Bucher for the carriage of 54 load of scappled stone and filling from the Town quarry for the vaults 9s. Pd. them for 3 loads bracken from Shuttellwode 3s. 6d. Pd. them for 1 load of stone from the More and one load of clay 18d. [24. 4]

Coals for the lime kiln Pd. for 10 load of coal for the lime kiln 30s.

Smithson's charges Pd. Smithson's charges for 8 meals and proven for his horse 3s. 4d. 33. 4

Sum £ 13. 8. 0¹

Sum total £504 3s. 1d.¹

¹ In a different ink.

[25.] The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 27th of November unto the 11th of December 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttelwo. quarry Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for working of 164 foot of ashlar 20s. 6d. Pd. them for working of 20 foot of axed stepte 4s. 2d. Pd. them for working of five foot of pillar for the larder 12s. 6d. Pd. for one stone for the capital of the same pillar 22d. 39. 0

Labourers at getting of stone and baring of the quarry Pd. the labourers at Shutellwode for the getting 207 foot of rough stone at 1½d. the foot 21s. 6d. Pd. them more for baring of the quarry and baring of wall stone 5s. 26. 6

Work done at the vaults Pd. Raffell for 10 days 10s. Pd. Tho. Raffell for 9 days 7s. 6d. Pd. Mason for 6 days 5s. 22. 6

Work about the cover of the walls and centres Pd. Chester for 11 days 8s. 3d. Pd. his boy for 11 days 4s. 7d. Pd. the thatcher for 4 days 3s. 4d. 16. 2

Labourers at serving of workmen and making mortar Pd. Wildesmithe 11 days 6s. 5d. Pd. Greene for 12 days 6s. Pd. Robenson for 11 days 5s. 6d. Pd. Rodes for 11 days 4s. 8d. Pd. Sparke for 11 days 3s. 8d. 25. 3

Labourers at the lime kiln and at sand and filling stone Pd. Wilson for 3 days at setting of the lime kiln 2s. 6d. Pd. Robenson wiffe for 10 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Rodes wiffe for 10 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Miller wiffe for 10 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Marye Robenson for 10 days 2s. 6d. 12. 6

Wall stone scappled at the More quarry Pd. Armefeelde for 3 roods 4s. 6d. Pd. Ouldalle for 4 roods 6s. Pd. Meatam and Jarvise for 6 rood 9s. 19. 6

Roods of the More quarry bared by task Pd. Adam Davye and his son in preste of one rood baring at the More quarry 5s. Pd. George and other of his fellows for baring of one rood at the More 10s. 15. 0

Labourers' work at taking down of Castle wall Pd. Tho. Kichen and his sons for pulling down of one part of the old Castle wall 13s. 6d. Pd. Wyldesmithe for the pulling down of one part of Castle wall at 4s. the yard 6s. 19. 6

Wall stone gotten at the Town quarry Pd. Sturdye Wilson and their fellows for getting of wall at the Town quarry 8s.

Ground bared at the More and getting of stone withal Pd. Johnson Yevle and other of their fellows for baring of ground at the More quarry 15s.

Stone and sand sorted for the work Pd. Otter and his fellows for parting of the old wall stone and sand and laying them ready for the workmen 16s. 4d. 39. 4

Hurdles for scaffolding Pd. for the making of 6 dozen of hurdles for the scaffolds 9s.

Stone scappled at Shuttewod quarry Pd. Ouldalle and Meatam for scappling of 4 rood of wall stone at Shuttellwode 6s. 15. 0

Carriage of stone for the vaults Pd. Hallam and Bucher for the carriage of 22 load of stone from the Town quarry 3s. 8d. Pd. for one load of clay for the centres 5d. 4. 1

Coals for the lime kiln Pd. for 10 load of coals for the lime kiln 30s.

The smith's work for the quarry Pd. the smith for mending of 2 rakes for sand and the quarry tools 18d.

Smythson's charges Pd. Smithson's charges for 9 meals and for prov for his horse 4s. 35. 6

Sum page £ 13. 9. 0¹

£504. 3s. 1d.¹

[26.] The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 11th of December unto the 25th of December 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwoode quarry Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for the finishing of the capital of the pillar of the larder 8s. Pd. them the springer of the pillar 4s. Pd. them for 28 foots of water table at 4½d. the foot 10s. 6d. 22. 6

Free stone wrought that came from Kirkebi Pd. Mason for working of 66 foot of window stuff that came from Kirkebye at 2½d. the foot 13s. 9d.

Rough stone gotten and baring of the quarry Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwoode at shutting² the quarry and getting of stone for the masons 13s. 6d. 27. 3

Workmen at the vaults. Pd. Rafell for 6 days 6s. Pd. Tho. Rafell for 10 days 7s. 6d. Pd. Chester for 10 days 8s. 4d. Pd. his boy for 10 days 4s. 2d. 26. 0

The setting of the larder pillar and other work Pd. Walter Symson for 6 days at the finishing of the pillar of the larder and other work 6s. Pd. his labourer for 6 days 3s. 9. 0

Labourers at serving of layers for the vaults Pd. Wildesmithe for 7 days 4s. 1d. Pd. Greene for 10 days 5s. Pd. Sparke for 10 days 3s. 4d. Pd. Rodes for 8 days 2s. 8d. 15. 1

Wall stone gotten and baring of the quarry at the More Pd. Wilson Johnson and their fellows for baring of one piece at the More and getting wall stone out of the same 20s. Pd. Adam Daye and his fellows for baring of 2 roods at More 20s. 40. 0

Wall stone scappled at the More Pd. Ouldalle for scappling of 6 rood 9s. Pd. Arnefeelde for scappling 1 rood 18d. 10. 6

Wall stone gotten at the Town quarry Pd. Tho. Kichen and his partners in part for getting stone at the Town quarry 20s.

The cover of the walls Pd. the thatcher for 3 days 2s. 6d. Pd. his labourer for 3 days 18d. 24. 0

Women at getting of bracken and carrying of sand Pd. Robenson wiffe for 5 days 20d. Pd. Rodes wiffe for 5 days 20d. Pd. Miller wiffe for 5 days 20d. Pd. Marye Robenson for 5 days 20d. 6. 8

¹ In a different ink.

² MS. shuttinge.

	£	s.	d.
<i>Baring of ground and getting of wall stone at the More</i> Pd. George and Wilson for 'baring of one piece at the More and getting of stone and carrying it out for the layers to scapple 14s. 4d.			
<i>Stone carriage from the quarry</i> Pd. Hallam and Bucher for the carriage of 7 loads of stone from. Shuttellwoode 2s. 4d.	16.	8	
<i>Smith's work for the building</i> Pd. the smith for mending of the quarry tools and for nails for the centres 2s. 6d.			
<i>Smythson's charges</i> Pd. Smythsonnes charges for 10 meals and proven for his horse 4s. 8d.	7.	2	
<i>Carriage of stone from Kirkebye</i> Pd. Kirkebye men for the carriage of 30 load one quarter of stone from Kirkebye to Boulsover at 4s., £6. 1s.			
<i>Labourers at taking down the old walls</i> Pd. Kichen and his fellows for taking down of window stuff and ashlar out of the old walls and sorting of it into loads 33s. 6d.	7.	14.	6
<i>The smith for nails and trices</i> Pd. the smith for mending of the quarry tools and for nails for the centres 5s. Pd. for 2 dozen of treces 2s.			7. 0
Sum	£ 18.	2.	4 ¹
Sum	£535	14s.	5d. ¹

[27.] The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 25th of December unto the 15th of January 1613.

Free masons' work at the quarry Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for working of 87 foot of water table at 4½d. the foot 32s. 7d.

8 labourers at getting stone and baring of the quarry Pd. the quarrymen and labourers for getting and baring of the quarry and carrying out of wall stone for the scapplers 25s. [2. 17. 7]

Wall stone scapped at the Shuttellwoode Pd. Ouldalle and his fellows for scappling of 22 rood of wall stone at Shuttellwoode at 18d. the rood 33s.

Wall stone scapped at the More and Town quarry Pd. Ouldalle and Arnefelld for scappling of 11 rood of wall stone at the More 16s. 6d. Pd. Woode for 6 days' scappling at the Town quarry 6s. [2. 15. 6]

Masons and layers at the vaults and centres Pd. Raffell for 5 days 5s. Pd. Mason for 5 days 4s. 7d. Pd. Tho. Raffell for 5 days 3s. 9d. Pd. Chester for 6 days 5s. Pd. his boy for 6 days 2s. 6d. [20. 10]

Labourers at serving of Rafell at the vaults Pd. Wilson for 7 days at making of mortar for the vaults 3s. 6d. Pd. Grene for 5 days 2s. 6d. Pd. Sparke for 5 days 20d. Pd. Rodes for 5 days 20d. Pd. Lee for 5 days 20d. [11. 0]

8 labourers at this work Pd. Bentlee Willson and their fellows for taking down one piece of the Castle wall in the 3 Christmas holidays 10s.

12 labourers at this work Pd. Jackson Glossope Leakes and their fellows for sorting of wall stone and sand with other necessary work at the Castle 18s. 6d. [28. 6]

¹ In a different ink.

Women at carriage and sorting of sand and stone Pd. Johnson wiffe Rodes wiffe and five more of their fellows for carriage of stone and sand with other necessary work 11s. 4d.

Ground bared at the More for wall stone Pd. George and his fellows for baring of 1½ rood at the More 12s. Pd. Davye and his fellows baring of 2 roods at the More 14s.

Wall stone and filling stone gotten at the Town quarry Pd. Kichen in full payment of his task at the Town quarry for getting of wall stone there 14s. 4d.

[2. 11. 8]

Pd. Wildsmithe for taking down of one piece of the wall at Castle 10s.

Wall stone gotten at the More Pd. Wilson Bentlye and their fellows for getting of wall stone at the More 13s. 6d.

The lime kiln set Pd. Wilson for 5 days at setting of the lime kiln and 1 day thacking 3s. 4d.

[26. 10]

Coals for the lime kiln Pd. for 10 loads of coals for the lime kiln 30s.

Stone carriage Pd. Hallam for leading of 22 loads of stone from the Town quarry and 1 load from the More 4s. 8d.

Smithson's charges Pd. Smythson's charges for 6 meals and for proven for his horse 3s. 4d.

[38 0]

Pd. the smith for mending of the quarry tools and other necessities 4s. 4d.

Sum £ 14. 4. 8¹

£534. 14s. 5d.¹

[28.] The workmen's bill from the 15th of January unto the 29th of January 1613.

Free masons' work at Shuttellwode quarry Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for working of 120 foot ashlar 15s. Pd. them more for 42 foot of legmente table at 4½d. the foot 15s. 9d.

Stone getting at Shuttellwode quarry Pd. the labourers for getting of stone and baring of the quarry 22s.

2. 12. 9

Wall stone scappled at the quarries Pd. Ouldalle and his fellows for scappling of 13 rood of wall stone 19s. 6d.

Raffell and his son at the larder vault. Pd. Raffell for 11 days 11s.

Pd. Tho. Raffell for 11 days 9s. 2d. Pd. Woode for one day 9d. [2. 0. 5]

The carpenters were to pay for 3 weeks Pd. Jo. Barowecloughe for 17 days 17s. Pd. Rich. Barow. for 11 days 11s. Pd. Tuckeman for 17 days 14s. 2d. Pd. Turner for 17 days 14s. 2d.

Chester and his boy for 2 weeks Pd. Chester for 11 days 9s. 2d. Pd. his boy for 11 days 4s. 7d.

[3. 10. 1]

The lime kiln and other work Pd. Jeames Wilson for 6 days at setting of the lime kiln 4s. Pd. Rodes wiffe and 6 more of their fellows for 10 days apiece at filling of the lime kiln and getting away of rubbish 17s. 6d.

[21. 6]

¹ In a different ink.

16 labourers at necessary work at Castle Pd. Leacke Jackson Wilson Yeavlee and other of their fellows for carrying of water harling and sifting of lime carrying of sand and rubbish and levelling of the court 38s.

Labourers at getting of wall stone at the More quarry Pd. Bentlee Davye and 6 more of their fellows for getting of wall stone and carrying of it out of the quarry to the scapplers 15s. [2. 13. 0]

Task work at taking down of the old wall at Castle Pd. Kichen and Rogers for their task at the taking down of the old wall at Castle 12s. Pd. Wyldesmithe in full payment of the like work 13s. 6d.

Ground bared at the More quarry Pd. George and his fellows for baring of one rood and his fellows for half a rood 10s.

Days work done at the More quarry Pd. Arnefelde and others for 4 days' work in ordering of the More quarry 2s. 6d. [39. 0]

Smith's work in repairing of the quarry tools Pd. the smith for the repairing of the quarry tools and other work 3s. 4d. Pd. for straw for thatch and for carriage of the same from Skartcliffe 5s. 4d.

Baring of ground at Shutell Pd. Yevle Wisson and other for baring one piece at Shuttellwoode quarry 13s. [21. 8]

Breaking of lime stone Pd. Yevlee in full payment of his task for breaking of lime stone 4s.

Carriage of stone from Kirkebye Pd. Kirkebye men for the carriage of 64½ load of stone to Boulsover £12. 17s. Pd. Kichen and his fellows for taking down of the old walls 21s.

Smithson's charges Pd. Smithson for himself for 6 meals and proven for his horse 3s. [14. 5. 0]

Sum £ 28. 6. 7¹

Sum total £577. 6s. 8d.¹

[29.] The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 29th. of January unto the 12th of February 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shutellwoode quarry Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for working of 70 foot of legmente table at 4½d. the foot 25s. 1d. Pd. Johnson for 36 foot of legmente table at 4½d. 13s. 6d. Pd. them for 90 foot of ashlar at 1½d. the foot 11s. 3d. 2. 9. 10

Free masons' work done in Kirkebye stone Pd. Halle Mason and others for working of 315 foot of window stuff that came from Kirkebye at 2d. the foot £2 12s. 3d. Pd. Jo. Adames for parelinge and fitting of old doors 11s.

Work done for the old chimney Pd. Hallee for working of stuff for the old chimneys of the old house 6s. 5d. 3. 9. 8

6 labourers at getting of stone Pd. the labourers at Shuttellwood for getting of 200 foot of stone and for baring of the quarry 33s. 10d.

Stone scapped at the More quarry Pd. Ouldalle and his fellows for scapping of 15 rood of wall stone at 18d. 22s. 6d.

¹ In a different ink.

Stone gotten at the More quarry Pd. Wilson and 6 more of his fellows for getting and bearing out of stone at the More quarry 33s. 6d.

Stone wrought at the More Pd. Arnefeeld for 6 days at getting of stone at the More quarry 5s. Pd. Tomlinson for working quoynes and ashlar at the More quarry 6s. 8d.

Stone scappled at the Town quarry Pd. Tho. Woode for scapping of 5 rood of wall stone at the Town quarry 7s. 6d. [5. 9. 0]

Work at the larder vault Pd. Raffell for 12 days (*sic*) 7s. Pd. Tho. Raffell for 5½ days 4s. 7d. [11. 7]

Carpenters at the roof and floors Pd. John Barowcloughe for 9 days 9s. Pd. Rich. Barowclo. for 9 days 9s. Pd. Tuckeman for 9 days 7s. 6d. Pd. Turner for 10 days 8s. 4d. [33.10]

At squaring and felling of timber Pd. Chester for 9 days 7s. 6d. Pd. his boy for 9 days 3s. 9d. 11. 3

Labourers at cleansing of wall stone and sand Pd. Yeavlee Robenson and 5 more of their fellows for cleansing of filling stone from the sand and rubbish 31s.

Harling and sifting of lime Pd. more to Wilson and his fellows for harling and sifting of lime 5s.

Lime kiln setting and drawing Pd. Jeames Wilson and 7 women for setting and drawing of the lime kiln 25s. 7d.

Sifting of lime Pd. Sparke and 5 other boys for sifting of lime 17s. 7d. Pd. Grene and his fellows for bearing of water and other necessities for the lime 8s. 6d. [4. 7. 8]

Task work at the old wall Pd. Kichen and Tempaste for their task in taking down of one yard of the old wall 8s. 4d.

Work at the old house and making of saw pits. Pd. Glossope for digging of the way for the old larder stair 2s. 8d. Pd. him more for making of saw pits for the sawyers 2s. [13. 0]

Carriage of lime stone and stone from Shutellwoode quarry Pd. George Shemell and his fellows for the carriage of 32 load of lime stone at 5d. and for 4 load from the Town quarry at 2d. and 12d. given in earnest of the bargain 15s. Pd. Hallam for 15 load of lime stone and for four load of stone from the More at 11d. 2s. 9d. Pd. him more for one load from Shuttellwoode quarry 12d. 18. 9

Lime stone broken Pd. for the breaking of 20 load of lime stone for the lime kiln 2s. 6d.

Smith's work and buckets for the well Pd. the smith for one new hammer and 6 wedges with other tools for the More quarry 4s. 10d. Pd. for 2 new buckets for the Castle well 22d. [9. 2]

Smythson's charges Pd. Smithsonne charges for 8 meals and for proven for his horse 4s.

Sum £ 20. 12. 9¹

£577. 6s. 8d.¹

¹ In a different ink.

[30.] The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 12th of February unto the 26th of February 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwod Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for working of 36 foot of legmente table 31s. 6d. Pd. them more for 166 foot of ashlar at 1½d. the foot 20s. 9d. Pd. them for 14 arch stones for the stairs of wine cellar and back stair at 6d. the stone 7s.

2. 19. 3

Masons' work wrought at Castle of old stone that came from Kirkebye Pd. Tho. Mason for working of 96 foot of window stuff that came from Kirkebye 16s. Pd. Hawlee and Crokes for cleansing of parelinge of doors and other stuff that came from Kirkebye 27s. Pd. Tomlinson and Adames for hewing of coynes and splays of the More stone 13s.

2. 16. 0

Labourers at getting of stone at Shutelwode Pd. Wildesmithe and 7 more of fellows for getting of stone and baring of stone at Shutelwode quarry for the masons and layers

38. 0

Carpenters at felling squaring and sawing of timber Pd. Jo. Barowcloughe for 11 days 11s. Pd. Rich. Barowcloughe for 11 days 11s. Pd. Robinson for 11 days 9s. 2d. Pd. Tukiman 12 days 12s. Pd. Turner for 12 days 12s.

2. 15. 2

Work at the scaffolds and centres Pd. Chester for 11 days 9s. 2d. Pd. his boy for 12 days 5s.

14. 2

Wall stone scappled at Shuttellwod and the More quarry Pd. Ro. Ouldalle and his fellows for scappling of 26 rood at the More quarry at 18d. 39s. Pd. Rotherforthe and his fellows for scappling of 23 rood at the More quarry 34s. 6d.

3. 14. 6

6 labourers at getting of stone Pd. Adam Davye and his fellows for getting of wall stone at the More 27s.

Layers at the old house Pd. Raffell for 11 days 11s. Pd. Tho. Woode for 6 days 6s. Pd. Tho. Raffell for 9 days 7s. 6d.

2. 11. 6

Serving of layers and harling of lime Pd. Yevelle and 8 more of his fellows for serving of the layers and harling up of lime 38s.

Sorting of sand and wall stone Pd. Sparke and 6 more of his fellows for sorting of filling and sand that came out of the old wall 14s.

2. 2. 0

The lime kiln setting and drawing with other work Pd. Jeames Wilson and 7 women for setting of the lime kiln 26s.

Harling of lime Pd. Wilson and his fellows for harling of lime 14s.

40. 0

Sifting of lime Pd. Yeavlee his task for sifting of lime 6s.

Saw pits making for the sawyers Pd. Glossope for making of 8 saw pits for the sawyers 4s.

Taking down the old wall Pd. Leake in part for taking down of the old wall 6s.

16. 0

Breaking of lime stone Pd. Henrye Barlowe and his fellow for breaking of 37 load of lime stone 4s. 7d.

Carriage of lime stone Pd. Shemell and Hallam for the carriage of 42 load of lime at 5d. the load 17s. 6d.

22. 1

Carriage of stone from Kirkebye Pd. Kirkebye men for the carriage of 58 load 1 quarter to Boulsover £11. 8s. Pd. Kichei for 15 days at taking down the ashlar and other stuff and sorting it into loads 8s. 9d. 12. 1. 9

Smith's for nails and other necessities Pd. the smith for nails for the centres and scaffolds 2s. Pd. him more for hod plates and other necessities for the work 5s.

Smythson's charges Pd. Smythson for his charges for 6 meals and proven for his horse 3s. 4d. 10. 4

Sum £ 34. 17. 9¹

Sum total £633. 17s. 2d.¹

[31.] The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 26th of February unto the 12th of March 1613.

Free masons' work done at Shuttellwoode quarry Pd. Goodwin and his fellows for 126 foot of ashlar at 1½d. 15s. 9d. Pd. them more for 25 foot of legmente table at 4½d. the foot 9s. 4d. Pd. them more for 41 foot of door jamb at 4½d. the foot 15s. Pd. them more for 22 foot of window stuff at 5d. the foot 9s. 2d. Pd. them more for 14 arch stones for the wine cellar stair and the back stair at 7d. the stone 8s. 2d. [2. 17. 5]

12 labourers at getting of stone at Shutellwoode quarry Pd. the labourers at Shutellwood for getting of 214 foot of stone and carrying out of wall stone and baring of the quarry 32s. 11d. Pd. Glossope and his fellow in part for baring of one rood 8s. 40. 11

Free masons' work at parrelinge of ashlar and other stone from Kirkebye Pd. Mason and his fellows for working of 65 foot of window stuff of Styklee stone at 2d. 10s. 10d. Pd. Crokes and Hawlee for cleansing of 520 foot of Kirkebye ashlar 14s. Pd. them more for parrelinge of 16 steptes of Kirkebye stone for the principal stair and back stair 10s. 8d. 35. 6

Quoynes and splays of the More stone Pd. Tomlinson and Adames for working of quoynes and splays of the More stone 14s.

Stone getting at Shuttell Pd. Armefeeld for getting of stone at Shuttellwoode quarry 9s. 7d. 23. 7

Wall stone scappled at the More Pd. Ouldalle and his fellows for scappling of 17 rood of wall stone at the More quarry 25s. 6d.

Wall stone scappled at Shutellwood Pd. Meatams and their fellows for scappling of 26 rood of wall stone at Shutellwoode quarry 39s. 3. 4. 6

Wall stone gotten at the More Pd. Adam Davye and 5 more of his fellows for getting of wall stone at the More quarry 21. 9

Layers at the larder and cellar of the old house Pd. Raffell for 8 days 8s. Pd. Tho. Raffell for 10 days 8s. 4d. Pd. Tho. Woode for 7 days 7s. 23. 4

Carpenters at squaring and felling of timber Pd. John Barowcloughe for 10 days 10s. Pd. Rich. Barowe. for 11 days 11s. Pd. Robenson for 10 days 8s. 4d. 29. 4

¹ In a different ink.

	£	s.	d.
<i>Sawyers</i> Pd. Tuckeman for 10 days 8s. 4d. Pd. Turner for 10 days 8s. 4d.		16.	8
<i>Scaffolding and centres</i> Pd. Chester for 9 days 7s. 6d. Pd. young Chester for 10 days 4s. 2d.		11.	8
<i>Carriage of water and sorting of stone</i> Pd. Wm. Greene Yeavlee and two other for carriage of water to the lime and sorting of Kirkebi ashlar and other stuff 10s. 2d.			
<i>Labourers at the old house</i> Pd. Robenson Chambers and 3 other for serving of the layers at the old house 22s. 6d.			
<i>9 labourers at harling of lime and sorting of stone</i> Pd. Jeames Wilson and 8 more of his fellows for harling of lime and sorting of filling stone 26s.	2.	18.	8
<i>Sand and filling stone sorted</i> Pd. Rodes wiffe Miller wiffe and 7 more for carrying of sand and sorting of wall stone for filling 16s. 4d.			
<i>Making of saw pits</i> Pd. Glosope for making of 3 saw pits for the carpenters 2s.			
<i>Sifting and harling of lime</i> Pd. Wilson and Yeavlee for sifting and harling up of lime 17s. 6d.		35.	10
<i>Taking down of the wall</i> Pd. Leacke for pulling down of part of the old wall 8s.			
<i>Carriage of fleackes</i> Pd. for the carriage of 6 dozen of fleakes from Skartcliffe Park 7s. 4d.			
<i>Breaking of lime stone</i> Pd. for breaking of 20 load of lime stone 2s. 6d.		17.	10
<i>Carriage of lime stone and wall stone</i> Pd. Sheamell and Hallam for the carriage of 9 load of stone from the More 9s. Pd. for 12 load of lime stone 5s.		15.	0 (sic)
<i>The smith work for the building</i> Pd. the smith for one new gavelocke 24 lbs. ¹ for the More quarry 4s. Pd. more for nails hod plates and other necessaries as by his bill may appear 4s. 1d.		8.	1
<i>Smithson's charges for himself and his horse</i> Pd. Smythson for his charges for 8 meals and proven for his horse 4s.			
<i>Glazier's work for the old house</i> Pd. the glazier of Mannfeldt for 40 foot of new for the old house and mending of the rest 31s. 9d.		34.	9 (sic)
	Sum	£ 24.	14. 3 ²
£577. 6s. 8d. ²			
£ 24. 14s. 3d. ²			
£602. 0s. 11d. ²			
Added in pencil £632. 17s. 2d. and at the bottom of the next column £657. 11s. 5d.			

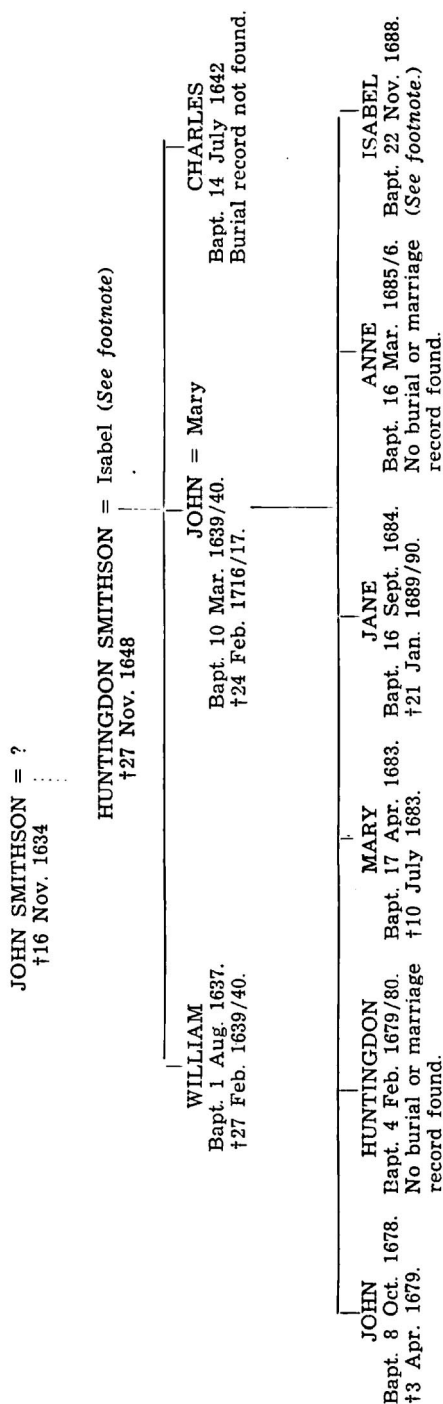
[32.] The workmen's bill for Boulsover work from the 12th of March unto the 26th of March 1614.

[This column blank in the MS.]

¹ 24 lbs. written above the line.

² In a different ink.

APPENDIX.

SMITHSON PEDIGREE CONSTRUCTED FROM THE BOLSOVER
PARISH REGISTERS.

ISABELLA SMITHSON, † 25 Feb. 1696/7, might be either (i.) the widow of Huntingdon, who died in 1648, or (ii.) the youngest daughter of the second John Smithson, who died in Feb. 1717.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Knoop and his collaborator, Mr. G. P. Jones, for this valuable paper, on the proposition of Bro. G. Elkington, seconded by Bro. W. J. Williams; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. O. Manton, T. Hanson, G. W. Bullamore, T. W. S. Hills, and W. W. Covey-Crump.

Bro. T. W. S. HILLS said:—

W.M.,—I feel much diffidence in speaking, as I can make no claim to archæological knowledge; my only excuse is that I am a native of Bolsover and have had a very close connection with the Castle all my life.

The Church was gutted by fire in 1897, the destruction of most of the antiques being extensive. There was a recess in the South wall of the aisle always known as the FOUNDERS TOMB. I believe the Architect was supposed to have been buried there. The stone to the memory of various Smithsons was on the floor of the Chancel; but I cannot say if that was its original place, as there was a very extensive restoration in 1877 or 1878.

I know the North aisle was built then and the South aisle reconstructed, the whole re-roofed and much of the arcading re-built.

With regard to the Quarries, the TOWN QUARRY is, I presume, what is now known as LIME KILN FIELDS. Quarrying was done there in my young days, but the stone was fit for only road mending or lime burning. The Shuttlewood site I cannot place, as, so far as I know, the soil there is clay; the lime stone formation ceasing at the edge of the hill, Shuttlewood being in the valley.

The Moor Quarry used to yield a good stone; it was selected, though not used, for the Houses of Parliament, transport being too difficult in those days.

It may be a point of interest to know that the Castle was used as a Vicarage for many years; my Father being the first Vicar who did not live in it, and I remember the sale held there in 1883.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

Workmen seem to have passed freely from hewing to laying and setting, but I do not think that the number of freemasons was so great as the authors suggest. A possible reading of such items as "paid Baram and his fellows", "Pd Goodwin and his fellows", is that Baram and Goodwin were freemasons who were responsible for the work and carried it out with the assistance of a number of fellows who hoped to become fully qualified freemasons. The accounts recognise a distinct class of work as Freemason's work, and the Freemasons proper may have confined themselves to the high-class cutting and seldom went to the walls. I cannot see that any of the workers at the walls received any extra remuneration, although attempts to fix wages generally concede higher pay to a freemason than to a rough mason or layer.

Some of the Old Charges refer to the three classes of masons, fellows and freemasons; and I imagine that in operative practice it was necessary for one of the lower grade to work with and under the supervision of a higher grade artisan while he obtained the necessary experience to qualify him for a higher position in the guild. I feel reasonably sure that the freemasons described by Gould as "the upper ten" were the aristocrats of the profession, and that to be fellow to a freemason was an honour that did not actually signify a freemason. If I remember rightly, the freemason has been described as fellow to a King, and I do not think that any claim to sovereignty or Kingdom is involved.

Bro. T. W. HANSON *writes*:—

Having dealt with the building accounts and letters of some contemporary Halfan builders who worked in Oxford on Merton College, the Schools Quadrangle, etc., I have appreciated to the full this account of Bolsover Castle. I am afraid that my few notes will appear very obvious.

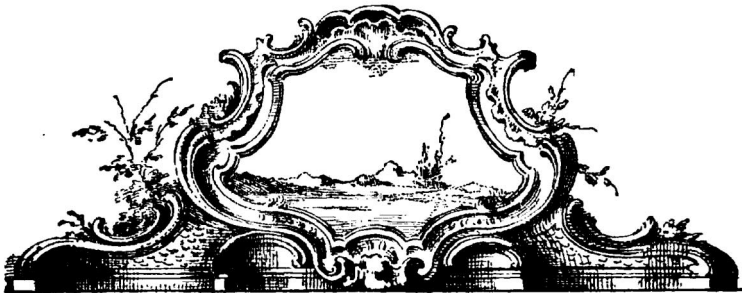
The post-mortem inventory of Huntingdon Smithson (p. 2)—consisting largely of farming gear, may be paralleled by a similar inventory of Martin Akroyd's belongings. The master-masons of that date, like the cloth makers, ran subsistence farms for the needs of their families. The Town Quarry might probably be the common quarry of a town, whence the tenants took stone for the repair of their property or for rebuilding.

Oven-stone, I take to be stone used in the bee-hive shaped stone ovens. Fire was kindled inside and the oven sealed until the stone chamber was red-hot. Then the cinders were raked out and the loaves put in to bake. This particular stone would be grit-stone from the moor, that would not crack with the intense heat.

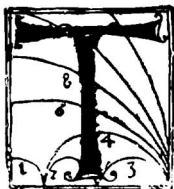
It is interesting to note that it was cheaper to transport old worked stones nine miles than to chisel raw stone from near-by.

Bro. KNOOP, in reply, *writes*:—

On behalf of my colleague and myself I wish to thank Bros. W. W. Covey-Crump and J. O. Manton for pointing out the errors which, without corrupting our footnotes, had somehow slipped into our first paragraph. Mr. Francis Needham, the Duke of Portland's librarian, performed the same kindly service and we have made all the necessary corrections. We are also grateful to Bro. T. W. S. Hills for his local knowledge; to Bro. T. W. Hanson for his explanation of 'oven stone' and his reminder about Martin Akroyd; and to Bro. Geo. W. Bullamore for his suggestion with regard to 'perpen'. We do not feel able to agree with him as to the position of Baram, Goodwin and their fellows.



FRIDAY, 1st MAY, 1936.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., I.P.M., as W.M.; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M., as I.P.M.; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., S.W.; W. J. Williams, P.M., as J.W.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., J.D.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.Reg.; B. Ivanoff; and J. Heron Lepper, B.A., LL.B., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Thos. Selby, P.G.St.B.; C. B. Mirrlees; Fred. Lax, P.G.St.B.; Geo. South; F. Addington Hall; A. F. G. Warrington; E. F. Gleadow; H. Chown, P.A.G.St.B.; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg.; A. E. Loos; Fordyce Jones; Wm. Lewis; W. Edelsten Bracey; Leslie A. Pearl; Robt. A. Card; *Comdr.* S. N. Smith; J. V. Jacklin; C. S. Bishop; A. J. Barter; Jas. Wallis; J. J. Cooper; E. H. Cartwright, P.G.D.; Harry Bladon, P.A.G.D.C.; S. R. Clarke; G. Kennedy Barnes; G. C. Hellyer; J. F. Nicholls; Geo. C. Williams; F. P. Reynolds; L. G. Wearing; Wm. Smalley; A. H. Wolfenden; H. W. Chetwin; A. F. Cross; R. F. J. Colsell; W. Morgan Day; W. J. Palmer; R. Wheatley; G. D. Hindley; F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C.; J. C. da Costa; G. D. Elvidge; H. B. J. Evans; A. F. Ford; J. R. Cully, G.Purs.; W. Brinkworth; J. F. H. Gilbard; A. E. Turner; F. T. Crampton; A. H. Goddard; W. J. Mean; R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B.; T. H. Carter; A. Baron Burn; J. H. Smith; H. Douglas Elkington; H. W. Martin; and E. D. Laborde.

Also the following Visitors:—Bro. Chas. E. G. House, Northern Heights Lodge No. 4205; F. Widley, Chequered Cloth Lodge No. 5569; H. D. Montague, P.M., Beverley Lodge No. 5006; A. Perez, S.D., Lodge of Israel No. 205; Wm. Stevens, W.M., Mercury Lodge No. 5400; H. Crossfield, W.M., Seven Kings Lodge No. 2749; and Wm F. Cox, S.W., Industries Lodge No. 4100.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; B. Telepneff; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Douglas Knoop, M.A., W.M.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; W. Jenkinson; *Major* C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., I.G.; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; and *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.

Five Lodges, two Research Associations, two Lodges of Instruction and Twenty-seven Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—

Bros. M. E. Clark, A. W. Walker, and R. H. Ingham Clark, Junior Grand Deacons; R. A. Brooking, Wm. Cowlishaw, G. Elkington, A. W. Dentith, C. C. Mason, and S. Martin Southwell, Past Grand Deacons; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, Past Assistant Grand Chaplain; Lewis Edwards, and A. H. Harding, Past Assistant Grand Registrars; A. L. Fuller and R. Whitehead, Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; W. C. Bailey, F. B. Box, W. E. Bracey, Percy G. Clark, J. G. Finlayson, F. Haden-Crawford, R. H. Davison, H. Forbes-George, H. J. Ford, Wallace E. Heaton, George A. Hall, H. F. Hann, G. A. Hardy, C. W. Lambert, R. K. Mitchell, M. J. B. Montargis, W. J. Palmer, J. R. J. Roynon, *Major* A. G. T. Smith, G. H. Smith, and J. A. Worsnop, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; *Major* A. I. House, *M.C.*, Assistant Grand Sword Bearer; Harry Ayling, G. W. Bartle, C. B. Franklin, George Hagley, C. Hudson, A. R. Lambert, W. G. Newby, T. J. Oldland, F. T. Palmer, W. J. D. Roberts, F. Spooner, Thomas Sykes, A. Wells, and J. T. Whitehead, Past Grand Standard Bearers; G. S. O. Young, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer; and J. R. Cully, Grand Pursuivant.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Portrait of the Duke of Sussex. Applique cloth and tinsel.

Pocket Companion. Glasgow, 1754. No. 15 of the list at *A.Q.C.*, xlv., p. 205.

Misses the dedication. The only other copy known is in the collection of Bro. Marquis of Mansfield, Ohio.

By Bro. JENKINSON, of Armagh.

Breast Jewel: metal. Similar to one exhibited in March, 1906, and figured at *A.Q.C.*, xix., 44. Numerous symbols, including a right hand and a left foot. Inscriptions: On Ob.: *Virtute et Silentia.* On Rv.: *Amor. Honor. et. Justitia. Nous vivons sur lequarre (sic).* Also inside an irradiated triangle a badly blundered Tetragrammation.

From the Lodge collection.

Oval medallion; pewter. Ob.: Design of the Three Grand Masters, practically identical with that figured at A.Q.C., xxii., 192. Rv.: Ornaments and W.T., etc., with a space for an inscription. Struck on a roughly cut disc; possibly a pattern.

By Bro. HUGO TATSCH.

Certificate: Shriner. *Presented to the Lodge.*

From the Lodge Library.

The Republican, vol. xii.

Photograph of the portrait of Carlile in the National Portrait Gallery.

Plate. The front of Carlile's shop in Fleet Street. From *Seven Centuries of Fleet Street*.

By Bro. S. J. FENTON.

The Republican, vol. i.

Carlile's Exposure; the first edition, 1831.

Carlile's Manual, parts I. and II., 1836; part III., 1837.

The Manual, Third edition, 1843.

Payne; *Collected Works*, including the *Essay on Masonry*, and *Age of Reason*.

By Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS.

Carlile; the *Manual*. A copy with MS. corrections to bring it into conformity with an exposure of a later date.

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

Bro. S. J. FENTON read the following paper:—

RICHARD CARLILE; HIS LIFE AND MASONIC WRITINGS.

BY BRO. S. J. FENTON.



BEFORE commencing my paper on Richard Carlile and his Masonic Writings (and I must state definitely that I am restricting my remarks to his Masonic Publications), it is advisable—in fact, it is necessary—for us to bring ourselves into the atmosphere of the period in which he wrote.

The particular year was 1825, but we must include a few years before the French Revolution to a few years after Waterloo, say, from 1785 to 1825.

It was the period of Industrial Revolution and Educational Revolution, the age when the agricultural labourers, who had been brought up in rural surroundings, made an invasion of the towns, and became the slum dwellers in the industrial areas, where they had better opportunity of intercourse with their fellow men and to some extent better educational facilities; but, collectively they were more at the mercy of the agitators, both religious and political, than they had been when they were distributed over the countryside as agriculturalists.

A few figures will probably explain the situation, when we learn that the population of the following towns showed the enormous increases between 1801 and 1831:—

Manchester and Salford	...	90000	237000
Leeds	...	53000	123000
Sheffield	...	46000	92000
Oldham	...	22000	51000

There were two factors which possibly developed from this alteration of the domestic condition of the country. One was the development and cheapening of printing, and the other, the quicker circulation of news through the medium of the Press.

Many other disturbing factors were at work, cheap labour, and sweating in some trades, also the corruptness of administration in the form of sinecurists and pocket-borough Members of Parliament.

If my view be correct, it was to a country in a somewhat unhappy state of mentality that Carlile issued his paper, with perhaps the welcome title of "The Republican".

PART I.

In presenting this paper on Richard Carlile and his Masonic Writings, I am aware that I am embarking on a dangerous undertaking, for if there ever were a man whose life and soul were spent in religious and political discussions, that man was Richard Carlile, and I have to remember that these are topics which, as Freemasons, we have been particularly enjoined to avoid.

I have endeavoured to keep to that part of his writings in which he refers to Freemasonry, although the temptation to follow side issues has, at times, been very great. It has been comparatively easy to avoid religious topics, but the

political conditions of his period, at least from Carlyle's own point of view, were to some extent involved with his views on Freemasonry.

Who was Richard Carlyle? From the Masonic point of view, he was the author and published of *The Manual of Freemasonry*, and it can be definitely stated that he was not a Freemason.

From a legal point of view, he was convicted as the publisher of "scandalous, impious, blasphemous and profane libels".

From a literary point of view, he had the ability of expressing himself in unusually plain and simple language, as will be evident from the following quotations taken from essays written by him whilst in prison and published in the *Republican*:—

A man is not honest who is not bold enough to be honest, and active enough not to neglect that which he ought to do. Everything in human action may be resolved into right or wrong, and even to neglect to do right, is to do wrong.

It is the bounden duty of every man openly to avow whatever his mind conceives to be the truth. If he shrinks from that he is a coward—a slave to the opinions of other men.

He who sets himself up as an instructor to his fellowman should offer nothing but what is clear and intelligible to all who should read what he wrote.

Every man is an ignorant man. Knowledge can only exist by degrees; perfection is unobtainable, though improvement never ceases.

I do not like to see good common sense in rhyme. It does not need it.

Whatever way you make your defence, let it be bold and energetic. I think the open avowal of principles is the best defence.

Before discussing the EXPOSURE OF FREEMASONRY, as originally printed in the *Republican*, and later in its more popular editions as THE MANUAL OF FREEMASONRY, some particulars of the life of Richard Carlyle are necessary to show the character of the man with whom we have to deal.

In THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY wherein the evils that live after them, as well as the good that is oft interred with their bones, are recorded of many notable characters, there is a lengthy and detailed account of his career, and no matter what we may think of his views on religion or Freemasonry, we cannot but appreciate one of the concluding paragraphs:—

The faults of Carlyle will be forgiven in consideration of his having done more than any other Englishman in his day, for the freedom of the Press.

A more recent criticism reads:—

He wrote and suffered a great deal in vindication of political freedom and this should weigh heavily in the scale against much else that was offensive and blasphemous.

E. Beresford Chancellor in *Annals of Fleet Street* (1912).

His life has been written and referred to by many writers, the best known perhaps being:—

Life and Character of Richard Carlyle, by George Jacob Holyoake. 1848.¹

The Battle of the Press, As told in the Story of the Life of Richard Carlyle, by his daughter, Theophila Carlyle Campbell. 1899.

Richard Carlyle. Agitator. His Life and Times. Guy A. Aldred. 1923.

¹ George Jacob Holyoake, born Birmingham 1817, died 1906. Was the last person imprisoned in England on a charge of Atheism (1841).

The only authentic account of Carlile's Life up to 1819 appears in the *Republican* of January 28th, 1825 (vol. 11., No. 4), under the title of "A Display of Learning", which is a reply to an attack made upon him in a Dorchester newspaper.

Carlile writes that the "Editor of the Dorset County Chronicle, without knowing anything about me, had the christian impudence to call me a LOW, ILLITERATE AND IGNORANT PERSON", to which Carlile replied in the above-mentioned article, which is practically an auto-biography.

It is from the foregoing works that the details of his biography here recorded are chiefly culled, and I gratefully put on record my appreciation of Mr. Aldred's work.

The Painting in the NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY was bequeathed to that Institution by his biographer, George Jacob Holyoake, in 1906, but the name of the artist is unknown. It is thus described in the catalogue:—

CARLILE, RICHARD. 1790-1843.

Freethinker. Famous as a champion of the Freedom of the Press. Much imprisoned.

