

→: Ars :← Quatuor Coronatorum

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



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

VOLUME XLVI. PART 1.

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W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.
1936.

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

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1890

1890

1890

1890



Photography by Annan, Glasgow.

Walter H. Timmerman

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AND LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.*

VOLUME XLVI.

W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.
1937.

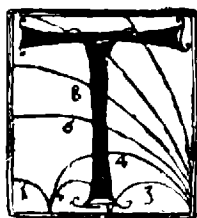
Ars

Quatuor Coronatorum

Ars Quatuor Coronatorum,
BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE
Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,
No. 2076.

VOLUME XLVI.

FRIDAY, 6th JANUARY, 1933.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., as I.P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M., as S.W.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M., as J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.D., Warwicks., Stew.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., as I.G.; Rev. A. W. Oxford, M.A., M.D., P.G.Ch.; and G. Hook, Tyler.

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

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

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

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

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

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

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

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

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

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

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1932.

BRETHREN,

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

We have to report that during the year the membership of the Correspondence Circle was reduced by 150. On the 30th November, 1931, we had a total of 3,471, and 175 names were added during the year; on the other hand, 325 were removed from the list, 81 by death, 156 by resignation, and 88 for the non-payment of subscriptions. Thus the total to carry forward is 3,321. Included among the deaths is that of Bro. Arthur Thewlis, who for many years had very effectively acted as our Local Secretary for Victoria.

The second part of Volume xliii. was issued during the year, and the final part is now being distributed. In the accounts now presented to the Lodge £432 8s. 11d. remains in reserve for the cost of this part; and approximately £1,200 each for Volumes xlv. and xlv. Subscriptions amounting to £521 12s. 4d. are still owing.

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

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

For the Committee,

DAVID FLATHER,

in the Chair.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the year ending 30th November, 1932.

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

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP.

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

By Bro. FENTON.

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

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

Jewel. P.M. paste, no inscription.

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

By Bro. WARD RHODES.

Orange apron and sash.

From the LODGE COLLECTION.

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

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

By Bro. DAVID FLATHER.

Set of Certificates of Bro. Henry Freemantle.

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

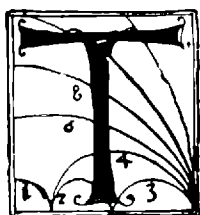
Presented to the Lodge.

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

The following paper by Bro. R. E. PARKINSON was read:—

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

BY BRO. R. E. PARKINSON.



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

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

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

THE CITY OF DOWN.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE LODGE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE RECORDS.

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

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

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

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

VOLUME I. 1764-1783.

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

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

The first page bears the entry:—

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

Hugh Hill, Esq.	Mast ^r .
Rob ^t . Hastings	Deputty Mast ^r .
Thos. Martin	Senr. Warden
James Smith	Junr. Warden
William McKeavers	Sec ^{ry} .

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

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

On the third page we find:—

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

Samll. Chambers	Master
John Fennan	Senr. Warden
Charles Bassett	Junr. Warden
John Williamson	Senr. {
Hugh Gordon	Junr. { Deacons
W ^m . McKeavers	Secry.

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

Following the names is:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Regulation 1st. be it Agreed that Every Member Who Asembles at any of our Meetings Especially at our Festivals Must Behave himself Soberly Modestly & Decently or be Subject to the Censure of the Master & Wardens & to be put under a Rest or Excluded till he or they So Agreeing Make aproper Atonement to the Satisfaction of the Brethren.

Article 2nd. Its farther Agreed that No Brother is to Injure an Other by any Infamo^{us}. Story w^{ch}. he Shall hear till first Privately Acquainting the Injured.

3. No Brother is to Go to law or thro Unessasary Expenses out of his Brother free Masons Pockett till he first Lays the Case before the Body when Assembled & there Advice to pursue.

4. No Brother who is Now Entered Our Lists is to be at the Entering Passing or Raising of any Papist, Basstard or [a word illegible] Person, he knowing him to be so. None Such to be Admitted A Member in this Fraternity.

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

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

6. Its farther Agreed that We are Not to Admitt or Except of Any Brother to Join our Freternity that is an Old Mason With Apropr. Certificate Under 1^s.: 1^d.

7. Its farther Agreed that we are not to Accept of any Person to be made A free Mason in this Body under 8^s. 1½^d.

8. Its farther Agreed that We are to Meet on the last Monday of Every Month & at Such Meetings to Spend 3^d. & put 1½^d. in the Box.

9. Its further Agreed that Every Countrey Brother is not bound to Attend Every Monthly Meeting but pay for Every year at St. Jons Day 1^s. - 1^d. at Cristmes.

10. Its farther Agreed that We hold Any person Whatever A False Brother Who does Not Carry a Lawful Certificate & Do hold our Selves Unbound Either to Speak to Such pretender or Asw^r. any of his Summons^s.

11. Its farther Agreed that by the Consent of the Freternity Met on Jan. 1766 [?] that Any Brother who Gives A Just Reasson for Absence they are Relaised from Any Charge Except three half pence to the box.

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

1766

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

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

8th. July 1767

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

William McKeavers	} Sec ^{ry} .
John Fennan	/ Wardin
Hugh Gordon	

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

Willm. McCullagh	M ^r .
Hugh Gordon	

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

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

March 31, 1777.

It is agreed By the Master and wardens and the Members present that their Should Be a fund for the Relife of a Destresed Brother traveling haveing a proper Certificate from a warented Lodge and Said Certificate Must Be in Deate. Now our Worship has Nominated

otherised and a poynted the foliing Bretherin to give Relife to any
Such as the above

		Willm. McCullagh
Sigd. By our Worshipful		Thos. Sharman
John Connor	Master.	Jas. Smith
		Samul. Chambers

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

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

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

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

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

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

Signed by Order of our Lodge No. 367

	John Connor	Master
James Crawford	William McCullagh	Sr.
Sect ^{ry} .	Samuel Chambers	Jr.

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

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

Resolved in Lodge No. 367 Down.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Baring in Case of Sickness or Some Material Buisness.

Then the fifth Artickle of 1778, after which:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

		£	s.	d.
Sepr. Meeting	In the Hands of Br. Thos. Martin	1.	0.	1½
	In the Hands of Brother Robt. Hastings			
	Which have been Expended for this Book	2.	7	
	With Brother Sam Chambers in Cash	15.	8	
	for the Amplim ^{ts} . Made by Brother Williamson			
	Paid by Brother Sam Chambers	11.	4½	
	Mo. in Cash With B: Sam Chambers	2.	8½	
	Mo. in Cash With Do.	3.	3	
Octob ^r . 28th	Recd in Cash	3.	1½	
Number 25	Recd in Cash	1.	4½	
Dec: 27	Recd in Do.	6.	2½	
		3.	6.	5
	Do.			6
		3.	6.	11
		1.	13.	11½
		1.	12.	11½
		2.	7	
	Paid for this Book	11.	4½	
	to Br. Williamson for the Amplimts	1.	0.	
	to Br. Martin for the Chest & locks & Hinges			
		1.	13.	11½

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

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

Entries of sums received, or paid, down to November, 1767, occur on this and the following page, but without any clue as to their purpose, except three sums of 2/8½ paid by John Quail, on 24th February, 31st March, and 28th April, 1766: evidently for each of his three steps.

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

Disbursements for Lodge No. 367 Jany. [?] 26th 1776 [?]

Jany. 26th.	Paid for Locks to Mrs. Meclinche	£0.	2.	9
	Paid for puting on the Locks and			
	the Boy for Removeing the Chist	0.	1.	1
	Spent in Br. Bassetts at the Moveing the Chist	0.	0.	6½
	Spent at the Delivering the Chist	0.	1.	1
	to Nails for putting on the Locks	0.	0.	1
		0.	5.	7
Augt. 30	Laid out for Wax and Paper			2
Oct. 26	Given to help to Bury Thos. Caghey	3.	3	
Feby. 1 1777 [?]	Paid for 3 Rods	1.	7½	
Nov ^r . 15 1776	paid for Sailing wax	0.	0.	3
	paid for a Bible	0.	2.	2
June 26 1777	paid for Cross pens, to John Robson	0.	10	
July 28	paid for two Locks	2.	2	
? 1777	for Gloves to Revd. John Dickson	1.	1	
	To Black Ribbins			6½

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

1775		
Janry. 30	By Cash in the Chist when broke open	1. 6. 6½

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

1786		
Febry. 28	By 3 roods	1. 7½
1786 Febry. 28	By painting 3 Rods	6½

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

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

A Copy a Letter Sent to M^r. Calders 11th July 1767

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

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

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

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

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

£0:14: 7½
5: 5

Thos. Corker. D.G.Sec^r.

1. 0. 0½

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[No signatures] Master
Wardens
Treasurer
Members.

Again:—

At A Meeting of The Master & Wardens of Lodge No. 367 Lodge in Ample form on the 27th Day of January 1784 the following Resolutions Were Entred into Unanimously

1st. Resolved unanimously that Brother Aiger ¹ Shall Act as Master for Said Body for Said Year 84.

2. Resolved unanimously that Brs. Donnan & Carrol Shall act as Wardens for Said Body During the Space of one year from this Said Date being the 27th January 1784.

3. Resolved that Bro. Luke Murphy & John Robinson [*sic*] Shall act as Deakens for Said Body During the Space of One Year from the Date above being the 27th Day of January 1784.

4. Resolved that Br. Jas. Richardson Shall act as Sect^{ry}. for Said Body During one year from the Date above being the 27th Day of January 1784.

5. Resolved that if any of the Above Officers Shall act Improperly or Contrary to the Rules of S^d. Body Shall be Lible to the Censure of Sd. Body.

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

John Quail Entred 24 February 1766

and in the first cash account we find John Quail paid three sums of 2/8½ each, on 24th February, 31st March, and 28th April respectively. As there were evidently “Monthly Nights,” it is a fair inference that Bro. Quail paid half-a-crown for each step as he got it, the full fee, as laid down in By-Law No. 7 of 1764 being 8/1½ (or 7/6 British coinage).

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

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

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

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

Other connections of the writer, both by marriage and blood, are to be found on the Roll of 367: nor is this exceptional, many another case of successive generations in the one Lodge can be traced. In fact, in a neighbouring district, no fewer than seven generations of one family in direct line have been traced, though, owing to Lodges dying out, they were not all made in the one Lodge.

16 cases: a similar progress may be inferred from the fact that each candidate paid the sum of $2/8\frac{1}{2}$ on each of three occasions, commonly at monthly intervals: or where recorded in tabular form, *three* columns are ruled, headed respectively E. P. and R.: and payments entered under each heading.

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

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

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

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

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

VOLUME II.

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

The back of the first leaf bears:—

LODGE

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

James McFadden

is a good boy and hee is wise

but foolish when he gets a drop

Drink. 1st Dec. 1788.

Money makes

Cloth Shapes

the Man as well as

hee Can Marry.

Divide 20^s. between 4 Men Give the first Man the $\frac{1}{2}$ the Second $\frac{1}{3}$ & the third $\frac{1}{4}$ & the fourth $\frac{1}{5}$. What is Each Mans Share in preportion

first Mans Share	7. 9	$\frac{156}{308}$
Second Mans Share	5. 2	$\frac{104}{308}$
Third Mans Share	3. 10	$\frac{232}{308}$
Fourth Mans Share	3. 1	$\frac{124}{308}$
	20. 0	

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

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

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

The front of the third leaf contains:—

A list of the Members Belonging to L. No. 367
running from No. 1 to No. 44, followed (in different ink) by 79: the numbers
corresponding with the numbers of the pages following, one page being allotted to
each member.

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

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

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

The last name, W^m. Cleland, numbered 79, occurs on Folio 56. The
numbering of the pages is not regular: the back of the third leaf is numbered 1,
and the sequence holds to 23, followed by 27; 42, as above, is re-numbered 45,
and beginning with page 55 the book is numbered by folios, and opened D^r. & C^r. :
as a rule one name to each folio. A number of pages are missing, as indicated
by Folio 79 (L) followed by 80 (R)
88 (L) 90 (R), while Folios 98 and 120 each
occur twice.

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

55.			
1784			
Sept. 21	Thos. Blear	D ^r .	
	Enterd	2. 8½	
	Past	2. 8½	
	Raised	2. 8½	
		£ 8. 1½	
		s. d.	
	To Sundries Settd. acct.	5. 8	
81			
1786 James McFaden			
Octr. 2	Reported by Hamilton		
	Martin and Deposited		
	the Sum of [<i>sic</i>]		
		s. d.	
11	Entr ^d .	s. d.	
	& Passd.	5. 5	
Nov. 6	Raised	2. 8½ 8. 1½	
1789 Due for his Dinner			
on St. J's Day			
Janry. 5	Dec. 25/88	1. 4	

1784			
Sept. 21	Contra	Cr.	
	for Cash Rec.	2. 8½	
	for Cash Re ^d .	2. 8½	
	for Cash Rec ^d .	2. 8½	
		£0. 8. 1½	
81.			
1786			
Nov. 6	By Cash	5. 5	
		8. 1½	

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bye Laws for Down Lodge No. 367

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

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

2nd. That every Member attend at the Lodge room every Monthly Night precisely at the hour appointed by the Master in decent apparel & perfectly sober that the business of the Lodge may commence and be Ended at a seasonable time and any member absenting himself on said Nights shall forfeit the sum of 6½^d. for each Night and if he Neglect to pay sd. Fine every three months at Least he shall be considered as self Excluded & treated accordingly.

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

3. That when the Lodge is opened every Member must observe due Silence properly respecting the chair and not Move from place to place without permission obtained [the remainder, four and a half lines, scores out so as to be quite illegible, and "from the Master or his Deputy" inserted].

4. That any Member appearing drunk at the opening of the Lodge will not be admitted that Night & Shall pay the sum of 1^s. 1^d. for said offence & if found to continue the practise to be expelled as an Improper Member of such society, and the person who shall so far insult the Meeting as to raise Disputes subversive of Decency and good order shall first be fined 1^s. 1^d. & if he shall Murmur or show dissatisfaction or refuse to pay Said fine that he shall be Imediately expelled said society and his Name and the Nature of his offence reported to the Grand Lodge there to be in record against him for Ever.

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

[“ & for every Succeeding Oath one British Sixpence ” added]

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

[“ expelled ” deleted, and “ treated ” substituted]

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

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

8. That the Master if desired shall give the Lodge a Satisfactory Account Every Quarter of all the Money received and paid out for the Lodge. Every new admitted Brother to pay the Secry. one British shilling & Every Brother who shall draw or Lodge a Certificate one British Shilling.

(N.B. the Secret^y. is to purchase out of sd payment paper Ribbons and Wax—for Certificates)

9. That any Member who shall be found so mean as to disclose any Transaction of the Lodge (Even to an absent brother) shall be held unworthy of such Society and censured as a Committee shall think Proper.

[No. 9 struck out]

10. That the Tyler is to receive from Every New-admitted Brother 1^s. 1^d. Every Night of Imergency D^o. & Every Monthly Night 1^s. 1^d. from the Body at Large.

11. That the Sect^y. is to read these Regulations every Monthly Night Immediately after the Lodge is open.

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

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

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

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

Thos. Ranson Sect^y.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Cash Accounts, 1784]

Mar. 29 By Cash pd. J. Speer on acct. of N. Tepler £1. 2. 9

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

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

Thos. Ranson
Chas. Edmondson
Robt. Jordan

[signatures]

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

A List of Registry dated 12 November 1788.

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

[1788 Jany. 20] Recd. from Archy Aiger on account of Reviving the Warrant	1. 2. 9
Brother Darby for Ye Revivel of Ye Warnt. ye First & a Honest Brother this 5 Day of Feb. 1787	£ s. d. 0. 1. 1

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

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

In the Lodge's Cash Accounts for the same year, 1788, we find:—

May 26 To Expences the day we went to Lord Glerawley's	0. 6. 1
--	---------

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

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

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

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

By Stuff for a Cloak	£0. 17. 0
----------------------	-----------

In the accounts for the same year:—

Dec. 16 By Paid for Making the Cloak	3. 3
June 24 To Paid for Armon for the Cloak	1. 7½

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

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

[1784] Oct. 26 to Glace for the Warrant 0. 10

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

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

[1784] Dec. 28 to mending the Drum 4. 6

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

[1788?] Feby. 26 To Paid for Sarge for a pair Drawrs 0. 1. 10
Do. To Making Drawrs 0. 0. 10

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

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

To All Whome it may concern

We the Master & Wardens of Lodge No. 367 do certify that
Br. ——— is a regular registered Master Mason of Our Lodge &
during his stay with us behaved as an honest Br. Given under
our hands & Seal of Our Lodge ——— this ——— day ——— 17
& in Masonry 57 ——— ———

A ——— B ——— Mr.
C ——— D ——— S.W.
E ——— F ——— J.W.