1435. 29 × 24: canvas: artist unknown. Head and shoulders, to r. Bequeathed by George Jacob Holyoake and accepted 1906.

Mackenzie, in his *Royal Masonic Cyclopaedia* 1877, p. 109, states that he was:—

A very active agent in early reform, who owing to the very foolish state of the law in his time was made a martyr and suffered imprisonment for very free opinions on religion in 1819. He was in private life a man of singular benevolence.

Mackey's *Encyclopedia* (1920, vol. i., p. 135) states:—

He wrote and published several pretended expositions of Freemasonry, which after his death were collected in 1845 in one volume under the title of "The Manual of Freemasonry". Carlile was a professed atheist and a fanatical reformer of what he supposed to be the errors of the age. Was a man of some ability. For ten years before his death his religious opinions had been greatly modified.

I cannot entirely agree with the foregoing statement of Mackey, because Carlile died in February, 1843, and editions of the *Manual of Freemasonry* had been published by him in 1831, 1836 and 1843.

Richard Carlile was born on the 8th December, 1790, in Steave-ahead Lane, Ashburton, in Devonshire. His father was a man of many callings, whose career was brief and talents mediocre. At one time a shoemaker, he aspired to be, and became an exciseman; and, like Burns, his habits suffered by his profession and he often fell into intoxication. He retired from the Excise and became a schoolmaster, published some essays on mathematics, and later became a soldier. He died at the age of 34, "no person's enemy but his own",¹ leaving his wife with three children, two daughters and Richard, who was then about four years of age.

His mother died in 1820, aged 60, after very hard work in maintaining her family during their early years. In announcing his mother's death in the *Republican*, Carlile says that despite his many troubles, "I have still maintained a roof to shelter her and under which she died".

¹ Carlile to Lord Brougham, Letter in *Gauntlet* No. 8, p. 113. 1833.

Writing of his early days, he records:—

(Vol. 11, pages 107-8)

Throughout my career as a journeyman mechanic my appearance and manners were as near alike as possible to what they have since been, for I studied to make them as respectable as my means would admit. My wages were good, many weeks in Plymouth and Portsmouth I have exceeded 40/- weekly, in London about the same.

The way I felt distress in London, before I began bookselling, was that with a rent of 10/- per week, I had a wife and two children and a mother to support.

It was opposition to this generosity that first started dissatisfaction with his wife, which led to their separation. His eldest sister did not agree with his anti-religious views, but his younger sister, Mary Ann, gave him her whole-hearted support and eventually went to prison as a result of her enthusiasm in the cause he was advocating.

Of his education at Ashburton, he writes of his first two schools:—

I believe that the first taught at three halfpence per week and the other at two pence. When I got to a five penny school it was considered an extravagant affair, too expensive to be borne and a successful effort was made to put me on the list of free scholars.

At the Free School he obtained what he describes as a "smattering of Latin", which gave him "an air of superiority and among such company as I was able to keep, I passed as a scholar. The vanity and flattery attached to this state of mind, I believe was my chief inducement to seek further knowledge".¹

At the age of 12 (1802) he left school and owing to his knowledge of Latin obtained employment with a Chemist and Druggist in Exeter, but left after a few months on being set to perform some office incompatible with the dignity of one who could read a Latin prescription.

After this he was apprenticed for seven years to Mr. Cumming, at Exeter, in the tin plate working trade, and he describes his master as a man "who cared no further about me than as to the largest quantity of labour he could obtain from me upon the smallest quantity of food" and who "considered that the only time necessary for recreation was five or six hours for sleep".

Of his apprenticeship he writes (in 1825):—

I do not say that I was faultless, but I taught that master, as I shall teach my present oppressors, that mine is a temperament from which persecution can wring nothing but perseverance in resisting it, and that neither pains nor poverty can subdue me, where I see myself to be right; and, even if in error, a good word, a soft word, will do in a moment that which no menace or punishment will ever do. . . . I soon began to show a disposition to lay claim to, not the "Rights of Man", but the rights of apprentices, which my master professed to be ignorant of, and, like some of our aristocrats with respect to the "Rights of Man", he endeavoured to convince me that apprentices had no rights at all.

At the expiration of his apprenticeship in February, 1811, when less than 21, he left Exeter and came to London and worked as a journeyman with Messrs.

¹ Robert, Lord Gifford. Solicitor-General in 1817 and Attorney-General in 1819, who conducted the trial of Carlile in 1819, was born at Ashburton in Devonshire and was educated at a Free School in that town, as was Carlile.

King, Matthews and Co., Holborn; but by the month of June, as trade was slack and he was one of the youngest hands, he was discharged and returned to Exeter, where he worked till December. He then worked in Plymouth, Portsmouth and Gosport, eventually returning to London in August, 1813, when, after a short period with Messrs. Benham and Sons, Blackfriars Road, he obtained employment with Messrs. Matthews and Masterman, Tinsmiths, in Union Court, Holborn, as a Journeyman Mechanic or Tinsmith (he describes himself as both), which he continued until he became a publisher in April, 1817.

In 1813, at the age of 23, whilst employed at Gosport, he married, after a very brief courtship, the daughter of a humble cottager, who had, to use her own description of herself, reached the years of maturity without the least education. She was his senior by seven years.

In 1819 they mutually agreed to separate, but they continued to work together in business, and she had undoubtedly considerable ability in that direction, as she carried on the publishing business during his long periods of imprisonment. Further, she was a strong supporter of his propaganda, and, as will be noted later, went to prison for the same offence as he did.

Carlile appreciated her business acumen. He records in his correspondence:—

Had Mrs. Carlile flinched, my business would have gone to wreck, for I verily think there would have been no volunteers, but for Mrs. C. and my sister going to prison one after another. It gave a sort of zest to the thing and everything has gone well since.

During the third and fourth years of his imprisonment at Dorchester he was liberally supported by friends and admirers, who subscribed as much as £500 per year, and for a long time the profits over the counter of the Fleet Street shop amounted to £50 per week, and on one occasion when his trial was pending, Mrs. Carlile took over £500 in one week.

In 1819 (vol. 1, p. 264) Carlile states in an open letter to the Solicitor of the Treasury that property, value £2,000 (if fairly sold), was seized in his shop immediately after his conviction, and that the shop was then producing an average profit of £50 per week.

The circulation of the *Republican* at times reached 15,000 per week. When he came out of prison in 1825 one friend lent him £1,000 to extend his business.

In 1832 an annuity of £50 was bequeathed to him by an admirer, and with this he made provision for Mrs. Carlile, together with £100 worth of books and all the household furniture, and they definitely separated.

During his imprisonment in 1831 a Miss Eliza Sharples, of Bolton (who had seen him during one of his tours in the North of England) wrote to him and eventually came to London to see him. After his final separation from his wife in 1832 they made an alliance and toured the country lecturing.

It was between 1813 and 1816 that he first began to attend public meetings, and he states that, "As well as to read, I began to scribble, and I annoyed the editors of several papers with my effusions", but every reply was to the effect that the writings were too strong or violent. His great objective at this period and afterwards was the Freedom of the Press.

In explanation of how he became a publisher he writes:—

In 1817 the "Black Dwarf" made its appearance, which happened to be much more to my taste than Mr. Cobbett's "Register". Having purchased the first two numbers, and lent them to as many of my fellow workmen as would read them, and got them almost illegibly

black, I wrote a letter, and enclosed them to George Canning,¹ and requested him, after he had read them, to hand them over to (Lord) Castlereagh for the green bag² that was then on the table of the House of Commons, particularly pointing out to him how well *they* had been read as was evident from their appearance.

At this period a weekly paper came into circulation, entitled the *Republican*, edited by a Mr. Sherwin. Carlile's comment upon it was that he found more in its title than in its pages. Mr. Sherwin was at one time the keeper of the Southwell Bridewell in Northamptonshire, but came to London, took up politics, and wrote pamphlets which he could not get published, so he turned printer and publisher himself. He took a portion of an auction room at 183 Fleet Street, the windows of which were not wanted by the auctioneer. Here he first published the *Republican*, but finding that the title offended some of his friends, within six weeks altered the title to the *Weekly Political Register*.

Carlile writes:—

Thus originated Mr. Sherwin, who was certainly my coadjutor in getting me fairly before the public. Nor can I see how I could have got on without him.

In March, 1817, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, which made agitators liable to imprisonment without trial. This was a matter which was of the greatest importance and particularly affected the publishers of pamphlets and papers, who were not on the Government side, and there appear to have been quite a number of very rabid opponents at this period.

Carlile stated that nearly all the political tract-sellers were alarmed and shrank from selling Cobbett's *Register*, of which he says that he "looked upon it as a milk and water paper compared with the 'Black Dwarf' and some other newspapers".

I resolved to get into the front of the battle and to set the best possible example in the trade of Political Pamphlets. These were the reasonings of my individual mind, then unconnected with and unknown to every public man. Of imprisonment I made sure; but I felt rather to court it than to shrink from it.

In March, 1817 he borrowed a pound from his employer and invested in 100 copies of the *Black Dwarf*, which he hawked about London and "Many a day traversed thirty miles for a profit of eighteen pence". He also distributed the *Republican* and Southey's *Wat Tyler*. Whether from Carlile's energetic salesmanship or other causes, information was lodged against Mr. Steill, proprietor of the *Black Dwarf*, who was arrested.

In April, 1817, Mr. Sherwin, the owner of the original *Republican*, which had been re-named the *Weekly Political Register*, having informed himself of Carlile's dispositions and views, approached him with an offer to take over his shop and the publication of his paper.

Carlile states:—

This, I felt, was a grand point gained, and henceforth I saw my way clear. I embraced his offer without hesitation, and the consequence is well known. At near eight years distance I remain a prisoner.

¹ Prime Minister 1827.

² *The Green Bag Inquiry*.—A green bag full of documents, said to be seditious, was laid before Parliament by Lord Sidmouth, in 1817. An "inquiry" was made into these documents, and it was deemed advisable to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and forbid all sorts of political meetings likely to be of a seditious character.—Brewer's *Readers Handbook*, p. 447.

I entered the shop, 183 Fleet Street, in April 1817, not as a servant or partner of Mr. Sherwin's, but in addition to the publication of his Register, I was to make the best I could out of it, as the rent of £3 per month fell entirely on me.

One of his first publications shows the type of pamphlet he was publishing. This is a copy of the front page of:—

THE SINECURISTS CREED OR BELIEF.

Printed and Published by R. Carlile. 183 Fleet Street
and sold by those who are not afraid of incurring the displeasure
of His Majesty's Ministers, their Spies and Informers or Public
Plunderers of any denomination. London 1817

Price Two Pence.

Carlile continued the *Weekly Register* until 1819, when we find the publication reverts to the original title, of which the following is a copy of the first page:—

THE REPUBLICAN.

No. 1. Vol. 1.) London, Friday, Aug. 27, 1819. (Price 2d.
TO THE PUBLIC.

As this cannot be altogether considered a new publication, but merely a continuation of that entitled "*Sherwin's Weekly Political Register*", which has been invariably the bold advocate of the only rational system of Government, namely, the REPUBLICAN; the Editor presumes that he need not make any apology for, or issue a new prospectus of this work, as its title needs no explanation, nor shall its object be disguised. As the honest avowal of sentiment, is becoming daily more dangerous to the Englishman, and the advocate of a full, fair, and equal representation, must inevitably be subject to frequent arrests and imprisonments, whilst the present deficient representation exists, the Editor humbly stands forward to fill the post of danger, ambitious of incurring, (if martyrs must be found) even martyrdom, in the cause of liberty.¹

His first step of resistance to authority was to publish the Poet Laureate Southey's poem *Wat Tyler*, of which he sold 25,000 copies. This was one of Southey's early poems which the author wished to suppress. He later reprinted and published the works of Thomas Paine and the *Parodies on the Book of Common Prayer*.

Mr. Hone had published certain pamphlets early in 1817, but they were soon denounced by the House of Commons as blasphemous, because they parodied the language of the Bible; and they were withdrawn from circulation. There was, however, a great demand for them, and Carlile found some difficulty in obtaining copies, great prices being offered, as much as £1 each for two penny pamphlets. He at length obtained copies and put them in the Press immediately and advertised to the astonished public that the suppressed parodies were for sale.

He writes:—

I was threatened with a process in the Ecclesiastical Court, in the Spiritual Court, by injunction in the Court of Chancery, in the King's Devil's Court, and I know not what other Courts, but I laughed at

¹ The Editorial introduction, of which the foregoing is only a portion, was dated from Giltspur Street, Compter, on 22nd August, 1819, the day after his arrest on a warrant for "publishing a malicious, seditious and inflammatory Libel, tending to create dissatisfaction in the minds of His Majesty's subjects and breaches of the Peace".

all menace, kept my colours flying and the parodies selling; On the 14th August I was arrested on three judge's warrants, and in default of £800 bail, was sent to King's Bench, but Mrs. Carlile continued the sale of the parodies in defiance of all prosecution.

He was in King's Bench Prison for 18 weeks before he was liberated on his own recognisances of £300 and without trial.

(At this period the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended.)

Having established himself as a publisher and bookseller he re-published two books which had previously been condemned as blasphemous works, but his excuse for doing so (apart from financial reasons) was that he desired to maintain them in circulation and vindicate the absolute freedom of the Press.

These books were: Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason* and Elihu Palmer's *Principles of Nature*. In 1819 the Government commenced a campaign against him, not only for the above works, but for seditious letters published and addressed to the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV., and Lord Sidmouth. These particularly referred to the Manchester Riots (Peterloo) of August that year, of which Carlile was an eye-witness. He was eventually brought before the Court of King's Bench at the Guildhall, London, and after a trial lasting several days was on November 15th, 1819, sentenced for publishing Paine's Book to a fine of £1,000 and to be imprisoned for two years in the County Gaol of Dorset in the Town of Dorchester; and for the second offence, publishing Palmer's book, a further fine of £500 and a further imprisonment of one year in the said gaol at Dorchester and that "you further be imprisoned until those fines are paid and that you give security, yourself for £1,000 and two others for £100 each that you be at peace and good behaviour for the term of your natural life".

I have been unable to ascertain why it was definitely stated at the time he was sentenced to imprisonment that the term was to be served at Dorchester, or why Mrs. Carlile and his sister were also sent there at a later date.

His wife had similar charges brought against her in 1820, but at the first trial the prosecution were unsuccessful in obtaining a conviction against her; she was immediately brought up on another charge and became her husband's fellow prisoner in Dorchester Gaol.

His sister, Mary Ann, succeeded Mrs. Carlile in the management of the publishing business in Fleet Street and was also tried and convicted, and by November, 1821, she also was in Dorchester Gaol.

In 1821 a society was formed, with the title of "The Constitutional Association". It asked for subscriptions to pay the expenses of prosecuting the assistants in Carlile's business; £6,000 was subscribed; the Duke of Wellington headed the list of subscribers.

In 1824 men and women from all parts of the country volunteered to work in his shop, and at one time in that year no less than eight of his shopmen were in Newgate Prison. Four for three years' imprisonment and the rest for sentences varying from six months to two years. His shopmen were arrested so frequently that his books were sold by clockwork. On a dial was written the name of the book for sale: the purchaser deposited the money, turned the handle, and the book dropped down before him.

In 1825 Carlile published an account of the prosecutions which had been made against his wife and assistants, for selling his publications, in a pamphlet entitled:—

The Trials, and defence, at large, of Mrs. Jane Carlile, Mary Ann Carlile, (and 14 others, named.) being the persons who were prosecuted for selling the publications of Richard Carlile, in his various shops.

The dedication is characteristic:—

To the Memory of Robert Stewart, Marquis of Londonderry, Viscount Castlereagh, etc., Who, eventually did for himself, which Millions wished some noble mind would do for him, CUT HIS THROAT.¹

This dedication is dated:—"Dorchester Gaol. September 2, 1825, being the sixth year of imprisonment by Lords Castlereagh, Liverpool, Sidmouth and Eldon".

In this pamphlet we read that, "The Solicitor General stated that the charge was against Jane Carlile, bookseller, wife of Richard Carlile, being a person of wicked and depraved mind and disposition. The husband being removed (being in Prison) his wife took up the trade, after which his sister and eventually a shopman, a person of low condition, became connected with the work".

In her defence Mrs. Carlile stated (according to Carlile's version of her trial):—

I can only repeat that I have no control over the contents of that publication [the *Republican*] and in issuing it to the public, I was guided entirely by my husband. I do not feel myself a competent judge to decide on its propriety or impropriety, as having been brought up as the daughter of an humble cottager in a sequestered part of Hampshire, I had reached the years of maturity without the least education. I must be prepared to share his sufferings as I have shared his prosperity. "For better or worse" is the motto of the Altar.

She was sentenced to two years at Dorchester and at the expiration to find two sureties for £100 each for her good conduct for three years.

Mary Ann Carlile (his sister) was prosecuted under an indictment of the "Constitutional Association" at King's Bench, Guildhall, on July 24th, 1821, for publishing a libel upon the Government, entitled, "A New Years Address to the Reformers of Great Britain".

Carlile, in his report of her trial, states:—"The jury could not come to a decision and thus ended the first attempt of the Constitutional Association or the Bridge Street Banditti, to get a verdict".

A second edition of *A New Years Address* was immediately published, price 4d., with the following note:—"This is the address on which the Bridge Street Banditti were defeated".

On 30th June, 1825, he petitioned the House of Commons, supported by Mr. Brougham,² for a remission of the rest of his sentence, he having at that date served nearly six years and been deprived of all his property, which had been seized for fines.

He was liberated on 16th November, 1825, and writes regarding his release in the *Republican* of 25th November, 1825:—

The King in Council, on the 12th, was advised to remit so much of my fines as had not been paid, and on the 16th he was further advised, mirabile dictu; wonderful to be said; from some "favourable circumstances" reported of me to him, "God knows from whom", for I do not, to remit that further part of my sentence which required me to find recognizances during my natural life, for one thousand pounds on my own behalf and two hundred pounds on that of two other persons.

¹ Marquis of Londonderry committed suicide 12th August, 1822.

² Afterwards Lord Brougham. Lord Chancellor 1830.

The warrant for his release, signed by Robert Peel¹ on the 16th November, 1825, stated that he was imprisoned for:—"printing and publishing certain scandalous, impious, blasphemous and profane libels".

But in less than five years he was again in Prison.

In 1831, for a Revolutionary Address on the French Revolution he was committed for 32 months at the Compter of the City of London. In 1833-35 he was in prison for 10 weeks for non-payment of Church Rates.

The following is a list of his imprisonments:—

1817. Aug. 15 to Dec. 20. Eighteen weeks for selling Parodies on the Book of Common Prayer.

1819. Nov. 16 to 1825. Nov. 18. Three years for selling the *Age of Reason* and *Principles of Nature*. Three years more exacted for non-payment of fines of £1,500.

1831-1833. Three years for an article in *The Prompter* at the time of the Agricultural Riots.

1834. Four months for resisting Church Assessments.

Actual time in prison, Nine years seven months one week.

The illustration shown is from *Fleet Street in Seven Centuries*, by Walter G. Bell, *Pitman* 1912, page 550, and gives us a representation of Carlile's House, 62, Fleet Street, as it appeared on the front page of No. 9 of A SCOURGE, on November 29th, 1834.

He writes:—

Little wonder that Fleet Street was filled with people to witness this extraordinary spectacle.

What good can one say of a publicist who, taking out the windows above his shop, 62 Fleet Street (the corner of Bouverie Street), exhibited in one a life-size figure of a jolly fat bishop in canonicals, and the devil linked arm in arm with his lordship? In the companion window was in effigy a "brokers man". These were, the placard below sets out, "Props of the Church".

This exhibition was made because Church Rates were levied on his shop and his goods seized.

He died on 10th February, 1843, aged 53, at 1, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, London, from bronchitis, and the following extracts from contemporary papers show that he was well known:—

Lancet, No. 1016. February 18th, 1843:—

The well-known Mr. Richard Carlile, bookseller, late of Fleet Street, bequeathed his body for the purpose of anatomical dissection. By the permission of the Governors of St. Thomas's Hospital his remains were removed from his residence in Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, to that Institution.

Mr. Grainger delivered a short address on the occasion, thinking that the object of the deceased would be obtained by this proceeding in Public and by a statement of the motives which had actuated him in giving his remains for dissection.

Mr. Grainger vindicated medical men from the charge of irreligion and contended that medical and anatomical studies, if properly pursued, served to demonstrate the truth not only of natural but of revealed religion.

¹ Then Home Secretary. Later Sir Robert Peel.



RICHARD CARLILE: from the original portrait, by an unknown artist, in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

A SCOURGE

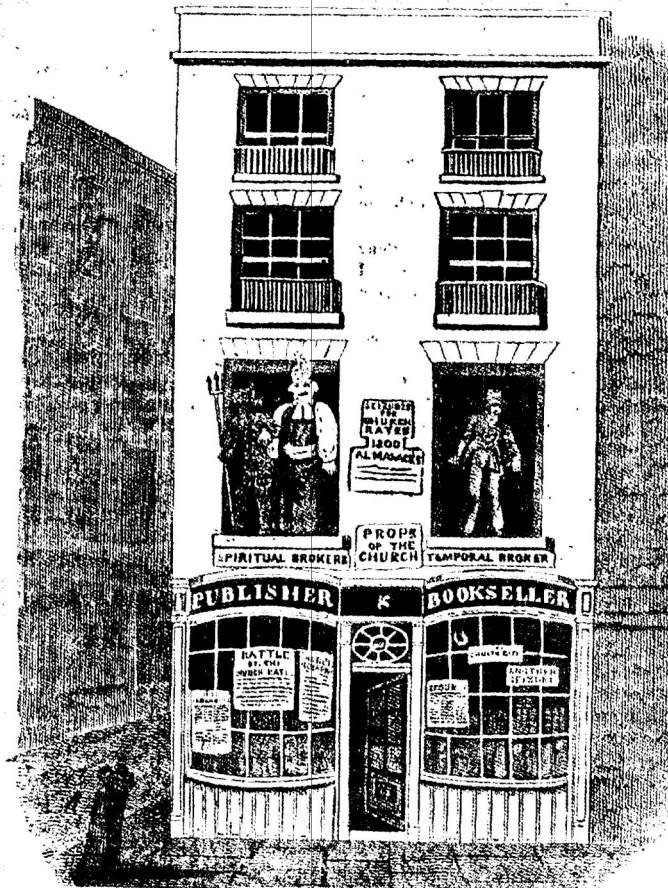
BY RICHARD CARLILE.

"Thine own mouth condemneth thee, and not I: yea, thine own lips testify against thee."—*Job, Chap. 13, ver. 4.*
 "And when he had made a scourge of small cords, he drooge them all out of the Temple."—*Acts of Christ.*

No. 9.]

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1834.

[Price One Penny.



VIEW OF MR. CARLILE'S HOUSE, 62, FLEET STREET, LONDON.

From the front page of Carlyle's weekly publication "The Scurge"; as reproduced in *Fleet Street in Seven Centuries*, Pitman and Sons, 1912.

The *Freemasons Quarterly Review* of March 31st, 1843 (p. 63) states:—

The Morning Chronicle announces the death of the notorious Richard Carlile. Within the last ten years his opinions had been greatly modified and in religious matters reversed. He died at his residence in Bouverie Street in his 53rd year. He had just completed the fourth number of a new periodical "The Christian Warrior". His body was removed to St. Thomas's Hospital for dissection, in compliance with his dying request, and with a long expressed desire that it might be subjected to anatomical purposes for the public good. A report that he died in want of the common necessities of life and of medical assistance, is completely groundless. All his wants were most abundantly supplied and at the moment of his death, his house was well supplied with every necessary.

He was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery. Carlile left six children, three sons by Jane Carlile¹ and one son and two daughters by Eliza Sharples. Jane Carlile survived him only a few months and died in the same house and was buried in the same grave. Eliza Sharples survived him many years and died in 1861. One of his daughters died in America in 1914 and wrote her father's history in 1899 (see bibliography).

The Science of Advertising has made great strides since Carlile put the following in his issue of the *Republican* of 14th January, 1825:—

ADVT.²

NOTICE TO READERS OF ANTI-CHRISTIAN BOOKS.

As I have a large stock of books and am anxious to encourage their circulation in every possible way, for the double end of self and principles, and as many others, like me, have large stocks in trade and but little cash at command. I will barter my books for any articles that are useful to a family.

Any useful article brought or sent to my shop at a fair stated value, with a note specifying the book or books in my catalogue desired in return of equal value shall be strictly complied with.

It is a somewhat original suggestion.

The statement that he altered his views regarding religion during the latter part of his life is not very definite. Aldred, his biographer, states:—

The truth is that the authorities in order to prevent him from speaking in the open air, claimed that none but licensed clergymen were entitled to exercise this right. Accordingly, Carlile made a formal declaration of belief in God and paid the requisite 2/6. This may suggest a juggling with terms, but it was in accordance with Carlile's consistent policy to take oaths and make legal declarations when and if required, on the ground that they were meaningless.

The various addresses from which Carlile published are as follows:—

- 1817. 183, Fleet Street. Pamphlet, *Sinecurist's Creed and Belief*.
- 1819. 55, Fleet Street. Vol. i. of the *Republican*.
- 1825. 135, Fleet Street. Vol. xii. of the *Republican*.

¹ The three sons by Jane Carlile were named Richard, Alfred and Tom Paine. It appears that Alfred carried on his father's publishing business at 183, Fleet Street, as the 1836 and 1837 editions of the manual were published in his name. At that time Carlile was living at Enfield when he was not touring the country lecturing. Richard emigrated to America after his father's death.

² *Republican*, vol. 11, page 53. January 14, 1825.

From June, 1826. 62, Fleet Street. The 1831 Manual.

1836. 84, Fleet Street. This is the imprint to the Appendix to the Theological Works of Thomas Paine.

1843. 1, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street.

Besides these he also gave as his addresses:—

Aug., 1819. Giltspur St. Compter.

Oct., 1819. King's Bench Prison.

April, 1831. The Compter.

And vol. xii. of the *Republican*, while published in London, is written with Dorchester Gaol as his address.

PART II.

Carlile's character suggests that he had at least two reasons, in his own mind, for his attack on Freemasonry, first, his aversion to all Secret Societies, with the oaths and obligations binding on their members, and, secondly, because he was aware that the Society was under the patronage of Royalty and specially protected by the 1799 Act of Parliament regarding Secret Societies. Royalty and Acts of Parliament were both matters of obsession to him; they apparently affected him in a manner comparable only with the proverbial quadruped and a red rag; but it is probable that there were further reasons, which included personal notoriety and financial gain, and in regard to these latter objects, he was undoubtedly successful.

The earliest reference to Freemasonry which I have been able to trace to Carlile appears in an article on the subject of "Secrecy", which he contributed to a periodical called "The Moralist" in 1824, from which the following are extracts:—

In Freemasonry, for instance, there is a grand cry of some profound secret among them, but the GRAND SECRET IS, that they have NO SECRET.

. . . The fidelity of a Freemason consists in the absence of all ground to make a breach of faith. It is possible, that the junior members of the Society might be led on step by step, under the supposition, that by and by, they are to know some grand secret; but it is a delusion, the time never comes, and the habit becomes the stimulant to perseverance, and the practice of similar delusions upon others.

. . . It is evident, that Masonry communicates no kind of useful knowledge; or it would be visible. Masons would be distinguished from others, which is not now the case. Signs, forms, and ceremonies, they might have; but this is not worthy of being called a secret.

. . . It is said that Masonry inculcates benevolence, humanity, brotherhood and all the virtues; but all these virtues ought to be inculcated, in a more enlarged manner, and not under the denomination of Masonry. If Masonry has benefits which are withheld from the masses of mankind, that withholding constitutes inhumanity, malevolence and vice. If it has no such benefits, it is an idle and mischievous association.

In 1825 he stated in the *Republican* that when he wrote the article in the "MORALIST" in 1824, he had not seen any description of Freemasonry.

beyond Mr. Paine's essay on the subject, which I have since learnt to be erroneous in all its inferences as to the secret or origin of Freemasonry. The publication of this paper in the *Moralist* excited an interest among the Materialists who had been Masons, and they began to express a wish that I should, by their assistance, expose the whole abuse. To this end I have been furnished with information from many persons, inhabiting very distant parts of England, and I find the various information agrees so well, as to justify me in concluding, that I am master of all the Masonic Signs, tokens, purposes and ceremonies.

I reasoned the matter with myself, upon the known relations of man to the things about him,—and being free from superstition,—I could not fail to come to a correct solution.

Mr. Paine erred, in giving the Masons a religious origin, and in inferring, that they were a sect which worshipped the sun or practised a secret religion. I saw instinctively, that they could have no secret of any value to themselves or to others; and as to a religion, I am sure, that nothing on that head, in this age of sects and superstition, could require private association.

My object being to discover, if possible, the source of Carlile's information regarding Freemasonry, we will first review "Paine's Essay", from which he states he derived his original inspiration, the following being a few extracts from Paine's pamphlet:—

AN ESSAY on the ORIGIN OF FREE MASONRY.

It is always understood that Free Masons have a secret which they carefully conceal; but from every thing that can be collected from their own accounts of masonry, their real secret is no other than their origin, which but few of them understand; and those who do, envelope it in mystery.

The Society of Masons is distinguished into three classes or degrees. 1st. The Entered Apprentice. 2nd. The Fellow-craft. 3rd. The Master Mason.

The entered apprentice knows but little more of masonry, than the use of signs and tokens, and certain steps and words by which Masons can recognise each other, without being discovered by a person who is not a mason. The fellow-craft is not much better instructed in masonry than the entered apprentice. It is only in the master mason's lodge that whatever knowledge remains of the origin of masonry is preserved and concealed.

Masonry is derived from some very antient religion wholly independent of and unconnected with that book. (The Bible.)

Masonry (as I shall show from the custom, ceremonies, hieroglyphics, and chronology of masonry) is derived from, and is the remains of, the religion of the antient druids, who, like the magi of Persia and the priests of Heliopolis in Egypt, were priests of the sun. They paid worship to the great luminary, as the great visible agent of a great invisible first cause, whom they styled, "Time without Limits".

In masonry, many of the ceremonies of the druids are preserved in their original state, at least without any parody. With them the sun is still the sun; and his image, in the form of the sun, is the great emblematical ornament of masonic lodges and masonic dress. It is the central figure on their aprons, and they wear it also pendant on the breast, in their lodges and in their processions.¹

We do not read in the history of the Jews, whether in the Bible or elsewhere, that they were the inventors or the improvers of any sort of science. Even in the building of this temple, the Jews did not know how to square and frame the timber for the beginning and carrying on the work, and Solomon was obliged to send to Hiram, king of Tyre (Sidon) to procure workmen; "For thou knowest", says Solomon to Hiram (I. Kings, v. 6) "that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians". This temple was more properly Hiram's temple, than Solomon's; and if the masons derive anything from the building of it, they owe it to the Sidonians, and not to the Jews.

Though the masons have taken many of their ceremonies and hieroglyphics from the antient Egyptians, it is certain that they have not taken their chronology from thence. If they had, the church would soon have sent them to the stake; as the chronology of the Egyptians, like that of the Chinese, goes many thousand years beyond the Bible chronology.

Under the head of Freemasonry, written by the astronomer Lalande, in the French Encyclopædia, I expected, from his great knowledge of astronomy, to have found much information on the origin of masonry, for what connection can there be between any institution and the sun and twelve signs of the zodiac, if there be not something in that institution, or its origin, that has reference to astronomy? Everything used as an hieroglyphic had reference to the subject and purpose for which it is used; and we are not to suppose the freemasons, among whom are many very learned and scientific men, to be such idiots as to make use of astronomical signs without some astronomical purpose. But I was much disappointed in my expectation from Lalande. In speaking of the origin of masonry, he (Lalande) says, "The origin of masonry, like many others, is lost in the obscurity of time". When I came to this expression, I supposed Lalande was a mason, and on enquiry found he was. This "Passing over" saved him from the embarrassment which masons are under respecting the disclosure of their origin and which they are sworn to conceal.

Paine, in his criticism, quotes George Smith's *The Use and Abuse of Free Masonry* (1783) in reference to the antiquity of Masonry in Britain. Smith stated:—"notwithstanding the obscurity which envelopes masonic history in that country, various circumstances contribute to prove that freemasonry was introduced into Britain about 1,030 years before Christ".

Paine's reply is:—"It cannot be masonry in its present state that Smith here alludes to. The druids flourished in Britain at the period he speaks of, and it is from them that masonry has descended. Smith has put the child in front of the parent".

He continues:—

"I come now to speak of the cause of the secrecy used by the masons. The natural source of secrecy is fear. When any new religion over-

¹ This was written before the Union, when the Sun was definitely a symbol of the Antients.

runs a former religion, the professors of the new become the persecutors of the old. We see this in all the instances that history brings before us. When the Christian religion overran the Jewish religion, the Jews were continual subjects of persecution. This would naturally and necessarily oblige such of them as remained attached to their original religion to meet in secret, and under the strongest injunctions to secrecy. Their safety depended upon it. A false brother might expose the lives of many of them to destruction; and from the remains of the religion of the druids, thus preserved, arose the institution, which, to avoid the name of druid, took the name of mason, and practised, under its new name, the rites and ceremonies of druids".

Carlile did not derive anything of an esoteric nature from Paine, who was not very antagonistic towards the craft, but Paine took a definite view regarding its origin, which Carlile did not agree with.

Thomas Paine died in 1809, but his *Essay of Freemasonry* was not published until 1811. Carlile writes in the *Republican* of August 12th, 1825:—

In my first letter, I noticed Mr. Paine's Essay on Freemasonry, as an erroneous account of its origin. I am still assured, that it is erroneous, on the ground of origin; but I have since learned, that Mr. Paine was not far wrong in the purpose for which he wrote that essay. It was not written to be published as it was published; but as a chapter in his unpublished reply to Bishop Watson. His executrix, who published it, also mangled its references to the Christian Religion. I have now a perfect copy of it. In his reply to the Bishop, Mr. Paine has a chapter to show, that the Christian Religion was a mere corruption of sun worship, and he wrote this chapter on Masonry to corroborate his arguments.

So much for the source of Carlile's earliest information on and reference to Freemasonry, but Thomas Paine himself calls for a brief notice.

Thomas Paine, author of *The Rights of Man* 1737-1809, was born at Thetford, Norfolk. His life is fully recorded in the Dictionary of National Biography and the Dictionary of American Biography, but it may be mentioned here that at the age of 16 he joined a privateer and remained at sea three years. He died in 1809 at New Rochelle in the U.S.A., and was buried on his own farm, as consecrated ground was closed to his remains because he was an infidel. His bones were disinterred by Cobbett (Peter Porcupine) in 1819 and brought back to England, where Cobbett intended to raise a great monument to the patriotic author of *The Rights of Man*. The monument was never erected, and the remains rested in Liverpool till after Cobbett's death. In 1836 they were seized as part of the property of his son, who became bankrupt. The Court refused to regard them as an asset, and, with the coffin, they were acquired by a furniture dealer in 1844, at which point their history is lost.

THE MANUAL OF FREEMASONRY is a book which has had a circulation numbering thousands; in fact, it can, without doubt, be classed as one of the best-sellers in Masonic literature.

How many Masons have bought a copy, read it, or parts of it, and then felt rather doubtful regarding the propriety of having it in their possession?

As a young mason, I was myself in this position, but I lent my copy to a Masonic friend, who did not return it, and I felt thankful that it was out of my keeping; and I have no doubt that there have been others who have been similarly situated.

There remained in my memory, however, some statements in the introduction which left me with the impression that there was something more to be found out about the author and what he knew about Freemasonry. Amongst the statements made by Carlile in the 1831 and later edition were:—

1831

I have omitted all those remarks which in the numbers of the 12th Volume of the "Republican" must have been so offensive to Masons.

and 1836

Though I still deprecate all secret associations, all oath-making or absolute promises, as not being necessary to the present welfare of English Society, I have, by research, arrived at quite another general view of Masonry, to that which I took on first exposing it in the year 1825, while a prisoner in Dorchester gaol.

He also states (1831, in the introduction to Part I.):—

I rejoice in being able to expose to the world the professed secrets of others. I am sure that secrecy is a vice and I therefore expose and explain Freemasonry.

so that the reader of Carlile's *Manual of Freemasonry* has not the least doubt regarding the objects of the author before he begins to read the book. In this paper I am endeavouring to trace the meaning of the before-mentioned paragraphs and to find out what led Carlile "by research" to arrive at "quite another general view of Freemasonry" and to record some of the "remarks" he had previously made, which he acknowledges, "must have been so offensive to Masons".

It is during his incarceration at Dorchester Gaol in 1825 that he first comes before the Masonic public and he states in the later editions of the *Manual*:—

(Part II., 1836, p. xvii.)

the now scarce and much sought work, the twelfth volume of the "Republican", of the pecuniary value of which, while compiling it in Dorchester gaol, I had not an idea, or I might have made it a source of great profit, is not now to be purchased, unless with the set of fourteen volumes at Five Pounds.

Writing a hundred years later (1936) it may be stated that a good copy of vol. 12 of the *Republican* is itself worth nearly as much as the author's valuation of the entire fourteen volumes in 1836.

The so-called "Third Edition", "Revised and enlarged", which contains the extra Title Page, describing it as the "Genuine Edition" by the "Late Richard Carlile", "Now first collected in one volume" dated 1845 (Price 5/-, Published originally for 15/-), contains at the end two pages of Publishers' Advertisements of works issued by W. Dugdale, 16 Holywell Street, Strand, one of which states:—

The Manual of Freemasonry as published by Carlile for fifteen shillings is contained in the "Mirror of Romance" at two pence each, and each number has, also, an Elegant French Plate, worth more than the whole sum charged. The Manual of Freemasonry may also be had in Parts, of which the first and second will be One Shilling and the Third Two Shillings.

This shows the popularity of the publication immediately after Carlile's death, but I have been unable to trace a copy of the "Mirror of Romance",¹ which was advertised as "Complete in ten parts sixpence each, or in Thirty Numbers two pence each".

Neither have I been able to discover a copy of either of the two parts at 1/- each or the third part at 2/-. (The Reading Room, British Museum, has not been able to trace the "Mirror of Romance" or the above editions of the *Manual of Freemasonry*.)

The first intimation given to the readers of the *Republican* that Freemasonry was going to be exposed by Carlile appeared in the issue of March 25th, 1825, in the form of an open letter addressed to the King (George IV.):—

Republican. Vol. 11, No. 12. March 25, 1825.

Dorchester Gaol. March 21, 1825.

COPY OF A LETTER SENT TO THE KING, WINDSOR CASTLE.

Sir,

You are styled the Grand Patron of the Association of Freemasons and I shall shortly unfold to the public, that you are the grand patron of a grand delusion and of as useless and mischievous a piece of mummery as was ever patronized or unpatronized.

I have been long assured, without a knowledge of particulars, that there could be nothing really good, or unmixed with evil, that was supported by royalty, aristocracy and a priesthood.

Before I knew anything of the particulars of Masonry, I pronounced, from my knowledge of man and things, that the Grand Secret was no secret, or alike a secret to all, something expected but never gained.

I will now show you, that a connection with such an association is disgraceful to any magistrate, much more so as to a chief magistrate. It makes a part of that general system of delusion upon the multitude, in which much of error and mischief, is mixed up with a little that is good, and the title of good foisted upon the pernicious compound.

A full exposition of Free Masonry, which I am about to make, will afford another proof, that any kind of oath-making, particularly by secret oaths, such as are practiced in Masonic Lodges, is a vice and injurious to the community as a whole.

I am, Sir, Your prisoner.

R. Carlile.

A fortnight later, we find another notice, showing that he was not quite ready to commence his campaign, and he was encouraging his readers to give him further information:—

¹ Since this article has been in print, the *Mirror of Romance*, complete in one volume, dated 1844, has been lent to me by Bro. David Flather. It contains the entire Carlile *Manual* without the comments and criticisms which appear in the *Republican* and first two editions.

The *Manual* occupies a great portion of Nos. 14 to 26 of this publication—price 2d. per issue—(probably weekly), and has the following interesting introduction:—

"The following work was published by the late Richard Carlile, at a price which placed it beyond the reach of all but the rich. It is now extremely scarce, and we purpose to reprint it in the *Mirror of Romance*, so that it will be placed within the means of every individual. It is a work of extraordinary interest, and such as was never before presented to the public".

It is definitely printed from the same setting of type used by Dugdale for his 1845 edition.

The *Mirror of Romance* does not contain any other items of Masonic interest.

Republican. Vol. 11, No. 14. April 8, 1825.

NOTICE.

R. Carlile, being about to make an exposure of Freemasonry and wishing to do it in the most complete manner, will thank any friend for what he can say and will say for and against it.

This advertisement is very cleverly worded, as he was asking the opposition to tell him what they had to say for Freemasonry. It is a decided advantage to a speaker, who is opposing a subject, to know what its defenders will say, before he opens his attack; but there is no doubt that that advertisement brought him some information, and only six weeks passed before he was asking for still more information, and this time he definitely told his readers the books he wanted:—

Republican. Vol. 11, No. 20. May 27, 1825.

FREEMASONRY.

Having received a large additional mass of papers, printed and in manuscript, I wish to digest the whole before I begin to print. In addition to Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* I wish to borrow Dr. Hammond's *Lectures* of which I have only the first four sections. Perhaps some sensible brother, indignant at the error and nonsense into which he has been drawn, can furnish me with these.

We must not overlook the fact that during all this period and five years previously, he was in Dorchester Gaol and had not the facilities for research which would have been available to him had he been free, and therefore he had to rely upon information sent to him. The error of printing Hammond for Hemming was quite possibly a printer's mistake, because he says that he has part of the work, and therefore knew the author's name.

Three weeks later we get a definite date fixed for the commencement of the Exposure.

Republican. Vol. 11, No. 24. June 17, 1825.

FREEMASONRY.

The Lectures for the First or Entered Apprentices Degree by Dr. Hemmings [not Hammond, as before printed] have been received and I shall be much obliged by receiving the lectures of the second and third degrees.

I have also Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, Hutchinson's *Spirit of Masonry* and a volume of Brother Finch's pick-pocket rubbish.

This Masonry as a whole, is more abominable than Religion. It has all the vices of religion combined with many characteristic vices of its own. There are some pamphlets publishing called the "Cat out of the Bag", but they constitute nothing more than a burlesque.

Mine is to be a serious and complete exposure of Masonry in all its ramifications. My present knowledge of it is extensive, perhaps more than any one brother knew before, but I desire all the information that can be given me.

The paper of a Scotch Mason has been received from Manchester, and also the paper from Leeds. My letters on the subject will commence in Number 1 of Volume 12. The remainder of Dr. Hemming's Lectures is all that I now particularly crave and of these I have no need for illustration, they only happen to be the most modern and authorized publication on the subject.

I should not object to see Mr. William's Lectures and when ready his long promised history.

R.C.

This is an important letter and shows that Carlile had accumulated a useful Masonic Library at Dorchester, including publications of Finch (who will be referred to later), and it is particularly interesting to note that in 1825 the then "long promised history" by Brother Williams was being asked for.

You will remember that in 1815 a *Book of Constitutions* was published by authority of Grand Lodge, described as "Part the Second", which informed its readers that the first part "will be printed with as little delay as possible"; but the first part has never been published.

This *Book of Constitutions* was edited by Bro. William Williams, Prov. Grand Master for Dorset, to whom Carlile later addressed all his letters on Craft Masonry.

Regarding "Mr. William's Lectures", which Carlile mentions, these were probably the final portion of the Lectures as arranged by the Lodge of Reconciliation, which Bro. Williams undertook to complete owing to the illness of Dr. Samuel Hemming, but, so far as I am aware, neither Hemming's nor Williams' version of the Lectures was ever OFFICIALLY published.

The stage is now ready, a new volume of the *Republican* commenced on July 8th, 1825, and Carlile launched his campaign.

The *Manual of Freemasonry* is the re-edited and revised version published in 1831 and later, of the letters which appeared in the *Republican*, as it was issued weekly (Price 6d.) between the dates of 8th July and 21st October, 1825.

These letters were addressed, regarding Craft Freemasonry, to, "William Williams, Esq., M.P., Provincial Grand Master of the Society of Freemasons for the County of Dorset", and the entire series of letters is addressed from Dorchester Gaol.

I have not been able to find any definite reason why Carlile addressed these letters to William Williams,¹ who was Member of Parliament for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis and Prov. Grand Master for Dorset from 1812 to 1839, unless it was because he was, at the time he was writing, in Prison in that County. In fact, he admits on page 34 of the *Republican* that

Though I address you by name, it is only for the purpose of form; the object of these letters is, to communicate a knowledge of Masonry to the public. I do not expect that I can add much to your knowledge on the subject, but I am nearly sure, at this time, that you cannot add to mine.

The second letter is dated somewhat differently:—

July 8. A.D. 1825. Anno Lucis to Freemasons 1, not 5825.

The third letter:—

July 14. Anno Tenebrae 1825. Anno Lucis (to masons) 1.

And later, when writing about Royal Arch Ceremonies, his letters are addressed to:—

His Royal Highness, George Frederick Guelph, The Duke of York, Bishop of Osnaburg, Royal Arch Mason, etc. September 23 A.T. 1825. A.L. (to Royal Arch Masons) 1.

The first letter was dated May 8th, 1825, although it was not published till July 8th, 1825, and commences thus:—

Sir,

I calculate that my last effort in Dorchester Gaol will be the annihilation of Free Masonry, at least, such an exposure of it, as shall shame

¹ Returned M.P. for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis Borough 29th June, 1818, and held that seat until 2nd June, 1826.

sensible and honourable men from joining it, and draw many from it, if such there be among you.

When the volume was completed, in December, 1825, Carlile writes a special foreword for the volume, which he heads:—

DEDICATION TO THE KING.

It commences:—

Sir

I dedicate this twelfth Volume of the "*Republican*" to you, because it contains a complete exposure of the mummeries of the association of Freemasons of which you are the self-styled Grand Patron. In doing this, my aim is not so much to insult, as to shame; not so much to wound any man who is a mason, as to instruct those who are not, in what Masonry consists.

In the same letter he boasts:—

Some person, professing to be the secretary to a London Lodge, came to our shop in Fleet Street, and said, that new words, grips, and signs, had been rendered imperative, and were about to be adopted; he also observed, that the Grand Lodge had better have paid my fines than have witnessed such an exposure.

It was in 1809, sixteen years earlier, that the Grand Lodge (Moderns) decided that "it is not necessary any longer to continue those measures which were resorted to in or about the year 1739", so that, as no further alterations have been made since that date, it is evident that Carlile's statement was not entirely bluff. It shows, that in the opinion of some masons at that time, Grand Lodge should have made some effort to suppress the publication. I have read the Minute Book of Grand Lodge and also the Quarterly Communications for the period of Carlile's publication of the exposure, and a few months later, but have failed to find any reference recorded regarding the matter, and Wor. Bro. William Williams, P.G.M. for Dorset, was present at Grand Lodge on at least one occasion (7:12:1825). It is possible that it was discussed at these meetings, but it is evident that no official action was taken and apparently Grand Lodge came to the conclusion that it was best to ignore the attack.

In selecting extracts from his letters in the *Republican* I have purposely avoided points of a particularly dangerous and even obscene nature, which would give offence to-day, as he later acknowledged they must have done when published.

On page 4 he states:—

Any ruffian, the trade is now out of the question, that can raise a few pounds, can be made a mason, and if he can pay for it, he may go through all the degrees in one night. It may not be the case with every Lodge, some may be more strict and respectable than others—but it is generally the case. It is now conducted upon the principle, that one fool makes many, and as you pay before you know what for, each fool has no benefit in retracing his steps, he sees, that he may as well continue in the Association to eat and drink at the expense of other fools to come.

Page 5:—

A more mischievous association never existed in this nor in any other country, as I shall prove, as I proceed in this exposure.

The present legislature, in its war upon all other associations, that might have been in some degree useful, is morally bound to put down this association of Freemasons, which has ever been improperly, though specially, exempted in different Acts of Parliament.

Page 8 contains a very suggestive paragraph, which is, even to-day, unprintable, and continues:—

Nothing really good passes where women are necessarily or systematically excluded.

But after he had “revised his views on Freemasonry” he wrote in the 1831 edition:—

(Part I., p. 9)

It is the fault of Freemasonry that it has had nothing feminine belonging to it, the ladies make no part of its mysteries and to the ladies it has been a matter of great uneasiness. They very naturally and very properly, suspect the propriety of all exclusively male association.

Page 9:—

It is very probable, that it has been the parent of similar nonsense called Druids Societies, Orange Societies, Oddfellows Societies, and a variety of filthy spawn of that kind, generally the work of those who keep publichouses, to draw company and to sell their pernicious liquors to the infatuated and immoral crowd.

One of Carlile's early descriptions of the origin of Freemasonry may be of interest:—

(*Rep.*, 1825)

Associations of Masons existed in England, and in Europe generally as soon as the Christian Religion became powerful and raised stately houses for worship and for religious associations. These were chiefly for the regulation of the trade in general and wages in particular. These form the original of what are now called Freemasons. But these were really a trade society, such as those of various trades now existing; and as Masonry then formed the principal trade, the Masons became a formidable body; at one time menaced by Acts of Parliament, even with death for their combinations; at another caressed and receiving Charters from the Monarch. It is very probable, though we have no confirmation of the fact recorded, that the existence of Masons, as a secret Association, followed the Acts of Parliament, which forbade them to refuse to work for stated wages, and which made the refusal, and any combination to raise their wages, a capital offence. Here was a stimulus for secret association. Here was reason for all that secrecy of proceeding which now forms but a disgraceful mummerly with those called Freemasons. It is known, that these secret associations of Masons triumphed over the laws which were enacted against them and that triumph might have stimulated the perpetuity of the secret association of free and accepted Masons. But there is nothing to justify the existence of the foolery of modern Masonic associations.

But twelve years later his views were definitely modified:—

(1836. Part II., page vii.)

Such also is Masonry. To follow the ritual and routine of all the degrees, to have the language in memory, and to be able from memory, to practise all the required steps, positions, grips or motions,

just amounts to nothing at all, in the making of a true mason. As with the Bible, the spirit or revelation of the allegory of Masonry is required, both as knowledge and practice, to make out the character of a real Mason. A true mason is the same character as a true Christian. That character is formed by the acquisition of all possible knowledge, with the benevolent desire of extending it among the whole human race; that recognises in every man a brother who has need of every other man's good will and assistance. We have now among those who claim the distinction, neither practical Masons nor practical Christians. All are misled with the delusions of the letter, ritual or ceremony; none understand the spirit or revelation of the allegory.

In 1831 defining the duty of a Mason (Part I., page 8), Carlile says:—

A good mason would, in fact have no religion. It should be his boast that his science takes him out of modern religion. He who can build Solomon's Temple, in an allegorical sense, is disqualified from being a fanatic in modern religion.

In the 1845 Edition the above sentence is revised and the word "superstition" is substituted for religion, and the final words, "in modern religion", have been deleted.

In 1831 he states:—

I heard a learned Mason say, about a year ago, that there were but two Masons in England,—himself and the Duke of Sussex. I put in a claim to be a third, and I now know a fourth, in the person of the Rev. Robert Taylor. I am not sure, but that, up to this time, the latter gentleman with myself are the only two really learned Masons in the world. The secret shall come out. I will clear up the doubt and difficulty, and teach masonry to Masons.

In the 1845 Edition this paragraph is slightly modified, and reads:—

The late Godfrey Higgins once observed to me, without explanation, that there were but two Masons in England—himself and the Duke of Sussex. I put in a claim to be a third. He asked me to explain, on the condition that he was not to commit himself by any observation. I did so, as here set forth. He smiled and withdrew. The secret is now out. I will clear up the doubt and difficulty, and teach Masonry to Masons.

These are the statements of a man who continued to denounce the Society in very plain language in 1831 while publishing the ritual in detail and acknowledging that he was not a Mason, but he states that what he had previously published:—

(1831, p. 3)

Has been communicated to me by Masons, has been confirmed by other Masons; it has been the Standard Manual of Masonry, since it was first published in the *Republican* in 1825, it has made many Masons, without the lodge initiation, and by its direction, I have been assured, that men who have never been in a lodge have successfully and profitably taught practical masonry.

How did he get his information? On p. 3 of the *Republican*, vol. xii., he says:—

I have been furnished with information from many persons, inhabiting very distant parts of England, and I find that the various information

agrees so well, as to justify me in concluding, that I am the master of all the Masonic signs, words, tokens, purposes and ceremonies.

The following specific references occur in the text itself. At p. 114 he quotes from the 1793 edition of *Jachin and Boaz*. At p. 115 he mentions Professor Robison, whom, however, he misspells as Robinson. On p. 116 is a reference to a work published in Edinburgh in 1799 which I am unable to identify. On p. 124 comes an allusion to Finch: "the tailor's rubbish is scarcely worth notice". On p. 165 an Irish Pocket Companion is referred to but without any date. Preston's *Illustrations* is quoted on p. 167, and *The Cat out of the Bag* on p. 253. There is also a reference to Dr. Oliver on p. 27, and the following extract, which I give in full, is interesting as showing that Dr. Hemming's Lectures were in print, but not in general circulation:—

(1825, page 33)

I have a heap of these catechisms and lectures before me, varying in form, but alike in substance, embracing, I conjecture all that have been current in England, since Freemasons have records or written papers of any kind, but I shall follow Dr. Hemming's book in this first degree, as the most modern and best arranged series of questions upon the subject.

As I copy for exposure, and not for profit, AND AS THE WORK IS NOT SOLD TO THE PUBLIC, I must beg the Doctor through you (William Williams) not to bring me to a knowledge of one of Lord Eldon's GRIPS in Chancery. for that would be worse than to be locked up by him here.

Rev. Samuel Hemming, S.G.W. 1813, was a prominent member of the Lodge of Reconciliation (see *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxiii). He wrote a part of the Lectures, but, owing to ill-health, was unable to continue the work, which was eventually completed by William Williams (P.G.M., Dorset). As this Lodge completed its work in 1816 the Lectures were available to Carlile when he stated on April 27th, 1825, that he had the first four sections.

In October, 1825 (*Rep.*, vol. 12, page 602), Carlile prints "Extracts of a letter from a Masonic Friend", which, if genuine, suggests that he returned the manuscripts which had been lent to him for the purpose of compiling his letters in the *Republican*:—

Dear Sir, I have received the manuscript and *Jachin and Boaz* safe. Your exposition of masonry is excellent. The first three degrees and Royal Arch are all that I want to know anything about, and you have handled them well, you have only omitted some trivial ceremonies which are probably not used in all lodges. In the Royal Arch you have not given the mummerly of the exultation as it is called.

The reference to *The Cat out of the Bag* is as follows:—

Two pamphlets have recently been published as numbers of a work entitled "The Cat out of the Bag"; which is professedly an exposure of Masonry. If it has any relation to Masonry, it must be to some of those higher degrees, which I have not yet fully examined.

He states later that:—

The Pamphlets called "The Cat out of the Bag" are pieces of burlesque upon Masonry. I shall develop all for which I have authority, and nothing but for which I have the authority of real masons. Several new masons, with whom I had no previous cor-

respondence, have assured me of the correctness as far as I have gone and I have the satisfaction to find it corroborated by respectable men, who were unknown to each other, and who, therefore, cannot conspire to deceive me or the public.

To show the sort of thing that Carlile obtained in the way of information, it may be of interest to mention that he states that, "if a young mason begins to write anything he recollects, he gets a smart rap on the knuckles from one of the masonic instruments as a memento".

Before Carlile commences any details of a ritualistic nature, he warns the reader that:—

Page 9.

There are some slight variances in the proceedings of the several lodges, and from time to time in the same lodge, but the following description is nearly that of the Grand Lodge, and will with subsequent explanations, enable any man to enter any Lodge, not that I recommend any thing of the kind. To witness the idle mummary is not a matter of sufficient interest to excuse the falsehood of assuming to be a Mason when a man is not.

P. 11. In describing the opening ceremony of the Lodge, he says there is: "Nothing particularly objectionable", but on page 78 we find:—

The F.C. Degree is really superior to all the other degrees, but even here there is nothing important taught, nothing but what every child ought to be taught before it is ten years of age.

Page 43.

The word Cowan is a flash word, peculiar to masons. It signifies enemy, but formerly was expressive of Kings, and all those who had the power to persecute and who did persecute the associated Masons

and again:—

formerly no persons were admitted to be masons, who were defective in body, but is now more liberal and does not object to bodily defects (that is, if the money can be had).

On page 69 we learn that a cable-tow's length of the lodge signifies three miles.

In the 1825 version of the ritual in the *Republican* we find that the Candidate for initiation is

{	"Doodle Noodle"	
{	"Mr. Noodle"	but in the 1831 and later
{	"Brother Noodle"	

editions the candidate becomes more politely, "Mr. N. and Brother N". It is interesting to note a few corrections in the wording of the ritual; for instance, in 1825 the candidate obtained admission by the "Square of good report", but in 1831, by the "tongue of good report". We find in the original edition (1825) those who prize honour and virtue above "all other things" altered to "the external advantages of rank and fortune" in the 1836 edition.

In the 1825 version, Carlile comments on the Ceremonies; for instance, there is a long digression on the signing of the declaration by the candidate, another on his preparation, followed by about four pages on the obligation and comments upon the working tools and charge. These interpolations are continued in the second and third degrees, particularly in the third, but in the 1831 and later editions all these comments have been eliminated.

In searching for sources of origin from which Carlile could have obtained the information which he printed in the *Republican*, we cannot overlook his references to William Finch, whom he acknowledges as one of the originators of his interest in Freemasonry.

Finch had been making a substantial income from Freemasonry, by privately performing initiation ceremonies and publishing expensive rituals. Carlile does not appear to have copied any of the statements made by Finch; in fact, he definitely ridicules both his methods and publications, as will be noted from the following comments in the *Republican*:—

(p. 204)

It was Finch who laid the foundation of this, my exposure of Masonry, and I may add my instructions of Masons. He was the first individual to collect all the documents which he could collect concerning masonry for the press. But he has done it in the most obscure manner, making keys necessary to every document that he has printed as really descriptive of masonry. This printing, on the part of Finch, gave grave offence to the leading men of the Grand Lodge in London, for he began to spoil their trade, to instruct masons at home, and to form lodges by his own knowledge and authority.

They denounced him, though they were afraid of him. This circumstance set one Waller Rodwell Wright, who is now Provincial Grand Master for the Ionian Islands to remodel the shabby exhibition of masonic documents which Finch had accumulated and published and, to this gentleman, my readers are indebted for that very good lecture on the second degree of which Finch had nothing like it. I also had Wright's Lectures on the first degree; but preferred Dr. Hemming's, as the latter gentleman, who lives at Hampton Court and is a Past Grand Chaplain, has given the whole a literary purification, improving, in some measure, on the work of Mr. Wright.

To Finch I trace my means of Exposure, for had he never published and set up a sort of masonic manufacture, the improvements of Mr. Wright and Dr. Hemming had probably not been made and masonry had remained unknown but to masons.

I recollect that in the year 1814 or 15, a shower of rain once drove me for a shelter on a Sunday, under the portal or steps of Finch's house, the sides of which were pasted all over with masonic advertisements. My curiosity was excited, and I remained until I had read them all; but it was then all gibberish to me, and I could not foresee that I should be brought to Dorchester Gaol to make this exposure; an exposure which has electrified, or will electrify before I have done with it, all the Masons in the Island.

(*Rep.*, p. 124)

Regarding the Third Degree, in comparing rituals, Carlile remarks:—

Brother Finch, the tailor's rubbish is scarcely worth notice. He was evidently a trixter, to make all the new orders he could, to find out what never before existed and to make as much money of masonry as possible.

(*Rep.* 166)

Finch the Masonic Tailor, published a book attributed to a French Count, to show that Cromwell was the institutor of Freemasonry, as it has since existed in England; and by the publication of something called French Masonry as practised in the French Army under

Napoleon Bonaparte, he infers, that Cromwell and Bonaparte owed all their military and political success to this adoption of Masonry. I have never seen any historical evidence elsewhere to corroborate the one or the other case and I hold Brother Finch to be a very bad authority.

(204)

Finch knew as much of modern masonry as any man that has lived; he studied it deeply for many years, collected all the writings and printings which he could collect upon the subject.

(Rep., 311/312)

The Degrees which I have printed in this Publication, and much less incorrect [*sic*] than mine, were sold by Finch at the average price of a guinea each. He considered half a crown a page a moderate charge for his nonsense; NONSENSE, I truly say, for good sense never fetched such a price. His charge for attendance to instruct a Lodge was ten guineas a day and single masons he would pass through the degrees at the rate of a guinea, sometimes a guinea and a half or two guineas for a degree . . . to be initiated by him through all the degrees would have cost near a hundred pounds. His boast was that he administered masonry at a much cheaper rate than it could be bought in the regular lodges. I shall give you more masonic information for half a dozen shillings than the cheap dealing Finch would have given you for a hundred pounds. His charges were as abominable as masonry itself. Finch had no excuse for his prices, besides that of finding masonic fools to give them.¹

Carlile prints in full the Leyland-Locke manuscript, which he acknowledges that he has taken from Preston, and comments upon it thus:—

The document itself exhibits great ignorance of history . . . is a mixture of conceit and ignorance, such as always detects itself.

I am surprised that Mr. Locke should have been duped by a document of this kind, but he was not free from superstition, and when a man is not free from superstition, he is open to all sorts of imposition and credulity.

Upon the whole, this document is far from being creditable to the masonic association and proves nothing more than that the secret combination had raised all sorts of strange notions among the multitude and had perhaps induced the masons themselves to make pretensions of knowing and performing such things as those of which they were utterly ignorant.

It is interesting to note the views of Carlile—who was not a freemason—condemning this manuscript in 1825, when he had in his possession Preston's *Illustrations of Freemasonry*, wherein Preston accepts it as genuine and calls it "this authentic document of antiquity" (1795 Ed.).

¹ William Finch (Preston, 13th Edition. 1821. Page 390):—

(Jan., 1815) Thomas Smith, a Copper plate engraver, sued Wm. Finch for £4. 2. 0 work done for Finch (probably one of Finch's Masonic Certificates). Finch put in a plea that Smith owed him £16. 19. 6 for making him a Mason in the Independent Lodge at his own house near Westminster Bridge. Dr. Hemming, P.S.G.W., Wm. White and Harper, Joint Grand Secretaries, were brought to court and in evidence proved that Finch had no power to make Masons. Finch had been a member of a Lodge, but had been expelled.

The following quotations are very typical:—

(*Rep.*, 313)

I have been thinking, whether it would not be worth Mr. Dibdin's¹ while to dramatize some of the foregoing degrees. It would certainly fill the Surrey Theatre for months. The joke would be good, to see all the mummeries practised on the stage, all the Secret signs, tokens and words given and the whole thing exposed to the life! There is room for good comic action, in the nonsensical ceremonies. Masonry is in itself a private or secret drama. I hope at least some friend will submit it to Mr. D's notice, or to that of some other caterer for the dramatic public. If the Masons will not see it, their wives will to a woman and but few masons could keep away from it. Let it once go on the stage and no two Masons would, afterwards, look each other in the face.

(*Rep.*, 311)

I consider that I have conferred even a benefit on masons who follow the thing from curiosity, by this exposure and am entitled to their thanks. Many of them go on under the supposition that they arrive at some very important knowledge; and to assure them that they are not, is to confer a benefit on them, pecuniary as well as moral, for the pursuit is very expensive.

At this point I may suitably introduce a quotation from Mrs. Blake: *The Realities of Freemasonry*. London 1879. On p. 162 she says:—

We are indebted for the following charges and lectures to Mr. R. Carlyle's "Manual of Freemasonry" which contains the forms most commonly used in England. It is said that the Grand Lodge of Ireland, when this work first appeared, distributed copies of it gratis, with the object of inducing the world in general to believe that Mr. Carlyle's descriptions of the ceremonies of the craft were so many falsehoods.

I have not ventured to ask the Grand Lodge of Ireland for any confirmation, or otherwise, of this statement.

Some months after the conclusion of his articles we find him keeping the matter fresh in the minds of his readers:—

Republican. Vol. 13, No. 13. March 31, 1826.

EXPOSURE OF FREEMASONRY.

This subject continues to excite great interest, if we may judge by the constant demand for the Twelfth Volume.

Many readers will recollect that I purposed to present a petition to the House of Commons upon the subject of Masonic oaths and the secrecy of the Association generally. I still retain that purpose. I have written to a M.P. upon the subject of presenting it, but as yet have no answer. I shall try a few of them before I give up the purpose. Independent of the immoralities of Masonry, I hold it to be a matter of common justice, that the Legislature should put down this Association, as it has put down many of the kind under other names. The subject will not be lost sight of, and should the present Parliament be dissolved sooner than expected, it will be prepared for another.

R.C.

¹ Charles Dibden was a well known Theatrical Manager of the period.

In the Minute Book of the Special Lodge of Promulgation 1809-1811 (now at Grand Lodge), which Lodge was formed for the purpose of arranging some uniformity of ritual between the Moderns and the Antients as a prelude to the Union which eventuated in 1813, it is recorded that a suggestion was made that:—

“a special officer should prepare for preservation, in an Ark to be kept sacred for that purpose, a Pandect¹ of the Science of Speculative Freemasonry, comprising a clear and comprehensive digest of everything relating to the Art, save and except those particulars which are forbidden to be committed to writing . . . that in case of future occasion to ascertain points concerning which doubts, uncertainty, or difference of opinion may exist, a reference to this duly Sanctioned authority may conclusively decide the question and effectually govern the practice ever after. This pandect should be written in Masonic Cypher”.

Bro. Hextall (*A.Q.C.*, xxiii., 56) records, regarding the above, that the Lodge did not agree to the proposal; and wrote:—

Probably they regarded much of it as beyond their province, and to many of them, the idea of compiling a written ritual—however guarded by cypher writing and close official custody—would be objectionable.

I have mentioned the above to show that the Lodge of Promulgation was NOT one of the sources of information available to Carlile.

As will be observed from the Bibliography of Carlile's Works on Freemasonry, the *Manual of Freemasonry* is divided into three parts, and these parts were originally issued (in the editions prior to 1845) separately at 5/- each.

Each part has a preface; in the 1845 edition, 16 pages in the first part, 31 pages in Part Two, and 39 pages in Part Three.

These introductory parts appear also in the earlier editions, but first of all in the 1831 edition of the first part. The second and third parts of this edition have so far eluded every effort I have made to discover copies. The only perfect copy I know of Part One is in the Worcestershire Masonic Library.

It is a curious fact that Part One, which contains the explanation of the first three degrees (according to Carlile), is prefaced by “The keystone of the Royal Arch”, an essay of several pages, which has really no reference to R.A. Masonry, but which may be considered as a general introduction to Freemasonry.

In fact, he states (page vii., 1845 edition):—

I propose to furnish here nothing more than the *Key Stone* to the *Arch of Freemasonry*, which is the moral and gist of the Royal Arch Degree, at which Masons have played, *not worked*, without knowing what they were about.

The introduction to the Second Part, in which he gives his version of the Royal Arch, is over 30 pages and definitely contains criticism on the R.A. Degree, but also has much more about the Craft Degrees than the preface to the first part pretends to do. It also contains quite an interesting description of the Tau and Cross.

The introduction to the Third Part, however, is trivial and mainly consists of a table of “Scriptural names translated from the Hebrew and Greek into the English Language”; but in the *Republican* of September 9, 1825, where his

¹ PANDECT:—The digest of Roman Civil Law, made by order of Justinian and by him given the authority and force of law. A comprehensive treatise on any subject.

criticisms, after dealing with some of the higher degrees are of such a nature as to be unpublishable, he writes:—

Now, Brother Williams, I am heartily sick of this abominable trash, and so are most of my old readers, many of whom will not take the trouble to read it. In excuse for filling the *Republican* with it, I would remind them, that nothing vicious or nonsensical can be exposed without being detailed. And however gross or tedious that detail, the exposure cannot be complete or effectual without it. I would gladly have abridged the matter, but I saw that abridgment would have been hailed by Masons as ignorance of their frivolous ceremonies. Other degrees have existed and do exist which I have not detailed for want of necessary documents; but we have enough, we have all that a celebrated Mason could collect for years upon the subject, at a very great expense, and we find a general sameness, which must of necessity be the case, in whatever degrees of ramifications it takes, unless some specific political or religious principles be mixed up with it, as has been the case on the continent, and, at times, partially in this Island.

The "celebrated Mason" will probably have been Dr. Hemming.

In the issue of the *Republican* of September 2, 1825, there is a letter dated August 6, 1825, addressed to Carlile from a correspondent in Bristol, who signs himself, "Hiram the Second", enclosing a poem (?) entitled "Five shillings worth of Fun and a Crown's worth of Laughter". "The Freemasons are mad and Bridge Street is all in an uproar", and an article headed, "To be seen at the Fair, at the Slave Mason's Hall, Bridge Street".

These three items are not exactly suitable for republication: but Carlile comments upon them as follows:—

Note.—I hope this Bristol Friend and Brother will furnish me with a description of the degrees he mentions. I have before heard that Bristol is a hotbed for the more ridiculous part of Masonry and have wished for a communication with a Masonic brother in that city or neighbourhood. I shall be very glad to hear again from "Hiram the Second". It should have been the Third, as tradition already mentions two masons of that name. R.C.

One more reference to William Williams may be quoted:—

(*Rep.*, 12. Sep. 9, 1825, page 309)

We can hardly blame such a man as the younger Harper, who left his bookshop in Fleet Street to go and play the part of Joint Grand Secretary to the Grand Lodge, to the tune of £400 to £500 per year. But for a man such as you (Williams) to run all over the country playing first fool or deputy grand fool, is strange indeed, and indicates another phrenological organ, as yet unnoticed by Gall or Spurzheim, or an organ of folly.

In the *Manual of Freemasonry*, Carlile attacks not only Craft Freemasonry, but also the higher degrees, but in this paper it has been my intention to give his views on Freemasonry in General and not to particularise on any special portion of the ritual.

We cannot leave Carlile without making reference to Robert Taylor, a man who worked with Carlile, and who had very similar views. Taylor was the better educated man—he does not appear to have had the initiative ability of Carlile—but as he is referred to by Carlile and published a series of sermons on

Freemasonry I have included some details of his career and extracts from *The Devil's Pulpit*:—

Robert Taylor was born 18 August, 1784, at Edmonton, Essex. He was educated in Essex and articled to the resident surgeon of the General Hospital, Birmingham, Mr. Samuel Partridge. In 1805 he walked Guys and St. Thomas's Hospitals, and passed the College of Surgeons in 1807.

In 1809 he became a Foundation Scholar of St. Johns Coll., Cambridge; in 1813 he took the B.A. degree.

He was Ordained by the Bishop of Chichester on 14 March, 1813, and on the same day he preached at St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street.

1813-1818 he was at Midhurst where he became acquainted with a tradesman who was an infidel.

After a varied career and wanderings as a preacher and schoolmaster in Bristol, Birmingham, Isle of Man and Ireland, he came to London in 1824 and regularly preached at the Rotunda, Blackfriars Road. In 1827 in the Kings Bench he was Sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment at Oakham Gaol.

On their return to London after a tour in the North of England, Carlile and Taylor opened up on May 30th, 1830, at the "Rotunda" (the one time famous Music Hall in the Blackfriars Road, London,) as a Freethought Coliseum. The Rotunda had been, A Natural History Museum, The Surrey Institute, A Music Hall, A Circus, A Home of Panorama. Coleridge had lectured of Shakespeare from its platform. Hazlitt had delighted its audiences with The Comic Writers of England (Aldred, p. 146).

Here he preached two sermons on the Devil, which gained for him the title of The Devil's Chaplain.

The Sermons were sold at 2d. each (16 pages), weekly, in a paper entitled "The Devils Pulpit", No. 16 of which, dated June 17 1831, contains Part 1 of a Lecture on Freemasonry delivered by his Highness's Chaplain, The Rev. Robert Taylor, B.A., at the Rotunda, Blackfriars Road, April 10 1831.

Part 2, delivered April 17. Published June 24 (1831).

3 April 19 July 1.

4 24 „ 8.

He concluded the fourth address with:—"If I have not yet done it, I shall develop that Sun Worship", and the following shows the style of his Lecture:—

"The trick of speaking in a Fee-faw-fi-fum sort of way, of what was really a very simple affair and rendering the most ordinary and innocent act of eating your supper and washing it down with a comfortable swig of good wine afterwards,—a mighty to do—to frighten women and children—was the pith of the secret of Freemasonry, which the women never found out—not because they could not have found it out, but because, strong as their curiosity was, their superstition was stronger, and it was never a discovery which anybody was ever proud of discovering;—to discover how greatly he has been befooled, and how easily it was done".

He was tried in 1831 for preaching blasphemy and sentenced to two years at Horsemonger Lane Gaol and a fine of £200.

"His ill-arranged writings are of no original or scientific value. His drollery though of a low type was never impure. He expounded Christianity as a scheme of solar myths". . . . (D.N.B., lv., 461.)

To summarise Carlile's Exposure, there are many points, which must strike the seriously thinking Masonic student of to-day, regarding the 1825 version, and one is that Carlile, by some means must have collected or have had placed at

his disposal in Dorchester Gaol, a vast quantity of printed or manuscript rituals, and what is more important is the fact that although the rituals in general use to-day do not agree with that originally printed by him, his informants must have believed that they were putting genuine material at his disposal. His Addresses after the First and Second Degrees and the First Degree Working Tools should be considered in this connection.

It has been suggested to me, and it may also be the opinion of some of my listeners, that Carlile invented or compiled, if not all, at least parts of the Ritual as originally published by him in the *Republican*. I am of the opinion that he definitely refutes such a suggestion on page 33 of the *Republican* (see *ante*, page 105), where he states, "As I COPY for exposure and not for profit".

I am personally of the opinion that no part of the *Exposure* or the *Manual of Freemasonry* was invented by Carlile. I do not think that he made any attempt to do more than put together his summary of the collection of the materials which he had before him; but it still remains unexplained from what sources Carlile actually obtained his information. There is one thing, however, which can be definitely put down to the originality of Carlile, and that is his comments on the Ceremonies.

CONCLUSION.

In bringing these particulars of Carlile and his Writings before Masonic students, I believe that I have touched upon a subject which has previously been neglected. Neglected because, in decent company, it has not been considered quite respectable to mention the name of Richard Carlile, the freethinker.

I have purposely refrained from discussing the ritual "according to Carlile", but I am convinced that a careful comparison, discreetly carried out, between Carlile, Claret, Stability, Emulation and other rituals, would reveal a lot of valuable and suggestive information regarding the development of to-day's working in the Craft. Unfortunately, the result would not be suitable for publication in our *Transactions*.

In conclusion, I must put on record the ever ready and valuable assistance which I have received from the Brethren of the Lodge, and would like to point out that most of the information in this paper has been obtained from books which are in either the Quatuor Coronati Library or Grand Lodge Library.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[Masonic items only.]

1825. THE REPUBLICAN. VOLUME 12.

Published Weekly. July to December 30 1825.

Price 6d. per week.

Printed and Published by R. Carlile, 135 Fleet Street.

The articles are contained in nearly every weekly issue from July 8th to October 21st. The final issue of the Volume (December 30, 1825) included the Introduction to the Volume, entitled, "Dedication to the King", signed by Carlile and dated December 28, 1825.

In the issues after October 21st there are comments or exposures of Odd Fellows and Druids.

1831. AN | EXPOSURE | OF | FREEMASONRY | OR A | MASON'S PRINTED
RITUAL | WITH | AN INTRODUCTORY KEY-STONE | TO THE |
ROYAL ARCH OF FREEMASONRY. By RICHARD CARLILE.
LONDON. | PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY R. CARLILE, 62
Fleet Street. 1831.

Introduction 16 pages. Signed, Richard Carlile. Compter, April 1831.
Pages 17 to 87. (End of first part)
(Imprint) R. Carlile, Printer, 62 Fleet Street.

Advertisement on back page:—

Books Published by Richard Carlile.

The works of Thomas Paine with a portrait and memoir in three vols. 8vo. boards	£1.12.0
The Age of Reason, by ditto. 32mo. boards	4.0
Lawrence's Lectures on Physiology, Zoology and the Natural History of Man, 12 plates, 8vo. bds.	14.0
The Diegesis, by the Rev. Robert Taylor A.B.	1. 0.0
Elihu Palmer's Principles of Nature 8vo. bds. (with Portrait)	5.0
ditto, 32mo. boards	2.6
Queen Mab by Percy Bysshe Shelley, 32mo. boards	2.6
The Aphorisms of Thomas Paine, 32mo. boards	2.6
Volney's Ruins, 8vo. boards	8.0

All the Republican, Deistical and Atheistical Writings of celebrity
may be found at the shop of R. Carlile, he being the inflexible advocate
of cheap, and the cheapest or Republican government, without an
established religion, and anxious to convey to his countrymen in
particular, and to mankind in general, a knowledge of the folly of
keeping kings and priests, and of paying for expensive non-utilities.

Label on front. Richard Carlile's Exposure of Freemasonry with
The Key Stone of the Royal Arch. Part I. Price 5s.

A copy is in the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire Masonic
Library and Museum, but was acquired after the publication of their recent
catalogue.

(As stated in the body of the paper, although there must have been a
second and a third part published, I have been quite unable to find copies.)

In 1836 the work is reissued, but with a new title:—

1836. Freemasonry, Part I. A Manual of the First Three Degrees; with an
Introductory Key-stone to the Royal Arch. Second edition, revised
and enlarged; by Richard Carlile. London: Printed and published
by Alfred Carlile, 183 Fleet Street.

Label. Carlile's Manual of Freemasonry, Part I. Price 5/-. Pp. xvi.;
80.

1836. MANUAL OF MASONRY | containing | The Royal Arch | and | Knights
Templar Degrees: | with an | explanatory Introduction to the Science |
by Richard Carlile. | London: Printed and Published by Alfred Carlile,
183 Fleet Street. 1836. xxxi. and 56 pages.

(Imprint. Printed by Alfred Carlile, 183 Fleet Street.)

Label. Carlile's Manual of Freemasonry. Part II. Price 5/-.

1837. MANUAL OF MASONRY | Part III. | containing | The Degrees of Mark Man, Mark Master [*etc.*] with an explanatory Introduction to the Science, and a free translation of some of the Sacred Scripture Names | By Richard Carlile. London: Printed and Published by Alfred Carlile, Water Lane, Fleet Street. 1837. xl. and 120 pages. (Imprint. Cunningham and Salmon, Printers, Crown Court, 72 Fleet St.)

Label. Carlile's Manual of Freemasonry. Part III. Price 5/-.

1843. Freemasonry, Part I. A title page identical with that of 1836. But the imprint now is:—London: N. Bruce, 84 Farringdon Street, sold by all booksellers. The text is identical with the 1836 second edition, save for occasional minute variations, but is a resetting. Pp. xvi.; 80.

1843. The three parts in one volume. again by N. Bruce.

Whether Bruce had also published the second and third parts separately I am uncertain, but there is also a Part II., undated, with the title:—

Freemasonry Part. II. By Richard Carlile.

A new edition, revised and corrected by a Royal Arch Mason. London: Bruce & Wyld, 84 Farringdon Street. Sold by all booksellers.

Label. Carlile's Manual of Freemasonry, Part II. Price 5/- Pp. 95-167.

1845. (Three Volumes bound in One.) A MANUAL OF THE FIRST THREE DEGREES, with an introductory key-stone to the ROYAL ARCH. Third Edition. Revised and Enlarged. By Richard Carlile. London: Printed and Published by R. Carlile, Fleet Street.

Re-printed and published by W. Dugdale, Holywell Street.

1845.

Extra Title-page:—

The Genuine Edition. Manual of Freemasonry, in three parts . . . BY THE LATE RICHARD CARLILE. Now first collected in one volume. London: Printed for the Booksellers. (Price 5/- Published originally for 15/-)

Part I. xvi. and 79 pages.

II. xxxi. and 56 pages.

III. xxxix. and 123 pages

This edition has publishers' advertisements at end.

There is also a practically identical edition, but without the wording "Reprinted and published [*etc.*]". But at the end is the imprint of William Dugdale, without any date. No price is stated, and there are no publishers' advertisements.

- 1853.—Manual of Freemasonry in Three Parts by the late Richard Carlile now first collected in one Volume.

London: Richard Carlile, Fleet Street. 1853.

xvi. and 331 pages.

(Imprint. London: J. O. Clarke, Printer, 3 Raquet Court and 121 Fleet St.)

1855. *Manual of Freemasonry*, in three parts. By the late Richard Carlile. Now first collected in One volume. Published by Andrew Vickers, 37 Holywell Street, Strand. 1855.

(Imprint. J. Turner, 50 Holywell Street, Strand.)

Part 1. xii. and 71 pages.

2. xxi. and 50 pages.

3. xxvi. and 109 pages.

No date. *Manual of Freemasonry*. By Richard Carlile. *Fourth Edition*.

London: Richard Carlile, 2 Lovells Court Paternoster Row and Murrey Street, Hoxton.

Part 1. 100 pages including introduction. (Really Part 2.)

2. 168 pages.

3. 88 pages.

Part 1. R.A. and K.T. (marked at end, "End Part 1").

2. Three Degrees to R.A. (also marked "End Part 1").

3. Mark, etc. (marked at end, "End of Part the Second").

After 1853, although the *Manual* continued to be reprinted in edition after edition, the connection with the Carlile family ceases, and these productions have no place in a bibliography of Carlile.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Fenton for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. G. Elkington, seconded by Bro. W. J. Williams; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. F. W. Golby, S. N. Smith, and G. W. Bullamore.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

We are indebted to Bro. Fenton for the painstaking care with which he has presented to us his paper and for the caution he has exercised in steering his course so as to avoid the Scylla and Charybdis of Religion and Politics. The introductory paragraphs, setting forth certain economic and social factors with the view to giving us some impression of the atmosphere of the period, is helpful, though mainly taken up with districts in Lancashire and Yorkshire somewhat remote from the southerly districts, where Carlile was born, educated, and apprenticed, and the Metropolis where his main activities were carried on.

Carlile's views and opinions on things in general are far removed from the limited scope of the objects of research in this Lodge. His only claim to our attention is the fact that he compiled and issued the book known as the *Manual of Freemasonry*. By so doing he joined the long procession of those writers who, while certifying their own good character and giving themselves high praise for their laudable motives, have from time to time launched from the printing presses a series of accounts guaranteed by them truly to record and in some cases to explain the secrets and ceremonies of Freemasonry.

The claim of Carlile is that he obtained his information from Masons. That is to say, he obtained evidence from avowed perjurers who, according to his own showing, had solemnly placed themselves under obligations never to reveal what had been entrusted to them. Having thus obtained perjured evidence he had no scruples about utilising it for the purpose of publishing for profit the information he claims to have so elicited. Bro. Fenton gives an extract from Mr. Aldred's work, which informs us that "Carlile made a formal declaration

of belief in God and paid the requisite 2^s/6^d. This may suggest a juggling with terms, but it was in accordance with Carlyle's consistent policy to take oaths and make legal declarations when and if required, on the ground that they were meaningless".

Information derived through such tainted channels proclaims its own utter unreliability. In any case, the duty of Freemasons is not to make any affirmation or denial as to the truth, either in whole or in part, of the allegations, but simply to ignore them. Thus it is that even now the only way of becoming a Mason is through the regular methods of initiation, remembering the words: "He that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber".

So far back as 15th December, 1730, we have a record in Grand Lodge Minutes (*Q.C.A.*, x., 135-6) of the course adopted by Grand Lodge in connection with Pritchard's alleged disclosures:—

"The Deputy Grand Master" (then Bro. Nathaniel Blackerby) "took notice of a pamphlet lately published by one Pritchard who pretends to have been made a regular Mason: In Violation of the Obligation of a Mason which he swears he has broke in order to do hurt to Masonry and expressing himself with the utmost Indignation against both him (stiling him an Impostor) and of his Book as a foolish thing not to be regarded. But in order to prevent the Lodges being imposed upon by false Brethren or Impostors Proposed till otherwise ordered by the Grand Lodge that no Person whatsoever should be admitted into Lodges unless some Member of the Lodge then present would vouch for such visiting Brother being a regular Mason and the Member's Name to be entred against the Visitor's name in the Lodge Book which Proposal was unanimously agreed to".

Various claims have been made from time to time by the authors of such pamphlets to the effect that by means of the information given the students of such documents could, although not made Masons, gain admission into a Masonic Lodge, but I do not remember any case where there has been anything like proof of such an event taking place.

Carlyle, like his predecessors, did not fail to make large claims which indicate that whatever he lacked in verity he had no small supply of self-conceit. In one place he says:—

"Of Freemasons, I boldly say, that they have no secret: but there is a secret connected with their association, and they have not known it. The late Godfrey Higgins once observed to me, without explanation, that there were but two Masons in England—himself and the Duke of Sussex. I put in a claim to be a third. He asked me to explain, on the condition that he was not to commit himself by any observation. I did so as here set forth. He smiled and withdrew. The secret is now out. I will clear up the doubt and difficulty and teach Masonry to Masons".

Then a little later he wrote:—

"My historical researches have taught me that that which has been called Solomon's Temple never existed upon earth: that a nation of people called Israelites never existed upon earth: and that the supposed history of Israelites and their temple is nothing more than an allegory relating to the mystery of physics generally and the moral culture of the human mind. Hence the real secret of Masonry".

Whether any single person, mason or otherwise, has ever had a sufficient stock of credulity to believe such statements as those I have quoted, does not appear. Their mere assertion that they so believed would be entirely inadequate.

Then we have in Part III. a list, occupying about 24 pages, of Hebrew and Greek names with explanations of their meanings. This list Carlile appears to have appropriated from an old edition of the Bible, and he promises to give the introductory matter in the language of the author (Hervey), but avows his intention to take some liberties with his translation and give more of the spirit of the thing than he has given.

As he says he cannot rest until he has made himself a thorough master of the Hebrew language, if he can live long enough for that purpose, it would seem that his qualifications for translating that language or improving a previous translation remain to be established. I give one example. It will suffice:—"Dagon.—The Fish God, Jonah, Joannes or John the Baptist, the teacher of the arts and sciences".

Brethren, I have much pleasure in seconding that a very hearty vote of thanks be accorded to our Brother Fenton for the information he has brought before us concerning so strange a prodigy as Richard Carlile and his so-called *Manual of Masonry*.

Bro. F. W. GOLBY writes:—

The Lodge of Reconciliation was formed at the Union on the 27th December, 1813. and worked until the 3rd May, 1816.

The working was exhibited and explained at the Special Grand Lodge meeting on Monday the 20th of same month; and at the following Quarterly Communication on Wednesday the 5th of June, 1816, "the several ceremonies, &c., recommended were approved and confirmed". (*A.Q.C.*, xxiii., 255.)

During the course of their meetings the Lodge of Reconciliation had occasion, on the 3rd of November, 1814, to replace one of its members "not only from non-attendance but also in allowing his name to appear in print as the signature of a letter arraigning the conduct and mode of instruction adopted by this Lodge". (*A.Q.C.*, xxiii., 233.)

They also censured a Brother for "printing certain letters and marks tending to convey information on the subject of Masonic Instruction". (*A.Q.C.*, xxiii., 243.)

No record, written or otherwise, was, to my knowledge, made of the Lodge of Reconciliation working, and nothing was ever found amongst the papers of that Lodge, or of the papers relating to the Stability Lodge of Instruction founded in the following year (1817), referring in any way to the working demonstrated and explained at the Special Grand Lodge meeting on the 20th May, 1816. and afterwards "approved and confirmed" on the 5th of June, 1816.