Admitted—the day off
& Declared off the Day
off.

Seal G.H. Sect^{ry}.

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

Also a form of Summons:—

Lodge No. 367

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

Signed by order
John Nisbitt Secy.

At times the Lodge rose to a printed form:—

[1788] May 15 To Paid for Printed Sumons 0. 3. 3

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

VOLUME III.

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

The first entry is dated 10th February, 1791.

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

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

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

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

1791 March 15th.—

Names of the Committee of Lodge No. 367

Jas. Richardson	C:M.	}	Jas. Murray
Chas. Edmondson			Jas. Cochran
Jas. Lennon			W ^m . Smith
John Cumine			

And any five of the above to be a QUORUM.

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

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

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

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

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

Law 2. Fine for non-attendance 6½d.

Law 3. As amended in 1785 Code.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A number of resolutions adopted at various dates subsequently:—

1792 Janry. 2. Resolved

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

This rule is a testimony to the strictness with which our old-time brethren regarded their duty of attending Lodge. The fine for three months' absence, however, seems unduly heavy, having regard to the value of money a hundred and forty years ago. Moreover, while all the sums are given in Irish currency (1/1 Irish=1/- British), 9/4½ does not correspond with any even sum in British currency. Still, there it is: the sum is repeated in the last line but one, without any possibility of doubt:—

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

Morgan Scott	Mast ^r .
James Brett	S.W.
John Nixon	J.W.

Signed by order

John Nisbitt Sect^{ry}.

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

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

March the 4th 1799

Resolved that Every Town Member absent 30 Minutes after the time appointed by the Master or his depety shall pay the sum of 3d.
Every Country Member absent 60 Minutes shall pay the Sum of 3d.
the Master absenting himself 30 shal pay the sum of 1^s. 1^d.
any of the Wardens absent 30 Minets shal pay the sum of 6½^d.
all paying fines befor admitted in an open Lodge
The Members belonging to the Army Excepted.

M.	Jno. McNeill
S. Warden	John West
Junr.	Hugh Woods
James Brett	secretary.

The officers were those elected for the year.

1800 Febr. the 3^d.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The rule was evidently monthly intervals, *e.g.*:—

1794	Joseph Robinson
April 7	Reported
May 5	To Entred & Passed
June 2	To Raised

On 8th August, 1786, it was

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

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

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

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

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

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

1792	Hugh McAntosh	{	Neither paid for admition nor got a certificate nor Did he Deserve it.
Dec. 3rd	Entred & Passed		
1793			
Jany. 6th	To Raised		

John Nisbitt Sect^y.

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

1798	Thomas Hunter Reported by	
Oct ^r . 1	Brother Pledge of Lodge No. 447	
	The same time pd.	£0 5. 5
Augt. the 5	John Smith of the	
[1799]	North Loland fencieables	
	Reported by Br. Magnus Vidder	
	of Lodge No. 401 on the Register	
	of Ireland pd. same time	0. 5. 5

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

1793 Jany. 6	By cash for Lodge dues to the Grand Lodge by the Hands of Br. Holliday	
March 9	Recd. by James Brett out of the Chest	
1798	to defray the Lodge dues in Dublin by order of the Wor ^l . Master	
	Jo ^h . Robinson and Wardens	
	Present	£7. 19. 3
	Witness present	
	Jas. Murray	S.W.
	Michael Woods	J.W.
	Thos. Irvén	S.D.

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

March 17	Grand Lodge dues	5. 2. 11
1798	To one Heman Reason	0. 3. 3
	To getting the Naims of the	
	Registered Members of Lodg	0. 2. 8½
	No. 367 that was not paid	
		<hr/> 5. 8. 10½

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

March the 9th 1800.

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

Although on 3rd December, 1795, Grand Lodge had

Ordered

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

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

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

7th March 1796.

Lodge 367 Met pursuant to order Worshipfull J. Robinson, Master
Members present
[Eleven names]

1796 April 4th.

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

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

May 2d. 1796.

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

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

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

1797 July 3d.

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

Sitting Members

George Burnett
 Mich^l. Woods
 Danl. Dorean
 James Lennin
 Arch^d. Aiger
 Jas. Richardson
 W^m. Cardwell

Visiting Members

Pat Watterson
 John Becket
 Peter Cunnigan

Lodge Closed at 10 O'Clock
 Jas. Richardson Sect^y.

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

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

ROYAL ARCH AND KNIGHT TEMPLAR.

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

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

A Copy of A Royal Arch Super Excellant Mason

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

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

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

H.P.

R.A.C.

1st. G.M.

2 G.M.

3 G.M.

Given under our Hands & Seal of our Lodge & Royal Encampm^t. at
Downpatrick this Day of 179—

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

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

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

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

Brothers knight templars present

[Twelve members and two visitors]

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

Brother hodes Lecturing on the first second and Third degree of
Maisonry

also on the Degree of Royal arch Meson Super Excelent.

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

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

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

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

1794 June 2nd. John Johnston of Lodge 134 [Lurgan, 1743 to date]
Lodged his Certificate in Our Box & did not pay his half Crown.

1791 Dec^r. 5. Daniel Merron of Lodge 485 [Portglenone 1770-1789]
Lodged his certificate Black & Red & Lives in Portferry.

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

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

VOLUME IV.

9 March 1800 by Cash for Lodge Book Bought same time } 0. 8. 4

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

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

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

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

Different hands have added subsequently:—

Acct. of Cash in the Chest	137
Entry of Bro. Names for Colours to the Lodge	140
Quartly Nights	152
Nights of Immergency Meeting	146
The meeting of St. John's Day	118-87
Members in Due Time	No. 91
Report against Taylor By Br. Carroll	99
an acc ^t . of the Paul money	142
Knights Templars	page 152 to 153

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

Though we find an entry in the previous volume:—

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

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

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

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

Twenty-seven members subscribed 6½d. or 1/1 each: 2/8½ was added from the Lodge funds: a total of £1. 0. 7.

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

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

1. Admission fee 5/5 for Report, and £1. 2. 9—£1. 8. 2 in all.
2. Members in arrear of fines for absence over three months to be reported to the Committee.

3-12 as in previous Volume III.

The Resolutions of 2nd January, 1792, imposing a fine of 9/4½ for three months' absence, of 4th May, 1795, permitting military or seafaring candidates to be admitted on an Emergency, and of 4th March, 1799, imposing fines for late attendance, are repeated, and the original dates of their adoption given.

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

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

June 3 1811

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

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

On the following page:—

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

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

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

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

Br. John West Refuses & says that he considers £1. 14. 1½ a regular Charge

and in conclusion:—

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

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

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

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

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

April the 7th (1800) {
 The Lodg Opned in due form half past six Worshipful Br. Eager in
 the Chare
 Lodge Cloased in due form all parted in Good harmony.

Amid a host of such, an occasional one is worth more than passing notice:—

November 3d. 1800.

Lodge opened at a quarter past seven in Due form Br. Thos. Farguson
 in the Chair
 Lodge Closed in form at Nine o'Clock all Parted in good harmony.

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

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

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

August 2d. [1802] Lodge opened in Due form at half past Eight o'Clock
 the W.Br. Jas. Waddell in the Chair
 Lodge Closed in Due form. Discontent.

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

	received
Br. John Murphy Entered Apprentice & past	1. 2. 9
Br. Patrick Henry Entered & past paid	1. 2. 9
Lodge Opened at seven. Closed at Nine O'Clock All in Harmony	
Members Present	
[Worshipful Bro. Eager, and twelve others, including Bro. McDonough	
No. 775]	

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

November 4th 1802.

Br. Worshipful Jas. Waddell in the	Br. Henery	510
Chair	Br. Headon	212
Br. Senior Warden John West	Br. Gahan	501
Br. Junior Do. Pat. Lawless	Br. Richey	501
Br. Nicholas Welsh	Br. Jas. Ryan Headon Intered	
Br. Pak. Cunningham	and past a fellow Craft	
Br. Jas. Murray	pd.	11. 4½
Br. Peter Daly	Br. W ^m . Pa ^k . Smyth Intered	
	and past a fellow Craft	
	pad.	11. 4½

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

1802 Feby. 18th Quarterly Meeting in due form	
Brother Jno. Olphert Dubbed a Knight	7. 7 pd.
Br. Andw. Williamson	Same 7. 7
Br. Jas. Burns	Same pd. 6 ^s . 6 ^d . 7. 7 pd.
Br. Patt. Sloan	Same 7. 7 pd.
Pd. Br. Gageghan	£ : 11 : 4½

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

1804 Mar. 5th

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

Signed by Order

Jas. Richardsson Sect^{ry}.

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

1 Quart of Whiskey	2. 8
½ Gallon Beer	6

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

The only surviving reference to the Royal Arch is:—

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

VOLUME V.

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

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

Brethren, Alphabetical List &	Certificates,
Admission date of	to whom & when granted
Entering et cetera of New	by whom & when lodged
Expelled	by whom & when withdrawn
Extra Contributions of	Charity Accounts
Monthly ditto of	Complaints, Decisions on
Suspended	Fines Accounts
Visiting	Lodge, Monthly & Emergent
Bye Laws	Opening of the
Candidates Report of	Officers Annual
Cash Account	

Another hand has added:—

Money Putt in the Chest	Quarterly Nights
Master and officers for the Insueing	Pall, Accounting for it
six months	For Monthly dues
Members Names for Dining	

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

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

April 7 Expenses by W.p.ful Br. Carlton at Dromore	}	1.	2.	9
Meeting on Summons				

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

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

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

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

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

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

1st. Each Candidate proposing for Admission shall Deposit the Sum of five shillings British. If the Candidate or Candidates be duly found Accepted by this Lodge the Admission to be on the Monthly Night next following Or if the Candidate or Candidates require an Intermediate Lodge of Emergency the same to be at Candidates Cost and each Candidate on Admission to pay to this Lodge the further Sum of One Guinea.

2nd. The Members of this Lodge to Attend Monthly in their Lodge Room at the Time appointed by the Worshipful Master in Decent Apparel and duly Sober. A Town Member absent Minutes after the time appointed by the Worshipful or his Deputy shall be fined the Sum of threepence, allowance of time to a Country or Distant Member half an hour extra. The Worshipful or Deputy's fine a British sixpence. Each Member to be further fined in proportion for further time Absent. A Member so fined to pay before admitted to Open Lodge.

3rd. A Masonic Deportment shall be preserved by the Members in our Lodge Room after Closing Lodge of which the Chairman is to take the Charge and Report infringement persisted in to the Committee at next Meeting.

4th. Each Member to pay the Sum of Six pence British for each Monthly Night. absence three Monthly Nights successively subjects a Member to Decision of Committee.

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

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

Cannadates for the Sublime Orders in Masonry

Feby. 20th	Br. Saml. Dixon	paid	7. 7
1809	Br. Ed ^w . Reily	paid	7. 7
	Br. Robt. Eager	do.	7. 7
	Br. Bern. Smyth	paid	£0. 7. 7
			<hr/>
			£1. 10. 4

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

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

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

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

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

Bernard McCulham
which may mean anything!

High Order

EQUIPMENT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Painting for the Chair and floor Cloth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1785	Dec. 27	By Cash pd. Mrs. Sharman for Mounting Jewels	12.	7
		By do. for Breast Ribbon		9
1799		Paid for a Maddel for the secrtory	0.	4. 10½

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

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

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

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

1784	Dec.	By Cash Hana Saul for Sash	4.	8
1791	Nov. 7	By Cash paid Mrs. Massey for 2 Aprons & One sash	2.	8½
1768	Dec. 27	By Cash paid for Gloves for John Quail	1.	1

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

THE PALL.

This was purchased by the Lodge before 1781:—

Sept^r. 24 1781

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

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

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

for ye velvet pall in ye Town of Down	16.	3
for ye same in ye country	18.	6
for ye cloath pall in Town	2.	8½
in ye country	3.	6

There is no record of what the Lodge paid for their pall, but in 1796 a new one was purchased by the Vestry for the sum of £6. 9. 7½.

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

By cash Given to John Dougherty for 2 Bazel skins	4.	10½
to Gilbert Brew for making a bag	0.	6½

and:—

30 Oct. 1790 Paid to gilbert Brew for making the Pall Bag	0.	6½
To Paid John Quail for two Basel Skins for the Pall	4.	4

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

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

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

At a subsequent meeting it was resolved that

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

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

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

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

OFFICERS.

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

1795	June 1st.	Joseph Robinson	Master
		John Nixon	S.W.
		James Lennin	J.W.
		William Miller	D.Master
		John Nisbitt	Sect ^{ry} .

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

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

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

December the first 1800
 Joseph Robinson Chosen by Consent of the Body at Large
 Master of Lodge No. 367 for the year of our lord-1801
 James Waddle Chosen Senior Warden by Consent of the Body at Large
 Hamilton Waddle Junior Warden by the Consent of the Body at Large
 James Lemon Senior Deacon, Chosen by the Worshipful Master
 Own Kelly Junior Deacon Chosen by the Senior Warden
 John West Warrent Bearer
 Patrick Cunihan Colour Bearer.

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

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

Committee

Brs.	Arch ^d . Aiger	President
	John West	
	Peter Daly	
	Arthur Lundy	
	John Miller	

Br. Joseph Robinson	to be W:p:ful Master
Br. Robt. McComb	Senior
Br. James Ellis	Junior
Br. Michl. Smyth	Colour Bearer
Br. James Waddell	Warrant Bearer.

Nowhere is the office of Inner Guard mentioned.

THE TYLER.

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

He was provided with a proper implement of office:—

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

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

Entries of payments to the Tyler occur regularly:—

1784	Dec.	By Cash paid D. Martin for Tile	4. 4
1785	May	By Cash for Serving Sums.	1. 7½
	Augt. 30	By Do. to Sharman Tyler	1. 1

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

1 Nov.	Paid John Croly for Tyling	1. 1
1 Nov.	By Paid to John Crolly for Serving Summons for Dec. 1790	3. 9½

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the Comity Apointed by the Masters

- 1 James Richardson Chairman
- 2 Br. Edmondson
- 3 James Lennen
- 4 John Cumin
- 5 James Muray
- 6 James Cochrane
- 7 W^m. Smith

It is hereby agreed that the annex^d. names for Sd. Committee & their Respective persons shall appear & bepresent on Each Succeeding

Monthly Night the neglect of the sd Compliance by any Individual shall be Subject to the payment of the Sum of 6½^d. & that any three of the Above Shall be a Quorum.

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

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

John Linten

Summoned to attend on Monday the 2^d. of Octr.
Refused Summons & of Consequence off ———
3 Dec. 1788

Was Summoned & did not attend
for which he is Expeld w^h. Every
Mark of Disgrace ———
for one hundred years ———

Thomas Ransom Sect^{ry}.
by Order of The Body.

David Martin

Dec. 3 Expelled for Ever for not attending
1787 his Summons.

June 17 A list of the Committee on David Martin's
1790 trial, an imergency called by himself.

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

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

Signed by order
Jas. Richardson.

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

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

the Question Put ———

Archd. Eager Examined Against the Certificate Not obtd. by Consent of the Body: that sd. Magee Attemptd. to Defraud Examt: that sd. Magee Attempted to take away said Examt's may pole by the Assistanst of others and endeavoured to seduce them to it.

Mr. May.

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

For the Certificate

Mr. Blare Examined

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

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

the Circumstances were that one Matt Flinn appeared agt. sd. Magee & sd. Magee chacked¹ sd Flinn for gowring² agt. him before sd Flinn's wife.

Fredk. Hodges Exam^d.