The Stability Lodge of Instruction was founded in the year 1817, one year after the Lodge of Reconciliation was closed, by some ten of its seventeen Brethren. Its joint Preceptor (Bro. Peter Thomson) stated in 1837 "that he had been scrupulously attentive to instruct the Brethren in accordance to the plan laid down by the Lodge of Reconciliation after the Union". (*A Century of Stability*, page 18.) He remained Preceptor for 34 years, from the beginning of the Stability Lodge of Instruction in 1817 until his death in 1851.

Nearly nine years after its foundation, *i.e.*, on Friday, the 21st of April, 1826, the Worshipful Master of the then defunct Lodge of Reconciliation (the Rev. Dr. Hemming) attended a meeting of the Stability Lodge of Instruction and worked the Lecture of the First Degree and was accorded grateful thanks by the members. Although the Lecture of the First Degree was stated to have been

given by the Rev. Dr. Hemming, and although the Resolution of thanks contained the expression of "the advantages they (the members of the Lodge of Instruction) enjoy in the possession of that Lecture" (*A Century of Stability*, page 62), there is no indication of the actual possession of such Lecture, or of a MS. Copy of that Lecture, amongst the Books and Papers of the Stability Lodge of Instruction from the year 1900 to the year 1936; and there is no evidence to show that, if it ever existed, it was at any time in the possession of the Stability Lodge of Instruction. In fact, there is no proof of the existence anywhere or at any time of the Lodge of Reconciliation working, or of the Lecture of the First Degree given by the Rev. Dr. Hemming at the Stability Lodge of Instruction on the 21st April, 1826.

Bro. Henry Muggeridge succeeded as Preceptor in the year 1851, and remained in that position until he retired in 1885. Also a period of 34 years.

Bro. Eustace Anderson succeeded Bro. Muggeridge as Preceptor, and remained as such until he died in 1900, when the writer succeeded and has remained as Preceptor until the present time.

There is no reference, from 1817 to date, to the Reconciliation working or the First Degree Lecture by Dr. Hemming in 1826, to be found in any of the books or documents of the Stability Lodge of Instruction, and no reference is anywhere to be found in those books, or in those documents, to Reconciliation working or the First Degree Lecture.

Bro. Muggeridge's grandson, Bro. C. A. Sack, writes, under date 27th May, 1936, that his recent search amongst the family papers to endeavour to trace anything relating to the working of the Lodge of Reconciliation was "without result".

Bro. S. N. SMITH writes:—

One of Carlile's most interesting statements (*Republican*, xii., 205) is that "Dr. Hemming's book is the existing authorised book for the modern mode of making, raising and working in the lodges".

It can hardly be doubted that Carlile had some such book, from which he copied the ceremonies of the three Craft degrees. But was it actually Dr. Hemming's book? If so, Hemming's censure (as W.M. of the "Lodge of Reconciliation") of Bro. Thompson, for having printed some of the Ritual, is the more remarkable if he himself did the same soon afterwards. Perhaps this was really one of Bro. Thompson's copies that had escaped destruction, and Carlile called it "Dr. Hemming's" because the Doctor was W.M. of the "Lodge of Reconciliation", and because he actually had a copy of Dr. Hemming's "Lecture" of the First Degree? Carlile seems to have copied this "Lecture" from a separate book, and probably his statement that it was Dr. Hemming's may be accepted.

For the Second Degree Carlile prints what he calls "that very good lecture" arranged by Bro. Rodwell Wright (*Republican*, xii., 205), and says that he has also Wright's 1° Lecture, but prefers Hemming's.

Rodwell Wright is well known as one of the Commissioners for the Union on behalf of the "Moderns"; and the 2° Lecture, which Carlile prints, appears to me to have been arranged after the "Lodge of Promulgation" (candidate gives p-g and -w before he enters [*Repub.*, xii., 80]) but before that of "Reconciliation" (the perambulations differ from the present mode, and after the S.W. has presented the candidate to the W.M. for passing, the latter says "you will direct the Senior Deacon to instruct the candidate to advance towards the East with his proper steps". That being done, the W.M. asks the candidate if he is prepared to take the 2° OB, and he is then taught to advance by Five "Winding Steps").

There is one passage in the Ceremony of Opening the Lodge to which I should like to call attention. In the generally-accepted wording the Junior Deacon is said to carry all messages and communications of the W.M. from the Senior to the Junior Warden and "to see that the same are punctually obeyed". These words seem to imply that the Junior Deacon, a junior officer, is to see that one of the Principal Officers performs his duty properly. According to Carlile (*Repub.*, xii., 10) the Deacon carries the messages "to the Junior Warden, that the same may be punctually obeyed". This, I submit, is a much better wording, and more likely to have been the wording agreed upon by the "Lodge of Reconciliation". I should be very interested to hear if this wording is traditional in any lodge to-day?

BRO. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

A curious feature of the Masonic writings of Richard Carlile is that, although he was antagonistic to masonry, he accepted its archaic features as genuine transmissions from the past. The absence of early documents renders legal proof of this an impossibility, but no more impossible than proof of the manufacture of all degrees in the eighteenth century—a theory which commends itself to some of the well-wishers of masonry and certainly looks useful to its opponents.

The Leland-Locke manuscript, however, is rejected by both Carlile and many of the present-day students; and I should like to find some real reason, other than "authority", which justifies its rejection. The Locke contribution is substantiated by all contemporary evidence, while the Leland part harmonises with the character of Henry VI. and the beliefs and language of his day.

The origin of the *Manual of Freemasonry* must be of interest to many of us, and Bro. Fenton is to be thanked for his paper.

BRO. FENTON writes, in reply:—

I thank the proposer and seconder of the Vote of Thanks accorded to me for my paper and for the attention which it received from the brethren. As I mentioned, much could have been said, that could not be printed. Therefore, I say to those who wish to follow the matter further, there is only one source of information: Vol. 12 of the *Republican*, published in 1825.

One of the objects I had in view when I commenced this paper, was to discover, if possible, the connection between Pre-Union and Post-Union Exposures and/or Rituals. In other words, I wanted to find the line of demarcation between the Ritual of the Masonic Yesterday and the Ritual of the Masonic To-day.

There appears to be something common in the style of "Prichard", *Solomon in all his Glory*, *Three Distinct Knocks*, *Jachin and Boaz*, and all the other Pre-Union publications (which all originated before 1780 and continued in brisk circulation up to and after the Union), and the Rituals, spurious and otherwise, issued after the Union of 1813. Of the latter, Carlile's version, issued in the *Republican* in 1825, is apparently the first of the New Series, followed by those issued under the authorship, alleged or otherwise, of Gilkes, Claret, Stability, Emulation and others of later dates.

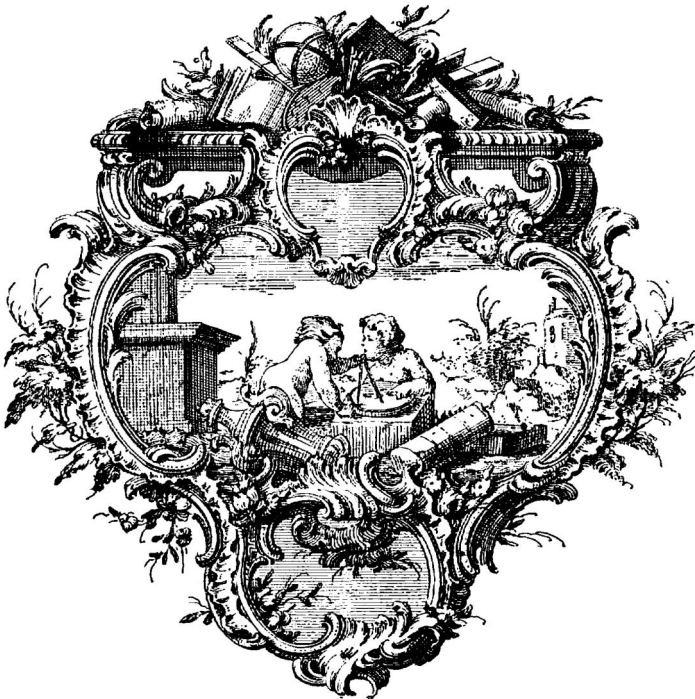
It must be acknowledged that in 1825 Carlile could not have copied anything from these publications, but the alternative is not impossible; in fact, it is highly probable.

As I said in the paper, it is impossible to print ritualistic comparisons, but Bro. Lepper has brought to my notice the fact that the word "Skirret" appears in the 3rd degree, as described by Carlile in his version of that ceremony in the *Republican* in 1825, and the word is not mentioned in Pre-Union Exposures; in fact, the above-mentioned reference is the earliest recorded use of the word Masonically.

Where did Carlile get it from?

There are many statements made by Carlile which give food for serious reflection, and if I have pointed out a new field for research, I shall have the satisfaction that my efforts have done some good. I do not think that the suggestion that Carlile invented the ritual as described in the *Exposure* and *Manual*, will receive many, if any, supporters; for instance, it is very improbable that he introduced the word "Skirret" and its Masonic meaning into the Ritual.

We are still ignorant of the actual source from which Carlile obtained his information. The origin and reliability of the information imparted by him are matters which are still open for careful consideration of all students of Masonic Ritual.



THE MARQUIS DE VIGNOLLES, AND THE PROVINCIAL GRAND LODGE FOR FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

BY BRO. N. S. H. SITWELL.



BEYOND the papers by Bro. Goblet d'Alviella on the English Provincial G.L. of the Austrian Netherlands in *A.Q.C.*, xxv., and Bro. Wonnacott on "De Vignolles and his Lodge L'Immortalité de l'Ordre" in *A.Q.C.*, xxxiv., very little seems to have appeared about this interesting personage and the work with which his name is chiefly associated. Had these two Brethren been spared to us, they would no doubt have given us much more information about this interesting experiment in Masonic Administration. I hope that this note will be accepted as a small supplement to their valuable work in the field of Masonic Research.

Some of de Vignolles' correspondence has been reprinted in the *Compte Rendu* of St. Claudius Lodge No. 21 Paris for 1926-7; one curious phrase in his letter to de la Chaussée dated March 3rd, 1775, is worth noting:—"je vais ériger ici ma G.L.P. Etrangère" (I am going to found here my Foreign Provincial Grand Lodge). We at once get a confusion of dates as the letter copied below is dated Dec. 1st, 1768; the last letter printed in *St.C.C.R.*, 1926-7, is dated June 4th, 1776, so we find that he was playing with the idea of a Prov.G.L. for some eight years. He was not quite successful in his efforts; Paris was suspicious, for example, and referred the correspondence with de la Chaussée to Guillotin for an opinion. In a letter dated 5/9/1775 to de la Chaussée, de Vignolles himself gives a description of what led up to his getting this appointment and states *inter alia* that it cost him fifteen guineas, and this letter goes far towards supporting the suggestion put forward by Bro. Wonnacott that he was regarded by Heseltiné as an Asst. Secretary for Foreign Languages rather than as a Provincial G.M. In fact, the wording of his warrant is capable of this interpretation as he himself put it into French:—"et de plus pour tenir correspondance avec tous les dits G.M.N. ou P. qui sont ou seront par nous constitués et reconnus" (and further to correspond with all the said National or Provincial G:Ms. which have been or shall be constituted and recognised by us). See *St.C.C.R.* 1926-7, pp. 41-2-3.

The letter below is taken from the original Minute Books of the Loge Anglaise 204 at Bordeaux¹ (then No. 363), and gives the original idea of de Vignolles for his Prov.G.L. The original is no longer to be found, and as the Secretary wrote an indifferent hand, neglected such small items as stops and accents, and even sometimes forgot to split up his words, I cannot guarantee this transcript as being absolutely a correct version of the original as drafted; but it is probably fairly correct and must stand until research in the archives of the G.L. yields the first draft.

I may be entirely wrong, but I am much inclined to ascribe this idea of a Prov.G.L. to the Loge Anglaise. It is quite clear from the Minute Books that they felt neglected by London, in spite of the fact that they kept a representative

¹ See paper by Bro. G. W. Speth on "The English Lodge at Bordeaux" in *A.Q.C.*, xii.

of the Lodge there. They founded six Lodges in France, one at Cayenne and one at New Orleans, and had difficulty in controlling them, and on more than one occasion tried to obtain the title of Mother Lodge. In 1764-5 Paris and London were in correspondence about the jurisdiction over the Lodges that the latter had founded in France, and London sent a list which mentioned only Nos. 46, 60 and 73, entirely overlooking No. 363. As a consequence the G.L. of Clermont at Paris issued a circular dated March 21st, 1766, in continuation of several previous ones, in which they declared that the above three Lodges only were to be considered as regular, and they further again ordered that every Lodge in France must have its warrant renewed by themselves. They fixed the limiting date of regularisation as June 25th, 1765, *i.e.*, nine months prior to the issue of their circular. The first that Loge Anglaise knew of this was an intimation from their old friends the French Lodge at Bordeaux that they were irregular, and a request for further information got them the loan of the Paris circulars. They at once drew up a protest and sent it with a deputation to Zambault, then the French G.Sec., who declined to receive them. They then appealed direct to London, and the G.Sec. Spencer wrote through them to Zambault. Loge Anglaise translated the letter and sent it on, and copies will be found in *St.C.C.R.* for 1927-8. Zambault does not seem to have replied direct to Loge Anglaise, for there is no mention of it in the Minute Book, but Spencer's letter was evidently successful as the French Lodge came to pay them a friendly visit and no further mention is made of any effort to make them take out a French Warrant.

Although the Minute Book has no precise mention of the matter, it is quite clear from the general tenour of the Minutes that the Lodge did not let the matter rest there, and that their representative in London, Bro. Gondall, had a good deal to say about it. The D.G.M. Salter wrote to de la Chaussée on March 15th, 1768 (a photo of the letter is opposite page 18 of *St.C.C.R.* 1926-7): "I have received some letters . . . particularly from Bourdeaux praying a Deputation to appoint a Provincial Grand Master", and in view of his refusal to do so, the appointment of de Vignolles as such at the end of the same year is curious, but the Loge Anglaise Minute Books throw no light on the matter.

Loge Anglaise accepted de Vignolles' Prov.G.L. with some misgiving and even lack of comprehension. The Minute of Jan. 1st, 1769, can be translated thus:—"Wor. Bro. Boyd will be good enough to reply to the letter of the Prov.G.M. of London, informing him that we are ready to comply with the rules proposed in his letter on behalf of the G.L. of England, which shows most clearly our independance of the G.L. of Paris and shields us from all annoyance. He might also suggest that we be either granted the style of Provincial Lodge with control over all the Lodges which we have founded, or may found in the future, or such other equivalent scheme as the G.L. in London may judge fit to establish our independance".

In translating de Vignolles' letter I have added some remarks in brackets in order to make it a little plainer:—

Aux T.V. Maitre,
F.F. Surveillans

Officiers & Membres de la R.L. Anglaise situee à l'Oriant de Bordeaux,
relevant du N°. 363 de la Sublime G.L. D'ANGLETTERE,

SALUT JOY PROSPERITE

du Sublime Oriant de Londres, le 1/ 12M./ An L 5768

1768

T.V.M. & C.F.

Le T.N. & E.F. SOMERSET, Duc de Beaufort, G.M. De la R. Societe
des F.A.M., voulant faire revivre l'Union & l'Harmonie que ces Illustres entre-

tenoient avec toutes les L., a resolu d'établir entre elle et lui une mutuelle correspondance.

A cet effet, il lui a plu de nous choisir et de nous constituer G.M.P. sur toutes les L. ou qui en ces Païs travaillaient en langues étrangères ou qui dans ces Païs étrangers reconnoissent son autorité, nous nous empressons de vous le communiquer ne doutant point que votre R.L. accepteroit à contribuer à la gloire de l'Ordre de se soumettre aux intentions de son chef en entrant dans ses vues. Nous devenons par ce titre votre Protecteur auprès de la G.L. et du G.M., le seul ou vous pouvez par la suite faire passer à l'un ou à l'autre ce que vous pouvez en attendre ou en espérer de quelque nature que ce soit. S'il survenoit quelque difficulté dans votre L., si elle croyoit avoir besoin de quelques Lumières, notre G.L. Provinciale dont vous êtes de ce jour Membre et partie doit être votre 1er. ressort, nous serons charges et nous executerons fidelement de vous faire tenir ce qui pourroit Y avoir d'interessant soit dans les assemblées de G.L., soit dans celle de notre L. Provinciale pour nous aider au grand but que nous nous proposons. Nous vous prions et enjoignons de nous mander en réponse :

1. la date exacte de votre constitution et le nom du G.M. qui vous l'a accordée.

2. le nom du lieu ainsi que les jour et heure de vos assemblées ordinaires.

3. la liste exacte de vos membres contenant leurs nom, surnoms, etat civil, moeurs et titre des Loges.

4. Chaque trois mois à commencer en Xbre. 1768, vous nous ferez passer une telle liste contenant les additions ou changements convenables pour continuer chaque année en Mars, Juillet et Septembre.—

Le but de ceci, mes Freres est que tous les M. relevant de la S.G.L. d'Angleterre soient enregistres dans un Livre que le G.Sec. tiendra par ordre de la L. pour y avoir recours par vous ou par nous dans les cas nécessaires

Il faut des frais pour exécuter un plan si propre à éviter les surprises surtout dans la demande des certificats ou des secours qui est souvent faite à la G.L. à des gens inconnus. Aussi avez-vous pris différentes resolutions à ce sujet auxquelles seront le recet de votre zele pour la Fraternité, nous ne doutons pas que vous ne vous fassiez un plaisir de souscrire et de vous conformer.

1°.—Vous le savez et c'est une loi ancienne que toute Loge sous constitution angloise doit contribuer au moins une fois par annee a former le fonds que la G.L. entretient toujours ouvert pour le soulagement des F.F. indigents et auquel la plupart des Loges contribuent tous les trois mois.

En voyant les effets immances de notre charité bienveillante qui s'étend sur tous les M. de tous les païsfixez donc entre vous l'offrande que votre L. entend y faire et nous la faites passer si c'est par an en Fevrier, so c'est par quartier en Dec. Mars et Sept., affin que nous presentations de votre part a votre Auguste Mere et pour en certifier nous vous enverrons l'imprimé des offrandes volontaires de chaque L. où vous verrez là votre annonce.

Par l'arret de la G.L. passe le 21 & 26 Octobre confirme le 28 du meme mois dont nous vous envoyons copie, vous etes tenus et obliges a remplir les articles suivants.

1°.—Les Membres actuels de votre L. seront enregistres conformement a la liste

aux frais du plan actuel affin que le tout nous etant parvenu d'ici à trois mois soit verse au Tresor de la G.L. et vous sera constats par la quittance du F. Berkley que nous vous ferons passer.

N.B. Si quelque F. vous ayant autrefois appartenu desirait se faire enregistrer sous le titre de votre L., vous ferez prendre son nom et accepteriez ses offrandes et sur votre parole il sera inscrit comme ancien M. de votre L.

2°.—Tout M. initié dans votre L. depuis le 28 Octobre ainsi que ceux qui le seront à perpétuité doit payer entre vos mains 30 sous anglois à ce que la L. doit en joindre 30 autres faisant 5 shillings anglois par chacun. Afin que les sommes en provenues nous étant remises de trois mois en trois mois, ledit F. soit enregistré et ses offrandes portées au Tresor de la G.L. dont le Tresorier nous donnera quittance pour vous la faire passer.—

3°.—Chaque M. qui depuis le 28 Octobre s'est fait ou se fera inscrire M. de votre Loge, doit pour son enregistrement payer 30 sous anglois à la sublime G.L. par les voies ci-dessus énoncées.

4°.—Pour maintenir les droits de G.M. sans la permission duquel on ne peut pas agir dans nombre de cas, chaque L. est tenue de prendre une autorisation qui lui permette de dispenser dans ces occasions et l'acte vous en sera délivré à votre requision au prix de 1/4 de guinée pour valoir du moment de sa concession jusques en Juillet 1769 ou elle sera renouvelée au même prix pour un an, afin de continuer ainsi d'année en année.

Ne doutant point T.V.M. & T.C.F. que vous ne vous conformiez à ces ordres, il ne nous reste qu'à vous prier d'être scrupuleux dans l'admission de vos sujets ou de vos membres, exacts dans la tenue de vos assemblées, réguliers dans vos ouvrages, zélés à entretenir l'Union, empressés à cimenter l'amitié et sous ces conditions nous vous promettons de la part de la S.G.L. et de son Ill. chef, toute la protection qu'elle doit à ses enfants et de la nôtre tous les égards des Maçons commis à nos soins et si les circonstances appellent quelques uns de vos Membres dans cette Capitale, nous nous ferons un plaisir de leur rendre les services qui dépendront de nous et s'ils sont munis de vos pouvoirs nous vous promettons de les admettre dans notre R.L. pour y jouir des prérogatives des M. qui appartiennent de droit à vos Représentants.—

Nous sommes avec la considération la plus distinguée, T.V.M. T.C.F.,

Votre Tres. Hum. Serviteur et affectionné Frère

De Vignoles, G.M. Provincial

in Warwick Street

Golden Square

LONDON.

Par ordre du G.M. Pro des Lo Etranger,

J. DUPRE, G. Sec. Provincial.

P.S. Je vous donne avis qu'on vient de frapper à Londres une médaille d'argent très ingénieuse et très bien exécutée et relative au nouveau lustre que la Ste. semble se prendre.

Le prix est de 1/2 guinée. S'il vous souhaite donner des ordres à ce sujet je les exécuterai.

TRANSLATION.

To the Very Worshipful Master, Bros. Wardens, Officers and Members of the Respectable Lodge Angloise at Bordeaux No. 363 of the Sublime Grand Lodge of England.

Greeting Happiness Prosperity

From the Sublime East of London 1/12 month/A.L. 5768/1768

Very Worshipful Master and Dear Brother,

The Very Noble and Eminent Bro. Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, G.M. of the Respectable Society of Free & Accepted Masons, wishing to revive the

Union and the Harmony which these illustrious persons used to maintain with all Lodges, has resolved to establish a mutual correspondence between the Society and them.

To this end he has been pleased to select us, and to constitute us Provincial G.M. over all those Lodges who work in this country in a foreign tongue or who, working in a foreign country, recognise his authority. We hasten to apprise you of this, never doubting that your Respectable Lodge will agree to contribute to the glory of the Order by submitting to the intentions of its Head and by following out his ideas. By this title we become your Protector in the Grand Lodge and in the presence of the Grand Master, the only way by which you may in future approach either the one or the other for any thing that you may reasonably expect or even hope to obtain.

Should any difficulty arise in your Lodge, should she require any instruction, our Provincial G.L., of which you are from this day a member and a part, should be your first resort. We are charged to and will keep you faithfully informed of anything interesting that may take place in the G.L. or in our Prov.G.L. and that may help us in the grand design that we propose.

We beg and enjoin you to inform us by return

(1) The exact date of your warrant and the name of the G.M. who granted it.

(2) The place, date and hour of your ordinary meetings.

(3) An exact list of your members containing their names, surnames, "etat Civil", "moeurs", and the names of the Lodges.

[This is difficult to translate. "Surnom" may mean a nickname, "etat civil" is a general term which includes a man's age, parentage, profession, place of birth and residence, married or single, etc., while "moeurs" ought only to mean moral character, for we can at once rule out the technical meaning of the word in rhetoric, but why London should want to know about character is a mystery. I should suggest that this is a case of 'schoolboy' French, and that "etat civil" should be translated as age and "moeurs" as profession, getting that meaning through habit of life or custom, both of which meanings are included in the French word. One may presume that the 'names of the Lodges' refers only to the case of joining members.]

(4) Every quarter, beginning in December, 1768, you will send us a similar list containing additions or proper changes to continue each year in March, July and September.

[There would appear to be some bad copying here, or, what is not at all impossible judging from the French text, some bad translation. A competent French scholar, to whom I have shown the original, is of opinion that the original draft was not in the French language. The meaning of this clause is, however, perfectly clear, though the language is not.]

The object of this, my Brethren, is that all Masons emanating from the Sublime G.L. of England may be registered in a book which the G.Sec. will keep up by order of the Lodge to which you or we may refer to if necessary.

Funds are necessary to carry out a plan so eminently designed to avert fraud, especially in the case of requests for a certificate or for relief such as are often made to the G.L. by unknown people. As you yourselves have adopted several resolutions on this matter, and your collections have been the measure of your zeal for the Fraternity, we do not doubt that you will take pleasure in conforming to this and subscribing.

[The text here is very obscure. As; however, the Minute Books show that the Lodge Anglaise were constantly troubled by the two difficulties of false certificates and begging impostors and had passed various resolutions on the subject, it is by no means impossible that their representative Bro. Gondall had talked the matter over with de Vignolles or his Secretary Duprê, and I therefore suggest the above translation with all reserve. Both the G.L. of Paris and the National Assembly, which became the Grand Orient, had the same difficulty and used almost identical terms in their early circulars to the French Lodges when they were trying to establish the roll.]

You know that it is an old law that every Lodge under the English Constitution must contribute at least once a year to form the fund which the G.L. always keeps open for the relief of indigent Brethren, to which most Lodges contribute every three months.

Seeing the enormous effect of our charitable benevolence which is extended to all Masons in all countries, agree among yourselves on the offering that your Lodge will make and send it to us in February if it is to be an annual subscription, or in December, March and September, if it is to be a quarterly subscription, so that we may present it on your behalf to our August Mother, and as a certificate of receipt we will send you the printed list of the free will offerings of every Lodge in which you will see your own published.

By the decree of the G.L. passed on the 21st & 26th of October last and confirmed on the 28th of the same month, you are bound to comply with the following articles:—

(1) The actual members of your Lodge will be registered according to the list at the expense of the present proposal, so that the whole amount we may receive in the next three months may be paid into the funds of the G.L. You will be certified of this by the receipt given by Bro. Berkley which will be sent on to you.

[The text of this para. is incomplete.]

N.B. If a Brother who formerly belonged to your Lodge wishes to be registered in its roll you should accept his name and his contributions and he will be inscribed as an old member of your Lodge on your assurance as to the fact.

(2) Every Mason initiated in your Lodge since October 28th as well as all who may be initiated therein in future must pay you 30 English pence, to which the Lodge must add another 30, making a total of five English shillings per head. As the sums thus provided must be remitted to us every quarter the said Brother can then be registered and his offerings paid into the G.L. Treasury: the Treasurer will give us a receipt which we will pass to you.

(3) Every Mason who shall be made or enrolled in your Lodge after October 28th must pay the Sublime G.L. by the above method the sum of 30 English pence for being registered.

(4) In order to uphold and maintain the prerogative of the G.M. without whose permission it is impossible to act on many occasions, each Lodge is bound to procure an authority permitting them to dispense with this permission and the deed will be sent you on the payment of a quarter of a guinea; it will be valid from the moment it is granted until July, 1769, when it will be renewed for one year for the same fee, and so on from year to year.

As we have no doubt, Very Worshipful Master and Very Dear Brother, that you will comply with these orders, it only remains for us to beg you to be most scrupulous over the admission of your candidates or members, punctilious

in the holding of meetings, regular in your work, zealous to maintain unity, anxious to cement friendship; under these conditions we promise you on behalf of the Sublime G.L. and of its Illustrious Head all that protection which she owes to her children, and on our own behalf the care of the Masons committed to our charge. If events call one of your members to this Capital we shall be pleased to render him such services as lie in our power, and if he is furnished with your authority we promise to admit him into our Wor. Lodge, there to enjoy those Masonic Prerogatives which belong by right to your representatives.

With our utmost respect, V.W. Master and V.D. Brother

Your very Humble and affectionate Brother

de Vignolles Prov.G.M.

in Warwick Street, Golden Square, London.

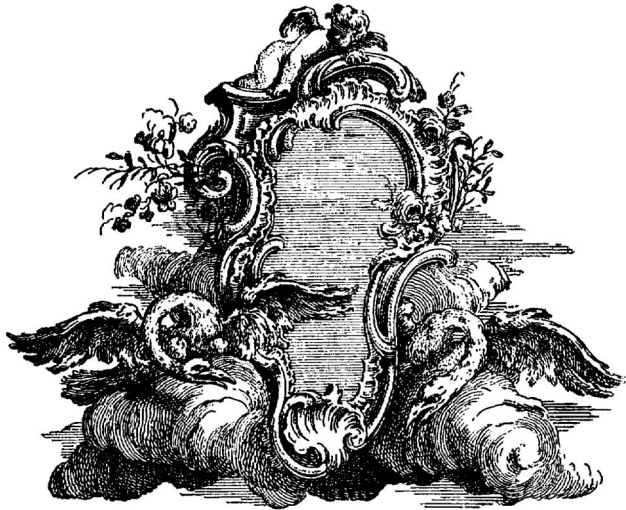
By Order of the Prov.G.M. for Foreign Lodges

J. Dupre Prov.G.Sec.

P.S. I inform you that a medal has just been struck in London: it is of silver, of a very ingenious design and very well made, matching the new lustre which the Society seems to be gaining.

The price is half a guinea, and if you wish to pass an order for some I will execute it.

[This may possibly refer to the medal of Lodge L'Immortalite de l'Ordre referred to by Bro. Wonnacott.]



NOTES.



FRANCIS FLAHAULT.—In the "Old Cheque Book" mentioned in the note on the Lodge at "The Ship without Temple Bar" (*A.Q.C.*, xlviii., 307) I find against 1737, Sept. 21: "By virtue of a warrant from the R^d. Rev^d. Edmund Lord Bishop of London, Dean of his Maj. Chapels Royal, I have sworn and admitted the Rev^d. Mr. Francis Flahault into the place of Reader of the French Chapel, vacant by the death of the Rev^d. Mr. Declaris". And against 1744, Dec. 11: "the Rev. Mr. Michael Nollet into the place of Reader of the French Chapel in St. James's Palace, vacant by the death of Rev^d. Mr. Francis Flahault". His name appears in the "1730" List of Members of the Lodge at the Cross Keys in Henrietta St. (*Q.C.A.*, x., 169), now the Old King's Arms' Lodge, No. 28. W.K.F.

"Rev^d. Mr. John Higgett".—In the "1723" written List this name appears in the List of the Lodge behind the Royal Exchange (*Q.C.A.*, x., 12), now the Westminster and Keystone Lodge, No. 10. The Cheque Book records, 1736, Dec. 8, the admission of "the Reverend John Higgate, Master of Arts, into the places of Confessor of His Majesty's Household, and Priest in Ordinary of his Maj. Chapel Royal". *The Daily Journal*, 1728, records: "The Musical Society of Gentlemen, who some time have playd at the Swan in Exchange Alley, are to perform next Wednesday in the Great Room at the Crowne Tavern behind the Exchange, the room being judged to be the best in town for performances of that kind".

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

Walter Hancox.—The following extract from the parochial register of the Church of Holy Trinity, Much Wenlock, is given in the *Xth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission*, part IV., p. 423:—

"Walter Hancox, free mason was buried the 16th day of September [1599]. This was a very skilfull man in the art of masonry, in settinge of plottes for buildinges and free forminge of the same, ingravinge in alebaster and other stone and playster, and in divers other giftes that belonge to that art, as dothe appeare by his workes whiche may be seene in divers partes of England and Walles, most somptouse buildings, most stately tombes, most curyous pictures. And to conclude in all workes he tooke in hand he hathe leftte behinde him long lastinge monuments of skilfull workmanship, and besides these qualiteyes, he had others whiche passed these, he was a most honest man, devout and zelouse in religion, pittifull to the poore, and had the love and good will of all his honeste neighbours".

W.K.F.

James Gibb.—With reference to Bro. J. W. Sanders' Note in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xliii., pp. 68-9, I offer the following extract from John Nicholls' *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii., p. 699 [1812]:—

"The father of Mr. Gibbs the Architect was a Catholic, and was proprietor of Footdees-myre, where he had a house which was long

known by the name of *the White House in the Links*, and was afterwards used as a mason-lodge, previous to the building of the New Inn, by the mason society. The sour presbyterians of Mr. Gibbs's time, used to spur on the idle boys of the town to annoy the old gentleman in his premises. He was, it seems, a man of a considerable portion of humour; and having provided two dogs to keep the rabble who occasionally disturbed him at a distance, it is said, he good-naturedly took his revenge, by inscribing on the collar of one, *Luther*, and on the other *Calvin*. The beautiful West Church in Aberdeen built by Mr. Wyllie, an Architect from Edinburgh, and finished about 1755, was from a plan by Mr. Gibbs. *History of Aberdeen*, pp. 184, 186".

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

The "Masons' Lodge" at Whalley Abbey.—Dr. Kuerden, compiler of the MSS. bearing his name, was a royalist physician who settled in Preston shortly after the Battle of Worcester and devoted the remainder of his life to the practice of medicine and the study of antiquities. He left several large volumes of records; but, apart from quotations of the kind mentioned below, the only section published was issued by an enterprising printer about 1818—without any acknowledgment of the authorship:—

Vol. xx. of the Publications of the Chetham Society (1849) contains the fourth part of *The Coucher Book or Chartulary of Whalley Abbey*, edited by W. A. Hudson, and an appendix to this work includes a transcript of the Act of Spoliation wherein, among various properties transferred to Richard Assheton of Whalley and John Braddyll of the same place:

le Hagge howse, le Hay Barne apud grange, Cleyfelde,
Smythe's howse, le Henne howse, le Oxe howse,
le Masons lodg, Banne crofte, etc. etc.

A survey of the Abbey possessions, transcribed from the Kuerden MSS. (late XVII. cent.), probably taken in its turn from a list compiled shortly after the dissolution, includes the item:

Item a little house called y^e Masburns lodge, with a
little henhouse, let by y^e yeare for 0. 1. 0.

A third list is taken from "The survey their taken the
XXIXth day of June in the XXIXth year of the raine
of our suffreine Lord King Henery the Eight.

fñr. vnus pva domus vocat masons lodg cū vñ pva
house in tenuri Edwardi Bradill p Annū 0. 1. 0.
F.L.P.

REVIEWS.

"HISTORY OF LODGE OF HARMONY, No. 255, 1785-1937, and CHAPTER OF IRIS, No. 255, 1807-1937, by JAMES JOHNSTONE, *F.R.C.S., P.A.G.D.C.*" (*Kenning & Son Ltd.* 1938.)



IIY is it that, when one whose profession is the noble art of healing takes pen in hand, he often produces a book with a charm of its own? Let psychologists argue about the cause, the result is plain in this latest work of our Brother James Johnstone, well remembered for his paper on the Reverend Samuel Hemming, published in *A.Q.C.*, xli.

The Lodge of Harmony was founded at the Toy Inn, Hampton Court, on the 11th July, 1785, by the famous Thomas Dunckerley, and with one short period of dormancy, to which our Masonic fore-runners did not attach too much importance, has lasted from that day till this, and numbered many famous Brethren in its membership. To mention only two of the most famous, Dunckerley and Samuel Hemming, is as much as to say that Brother Johnstone approached a task full of material for writing important Masonic history; and to my mind the task has been well and truly done. Those who already know a considerable amount about Dunckerley's activities will find here a useful and succinct résumé of them, together with additional matter, drawn from MSS. in the Library of Grand Lodge. Some of it is very entertaining. I wish there were space to quote in full his letter to the Grand Secretary with a grouse at having been given an uncomfortable seat at the Grand Officers' table. On Samuel Hemming Brother Johnstone is, of course, the great authority, and in this book you can learn all there is to know about him; at the same time, the ghost of this great member of the Lodge of Reconciliation and Founder of the Stability Lodge of Instruction is not summoned up to couch a shadowy lance against the exponents of other existing systems of Masonic Ritual. "As is too well known, many and varied are the forms now practised, often causing mystification among the younger Brethren and heated discussion among those of their elders who have not yet agreed to differ".

There speaks a true historian and healer.

Great as is the Masonic interest of this book, it has, however, another side that will appeal to an even wider audience. Several famous families, such as the Bowaters, the Haverfields, and the Tunstalls were connected with the Lodge for generations, and not only many genealogical details but reproductions of their portraits are given, including the delightful "Little Miss Haverfield". There are also many other illustrations of bygone members, of the various inns where the Lodge has met in its long life, of its plate, of its documents; and all these illustrations are excellent.

In short: Lodge of Harmony has every reason to be proud of its history—and of its latest historian too.

J. HERON LEPPER.

“A HISTORY OF THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT, FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF NEW SOUTH WALES”, by KARL R. CRAMP and GEORGE MACKANESS. (*Angus & Robertson Ltd., Sydney and London. 1938.*)

These two handsome volumes commemorate the jubilee of the Grand Lodge of New South Wales, which came into existence in the year 1888 as a result of agreement between the various Lodges in the State formerly owing allegiance to the Mother Constitutions of England, Ireland or Scotland. Some 176 Lodges with an estimated membership of 8,000 took part in the formation of the new Constitution. By 1933 the number of Lodges owing allegiance to it had increased to 582; and it is pleasing to read that during its first fifty years of independent life the Grand Lodge of New South Wales has increased not only in numbers but in beneficence.

The story of those fifty years is here told in detail, and of course deals with events too recent to cause much interest outside the bounds of the Constitution; but I can foresee students in the future expressing their gratitude for the copious lists of Masonic worthies given here, perhaps even for the recording of their eloquence, though that seems less likely.

The story of the early days of Freemasonry in what was then a colony and not an independent State, merits a lengthier reference in this review.

The beginnings of Freemasonry in Australia, as in Canada, were due to the ubiquitous Military Lodges. One of these, No. 218 I.C. held in the 48th Regiment, initiated some of the free settlers at Sydney, and later obtained from them a Warrant, No. 260, from the Grand Lodge of Ireland. This Lodge was constituted in 1820, and still exists as Lodge Antiquity No. 1 N.S.W. This first Irish Lodge was followed by others warranted from the same Constitution; and then, in 1829, by English, and in 1851 by Scottish Lodges. Incidentally, Freemasonry in Victoria, Tasmania, and New Zealand owes its origins to these early Irish Lodges in New South Wales.

In New South Wales itself at the middle of the last century, as we have seen, three different Masonic Constitutions, situated at a formidable distance from this country, were exercising a divided control. Such a state of things is always pregnant with possibilities of trouble; and trouble did not fail to come; in fact, it was bound to come as a result of the way in which some of the Grand Lodges neglected their daughters under the Southern Cross.

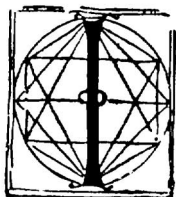
In 1877 the first break-away took place, when certain Lodges in N.S.W. renounced their allegiance to their Mother Constitutions and formed a new Grand Lodge. The bickering that ensued can be imagined. Those in search of detail will find it set down in this book.

Unity was at last achieved some eleven years later, and the best part of this history describes how it came about. The new Grand Lodge termed itself “United”, referring presumably to the union of a number of individual bodies, not a union of governing bodies as was the English Union of 1813.

As this purports to be an official history, I find it hard to understand why the second volume contains much matter that could well have been omitted without any loss to our knowledge or the value of the book; but it would be ungenerous to make that an indictment against the authors who have performed an arduous task and are entitled to our gratitude.

J. HERON LEPPER.

OBITUARY.



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

George Charles Parkhurst Baxter, of London, S.W., on the 3rd May, 1936. Our Brother was a member of Parthenon Lodge No. 1826, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1919.

Ernest Samuel Beal, of London, E.C., on 31st May, 1936. Bro. Beal held the rank of P.A.G.D.C., and P.G.St.B. (R.A.) He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1918.

Hon. Abraham M. Beitler, of Philadelphia, on 2nd September, 1935. Our Brother held the rank of P.G.M. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1931.

Edward Booth, of Birmingham, on 28th April, 1936. Bro. Booth was to have been invested as P.G.St.B. the day after his death. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in 1929.

John Charles William Brockliss, of Surbiton, in May, 1934. Our Brother was a member of Royal Leopold Lodge No. 1669. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1932.

Charles Watson Brown, of London, in February, 1936. Bro. Brown was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in 1926.

Robert Buchanan, of Glasgow, on 9th February, 1936. Our Brother was a P.M. of Lodge No. 571, and a member of Chapter No. 69. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1930.

Thomas Adolphus Bullock, of London, S.W., on 15th May, 1936. Bro. Bullock held the rank of P.G.D., and P.A.G.So. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1911.

Samuel Poyntz Cochran, of Dallas, Tex., U.S.A., on 11th February, 1936, in his eightieth year. Our Brother held the rank of P.G.M., and P.G.Sc. He was one of the senior members of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1899.

George Laxton Collins, jun., of Sunderland, on 15th April, 1936. Bro. Collins was P.M. of Gateshead Fell Lodge No. 4349, and a member of Industry Chapter No. 48. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

Eustace Lauriston Conder, of Buenos Aires, on 20th January, 1935. Our Brother held the rank of P.A.G.Supt.W., and P.G.St.B. (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in November, 1918.

Alfred Martin George Daniel, of Frome, Somerset, on 20th April, 1936. Bro. Daniel held the rank of P.Pr.G.W. He was elected to our Correspondence Circle in January, 1935.

Henry Eaborn, of London, S.E., on the 29th February, 1936. Our Brother held L.R., and L.C.R., and was P.M. of Cannon Lodge No. 1539. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1898.

Charles Regent Ellis, of Cullompton, Devon., on the 24th December, 1935. Bro. Ellis was a member of St. Andrew Lodge No. 4097, and of St. Peter's Chapter No. 1125. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1922.

R. J. Elliston, of Letchworth, Herts., on 29th May, 1935. Our Brother held the rank of P.A.G.D.C., and P.G.St.B. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1911.

Leon Alfred Mayer Engel, of London, N.W., on 31st December, 1935. Bro. Engel held the rank of A.G.St.B., and P.A.G.D.C. (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in May, 1907.

Felix Fighiera, of London, S.W., on 31st May, 1936, aged 68 years. Our Brother held the rank of P.G.D., and P.A.G.So. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1904.

Robert Edmund France Foulger, of Epsom, Surrey, on the 27th January, 1936, aged 63 years. Bro. Foulger was a P.M. of Lodge of St. Oswald No. 1124, and P.Z. of Black Horse of Lombard Street Chapter No. 4155. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1930.

Very Rev. **Henry John Gillespie**, *D.D.*, Dean of Killaloe, Ireland, on 31st March, 1936. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Chief Scribe, and Provincial Grand Secretary, Mid.Cos. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1900.

David Timothy James, of Cardigan, in April, 1936. Bro. James was a P.M. of St. Peter's Lodge No. 476, and a member of Merlin Chapter No. 476. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1915.

John Carson Kidd, of Houston, Texas, on 16th November, 1935, aged 90 years. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Treasurer and Past Grand High Priest. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1911.

Rudyard Kipling, of Burwash, Sussex, on 17th January, 1936. Bro. Kipling was admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle in May, 1918.

Elis Heikki Liipola, of Abo, Finland, on 1st March, 1936. Our Brother held the rank of Grand Warden, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

Ronald Samuel Marsden, of Longhope, Gloucestershire, in July, 1935. Bro. Marsden was a member of the Foundation Lodge and the Foundation Chapter of Unanimity No. 82. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1934.

John Robert Nuttall, *J.P.*, *F.R.Hist.S.*, of Lancaster, in May, 1935. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., W.Lancs., and was P.Z. of Rowley Chapter No. 1051. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1899, and for many years acted as Local Secretary for North Lancashire.

John Herbert Oldroyd, of Leeds, on 7th March, 1936. Bro. Oldroyd was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in 1926.

Andrew Abijah Parker, of Eston, Sask., in 1935. Our Brother held the rank of Past District Deputy Grand Master. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1933.

James George Parker, M.B.E., of London, E., on 9th April, 1936. Bro. Parker held the rank of P.Pr.D.G.D.C., Surrey, and was P.Z. of Eccleston Chapter No. 1624. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1913.

Arthur Charles Patrick, M.A., B.Sc., of Nelson, Lancs., on 10th May, 1935. Our Brother was a member of Queen's Jubilee Lodge No. 2193, and of the Nativity Chapter No. 126. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1923.