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

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

it is the opinion of the Present Committee

Viz. George Sharrock	appointed for deciding the
John Eager	present Dispute that the
Stepen Reilly	Certificate obtained by John
John Nesbit	Magee from the Master &
Jas. Richardson	Wardens of No. 367 is Legal

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

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

[The signatures of the Committee follow]

Another turbulent customer was arraigned as follows:—

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

Jas. Richardson	
Michl. Fleming	
Jas. Coughern	[Cochrane]
Jas. McFadden	
W ^m . Nisbitt	
Jas. Lennon	
Fredk. Hodgess.	

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

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

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

¹ Anglice reproved.

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

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

William Smith	Junr. W.
John Nisbitt	Master

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

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

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

That the above be entered in the Books of this Lodge by the Sectry.

Lavery was not to be rebuffed, however, and addressed the following eloquent appeal to the Lodge:—

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

Gentlemen,

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

Signed Jas. Lavery.

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

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

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

Feby. 5th 1798.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A page is headed:—

John Taylor Oct^r. the 22d 1801

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

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

1802 June 7. A Committee held that:—

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

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

The Master himself was not exempt from the jurisdiction of a Committee:—

1792 March 5. We the undersigned Members of Lodge No. 367 give this our opinion that the Present Master Jas. Richardson is Guilty of a breach of his obligation, & that he is not to sit as Master in this Lodge untill he is Tried by Master Masons.

Sixteen signatures follow, including that of John Wesley.¹

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

More serious matters, or causes affecting members of more than one Lodge were dealt with by a Committee drawn from a number of neighbouring Lodges. One such case occurs in 367 records, when a Committee of eleven, consisting of the Masters and Wardens of 343 Crossgar, 367, and 815 Strangford, met at the request of Bro. Cunningham, a member of 815, "to investigate relative to a letter sent to 367 prejudicial to Br. Cunningham's Character as a Mason." The Committee met, and "Lodge was opened at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 o'clock all in good order on Sunday, Oct^r. 28th" [1804]: the chair being taken by Bro. Samuel Lewis, Master of No. 343, the Senior Lodge, and also neutral in the dispute.

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



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

The Committee decided:—

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

ST. JOHN'S DAYS.

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

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

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

Two entries are unfortunately not dated:—

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

	s.	d.
Master	5.	5
Wardens Each	3.	3
Secr.	3.	3
Each Member	2.	8½

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

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

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

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

[Crosslé: *Masonic Notes*, ix., 268] ¹

The "Meeting House" was the Presbyterian Church.

In the cash account for 1784 we find:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Signed by order

Thomas Ranson Secretary.

Downpatrick 24th June 1790.

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

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

In 1796 we find the following:—

Resolved that the following brethren meet at the Widow Nesbitt's on Dec. 27th to Dine there. They are to meet at 10 of the Clock for the purpose of walking in procession to Saul Church, and hear Divine Service there. Dinner to be on the table at 3 of the Clock such of the Members as do not attend to pay a forfeit of 2/8½.

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

The services of the preacher were also rewarded:—

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

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

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

27 Dec. 1799. By Cash to William Hall for preaching 11. 4½

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

[1799]	December 10	By Cash paid for Ribbands and Searge to Repair the Collours belonging to the Lodge	0. 13. 9
	27	by Cash to Andrew Williamson for Macking a Meddel for the Secretary	0. 11. 11
1800		by Cash to fife and Drum on Said day	0. 11. 4½
January the 12		by Cash pd. for Ribbands	
		by Cash for Roads and painting Do.	0. 14. 10
		by Cash to Br. Veadder for Repairing Collers	0. 5. 5
		by Cash to John Smith for Cleaning the Juels Belonging to the Lodge	0. 2. 8½
		by Cash to James Brett for Boards lock and Hinges Macking Glass Cace for Warrent Nails and Glue included in Do.	1. 5. 10

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

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

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

1805	June 24.	Lodge opened Morning 7—Closed at Nine in full harmony. The Worshipful James Burns in the Chair	
		——— Out of the Chest vizt.	
		Paid Ribands for Jewels	8. 1½
		Paid for Cleaning the Jewels	2. 2
		Paid Drum and Fife	7. 7
		Paid for Advertising this days Meeting at Killinchy	1. 1
			<hr/> £ 18. 11½

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

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

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

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

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

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

By cash expended at the Play 7. 7½

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

CHARITY.

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

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

1786	July 6	By Cash gave a blind Man Who was a Brother & Charity	0. 1. 1
	Sep. 14	By Cash Gave John Harrigan who projuded a grand Certificate	0. 2. 2
1787	9th June	By Cash to 2 poor Brothers pr. order of the Master	0. 2. 2
1791	March 10	By Cash to a distressed Brother who wanted a hand & had good Certificates	0. 2. 2
1792	May 8	To Sundries Gave to Mr. Andw. Cowan a Prisoner now in Jail for Debt	11. 4½
1794	Jany. 27	By Cash Gave a Brother who had his Sone in Goal	12. 8½
	June 24	By Cash Lent James Crawford to Release him out of Goal	2. 16. 10½

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

Imprisoned debtors were very often relieved:—

1804	Feby. 5	Cash pd. Thos. Toy a Prisoner in the Jail of This Town unable to provide for himself	5. 11½
1804	March 5	Paid Thos. Tiegh a Prisoner in Jail for his Support in Prison	5. 5

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

Three Months after Date I promise to pay This Body £2. 9^s. 4½^d for Value recd. this 27 day of December 1771

Hugh Gordon

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

Witness Present

John Nisbitt

William Smith.

1788 January 20 Michael Crean Wallace Admitted as a Member on Being Tried And found Worthy.
May 17 Got and Recd £1. 7^s. 1^d. And Left his Watch in my hands till Paid.

Thomas Ranson, Sectry.

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

Saturday	Towards the support of our Brother	
Feby. 22d.	W ^m . Carrol whom is now Deceased for his	
[1805]	funeral Expences paid out of the Chest	2. 00. 0

Nor was the widow forgotten:—

1805	Dec. 2	from Chest to Sister W ^m . Carral	-
1797	Dec. 4	Paid Isabella Wood a Brs. Wife	11. 4½

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

1801	July 6	Cash paid Br. Daly for a Coffin for the Child of Br. Carril, Tyler	2. 2
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FUNERALS.

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

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

[1803]	July 9	To Money for attendance at the funeral of Br. Hugh Quail to fife and drum	5. 5
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Various entries in the Cash Accounts show that the Brethren were wont to seek solace for their grief:—

[1791]	Nov. 29	By Drink at Interierg D ^r . Hill	0. 12 4
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Failure to attend a funeral when summoned was considered a serious breach of Masonic duty:—

1804 April 16th.

A Committee Appointed for to enquire into the Absentees at the Funeral of Br. William Shanks preferred by Br. Fernon Agt. them.
Evidence Summoned by Tylor at the intimation of Tylor
Br. Secretary ——— and did not appear
Br. West, Br. Starkey, Br. Robinson, Br. McComb, Br. James Waddle, Br. Lunday, Br. Richardson Sectry.

Br. West	Excused on the merits of his Objection
Br. Lunday	Do.
Br. Waddle	Do.

Br. Starkey	for improper language in presence of the Committee & for his disrespect in not walking in procession we fine him One British Shilling	
Br. McComb	excused on Merits of His Objection	
Br. Robinson	Same	Same
Br. Richardson	Same	Same

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

THE MEMBERS.

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

In 1785 one Jacob White, "Shipp master," was admitted, and in 1801 Joseph Bruff, Coal Captain.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Joseph Robinson, Jailer, was initiated in 1794.

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

His nephew, Edward Southwell Ruthven, was the eldest son of Edward Trotter, by his wife Mary, dau. of the Very Rev. James Dickson, Dean of Down: in 1801 he proved his descent from the family of Ruthven, Earls of Gowrie, and assumed that surname, his ancestor being one Alexander, who fled to England on the ruin of his house by the slaying of the Earl of Gowrie, its head, in 1600. He took refuge in Durham, where he married, assuming his wife's name, Trotter. Alexander's grandson crossed to Ireland, where his family prospered. Bro. E. S. Ruthven unsuccessfully contested the Borough in the election of 1797, with his brother John Bernard, afterwards private secretary to Chas. James Fox, against Clotworthy Rowley and Josias Rowley, who were elected through the influence of the landlord, Lord de Clifford. He was elected a member of the Imperial Parliament for Downpatrick in 1803, and 1830 and '31: in the interim he had represented the City of Dublin. In 1806, however, he lost the seat to John Wilson Croker: one account of the election has it that Croker was nominated solely to keep the election open pending the arrival of one of the candidates, delayed by an accident. Croker received only three votes, but the other candidates being both disqualified for bribery, he claimed the seat, "refusing to betray the confidence reposed in him by his constituents."

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

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

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

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

Bro. DAVID FLATHER said:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bro. C. F. SYKES said:—

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

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

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

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

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

The term 'ordinary' used in the 1772 quotation I assume to allude to a meal. The word has been used to indicate a repast for all comers, certainly since Shakespeare's time. The price noted for the meal, 1/1, indicates that the brethren were not extravagant with regard to their refreshment, and that this was the practice may be gathered from the fact that seventeen years later the cost of dinner on St. John's day was only 1/4. Certainly the dining fee did not advance in the same degree as that for 'making'. The latter is noted in the 1st Code of By-Laws as 8/1½. In 1791 this had increased to £1. 8. 2. This amount seems to indicate that the original fee had been multiplied by three, plus the 1/1 and 2/8½ provided for by Law 8 of the 1791 Code.

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

Then on June 24, 1805, when the Brethren met at Killinchy, fifteen miles away, "Lodge opened Morning 7". This was a St. John's Day celebration, and considering the distance the brethren had to travel to the meeting place it probably entailed an overnight journey to Killinchy. As 24th June, 1805, occurred on a Monday it may well have been that opportunity was taken to make a real week-end summer outing of the occasion. The meeting was advertised and a drum and fife band engaged. The celebration in 1809 occurring on a Saturday was a much less pretentious affair. The little arithmetical problem among the vague scribblings at commencement of vol. ii. intrigued me. Its statement is puzzlingly brief. What is meant is: Give the first man $\frac{1}{2}$ more than the second, the second $\frac{1}{3}$ more than the third, the third $\frac{1}{4}$ more than the fourth and the fourth 1-5th less than the third. The preceding scribbling appears to be just a jumble of words to be unravelled. The best I can make of them is: "Cloth makes as well as shapes the man. He can marry money".

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

BRO. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ALL pass’d the Chair, and received the Degrees of an Exclant Super
Exelant Royal Arch Mason and afterwards Dubd knights and in Order
paid there Contrabution to the high Priest in the H’l’y of H’l’ys”.¹

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

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

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

Bro. SAM. LEIGHTON writes:—

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

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

Bro. W. JENKINSON writes:—

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

¹ By the fraternal kindness of Brother John Robinson I was enabled some years back to make a transcript of this Minute Book.

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

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

“XXII. The Brethren of all the Lodges in and about Dublin, shall meet at an annual Communication, and Feast, in some convenient Place, on St. JOHN the Baptist's Day . . .
 . . . the Grand Lodge must meet in some convenient Place, annually on St. JOHN's Day; or if it be Sunday, then on the next Day, in order every Year to chuse a new Grand Master, Deputy and Wardens”.

—Pennell. 1730.

Smith amends the above to read thus:—

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

—Smith. 1735.

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

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

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

—Spratt. O.R. 1744.

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

The Irish Regulations of 1768 enact:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“ 17th that there is to be a silence at the first chap¹ of the Master’s hamer, and Likeways at the first Stroke of each Trenchen struck by the Sen^r. and Jun^r. Wardens ”

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

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

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

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

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

¹ “ Chap ”, Ulster dialect for “ blow ”.

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

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

—By-Laws No. 134, Lurgan (1810).

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

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

The first record in order of date is:—

“Wm: Gallway Esq^r.: and Ensigne John Cooke were made & rece'd Enterprentices and did then and there pay y^e Treasur'r their Enterprentice Subscription to y^e Stock being for each Brother 2/8½”.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—A.Q.C., xl., 107.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BRO. PARKINSON, in reply, writes:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



NAYMUS GRECUS: A NEW IDENTIFICATION.

BY DOUGLAS HAMER.

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

Grand Lodge No. 1 MS. [1583].



HEN Mr. E. H. Dring was trying to identify Naymus Grecus as the great English ecclesiastic and scholar Alcuin [735-804 A.D.]¹ he quoted² five lines from one of the latter's Latin poems:—

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

These lines appear at the end of a poem addressed to Charlemagne in which Alcuin recalls and jokes about his former companions at the school attached to the emperor's court. They appear under assumed names. "Let Thyrsis", says Alcuin, "always be esteemed at the same time as Menalca. Let that same Menalca whip the cooks in the blackened kitchen, so that Flaccus⁴ may have his soup hot in the bowl. And let Nemias, who is wont to carry his cask with him, fill his wine-cups with Greek wine".

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

¹ A.Q.C., xviii. (1905), 179-195; xix. (1906), 45-62. I do not accept Dring's identification because no early reader would confuse *ci*, even when touching, with *a*, which in his text, as shown in all the illustrations offered by Mr. Dring, appeared only in the form which we are now accustomed to use it in Roman type, not in the form now used in italic type and in modern handwriting.

² A.Q.C., xlviii., 183.

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

⁴ Alcuin himself.

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ *Nehemiah* iii.

⁴ *Nehemiah* v., 14.

⁵ *Nehemiah* vi., 15.

⁶ *Nehemiah* xii., 27-47.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *Etymologiarum*, VII., viii., 23.

² *Ezra* i.-vi.

³ *Ezra* vii.-x.

⁴ *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, trans. M. Gaster, Oriental Translations Fund, New Series, vol. iv. (1899), Royal Asiatic Society.

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

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

Et Nēm | iās Grēc | (o) infūnd | āt sūā | pōeulā | Bācchō.

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

Hīnc Ēz | rā, Nēhm | iē, Jū | dīth, Hēst | ērqūe lī | bēlli.¹

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

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

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

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

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

Despite the difficulties surrounding the adjective *Grecus* I suggest the identification of *Naymus Grecus* with the Nehemiah of the Bible, the greatest builder, or "mason" mentioned in the Bible after Solomon, and taking his place as third in the line of great biblical builders mentioned by the Masonic MSS., following Nimrod and Solomon. The mediæval world had implicit faith in biblical history. In religious, but non-theological works, however, they had no hesitation in altering details in order to achieve a more satisfactory story. If in one widely-read poem describing the siege of Jerusalem the Emperors Vespasian and Titus had to be converted to Christianity for the sake of a doubt whether God would allow a pagan to fulfil the "prophecy" of Christ that Jerusalem should be destroyed,¹ we need not be surprised at Nehemiah being made a builder under Solomon, and being made to travel to France as an instructor of masonry. The writer's difficulty was obviously to explain how the knowledge of the craft travelled from Palestine to Western Europe. The mediæval world tried to be logical, and if a link in history was missing after all known sources had been rifled one was invented.

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

TO IOHN PAYTON ESQUIER.

*In vtrumque paratus.*²

2 *Esdr.*³ cap 4. When SANABAL Hierusalem distrest,
With sharpe assaults, in NEHEMIAS tyme,
To warre, and worke, the Iewes them selues addrest,
And did repaire theire walles, with stone, and lime:
One hande the sworde, against the foe did shake,
The other hande, the trowel vp did take.⁴
Of valiant mindes, loe here, a worthie parte,
That quailed not, with ruine of their wall:
But Captaines boulder, did prooue the masons arte,
Which doth inferre, this lesson vnto all:
That to defende, our countrie deare from harme,
For warre, or worke, wee eyther hand should arme.

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

¹ For summaries of the development of this legend see either *The Siege of Jerusalem*, ed. E. Kölbing and Mabel Day, E.E.T.S., Old Series, vol. 188 (1932), or *The Works of Sir David Lindsay*, vol. iii., ed. D. Hamer, Scottish Text Society, Third Series, vol. vi. (1933), pp. 394-97.

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

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

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

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

FRIDAY, 3rd MARCH, 1933.



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

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

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

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

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

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

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:--

By Bro. H. G. GOLD.

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

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

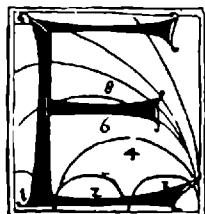
A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. H. G. Gold for his kindness in lending these certificates for exhibition.

Bro. DOUGLAS KNOOP read the following paper: --

THE BUILDING OF ETON COLLEGE, 1442—1460.

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF OPERATIVE MASONRY.

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



ETON COLLEGE and King's College, Cambridge, were founded in 1440 by Henry VI., then beginning to take a direct share in the government of his realm.¹ His interest in the work is evident from the detailed plans, doubtless prepared after consultation with experts, which he drew up for the erection of both Colleges in 1447, plans containing measurements and specifications for the buildings, particulars of the kinds of stone to be used, arrangements for the stipends of the officers and chief craftsmen and provisions for a revenue of £1,000 annually for twenty years for each College.² The building work at Eton had then been in progress for six years, having been started energetically in 1441. It proceeded, though with some variation in activity, through a period of disaster abroad and civil war at home, until 1460. In July of that year, at the battle of Northampton, its founder fell into the hands of the Yorkists, and, eight months later, with the collapse of the Lancastrian cause at Towton field, the Crown passed to Edward IV. He was not likely to make any sacrifices for his predecessor's foundation: indeed, he pillaged the College of some of its valuables and took away the greater part of its revenue. At this juncture William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, formerly Provost of the College and one of the two chief trustees for carrying out the founder's plan, came to its assistance, providing money to carry on the building and himself directing the work. It is apparently impossible to determine how much remained to be done when Waynflete took charge.³ Between 1450 and 1460 progress had been slow, but by the end of the period for which we have records it is probable that much of the stone work had been completed: the hall and the eastern part of the chapel had been finished and the cloisters and choristers' school existed.

THE BUILDING ACCOUNTS.

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

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

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

³ Willis and Clark, I., 427-8.

⁴ We desire here to acknowledge our great indebtedness to the Provost and Fellows for their readiness to deposit these valuable records in the Sheffield University Library so that we might examine them at leisure. Besides the records in the list, we examined also five indentures, of which four relate to work on the western part of the College in the reign of Henry VIII. The other belongs to the period with which we are here concerned. It shows that at various dates between October, 1441, and July, 1442, Richard Burton received through the Provost £969. 7. 6 for the building works.

⁵ Some or all of these building documents have previously been utilised by R. R. Tighe and J. E. Davis, *Annals of Windsor*, London, 1858; by R. Willis and J. W. Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton*, Cambridge, 1886; by H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College, 1440-1910*, London, 1911; and by G. G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, Oxford, 1928. We have to thank Dr. Coulton for very kindly placing at our disposal the tabulation made by Mr. Hartridge of the 1442-3 Building Account.

I. *Books.*

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

II. *Rolls.*

- (1443-44) *Compotus* of John Vady from Michaelmas, 22 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1444-45) *Compotus* of John Vady from Michaelmas, 23 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1445-46) *Compotus* of John Vady from Michaelmas, 24 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1446-47) *Compotus* of Richard Burton from Michaelmas, 25 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1447-48) *Compotus* of Richard Burton from Michaelmas, 26 Henry VI., to Easter following.

¹ For simplicity of reference we shall cite these as *Accounts*, giving in each case the years. The fourth in our list will be distinguished as *Accounts (stores)*.

- (1448-49) *Compotus* of Roger Keys from Easter, 26 Henry VI., to Michaelmas, 28 Henry VI.
- (1449-50) *Compotus* of Roger Keys from Michaelmas, 28 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1451-52) *Compotus* of John Medehill from Michaelmas, 30 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1452-53) *Compotus* of John Medehill from Michaelmas, 31 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1453-54) *Compotus* of John Medehill from Michaelmas, 32 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.
- (1457-58) *Compotus* of John Medehill from Michaelmas, 36 Henry VI., to Michaelmas following.¹

(i.) *The Compotus Rolls.* Except for the fifth and sixth in the list, which cover periods of six and eighteen months respectively, these *compotus* rolls are annual statements of receipts and expenditure. They are all similar in form, and their contents can be illustrated by a brief analysis of one of them, the *compotus* of Roger Keys for the period Michaelmas, 1449, to Michaelmas, 1450.² First he notes £19. 9. 3½ of arrears, that is, the amount remaining unspent of the previous year's receipts, and then the sum of £767. 15. 8 received from the Provost by the hands of various persons on thirty occasions during the year.³ Next come the 'foreign' receipts, *i.e.*, receipts from sources other than those whence the ordinary and settled revenue was derived: in this year the sum of £5. 5. 9 was received for bricks, lime and iron sold, bringing the total receipts to £793. 10. 8. Details are then given of the totals of expenditure on Huddleston and Taynton stone, timber and other stores, on carriage by land and water, on wages of various kinds of workmen and stipends of officials, on liveries and on the expenses of the accountant, the clerk of the works and others. The whole expenditure was £781. 10. 1¾, leaving £11. 0. 6½ in hand, which sum would appear as 'arrears' in the following *compotus*. These annual statements give a good idea of the scale of the operations and in some instances supply useful information as to the source of the stone used, its cost and the cost of transport. They do not, however, give the number of workmen of each kind employed, though, since they give the total wages, they make an estimate of numbers possible.

(ii.) *Account Books.* For our purposes the journals or particulars, from which the *compotus* rolls were prepared, are more important. These give the details of expenditure on wages for each week or fortnight and on stores and stipends for each quarter. The wage entries are commonly in the form of a register, giving the names of all the workmen employed, in various categories, and indicating not only how many days but on which particular days each man was present or absent, together with the amount due to him. As a rule, also, the feasts occurring in each week are noted. The following excerpt will serve as an example of this method of entry⁴:---

¹ These are parchment rolls, usually of three membranes sewn end to end. They are beautifully written, with well drawn and decorated capital letters. We cite them as *Rolls*, giving the year in each case.

² This roll is printed, in translation, in Knoop and Jones, *The Mediæval Mason*, pp. 241-244.

³ These amounts were doubtless recorded in an indenture, of which the Provost would keep one part.

⁴ From *Accounts* 1444-5, 0 means present, + absent, a semicircle or broken 0 a half-day. The feast was on the Tuesday, 2nd February, and the *lathami*, unlike the hardhewers, were paid for it.

*Septimania incipiente die Lune primo die Februarij
Festum Purificacionis beate Marie Virginis*

<i>Latham</i>	Petrus Palm[er]e	0	+	0	0	0	+	ijs. vjd.
	Willelmus Campion	0	+	0	0	0	+	ijs. vjd.
	Johannes Bright	0	+	0	0	0	+	ijs. vjd.
	Thoma Glasier	0	+	0	0	0	0	iijs.
	Robertus Marchant	0	+	0	0	0	0	iijs.
	Johannes Lewes	C	+	+	+	+	+	iijd.
	Robertus Clerk	0	+	0	0	0	+	ijs. vjd.
	Robertus Clynton	0	+	0	0	0	0	iijs.

In some instances the clerk adopted a form which required less space, and wrote the names in paragraphs across the page, as follows¹:—

	In primis solutum vj ^{to} die Aprilis	
	Johanni Deneman Henrico RooHenrico	
	Rydefayre Willelmo Newman Johanni Man	
<i>S(olutum)</i>	Waltero Whytamore Johanni Spyser	
<i>Lathomis</i>	locatis per septimanam & dimidiam.	iiij ^l . vijs.
	Et solutum Willelmo Chyrcheman	
	Willelmo Richard . . . locatis per	
	septimanam. Et Roberto Blandon locato	
	per dimidiam septimanam singulis	
	capientibus per septimanam iijs.	
	Item solutum die predicto Roberto	
	Karon locato per iiij. dies. Et Thome	
<i>S(olutum)</i>	Vyall Roberto Cook . . . locatis per ix.	
<i>hardhewers</i>	dies. Et Ricardo Fullere Willelmo	xlxs. vjd.
<i>& positor-</i>	Brodestrete . . . locatis per vj. dies	
<i>ibus</i>	singulis capientibus per diem vjd.	

The officer responsible for these accounts was the clerk of the works (or, in the case of Roger Keys, the master of the works). They were prepared for him by his clerk, whose payment, for making them and drawing up the *compotus* roll, is in several instances noted. This clerk, as we know by the fortunate survival of duplicates for 1458-59, sometimes at least prepared more than one copy. A fair copy was required for the auditors, whose duty it was to check, not only the annual *compotus*, but the journals delivered and examined with it.² Most of the accounts in our list, to judge by their neatness, would serve this purpose, but one of them, the accounts for 1442-43, would seem to be of a different kind. It is less neatly written, lacks a title, and contains many marginal notes on, *e.g.*, the dates on which particular workmen were paid, the persons who drew their pay for them, and the reasons why some had their pay reduced in particular weeks³; matters of importance to the clerk of the works but of little or no moment to the auditors. We conclude that the first manuscript in our list was a working copy for the use of the clerk of the works.

¹ From *Accounts* 1448-50. Contractions in the Latin have been expanded.

² *Roll* 1449-50. Mention is there made of two books, "containing purchases of materials and things, the classes and names of men," *i.e.*, perhaps, a wage book and a separate store book like those for 1445-46. The reference, however, is to parchment books, and no parchment books are known to exist for 1449-50. Moreover, Keys' accounts for that period, in their present form, include both wages and stores in one book. We do not know, however, that the existing copy of Keys' accounts was the one delivered for audit.

³ See below.

As such it is much more instructive than the other, if another there was, deliver with the *compotus* for audit.¹

Altogether, it will be noted, we possess details of weekly wages for $8\frac{1}{2}$ years out of the 19 in our period. Our records are thus less continuous than those of London Bridge, and we cannot speak with the same degree of certainty about the periods during which any individual mason remained at Eton. On the other hand, while the masons at London Bridge were engaged on a relatively small operation and chiefly on maintenance work, the Eton records enable us to study a much larger operation at various stages and throw more light on the difficulties attending even a royal enterprise.

ADMINISTRATION.

Judging both by our Accounts and the plans of Henry VI., the two most important persons in the administration of the building work were William Waynflete, and William de la Pole, fourth earl and second duke of Suffolk.² Waynflete, while Provost, was the official through whom money was delivered to the clerk of the works for carrying on the building, and later, when he had become Bishop of Winchester, Waynflete was called surveyor and executor of the will of Henry VI., that is of his plan with regard to the College, a trust that the bishop faithfully discharged, as has been indicated, in a time of great difficulty. The function he had performed as Provost was carried on by his successors in that office, as the *compotus* rolls show. In addition to acting as the main source through which the clerk of the works was supplied with money, the Provost evidently kept some oversight of the spending; extra payment, *e.g.*, given as a reward for diligence in hot weather, for night work or for other services, was said to be made 'by consideration of the Provost and the Marquis of Suffolk.'³ The latter had evidently to be consulted on questions relating to the plan: the expenses of the chief mason, going to London to have his advice about the Hall, are charged in the Accounts for 1445-46.

The officials in immediate touch with the building work were, according to the plan referred to above, a Master of the Works at £50 per annum and two Clerks of the Works at £13. 6. 8 per annum.⁴ The Account for 1449-50 shows that in June, 1449, Roger Keys was paid £12. 10. 0 for the quarter as Master of the Works, while John Medehill, Clerk of the Works, received £3 6. 8 and Richard Burton⁵ received the same sum. This arrangement was probably new and was not permanent. Keys' predecessors and successor were clerks, not masters, of the works. Their work was probably similar to his, but, perhaps because the scale of operations was less, their status was lower. In the period of our Accounts there were five or possibly six men who held the office of clerk or master of the works, namely, William Lynde, John Vady, Richard Burton, Master Roger Keys and John Medehill.⁶ William Lynde, referred to in 1438

¹ If a separate document was presented to the auditors it was perhaps, like all the others in our list, in Latin. The extant accounts for 1442-43 are mainly in English.

² Died in 1450. He is commonly referred to in the documents relating to the building as Marquis. See *e.g.*, Willis and Clark, I., 351, 393, 401.

³ *Accounts*, 1445-46.

⁴ Willis and Clark, I., 381.

⁵ His office is not stated. The *compotus* for 1449-50 charges the stipend of one clerk of the works only. It is probable that Burton was partly a clerk, partly a purveyor.

⁶ Another name ought perhaps to be added. Our first Account Book, inscribed on the cover . . . *mpton anno secundo*, was possibly kept by John Hampton, esquire of the body, to whom there are many references in *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1436-1441 and 1441-46. We have found no record of his appointment as clerk or master of the works in succession to Lynde, but in 1442 he was one of the trustees for the receipt of money to be spent on the College. [*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1441-46, p. 35.] Among many other duties discharged by him previously was the purveyance of stone for a chapel at Wolverhampton. [*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1436-41, p. 312.]

as 'the king's servant,'¹ was perhaps a man of some substance² and consequence. In September, 1440, he, with two others, was appointed to explain to the Bishop of Lincoln the king's plan to found a College at Eton³ and in February, 1441, he was appointed, for life, clerk of the works, with power to press masons and other workmen, to take materials and to inquire into the alienation of stores and require their restoration.⁴ In 1442 he was one of the king's special attorneys to take seisin of lands for the College.⁵ He only remained clerk of the works until 1443 at the latest: whether his connection with the College then ceased, or whether he served in some capacity not recorded in the Accounts, we do not know, but his work was rewarded in August, 1445, with the office of controller of the petty customs in London, to which, in September of the same year, was added the collectorship of tonnage and poundage.⁶ Of John Vady we know nothing beyond what is to be gathered from our Accounts: he was in orders, being called chaplain, and was clerk of the works from 1443 to 1446: his stipend appears to have been £10 per annum, with £3. 6. 8 for his board. Richard Burton was connected with the works as early as 1441.⁷ In 1445-46 he served under Vady, receiving £4. 16. 8 for writing the particulars, *i.e.*, drawing up the accounts, and attending the works. He succeeded Vady as clerk of the works in September, 1446, and probably took charge, at any rate he presented accounts, until Keys became master of the works at Easter, 1448. Thereafter he served under Keys, though exactly in what capacity is not clear. Master Roger Keys, like Vady, was a clergyman. We can first trace him at the erection of All Souls College, Oxford, where he became "supervisor of the work of the new college" in September, 1441, and Warden of the College the following spring.⁸ From 1448 to 1450 he was Master of the Works at Eton, where his experience at All Souls stood him in good stead: at any rate, he travelled to Winchester and Salisbury to measure the choirs and naves of the cathedrals there, presumably in order that some point concerning the church at Eton might be determined, and later he went to London to show the king a drawing or design (*portratura*) of the College.⁹ Exactly when his connection with the works ended we do not know: he was presented to the living of High Onger in April, 1449.¹⁰ In 1452, as a mark of the royal gratitude for his work at Eton, he was granted two stags yearly from Dartmoor Forest.¹¹ Of John Medehill we know only that he served under Roger Keys at All Souls College, having become clerk of the works there in April, 1440.¹² Very possibly he accompanied Keys to Eton; in any case he served there under him as clerk of the works at £13. 6. 8 per annum and himself presented accounts, and probably had charge of the works, for all the years of which we have records between 1450 and 1460.

The business of these officers was, in the main, to keep account of money received, to examine the accounts of the purveyors, and to see that materials were properly received and contracts carried out. At times they might have to collect money themselves and also make arrangement for the supply of stores and labour. Vady, *e.g.*, in 1445-46, charged his expenses riding to London and from London

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1436-1441, 284-5.

² See *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1436-1441, 447; 1446-1452, 32.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1436-1441, 455.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1436-1441, 494.

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1441-1446, 32-33, 35, 38.

⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1441-46, 350, 372. The controllership of the customs was surrendered by November 30th, 1448. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1446-52, 205.

⁷ See note, *ante*.

⁸ E. F. Jacob, *The Building of All Souls College, 1438-1443, Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, p. 122.

⁹ Willis and Clark, I., 398.

¹⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1446-52, 242; he had resigned it by November following; *ibid.*, 306. He was a Canon of Exeter and became Archdeacon of Barnstaple in 1450 (Jacob, *ibid.*, p. 133).

¹¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1446-52, 564. He was still living in 1464; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1461-67, 382-3.

¹² Jacob, *ibid.*, p. 123.

to other places to receive money and to see about timber; while Richard Burton in the same account had his expenses at 1s. per day going to Wycombe to arrange for stone, and to Abingdon, Burford and elsewhere in search of masons. Similarly, Keys in 1449-50 accounted for money spent by himself, the clerk of the works and others riding to various places to provide materials and to take workmen. There is no evidence that any of these officials, except possibly Keys, had anything to do with architectural matters.