Lt.-Col. **J. Penny, I.M.S.**, of Langport, Somerset. Bro. Penny held the rank of P.Dis.G.W., and P.Dis.G.St.B. (R.A.), Burma. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1901.

Lt.-Col. **George Ingleton Phillips, C.B.E.**, of Birchington-on-Sea, Kent, on 11th March, 1936. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Sword Bearer, and Past Dep. Grand Sword Bearer (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1907.

Judge **Arthur W. Piper, K.C.**, of Adelaide, S.Australia, on 19th February, 1936. Bro. Piper held the office of Grand Master, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1904.

Lt.-Col. **Cecil de Pre Penton Powney, O.B.E.**, of London, S.W., on 18th April, 1936. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1920.

William John Robson, of London, N.W. Bro. Robson was a member of Seymour Bell Lodge No. 3635. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1918.

William Mitchell Rose, of Glasgow, on the 3rd May, 1936. Our Brother was a member of Lodge No. 772, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1930.

Charles F. Sach, of London, S.W., on 7th December, 1935. Bro. Sach held L.R., and was P.M. of Alexandra Palace Lodge No. 1541. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1906.

Theophilus Caldwell Sandeman, of London, W., on 25th March, 1936. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1911.

Francis Robert Sanderson, K.C., O.B.E., of Austria. Bro. Sanderson was a P.M. of Grecia Lodge No. 1105, and H. of Star of the East Chapter No. 1355. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1910.

George Sarginson, of West Hartlepool, on 13th April, 1936. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1917.

George Richard Saunders, of Sutton, Surrey, on 8th April, 1936. Bro. Saunders held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and P.Pr.G.J. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1901.

Charles Simpson, J.P., of Sheffield, on 18th December, 1935. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and was J. of Paradise Chapter No. 139. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1922.

Frank Stonehouse, of Nelson, Lancs. Bro. Stonehouse held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., East Lancs., and was P.Z. of Nativity Chapter No. 126. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1922.

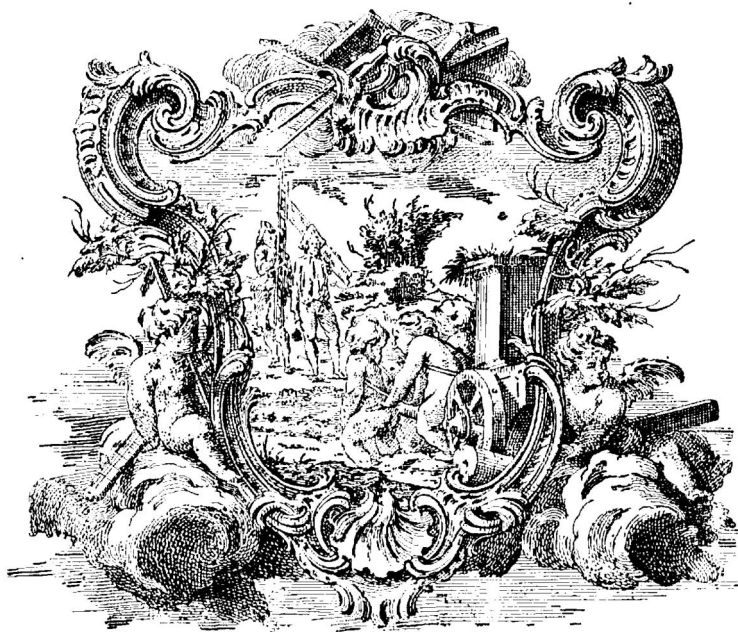
Charles William Swinton, of Fleet, Hants., on the 13th November, 1935. Our Brother was a member of Fugelmere Lodge No. 5073, and of Connaught Chapter No. 1971. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1934.

Glen Arthur Taylor, of Neath, Glam., on 14th November, 1935. Bro. Taylor was a member of Cadogan Lodge No. 162. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1919.

Joseph Toon, of London, S.W., on 4th February, 1936. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer, and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He has been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1912.

Thomas Addison Washbourn, of Bourton-on-the-Water, Glos., in April, 1936. Bro. Washbourn held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and P.Pr.G.Sc.N. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1900.

Cuthbert Wilkinson, of Sunderland, on 27th May, 1936. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1908.



Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

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Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



SECRETARY:

Colonel F. M. RICKARD, P.G.Swd.B.

OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM:

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.2.

→* Ars *← Quatuor Coronatorum

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



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY COLONEL F. M. RICKARD, P.G.S.B.

VOLUME XLIX. PART 2.

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1939.

THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 2,500 members, comprising many of the most distinguished brethren of the Craft, such as Masonic Students and Writers, Grand Masters, Grand Secretaries, and nearly 300 Grand Lodges, Supreme Councils, Private Lodges, Libraries and other corporate bodies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SUMMER OUTING, 1936.

CHESTER.



THIRTY years ago, in 1905, the Summer Outing of Quatuor Coronati Lodge took place at Chester. Of the party on that occasion only two were with the party of 49 who visited Chester from 18th to 21st June, 1936.

The following-named Brethren formed the party:—

Bros. Wm. N. Bacon, London, P.A.G.D.C.; Fredk. J. Baldwin, St. Helens, P.Pr.A.G.P., Worcs.; R. H. Baxter, Rochdale, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 2076; A. Blackhurst, Grange-over-Sands, P.M., 4765; H. Bladon, London, P.A.G.D.C.; F. M. Boniface, London, P.M., 2694; Geo. W. Bullamore, Newbury, 4748; W. Butler, Kendal, P.Pr.G.W.; Robt. A. Card, Seaford, P.M., 30; H. Cherrington, Dudley, P.M., 252; G. S. Collins, London, P.A.G.D.C.; F. W. Davy, London, P.A.G.R.; Robt. Dawson, Hastings, P.Pr.G.W.; W. Morgan Day, London, 2860; H. K. Duckworth, Grange-over-Sands, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; S. Duckworth, Grange-over-Sands, P.M., 1715; Lewis Edwards, London, P.A.G.R., 2076; Wm. S. Ellis, Newark, P.Pr.G.D.C.; David Flather, Sheffield, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 2076; Albert Frost, Sheffield, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; J. F. H. Gilbard, London, 56; F. W. Golby, London, P.A.G.D.C., S.D., 2076; H. W. Graves-Morris, Luton, Beds., P.Pr.G.W.; W. Barry Gregar, Weybridge, P.Pr.G.D., Essex; John W. Hall, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W.; Wallace Heaton, London, P.A.G.D.C.; J. P. Hunter, Sheffield, P.Pr.G.Sup.W.; J. V. Jacklin, Royston, Herts., 3532; G. Y. Johnson, York, P.Pr.G.W.; H. Johnson, Guildford, L.R., P.M., 2191; H. C. Knowles, London, P.A.G.R.; Dr. F. Lace, Bath, P.A.G.D.C.; H. J. Malan, Transvaal, P.M., 50 (N.C.); H. W. Martin, London, L.R.; O. A. Newman, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W.; Dr. T. North, London, P.G.D.; T. Pickles, Kendal, Pr.G.Treas.; Cecil Powell, Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M., 2076; A. S. Quick, London, P.M., 2183; T. E. Rees, Walsall, 654 (S.C.); Col. F. M. Rickard, Englefield Green, P.G.S.B.; A. P. Salter, London, P.G.St.B.; W. Scott, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, P.Pr.G.D.; Thos. Selby, Eaglescliffe, P.G.St.B.; C. C. Small, Grange-over-Sands, 1715; W. J. Songhurst, London, P.G.D., I.P.M., 2076; F. J. Underwood, Worcester, P.A.G.D.C.; Lionel Vibert, London, P.A.G.D.C., P.M. and Sec., 2076; R. B. Vincent, London, P.Pr.A.G.D.C., Herts.; Ed. Tappenden, Hitchin, P.A.G.St.B.; W. J. Williams, London, P.M., 2076.

The contingent from London assembled at Euston and travelled by the 10.30 a.m. train, arriving at Chester soon after 2.0 p.m.

After having settled in at the Queen Hotel, the party proceeded by car to the Masonic Hall, where tea was kindly provided by the Brethren of the Cestrian Lodge; and Bro. C. J. Vincent gave a short address on 'How to see Chester'. At 5.0 p.m. a reception was held at the Town Hall by His Worship the Mayor, T. Davies Jones, Esq., who welcomed us, and by whose kindness the Muniment Room with its treasures was open for our inspection, and we were entertained by an interesting talk by the Town Clerk, Bro. J. H. Dickson, upon the pictures in the Town Hall. Shortly after 6.0 p.m. we returned by car to the hotel. After dinner we drove to the landing-stage, and by launch went up the River Dee as far as the Iron Bridge opposite Eaton Hall, obtaining a fine view of this

magnificent pile of buildings. Though the weather was rather cold and threatening rain, the beautiful scenery of the river made the trip pleasant.

On Friday morning we proceeded by car to the Town Hall, from which, as a centre, a perambulation of the city was the programme under the guidance of several of the local Brethren who very kindly undertook to be in charge of the various groups. The morning's tour was somewhat marred by rain, but this was not allowed to interfere with our enjoyment of the many architectural treasures that were pointed out to us as we proceeded along the city walls and through the rows, particularly the Roman remains which are still to be seen. At 11.0 a.m. we assembled at the Cathedral where V.W.Bro. the *V. Rev.* F. S. M. Bennett, Dean of Chester, received us in the Parlour of the Domestic Buildings of the Monastery; and after giving us a very interesting description of the Cathedral, its history, architectural features, and many other points of interest, the Dean conducted us round the building. At 1.0 p.m. we found lunch prepared for us at the Masonic Hall, Hunter Street. After lunch we started by car on a run through Wales, visiting St. Asaph, Valle Crucis Abbey, and Wrexham;—our afternoon's excursion can best be described in the words of a sketch prepared by Bro. C. J. Vincent:—

"The entrance to North Wales from Chester is over the Grosvenor Bridge, built to the designs of Thomas Harrison, the famous architect who was responsible for the Elgin Marbles being brought to England, and opened in 1832 by Princess Victoria, who ascended the throne in 1837. On the left is Chester Castle, of which part of the Norman foundations still remain; and on the right is the Roodee with its great circular race course. Just beyond the Bridge is one of the entrances to Eaton Park, the Cheshire seat of His Grace, the Duke of Westminster. Six miles from Chester lies Hawarden, the home of the Gladstone family. In the grounds of the Park there are the ruins of Hawarden Castle, dating back to the thirteenth century. Two miles beyond the village on the right is Ewloe Castle, also of the thirteenth century. The road now leads past Northop, with its early sixteenth century church, Halkyn and Holywell. On the left is Halkyn Mountain, on the right the Dee estuary with the Wirral Peninsula beyond. Parkgate can be seen, once the great port to Ireland, now merely a small village, famous chiefly for its shrimps. In Holywell there is St. Winifred's Well, the chapel over which is said to have been built by Margaret Beaufort, the mother of Henry VII. Here the road turns left into the hills for St. Asaph.

"The parish church of St. Asaph—thirteenth to fifteenth century—has a good hammer-beam roof: the statue in front is of Bishop Morgan, famous for his translation of the Bible into Welsh, 1588. The Cathedral was founded in the sixth century by St. Mungo of Glasgow. In 1282 the building was destroyed: there were several rebuildings until the great restoration by Sir Gilbert Scott, 1867-1875. Here in 1920 Dr. Edwards was enthroned as the first archbishop of Wales. The collection of books is noteworthy. A few miles up the valley is Denbigh. The Castle was built by Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who also constructed the walls of the town in the reign of Edward I. The road now runs through the very beautiful Clwyd Valley, past Llanrhaiadr, noted for its double nave church, to Ruthin. In the market place here are several black and white timber houses: the old Court House dates back to 1401, the church is a thirteenth to fourteenth century building and the Castle, built in the reign of Edward I., is now a nursing home. A very charming winding road skirts the Llandegla Moors and leads on to the Horse Shoe Pass: at various points magnificent views are to be obtained. From the summit, Snowdon itself can be seen in clear weather.

"Valle Crucis Abbey lies just outside Llangollen. It was built about the year 1200 and in style is thirteenth century. The west door is a charming example of the skill of the Cistercian architects: the aisled nave, the two transepts, each with two chapels, the vice or spiral staircase, the cloisters, the book cupboard.

the chapter house, the refectory, the dormitory with its accommodation for about twenty monks, and the stone coffins are of especial interest. Near to the Abbey is Eliseg's Pillar, in memory of Eliseg, a chieftain famous about 600 A.D., erected by his great grandson, Concenn ap Cadwell ap Brochmail. The pillar was destroyed during the Civil Wars and this part was set up again in 1779 by Trevor Lloyd. Dinas Bran Castle towers above Llangollen: very little is known of its early history, but it was inhabited in the thirteenth century. The road leads past the canal and railway to Llangollen Bridge, one of the seven wonders of Wales. The bridge was built in 1345-6 by the Bishop of St. Asaph. Part of Llangollen Church is of Early English architecture. Plas Newydd, the home of Lady Eleanor Butler and the Hon. Miss S. Ponsonby, the Ladies of Llangollen, is of remarkable interest both for the wood carving and for the gardens. Llangollen was a famous halting place on the old London-Holyhead road, and is now noted for its woollen trade and as a holiday resort.

"The road now runs on the north side of the River Dee through Ruabon, mining town with brick and pipe works, to Wrexham, where there is a fifteenth century church with a beautiful spire—one of the seven wonders of Wales. At Gresford is another fifteenth century church with a peal of twelve bells, also one of the seven wonders. From Gresford to Chester the distance is but short and the city is entered by the Grosvenor Bridge.

"The Seven Wonders of Wales are St. Winifred's Well, Wrexham Church Spire, Overton Churchyard, Gresford Church Bells, Llangollen Bridge, Pistyll Rharadr and Snowdon".

The Cistercian Abbey at Valle Crucis was described to us by Bro. P. H. Lawson: and the points of interest at Wrexham were visited under the guidance of Bro. R. H. Gough Smallwood. The return to Chester was made in time for dinner.

On Saturday morning we drove to Port Sunlight, and spent the morning in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, which contains a Lodge-room and a Masonic museum besides the many valuable art treasures collected from all parts of the world. The Curator, Bro. S. L. Davison, entertained us throughout by a dissertation upon the various exhibits. After lunching at the Gallery we proceeded to Tarvin, visiting the Church under the guidance of the Vicar. Thence to Tarporley where we stopped for tea at the Swan Hotel. After tea, by kind permission of Hon. Marshal Brookes, we visited Portal House, full of so many interesting curios, and the wonderfully beautiful gardens. We returned to Chester by 7.0 p.m., and after dinner were 'At Home' to the local Brethren and endeavoured to show them how much we had appreciated their generous hospitality. During the evening Bro. R. H. Gough Smallwood entertained the gathering with a short paper on 'The Early Provincial Grand Masters of Chester'.

On Sunday we attended service in the Cathedral, where the V. Rev. Dean of Chester preached an impressive sermon. After lunch the party dispersed, the London Brethren leaving by the 3.0 p.m. train.

St. John's Day in Harvest

WEDNESDAY, 24th JUNE, 1936.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., I.P.M., as W.M.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., as I.P.M.; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., S.W.; W. J. Williams, P.M., as J.W.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., as I.G.; and Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.Reg.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., T. A. R. Littledale, Geo. C. Williams, W. Leitch, Geo. W. Bullamore, John Lawrence, G. S. Shepherd-Jones, J. McDade, *Col.* T. M. Wakefield, P.Dep.G.S.B., J. F. Nicholls, E. H. Cartwright, P.G.D., C. B. Mirrlees, *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., A. F. Cross, A. J. Barter, C. S. Bishop, *Rev.* Wm. A. Congdon, H. Bladon, P.A.G.D.C., J. E. Messenger, *Commdr.* S. N. Smith, Robt. A. Card, T. W. Marsh, *Major* G. T. Harley Thomas, P.G.D., E. F. Gleadow, F. W. Le Tall, W. H. Topley, F. R. Radice, H. J. Malan, Joseph C. da Costa, R. A. Rider, W. Davison, W. J. D. Roberts, R. W. Strickland, B. G. Burnett-Hall, R. C. J. Jarvis, Geo. F. Pallett, Sydney R. Clarke, E. Eyles, G. D. Elvidge, D. L. Oliver, Wm. Lewis, L. G. Wearing, H. W. Sayers, W. A. Cooke, F. Welland, A. L. Collins, P.A.G.Reg., F. A. Wells, C. J. A. Chapman, J. F. H. Gilbard, A. Saywell, Jas. J. Cooper, R. H. B. Cawdron, A. Senior, A. Perez, W. J. Mean, T. M. Scott, W. Brinkworth, G. B. Minshull, E. Saxine, T. H. Jarman, H. D. Elkington, T. H. Thatcher, Geo. S. V. Young, and F. Addington Hall.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. F. Carew Thomas, Ara Lodge No. 1 (N.Z.C.); Jas. Townsend, Sec., Bertie Lodge No. 1515; Chas. Hope, Caritas Lodge No. 4981; M. J. Popkin, J.D., City of London St. Olave's Lodge No. 3213; S. Hamilton Price, W.M., Leverhulme Lodge No. 4438; R. W. Fryer, I.P.M., Granite Lodge No. 1328; and L. L. Haines, Royal and Loyal Lodge No. 2952.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; *Rev.* H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; D. Knoop, M.A., W.M.;

B. Telepneff; *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., P.M.; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; *Dr.* George Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., J.D.; and *Major* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, P.G.D., I.G.

Six Lodges, one University, and Twenty-five Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:--

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Certificate; parchment. Elaborate engraved heading with arms of the Moderns.

John Stewart made a mason and admitted to the third degree at the Lodge at the Bell, St. Peters, Ipswich. 9 May 1809.

Certificate. G.L. of Ireland. Craft. John Stewart. 6 Jan. 1812.

Certificate. Manuscript hand-painted. Two columns supporting an arch and keystone. Red circular seal on red ribbon. R.A. Chapter No. 890 in the Royal Meath Regiment. John Stewart. 15 Jan. 1812.

Certificate. Manuscript hand-painted. Angel above and between two pillars, coffin at base. Black triangular seal on black ribbon. K.T. and Malta. Encampment No. 890. January 1812.

Pamphlet, containing three papers by G. Stayley; Dumfries 1774. The second is *Freemasonry*, a *Lecture*, with a verse prologue. Not in any masonic bibliography; not in B.M. One copy in Dumfries Public Library. Stayley published a number of works, according to D.N.B., but this is not mentioned there. He was an actor at Edinburgh where he taught elocution. The pagination of the first and the second lecture is continuous. The third; the signatures are continuous but the pagination goes from 64 to 77; the last item is a poem; The Infidel or atheistical Logic considered.

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Lewis Edwards, who had kindly lent the objects for exhibition.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS, Prestonian Lecturer for the year, read the following paper:—

THE PRESTONIAN LECTURE, 1936.

"FREEMASONRY, RITUAL AND CEREMONIAL".

BY BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS, P.A.G.Reg.



It would be to follow custom and to do that which is altogether fitting were we just for a moment to bear in mind the name and the services of William Preston, to whom is due the opportunity for this our meeting—you, Brethren, here for the purpose of gaining some enlightenment, and I here, as though travelling on a wander-year—if senescence is still capable of this—the teacher, from contact with his Brethren learning much more than he can ever hope to teach them. But beyond the invocatory mention of William Preston, it has seemed to me becoming to attempt to deal with a subject with which he was intimately connected and which was ever dear to his heart—I mean ritual and ceremonial. Sharing the view of John Donne of . . . "sacramental and ritual, and ceremonial things, which are . . . the subsidies of religion", Preston could recognise this importance while, so to speak, keeping them in their place, as when he says, "In all regular assemblies of men which are convened for wise and useful purposes, the commencement and conclusion of business is accompanied by some form. In every country of the world the practice prevails, and is deemed essential. From the most remote periods of antiquity it is traced, and the refined improvements of modern times have not abolished it".

"Ceremonies simply considered are little more than visionary delusions, but their effects are sometimes important. When they impress awe and reverence on the mind, and attract the attention to solemn rites by external forms, they are interesting objects. These purposes are effected when judicious ceremonies are regularly conducted and properly arranged. On this ground they have received the sanction of the wisest men in all ages, and consequently could not escape the notice of Masons. To begin well, is the most likely means to end well; and it is justly remarked that when order and method are neglected at the beginning, they will be seldom found to take place at the end".

"The ceremony of opening and closing the Lodge with solemnity and decorum is therefore universally adopted among Masons; and though the mode in some meetings may vary, and in every Degree must vary, still an uniformity in the general practice prevails in the lodge; and the variation (if any) is solely occasioned by a want of method, which a little application will easily remove".¹

These words of Preston are full of sound wisdom, and of good eighteenth-century sense. He, like most of our Masonic writers, looked upon himself as a citizen of the world, and on Masonry as but a branch of human knowledge and of social conduct, and we may feel sure that he would have welcomed any attempt at placing his beloved craft against the background of contemporary knowledge from time to time, so that what is immutable might stand out in a fresh glory and that which is ephemeral be revised in the light of fuller knowledge as such becomes accessible. He, from the nature of the case, had displayed his

¹ *Illustrations of Masonry*, 17th Edition (1861), p. 24.

views against an eighteenth-century background with a tincture of contemporary reason, and according to the principles of history and of sociology current in his day. To criticise his treatment would be unhistorical and unfair, but to revise, to correct, or to corroborate his judgments would be, to my way of thinking, to treat him not as a dead classic, but as a powerful and still-living force. So much has been written since Preston taught, with regard at least to the historical side of ritual and ceremonial, that an attempt to view the craft, however cursorily, in the light of modern knowledge seems well overdue.

At the outset, it is perhaps necessary to point out a distinction. I have used the terms "ritual" and "ceremonial" together, and throughout I shall do so either in this way or alternatively, since for my present purpose the principles regulating them and the history behind them are the same. Even the Oxford English Dictionary defines "ritual" as a "Prescribed order of performing religious or other devotional service", and then goes on to speak of "Ritual observances: ceremonial acts". Bishop Frere, however, points out the distinction in his "Principles of Religious Ceremonial", when, after using the word Ritualist in what he calls "its popular and inaccurate sense" of "one favouring ceremonial" he goes on to say that "Strictly speaking, a rite is a form of service, while ceremony is the method of its performance", and proposes to maintain "the true distinction between ritual and ceremonial" throughout the rest of the work.¹

The Rev. Vernon Staley, in his "Ceremonial of the English Church", quotes Archbishop Benson in the Lincoln Judgment as saying that "the word 'rite' is held to include, if not to consist of, the text of the prayers and Scriptures read; the books called 'rituals' containing these, while the books called 'ceremonials' prescribe the mode of using the rites or conducting the service". And Staley adds: "Strictly speaking, then the term 'ritual' signifies the words of a rite, and the term 'ceremonial' the actions in which it consists or by which it is accompanied. Thus, it is possible to be a learned 'ritualist' and yet to know little or nothing about 'ceremonial'; in the language of the Lodge of Instruction one can know the whole book without knowing the floor-work, and be thus incapable of conducting a ceremony. Further, Staley explains ceremonial as being concerned with the *circumstances*, as distinguished from the *substance*, of religion, and again quotes Archbishop Benson as saying that "a ceremony in worship is an action or act in which material objects may or may not be used, but is not itself any material object", and concluded by defining it as "a formal symbolic gesture or action of religious meaning, performed or done in the course of the services of the Church".

One word more on terminology. In accordance with custom, I use the term "speculative" in contrast to "practical", although there are serious objections to this use. The Oxford English Dictionary states that "speculative" refers to "speculation or theory in contrast to practical or practical knowledge", and it should properly be applied to the science of the man of theory, the architect, as opposed to the practical workman, the mason. John Hall's Historical Expostulation (1565) well shows the difference—"learning in chirurgery consisteth not in speculation only now in practice only but in speculation made practical by experience".² There are really three aspects under which to view an art: the practical or operative, the theoretical or speculative, and what is variously called the symbolical or mystical. The term "speculative" is then best applied to the second of these. The question of whether "symbolical" or "mystical" is the better word for the third aspect I propose to discuss later in another context.

Seen in the light of our own experience and theories, the views of the earlier writers on ritual seem to be vitiated by the lack of an historical sense,

¹ 1936 Edition, p. 3, *note*.

² Ed. T. J. Pettigrew (Percy Society 41). 1844, p. 44.

by a failure to recognise the influence of a cultural and social environment different from their own, by the ascription to the primitive mind of the same impulses—or rather the same complex of impulses—as those which regulated their own beliefs and actions. The idea of change and of development was not adequately grasped: accidental similarities were taken to mean essential likenesses. The discovery, for example, of tools used by the ancient Egyptians similar to those used by our operative ancestors and then by our speculative Brethren was boldly taken to show that Freemasonry existed in Egypt, as though we should say that because the Egyptians believed in the immortality of the soul, therefore they were Christians. Similar beliefs, similar practices, similar symbols even, can be found throughout historical time and geographical space, but in itself this means little. Even within the smaller compass of the history of the “Old Charges” we know the difficulties of tracing their descent from an unknown though conjecturally synthesised original. Still more is it the case with the origin and development of the human race. We find likenesses in the various types of creatures, some more human than animal, some more animal than human, but an exact classification still defies the efforts of anthropologists. Again, though we keep many of our old forms in religion, in politics, in society, their relative importance has changed, and, what is more, their present significance is recognisable in their old only to the trained observer.

Before I deal with the subject of primitive ritual there are one or two points which it is necessary to have previously appreciated before the matter can be understood. Any ritual we use now, whether of the Church or of Masonry, comes to us, we are accustomed to think, as being imposed by authority. If in time of drought we pray for rain we do so in accordance with the forms prescribed by the authority which governs our faith and binds our conscience. Our primitive ancestors knew little of faith or conscience in our sense, however. They worked according to principles of analogy or of association. As water is associated with rain, so they thought that by the use of the one they could produce the other, as where, to take a present-day instance, according to Sir James Frazer at Poona, “When rain is needed, the boys dress up one of their number in nothing but leaves and call him King of Rain. Then they go round to every house in the village, where the householder or his wife sprinkles the Rain King with water and gives the party food of various kinds. When they have thus visited all the houses, they strip the Rain King of his leafy robes and feast upon what they have gathered”.¹ Here we have in our sense no religious element, no prayer, no morality, no idea of divinity. It is only later that we get personification and myth-making. In this later stage, each of the natural forces becomes ascribed to a divine or super-human person and to their operation is attached a legend or myth. We can see a primitive ritual, accompanied sometimes by what seem to us grossly immoral features, being given the background of a myth, as in the great nature cults, and then a development into what we should recognise as a religion, dictating principles of the purest morality. Frazer speaks of “Isis in the olden times, a rustic corn-mother adored with uncouth rites by Egyptian swains”, and adds, “But the homely features of the clownish goddess could hardly be traced in the refined, the saintly form which spiritualised by ages of religious devotion she presented to her worshippers of after days as the true wife, the tender mother, the beneficent queen of nature, encircled with the nimbus of moral purity, of immemorial and mysterious sanctity”.

Consider, for example, what Robertson Smith says: “And here we shall go very far wrong if we take it for granted that what is the most important and prominent side of religion to us was equally important in the ancient society with which we are to deal. In connection with every religion, whether ancient or

¹ *Golden Bough* (Abridged Edition), p. 70.

modern, we find on the one hand certain beliefs, and on the other certain institutions, ritual practices and rules of conduct. Our modern habit is to look at religion from the side of belief rather than of practice; for, down to comparatively recent times, almost the only forms of religion seriously studied in Europe have been those of the various Christian churches, and all parts of Christendom are agreed that ritual is important only in connection with its interpretation. Thus the study of religion has meant mainly the study of Christian beliefs, and instruction in religion has habitually begun with the creed, religious duties being presented to the learner as flowing from the dogmatic truths he is taught to accept. All this seems to us so much a matter of course that, when we approach some strange or antique religion, we naturally assume that here also our first business is to search for a creed, and find in it the key to ritual and practice. But the antique religions had for the most part no creed: they consisted entirely of institutions and practices. No doubt men will not habitually follow certain practices without attaching a meaning to them, but as a rule we find that while the practice was rigorously fixed, the meaning attached to it was extremely vague, and the same rite was explained by different people in different ways, without any question of orthodoxy or heterodoxy arising in consequence. In ancient Greece, for example, certain things were done at a temple, and people were agreed that it would be impious not to do them. But if you had asked why they were done, you would probably have had several mutually contradictory explanations from different persons, and no one would have thought it a matter of the least religious importance which of these you chose to adopt. Indeed, the explanations offered would not have been of a kind to stir any strong feeling; for in most cases they would have been merely different stories as to the circumstances under which the rite first came to be established, by the command or by the direct example of the god. The rite, in short, was connected not with a dogma, but with a myth.

"In all the antique religions mythology takes the place of dogma; that is, the sacred lore of priests and people, so far as it does not consist of mere rules for the performance of religious acts, assumes the form of stories about the gods, and these stories afford the only explanation that is offered of the precepts of religion and the prescribed rules of ritual. But, strictly speaking, this mythology was no essential part of ancient religion, for it had no sacred sanction and no binding force on the worshippers. . . . Belief in a certain series of myths was neither obligatory as a part of true religion, nor was it supposed that, by believing, a man acquired religious merit and conciliated the favour of the gods. What was obligatory or meritorious was the exact performance of certain sacred acts prescribed by religious tradition. This being so, it follows that mythology ought not to take the prominent place that is too often assigned to it in the scientific study of ancient faiths. So far as myths consist of explanations of ritual, their value is altogether secondary, and it may be affirmed with confidence that in almost every case the myth was derived from the ritual, and not the ritual from the myth; for the ritual was fixed and the myth was variable, the ritual was obligatory and faith in the myth was at the discretion of the worshipper".¹

This passage (long as it is) shows how different was the order of religious development from what we might have imagined, for there was in fact a development in ideas, a relegation to second place of the old forms. Greek religion might begin in a ritual imitating or rather re-duplicating the forces and seasons of nature, might result in myths sometimes of a beauty never equalled, sometimes of a crudity to arouse the condemnation of the Socratic Dialogues, and finally lead to the exalted ideas of civil and religious polity of the Platonic Socrates—

¹ *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (1914 Edition), pp. 16-18.

yet, be it noted, even he on the point of death could still observe the old ritual and make his offering to Æsculapius. Turning from classical to our better-known sacred lore, we can trace through the Bible the changes in the relative importance of ritual and of prayer, of burnt-offerings and of conduct. The meticulous regulations of ritual in the earlier books of the Bible give place to the teachings of the prophets, the Mosaic ritual develops into the sublimities of Isaiah, and finally, as some would hold, the Lord's Prayer gives Christian expression to the latest and greatest of the truths of Judaism.

The conclusion I wish to draw is that not only of the development of a ritual, but that of the change of the ideas to which it gives rise. From one point of view the completed idea of one age becomes the primitive idea of the next. From another, the natural ideas are sublimated into the spiritual. If we take the history of pictorial art and trace it to an origin in ritual, in getting things done by the unseen powers by what we should now call the representation of them, we again recognise a development from ritualistic practice. We have certain things represented with a view to controlling or influencing the things or forces they represent. The pictorial art so originated, then follows a line of development of its own, until by an advanced form of pictorial representation there are suggested ideas, with which it becomes associated, of a much more sublime religious character.

If these instances show the caution with which we must regard any attempt to connect our present ideas of ritual with those of its more primitive forms, yet on the other hand it is not to be supposed that there do not exist many cases of surviving ritualistic forms. The changing seasons of the year were of the utmost moment to the primitive races, to whom the yield of the harvest was literally a matter of life and death. The earlier books of the Bible bear witness to the part the fruits of the earth played in the economy of the Israelites, and show how intimately connected they were with the provisions of the Mosaic code. The Greek nature myths of Demeter and Persephone, the Egyptian myths of Osiris, the Syrian tale of "Tammuz yearly wounded", all show the prevalence of the cult. It was the wisdom of the early Christian Church to connect the phases of the Gospel story with the seasons of the earth, and to fix the Nativity itself—for this fixing occurs comparatively late in the development of Christianity—at that mid-winter season when it could gather to itself, and hallow with the association of the Birth, the age-long customs of pagan times, and it was a sure historical instinct of the Puritans to condemn so much of religious ceremonial as being mere pagan survival. What are now the Christmas associations of the mistletoe, for example, can be traced back very early. It is curious to reflect, moreover, that though the pagan survivals of the Maypole and Jack-in-the-Green are now dying, if they are not already dead, yet the concomitants of Spring are in process of being associated with what in the sight of the centuries is so recent a growth as that of the Labour movement in its May Day processions and demonstrations.

I have dealt with the general background and with these general principles at this length for three reasons: to follow the example of the older writers in dealing with ancient lore, but, it is hoped, in such a way as to make my treatment agree with the results of recent investigations; to show that ritual is no new thing, devised for a certain purpose and without roots in the past; and to give an opportunity here briefly to consider, and a stimulus to others to investigate at length, the details of our Masonic ritual, to point out the dangers of the quest, while showing how absorbing a pursuit in reality it is. We shall not see, as did the old writers, Freemasonry existing in remote antiquity, or even as a system having its roots there, but we shall see how its ritual has incorporated, though we know not in many cases when, how or why, many details which, to say the least, can be paralleled in early times, and, to say something more, are probably

in however indirect a fashion derived from those times, little as those who assisted in the development may have guessed their origin.

As to our own Masonic ritual, what is it, whence did it arise, and when? These, the obvious questions to ask, are by no means easy definitely to answer. We have generally agreed to derive the Speculative Craft from the Operative Masonic and other Guilds of the Middle Ages, and the opinion has been steadily gaining ground that even with regard to ritual there is a continuity and a development linking the mediæval operative ritual, whatever it was, with that of the Eighteenth Century and so on to modern times. Dr. G. G. Coulton after describing the position of the mediæval operative after the completion of his work at a certain place and at the end of a certain time, bound to seek his future livelihood at another job and in another place, adds: "How, then, was our wanderer to prove to the master mason, when he found him at last, that he was a full-fledged competent workman? . . . There might be other ways, but for two we have a certain amount of documentary evidence; the pass-word and the sign. That evidence, it is true, is less early and less explicit than we might wish; yet it seems most probable that the conditions which we find in 1563 [the year when the Emperor Ferdinand I. confirmed the Masonic regulations for the whole Empire] had developed far earlier. Since they would follow logically from what we know to be the earlier conditions. Here, as on some other points, our only documents are German". He then goes on to speak of the German Statutes of 1462 describing an initiation ceremony followed by a feast. "Every apprentice when he has served his time and is to be declared free, shall promise to the craft by his troth and honour, in lieu of oath, and on pain of losing the craft of a mason, that he will disclose or say to no man the greeting or the [hand-grip] of a mason, except to one to whom also he should rightly say it, and also, that he will put nothing thereof into writing". He then deals with the greeting, for which he claims far fuller evidence, if the authority he quotes is to be trusted, and gives a ritualistic dialogue between the stranger and the Mason, which, when they have recognised each other, is followed by a hand-grip, greeting and welcome, after which the Stranger is brought into the room of assembly, where there follows another ritualistic colloquy. Finally, Coulton again quotes in corroboration the German Statutes of 1462, "And every travelling fellow, when he has received the donation, shall go from one to the other and shall thank him therefor. And this is the greeting wherewith every fellow shall greet, when he first goeth into the Lodge thus shall he say: 'God greet ye, God guide ye, God reward ye, ye honourable overmaster warden and trusty fellows'; and the master or warden shall thank him, that he may know who is the superior in the Lodge. Then shall the fellow address himself to the same, and say: 'The master' (naming him) 'bids me greet you worthily'; and he shall go to the fellows from one to the other and greet each in a friendly manner, even as he greeted the superior. And then shall they all, master and wardens, and fellows, pledge him as is the custom, and as is already written of the greeting and pledge; but not to him whom they hold for no true man, he shall be fined one pound of wax".¹

Bridging the gap between the mediæval Masons (although some of these sources indeed overlap the mediæval period) and the speculatives of the eighteenth century, we have the many and varied versions of the "Old Charges" of the Freemasons. These show rather clearly that there were certain forms of ritual accompanying admission into the Society.

Hawkins considered that the ceremony was as follows:—

- (a) A Prayer.
- (b) The Reading of the Legendary History.

¹ *Art and the Reformation*, pp. 167-171.

- (c) The placing of the candidate's hand on the Volume of the Sacred Law, and the reading of the Articles.
- (d) A short Obligation.
- (e) The reading of the Special Charges.
- (f) A longer Obligation regarding the Secrets.
- (g) The communication of the Secrets.

Bro. Poole thinks that the details were:—

- (a) A Prayer.
- (b) The reading of the Legendary History.
- (c) The placing of the candidate's hand on the Volume of the Sacred Law during the reading of the Charges, and then the sealing of the Obligation.
- (d) Some form of mystification—as we should say “ragging”—followed by the communication of the Secrets.

That there were two stages in the process of admission seems clear from certain documents, for example, the Edinburgh Register House MS., which have come down to us; but here we must satisfy ourselves with the bare mention of the fact.

Now I think it as well here to point out that the mediæval form of Freemasonry was practical in its object and was not primarily concerned—or at least no more so than other similar associations of the time—with religious, ethical and philanthropic matters. That the “Old Charges” begin with a prayer or invocation, that prayers may have accompanied the assemblies, that many of the societies placed themselves under the protection of certain saints who either in their lifetime, or in the circumstances of their martyrdom, were associated with a particular craft or trade or with the implements of a craft or trade,¹ that they had a special chapel allocated to their use—these circumstances do not, to my mind, give to the Guilds a primary religious purpose, any religious character they might take therefrom being but the usual accompaniment of mediæval associations.

With the infiltration into the Lodges of non-operatives² and with their increasing influence due to these members and their social importance, and with the decreasing need for an operative Society, the *raison d'être* of the institution changed, and with that its whole character. Men would seek admission into the Society not for reasons of livelihood, but purely for the sake of fellowship, and probably from some idea, as to the later cases of Ashmole and Stukely, that there was some secret knowledge to be gained from admission.

Shortly following the organisation of speculative Freemasonry in 1717, we see in vigorous working order a system obviously descended from that of the operatives, but differing from it in the relative importance of its component parts, from our point of view, chiefly in the increased prominence given to ritualistic and ceremonial elements. I say “obviously descended from that of the operatives” by reason of the continuity which can be traced running through the mediæval sources, the “Old Charges” manuscripts like that of the Edinburgh Register House, and the eighteenth-century “Exposures”. And on general grounds, also, we must prefer the idea of continuity and development to that of the organisers of 1717 and their immediate successors deliberately setting out to formulate a ritual and to institute a new system. More and more with the growth of knowledge do we see that there is no such thing as an historical

¹ The association of the Quatuor Coronati with the Masons and of Saint Blasius with the Wool-Combers may here be instanced.

² At the beginning these were to their fellows as notabilities elected to an Inn of Court or to a learned society as honorary members are to the professional members of these bodies.

cataclysm, that nature does nothing by leaps, and that all is ordered and continuous, although natural processes may on occasion be either hastened or slowed down.

What then were the reasons for the accentuation of the ritualistic side of the Craft about 1717? We do not actually know them, but can make some strong conjectures as to their nature. By reason of the peculiar circumstances of their Craft as compared with that of others, the mediæval Masons were forced to have recourse to certain outward and visible signs and ceremonies to preserve their corporate identity, even while the economic and industrial bond still existed, but when that bond ceased their speculative successors had more and more to rely on signs and ceremonies as their demarcation from the rest of the community, lest otherwise their identity should be lost. To take a homely analogy, it is customary to sneer at what some judge to be the exaggerated importance attached to social ritual among Englishmen abroad, settled among an alien race, but after all absurd as they may sometimes seem in themselves, these social customs are the means for preserving the corporate identity of the community, and similar causes were at work in the organisation of speculative Freemasonry. In addition to these general reasons, the following special ones may also be suggested: the keen interest taken in biblical antiquities in the century which had just closed, an awakened zest for exploring into mystic and symbolic regions, the growth of a renewed spirit of association—or clubbability, and possibly the instinct for ritual baulked by the lethargy of the Established Church, seeking a new outlet.

With regard to the form which our ritual took in the eighteenth century, Bro. Lepper has treated these in detail in his Prestonian Lecture, they can be followed in many contemporary "Exposures", and we need devote no space to them here. But mention must be made of the prominent part taken by William Preston, who by precept and example did so much in the latter part of the eighteenth century in organising the ritual, and who made the work of the Lodges of Promulgation and Reconciliation so much easier than it would otherwise have been.

As to whether there should be one fixed standard of ritual, opinions may differ, but for myself I see much advantage in the present practice, where the authorities permit the use of any established ritual, provided that the Antient Landmarks be not infringed, and are prepared to allow the continuance of so many hallowed local customs.

We may note in passing some elements of eighteenth-century ritual, some of which have disappeared, some been transformed and some given a less extensive existence. The Junior Warden no longer sits with the Senior in the West. The function of the Senior Entered Apprentice as the conductor of the candidate and that of the Junior Entered Apprentice to guard the Lodge within its entrance have been transferred to other officers. The trowel as an emblem of office in craft Freemasonry has in many places fallen into disuse, and the bee-hive, the Masonic emblem of industry, has, save in a few cases, gone out of use. The use of an altar for the Volume of the Sacred Law is—may I say unfortunately?—common only in certain workings, the Bible now having to rest on what is used for many purposes as the Master's desk.

I should like, tentatively, and necessarily rather briefly, to examine certain points in our Lodge work from the point of view of their characteristics as ceremonial. Frere divides ceremonies according as they are *utilitarian*, *interpretative*, *symbolical*, or *mystical*,¹ and for a moment it would not be without interest to seek for these in our own ceremonial. Of the *utilitarian*, the keeping of order and the demanding of attention by means of the knocks of the gavel may be taken as an example. The posture of the officers and members during certain

¹ *Principles of Religious Ceremonial*.

portions of the ceremony are *interpretative* as the outward and visible signs of their attitudes of mind. We have kneeling for adoration; standing for prayer and thanksgiving or while discharging official rites, as in the Master's rising to make an announcement. The *symbolical* and *mystical* elements are naturally of supreme importance and need some definition and consideration. He considers that the essence of symbolical ceremonial lies in "the importation of some fresh ceremony not otherwise demanded on other grounds which serves at the same time as a symbol to introduce a fresh idea not hitherto present". He contrasts it with *interpretative*, which is only the use of ceremony to interpret an already inherent idea, "and the mystical explanation which . . . is only the attaching of new meanings to ceremonies which already exist on other grounds".¹ If these definitions are accepted much of what we are accustomed to describe as symbolism is really mysticism. If we take it that the formation of the Lodge and the details of the working were introduced on account of their moral teachings, the square to teach morality and the divesting of metallic substances as a reminder to practice charity, then these things are *symbolical*. But if we adopt the more likely explanation that the formation and customs of an Operative Lodge passed over into a Speculative Lodge and were then made to teach moral lessons, then the explanations given in our speculative working are of a *mystical* rather than a *symbolical* nature. In view of the wide use of the term "symbolical" in our Craft I am far from suggesting its disuse, but I do think it of some importance to bear in mind the distinction which has been illustrated.

As to some of the details of our ceremonies, consider first the opening and closing of the Lodge. This is for the most part of a *utilitarian* nature and involves those precautions which we can understand any body of men taking who are met together to transact their business free from intrusion, *e.g.*, the inquiring of the officers whether each knows his duty—and in regard to this point it may be allowable to express a preference for those workings where each officer is himself asked what his duty is, rather than those in which the Wardens are made to answer for them.