With regard to that aspect of the administration, our information is scantier than we could wish. In the early stages there was a master mason connected with the building, namely, Robert Westerley, 'maister mason of the werke of our newe Collaige,' for whom the Chancellor was directed to make out a commission enabling him to press as many masons as should be necessary.¹ The same man, probably, had been commissioned in 1430 to take stone cutters for the making of cannon balls, and it may be noted that John Hampton, king's esquire, later to be surveyor of the works at Eton, was at the same time commissioned to take smiths and carpenters to make carriages for the cannon.² Whether Robert Westerley is to be regarded as the designer of Eton College we do not know, nor do we know how long his connection with the building lasted. In 1438, before the works commenced, he had been appointed for life master mason of the king's works, at 1s. per day,³ an appointment in which he was renewed in December, 1446, and November, 1451.⁴ It is possible, though not proved, that the general oversight of the work at Eton was in his province as master mason at that date, and that he was responsible for the plans and specifications, not only in 1441 but in 1447, but that, having several buildings in his charge, he could not remain constantly at the College. Meanwhile, a commission, in similar terms to the one made out for Robert Westerley, was issued to two men whose names occur repeatedly in our Accounts, John Smyth, warden of the masons, and Robert Whetely, warden of the carpenters, enabling them to take 'almaners of werkmen, labourers and carriage such as (to) eythr of theyme shall seem necessarie.'⁵ We do not think it probable that John Smyth was an architect in any complete sense of the term, and consider rather that it was his business to see that a design prepared by somebody else was properly carried out, taking his instructions from the Duke of Suffolk when necessary. We think it not unlikely that he was the John Smyth whose name appears towards the end of the list of *lathami de la loggge* at Canterbury Cathedral in 1429 and first in the lists of *lathami* there in 1433, 1437 and 1439.⁶ We know too little about him to be able to determine his position very definitely. Such evidence as we have suggests that he was not nearly so important a person as, for example, Walter of Hereford at Vale Royal and Caernarvon. On the other hand, his status would appear to have been higher than that of John Clifford, principal mason at London Bridge. Unlike Walter of Hereford, Smyth had probably little or nothing to do with determining wage rates for particular masons, and he had nothing, apparently, to do with the accounts. The difference between his stipend and the wages of the masons under his authority is, however, greater than in the case of Clifford. It will be observed that John Smyth drew a higher stipend than his colleague, the chief carpenter, who was paid £10 per annum and had a livery. Robert Whetely, the chief carpenter, was probably a man of some substance, since he was able to take a contract of over £250⁷; we

¹ See Tighe and Davies, *Annals of Windsor*, I., 333 folg.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1429-36, 44.

³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1436-41, 228.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1446-52, 22, 500.

⁵ Tighe and Davies, I., 333 folg.

⁶ *Register of the Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury* (Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 165), fos. 133, 143, 154 and 157. Smyth's name no longer appears in the *Register* in 1441 and subsequent years for which masons are entered.

⁷ *Roll*, 1443-44

know, too, that he had a chance of promotion in the king's service.¹ The principal mason, we may reasonably assume, was at least in the same grade and probably stood a little higher: a special lodging was provided for him,² which was not done for the chief carpenter. John Smyth was succeeded, whether immediately or not we cannot be sure, by Simon Clerk, who was principal mason in 1456-57. Medehill's Accounts for that year show Smyth in receipt of a stipend of £2 per annum, which probably means that he was retained in an advisory capacity.

The other officials connected with the building, besides the chief smith, chief labourer and sometimes a warden of the plumbers, were an under warden of the masons³ and the purveyors. The former was paid £10 a year and the latter 6d. per day. The purveyors of stone were often, though not invariably, masons.

SCALE OF BUILDING OPERATIONS, 1442-60.

In attempting to estimate the scale of the building operations at Eton, as compared, for example, with that of other mediæval building operations, such as Vale Royal Abbey in 1278-80 and Caernarvon Castle in the early fourteenth century, allowance has to be made for the fact that the Master of the Works at Eton does not appear to have been directly responsible for so many subsidiary workers as was the case at Vale Royal and at Caernarvon. Thus no quarriers, carters, or boatmen are included in the Eton wage lists, whereas these categories accounted at Vale Royal for 41 men out of 133 in October, 1280,⁴ and at Caernarvon for 80 men out of 214 in October, 1304, and for 38 men out of 103 in October, 1316.⁵ Without quarriers or transport workers to swell the numbers, 140 men were employed at Eton in mid-October, 1442; 72 in October, 1444; 79 in October, 1445; and 118 in October, 1448. If we take the masons alone at these dates (including freemasons, hardhewers and layers) we find at Vale Royal 51 in October, 1280; at Caernarvon 57 in October, 1304, and 24 in October, 1316; and at Eton 90 in October, 1442; 55 in October, 1444; 43 in October, 1445; and 77 in October, 1448. In a general way, therefore, we feel justified in saying that in the 1440's the extent of the building operations at Eton College was not dissimilar from that at Vale Royal Abbey in 1280 and at Caernarvon Castle in 1304.

As between the different years, building activity at Eton fluctuated considerably. From Michaelmas, 1454, to Michaelmas, 1456, no records appear to be extant, but for all other years from 1442 to 1460, one, two, or three sets of statistics are available, viz., sums expended on materials, sums expended on wages, and numbers of masons employed. The accounting period was generally twelve months from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, but in one case it was as long as eighteen months, and in another as short as four months, whilst the number of masons employed varied from week to week. We have endeavoured to overcome these difficulties in the summary table which we have prepared to show the changes in the scale of operations, by giving for each accounting period (1) the average monthly outlay on materials; (2) the average monthly outlay on wages; and (3) the average number of masons employed each week.

¹ In April, 1445, he was granted the reversion of the office of chief carpenter, surveyor and disposer of works at Westminster and the Tower, at £20 per annum. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1441-46, 325.

² Its rent is a regular quarterly item in *Accounts*, 1448-50.

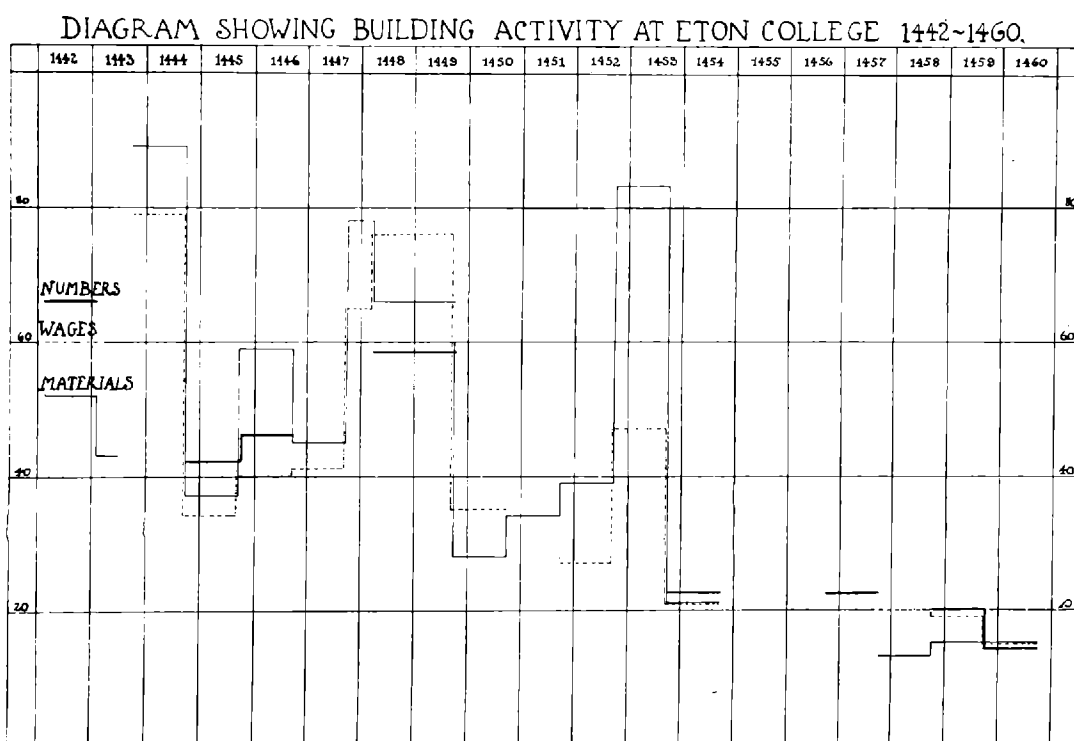
³ Vady's *Rolls* show a warden (*gardianus*) of the masons at £13. 6. 8 per annum and an under-warden (*sub-gardianus*) at £10 per annum. We take it that the warden here is the *capitalis lathamus*, and the *sub-gardianus* is the warden, of the later accounts.

⁴ See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 36.

⁵ See *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., p. 12.

Table showing scale of building operations at Eton College, 1442-60.

Accounting period.	Average monthly outlay on materials	Average monthly outlay on wages	Average number of masons employed each week
Feb. 1441-2 to Feb. 1442-3	£52	£60	66
Feb. 1442-3 to June 1443	43		
Oct. 1443 to Sept. 1444	89	79	
Oct. 1444 to Sept. 1445	37	34	42
Oct. 1445 to Sept. 1446	59	40	46
Oct. 1446 to Sept. 1447	45	41	
Oct. 1447 to Mar. 1447-8	78	65	
Apr. 1448 to Sept. 1449	66	76	
Oct. 1449 to Sept. 1450	28	35	58.5
Oct. 1450 to Sept. 1451	34		
Oct. 1451 to Sept. 1452	39	27	
Oct. 1452 to Sept. 1453	83	47	
Oct. 1453 to Sept. 1454	21	21	22.5
Oct. 1454 to Sept. 1455			
Oct. 1455 to Sept. 1456			
Oct. 1456 to Sept. 1457			22.5
Oct. 1457 to Sept. 1458	13	20	
Oct. 1458 to Sept. 1459	15	19	20
Oct. 1459 to Sept. 1460	15	15	14



From the statistical information given in the table, we have constructed a graph which brings out the substantial fluctuations in building activity from year to year, and also the gradual decline in the scale of operations. The second decade of the building operations coincided with the beginnings of the Wars of the Roses, and it was during the two years for which no accounts are extant that the Duke of York won the first Battle of St. Albans in May, 1455, and obtained possession of the government for the time being. This being so, it seems unlikely that a pet scheme of the Lancastrian king, Henry VI., would be energetically

pushed forward at that particular moment, and we are disposed to think that the scale of building operations from October, 1454, to October, 1456, was probably no greater than that in the subsequent years for which information is available. In other words, if we had to interpolate figures for the period October, 1454—October, 1456, we should assume that employment and expenditure remained approximately constant, and not that there was a wave of considerable building activity during the period, as a study of the graph, without reference to other factors, would probably incline one to surmise.

ORGANISATION OF THE BUILDING OPERATIONS.

The Accounts relating to the actual commencement of the building operations are not at present available, but they were examined by Mr. Clark when preparing the second edition of *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, and we rely upon the information given in that book to supplement the details which we have obtained from our study of the building documents listed at the beginning of this paper.

Supply of materials.

In commencing building operations at Eton College in 1441, the procedure appears to have differed from that adopted at Vale Royal Abbey in 1278. There the Master of the Works organised quarrying operations on a large scale at Edisbury some four or five miles away, and established smithies in which the quarriers' tools could be repaired and sharpened; within two or three months of starting, he was employing no fewer than 48 quarriers and a dozen men at the forges, and apparently all the stone required was obtained from the Edisbury quarries. At Eton College one of the first things done by those responsible for the building operations was to hire land to establish a brick works at Slough, from which, commencing in 1442, very large supplies were obtained. The numbers given in Willis and Clark are as follows:—

1442-3	463,600	1447-8	—
1443-4	1036,500	1448-9	60,000
1444-5	174,000	1449-50	123,500
1445-6	176,000	1450-51	135,500
1446-7	300,000		

The traffic was so great that those responsible for the building had to repair the road between Slough and Eton in 1443-4 at a cost of 6s. 8d.

On the other hand, relatively little stone appears to have been obtained locally. There are references in the Accounts to a "quarry below Windsor Castle" from which chalk and flint were dug by stone diggers (*lapifodiatores*) or labourers in the employ of the clerk of the works, whilst a stone called 'modrestone' was obtained from Langley, near Slough. We also learn that the clerk of the works paid men 4d. or 5d. per cartload to gather flint from fields at Marlow and Medmenham and to transport it to the bank of the Thames. "Hethstone" was dug at Hughenden, near Wycombe, and another fairly near source of supply was Merstham, near Reigate. But much stone, especially of the better qualities, appears to have come from further afield: from Caen in Normandy, from Maidstone, Farleygh, and Boughton in Kent, from Huddleston and Stapleton in Yorkshire, and, at a later date, from Taynton in Oxfordshire.

The methods by which the stone was obtained appear to have varied. Huddleston freestone in 1445-6 was purchased in London from the clerk of the works at Stow, whilst Kentish ragg was also obtained in London the same year from the old walls of the Savoy Palace, which the king had given to the College. In the latter case, the Eton authorities paid 2½d. per *doliate* for digging and carrying the stone to the water's edge. On occasion the clerk of the works

entered into contracts with quarry masters for the supply of stone; a contract of this type between Wm. Lynde, clerk of the works, and five quarry men of Kent for the supply of a large quantity of Kentish stone, ready dressed, was made in April, 1442.¹ But probably the most usual method was to act through purveyors (*provisores*), who were sent from Eton to the quarrying areas to arrange on the spot for the provision of stone and its carriage. Thus in 1445-6 Peter Palmer, mason, was in Kent, where he bought large amounts of ashlar and various kinds of dressed stone—*nowells*, *endstones*, *grastablez*, etc.—at so much per foot at the quarries. He was paid 12d. per week (for 44 weeks) beyond his daily wage for expenses 'being in Kent for provision and carriage of stone.' In the same year William Chirchman, mason, received 7s. in respect of expenses incurred whilst spending seven weeks at the quarry at Merstham 'for provision of stone and carriage thereof,' and Richard Burton's expenses 'being at Wycombe for the provision of stone',² were also defrayed. In 1448-9 Robert Janyns, mason, was paid £6. 13. 4 on account of provision of stone at Taynton. At that date, too, a purveyor named Jooce was in Yorkshire to arrange for supplies of stone from Huddleston and Stapleton. In the same Account it is recorded that Roger Keys, Master of the Works, agreed to hire a quarry at Huddleston from Sir John Langton, and there is an entry showing that he paid for the repair of the way from the quarry to Cawood, on the River Ouse, between York and Selby, whence the stone was shipped to London. In December, 1449, John Deneman, mason, was paid 18s. 4d. for three weeks, *plus* horse hire riding to Huddleston quarry.

A *computus* roll of 1450-1 shows that a supervisor named Wells was working the quarry at Huddleston on behalf of Eton College. In 1458-9 Medehill, the clerk of the works at Eton, paid Sir John Langton 33s. 4d. for the rent of his quarry, and a year later he paid a man 5d. for thatching lodges (*logiorum*) in the quarry. So far as we can tell, Huddleston, from 1450 onwards, was the only quarry at which the Eton authorities maintained a permanent organisation; at Windsor and at Hughenden they paid on occasions for digging stone, whilst in other cases they appear to have bought stone from the quarries at so much per foot or so much per piece.

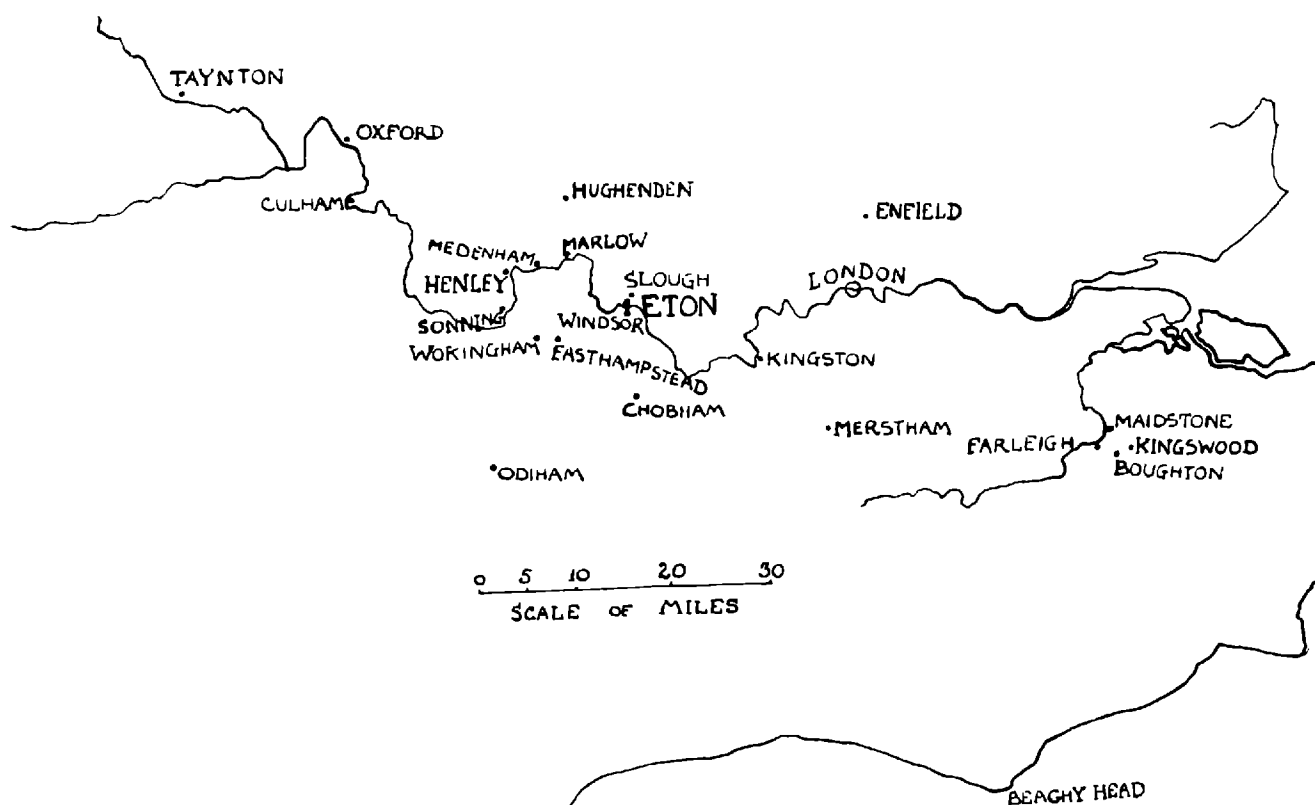
Other materials were got locally. Lime was burned in a kiln near Windsor Castle by lime-burners in the employ of the Eton authorities, the chalk no doubt being obtained from the 'quarry below Windsor Castle,' whilst the fuel for the wood fire was cut in Windsor and other neighbouring forests. Sand was dug in Eton itself. Timber came from various places: amongst others from Langley and Wexham near Slough; from Windsor Park, from Esthampstead and Wokingham, some ten to twelve miles to S.W.; from Chobham, some ten miles to the S.; and further afield from Sonning on the Thames, two miles below Reading; from Odiham, some 25 miles away, near Aldershot; from Enfield Chase, in Middlesex; and from Kingswood, near Ledes, in Kent. From Kingswood, oak was obtained; it was for arresting a certain trespasser in and about the oak timber for the building, at Kingswood, in Kent, near Ledes Castle, and bringing him before the Provost, that Richard Dawdener was paid a reward of 3s. 4d. in July, 1449.

Transport.

In view of the distances from which materials were drawn, the problem of carriage was of very considerable importance. On the other hand, the fact that supplies were obtained from so many different directions made it difficult, if not impossible, for the Eton authorities to organise a transport department of their own; in any case, to judge by the Accounts, they do not

¹ Contract printed in W. and C. L., 385.

² Presumably 'hethstone' from Hughenden.



appear to have possessed horses and carts, though the works did possess a boat, called *le schoute*, which at times appears to have been hired out, as, for instance, to William Osborn,¹ one of the chief carriers of Taynton stone. Even the local carrying between Windsor and Eton and between Slough and Eton was paid for at so much per cart load. Thus flint was carried from the quarry below Windsor Castle to the College at 2d. per cart load, and bricks from the kiln at Slough to the College at 6d. per 1,000. The carriage of 'hethstone' from Hughenden to Marlow cost 12d. per cart load, and from Marlow to Eton by boat 8d. per *doliate*. Merstham stone purchased for 20d. per *doliate* at the quarry cost another 20d. per cart load to transport by road from the quarry to Kingston and 12d. per cart load by water from Kingston to Eton. Kentish stone cost 8d. per cart load to carry from the quarries to the waterside at Maidstone, 8d. per *doliate* to carry by water from Maidstone to London, and 16d. to transport up the Thames from London to Eton.

The price paid for stone at Huddleston and the cost of carrying it to Eton appears to have varied somewhat. In 1448-9 it was being bought at the quarry for 10d. or 12d. per *doliate*, and was said to be worth 2s. per *doliate* at the wateredge at Cawood, whilst carriage thence to London by water cost 4s. per *doliate*. In 1453-4 John Person was paid 1s. 4d. per *doliate*, or 23s. 4d. in all, for 17½ *doliate*s of Huddleston stone, the cost of transporting which from Cawood to London at 5s. 8d. per *doliate* was £4. 19. 2. In 1459-60 James Palden, mason, was paid 10d. per *doliate*, or £1. 19. 7 in all, for conveying 47½ *doliate*s of Huddleston stone from the quarry to Cawood. In the same year John Perrison de Medilbourgh in Selandia, 'Ducheman et Schipman,' was paid £10. 6. 0½ for carrying 47½ *doliate*s 1 cwt. Huddleston stone from Cawood to London

¹ The following occurs in the defective volume of *Accounts* the 37 Henry VI. in our list:—

Memorandum quod recepi xxvij. die mensis Junij de Willelmo Osborn pro
r^{to} denar(io) de la Schoute, a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli ultimo
preterito usque dictam diem omnibus computis et allocatis.

Two amounts (£5. 6. 0 and £3. 19. 8½) have been entered and both crossed out.

(=4s. 4d. per *doliare*). In addition, in all cases 16d. per *doliare* was paid for the carriage of the stone from London to Eton.

In 1448-9 the cost of carrying Caen stone was 4s. per *doliare* from Caen to London, and 16d. per *doliare* from London to Eton.

In 1456-7 several men were paid 2s. per cart load for carrying stone by road from the quarry at Taynton to Culham (on the Thames below Oxford), a distance of twenty miles as the crow flies, and a further 2s. was paid for the carriage by road of the stone from Culham to Henley.¹ Thence bargemen conveyed this stone to Eton, being paid 12d. per *doliare*.

Masons' Lodges.

In discussing supply of materials, reference was made to lodges in the quarry at Huddleston. The only other mention which we have noted relates to Eton and is in the Account of 1445-46. This shows that fourteen cartloads of straw were purchased to cover the lodges and the walls of the Church in winter.

Masons' Hostel.

From an early stage of the building operations, if not from the outset, the authorities provided living quarters for the masons. In the Account of 1445-6 we read of "wages of one cook for the masons' hostel (*pro hospicio lathamorum*) for the year, with 6s. 8d. paid him for his clothes and livery, £2. 6. 8d." In the Account for 1448-9, an item in respect of wages of a cook for the masons again appears; in addition to an item for rent to John Clerk, of Eton, for the farm of a parcel of land on which is situated the tenement in which the masons (*latami*) live, and a payment of £9 to two carpenters for making a chamber (*camera*) 60ft. long by 18ft. broad with convenient height, erected on the tenement assigned and deputed to the masons, near the tenement of John Clerk situated in Eton. It was probably to a chamber (*camera*) such as this that the Third Point of the *Cooke* MS. refers—"That he can hele the Councell of his felows in logge and in chambere . . ." In the same year there are several payments in respect of preparing fuel in Windsor forest for the hostel of the masons and for transporting fuel from the forest to the hostel of the masons (*hospicium lathomorum*). Thus the masons appear to have been provided with living accommodation, free fuel and the services of a cook. So far as housing other artificers is concerned, the only references we have found are to purchases of straw in 1449 "for beds of carpenters working at le Moote and New Hall."²

MASONS' WAGES.

The classification of the masons differs in the various Accounts. In the wage-book of 1442-3 there is a three-fold division into:—

ffr'masons
harde hewers
row masons

¹ On June 24th, William Croke, John King and others, hired with some of their neighbours to carry 237 cartloads of Taynton stone from Culham to Henley at 2s. per *doliare*, were paid £23. 14. 0. Unless the scribe has made a slip, the cartload (*carrecta*) was evidently the same as the *doliata*.

² Everywhere in this section we have translated *latomi* as 'masons' because there is nothing in the context to show whether it is used in the narrower sense of hewers of freestone as contrasted with hardhewers, or in the wider sense of hewers, as in the expressions *lathomi vocati ffreemasons* and *lathomi vocati hardehewers* (see next section). As freemasons received more favourable treatment in the matter of holidays than hardhewers, it is quite possible that similar favourable treatment was accorded them in the matter of the hostel, but we have found no evidence in the Accounts, one way or the other.

There is a fourth category, viz., brike men, which appears to be the rowmasons in another disguise. The corresponding terms in the wage-books of 1444-5 and 1445-6 are:—

lathami
harde hewers
positores petrarum

whilst the brike men are there designated *positores de brike*. In John Vady's "Accounts of Receipts and Expenses, 1445-6," in summarising wages, the descriptions employed are:—

lathomi vocati ffremasons
lathomi vocati hardehewers
positores vocati rough leyers et brekemen

In the wage-book of 1448-9 there is only a two-fold division:—

lathomi
hardehewers et positores

In the wage-book of 1453-4 there is once again a three-fold division, but one which is essentially different from the previous classifications:—

cementarii
positores
cubatores

This last classification is followed in the wage-books of 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60.

In these various classifications the terms fir'masons, *lathami*, *lathomi vocati ffremasons* and *cementarii* all appear to refer to the hewers or cutters and to be interchangeable; the same men are entered under the different descriptions in the different wage lists. The same appears to be true of the terms row masons, *positores petrarum*, *positores vocati rough leyers*, *positores* (in the 1448-9 Account), and *cubatores* (in the 1453-4 and subsequent Accounts): all these terms refer to layers and are apparently interchangeable, for so far as Eton building terminology is concerned a rough mason and a rough layer appear to be one and the same thing. The word actually used in the Account of 1442-3, which is in English, is row mason (not rough mason); 'row' was either a dialect form or an alternative spelling of rough, and a row mason presumably implied a mason doing rough work, i.e., rough as compared with the work done by a freemason. In the later Accounts, which are in Latin, the word used to designate a row mason or a rough layer is *cubator*, which is distinguished from the word *positor*. The distinction between *cubatores* and *positores* in the Accounts of 1453-4, 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60 is more than a mere terminological distinction. The *positores* received not merely better pay and better conditions regarding holidays than the *cubatores*, but better pay than the *cementarii*, or freemasons, from whose ranks they were recruited and into which they dropped back when not actually engaged as *positores*. As to the distinction in the work done by the *cubatores* and the *positores* respectively, whilst the former probably laid rows of stones, we are disposed to think that the latter were hewers who, having cut tracery or arch-moulds, were for the time being engaged in setting the work they or other freemasons had cut, such setting being a highly skilled job in which a very small want of care or of precision would throw an arch or a window out of the true and spoil a hewer's work.¹

¹ 'Setters' in receipt of higher wages than the general body of masons occur at King's College, Cambridge, in 1508 (Willis and Clark, I., 475), and at Sandgate Castle in 1539-40 (*Arch. Cant.*, xx., p. 235).

(a) *Summer and winter rates.* In 1442-3, 1444-5, 1445-6, 1448-9 and 1453-4 no distinction was made between summer and winter rates; a wage of 3s. a week or of 6d. per day, as the case might be, was paid to freemasons, hard hewers, row masons or layers in summer and winter, though the layers were not generally employed the whole of the winter. In 1456-7 the freemasons were paid 3s. 4d. per week in October, 3s. a week in November, December and January, and 3s. 4d. per week from February to September. The summer and winter wages of the freemasons acting as *positores* or setters were 3s. 8d. and 3s. 4d. respectively. The same distinction between summer and winter rates was made in 1458-9 and 1459-60, so far as the freemasons and *positores* were concerned. No hardhewers were employed during these years; layers (*cubatores*) as formerly received 6d. per day in the summer of 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60; what their winter wage would have been we do not know, as none were employed from November to February in the later years.

(b) *Holidays and feast days.* During the course of a year there were numerous days on which the masons did not work, in respect of some of which, nevertheless, they received wages, the freemasons being more favourably treated in this matter than the hardhewers or row masons or layers. In some years the wage registers were so entered as to show the number of days paid for, and it is not possible to be certain which feast days were observed. On the other hand, the wage registers for 1444-5 and 1445-6 are quite explicit, so far as freemasons were concerned, so that it is possible to trace the holidays and feast days observed and whether or not they were paid for. So far as the hardhewers and layers are concerned, it is possible to trace the holidays and feast days observed, but there is occasionally an element of uncertainty as to which of two feast days was paid for. With regard to the days observed, 46 different days in all were observed as holidays or feast days during 1444-5 and 1445-6, but as in each year some of the days normally observed fell on Sundays, the actual week-days on which no work was done by the freemasons amounted to 38 in 1444-5 and to 43 in 1445-6, four of the extra days in the latter year being accounted for by fewer saints' days falling on Sundays, and one by the addition of St. Edward (October 13) to the list of Saints' Days observed.¹

Table showing holidays and saints' days observed by the masons in 1444-5 and 1445-6.

<i>Fixed Festivals.</i>		1444-5	1445-6
29 Sept.	St. Michael	YES	YES
13 Oct.	St. Edward	NO	YES
18 Oct.	St. Luke	Sunday	YES
28 Oct.	St. Simon and St. Jude	YES	YES
1 Nov.	All Saints	Sunday	YES
2 Nov.	All Souls	YES	YES
17 Nov.	St. Hugh	YES	YES
30 Nov.	St. Andrew	YES	YES
6 Dec.	St. Nicholas	Sunday	YES
8 Dec.	Conception V.M.	YES	YES
21 Dec.	St. Thomas	YES	YES
25 Dec.	Christmas Day	YES	YES
26 Dec.	St. Stephen	YES	Sunday
27 Dec.	St. John	Sunday	YES
28 Dec.	Holy Innocents	YES	YES
29 Dec.	St. Thomas	YES	YES
1 Jan.	Circumcision	YES	YES

¹ It was not observed either in 1442 or in 1444.

<i>Fixed Festivals.</i>		1444-5	1445-6
6 Jan.	Epiphany	YES	YES
2 Feb.	Purification V.M.	YES	YES
24 Feb.	St. Matthias	YES	YES
25 Mar.	Annunciation V.M.	YES	YES
23 Apr.	St. George	YES	YES
25 Apr.	St. Mark	Sunday	YES
1 May	St. Philip & St. James	YES	Sunday
3 May	Invention of Holy Cross	YES	YES
5 June	Feast of Dedication of Church	YES	Sunday
24 June	Nativity of St. John Bapt.	YES	YES
29 June	St. Peter & St. Paul	YES	YES
7 July	Translation of St. Thomas	YES	YES
22 July	St. Mary Magdalene	YES	YES
25 July	St. James	Sunday	YES
10 Aug.	St. Lawrence	YES	YES
15 Aug.	Assumption V.M.	Sunday	YES
24 Aug.	St. Bartholomew	YES	YES
8 Sept.	Nativity of V.M.	YES	YES
14 Sept.	Exaltation of Holy Cross	YES	YES
21 Sept.	St. Matthew	YES	YES

<i>Moveable feasts.</i>			
Good Friday		Mar. 26	Apr. 15
Easter Monday		Mar. 29	Apr. 18
Easter Tuesday		Mar. 30	Apr. 19
Easter Wednesday		Mar. 31	Apr. 20
Ascension		May 6	May 26
Whit Monday		May 17	June 6
Whit Tuesday		May 18	June 7
Whit Wednesday		May 19	June 8
Corpus Christi		May 27	June 15

In the table which we give we have set out the 37 fixed holidays and the nine moveable holidays observed in 1444-5 and 1445-6. In the Account for February, 1441-2, to February, 1442-3, which was written in English, some of the holidays are described by their more popular names. Thus May 3rd is described as St. Helen in place of Invention of Holy Cross, November 1st as All Hallows in place of All Saints, December 8th as Our Lady in place of Conception of B.V.M.; the days following December 25th as 'Cristemas weke' instead of St. Stephen, St. John, etc., and January 1st as 'newzere day' in place of Circumcision.