The candidate's perambulation of the Lodge might well be the subject of a separate lecture. It can be compared to the appearance before the citizens of the postulant for consular honours, to the presentation of a king to his people, to the exhibition of a malefactor to the subjects of the State whose laws he has offended—all cases, so to speak, of the introduction of the one to the many, whether for honour or for infamy. Together with this there is also the practical object of making certain that the candidate gives the correct answers to ensure his figurative admission into each part of the Lodge. With regard to the manner of his progress, this may well have been due to the need for carefully avoiding the social furniture of a crowded room. His direction, sun-wise, is such as we should naturally expect from the importance of the sun and of the East in Masonic ritual, and it supplies us with a link with the primitive forms spoken of at the beginning of this lecture. Far be it from me to suggest a direct connection, but there is no small probability that a method of progression consciously following that of the sun in its origin found its way into the Lodges of the Masons without their being aware of that origin. The candidate for certain portions of the ceremony is placed in the North-East and South-East parts of the Lodges respectively. I am acquainted with some part of the learning regarding the placing of the Operative Masons' Lodges at that point of the compass. But if we bear in mind the need for the candidate to be halted somewhere near the Master's pedestal, the convenience of the two corners respectively on the latter's right and left, does it not seem more likely that this figurative explanation was adapted to what had become a practical convenience? Further, if it is considered

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

that what we now know as the First and Second Degrees were once a single ceremony, and that in the Third there is no corresponding halting of the candidate, the suggestion given may well be the true explanation.

It is a curious fact that the obligations are taken kneeling. The extensive use of that posture even for prayer is a late development. It was used in biblical times by the Jews, as it still is, only on very solemn occasions, and even in the New Testament it is not common. Existing more in the Middle Ages, its use greatly increased after the Reformation, the Reformers employing it extensively for prayer, while those of the old religion used it for adoration. On the other hand, the obligation is an oath, not either prayer or adoration, and the adoption of a kneeling posture in the circumstances seems rather curious, contrasting with the upright posture assumed in a Court of Law, which seems more consonant with the public nature of the act.

Moreover, it is to be noted that in the Service of Confirmation as given in the Book of Common Prayer and as practised, the candidate in renewing and ratifying the undertaking of his godparents given at Baptism, *stands* when taking what is in fact an obligation.

With regard to the penalties mentioned in the various obligations, it has to be remembered that from the evidence contained in the early "Exposures" it seems clear that these were divided at a later date. It may be noted that there is nothing in the characteristics of any of the obligations to connect them with the peculiar lessons of each Degree. Whether we may see in them any definite or direct connection with any ancient rites or punishments—many punishments, by-the-bye, have a ritualistic side, *e.g.*, an *auto da fe*—we cannot be sure. But in respect of each of the obligations we may well consider in the order given: the circumstances, and particularly the place, of an execution for piracy; the heart as a symbol of life; and the eternally damning character of the punishment of dismembering and burning the body among peoples believing in a physical resurrection. Whether the punishments had any connection with these ideas it is impossible to say; they may have merely been adopted as particularly striking forms by those whose influence moulded our ritual.

The working tools of the three Degrees now in use have not always been so used, and the present details known in England are not universally accepted. As they stand, however, it is possible to see in them, unlike the obligations, something having a characteristic connection with each Degree. The Twenty-Four Inch Gauge, the Common Gavel and the Chisel one would associate with the rougher work of the Entered Apprentice: the Square, the Level and the Plumb Rule, with the more skilled work of the Craftsman: and the Skirret, the Pencil and the Compasses, with the directive labours of the Master of the Craft.

Bro. Covey Crump, in his book on the Hiramic Tradition, states that Bro. Hextall mentioned no less than fourteen hypotheses of its origin, and proceeds to examine them—with no very conclusive result. While on the one hand this is not the place to deal with all or any of them, in treating of our ritual it is necessary to say at least a word on a matter so striking and of so unique a character. For one thing, the Hiramic portion of our ceremonies is the only one throughout the work of the three Degrees—I except certain incidents in the Inner Working of the Installation—where there is a definite dramatisation of an historical or of a traditional incident. Whether the death of the builder is connected with the old ritual of a sacrificial burial or whether it is derived from a biblical or post-biblical tradition of an actual occurrence, we do not know, but as enacted in our Lodges it is peculiarly suggestive of, if it is not connected with, the primitive rituals so widely diffused which derive from the natural processes of death and resurrection. In the ritual as we now have it the teaching is not altogether clear, or rather while the lesson of fidelity is clearly taught, there is, in addition, from the raising of the body for the purpose of identification and

with a view to a second and more decent interment, an attempt to draw the secondary lesson of immortality and to suggest what the eye of faith shall see when "this transitory life shall have passed away".

Before I pass from the historical portion of my subject I wish, at the risk of repetition, to make it clear that I have not in any case made a definite claim for any direct connection with ancient ritual. I have placed our present form against that background with a view to showing how deep-rooted and extensive are ritualistic practices, and also to suggest that however difficult it may be to trace them, there is a possibility of a connection however indirect; or I might merely suggest that the mind of man in the field of human belief and knowledge works but in a few ways and that given similar circumstances and objects the results that he will achieve may be the same, although arrived at independently.

With regard to the present usefulness of ritual and ceremonial, I cannot do better than quote the words of Richard Hooker:—

"The end which is aimed at in setting down the outward form of all religious actions is the edification of the Church. Now men are edified, when either their understanding is taught somewhat whereof in such actions it behoveth all men to consider, or when their hearts are moved with any affection suitable thereunto; when their minds are in any sort stirred up unto that reverence, devotion, attention and due regard which in those cases seemeth requisite. Because therefore unto this purpose not only speech, but sundry sensible means besides have always been thought necessary, and especially those means which being object to the eye, the liveliest and the most apprehensive sense of all other, have in that respect seemed the fittest to make a deep and a strong impression; from hence have risen not only a number of prayers, readings, questionings, exhortings, but even of visible signs also; which, being used in performance of holy actions, are undoubtedly most effectual to open such matter, as men when they know and remember carefully, must needs be a great deal better informed to what effect such duties serve. We must not think but that there is some ground of reason even in nature whereby it cometh to pass that no nation under heaven either doth or ever did suffer public actions which are of weight, whether they be civil and temporal or else spiritual and sacred, to pass without some visible solemnity; the very strangeness whereof and difference from that which is common, doth cause popular eyes to observe and to mark the same. Words, both because they are common and do not so strongly move the fancy of man, are for the most part but slightly heard; and therefore with singular wisdom it hath been provided that the deeds of men which are made in the presence of witnesses should pass not only with words, but also with certain sensible actions, the memory whereof is far more easy and durable than the memory of speech can be.

The things which so long experience of all ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not us presume to condemn as follies and toys, because we sometimes know not the cause and reason of them. A wit disposed to scorn whatsoever it doth not conceive might ask wherefore Abraham should say to his servant, 'Put thy hand under my thigh and swear', was it not sufficient for his servant to show the religion of an oath by naming the Lord God of heaven and earth, unless that strange ceremony were added? In contracts, bargains and conveyances a man's word is a token sufficient to express his will. Yet, this was an ancient manner in Israel concerning redeeming and exchanging to establish all things; a man did pluck off his shoe and hand it to his neighbour; and this was a sure witness in Israel'." ¹¹

Hooker concludes by quoting from Dionysius:—

“The sensible things which religion hath hallowed, are resemblances framed according to things spiritually understood, whereunto they serve as a hand to lead, and a way to direct”.¹

Hooker's words are a plea for the performance of ceremonial action rather than for the rehearsal of ritualistic speeches, but in view of their close connection, the interdependence of speech and action in the Masonic working, these words can be justly claimed in aid of our argument.

It has seemed to me, and that not only from my Masonic experience, that in respect to their reactions to religious ideas there are two types of mind, corresponding to an extent, whatever the particular sect it is to which they belong, to the difference between High Church and Low Church. On the one hand, there are those who feel most in touch with things unseen when in direct and solitary communion with them, and to whom rites and ceremonies seem but as obstacles to that communion. On the other hand there are some who feel the need for participating with their fellows in the act of worship or in contemplation, who see in what at first sight appear but as outward forms and ceremonies a means of strengthening the appeal of things spiritual, and who see them as “things which religion hath hallowed” and which lead and direct them. To the first class Freemasonry, being “veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols”, can obviously make little appeal. The other class perceives in our ritual and ceremonial, not a religion—in spite of the suggestion so frequently and so wrongly made—but a means for enforcing and illustrating religious and ethical principles and precepts. The decency—in the old sense of becomingness—and the beauty of the ceremonies attune the mind to the reception of Masonic teachings; the awareness of the celebration of an act of communion between himself and his fellows and an Unseen Power causes a man to feel a corporate spiritual strength comparable to the corporate material strength of an ordered host. Further, there is a discipline, a working together in carrying out a common rule of life in which impulses which might otherwise lose themselves and become vain may be taken up and directed to the spiritual advantages of one and of all.

The Antient Landmarks of the Order, which a wise judgment has declined to define, stand firm and unchallenged, not derived from written documents, but based on their perception throughout the whole teachings of the Craft. Consistent with these, and indeed beautifying them in themselves and in their surroundings, there is room for the idea of development in the lessons to be drawn from our ritual as the mind of man becomes more and more capable of perceiving them. The outward forms remain universal, save for the differences which time and association have hallowed with a spiritual content of their own, and form for us a “temple not made with hands”; within it we practise our ceremonies and receive their teachings, and while we continue to do so with an increasing spiritual sensitiveness it will remain, we hope, “eternal as the heavens”.

Such, my brethren, is the best explanation of the background, the history, and the present and future purpose of our forms and ceremonies that I can give you, and though of many of the details dealt with herein he was necessarily ignorant, I can hope that William Preston would have approved the design of the work though he may well have perceived, as I do so keenly, the imperfections of its execution.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Edwards for his valuable paper, on the proposition of Bro. W. J. Williams, seconded by Bro. G. Elkington.

¹ *Laws of Ecclesiastical Policy*, Book IV., c. 1 and 3.

FRIDAY, 2nd OCTOBER, 1936.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Douglas Knoop, *M.A.*, *W.M.*; W. J. Songhurst, *P.G.D.*, *I.P.M.*; Geo. Elkington, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*, *S.W.*; F. W. Golby, *P.A.G.D.C.*, as *J.W.*; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, Chap.; Lionel Vibert, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*, Secretary; S. J. Fenton, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Warwicks.*, *J.D.*; Major C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *P.G.D.*, *I.G.*; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.Reg.*; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *LL.B.*, *P.G.D.*, *Ireland*, *P.M.*; A. Cecil Powell, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; and *Rev.* W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, *P.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. *Capt.* A. F. G. Warrington; H. F. Whyman, *P.G.St.B.*; A. Saywell, *P.A.G.D.C.*; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, *P.G.S.B.*; W. St. A. St. John; G. W. South; G. E. W. Bridge; A. E. Gurney; E. A. Bullmore; R. A. Card; Thos. North, *P.G.D.*; C. A. Melbourne, *P.G.St.B.*; T. Addington Hall; Claude A. Everitt; H. Chown, *P.A.G.D.C.*; J. V. Jacklin; T. Lidstone Found; P. J. Crawley; T. Pickles; R. W. Strickland; *Commandr.* S. N. Smith; L. G. Wearing; W. Morgan Day; C. B. Mirrlees; E. Eyles; W. G. Hodgson; R. J. Sadleir, *P.A.G.St.B.*; H. Routroy; Henry S. Phillips; Herbert Love; Ernest J. Marsh, *P.G.D.*; A. F. Cross; F. Howkins; J. Wallis; P. E. Phillips; E. H. Cartwright, *P.G.D.*; F. Carew Thomas; G. T. Harley-Thomas, *P.G.D.*; Chas. S. D. Cole; Wm. Lewis; Geo. C. Williams; H. Bladon, *P.A.G.D.C.*; F. Lacey, *P.A.G.D.C.*; E. W. Marson; R. Girdlestone Cooper; A. Baron Burn; A. Perez; John Lawrance; T. A. R. Littledale; W. J. Mean; Wm. Edwardson; H. B. J. Evans; F. W. Le Tall; G. Kennedy Barnes; J. E. Messenger; A. McKenzie Smith; J. H. Smith; H. D. Elkington; R. Wheatley; and Bernard W. Harvey, *P.A.G.Ch.*

Also the following Visitors:—Pros. A. W. Lane, *L.R.*, *P.M.*, St. John's Lodge No. 167; H. Marshall Hole, *P.M.*, Bullawayo Lodge No. 2566; H. J. Stone, *S.W.*, St. John's Lodge No. 90; L. J. Nash, Mount Moriah Lodge No. 34; A. Millington, *L.R.*, Grenadiers Lodge No. 66; J. E. Mitchell, Epworth Lodge No. 3789; James Doig, Lodge of Edinburgh No. 1; J. O. Barclay, Aldersgate Lodge No. 1637; E. J. Allkins, *I.P.M.*, Fraternity Lodge No. 3222; Arthur Skinner, *P.M.*, Leopold Lodge No. 1571; F. Windle, Chequered Cloth Lodge No. 5569; and W. H. Clemens, Wandle Park Lodge No. 5508.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Gordon P. G. Hills, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*, *P.M.*, *D.C.*; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*; David Flather, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; H. C. de Lafontaine, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; B. Telepneff; G. Norman, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; R. H. Baxter, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; W. J. Williams, *P.M.*; and W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Sussex*.

One Supreme Council and Thirty-one Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By BRO. CECIL POWELL.

Maul used in all the Bristol Lodges.

Photographs:—

Exterior of the Bristol Masonic Hall.

Table with T.B., that stands in the centre of the Lodge Room, Bristol.

The Master's Chair: made in 1791.

Frieze, carved in white marble, over the entrance; the work of Bro. E. H. Bailey, a Bristol mason, who executed also the statue of the Duke of Sussex now at F.M.'s Hall, London.

Portrait of the Duke of Sussex, painted by William Hobday, and presented by him to the Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality in which he was initiated in 1820

The Moira Apron, also the design of William Hobday.

By Bro. W. O. P. ROSEDALE.

Three paintings; paper on canvas; formerly the property of the Lodge of Perpetual Friendship at Bridgwater. They will now be placed in the Norman Library at Bath.

Subjects: Arms of the Antients; Arms of the Moderns; Three Great Lights.

By Bro. E. H. CARTWRIGHT.

Silver R.A. Jewel; "Antients" pattern. Hall mark Birmingham 1821. I.B. Made for William Halsall, Bristol. Date 1820. The whole inscription, including the name of W.H., in raised letters. The maker is identified as John Betteridge, Silversmith of Church St., who registered his mark I.B. in 1817 and renewed it in 1822.

Water gilding; mercury-gold amalgam on silver.

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Jewel: silver gilt. Hall mark London 1804. P.B. A.B. W.B. The Bateman family. Within a circle a pentacle. On the circle: *In Principio erat sermo ille. The Tetragrammaton.* On Obv.: *Erat Lux et Lux Fiat. [sic].* On the limbs of the pentacle: *Trinitas et Unitas; Unitas et Trinitas.* On Obv.: *In hoc signo vinces. Homo Memento Mori.* On scrolls various emblems. Quare non-masonic.

Two printed sermons by Revd. W. H. Carwithen, delivered on the consecration of the Lodge of Union Chudleigh, Devon, 1838, and dedication of the Hall at Tiverton, 1834. Printed for the Prov.G.L.

From the Lodge Museum.

Metal gilt. R.A. Jewel, Scottish. Dates left blank. Pierced Jewel; metal or silver gilt. A number of masonic emblems.

Set of printed by-laws. Bristol Rite 1841.

MS. Ritual Bristol Kt. of the East. Sword and Eagle.

By Bro. A. F. G. WARRINGTON.

R.A. Jewel; "Moderns" type. 1795. With name: Martin Royal Exchange.

By Bro. Rev. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP.

Finger Ring, silver, no hall mark. A bezel on black enamel. An arch on two steps between a snake and a five-pointed star (upside down). Above: an eye (not irradiated). Inside the arch: 24. Inside the ring: W.H. and stosis.

Not masonic; not identified.

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

Bro. A. CECIL POWELL then read the following paper, and discussed many peculiarities of the Bristol Ritual in detail:—

FREEMASONRY IN BRISTOL.

BY BRO. CECIL POWELL, P.G.D.



BRISTOL occupies a peculiar place in the Craft of this country. It is the only city in England forming a Masonic Province of itself, and, with the exception of Jersey, the only Province of which all its meetings are held under one roof. Whilst the ideas of Bristol Brethren may perhaps be considered to be somewhat insular, there are many advantages in the position they enjoy. It is, for instance, comparatively easy for the members of one of its Lodges to be acquainted with those of another, and for all to act together. It certainly makes the work of the Provincial Grand Master and his Officers far less strenuous than it would be if a great deal of travelling were involved.

Bristol has not only a special character in its Masonic government, but also a considerable distinction in its ritual. This excites a great deal of interest among visiting Brethren who favour us with their presence. Our ritual seems sometimes to have obtained quite a legendary reputation. Bristol does at any rate take a stand in strong opposition to the advocates of rigid uniformity for all. Unfortunately, as I think, many old customs handed down through generations of Masons have been allowed, and sometimes compelled, to be dropped. I venture to believe that the Craft is the poorer for the loss of these old practices, and students, in particular, have much reason to lament their abandonment. Unhappily, a strict uniformity, if ever it did become a reality, would provide nothing to replace, nothing to compensate for the loss. Some do not consider that the particular form of ceremonies most frequently practised within the jurisdiction of our Grand Lodge contains all the virtues and beauties known to the Craft. Nor is everybody satisfied with its literary standard or its grammar. It certainly possesses no exceptional right or monopoly.

I do not know what power those at the head of our Order have in directing the choice of ritual.

In the statement of "Decisions by the Board of General Purposes" mentioned in the Masonic Year Book, "published under the Authority of the United Grand Lodge of England", the following question and answer occur:—

Is a Master entitled to decide what ritual shall be practised during his year of office?

Rule 181 lays it down that the majority of a Lodge shall regulate the proceedings.

Rule 181 says: "The majority of the members present at any Lodge duly summoned have an undoubted right to regulate their own proceedings, provided they are consistent with the general laws and regulations of the Craft". The rest of Rule 181 does not apply to the point in question. It is therefore clear that in the opinion of the members of the Board of General Purposes the choice of ritual lies with the majority of the members, provided it is not contrary to the general laws and regulations of the Craft.

The personal wishes of a Provincial Grand Master ought, of course, to carry great weight, and it should be the desire of those under his rule to be loyal and obedient to him. I cannot, however, understand that he has authority to interfere with any working which conforms with the laws of the Order. No doubt he can prevent the practice of portions which are contrary to our established landmarks, and should correct them. On the other hand, it is said that in some instances approval of the formation of a new Lodge is given only on the condition that a particular form of ritual will be adopted. It is also affirmed that sometimes members of an old Lodge persisting in carrying out customs, which have been traditional, but not in accordance with the working personally preferred by the head of a Province, have been debarred from appointment to office in his Provincial Grand Lodge.

That the Grand Lodge recognises the right of Lodges to work ritual of their own choosing, provided it is within the accepted Land-marks of the Order, is clearly shown by the decision of December 6th, 1926, on the question of what was called the "extended ceremony" at the Installation of a Master. It was then agreed that any Lodge was at liberty to continue or adopt the extension (with certain necessary safeguards to protect Installed Masters who were not conversant with it), without having to obtain permission or sanction from anybody. Seeing that a Provincial Grand Master has therefore no power to order or prohibit the "extended ceremony", it is obvious he is acting unconstitutionally if he interferes with the practice of any other ritual, to which no objection can be taken on the ground that it does not comply with the rules and regulations of the Order.

There is no early written record of the ritual used in Bristol, nor could any be expected to exist, considering the strong objection formerly held against writing anything of a Masonic nature, which might by mischance fall into the hands of the uninitiated.

* * * * *

The Bristol method of working differs from any other in each of the degrees practised there, except the Mark, in which we have no ancient traditions. It is, I consider, a great and pleasant privilege that we Bristol Masons can show ceremonies of much interest to visitors, and especially to those making a serious study of the Craft. A number come to Bristol for the purpose, and occasionally a demonstration is given elsewhere by Brethren of our Province. It is also, of course, instructive to us to hear the comments of our visitors. I remember those of three distinguished Masons, which I thought particularly striking. One remarked, "I notice you do not prompt your candidates, but make them answer for themselves". Another was impressed by the active part our D.C. takes in the work, for he does direct the proceedings himself and is usually to be found somewhere near the candidate. The third Brother, who had just witnessed the Raising of a c., observed, "What we do by narrative, you do by drama, and drama has it every time". On the other hand, some details of our method, naturally do not always commend themselves to every visitor, but few, if any, are not greatly interested in seeing them.

Even in the course of the Opening of the Lodge in the first degree there are quite thirty points of difference between the Bristol and Emulation rituals. Many of these differences are unimportant, but they are usually interesting.

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Except in very rare cases of necessity, a Lodge in the 2nd or 3rd degree is always closed with full ceremonial

There are some unusual features in the Bristol form of Installation of a Master. The Lodge is not opened above the first degree in the Lodge-room, and the Installed Masters retire with the Master-elect to a small chapel¹ for the purpose of performing the special ceremony which only they may witness. During their temporary absence the Lodge is placed under the charge of the J.W., who sits below the Master's pedestal, and receives the salute given by the Installed Masters from between the pillars on their way to and from the chapel. On their return the new Master is invested with the jewel and gavel of his office, and is formally placed in the Chair of the Lodge. In only one particular is there a distinct difference in the customs of the various Lodges, and that is in the wearing of the Master's cocked hat, but I hope before long it will become general among them, as it evidently used to be. Sometimes it is merely carried in the hand, for there seems to be a self-conscious reluctance to put it on. In one of the old Lodges it has always been the custom, not only for the Master to wear the hat on entering and leaving the Lodge-room at an ordinary meeting, but also at the time of an Installation for the outgoing Master to do so when retiring to the chapel, while his successor wears it when they return.

A cocked hat was formerly required on occasions of full dress. Thus when, in 1818, the Grand Master, the Duke of Sussex, visited Bath for the consecration of the Freemasons' Hall there, officers of Lodges and others were ordered to wear cocked hats. These could be procured for the day in Bath.

The new Master in Bristol is first proclaimed and saluted in the 1st degree. The E.As. then have to leave the Lodge-room, and the Master is proclaimed and saluted in the 2nd degree. The same procedure occurs with regard to the 3rd degree, but the E.As. and F.Cs. are re-admitted at the end of the salutes. All this time the Lodge is not raised above the 1st degree.

The Installation contains what was described by the Board of General Purposes as "the extended ceremony", although not very much of it. The "extended ceremony" was, it will be remembered, proposed to be banned by a resolution of Grand Lodge in 1926, but it was permitted by general agreement at the next meeting in December of that year. During the interval it had been pointed out to the late Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins that this had been practised for a long period in various places, an old record in Bath being of particular importance as evidence. It was agreed that it should be allowed, and certain safeguards were provided for the benefit of those Installed Masters who were not instructed in it. The suggested prohibition was viewed with apprehension by Bristolians, but actually the discussions of 1926 have placed the position in a far clearer light.

There seems to have been a distinct ceremony of Installation in Bristol from the latter part of the eighteenth century, and possibly earlier, although perhaps not in its modern form. In 1773 the Brother who had occupied the Chair of the Lodge of Hospitality wanted to be re-elected to the position, but was passed over. He became greatly annoyed in consequence, and resigned from the Lodge. There appears to have been an insufficient number of Installed Masters left in the Lodge, and so (to quote the Minute):—"The Lodge open'd as usual, and as Joshua French, R.W.M., was not properly Invested & Install'd as a Master, We thought it Necessary to have it Regularly Done, for the Execution of which Bro. James Requested Brother Heath of the Beaufort, and Brother Humphry, St. John's Past Master & Brother Williams Past Master to attend in order to fulfill that office, which was Readily comply'd with, then the Right W.M. in a proper Manner Reinvested his Wardens". It will be recollected

¹ The small room, known as the "Chapel", takes its name from a similar apartment in the old local "Freemasons' Hall", which was decorated as a 'Gothic Chapel', and was primarily intended for the use of the Knights Templar.

that, in the report made by the Lodge of Promulgation in 1810, it was stated that the "Modern" Masons had to a large extent allowed the ceremony of Installation to lapse. It is interesting to observe that when a large number of Masters and Past Masters were at that time put through the ceremony in London, in order to correct the omission, they were taken to a separate room, just as is done in Bristol to-day. It is, however, very possible that our custom may have arisen from the fact that our former Freemasons' Hall contained no place, other than the Lodge-room, where the larger portion of the Brethren could assemble comfortably. The Installed Masters repaired to a smaller room, or "Chapel". Our practice may therefore have originated merely as a matter of convenience with no symbolic significance.

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Although the Bristol ritual clearly shows an origin which is older than the Union of 1813, it is an interesting matter of speculation to consider how the previous differences in the local forms of working of the "Moderns" and "Antients" could have been adjusted at that time. There is no record of any conference between representatives of the two bodies being called for the purpose. If there had been, some references to it might have been expected in the copious memoranda on local Masonic events of that very period, which were written by Richard Smith, who was Deputy Provincial Grand Master from 1830 until his death in 1843. He does, however, say that when a Commission was sent to Bristol in January, 1815, to enquire into certain complaints of irregularity in the Province, Brethren were desired to attend a meeting to be held, on another evening from that of the enquiry, "for the purpose of receiving instructions on the various points settled by the Lodge of Reconciliation". It is, by the way, interesting to notice that instruction was to be given "on the various points", and not a precise form of ritual, "settled by the Lodge of Reconciliation". It is doubtful whether anything more than a declaration of what might or might not be done was ever made by that Lodge, or that Brethren were instructed to adopt any definite wording or action in their work.

Richard Smith left a great number of writings, containing largely information about the Bristol Infirmary, of which he was an Honorary Surgeon for nearly half-a-century. He also compiled many interesting biographies of the Physicians and Surgeons connected with that institution. The various papers were bound up together, without proper arrangement. It was noticed that the books contained also a deal of Masonic matter, and the Committee of the Infirmary very kindly allowed this to be removed, while the disturbed volumes were rebound and sent back. The information thus obtained was of the greatest possible value in compiling a history of the Province, especially in relation to an unfortunate dispute which arose between the Provincial G. Master of the time and some of the Brethren, and culminated in his temporary suspension from office. Bro. Richard Smith was one of the most prominent personages in Bristol, possessing a strong personality. In allusion to his death, the following paragraph appeared in the *Freemason's Quarterly Review* :—

A light has been withdrawn from Freemasonry! The spirit of a Brother, who when living was without his parallel, has flown to eternity and found rest! Bro. Richard Smith did not excel in any particular pursuit—he was in all the master-spirit.

Bristol is, however, greatly indebted also to Bro. Henry Smith, the younger brother of Richard, for its excellent collection of old minute and cash books of its Lodges. Thus the records of my own Lodge from its foundation in 1769 are practically complete. The older volumes must have been in considerable risk of

being lost in the transference from one meeting place to another, especially as the changes were usually the result of dissatisfaction with the landlord. Henry Smith was a solicitor by profession, and, like his brother, an enthusiastic Mason. He also was D.P.G.M. for about seven years from 1815. A notable incident in his life was a duel in which he mortally wounded his opponent with his pistol. The dispute arose on the previous evening, when both were in a large crowd entering the Bristol theatre to hear Madame Catalani, and Smith accused the other man of striking him in the back. On seeing that his adversary had been badly hit, he escaped to Portugal, where he joined the army under Wellington. About a year later, he returned home and surrendered himself for trial at the Assizes, but a convenient informality was found in the charge, and he was at once discharged.

Geographical position has given Bristol its peculiar place in the history of the country. In former times the town stood upon the northern, or Gloucestershire side, of the river Avon, which, rising in Wiltshire, empties itself into the Bristol Channel. Situated at the confluence of the two rivers, the Avon and Frome, and protected by a formidable castle upon the open side, the place was of considerable strength. On the southern bank of the Avon was another township, Redcliffe, lying in Somerset. Earlier still the Avon divided the kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex at that point, and the huge diocese of Worcester from that of Bath and Wells. When a bridge was built over the Avon, the two local communities were united. In 1373, Edward III., in consideration of the distance between Gloucester and Ilchester, then the county towns of Gloucester and Somerset respectively, and the consequent inconvenience to public business, also of the good behaviour of the inhabitants and their services in providing ships, and on payment of 600 marks, granted a Charter whereby Bristol was entirely freed from the control of the adjoining counties. It was constituted a County of itself, subject only to the laws and customs of the King's Realm. It was not until 1543 that Bristol became a City, when a Bishopric was established there by Henry VIII. By a clause in the instrument for granting it, Bristol was raised from the status of a town to that of a city. It was doubtless owing to its position and history that the suggestion was made by Thomas Dunckerley, in 1786, that it should become a Masonic Province.

How long the Craft had already been active there it is impossible to say, but a Lodge meeting at the "Nag's Head", in Wine Street, received a Constitution from the Grand Lodge in 1725, and is depicted in both the Engraved Lists of that year. The Lodge at the "Nag's Head" comes next after one at the "Queen's Head" in the City of Bath, but no numbers were given until 1729, when the latter was numbered 28 and the "Nag's Head" 29. These came first and second of the country Lodges upon the List, but no date of formation is mentioned. It may therefore be concluded that both had been working for some time previously, and had in 1725, or more probably in 1724, agreed to recognise the Grand Lodge of England, and to act under its jurisdiction. It is not unlikely that influential Brethren may have been visiting Bath and Bristol, and were able to induce the local Masons to accept the new governing body.

Unfortunately, no records remain of the Nag's Head Lodge, which was erased in 1736.

On November 12th, 1735, a warrant was issued for a Lodge to meet at the Rummer Tavern in High Street. The house was an old one, being mentioned in 1241 as the "Green Lattis", and it still exists as the "Rummer". By a piece of good fortune, a friendly Brother, living in Tewkesbury, discovered the first Minute-book, which was then in private hands in that place, and with his help the Bristol Masonic Society was enabled to purchase it in 1924. The volume contains an account of local proceedings of the Fraternity twenty years older than any we previously possessed.

The Lodge was afterwards removed to the Fountain Inn, in High Street. In 1755 there was a considerable disturbance among its members on account of the behaviour of "Mr. Robert Smith, the late Master of this Lodge", who "did in a Clandestine and ungenerous Manner employ James Patty, who for him came a few days after" (a previous meeting) "and took out of the Lodge Room, the Lodge Book and a painted cloth, both of which he now peremptorily refuses to Deliver". The Lodge Book would appear to be the one now recently restored. The painted cloth, if it was meant to take the place of the design usually drawn in chalk upon the floor, must be an early example of such a property.

Since the Lodge must have had founders, it may be conjectured that some, or all, of them had been members of the "Nag's Head". The first ceremony recorded is the Raising of two Brethren in February, 1736; so it is reasonable to suppose that these may have taken the two junior degrees in the earlier Lodge. According to the By-laws, which were reasonably well observed, there was to be an interval of two months between initiation and passing, and of three months between passing and raising, the advancement being permitted only after a resolution by the members, following a proof of efficiency.¹

The choosing of the Officers, who held their positions for six months, was by written ballot, the names of the two Brethren at the head of the first result of polling being put up again for a second contested election. When there was a tie for the second place, an additional ballot was required to provide an antagonist for the leader. This process must have been a lengthy one, and on one occasion no less than eight ballots took place before the Master and his two Wardens were selected.

If the Tyler were absent, or otherwise employed, the junior member then present had to tyle the Lodge or forfeit two shillings and six pence.

The By-laws, which consisted of nineteen clauses, were ordered to be read once every month and "at every making of a New Brother". The fee for initiation was three guineas with half-a-crown for the Tyler.

On November 7th, 1740, four Brethren "were rais'd Scotch Masters" in the Lodge, but this is the only occasion when such a ceremony is recorded in the Minutes. What a Scotch Master was is a question of doubt, but it is clear from a previous Minute that a candidate must have already been a Master Mason. The late Bro. Shum Tuckett discussed the subject in a paper entitled *The Origin of Additional Degrees*, which he read in this Lodge in 1919 (*A.Q.C.*, vol. 32). He put forward a suggestion that the degree may have been used to assist the Stuart cause, possibly by limiting those invited to take it to known adherents of that movement. He subsequently withdrew his theory of political intention, after receiving the criticism of various Brethren; and the origin and character of the Scots Masters remain a mystery for the present. Bro. Gould considered that, in France, the Scotch Masters claimed superiority of rank over all others, and even the right of occupying the Master's Chair when they visited a Lodge. There is nothing to show that this was the case in England.

¹ Ninth By-law:—

That an Entered Apprentice shall not be pased a Fellow Craft under the space of Two Months from his admision into this Lodge and not then Except duly Qualified and when he shall be so admitted a Fellow Craft he shall show his submision to the Lodge by Paying Two Shillings into the Hands of the Treasurer, over and above One Shilling to the Tyler of the Lodge And that a Fellow Craft shall not be Raised Master under the Space of Three Months after his being made a ffellow Craft and not then unless he can Do the Work of a ffellow Craft And when he shall be so Raised Master he shall likewise Show his Submision to the Lodge by paying Five Shillings into the Hands of the said Treasurer over & above the Sum of One Shilling to the Tyler of the Lodge.

The Lodge (No. 115) meeting at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, London, is described in Pine's Engraved List of 1734 as a "Scott's Mason's Lodge",¹ and, according to Lane, was erased in 1736.

In 1735 ten Brethren were admitted Scots Masters at the Bear in Bath, and others, amounting to thirty-one candidates in all, at four other meetings in that city (in 1747, 1754, 1756 and 1758).²

In 1740 nine Brethren received the degree in the Lodge of Antiquity in London,³ and in the same year five at Salisbury.⁴

In 1738 the Lodge at the Rummer was twice visited by Dr. Desaguliers, in company with Brethren from Bath, so it would be likely he was acquainted with the fact that the meetings of Scots Masters were being held in that city.

The text of the relative entries in the Minutes of the Rummer Lodge is as follows:—

July 18th, 1740. That Bro. Tomson & Bro. Watts & any other Member of this Lodge that are allready Master Masons May be Made Scotch Masters next Lodge night & that ye rest of those Bros. who are fellow Crafts May the next Lodge night after be rais'd Masters.

August 15th, 1740. Order'd and agreed That Bro^r. Byndlofs be the next Lodge night Pafs'd fellow Craft and that the Master Masons be made Scotch Masters and this Lodge to meet at 5 o'clock for that Purpose.

November 7th, 1740. According to an order the 18th July 1740 Bro^r. Watts & Bro^r. Noble & Bro^r. Ramsay & Horwood & Morgan were Rais'd Sco[t]ch Masters & at the same time Bro^r. Wickham & Bro^r. Perkins were Rais'd Masters.

Note.—It may be mentioned that, besides the Brethren named in the Minute, Stephen Curtis (Master), William Lucas, W. Davis and Robert Smith (Treasurer) were present on Nov. 7th, 1740, and also "Bro. Adams, a visiter".

Various Lodges, both Modern and Antient, were formed in Bristol during the middle portion of the eighteenth century, but most of them lasted for only a short time. There were troubles with landlords, failures to pay dues, and other causes for their erasure. It was hardly to be expected that everything would be well, when there was no local ruler of the Craft, and poor means of intercourse with London.

It is true that in 1753 Sir Robert de Cornewall was appointed Provincial Grand Master for the counties of Worcester, Gloucester, Salop, Monmouth, Hereford and North Wales. Although he styled himself a Baronet, there seems a great question that he ever was one in fact. He was descended from Richard de Cornewalle, the illegitimate son of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the second son of King John, who was elected King of the Romans in 1256. There is no record of any Masonic work done by "Sir" Robert de Cornwalle, who died in 1756. Before the *Book of Constitutions* for 1769 was published, the Grand Secretary wrote to all the Provincial Grand Masters to ascertain whether they were still alive. Evidently he could get no intelligence of de Cornewalle (and indeed he had been dead for twelve years), so against the name is written, in the books of the Grand Lodge, "Take no notice of him".

In 1784 Bro. Thomas Dunckerley was appointed Provincial G. Master of Somerset and Gloucestershire, and was installed in both these offices upon the same day. Dunckerley was the illegitimate son of George II., and had served

¹ Also in the Rawlinson MSS. at the Bodleian as a "Scotch Mason's Lodge" (*A.Q.C.*, vol. i., p. 167).

² *Masonic Lodges of Bath*, George Norman: Transactions of the Somerset Masters' Lodge, 1917.

³ *History of the Lodge of Antiquity*, Ryland, page .

⁴ *History of Freemasonry in Wiltshire*, F. H. Goldney.

in the Royal Navy, rising to the rank of Gunner. His parentage seems to have been long unknown to himself, but eventually George III. granted him a pension and apartments at Hampton Court Palace.

His first official connection with the West of England was in the Royal Arch degree. In November, 1782, it is recorded in the proceedings of Grand Chapter:—"Several irregularities having crept into the Chapters held in the Counties of Somerset and Gloucester, the Scribe was order'd to write to Bro. Dunckerley empowering him to act as Superintendent of the same Counties". About three months later the W.M. of the Lodge of Virtue in Bath wrote to Bro. Heseltine, the Grand Secretary, begging that Bro. Dunckerley should be appointed Provincial G. Master for Somerset. The suggestion was at once approved, and the invitation made. In replying to the letter from Bath, the G. Secretary said:—"You certainly could not have thought of a more worthy or better Mason than Bro. Dunckerley, nor of one that is more zealous to promote the interest of the Craft". This favourable view of his good qualities was proved to be amply justified by events, for it is impossible to think too highly of the value of his services to masonry, both in the West and in the rest of England.

The six Lodges which constituted the Province of Gloucestershire in 1784 were all in Bristol.

In 1785 Dunckerley issued a dispensation for holding a Lodge, to be called the "Royal Gloucester", at the Bell Inn at Gloucester. This document was drawn up on the lines of a Warrant for constituting a Lodge, and was, in the opinion of the late Bro. T. M. Carter (who, it may be remembered, had made a close study of similar "dispensations"), actually the Warrant itself. In a letter written shortly afterwards to the Grand Secretary, Dunckerley said:—"I must beg you will get a Warrant engrossed for the Royal Gloucester Lodge . . . to be dated Hampton Court Palace Jan. 10th 1785 (the date of the Dispensation which I have granted them for holding the said Lodge)". The dispensation was stated to have been "Given at Hampton Court Palace under our Hand and Seal of Masonry". Dunckerley had for some years, as I have already mentioned, been granted apartments at the Palace by George III. Shortly afterwards he expressed the desire that Bristol and the Isle of Wight should be constituted separate Provinces, and that they should be placed under his jurisdiction. Really, the proposal did not involve any addition to the Masonic territory then governed by him, since he was the Provincial G. Master of both Gloucestershire and Hampshire. In August or September, 1786, he wrote a letter to the Grand Secretary, which is quoted by Bro. Henry Sadler in his *Life of Thomas Dunckerley*. In it he said:—

I am greatly obliged to you for your attention to my request in making out my patent and therefore wish it to be thus: "Do hereby constitute and appoint him the said T.D. Provincial Grand Master of and for the Counties of Dorset, Essex, Gloucester, Somerset and Southampton, together with the City and County of Bristol; and the Isle of Wight, with full power etc." This will be very pleasing to the Brethren at Bristol and the Isle of Wight; and it will enable me to appoint a greater number of *blue and red* Aprons; which I find of great advantage to the Society, as it attracts the notice of the principal Gentlemen in the several Counties, who seem ambitious to attend me at my Prov. Grand Lodges.

In a later letter he speaks of the Province of Hampshire, not Southampton.

Thus the separate Province of Bristol came into being, and that of Gloucestershire comprised the Royal Gloucester Lodge alone. In the history

written by the late Bro. George Norman, of Cheltenham, it is shown by numerous instances how the Brethren at Gloucester sometimes met as a private Lodge and sometimes as a Province.

Bro. Dunckerley's task as Ruler of so many Provinces must have been a very heavy one, but his duties were always most conscientiously discharged. Indeed, he devoted his life to carrying them out, and spent his time in visiting his Lodges, braving all weathers and the inconveniences of the shockingly bad roads of the period. Besides having to do his work for the Craft, he was Grand Superintendent of no fewer than eighteen R.A. Provinces.

Of Thomas Dunckerley Bro. Sadler remarks:—

It will have been observed that prior to Dunckerley's coming to the front, the Grand Lodge itself had neither Habitation, Furniture, Jewels, Register, nor a regular system of communication with the Provincial Lodges; and within a few years of his advent these wants and omissions were supplied. Although I have no desire to claim for him exclusive credit for these and many other improvements, I am fully satisfied that if they were not actually the outcome of his suggestions, by his earnest enthusiasm, methodical habits, energy and example, he did far more than anyone else towards bringing them about and establishing them as essentials in the Masonic system.

Thomas Dunckerley, p. 305.

After Dunckerley's death in 1795, Masonic affairs in Bristol fell to a low ebb. The conditions elsewhere in the country were in the same unsatisfactory state. Owing to the political events of the time, and the astounding military successes of Napoleon, men's hearts seemed to have failed them for fear of what might happen, and Masonry was neglected. Secret societies were suspected of sympathy with the enemy, and, although the Craft escaped suppression under the Act of Parliament passed in 1799, it went through a very difficult and precarious experience. The number of Lodges in Bristol was reduced to three, and these were faring so badly that it was seriously suggested that they should be formed into one, in the hope that the united strength thus acquired might be sufficient to keep the cause alive in that city. To add to other misfortunes, a most injudicious choice was made in the appointment of the new Provincial Grand Master, whose conduct scandalised the Brethren, and eventually brought about his removal from office.

In 1808, William Henry Goldwyer, a local medical man, who was greatly esteemed, became head of the Province. He was assisted by a group of earnest and skilful Brethren, and prosperity was soon restored. It was during his tenure of office that the Union of the Grand Lodges took place, and it may be conjectured that much tact and persuasion were needed to get the local "Modern" and "Antient" Masons to work smoothly together. Early in 1814, during the month following that great event in the history of the Fraternity, a dinner took place to celebrate it and to gather the Bristol Brethren together for the first time. It was in his time also that a local Freemasons' Hall was acquired.

Unhappily, a grave dispute arose between him and his friends on the one side and a group of Brethren belonging to one of the Lodges. There were probably faults on both sides, but eventually Goldwyer was suspended from office while an enquiry was being made. He was restored to his position, but the trouble greatly marred the peace of the Province, and disturbed it until his death in 1820. It has been suggested that the quarrel may have arisen through political and religious antipathies, since the two parties happened to be widely divided in their views in those matters. Since then there have been troubles, but none of a serious nature, so that the Province may be said to have progressed favourably in every way. It has never been more happy and prosperous than it is at present.



THOMAS DUNCKERLEY. Born 1724. Died 1795.

Portrait purchased by the Lodge of Hospitality in 1809.



H.R.H. THE DUKE OF SUSSEX.

Portrait belonging Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality.

Above all, there is a great spirit of friendliness, which, I may say, our present Provincial Grand Master has done his best to foster. It is a pleasant fiction that a Bristol Mason is never considered to be "visitor" in any Lodge in the Province, but something more. All Masters are invited, and expected, to attend as often as they can the meetings of the other Lodges, where they always receive a warm welcome, and at every dinner there is a toast to the "Sister Lodges". The association arising between the various Masters of a year usually develops into a valued friendship, which continues long after their term of office is completed.

I ought not to omit to mention the Bristol Masonic Society, now nearly twenty years old, which numbers over 700 members, and endeavours, so far as it is able, to spread a knowledge of things concerning the Craft. It has had as its President, who holds office for one year, four Past Masters and one other Member of this Lodge. It has endeavoured to carry out, in a humble and local way, something of the work which the Quatuor Coronati Lodge was formed to organise.

THE ROYAL ARCH DEGREE.

The Royal Arch Degree had a special attraction for the "Modern" Masons of Bristol at an early date. It is difficult to understand how they knew anything about it, seeing that it was not recognised by their own Grand Lodge. The "Antients", who allowed it to be practised under the authority of a Craft warrant, were working it for some years before the "Modern" Supreme Grand Chapter came into being in 1767, and it is considered to have been a potent factor in the success they achieved against their rivals.