In regard to the observance of feasts it may be noted that hardhewers and layers apparently abstained from work on exactly the same days as the freemasons. In what concerns payment of wages in respect of holidays, however, the position was by no means the same. The *freemasons*, both in 1444-5 and 1445-6, were paid for all holidays except nine, namely, three days at Christmas, three days at Easter and three days at Whitsun. The *hardhewers* in each year were paid for five holidays only; in 1444-5 they were paid for St. Hugh (November 17th) 'by mandate of our lord the king,' one day in the week December 28th-January 2nd (? Holy Innocents, St. Thomas, or Circumcision),¹ one day in the week March 22nd-27th (? Annunciation or Good Friday), one day in the week May 3rd-8th

¹ For that week the register shows that the hardhewers did not work on December 28th, December 29th or January 1st, but, on the other hand, that they were paid 2s. There is nothing to indicate for which of the three holidays they were paid.

(? Invention of Holy Cross or Ascension), and the Feast of the Dedication of the Church (June 5th). In 1445-6 they were paid for St. Edward (October 13th) 'by mandate of our lord the king,' one day in the week November 1st-6th (? All Saints or All Souls), St. Hugh (November 17th), one day in the week December 6th-11th (? St. Nicholas or Conception B.V.M.), and one day in the week December 20th-25th (? St. Thomas or Christmas Day). Thus, although five holidays were paid for in each year, there was only one day (St. Hugh) common to both years, though as the table shows, only one of the holidays (including the alternatives) paid for in the first year, viz., the Feast of the Dedication of the Church (June 5th) fell on a Sunday in the second year. The *layers* were paid for only three holidays in the first year and four holidays in the second year. In 1444-5, they were paid for one day in the week March 22nd-27th (? Annunciation or Good Friday), one day in the week May 3rd-8th (? Invention of Holy Cross or Ascension), and for the Feast of the Dedication of the Church (June 5th). In 1445-6, they were paid for one day in the week November 1st-6th (? All Saints or All Souls), for St. Hugh (November 17th), for one day in the week December 6th-11th (? St. Nicholas or Conception B.V.M.), and for one day in the week December 20th-25th (? St. Thomas or Christmas Day). Thus, as compared with the hardhewers, they lost pay for St. Hugh and for a day at the end of December in the first year, and for St. Edward in the second year.

In the later Accounts it is not possible to trace the feast days with quite the same degree of certainty as for 1444-5 and 1445-6, but so far as we can judge more or less the same feast days appear to have been observed. In one or two years, however, additional holidays were introduced: thus in 1453-4 the Translation of St. Edward (June 20th), in 1456-7, St. Anne (July 26th), and in 1459-60 the Feast of the Dedication of the Church at Eton (November 7th) appear to have been observed as holidays, though for the one occasion only, so far as we can tell. The most interesting innovation, however, was the observation of the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati, which was entered in the registers on November 8th 1453, 1456, 1459 and 1460 as a day on which the masons did not work. On each of these occasions, *i.e.*, in each of later periods for which Accounts are available, the masons and other workmen had a holiday, but unlike other feast days, the freemasons were not paid wages in respect of the feast of the Quatuor Coronati. It constituted a tenth day in the year in respect of which they were not paid.

Whilst the Quatuor Coronati may have been the patron saints of the German masons, being definitely included in the Invocation of the Strassburg Constitution (1459) of the Steinmetzen,¹ the position which they occupied amongst English masons has always been somewhat uncertain. The *Regius Poem*, written approximately at the end of the fourteenth century, after setting out the legend of the Craft and the 'customs' of the masons (in the Articles and Points), devotes some forty lines under the heading *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* to the subject of the Four Crowned Martyrs, without any suggestion, however, that they were the patron saints of masons. Nearly a century later, in the London Masons' Ordinances of 1481, we find a regulation "that every freeman of the craft shall attend at Christchurch (within Aldgate) on the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati (November 8th) to hear mass under penalty of 12d.,"² which would seem to imply a definite recognition of the Four Crowned Martyrs. Our present study of the Eton College Building Accounts shows that at some date after 1448, and not later than 1453, the practice of observing the festival of the Quatuor Coronati was introduced by the masons working at Eton. The College Authorities recognised the festival to the extent of entering the name of the festival in the wage registers, but did not give it the standing of one

¹ See Gould, *Concise History* (1920), p. 20.

² *Cal. of Letter-Book, L.*, p. 184.

[illegible]

Page from the Eton College Wage Register, Oct.-Nov., 1453; which shows the observance of the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati as a holiday.

of the many official holidays for which the freemasons received their wages. Whether the observance of November 8th amongst English masons was at all general in the second half of the fifteenth century, there is no evidence to show; the Eton practice in the 1450's and the London Regulation of 1481 constitute the only positive evidence with which we are acquainted. On the other hand, the contemporary Building Accounts of Kirby Muxloe Castle, 1480-84,¹ show that masons were paid for six days in the weeks in which November 8th occurred. As the normal practice there appears to have been not to pay for holidays, we are disposed to think that the festival of the Quatuor Coronati was not observed at Kirby Muxloe.

The arrangement by which masons were frequently paid wages for holidays on which they did not work appears to have been one of the 'customs' of the masons in earlier times. This is quite explicit in the Second Point of the *Regius MS.*:—

That the mason worche apon the werk day,
Also trwly as he con or may,
To deserve hys huyre for the halyday.

As stated in the *Tew, Watson and Henery Heade MSS.*, the meaning is not quite so clear:—

And also that every Mason shall work truly upon the workday that
he may truly deserve his pay and receive it, so that he may live
honestly on the holyday. (*Tew MS.*).

The later versions of the Old Charges do not appear to refer to the question at all. Perhaps this is an example of the gradual influence of legislation on the evolution of masons' 'customs,' as the practice of allowing masons pay for festival days on which they did not work was declared illegal by Statutes of 1360 and subsequent years.²

(c). *Variety and changes in rates of wages.* With relatively small exceptions, there was very little variety in the rates of pay amongst the masons prior to 1448, apart from differences due to the varying treatment they received in respect of holidays, to which reference has already been made and which is, perhaps, implied in the statement that freemasons received 3s. per week, whilst hardhewers, row masons and layers received 6d. per day. The freemasons were paid for 24 holidays in 1444-5 and 29 holidays in 1445-6, for which hardhewers received no pay; in other words, a freemason working full-time in 1444-5 or 1445-6 would have been paid for 50½ weeks at 3s. in each case, or £7 11s. 6d. per annum, whereas a hardhewer working full-time would have been paid for 46 weeks and three days at 6d. per day = £6 19s. 6d. in 1444-5, and for 45 weeks and four days at 6d. per day = £6 17s. in 1445-6. The maximum earnings of a layer would have been £6 18s. 6d. in 1444-5 and £6 16s. 6d. in 1445-6. Thus, on the average hardhewers and layers could only earn eight or nine per cent. less than freemasons in the course of a year; in practice, their earnings probably fell short of the maximum owing to slack employment in the winter months.

In 1448 the higher rate of 3s. 4d. per week for freemasons whilst acting as setters, first appears in the Accounts under review. In that year, it was paid to four freemasons for a month. In 1453-4 ten freemasons benefited by the higher scale for periods varying from two to 25 weeks; in 1456-7 two benefited for 17 and 26 weeks respectively; whilst in 1458-60 four benefited for periods varying from 25 to 33 weeks.

In 1456-7 the introduction of the higher summer rates of 3s. 4d. per week for freemasons and 3s. 8d. per week for freemason-setters led to further variety,

¹ *Leicestershire Arch. Soc.*, vol. xi. (1915), pp. 193-345.

² See 34 Ed. III., c. xi. (1360); 4 H. IV., c. xiv. (1402); and 6 H. VIII., c. iii. (1514).

as there was no corresponding advance in layers' wages. The position with regard to standard rates is summed up in the table which follows:—

Table showing masons' standard wage rates at Eton, 1442-1460.

Year.	Freemasons.	Freemason Setters.	Hardhewers.	Rowmasons and layers.
1442- 3 (all the year)	3s. per week		6d. per day	-
1444- 5 (all the year)				6d. per day
1445- 6 (all the year)				
1448- 9 (all the year)	3s. per week	3s. 4d. per week	6d. per day	6d. per day
1453- 4 (all the year)	3s. per week	3s. 4d. per week		6d. per day
1456- 7 } summer	3s. 4d. per week	3s. 8d. per week		6d. per day
1458- 9 } winter	3s. 0d. per week	3s. 4d. per week		6d. per day
1459-60 } (Nov. Dec. Jan.)				

The exceptions seem to fall into three groups. In the first group are five hardhewers, one layer and one rowmason who received less than 6d. per day:—

Thos. Chapelyne, hardhewer, 5 days @ 6d. and 4 days @ 4d. per day in Aug., 1442.

John Benham, rowmason, 2 weeks @ 5d. per day in Sept., 1442.

John Gore, jun., stone layer, 4 weeks @ 4d. per day in May and June, 1445.

William Jemmes, hardhewer or stone layer, 4 weeks @ 5d. per day in April and May, 1448.

Thos. Asschedoune, hardhewer, 7 weeks @ 5d. per day in July-Aug., 1448.

Wm. Boile, hardhewer, 5 weeks @ 4d. per day in July-Aug., 1448.

Thos. Brygges, hardhewer, 8 weeks @ 5d. per day in July-Aug., 1448.

The first two men stayed a fortnight only, coming and going in each case alone at a time when a dozen hardhewers and a score of layers were regularly employed. They would seem to have been casual masons of a low grade of skill whose standard of efficiency did not satisfy the Chief Mason. John Gore, junior, arrived and departed with John Gore, senior; whilst the short period of service at Eton of William Jemmes coincided exactly with that of a man named John Crystmas, whose name likewise appeared in the list headed "hardhewers and layers." The last three men were recruited at a time when numerous hardhewers and layers were being engaged for three or four months. Brygges arrived in the same week as four others, of whom three departed before him and one at the same time; Asschedoune arrived in the same week as two others, of whom one departed before him and one at the same time; Boile arrived in a week by himself. Thus it would seem possible that John Gore, jun., Jemmes, Brygges and Asschedoune were learners or perhaps apprentices, travelling about the country with their masters.

In the second group were Robert Clynton, freemason, and Thos. Robynson, freemason. The former, from April to June, 1449, was in receipt of 2s. 6d. per week after being in receipt of 3s. 0d. a week like the general body of freemasons, for some four years previously. The latter was in receipt of 3s. 0d. a week in October, 1458, and from March to September, 1459, whilst the other freemasons were paid 3s. 4d. For some ten years previously he had received the same wage as the general body of freemasons, *i.e.*, 3s. in 1448-9, 1453-4 and the winter of 1456-7, and 3s. 4d. in the summer of 1456-7. Thus, after several years of service, the pay of Clynton and Robynson appears to have been reduced; we can only surmise that for reasons of health or age they were no longer as efficient as formerly, and that they accepted a reduced rate in preference to dismissal.

The third group of exceptions is the most interesting. Among the freemasons we find five men at different times serving for considerable periods at less than the standard rate, to which we know that three of them ultimately attained:—

- (i.) On May 18th, 1448, six weeks after the commencement of the 1448-9 Account, the name of Thomas Smyth first appears amongst the freemasons at a rate of 2s. per week, which he continued to receive until the close of the Account on September 27th, 1449.

During the year October, 1453, to September, 1454, he was paid the standard rate of 3s. per week, whilst in 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60 he was paid 3s. 4d. in summer and 3s. in winter like the other freemasons.

- (ii.) On February 22nd, 1448-9, the name of John Aleyne first appears amongst the freemasons, his wage from that date until the end of the Account on September 27th, 1449, being 20d. per week. By October 1st, 1453, his wage had reached the standard rate, and he received 3s. or 3s. 4d., as the case might be, like the other freemasons during 1453-4, 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60.

- (iii.) When the Account for 1453-4 opens, on October 1st, 1453, we find Henry Janyns, freemason, in receipt of 2s. 6d. per week. His name disappears from the list on March 30th, 1454, after 26 weeks of continuous service on the same day as the name of John Clerk, warden of the masons.

- (iv.) On October 1st, 1453, the name of John Coupere appears amongst the freemasons at a wage of 2s. per week, which he continued to receive until the close of the Account in September, 1454. In the next Account, October, 1456, to August, 1457, Coupere's name appears regularly at 2s. 6d. per week and likewise from October, 1458, to April, 1459. He then vanishes for more than a year, only to re-appear for a while in July, 1460, at the full summer rate of 3s. 4d. per week.

- (v.) The name of Thomas Kyng, freemason, first appears in the Accounts in June, 1459, at a wage of 2s. per week, a rate which he continued to receive until the Account closed in September, 1460.

With regard to Henry Janyns, we are disposed to think that he was the son of Robert Janyns who came to Eton from Merton College, Oxford, in the spring of 1449 to serve as Warden¹; that he was apprenticed to John Clerk, the then Warden, at some date between October, 1449, and October, 1453, and that on

¹ See below.

the departure of the latter at the end of March, 1454, the apprentice naturally accompanied his master. In what concerns Thomas Kyng, if he was an apprentice, there is nothing to show who his master was, no other freemason arriving at Eton at the same time; nor does his name appear long enough in the Accounts to enable us to trace whether his wage ultimately rose to 2s. 6d. and then to the standard rate, as appears to have been the case with Coupere. Thos. Smyth's wage, within $5\frac{1}{2}$ years of his commencing work at Eton, had risen from 2s. a week to 3s.; very possibly he attained the standard rate in a much shorter time, as there is a gap of four years in the wage lists between September, 1449, and October, 1453, about which period no information is available. The same is true of John Aleyne; in a maximum period of $4\frac{2}{3}$ years, and possibly in considerably less time, his wage rose from 20d. a week to the full rate of 3s. If Smyth and Aleyne were apprentices it would seem either: (a) that they served substantially less than seven years, unless the standard rate of wages was paid in respect of an apprentice, which we are disposed to doubt, both on general grounds and in view of Coupere's case referred to next, or (b) that they had served part of their apprenticeship before they arrived at Eton. The latter alternative would not seem impossible, as Smyth's name figures in the list for the first time in a week when a freemason named William Byrche, who had worked at Eton previously, re-appears. One objection to the surmise that Smyth was Byrche's apprentice is that Byrche vanished fifteen months later, whilst Smyth continued to work at Eton at 2s. a week, which difficulty can only be overcome by making the further assumption that Byrche died or retired from masonry and that his apprentice was transferred to another master. So far as Aleyne is concerned, he commenced work at Eton at the same time as a freemason named Walter Childecote, who was still at Eton in October, 1453, when the standard wage was being paid to, or in respect of, Aleyne, then supposedly out of his apprenticeship. Thus if Smyth and Aleyne were apprentices when they first appear in the Eton Accounts, and if they served seven years in that capacity, the presumption is that they served Byrche and Childecote respectively elsewhere for some time before arriving at Eton.

The case of John Coupere is different: his name was on the wage-list at Eton on the very first day of the 1453-4 Account, so that it is impossible to form an idea as to how long he had been there or with whom he came or to whom he might be apprenticed. On the other hand, the Accounts under review show that he served for five years and seven months at the rate first of 2s. and then of 2s. 6d. per week. When he disappeared from the wage-list at the end of April, 1459, no other mason appears to have left Eton at the same time; perhaps his apprenticeship (if any) was at an end and he left to gain experience. In any case, by April, 1459, he could have served for seven years or more at Eton. The following summer he re-appeared at the standard summer rate of 3s. 4d. per week, at a time when several freemasons were being recruited, but he only stayed for a fortnight. Reference to the possible subsequent careers of Coupere and Janyns is made in a later section of this paper.