There are, however, instances where the "Moderns" did work the Degree, in spite of regulations to the contrary. The oldest record of such an occurrence is to be found in the Minute-book of the "Modern" Craft Lodge meeting at the Crown Inn, Christmas Street, Bristol, which is the earliest minute relating to the degree in England. An account is there given of two Brethren being "Raised to the degree of Royal Arch Masons" on Sunday evening, 13th August, 1758. Four other meetings of the same kind took place, always on Sunday evenings, during the next twelve months. No more are mentioned in the Minutes, so it must be presumed the Brethren were ordered to desist from working the degree. It is interesting to observe that some at least of the candidates were not Installed Masters, and that no ceremony of "Passing the Chair" is mentioned. Four Brethren are stated to have taken the Royal Arch degree in another local "Modern" Lodge in 1766.

In August, 1769, the Lodge of Hospitality was founded in Bristol, and three months later the members obtained a charter for the formation of the Chapter of Charity. The Supreme Grand Chapter was established in 1767, but did not issue warrants until two years later. The Chapter of Charity is, therefore, one of the earliest of the "Modern" Chapters, and was No. 9 upon the Register. For some years it was the only Chapter in the Province. At the time of the Union of the Grand Chapters it became "attached" to the Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality, with which it had always been closely associated, and was numbered 314. It is now 187. Visitors are greatly interested in the portion of the ceremony called "Passing the Veils". This is, I believe, practised nowhere else in England, but is done in Ireland, Scotland and some parts of America. In those countries the Veils are usually, and perhaps always, suspended in the Chapter-room itself, but in Bristol they hang in the adjoining "Chapel". The whole ceremony is highly dramatic.

Formerly, and up to about the year 1902, there were no actual veils in use, but the candidate was informed that this ceremony should be performed in a room having the veils suspended. About the time mentioned material veils were purchased, and they have certainly made the proceedings much more picturesque and interesting. No change has been made in the wording used.

CAMP OF BALDWYN.

We have an important document entitled a "Charter of Compact for the regulation of the Chivalric Orders of Masonry, done at our Castle in Bristol 20th day of December 1780". It was issued by "The Supreme Grand and Royal Encampment of Knights Templars of St. John of Jerusalem, Knights Hospitallers and Knights of Malta, &c. &c." and was signed by Joshua Springer "M.E.G.M." and other local Brethren. It implies an older existence of these degrees in Bristol.

Bro. Sadler quotes a letter from Thomas Dunckerley dated March 22nd, 1791, to the Knights Templar at York. In this he says:—

Being Grand Superintendent of the Royal Arch Masons at Bristol, I was requested by the Knights Templar in that City (who have had an Encampment time immemorial) to accept the Office of Grand Master, which I had no sooner comply'd with than petitions were sent to me for the same purpose from London 1, Bath 2, the first Regiment of Dragoon Guards 3, Colchester 4, York 5, Dorchester 6 and Bideford 7. I suppose there are many more Encampments in England, which with God's permission I may have the happiness to revive & assist. It has already been attended with a blessing, for I have been but two months Grand Master & have already 8 Encampments under my care.

The degrees comprised in the scheme of Bro. Dunckerley's Grand Conclave were those of Kt. Templar, Kt. Hospitaller, Rose Croix and Kadosh.

It is important to understand that in the old "Encampments", of which the Baldwyn in Bristol is the only remaining example, the various degrees formed parts of a system, and were linked up with one another. After the death of Bro. Dunckerley, the Grand Conclave passed through a difficult experience. After two attempts at resuscitation, the Duke of Sussex was elected its Grand Master in 1813, but owing to objections due to certain religious scruples, he took no interest in it. No meeting of the Grand Conclave had been held during the seventeen years preceding the death of His Royal Highness in 1843. Immediately afterwards steps were taken by a party of Brethren to revive it, but they gave up the government of the Rose Croix and other degrees to the Supreme Council 33°, which had been formed mostly by the same group in 1845 on the strength of authority obtained from the Supreme Council of the Northern Jurisdiction of the U.S.A. This plan of dividing the degrees was not approved by the Bristol Brethren, and they refused to accept the government of the G. Conclave. A bitter dispute arose, and raged with much bad feeling until a "Charter of Compact" was happily arranged in 1862, whereby the Knight Hospitaller and Templar portion of the Baldwyn Encampment became enrolled upon the register of the G. Conclave (now the G. Priory). During the controversy the Bristolians had resumed, as they claimed, their sovereign powers, and issued several warrants for new Encampments. It was one of the conditions of the Charter of Compact that, while the Baldwyn itself was declared to be "of time immemorial", its daughter Encampments were to take their place upon the Roll of the Grand Conclave, on equal terms, with those already belonging to that body, in accordance with the date of their Baldwyn warrants. The Antiquity Encampment at Bath, which had been allowed practically to lapse, had been revived by the Bristol Brethren in 1855, and was thus able to resume its place as No. 1 upon the register of the Grand Conclave by reason of its original date of 1791. The only Encampment of those chartered by Baldwyn now existing is represented by the Percy Preceptory, No. 57, of Adelaide, South Australia. This was formed in 1858, through the efforts of Percy Wells, who had been a member of the Antiquity

in Bath, and had emigrated to Australia. There had been no communication with the Percy Preceptory for about sixty years, but intercourse was effected with it in 1916 through Bro. C. G. Gurr, its Registrar and afterwards Provincial Prior of South and Western Australia. It was pleasant to find that our Brethren in Adelaide were still working the same special ritual as ourselves.

By the terms of the Charter of Compact, Bristol was constituted a Provincial Commandery. Shortly afterwards, however, the Coteswolde Preceptory of St. Augustin, No. 72, was formed at Cheltenham, and at the request of the Grand Conclave it was incorporated in the Province, which is now called the Provincial Priory of Bristol and Gloucestershire. The connection with the Brethren of Cheltenham has always been a pleasant one, and highly valued in Bristol.

With the Supreme Council 33° a "Treaty of Union" was effected in 1881, and by this Baldwin became a "District" under its Grand Inspector General, who was to be nominated by its members (but the Supreme Council would appoint), and who was to receive the 32°. The Baldwin Rose Croix Chapter was placed first on the roll of Chapters.

It would be ungracious not to mention the uniform courtesy and friendliness which has always been received from the heads of Great Priory and of the Ancient and Accepted Rite.

Although its Knights Templar and Rose Croix portions, with their special rituals, are worked under the jurisdiction of the G. Priory and the Supreme Council 33° respectively, the Baldwin Encampment maintains its old system. Its "Rite" is composed of the following degrees:—I., The Craft; II., Royal Arch; III., Nine Elected Masters; IV., Kilwinning; V., East, Sword and Eagle; VI., Hospitaller and Templar; VII., Rose Croix, which we call the "Ne Plus Ultra of the Order". A candidate in Bristol must take the degree of Knight Templar before that of Rose Croix, and indeed appears for the ceremony of the latter in the Templar habit, but he may be received into either of the others as may be most convenient. A Rose Croix Mason, who is not a Knight Templar, has a right, by the terms of the Treaty of Union, to visit the Chapter. About the year 1813, Bro. Husenbeth, who was a notable Bristol Mason, was in Paris, and was then presented by the G. Orient of France with a MSS. copy of the rituals approved by that body in 1786. These contained the ceremonies of the Craft, and four Orders of Knighthood, the Elu, Écossais, Chevalier d'Orient and Rose Croix, which made up the "Rit Moderne". The four Orders correspond with the Nine Elected Masters, Kilwinning, East, Sword Eagle and Rose Croix practised in the Rite of Baldwin, and, whilst showing much similarity, are by no means identical in details. I have come to the conclusion that these were worked in Baldwin previously to 1813, but in an unsatisfactory manner, and that a considerable revision took place after Bro. Husenbeth's visit to Paris. In the official printed list of 1794 appears the "Eminent Encampment of the seven degrees", which afterwards, in 1809, became known as the Baldwin Encampment, so that the idea of the present "Rite" must have existed at that time.

FREEMASONS' HALLS IN BRISTOL.

It had for some time previously been realised that it would be much to the advantage of the good name of the Craft, as well as to the comfort and convenience of the Bristol Brethren, if some building could be obtained for the sole purposes of Masonry.

In 1816 a house in Bridge Street was purchased and suitably prepared, and two years later it was formally opened. On the previous evening there had

been a concert in the Lodge-rooms, which had been attended "by his worship the Mayor, the Sheriffs and about Two Hundred Ladies and Gentlemen of the first respectability", besides the Brethren wearing Masonic clothing. In addition to the "Creation" an Ode, specially set to music by a Bro. Percivall, a member of the Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality, was performed. This short "Ode", written in the style of Haydn, has considerable beauty. It was again performed by singers and orchestra under Bro. Hubert Hunt, Past Grand Organist, almost exactly a hundred years later, when the Summer meeting of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge was held in Bristol in 1920. The words of the "Ode" were taken from a work entitled *Solomon's Temple*, and appear in *Masonic Miscellanies of 1797*. They were written by James Eyre Weekes, and music was composed for them by Richard Broadway, who was Organist at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, from 1748 to 1761. This Oratorio, which must have been lengthy, was performed in that city on behalf of charity.

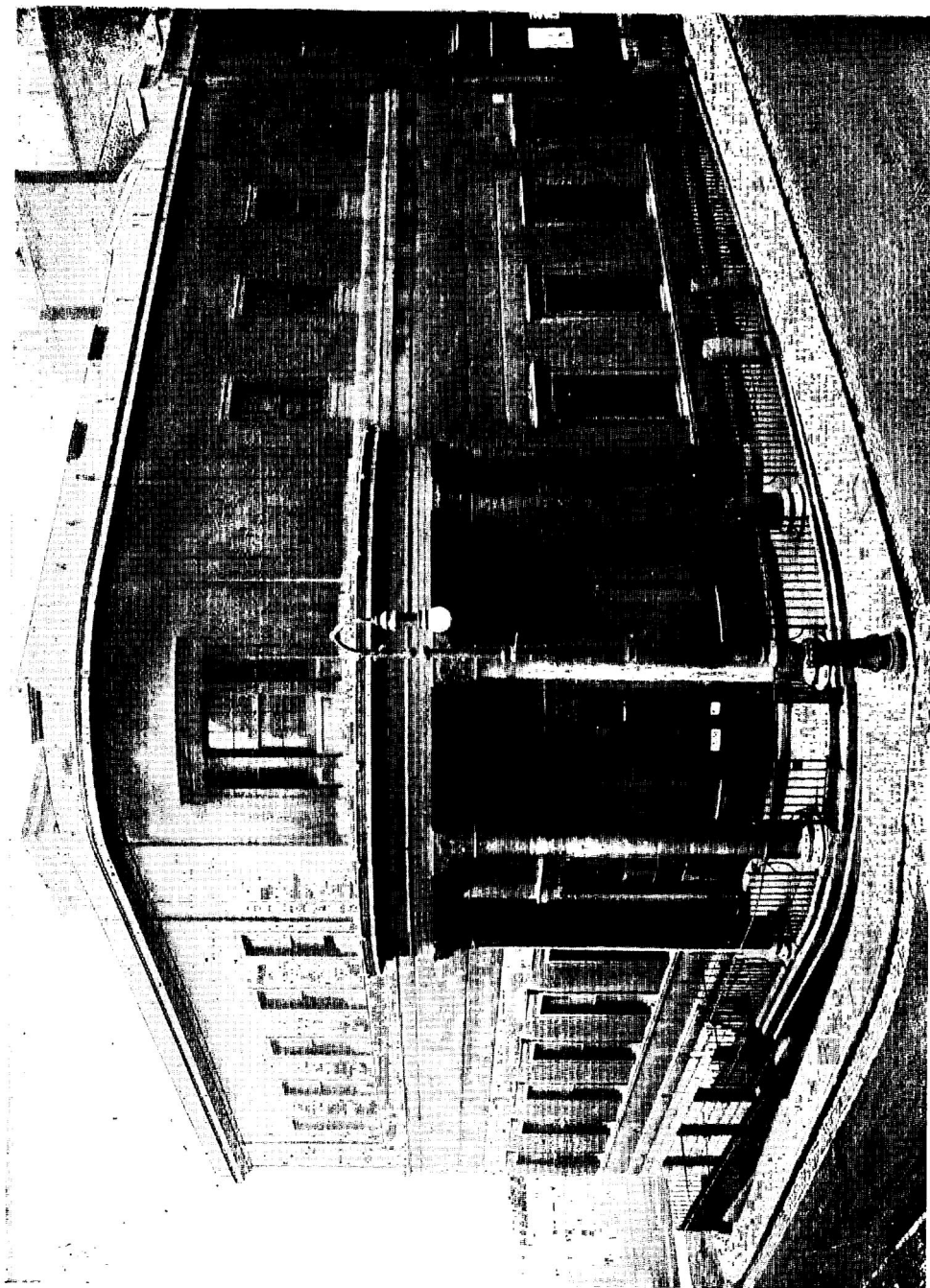
As time went on, the Freemasons' Hall in Bridge Street proved to be too small for the growing requirements of the Craft, and a piece of land was purchased on which to erect a larger building. It happened, however, that the premises of the "Philosophical Institution", in Park Street, came into the market, and in 1871 Bro. W. A. F. Powell, the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, having ascertained that they would be suitable, purchased them at a public auction. His offer to transfer them to the Fraternity, at the same price which he had paid, was gladly accepted. There is a story that when he consulted a local builder, who was a prominent Mason and would most probably have been employed on the new work, as to the advisability of procuring the place, he received the reply that "Fools build houses, and wise men live in them".

The building had been erected about 1820, and was then called "The British Institution for the advancement of Science and Art". What is now the Lodge-room was used as a museum, and for exhibitions of pictures. Above the entrance from the street is a beautiful white marble frieze, with an allegorical design suitable to the purpose of the building, which was carved and presented to his native city by Bro. E. H. Baily, whose statue of the Duke of Sussex as Grand Master is well-known.

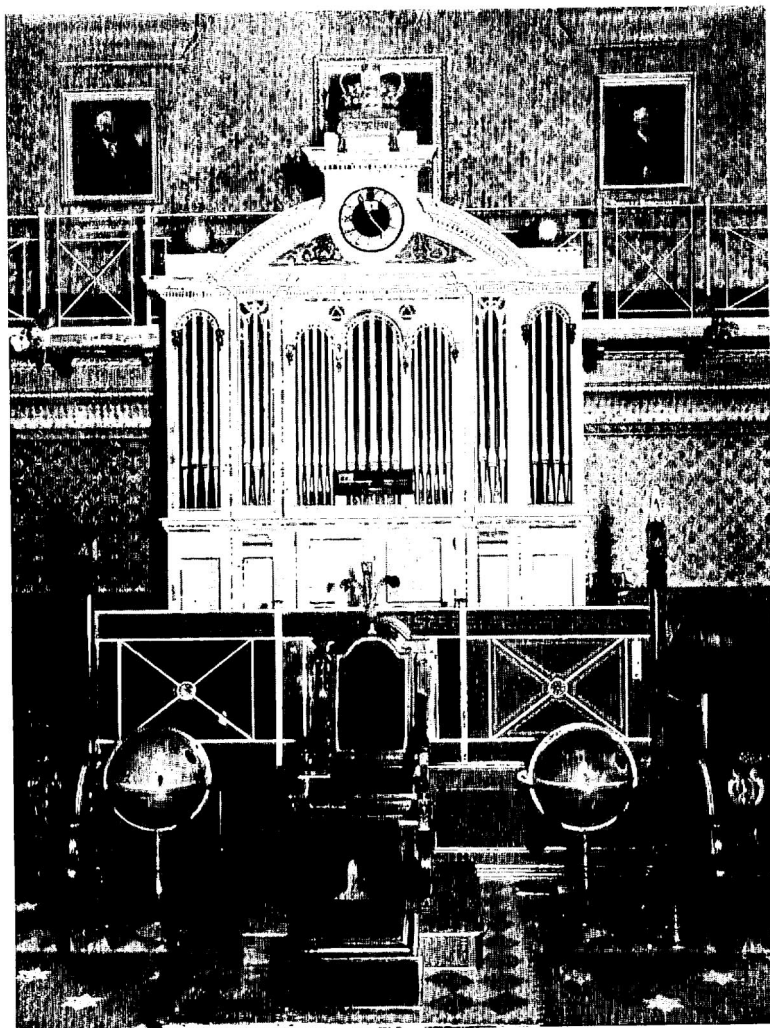
The incidental music is a great feature of all Bristol Masonic ceremonies. The organ, which dates from 1763 (and consequently of the same age as the famous instrument belonging to Lodge No. 2 at Edinburgh and associated with Bro. Robert Burns), has become unusually sweet and mellow in tone, and is a joy to hear.

Some twenty years ago the provision of further accommodation, owing to the increasing number of the Lodges, became an urgent question, and one very difficult to solve. The Province was, however, fortunate in being able to purchase the house adjoining the Freemasons' Hall, and thus provide for various new rooms. The extension has proved to be of great advantage, and happily, as the result of a rather heavy levy upon all the Bristol Brethren, the whole has been paid for, and is free of debt. Since the next house again, standing farther up the street, has also been bought, and can be utilized when it shall be required, there is every prospect that the requirements for accommodation can always be provided, and that the Province can continue to meet under one roof.

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Powell for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. D. Knoop, seconded by Bro. G.



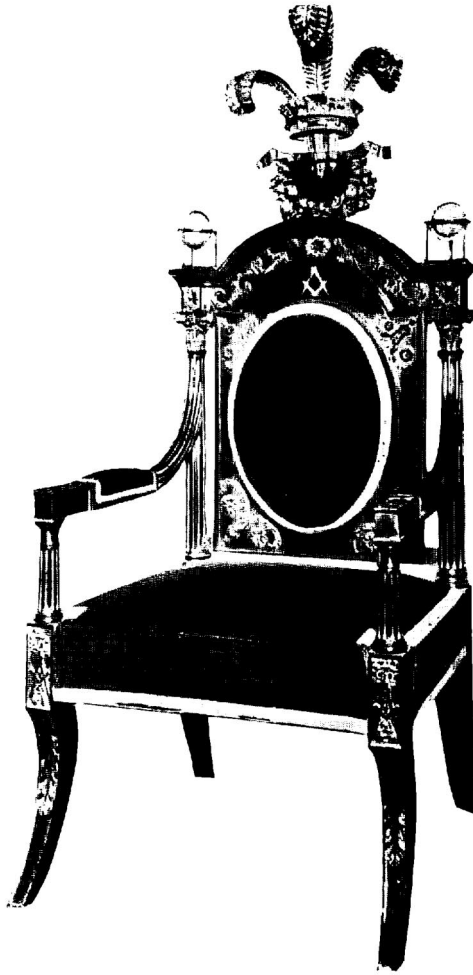
Freemasons' Hall, Bristol.



Organ, Freemasons' Hall, Bristol.



Frieze above the entrance to Freemasons' Hall, Bristol.



The Master's Chair, made in 1791.

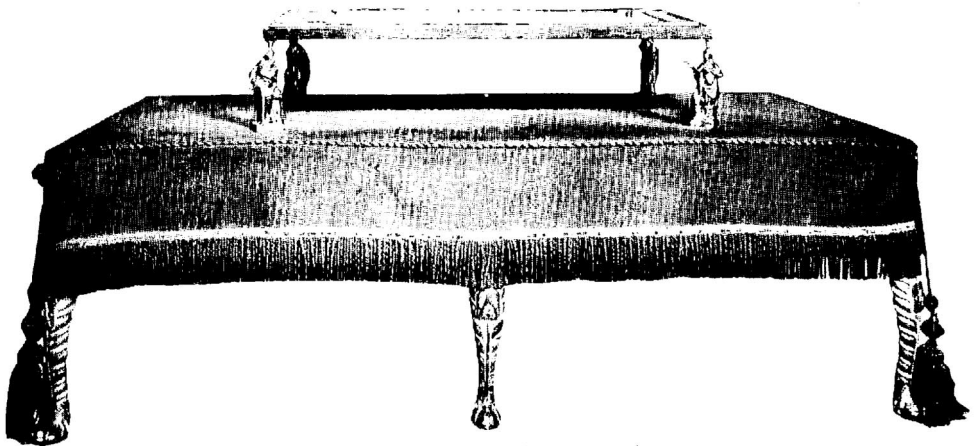
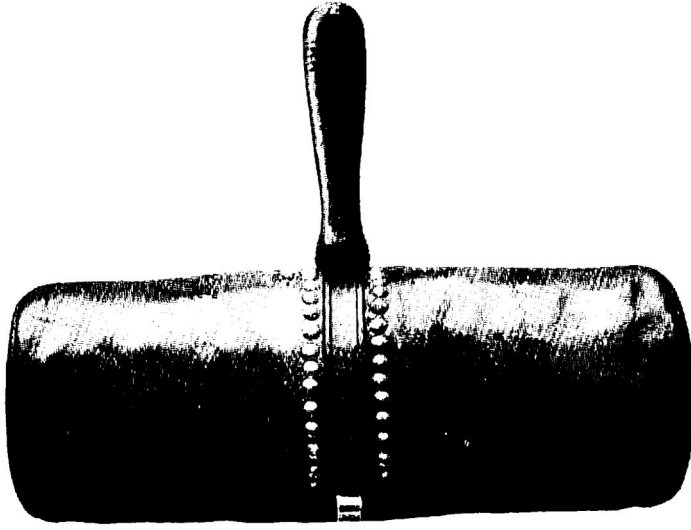


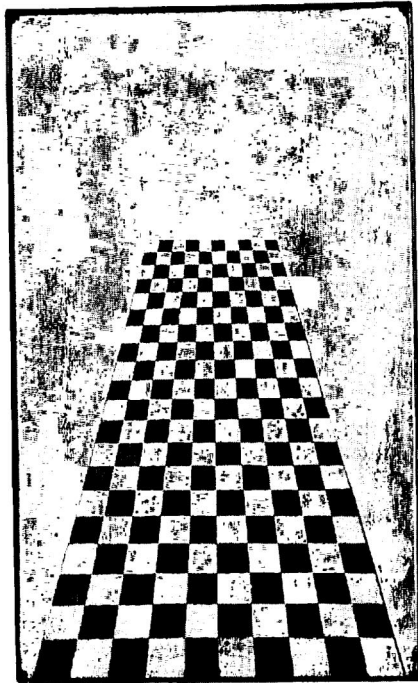
Table with Tracing Board.



Emblems placed on Tracing Board.



Bristol: Heavy Setting Maul.



Bristol: Tracing Board.



The Moira Apron.

Elkington; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. F. W. Golby, R. H. Baxter, E. H. Cartwright, H. Poole, W. W. Covey-Crump, J. Heron Lepper, H. Marshall Hole, A. MacKenzie Smith, F. W. Le Tall, and the Secretary.

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

In offering my thanks to Bro. Powell for a paper full of erudition and instruction, I should like first of all to join with him in the hope that zealots for particular systems of Masonic working may eventually come to realize that the English Craft, much less the Craft Universal, cannot be fitted into the straight-waistcoat of any one ritual. It is an idea, for I will not call it an ideal, impossible of attainment in a Constitution such as this where many of the component bodies are much older than any ritual extant and rightly cling to their traditions; but even if the idea were attainable, it should be fought against by all interested in the history and antiquities of the Order. To offer you a concrete example of the damage that might be done if the iconoclasts had their way: how much poorer would the whole English Craft become if the ritual preserved by our Brethren in the Pilgrim Lodge were suppressed! On an occasion when it was my great privilege to witness the Passing of a Candidate in that famous old Lodge, my two predominant sentiments during the lovely ceremony were gratitude to the Brethren who had preserved that working for well over a century and a half—and also an increased admiration for and loyalty to the Grand Lodge that is set on a basis broad enough to enclose and foster so many varying ways of inculcating those principles of morality and brotherly love, the real cement that binds us together, the immortal spirit that lies behind any mere form of words. I have been greatly tempted to hold forth at length on the parallels that exist between the Bristol working and that obtaining now, or at any rate not so long ago, in my Mother Constitution, the Irish. But it is unnecessary to test your patience with such minutiae, because I have at various times in various publications drawn attention to these correspondences, and based on them the opinion I still hold, that both Bristol and Ireland inherited these traits of likeness from a common ancestor, the English Freemasonry of the seventeenth century, or perhaps that of a period even more remote. I believe it also might be demonstrated that neither school, Bristolian or Irish, copied from the other in the manner of a weak-minded imitator so late as the eighteenth century. Intercourse between the two districts existed; interchange of opinions no doubt took place, even as intervisiting; but though their work was very similar, each preserved its peculiar forms. May I point out one concrete instance of a divergence, not without importance, in their practices? Bro. Powell has shown us that in Bristol as early as 1736, a considerable interval was required between the conferring of any two of the Craft degrees upon a Candidate. No such self-denying ordinance became obligatory in Ireland till the year 1858; and towards the beginning of the last century Irish Military Lodges in England were getting a bad name for Masonic irregularity from their general custom of conferring all three degrees at one meeting. It would not be difficult to put on record other weighty differences between the two systems, but on the present occasion I confine myself to a detail suggested by the paper we have heard. There is one other matter calling for a note. As regards the conferring of the Royal Arch in Bristol in 1758, I would suggest to the lecturer that another possible reason for the cessation of entries referring to it may be this, that the entries were kept in a separate Minute Book. This procedure was often adopted in Ireland, though more often not. Sunday meetings for the conferring of the Higher Degrees also occurred there towards the close of the eighteenth century, though they had been made illegal by Grand Lodge in 1779.

It is noteworthy that some of the candidates exalted in Bristol were not installed Masters, and that no ceremony of "Passing the Chair" is mentioned. Not so very much later on, of course (1778), this ceremony became obligatory even in English Modern Chapters. If we can believe Dr. Fifield Dassigny—and why should we not believe him?—as early as 1744 in Dublin the degree was conferred only on Past Masters.

I trust these remarks will be sufficient to assure the lecturer that I have listened to his paper with the utmost interest and admiration. Long may his Province continue to occupy that conspicuous position which makes it one of the Meccas of the Craft, not to English Masons only, but to all of us for whom the words "Ancient Custom" are more than a mere phrase of ritual become a cliché full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.

BRO. RODK. H. BAXTER *wrote*:—

I am delighted with Bro. Powell's paper, not only because it deals with certain curious features of ritual in the Province of Bristol, but also because it calls attention to the rights of members of Lodges to regulate their own proceedings—rights, which, alas, have been too frequently relinquished at the dictatorship of officials.

We are all naturally anxious to concur in the wishes of the distinguished noblemen and gentlemen who honour us by presiding over our Provincial Grand Lodges. They, however, generally have the grace to admit that they know little about the intricate details of our ceremonies and are usually content to guide us in the ideals of the Craft, which is, after all, a far more important duty.

One point of interference, I might point out, occurs in a recommendation of the B.G.P. concerning the introduction of refreshment at Installations (which some people interpret as a prohibition of "Calling off"), printed in the "Year Book". I am told that the Board has altered its attitude on the question, although the decision continues to appear. In this connection it is interesting to note that Grand Lodge itself was called off and the loving-cup circulated when the Duke of Sussex was installed as Grand Master of the United Fraternity. It is probably a survival of an old custom, hinted at in the 1723 Constitutions.

Bro. Powell, unfortunately, touches only lightly on the practice of the Mark Degree in Bristol. It would be interesting to know when the ceremony of installing a Master in a Mark Lodge was instituted, and of what it consisted at first. In the early Minutes of my own Mark Lodge (Constituted in 1870) we read: "Bro. ——— was installed in the chair, but not being an installed Master in the Craft he was not entrusted with the secrets". It is suggestive that in the "full" working of a B. of I.M. there is a close similarity in the signs.

Of late years the decision concerning the extended working of a B. of I.M. has been omitted from the "Year Book". It would be instructive to know what influence is behind this.

Another instance of an attempt to curtail our liberties is to deprive Lord Mayors and Mayors of cities and towns of the courtesy of a seat on the platform at meetings of Provincial Grand Lodge generally held in Town Halls of which they have granted the use. I wonder if these objectors have ever heard of the "Assembly".

Many other points arise out of Bro. Powell's interesting paper, which I am sure will be suitably dealt with by other Brethren. I am certain a hearty vote of thanks will be accorded to the Lecturer, with which I would desire to be associated.

Bro. Rev. H. POOLE wrote:—

LACHLIN MINTOSH.

Extracts from Atholl Stewards Lodge, Minutes.

(a): 19/4/1769.

“(Heard) A Complaint from the Lodges N°. 84 & 118 held in the City of Bristol against G. W. M^c.Intosh for Making a Mason Clandestinely.

Heard also M^c.Intosh's defence as well as all other Letters relative to this Affair which were read by Bro^r. W^m. Dickey D.G.S. in his Place—and after due Consideration it was

Resolved, It is the opinion of this Lodge, that G. W. Lachlin M^c.Intosh has acted derogatory to the private and Publick Rules of the Ancient Craft, so far as concerns Clandestine Makings—therefore Order'd that the said Lachlin M^c.Intosh shall acknowledge his Fault before the Members of both the said Lodges congregated for that purpose, And Ask Pardon of the Grand Lodge.

Resolv'd, it is the Opinion of this Lodge, that the said Lachlin M^c.Intosh deserves some Lenity, for the following reasons viz: At Berwick, and Bremen, the said M^c.Intosh congregated free Mafons and (as he says) made Mafons, (And afterwards obtained Warrants which seemed to the Grand Lodge to be cases of Necefsity) and from which the said M^c.Intosh might have Imagin'd that such proceedings were countenanced by the Grand Lodge upon a supposition that it might be of use to the Craft in General Tho: no such necefsity could Arise in Bristol where two Warranted Lodges are Established

Order'd, That the Grand Secretarys shall draw up a form of the said Acknowledgement to be made by M^c.Intosh, and that such form shall be subject to the Inspection and Correction of the Grand Officers and that true Copies of all the Transactions relating to this Affair shall be recorded in this Lodge for the Inspection of future Grand or Stewards Lodges

(b). 17/5/1769.

“(Heard) The Resolves of last Stewards Lodge (as drawn up by the Grand Secretarys) relative to the Complaint against G. W. M^c.Intosh which were approved of with the following Addition

Resolv'd, It is the Unanimous opinion of this Lodge, That the person or persons made or protended to be made by the said M^c.Intosh and his Afsociates (without the Grand Masters Warrant or Dispensation) are incapable of obtaining a Warrant or Dispensation or Admittance into any regular Lodge, Untill he or they are initiated upon the terms, prescribed in the Philacteria in the Book of Constitutions intituled Ahiman rezon.

In pursuance of the foregoing Resolutions the following words are dictated and order'd to be Audiably spoke by the said Lachlin M^c.Intosh before the Members of the Lodges N°. 84 & 118 Congregated for that purpose Viz:

I Lachlin M^c.Intosh one of the Grand Wardens of the Most Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted York Mafons, Do hereby declare that I have transgreffs'd against the Laws of my Society in supposing that I had a power invested in me, of making Free Mafons when and where I thought proper without Warrant or Dispensation from a Grand Master, and am sorry that I should be so Inconsiderate as to give Umbrage to the Craft in general, but more particularly to the Warranted Lodges N°. 84 & 118 for which I ask pardon of the Grand Lodge—And intreat the Worshipful Masters of N°. 84 & 118 aforesaid to transmitt this my Submission to the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge

By order

Lau: Dermott G.S.

W^m. Dickey D:G:S

} The above form approv'd
and Confirm'd on the 17th.
Day of May 1769

W^m. Dickey D.G.M.

W^m. Clarke S.G.W.

John Christian J.G.W.

(c). 21/6/1769.

" (Heard) A Letter from the Masters N^o. 84 & 118 at Bristol (vid Letter) which was approv'd of by The Stewards Lodge and Refer'd to the Grand Lodge for their Confirmation "

Extract from Atholl *Grand Lodge* Minutes: 6/9/1769.

" Confirm'd the Minute of June 21st. (Stewards Lodge) concerning the Submission of G. Warden M^r.Intosh "

I might add one more detail of interest in connection with the history of masonry in Bristol. In 1753 the "Antients" issued Warrant No. 24 to a Lodge at the Edinburgh Castle in Marsh St. This Lodge was extinct by 1763. In 1806 this No. 24 was re-issued to what is now No. 31 at Canterbury, United Industrious, which still possess the document, as its authority.

Bro. F. W. GOLBY said:—

I wish very heartily to associate myself with the expressions used by the previous speakers. We are much indebted to the reader for the pains he has taken to show us in his paper a history of "Freemasonry in Bristol" from its inception to the present time. During the whole period Bristol has always been in opposition to a "rigid uniformity for all" and I think rightly so.

The Order, and the Grand Master of the Order, have no power to direct the choice of Ritual. This, by Rule 181 B.C., is at the discretion of the private Lodge.

Therefore a Provincial Grand Master, who derives his authority from the Grand Master, has no power over the ritual provided the working is consistent with the general laws and regulations of the Craft. In the instance cited the Provincial Grand Master exceeded his power in interfering with any working that was consistent with the laws and regulations of the Craft. No particular form of ritual can be ordered to be adopted by the Grand Master or by the Provincial Grand Master.

No Provincial Grand Master should be influenced, so far as his appointments to Provincial Grand Lodge are concerned, by the Ritual proposed to be worked, or worked, in the private Lodge.

The Bristol working of the Third Degree was exemplified in the Robert Thorne Lodge at Bristol to the members of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge on the 15th July, 1920.

This was most impressive and, though it took roughly two hours, was followed with deep interest by all the Brethren present.

A Past Master writes:—"The Bristol Use is clearly a survival of Pre-Union Working - - - - - whilst I should deprecate Lodges elsewhere copying Bristol Working, - - - - - yet it would be a very great loss if this link with past working were to be abandoned". (*A.Q.C.*, xxxiii., page 145.)

Bro. E. H. CARTWRIGHT said:—

There are a few points in Bro. Powell's most interesting paper to which further animadversion may be permissible.

It is somewhat distressing to learn that a distinguished Mason regarded it as a Bristol peculiarity to make candidates 'answer for themselves'. The custom of dictating every answer in full, instead of merely prompting when occasion requires, results from the unfortunate importation into regular Lodges of the practice of Lodges of Instruction. It is a comparatively recent, and certainly a regrettable, development.

Mention of a comment on the Bristol ritual that I have heard more than once and that possibly has not reached Bro. Powell's ears, is, perhaps not out of place. Brethren, after witnessing the Bristol ceremonial, especially the 1st Degree, have said of it: 'Quite interesting, but it is a pity they have adopted those Americanisms'. Such a remark evinces sublime ignorance on the part of the critic, who has failed to realise that the incidents referred to obtained in Bristol before they became American, for America got its Freemasonry mainly through Bristol, which in the eighteenth century was the chief port of communication with that country. They have survived in Bristol and the States, though in England generally they have been dropped. We know that the circle of swords was an incident in London Lodges in the seventeenth century.

Bro. Powell naturally alludes to the Bristol peculiarities in the 'inner working', but he does not mention that, although the actual ceremony is virtually the same as that in common use, the forms of opening and closing are quite different to those that are generally known, and that in the earlier half of the nineteenth century were widely practised both in London and in other parts of the country. So far as I am aware the Bristol formularies for these items of ritual are found nowhere else in England. It would probably be impossible now to say with certainty which of the two versions was that used in Bristol and the neighbourhood a hundred and fifty, or so, years ago.

It is curious that in the Bristol Installation the Lodge is never opened beyond the 1st Degree. It is generally thought that the reason why the installation is commonly begun in the 2nd Degree is that in the early eighteenth century the rank of Fellow Craft was a sufficient qualification for the Mastership of a Lodge. Can it be that the Bristol practice is a relic of a still earlier time before the Apprentice's Part had been divided into our present two Degrees?

As a detail of some slight interest, Bro. Powell might have mentioned that when the emblem of his authority is handed to the newly-installed Master, it is presented to him under its old name as 'this hiram' and is not dubbed a 'gavel'.

He seems surprised that there is no record of any adjustment at Bristol between the 'Moderns' and the 'Antients'. But surely this was effected once and for all by the Lodge of Promulgation, following on the recommendations, or decisions, of which, the 'Moderns' Grand Lodge ordered all their subordinate Lodges to fall into line, as a condition precedent to the 'Antients' consenting to a Union, so that there was no need for any local discussion or adjustment.

His reference to the Veils is liable (I am sure unintentionally on his part) to convey the impression that as now worked in Bristol they are a true survival; but, as we learn from a pamphlet published in 1932 by Sir Ernest Cook, although the verbal part of the ceremony appears to have been used in one Bristol Chapter in the later years of the nineteenth century (whether even this was an actual survival is not clear), the Veils themselves, if they ever existed, had entirely dropped out, no record of them remaining, and they were brought into being anew in the early years of the present century through the efforts of Bro. Cook and a few other enthusiasts.

Bro. Powell seems surprised that 'Modern' Masons worked the Royal Arch at Bristol before 1707, but the Degree was freely practised by them a good many years prior to that date and, as Hughan tells us,¹ 'although the attitude of the Grand Lodge officially was that of non-recognition of the R.A., nevertheless many of its chief members were among the most active supporters of the fourth degree'. Dunckerley himself was exalted at Portsmouth in 1754, probably in a Chapter connected with the 'Moderns' Lodge in which he had been initiated.²

Bro. Powell may be glad to know that his view as to the right of a Provincial Grand Master in regard to the ritual used by his Lodges accords with

¹ *Origin of the English Rite*, p. 159.

² See Grantham's *Introduction to Mark Masonry*, p. 36.

that of the late President of the Board of General Purposes, Sir Alfred Robbins, who, in a letter to me (an extract from which I printed in another connection in *The Freemason* of May 9, 1931, p. 716) condemned the attempt to impose a particular working as an 'arbitrary interference with the independence of the Lodges and the individual brethren'. For a Provincial Grand Master to endeavour to enforce his wishes by debarring from office in Provincial Grand Lodge those who do not yield to his behests in this respect, is surely an abuse of his legitimate powers, though, like Bro. Powell, I have been told that such a practice is not unknown.

Bro. C. POWELL wrote, in reply:—

I wish to express my thanks for the kind reception given to my paper, and my pleasure in finding so much interest taken in the Bristol method of working.

It was to be expected that some arguments would have been raised in favour of the advantages of uniformity of ritual, upon which many Brethren have set their hearts, but there were none. On the contrary, everyone who spoke or wrote, was evidently in agreement with the views I had stated, both with regard to the freedom of choice, to which every Lodge is entitled, and in protest of the irregular policy of some Provincial Grand Masters in insisting upon a particular form of working preferred by themselves, either in the case of an old Lodge with ancient traditions, or in that of a new one about to be formed. The award of Provincial honours, or the consent to recommend a new warrant, should not depend, all other things being in order, upon the personal predilection of the Ruler of the Province. I was glad to receive the support of so experienced Masons as Bro. Golby and Bro. Baxter in this contention.

I hope I did not in any way give the impression that I was trying to depreciate the beauty and effectiveness of any Ritual other than that of Bristol. I did not intend to do so, but I do condemn the unconstitutional efforts made by some to force upon the Lodges working under the United Grand Lodge of England one particular form, whatever it might be.

I wonder that some Brother, who takes for his ideal of a Masonic hero the possessor of some trinket awarded as a prize for correct repetition, did not bring forward his case against mine. Some of us are not quite so much thrilled with the glamour of this test of memory as perhaps we ought to be, and some possibly look upon it as childish. I am frankly sorry that Freemasonry has been chosen as the field for this mnemonic performance, and should be more inclined to applaud the successful rendering of a book of Homer, for instance, in its original language.

It is unnecessary to say that Bristol Brethren have no desire to see their working done elsewhere.

Bro. Poole has added a most interesting story to our scanty information about the two Bristol "Antient" Lodges No. 84 and No. 118, of which we possess no local official records.

In reference to the records of Royal Arch meetings held by "Modern" Brethren at the Crown Inn in 1758, it is very possible, that, as Bro. Heron Lepper suggests, such meetings were continued after they ceased to be mentioned in the Minute-book of the Lodge, and that the proceedings were entered in another book.

There are no records in the Minutes of any of the Bristol "Modern" Lodges of the ceremony of "Passing the Chair", previous to the date of the Union.

Bro. Baxter regrets that I have not dealt more fully with the progress of the Mark degree in Bristol, so I give some particulars here, and answer his enquiry whether in the earlier days there was a ceremony of Installation of a Master.

There are certain vague beliefs that the degree was practised in Bristol long before it was placed upon a regular footing there. The only reference in any of the local Minute-books, prior to 1856, is in that of the Royal Clarence Lodge, now No. 68, of June 4th, 1834. This Lodge was formed as the "Mariners" under the 'Antient' Constitution in 1807, and consequently may have been working the Mark degree under the authority of the Craft Warrant up to the time of the Union, and possibly continued to do so (irregularly) afterwards. The entry of June 4th, 1834, runs:—"The Ark Mariners or Ark, Mark and Link Masons met at $\frac{1}{2}$ past eight o'clock P.M. and renewed the objects of the order, when the undernamed Brethren were admitted to the degree and paid the usual fee 5/- each—after which retired to Bro. Whittingham's to take refreshment". The candidates are then mentioned.

An independent Mark Lodge seems to have been formed after the date of the Union, but no Minutes of its activity remain; but it is certain some prominent local Brethren took the degree in it in, or about, the year 1843.

In 1857 some Brethren discussed the question of putting their proceedings into a regular form. In a statement written at the beginning of the first Minute-book of the Canynges Mark Lodge their decisions and the reasons for them are explained. It may be remarked that the question of bringing the working of the Mark degree under its jurisdiction had been discussed in a meeting of the United Grand Lodge of England, and a motion was carried in favour of doing so. Some objectors, however, organised a strong opposition, and the Minute recording the decision was not confirmed at the next Quarterly Communication, so that it was deemed inoperative. [The proceedings were actually not in order, if confirmation of Minutes is, as it should be, merely an affirmation that they correctly affirm what has taken place.]

The statement in the Canynges Minute-book is:—"The United Grand Lodge of England having declined for the present to recognise the Mark Degree, which was anciently worked in this and other Provinces prior to the year 1813, the date of its amalgamation of the two Grand Lodges of England, several Brethren of the Province of Bristol, viewing the general desire among the Craft that this Degree should again be restored to its proper position in the Masonic system, and encouraged by the example of eminent Brethren in other parts of the Kingdom, who, having thought similarly to themselves of the necessity existing for the re-establishment of the Degree, decided on adopting the same course of action, to render the solution of their desires legal and regular . . ." It was therefore decided to apply to the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland for a warrant to hold a Lodge of Mark Master Masons, and this was granted. The first Master, Bro. William Harris, and the two Wardens were Past Masters of the Moira Lodge in Bristol (originally working under a "Modern" Charter).

In order to qualify themselves to approach the Supreme R.A. Chapter of Scotland, they and another Brother joined the St. Mark's Lodge of London, No. 1 on the Scottish Roll. The Scottish Warrant, which was dated June 17th, 1857, "constituted and erected" them "to be now and in all time coming, subject to the condition expressed, a true and regular Lodge of Mark Master Masons under the title of the Canynges Lodge of Mark Master Masons being No. Seven on the Roll kept by the Supreme Royal Arch Chapters of those Warrants which are granted by them for holding Mark Masters' Lodges". It may be remarked here that in Scotland the Mark degree is worked under the authority of the Warrants of Craft Lodges or Royal Arch Chapters, and there no special Charters would be required. It was stipulated that "in the event of the Degree of Mark Master hereby authorized, becoming at any time hereafter a degree lawfully sanctioned and acknowledged by a Supreme Body of the Country in which the Mark Lodge hereby constituted shall be situated, this present Warrant or Charter of Constitution shall *eo ipso* become void and null and the holders thereof be deprived of

their functions under it and thereupon bound to return the same to our Supreme Chapter". In the following September Bro. Harris, "the R.W. Master", "dedicated" the Lodge with the usual ceremony, using corn, wine and oil. He probably took his rank as Master from the fact that he was so appointed by the Warrant. By the By-laws of the Lodge it was ordered that only a "*de facto*" Master or Past Master of a Craft Lodge could become Master, and this rule was strictly followed, but it is evident no Mark ceremony of Installation was then used. In 1858 Bro. Harris having first addressed him and administered an oath of obedience to the Grand Chapter of Scotland, "inducted" Bro. John Linter, the original Senior Warden named in the Warrant, "into the Chair as R.W. Master".

The name of Canynges is greatly honoured in Bristol, being that of William Canynges, a member of a notable family, who was a great merchant-prince and benefactor, and in the latter years of his life in Holy Orders, in the fifteenth century. He was the builder, or rather the restorer, of the famous Church of St. Mary, Redcliffe.

It was agreed that certain well-known local Brethren, who had already taken the Mark degree in or about the year 1843, were to be considered eligible to join the new Lodge.

It is a curious fact that, although the Mark Grand Lodge of England was formed in 1857, no steps were taken either in Bristol or by the Supreme Chapter of Scotland to bring the Canynges Lodge under its jurisdiction until 1872, when it was the only Lodge of its kind remaining in this country under the Scottish allegiance. The probable reason that nothing was done locally was that there was a good deal of doubt felt about the stability of the Mark Grand Lodge, and perhaps a hope that eventually the United Grand Lodge of England might after all include the degree within its jurisdiction.

A Warrant of Confirmation was granted by the Mark Grand Lodge in 1874, and the Canynges Lodge was added to its register as being "Of Time Immemorial".

In 1875 the Baldwyn Lodge was formed, and Bristol was constituted a Mark Province. Since then a third local Mark Lodge has come into being. In 1912 I consecrated a Royal Ark Mariners' Lodge, the "Harris", which, being "attached" to the Canynges Lodge, has also the distinction of being considered as "Of Time Immemorial".

In reference to Bro. Cartwright's interesting comments, I think there is good reason to expect to find similarities between the American and Bristol methods of working, but not because, as he points out, Bristol has adopted any "Americanisms". As Bro. Heron Lepper so well explains, Bristol and Irish Masonry have a great deal alike, not through borrowing from one or the other, but through derivation from a common ancestor—possibly the Masonic practices of the seventeenth century. It is, I believe, from Ireland that American ritual largely comes through the influence of the Military Lodges, which to a large extent worked under Irish Warrants. Bristol does not claim to have given the Americans their form of Masonry.

With regard to my remarks about "Bristol peculiarities in the inner working" of the ceremony of Installation, I admit that these are not so extensive as in some other places. The attempt made in 1926 to declare these irregular, however, was looked upon as an interference with the ritual which we were entitled to use, and the first and perhaps the most strenuous opposition to the proposal was raised in Bristol. The actual amount of disturbance might not then have been large, but, as a matter of principle, the proposed interference was looked upon as important.

I cannot suggest why we do not open the Lodge beyond the First degree at the time of an Installation, unless, as seems quite feasible, it was thought that

an Apprentice was entitled to take an interest in the installation of the Master he would have to serve. The most unusual part of the proceedings is that the salutes in all three are given without opening the Lodge to the Second or Third degrees. Of course, Fellow Crafts and Entered Apprentices have to retire for a few minutes, when they would not be qualified to be present.

My reference to the "differences" of the 'Moderns' and 'Antients' being arranged did not clearly indicate what was in my mind. I was thinking of differences of ritual, and also to the difficulties arising when two bodies of people, who had been for many years bitterly opposed to one another, had to accommodate themselves to a friendly intercourse. These things the Lodge of Promulgation did not deal with.

I am interested in learning the views of Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins on the "arbitrary interference" with the rights of Lodges and individual Brethren. They are very much to the point I have raised.

At the suggestion of Bro. Firminger, I give some further particulars from the Minute-book of the Lodge meeting at the Rummer Tavern. There is, however, little of unusual interest to mention. The proceedings seem to have been conducted in a regular and orderly manner.

It is stated that the Lodge was "constituted" on November 12th, 1735, and that "The Expences of the Constitution &c." amounted to £19:17:10½. Unfortunately, twelve pages near the beginning of the book have been left blank, with the evident intention of being filled up later, or otherwise many useful details of information would doubtless have been preserved. In 1737 a Committee was appointed to make the best record they could, "there having been made no entry thereof in any regular manner". A brief account of seventeen meetings was presented.

The Lodge met twice a month, and all Officers were "chosen by way of balloting" twice in the year on St. John's Days, a majority of two-thirds being required for election. The proceedings of December 27th, 1736, are curious. At a previous meeting it had been "agreed that to prevent all Disputes in the Election of Officers of this Lodge at the approaching Election on St. John's day next, That soon after Dinner every Member present shall write down in a small scroll of paper the Brother's Name whom he shall think fit as a candidate for either of the Offices be it either Master Sen^r. Warden, Jun^r. Warden, Treasurer, Secretary or Tyler, which papers shall be put in the Ballotting Box and drawn by the Secretary and the Two Persons who shall have the Majority of such Voices shall be immediately set up for the respective Offices and be Ballotted for and the person who shall have the Majority of such Ballot shall be deemed duly elected into such Office respectively Any Law heretofore made to the contrary notwithstanding".

In the event, for the position of Master A received four votes, B and C three each, and D two. B and C being equal, another ballot was taken to decide "who should oppose" A. B then received eight votes and C four. Finally, after a third ballot, A, who obtained ten votes to his rival's two, was "Declared duly Elected Master & took his Seat accordingly". Three ballots were also needed to determine who should be the Senior Warden. The members appear to have got tired of the method by the time the appointment of Secretary was reached, for "Bro^r. Davis was duly Declared Secretary, there appearing Three Candidates agst him (to wit) Bro. Hill, Bro. Brown, & Bro. Lucas each of them having but One Voice upon the Ballott, they Drop't a further Ballott". It will be noticed that no mention is made of any ceremony of Installation, so we may suppose that the Master-elect merely took his Chair immediately after he had been declared elected.

In the Minute of June 16th, 1738, "The R^t. Wpfull Master is Desired to intimate in his Summons against ye s^d. 24th June that each Bror. be at ye

Rummer by Nine o'clock in ye forenoon in Order to choose the proper Officers of ye Day in Order to prevent ye Breaking of Company after Dinner to the Disatisfaction of Visiting Brothers".

St. John the Baptist's Day in 1739 falling upon a Sunday, the members met upon it to choose the Officers and to "appoint ye Day for ye Dinner".

In 1742 it was agreed "that in order to Remedy several inconveniences that has already happen'd in choosing proper Officers every half year, that from ye Date hereof The Master, Wardens, Treasurer & Secretary shall for ye future continue in their offices for ye space of one year & at ye end thereof the Lodge shall proceed to a new Election".

The set of By-Laws occupies nearly eight pages of the Minute-book, and consists of nineteen clauses. At the end of it is the following direction:—"All These Laws are agreed to be Conclusive to each Member of this Lodge And it is hereby Ordered That they be Read the first Friday in every Month immediately after the Lodge is Opened and at every makeing of a new Brother". The signatures of the Brethren follow.

Strict enquiry was to be made into the character of any suggested candidate or joining member, and if that appeared "to be fair and unblemished", his name could be brought forward. "If upon such Ballotting there shall appear to be but one No against such person so to be ballotted for He shall not be admitted a Member of this Lodge".

By-Law 14 ordered "That every Brother shall keep his proper place in the Lodge and if the Tyler shall be absent or otherwise Employed the Junior Member then present shall Tyle the Lodge or forfeit Two shillings and Six Pence".

By By-Law 18 it was enacted "That every Brother of this Lodge shall have always the preference of Standing in the Lodge according to his Seniority of Makeing before any Brother or Brothers who have been made in any other Lodge or Lodges before he or they were Admitted into this, be he or they either Master Craft or Apprentice".

Throughout the Minute-book, which covers the period up to 1749, there is no instance recorded of a candidate receiving more than one degree upon the same night.

Presumably the aprons, etc., belonged to the Lodge, for it is recorded that on July 15th, 1737 (the land-lord) "Bro. Ovens being from home so that the Lodge could not be cloathed was fined Two shillings which he paid accordingly". In the following year a resolution was passed that "Every Bror. of ye Lodge was Desired to cloath himself at his own Expençe".

On February 17th, 1738, "It was agreed by the Rt. Wor^d. & Brethren of this Lodge that Brother Thompson should prepare against Next Lodge night two Chairs for the Wardens with Pedestals for the same & also a Pedestal for the Masters Chair the same to be paid for by the Treasurer of the Lodge". The charge "in full for the Wardens' Chairs" of twenty-six shillings seems very small, even for those days.

THE "MOIRA" APRON.

This was adopted by the Moira Lodge (now No. 326) in 1813. It was designed by Bro. William Hobday, engraved by G. Johnson, and "Published according to Act of Parliament" by L. Hayes (all of Bristol).

The inscription at the foot reads:—"If wisdom in council, eloquence in debate, valour in arms, steady patriotism and universal benevolence, be deserving of record in the page of history & archives of Masonry, no subject in the British dominions possesses more genuine claims, than the Right Honourable the Earl of Moira, A.G.M. of England, whose memory this Masonic Badge is designed to perpetuate".

A further description of the Apron appears on page 556 of the *History of Freemasonry in Bristol*.

Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

MONDAY, 9th NOVEMBER, 1936.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Douglas Knoop, M.A., W.M.; W. J. Soughurst, P.G.D., I.P.M.; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., S.W.; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, J.D.; Major C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., I.G.; B. Ivanoff; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.Reg.; David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., LL.B., P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; and Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Robt. A. Card, H. Douglas Elkington, Claude A. Everitt, H. Love, L. G. Wearing, Geo. C. Williams, Harry Bladon, P.A.G.D.C., Chas. J. Hobden, T. H. Carter, E. Eyles, Barry S. Anderson, W. Morgan Day, A. F. Cross, A. H. Goddard, R. Bruce Wycherley, Fred. Ward, C. H. R. Hulbert, Chas. H. Clarke, P.A.G.D.C., A. F. G. Warrington, A. Adams, S. R. Clarke, Albert Mond, P.A.G.D.C., A. E. Gurney, A. F. Ford, E. W. Marson, F. Morfee Walsh, R. A. L. Harland, Wm. Smalley, Wm. J. Walters, Geo. F. Pallett, R. M. Meyer, James Doig, P. W. le Tall, John R. Cross, T. M. Scott, J. F. H. Gilbard, A. H. Smith, H. L. C. Matthews, W. A. Mellish, F. M. Atkinson, and G. H. B. Green.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. Payne, L.R., United Wards Lodge No. 2987; H. H. Marks, P.M., Shurmur Lodge No. 2374; F. Newton Husbands, P.Pr.G.W., Staffs.; Fred P. Box, P.G.St.B.; W. W. Harrington, W.M., Hiram Lodge No. 2416; Chas. F. Glenny, P.A.G.D.C.; H. J. West, L.R.; E. C. Harris, L.R., Hiram Lodge No. 2416; G. E. S. Blanckensee, Old King's Arms Lodge No. 28; Max Seiflow, P.A.G.D.C.; W. H. A. Huemann, W.M., Pilgrim Lodge No. 238; A. Jones, Benevolentia Lodge No. 2549; W. J. Popkin, J.D., City of London St. Olave's Lodge No. 3213; George Huckle, London Mayors Lodge No. 3560; and W. T. T. Bar, L.R., Holborn Lodge No. 2398.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Chap.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; B. Telepneff; George Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; and H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.

One Lodge and Ten Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. George Elkington, *F.R.I.B.A.*, *P.G.D.*, the Master-Elect, was presented for Installation and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. D. Knoop, assisted by Bros. W. J. Songhurst, S. J. Fenton and F. W. Golby.

The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. W. Ivor Grantham	S.W.
„ F. W. Golby	J.W.
„ W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
„ W. J. Songhurst	Treasurer
„ Lionel Vibert	Secretary
„ G. P. G. Hills	D.C.
„ S. J. Fenton	S.D.
„ C. C. Adams	J.D.
„ B. Ivanoff	I.G.
„ L. Edwards	Stew.
„ H. Ruddle	Tyler

The W.M. proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried:—

“ That Brother Douglas Knoop, *M.A.*, 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. H. F. DAVIES.

French Apron. Cipher inscription on flap. Originally the property of R. Davies, who appears to have been a member of the French Prisoners Lodge, De la Bonne Union, Northampton.

By Bro. S. H. DAVIES.

Photograph of an inlaid casket presented to the wife of R. Davies by the same lodge, and text of an address which accompanied a gold watch presented to him at the same time.

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

The W.M. delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY IN MASONRY



WANT to mark my Mastership of this Lodge by something I hope interesting and useful especially to the younger and less experienced members of the Correspondence Circle, and to the many equally worthy younger Brethren outside, who might and ought to join our ranks.

I have been for 62 years a Mason and for this reason, for the object I have in view, and with the advantage of long personal experience, I propose briefly to sketch some of the changes in the practice and procedure, or, in other words, in the corporate life of typical craft lodges in my time.

My text and justification shall be the wise words of our late revered Pro Grand Master Lord Amphilh, who, in his introduction to our Bro. Dayne's book on Grand Lodge, said:—

“ We have to deal with a generation of Novices who are not so much inclined to take everything for granted as were some of their predecessors. They are of a more enquiring turn of mind and are generally so much better informed that they are well able to distinguish fact from fiction. And what is more, they came into Freemasonry because they hoped to find something that was real and not fictitious in any way”.

That many interesting and notable changes in Lodge working have taken place, and indeed are still occurring, is well known; but they have been gradual and orderly, and for this reason and also on account of the extent and diversity of instances that could be quoted even in tabloid form, wide generalisation and drastic compression are inevitable.

For good reasons, especially for proper perspective, we must begin with very early phases of lodge history. Let us therefore think of lodges from about 1723 until the union of the Grand Lodges in 1813 as a first period—thence until 1875 as a second, and of course all later events as a third. The date 1875 is arbitrarily chosen as being that of my own initiation, but it is definitely epoch-marking as H.R.H. the Prince of Wales was installed as Grand Master in that year.

First Period.

When the earliest Lodges of Modern Speculative Masons were formed we must picture them as meetings of Brethren new in the Craft, keen and full of zeal, not very regularly constituted, meeting once a month, or even once a fortnight, working the degrees and ritual to the best of their ability, and at many of their meetings having a paper read, an address or oration delivered or at least a Masonic discussion provided and knowledge promoted.

During this early period the Lodges were also sorting themselves out in their desired allegiance to a Grand Lodge and to Provincial Grand Lodges. Many noblemen and distinguished men joined the Fraternity, and from the first there was a pleasant mingling of ranks and general absence of snobbishness that has ever since been maintained.

There was also a small body of the old Operative Masons dispersed among some of the newer Lodges, especially in the provinces, whose contributions to the working were distinct and valuable.

Then also much encouragement was given and much genuine masonic knowledge imparted to the Lodges by the very frequent visits of Brethren already famous in the Craft. One has but to mention William Preston, Dr. Desaguliers, Dunckerley and Martin Clare in this connection.

The ceremonies, ritual and the general arrangements of Lodges have altered less than might be supposed. There were apparently no Deacons before 1809 excepting with the 'Moderns'. Many lodges had interesting observances in relation to the tracing boards and lodge furniture. Most of the lodges then were held at taverns or similar places, and the old names—such as The Goose and Gridiron, The Rummer and Grapes, and The Old Kings Arms—seemed quite natural to our early Brethren, for their business premises were designated by such signs, street numbering being infrequent, Lodges usually met in the afternoon and apparently generally proceeded to refreshment before work. Sometimes the refreshment was in the one Lodge Room and the Brethren easily changed over. Feeding varied from light meals to heavy banquets, and, although there is little mention of what was drunk, it was probably quite enough and not erring through weakness.

Our Brethren certainly enjoyed and encouraged music and songs. The Entered Apprentices Song was sung, and among other authors and composers of note, Robert Burns wrote some well known verses. They also smoked freely and at length, for in 1755 Grand Lodge prohibited smoking at Quarterly Communications. The banquets and speeches were alike long and toast lists of portentous extent.

The Brethren were fond of processions in full regalia to Church and other functions and also indulged in public balls and dances.

The feelings of consistent loyalty to the Throne and the great National Institutions were very noticeable, perhaps especially so when the behaviour of George IV. as Prince Regent and during his Grand Mastership put a severe strain upon such feelings.

Finally, let us remember that during all this time, although improving towards the end, means of locomotion were limited; Brethren often had to ride to Lodge on horseback and over rough roads, and meetings had to be at about the time of full moon. Thus greater credit is due to these early Brethren than might at first be awarded.

I have dealt rather at length upon this period, for there was much that was good and that could well be revived with advantage to ourselves and to the Craft as a whole.

Second Period.

The long stretch of years I have thus condensed coincided with the great change in the life of the country brought about by the growth and development of towns.

Improved roads, gas lighting and, early in date, the spread of railways everywhere, radically altered conditions; and Freemasonry was deeply influenced thereby. Lodges were enabled to meet more freely and to be drawn from larger

areas, some of the older and smaller Lodges suffered extinction, but quite a number of new Lodges were formed and more than filled their places.

Masonic Halls were built affording more convenient meeting places, and Lodges of Instruction increasingly multiplied.

The Charities, then in their earlier form, were under the circumstances very well supported; and, generally speaking, the big question of the United Grand Lodge having been solved, Lodges appear to have settled down to a course of quiet expansion.

Upon the whole, however, while there was good progress there was likewise loss to be regretted. Early enthusiasm had cooled down, the thirst for knowledge slackened, and Brethren in many Lodges became open to the reproach of being mere "knife and fork" masons.

Third Period.

In January, 1875, I was initiated in the Oak Lodge No. 190, and my personal experience was begun.

In April, 1875, as already mentioned, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VII., was installed as Grand Master at the Royal Albert Hall, a most important Masonic event, fittingly commencing this period for all of us for it heralds many important developments.

The first and greatest of these is that the number of Lodges since 1875 has more than doubled.

There are now something like 1,200 London Lodges and 3,000 Provincial.

This increase in some part, especially after the Great War, is perhaps open to question, for many Brethren think new members were accepted rather too freely, but any way it betokened very keen interest.

The new Lodges, besides the usual local association of friends and neighbours in their town or district, were often Class Lodges, in London rather the more frequently.

Universities, Colleges, Public Schools, most of the Professions, Branches of Trade and Commerce, Banks, Insurance Offices, City Guilds, Hospitals, Clubs, were added to the list.

Until comparatively recently, "Class" Lodges were not encouraged by headquarters, although of course there were some of respectable antiquity, whilst Military and Sea Lodges were well known as early examples. Very few of these two classes, however, have survived.

One is glad to record that Lodges of Instruction also have increased, perhaps correspondingly, for there are now about 500 such Lodges in London alone.

So far as I can gather, the greater part of these apparently devote themselves to the working of the degrees, lectures and ritual, objects valuable and essential in themselves, but almost sterile so far as any wide and living knowledge of Freemasonry is concerned; for a Brother may have attended his Lodge of Instruction for years and then have gone through the Offices to the Master's Chair in blissful ignorance of much that others of his Brethren consider as an integral part of their Brotherhood.

During this period, however, Masonic knowledge has been continually and vastly increased by many distinguished writers, some of whose works are now accepted in text books on important matters.

Just over 50 years ago our Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076 was founded, specially devoted to Masonic Research; and this example was soon followed by other now well-known Lodges.

The splendid results in our self-imposed task are, or should be, well known to all of us and are referred to here only incidentally.

For full and complete records of success in matters concerned in this address, we need not go back beyond the Inaugural Address of W.Bro. David Flather in 1932, and that of W.Bro. W. J. Songhurst, our esteemed Jubilee Master. Both these attractive sources of inspiration have been used freely in my few concluding suggestions, and are here gratefully acknowledged.

In considering the good work of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, however, it must be admitted in this connection that some writers of its papers have strayed at times through rather arid tracks, not to say dry deserts. Even at its best our Lodge in its special objects cannot entirely fill the desideratum that every Freemason worthy of the name should be able to acquire easily accessible, well-founded knowledge of the essential truths and true progress of the Craft.

Reverting again to contemporary Lodge history it is necessary to mention only the Masonic Million Memorial culminating in our splendid Hall and Centre, and Freemason's Hospital, as matters of general and absorbing interest to all present-time Lodges.

The institution of London Rank in 1908 filled a very real gap and provided a valued recognition of many worthy Brethren, not fortunate enough (if it be excusable to say so) to achieve Grand Lodge Rank. One very special good feature about London Rank is that it is accorded to Lodges each in turn, on the recommendation of its Senior Members.

One should perhaps notice the changed views taken in Craft Lodges of the Mark Degree, and perhaps even more of Lodges working higher degrees. These were formerly merely tolerated and even occasionally "cold-shouldered", but are now, although extraneous, welcome as evidencing Masonic zeal.

One point—not for commendation—is the over-growth of some Lodges, for if too large it is difficult for all the Brethren to get to know one another as they should; there is danger of cliques or sections more or less following contemporary membership, whilst promotion is slow and legitimate ambition for office is thwarted.

As to customs at the banquets and refreshments one is glad to chronicle greater care and moderation in the consumption of seductive fluids as well as in the actual bill of fare, this of course following changed habits generally.

Formerly Brethren dined in their aprons as well as collars, and my light blue apron, which I had kept and handed over to my sons on their becoming Worshipful Masters, bore obvious marks of service.

Firing glasses were among the treasured possessions of many old Lodges, and were and still are put into constant use at their banquets.

These were usually small drinking glasses set (without stem) on a solid round base; they were mostly engraved with the name and number of the Lodge, and were used, as the name really implies, only for rapping upon the table. A few Lodges have such glasses in elongated form with a rounded foot so that they may be laid down when empty, thus embodying the idea of so many mediæval drinking cups of "No heeltaps".

Firing glasses are, however, becoming things of the past and in a few years may be only archaic memories.

The practice of offering "Hearty good wishes" by visiting Brethren is apparently dying out. The practice with regard to the courteous recognition of the presence in Lodge of visiting Grand Lodge Officers is still inconsistent, but is obviously desirable.

Music and singing both in Lodge and Chapter and at dinner are still matters of varied choice. On the one hand omission or curtailment of such

tend to welcomed speeding up alike of ceremonies and meals, but, on the other hand, a good deal can be said for judicious survival of age-old custom. Personally I like music if it be very good—but sometimes it is not.

To sum up my rather random *résumé*, as an old Mason I have moved onwards with the years and am by no means a believer that there was ever a masonic golden age and that old times were best.

On the contrary, I believe progress to be very real and satisfactory.

Conclusion.

Brethren! With kind attention you have accompanied me through my short retrospect of lodge-life during more than 200 years, and this having been brought up to the present time, finds us met together here and now, old and young, adepts and novices. I ask myself, I ask the Lodge, and I ask you all, what can we do for the good of Freemasonry in general and our own Lodge in particular? As one suggestion, I think that in the ordinary Craft Lodges there should be a complete revival of the old practice, that at every available lodge meeting, or at least at one meeting during each Masonic year, part of the business should include an agreed time to be devoted to the dissemination of Masonic knowledge, whether by way of short papers or addresses as well as by talks and explanations from the older and more experienced Brethren, thus giving especially the younger ones an excellent opportunity of acquiring and extending their knowledge in a form pleasant and easy to assimilate. I am convinced that many of the younger Brethren who are not always able to attend Lodges of Instruction would benefit materially by such general revival.

So far as more advanced Masonic knowledge is concerned our Lodge has done and is doing much.

Thus we have numerous pamphlets, lectures and papers relevant and available for loan. There is also a complete set of Prestonian Lectures, all with the full text in our Library. It may be noted that nearly all these Lecturers have been members of our Lodge. Members of our Lodge have visited many Lodges and Chapters on request and have done admirable work in delivering addresses and encouraging meetings. As many as 30 to 40 of such addresses have been delivered in one year. Such addresses have been given all over England, although mostly in London and its suburbs. Some were at Lodges of Instruction. As another suggestion I think that outings and visits, as we hold them, should be of more frequent occurrence for they permit of interchange of Masonic knowledge and ideas and tend to promote and enhance fraternal feelings. Our own members know that our outings are most useful and are much appreciated by themselves as well as by the Brethren of the particular districts visited.

I think also that there might be closer co-operation generally between London Lodges and those of the Provinces than exists at present. Having regard to our own Lodge in particular I suggest that we could and should strengthen the ties which link our special efforts with those of our Provincial Brethren. Almost every Province to-day has a Past Masters' Lodge which attempts, at all events, to have its papers and addresses. I believe Manchester, Leicester, Mersey-side, Somerset, Dorset, Norfolk and Leeds all publish *Transactions*. There are others of lesser activity and we should aid as much as we can all their quest for fuller knowledge whilst enlisting their energies in expanding our own special objects. To utilise and amplify to the full the resources at our disposal a special organisation in our Lodge and special reciprocal arrangements in recipient Lodges would be required. The expense and other supervening difficulties have at times been considered, but I venture to think and to hope will not be found to be insuperable in face of the well-thought-out scheme and genuine co-operation for which I ask.

Finally, Brethren, if this plain and homely address does something to assist Freemasonry and to extend our Correspondence Circle, upon which the prosperity of the Lodge so largely depends, it will have achieved its modest purpose.

At the subsequent Banquet, W.Bro. D. Knoop, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" in the following terms:—

Brethren, in accordance with the custom of this Lodge, I rise with very great pleasure to propose the health of my successor, although there must be many Brethren in this room who have had a far longer and a far more intimate association with him than I have had the privilege to enjoy.

Bro. George Elkington was born on 1st October, 1851, at Bermondsey, Surrey, and was educated at King's College School, London, at the École des Beaux Arts, Paris, and at the Architectural School of the Royal Academy. He also studied architecture at University College under Professor T. Hayter Lewis, who some 20 years later, in 1892, was to become seventh Master of this Lodge. In choosing architecture for his career, Bro. Elkington was following in the footsteps of his father, who was an architect and surveyor practising in the City of London. He joined his father as partner in 1875, and has had a long and distinguished career in his profession, being a Fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects of many years standing.

Two activities of our Worshipful Master, which have made him well known in wide circles outside his immediate profession, are his association with the Coopers' Company and his connection with the National Building Society. He was admitted a Liveryman by patrimony of the Worshipful Company of Coopers in 1873; in 1898 he became Surveyor to the Company and later served as Warden and as a Member of the Court, rising to the office of Master of the Company in 1932. The following year he wrote a history of the Coopers' Company and the Coopers' Craft, a fitting climax to his long and probably unique association with the Company. His connection with the National Building Society is not so long, but he has been Chairman of the Society for the last 33 years and has thus been at the helm during the period of great expansion which has characterised practically all building societies since the War. Not content with being its Chairman, Bro. Elkington has also become its historian, being the author of a *History of the National Building Society*. To these civic distinctions he adds also that of being a Justice of the Peace for the County of London.

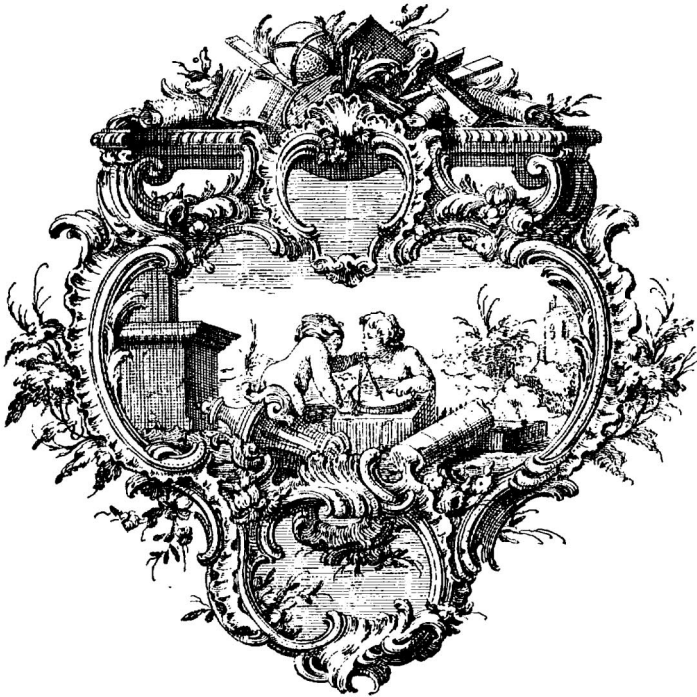
Turning to Bro. Elkington's masonic career, he was initiated in the Oak Lodge, No. 190, in January, 1875, and was Master of that Lodge in 1880. In 1891 he was a Founder of the Hiram Lodge, No. 2416, a lodge of architects and surveyors, and is now the only surviving founder. In 1896 he was Master of the Hiram Lodge, and it is interesting to note that he had as one of his initiates Brother Gordon P. G. Hills, who was later to become Librarian of Grand Lodge and Master of this Lodge in 1918. Bro. Elkington was Master of the Hiram Lodge a second time in 1916. He received London Rank in 1909, was appointed Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works in 1926 and Past Grand Deacon as recently as last April.

In the Royal Arch, he was exalted in Orpheus Chapter, No. 1706, in 1893; was a founder of the Hiram Chapter in 1895 and First Principal of that Chapter in 1898 and again in 1917. He received London Chapter Rank in 1926 and was appointed Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer in the same year, being promoted to Past Assistant Grand Sojourner this year.

Bro. Elkington has long been interested in masonic research and became a member of the Correspondence Circle of this Lodge so long ago as 1898. His own masonic contributions comprise a paper to this Lodge in 1929, entitled *Notes on the Freemasons' Magazine*, and a paper read in the same year to the Metropolitan College, S.R.I.A., on *The Aims and Claims of the Alchemists*; though with his usual modesty he refrained from supplying me with this information and left me to dig it out for myself. He was elected to full membership of this Lodge in 1931, and has to-day received the highest honour which the members of the Lodge can confer upon him. He is the fifth architect to occupy the Chair of this Lodge, and in his case, as in that of his predecessors, his knowledge of architecture has proved a valuable aid to his masonic studies.

Worshipful Master, on behalf of all those present and on behalf of the far more numerous members of the Inner and Outer Circles who are spread over the whole of the habitable globe, I wish you every happiness in the Chair of Lodge No. 2076, and health and strength to enjoy your high office during the coming year.

Brethren, I ask you to rise and to drink very heartily to the health of our Worshipful Master.



OBITUARY.



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

Wilfrid Brinkworth, of London, N.W., on the 15th October, 1936. Our Brother was P.M. of T Square Lodge No. 3269, and a member of Eccleston Chapter No. 1624. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1924.

Frederick William Burt, of London, W., on 27th August, 1936. Bro. Burt was Secretary of The Dorset Masters Lodge No. 336, and a member of St. Adhelm's Chapter No. 2559. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1934.

Alfred J. Carpenter, of Brighton, on 13th November, 1936, aged 89. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Sword Bearer (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1901.

Albert Edward Coe, of Norwich, on the 15th October, 1936, aged 65. Bro. Coe held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and was H. in Royal George Chapter No. 52. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1925.

Frank Pearson Skeffington Cresswell, *F.R.C.S.*, of Cardiff, on 6th October, 1936. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1905.

Vaisey Hardy Deacon, of London, N.W., on 14th October, 1936. Bro. Deacon was a member of Lodge of Assiduity No. 4844. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1934.

William Edwards Gray, of Sheffield, on 10th October, 1936. Our Brother had held the office of Grand Treasurer (Craft and R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1902.

Sydney Hogg, *J.P.*, of Harrogate, Yorks., on 7th October, 1936. Bro. Hogg held the rank of P.Pr.G.W., and P.Pr.G.Reg. (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1922.

Rev. John Leonard Ernest Hooppell, of Bristol, on 1st June, 1936. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Chaplain, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1930.

Robert Joseph Houlton, of London, W., on 29th October, 1936. Bro. Houlton 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 January, 1909.

Orlando Inchley, *M.D.*, of London, N., on 2nd August, 1936. Our Brother was a member of Alma Mater Lodge No. 1492, and a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1911.

Edgar Jenkins, of Bulawayo, in September, 1935. Bro. Jenkins was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1926.

Arthur N. March, of Shortlands, Kent, on 15th August, 1936. Our Brother was a member of Emblematic Lodge No. 1321. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1898.

Frederick Atkinson Powell, *F.R.I.B.A., F.S.I.*, of London, S.E., on 11th October, 1936. Bro. Powell held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was one of the senior members of the Correspondence Circle, having joined in November, 1887.

Lisardo Munoz Sanudo, of Havana, on the 15th September, 1933. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Master. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1929.

Herbert Beechey Spencer, of Plymouth, on 1st November, 1936, aged 72. Bro. Spencer held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1922.

Dr. Robert Stirling Thornton, *I.L.D., M.B.*, of Deloraine, Canada, on 17th September, 1936, aged 73 years. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Master, and for many years acted as our Local Secretary for Manitoba. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1897.

Lt.-Col. **Thomas Montague Wakefield**, *D.S.O.*, of Southborough, Kent, on 11th November, 1936. Bro. Wakefield held the rank of P.Dep.G.Swd.B., and of P.Dis.G.W., Hong Kong and S. China, and was P.Z. of Cathay Chapter No. 1165. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1917.

Frederick John Welch, *M.B.E., J.P.*, of London, S.W., on 21st August, 1936. Our Brother was P.M. of St. Mark's College Lodge No. 2157. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1907.

George Gabriel Glaspool Wheeler, of St. Ives, Hunts., on 1st September, 1936. Bro. Wheeler held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

Percy Thomas Wingham, of Chichester, on 3rd June, 1936. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.St.B., and was a member of Cyrus Chapter No. 38. He joined our Correspondence Circle in 1930.

Joseph Winship, of Cambridge, on 10th August, 1936. Bro. Winship held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and he was a member of Pythagoras Chapter No. 88. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1928.

T. H. Woollen, *M.I.M.E.*, of London, N.W., on 25th August, 1936. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1901.

Charles John Woosnam, of Hove, Sussex, on 4th November, 1936. Bro. Woosnam was a member of Past and Present Lodge No. 2665. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1931.

ST. JOHN'S CARD.



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1936:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.:—Supreme Council 33°, A.A.S.R., N.M.J., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.; East Medina Lodge No. 175, Ryde, I.W.; Lodge of Faith and Unanimity No. 417, Dorchester; Abbey Lodge No. 624, Burton-on-Trent; Panmure Lodge No. 723, Aldershot; Acacia Lodge No. 876, Monte Video, Uruguay; Grecia Lodge No. 1105, Cairo; St. Giles Lodge No. 1587, Cheshire, Staffs.; New Century Lodge No. 2860, London; Blackmore Vale Lodge No. 3625, Dorset; Crusaders Lodge No. 4107, Shelton, Staffs.; Edwina Lodge No. 4237, Smethwick, Staffs.; Excelsior Lodge No. 4505, Portsmouth; Minster Lodge No. 4663, York.; St. Modwen's Lodge No. 4850, Burton-on-Trent; St. Vincent Lodge No. 5295, Portsmouth; Paul Chater Lodge of Installed Masters No. 5391, Hong Kong; Old Denstonian Lodge No. 5490, Wolverhampton; Broedertrouw Lodge, Bandoeng, Java; Bjorgin Lodge, Bergen, Norway; Lodge United St. Andrew No. 34, Singleton, N.S.W.; Merseyside Association for Masonic Research; Belvidere and Robinson Lodges of Instruction, Maidstone, Kent; St. Modwen's Lodge of Instruction No. 4850, Burton-on-Trent; Athole Lodge No. 384 Instruction Class, Kirkintilloch, Glasgow; Lumley Lodge of Improvement No. 1893, Skegness, Lincs.; Bendigo Masonic Library, Victoria, Aust.; Quatuor Coronati Coetus Pragensis et Academia Masonica, Prague; Duluth Lodge of Perfection, Minnesota; University of Sheffield.

BRETHREN:—Henry Ernest Addington, Rolleston, Staffs. J.W. 3398; Albert John Gordon Anderson, Neuilly-sur-Seine, France. P.M. 2310 (E.C.); Alexander Francis William Argent, London, S.E.3. 3578; William Charles Aspinall, Marston Green, Warwicks. 4432; Arvid Astrup, Namsos, Norway. Lodge Nordlyset; Charles Atkey, Nottingham. J.D. 3498, 47; George Bailey, Guildford, Surrey. W.M. 777, 777; John Henry Barker, Sheffield. P.Pr.G.D.; William Reynolds Bayley, B.A., B.Sc., Glen Osmond, S. Australia. Dep.G.M., Dep.G.P.; Harold Castlereagh Beaven, Bristol. P.M., Sec. 187, Sc.E. 686; Herbert Howell Beddow, Hong Kong. W.M. 3666, J. 3666; George Bell, Middlesbrough, Yorks. P.M., Ch., 1618; Bertram Benjamin Baron Benas, B.A., LL.B., Liverpool. 4274, 4274; John Bennett, Sheffield. P.M. 3849, II. 3849; William Bennett, Wakefield. S.W. 4065, Sc.N. 4065; Joseph George Bishop, Abergavenny. P.A.G.D.C., P.G.St.B.; George Maastricht Blewett, Exeter. S.W. 1332; Henry Marc Adrian Boutroy, London. W.M. 2430, P.So. 19; John Edward Warren Boyes, M.C., Cairo. P.Dis.G.W., P.Dis.G.St.B.; Gilbert Tennent Brain, Monte Vista, Colorado. 73, 43; Arthur Brierley, Leeds. 289, 289; Arthur Henry Brooks, Nambour, Queensland. P.G.O.; Edward Augustus Bullmore, Wisbech, Cambs. W.M. 809, Sc.N. 809; Cyril Burrell, Sheffield. 1239, 1239; James Tresawna Burt-Gerrans, Toronto. P.M. 496, P.Z. 241; Alexander Edward Butler, Hambantota, Ceylon. Dis.A.G.D.C.; Lieut. Herbert George Camp, Hong Kong. 1789, 1789; Col. James Hamilton Campbell, D.S.O., M.B., Cairo. 1105; Oscar Thomas Colin Clarke, Kirkland Lake, Ontario. 623, 251; Sidney Goddard Clarke, F.A.I., Guildford, Surrey. I.G. 777; Col. Alfred

Basil Cliff, Woolwich. 4999, 407; Edwyn Thomas Close, Camberley, Surrey. P.Pr.G.W., 2475; Max Cohen, Cape Town. W.M. 96 (N.C.); Frederick William Cole, Ottawa. 595, 222; Walter Bannister Congdon, Duluth, Minn. 186, 20; Thomas Wilson Croft, Stockton-on-Tees, Durham. P.Pr.G.W., 509; John Emery Cuddeback, Berkeley, Calif. P.M. 363; Joseph Cecil da Costa, London. 5506; Luis H. Delgado, Cartagena, S. America. P.G.M.; Louis Derosiere, Paris. J.D. 27, 27; F. J. B. Diaper, Valparai, S. India. 5015; James Doig, London. 1 (S.C.); F. D. Stevenson Drane, Cairo. Dis.A.G.Sec., *P.J.* 1068; Maurice Walford Druequer, Berkeley, Calif. 829; Charles Dunderdale Gill, Wallaroo, S. Australia. P.G.D., *II.* 1; James Walker Dunlop, Kilbirnie, Ayrshire. P.M. 399, *P.Z.* 498; Frederick Henry Eaton, Sutton Coldfield, Warwicks. P.A.D.G.C., *P.G.St.B.*; John R. Ellerby, Hull. P.Pr.G.W.; Ernest Etheridge, Four Oaks, Warwicks. W.M. 4166; William Robert Farquhar, Bath. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.G.P.*; Frederick John Flintoft, Castleton, Yorks. J.W. 4539, 3474; Henry Ernest Foster, Cambridge. 88; Richard William Fryer, London. P.M. 1328, *J.* 1328; David Laurence Gibbs, Jeddah, Saudi-Arabia. 1351 (S.C.); Lionel Gibson, Portsmouth. 1816, 2068; William Stanton Gildersleeve, Hastings. P.M. 40, 40; John Edward Gimblett, *M.A.*, *M.Litt.*, Leeds. J.W. 4353, 289; Albert Henry Goddard, London. 3376; George Harold Bramble Green, London. 2809, 2809; Shamarao Venkatrao Haldipur, *M.B.E.*, *B.A.*, *LL.B.*, Simla. P.Dis.G.W., Punjab, *P.Dis.G.H.*, Punjab; Julius Paul Hansel, *Ph.D.*, W. Byfleet, Surrey. 238; Reginald Alfred Ludlow Harland, London. 1679, *P.So.* 2742; Reginald John Harris, Bombay. P.Dis.G.D., *P.Z.* 944; Godfrey Coles Hellyer, London. P.A.G.St.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; N. M. Hendry, Perth, W. Australia; William Hepburn, Wakefield, Yorks. 4383, 495; Frank Hesketh, Rochdale, Lancs. P.Pr.G.D., *J.* 54; O. M. Hetherington, Valparai, S. India. 5015; Arthur Edward Hewitt, Stoke-on-Trent. P.Pr.G.D.; Charles Edward Hills, Plymouth. 70, 70; Alfred Benjamin Hingley, of Bristol. 5386, 326; Ralph Holmes, Leeds. 4029; Walter James Harold Howell, Worthing. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Z.* 851; Hugh Tudor Hughes, Oswestry. P.Pr.G.S.B., *J.* 1432; Dr. R. G. J. P. Huisman, Tegal, Java. W.M. Humanitas; Dr. Herbert Hunter, Cambridge. P.M. 3532; Leslie Edwin Ladlow Jones, Dover. I.G. 199, 199; Sydney Walter Josland, Wellington, N.Z. J.W. 262; Lt.-Col. W. J. Kent, Crewe. P.A.G.S.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; Frederick Wilson Knapp, Key West, Florida. W.M. 182; Arthur William Lane, London. L.R., 167, *L.C.R.* 167; John Watkin Lawton, Berkeley, Calif. P.M. 573, 92; G. A. Le Mesurier, Mulis, S. India. 5015; George T. Lewis, Newtonbarry, Eire. P.G.I.G., *D.G.Co.H.* (Wicklow and Wexford); John E. Linebaugh, London. 616 (Ohio C.), *Cambridge* (Mass. C.); Albert Edward Loos, Bushey, Herts. S.W. 3247; Herbert Love, London. L.R., P.M. 212, *P.Z.* 212; Major Richard Charles Lowndes, London. W.M. 3247, *J.* 1789; William James Lucas, Bebington, Cheshire. J.W. 4584; John McDade, E. Barnet, Herts. P.M. 4926, *A.So.* 3365; Ian Thomas Alister MacDonald, Cairo. P.Dis.G.St.B., *P.Z.* 1157; Fulton McIntosh, Greenock. Pr.G.Architect, 17; J. Kenerson McNeil, Jollet, Iowa. W.M. 566, 31; Lt.-Commandr. George John Mackness, Nottingham. 1794, 47; John Morbity Makower, London. W.M. 3223, *A.So.* 1895; Charles Thomas Spinks Maskell, Marske-by-Sea, Yorks. W.M. 1618; Frederick Stanley Williams May, Abergavenny. P.A.G.D.C., *P.G.St.B.*; Hermann Mayenberger, Santiago, Chile. 4 (Colombia C.); William Alexander Mellish, Surbiton, Surrey. 2652, 2652; William Thomas Mellows, Peterborough. P.M. 2533, 442; Rev. John Milner, Sheffield. P.Pr.G.Ch. (E.Lancs.), 5174; John Parkhurst Mitchell, Paisley. P.M. 413, 79; Thomas Morgan, Ebbw Vale, Mon. Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.G.Sc.N.*; Leonard John Edward Nash, London. 34, 34; Arthur Herbert Parker, Little Eaton, Derby. P.M., 802, 253; Richard J. S. Pryce Parry-Jones, Oswestry. W.M. 1124, 1432; John Horatio Parsons, Birmingham. P.Pr.A.G.D.C., *P.Pr.Dep.G.R.*; Sir Francis H. Pepper, Birming-

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NO. 2076, LONDON.



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