These five men—Hy. Janyns, Thos. Kyng, Thos. Smyth, John Aleyne and John Coupere—are the only ones among the 293 freemasons recorded in the eight detailed Accounts, to whom the wage-lists would seem to point as possible apprentices. Against this supposition has to be set the fact that, so far as we have been able to discover, no mason or other worker is ever described in the Eton building documents from 1442 to 1460, either as an apprentice or as a learner of any description.

(d) *Methods of paying wages.* All wages entered in the wage-lists were time-wages at the rate of so much per annum or so much per week or so much per day. The Chief Mason was paid £3 6s. 8d. per quarter at the rate of

£13 6s. 8d. per annum; the Warden was generally paid fortnightly or weekly "in part payment of his wages of £10 per annum." The general body of freemasons appear to have received weekly wages, the other masons daily wages, but in both cases in the wage-lists, as preserved, weekly or fortnightly totals were entered against the various names. In the Accounts for 1442-3, 1444-5 and 1445-6 all entries were weekly with the occasional exception of those relating to the close or commencement of a year. In September, 1445, entries were made for two successive half-weeks (September 27th-29th and September 30th-October 2nd) at the close of 1444-5 and commencement of 1445-6, whilst in September, 1446, the last entry is for a period of one week and four days (September 19th-29th). In the Accounts for 1448-9, 1453-4, 1456-7, 1458-9 and 1459-60 the entries were mostly fortnightly, but with an occasional weekly entry to complete a quarter. It does not follow, however, that wages were promptly paid at the end of each week or of each fortnight as the case might be. The marginal notes in our first Account and occasional entries in the others throw some light on the way in which the money earned by the masons actually reached them. In one instance at least it seems to have been paid over to the principal mason for distribution.¹ Very often the pay was not drawn by the mason himself, but by one of his fellow workmen, usually a mason whose name occurs in the same list, though not always. In the week commencing 22nd December, 1442, the wages of Stevyn Baker and Roger Charleton, hardhewers, were paid *per Knyght, laborer*. Notes of the names of the workmen to whom the pay was handed over are very frequent, but with regard to two weeks there is further information, namely, the date of payment. In the week headed March 26th a date is entered, in sixteen instances, after the amount of the wage, the date being either the 3rd or the 8th of April. We conclude that in these instances the recipient's wage was either three or eight days in arrears. Similarly in the week headed 14th May a date is entered, either May 28th or June 4th, in seventeen instances before the mason's name, which we take as indicating that the particular masons concerned received their pay either nine or sixteen days after it was due. On the other hand, though some masons had to wait for their money, one at least seems to have been able to anticipate it. In the week headed 30th July there is entered against the name of Cornelius Dawker, row mason, the note: "lent to hy[m] ye same day vppo[n] hys wag[es?] ou[er]e ye seid iijs. iijs. viijd."

Although time-wages predominated at Eton, occasionally a mason was paid by the task. In Vady's Account of Receipts and Expenses for 1445-6, under the heading task work (*opera ad tascam*) we find the entry paid "to Edmund Knight for working 166 feet of asshele 44s." This Edmund Knight was presumably the same as a hardhewer of that name who worked regularly at Eton from October, 1444, to September, 1446, with the exception of a break of seven weeks in May and June, 1446. Those seven weeks contained 35 working days (equivalent to 17s. 6d. in time wages), and it hardly seems likely that all the ashlar could have been prepared single-handed by Knight in that time. He may, however, have employed sufficient assistance to complete the task in that period, or he may have done the work partly in his leisure time, either with or without assistance, whilst drawing wages as a hardhewer.

In a few cases masons received extra payments beyond their ordinary remuneration. Thus in the Account of Roger Keys for 1448-50, Peter Palmer, mason, is on one occasion paid 20s. "in reward for his diligence by precept of the provost," and on another occasion 6s. 8d., whilst a payment of 6s. 8d. was also made to Henry Roo, mason, in the same Account, no reason being stated. The principal cases of extra payments which we have come across occur in

¹ *Accounts*, 1458. "Memorandum quod liberati v. Decembris Symoni Clerk pro vadijs latomorum ix^l. xv^s."

Vady's Account of 1445-6, in which the following entry occurs under the head of "Rewards":—

"In various rewards made to the setters of stone as well as various other workmen on the aforesaid works, for their diligent labour in the said works in hot weather (*tempore estiva*) by consideration of the Marquis of Suffolk and the Provost of Eton College, viz. Henry Roo 12s., Richard Foxe 5s. 8d., John Pleasant 6s. 4d., Stephen Pette 2s. 8d., William Storer 2s., John Skynner 3s. 4d., Robert Blandon 3s. 4d., setters of freestone (*positoribus libre petre*); John Michell 3s. 4d. and Lambton Henry 12d., layers of breke. Thomas Glasier, karue(r) 20s. . "

Roo, Foxe, Pleasant, Pette, Storer, Skynner and Blandon are all classed in the wage-lists as freemasons (*lathami*) at 3s. per week; this extract shows us that they were paid extra for setting freestone in hot weather. In the next Account (1448-9) the reward to freemasons engaged in setting in hot weather appears to have been replaced by a higher wage of 3s. 4d. per week, such wage being paid to four freemasons (Stephen Pette, John Skynner, William Newman and William Byrche) whilst engaged in setting for four weeks during July and August, 1448. By 1453 the fact that the additional pay for setting was originally associated with diligence in hot weather appears to have been forgotten, for we find the rate of 3s. 4d. being paid to freemasons employed as setters in October and November of that year. From that time onwards, freemasons engaged in setting were paid fourpence per week more than the general body of freemasons, whether it be spring, summer or autumn; from the middle of November to the beginning of March no setting appears to have been undertaken.

John Michell and Lambton Henry, described in the quotation as layers of brick, appear in the wage-lists of 1445-6 under the heading stone layers (*positores petrarum*).¹ That stone layers or row masons should act as bricklayers was not unusual, as we shall show in a later section dealing with mobility of labour, but this is the only case we have found in which they were paid a special reward whilst so acting.

Thomas Glasier, described in the quotation as karue(r), is classed in the wage-lists with the freemasons (*lathami*) in receipt of 3s. a week from the beginning of October, 1444, to the end of June, 1446. This entry under "Rewards" is the only indication with which we are acquainted which shows that he was a carver.

At the end of the same Account of John Vady is another entry under the heading "Rewards" in which, unfortunately, no names are given:—

Rewards made to the carpenters, sawyers, tylers, setters, glasiers and other workers and labourers aforesaid for their diligent labour both in holiday times (*tam temporibus festivalibus*) and at other times at night (*quam aliis temporibus nocturnis*) towards the Feast of the Assumption of B.M. by consideration of the Provost of the said College and other supervisors there at various times £6. 2. 2.

In addition to their money wages, the freemasons and possibly the hard-hewers, as stated in another connection, were provided with living accommodation,

¹ In the wage register for 1445-6 there is no list of bricklayers (*positores de brike*), but in Vady's Accounts of Receipts and Expenses under the heading *Vadia Positorum* there is an item Wages of layers of brike—223 days between them, each at 6d. per day. The number of days worked by 10 bricklayers is given, including 41½ by John Michell and 44 by Lambton Henry.

free fuel and the services of a cook.¹ Further, in the case of the officers, a livery was also provided. The Account for 1445-6 shows that the cost of the cloth for the livery of the Chief Mason was 3s. per yard and for that of the Warden and Purveyors 2s. 6d. per yard.

One other modification of the normal time-wages was brought about, not by additions, but by occasional deductions or fines. Most of the examples quoted in Willis and Clark² and in Coulton³ relate to labourers, but a few cases relating to freemasons and hardhewers are recorded in the Accounts:—

In the week 2nd-7th July, 1442, John Hampton, freemason, "for late cuming and gooth from his werke owt of tyme" was paid for 4 days only.

In the week 27th August-1st September, 1442, there is entered against the names of Richard Spenser and Richard Lylly, hardhewers, "for ffyting," and each received only two days' pay.

In the week 19th-24th November, 1442, there is entered against John Reding, freemason, "ffor going w'out lycens," and he is paid for 4½ days only.

In the week 7th-12th January, 1442-3, Andrew Bruyn, freemason, is penalised half-a-day for "late cu(m)ing."

In the week 28th January-2nd February, 1442-3, Edmund Knight, hardhewer, is fined half-a-day's pay "for going on Sat(ur)day at xi. of ye belle."

In the week 20th-25th September, 1445, Richard Ffoxe, freemason, is disallowed one day's pay for coming late on various occasions.

These are the whole of the cases relating to masons which we have been able to trace in the eight sets of Accounts. It should be borne in mind, however, that five of the entries came from the 1442-3 Accounts, which was probably a working copy for the use of the clerk of the works, whereas only one occurs in the other Accounts, which appear to have been clean copies made for the Auditors. It is quite possible that as a general rule the reason why a mason lost a day or half-a-day in some particular week was not entered in the clean copies. Had the working copies of the wage-books for each period survived, it is not unlikely that more fines might have been traced. In view of the large number of masons employed in 1442-3, many of them probably recruited by impressment against their will, six reductions in pay that year for disciplinary offences seem a very small number of cases, and even if there were as many recorded in the working copies of the wage books relating to other years, it could not be regarded as reflecting unfavourably upon the general level of conduct amongst the masons. An odd fight and an occasional case of coming late or going early might easily occur in the best regulated building enterprises of modern times.

¹ See previous section on masons' hostel.

² Vol. I., p. 383. In a footnote they state that "these instances are selected from the accounts of Roger Keys (1448-9)." That is a slip; they actually came from Hampton's Journal of 1442-3.

³ *Art and the Reformation*, pp. 191-3, taken from Hampton's Journal of 1442-3.

CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT.

Although the detailed wage-records stretch from 12th February, 1441-2, to 27th September, 1460, a period of 18 years $7\frac{1}{2}$ months, there are unfortunately serious gaps in them. The position may be summarised as follows:—

<i>Wage records extant.</i>	<i>Gaps.</i>
12 February 1441-2 to 10 February 1442-3 (12 months)	
	12 February 1442-3 to 26 September 1444 (19½ months)
28 September 1444 to 29 September 1446 (24 months)	
	1 October 1446 to 27 March 1448 (18 months)
28 March 1448 to 27 September 1449 (18 months)	
	29 September 1449 to 29 September 1453 (4 years)
1 October 1453 to 28 September 1454 (12 months)	
	30 September 1454 to 25 September 1456 (24 months)
27 September 1456 to 13 August 1457 (10½ months)	
	15 August 1457 to 30 September 1458 (13½ months)
2 October 1458 to 27 September 1460 (24 months)	

Thus in all, the records cover 8 years $4\frac{1}{2}$ months, whilst the gaps amount to 10 years 3 months.

The records obviously do not include all the freemasons who worked at Eton during the 18½ years; during each gap there were doubtless recruits who came after one wage-period had closed, and went again before the next wage-period began, so that no trace of them remains in the available Accounts. In order to form an estimate of the number of these unknown recruits who worked solely at times for which no records are available, we have examined recruitment for each wage-period for which we have information to ascertain how many recruits there were (i.) who did not work at the beginning or at the end of the period in question (because those present at the beginning or at the end would be likely also to work during part at least of the immediately previous or immediately succeeding gap) and (ii.) whose names do not occur in other wage-periods. In other words, we have endeavoured to ascertain how many freemasons there were whose services at Eton fell entirely inside any one of our wage-periods.

If we picture four freemasons, W, X, Y and Z, whose names occur in wage-period II. only, and whose periods of recorded employment were as represented in Figure 1, we should exclude W for our present purpose on the ground that

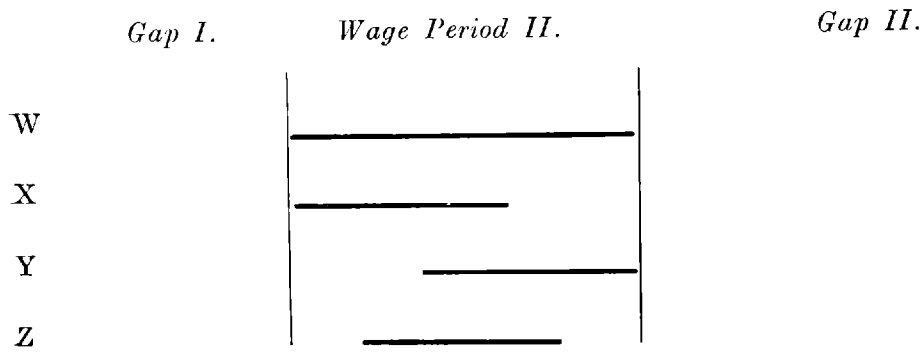


Figure 1.

his name in all probability figures in the missing records for Gap I. and Gap II., and we should exclude X and Y because their names probably figured in the missing records for Gap I. or Gap II. as the case might be. The only recruit we should count would be Z, whose period of service did not impinge on Gap I. or on Gap II. Our examination shows that the numbers of recruits in the position of Z were 19 in 1442-3, 15 in 1444-6, 75 in 1448-9, 10 in 1453-4, 2 in 1456-7 and 16 in 1458-60, or 137 in all in the six periods amounting to $8\frac{3}{8}$ years. Thinking for the moment of our wage-periods as the gaps of a man who found and tabulated the missing wage-records, we should expect to find that the names of these 137 men did not occur on his lists. If gaps amounting to $8\frac{3}{8}$ years would probably contain 137 names not recorded in the wage-periods, by a sum in proportion we conclude that gaps amounting to $10\frac{1}{4}$ years should contain 167 names, *i.e.*, $137 \times 10\frac{1}{4} \div 8\frac{3}{8}$, not recorded in the wage-periods. Thus in the $18\frac{5}{8}$ years from February, 1441-2 to September, 1460, in addition to 293 freemasons recorded in our wage-periods, we estimate that there were 167 freemasons who worked for shorter or for longer spells during the intervening gaps, but at no other times, making in all 460 freemasons who worked at Eton. We emphasize this point because to our minds there can be no question that the coming and going of freemasons at Eton was substantially greater than a consideration of the surviving records by themselves would suggest. Putting the matter in another way, practically all the long-service men are covered by the extant records whilst a large number of short-service men are omitted.

In order to bridge the gaps in the available wage-records and arrive at some idea as to how long the different masons worked at Eton, we have made certain definite assumptions:—

1. If a mason was employed at the end of one wage-period and a mason of the same name was employed at the beginning of the next succeeding period, we have assumed that it was the same man and that his employment was continuous, *i.e.*, that he worked at Eton throughout the gap in question. We indicate this in our diagram by joining the solid lines as in the case of A.B. and C.D. in Figure 2. In this

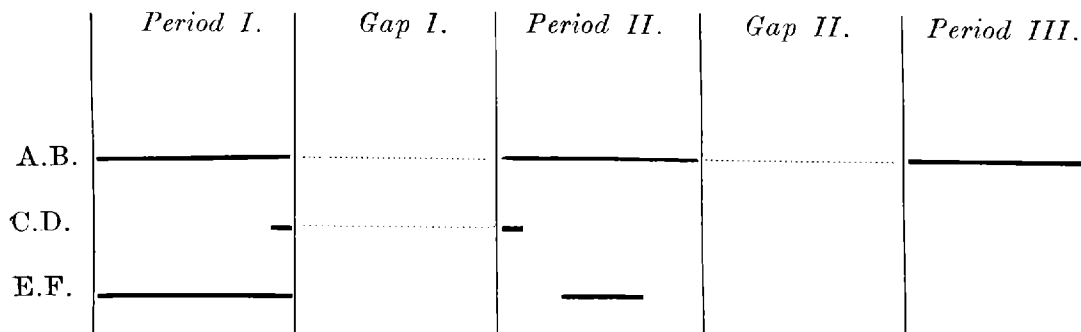


Figure 2.

way we reach the conclusion that several masons worked continuously for long periods at Eton, although there is no definite information relating to any one spell of employment exceeding two years.

2. If a mason was employed part, or all, of one wage-period and a mason of the same name was employed during the later part of the next succeeding wage-period, as illustrated in the case of E.F. in Figure 2 above, we have assumed (i.) that it was the same man but (ii.) that the employment was *not* continuous.
3. If a mason was employed part, or all, of one wage-period and a mason of the same name was employed in a later wage-period, with one or more wage-periods intervening in which his name did not occur, we have assumed that the two masons in question were different men.

Thus, for example, if the name E.F. occurs in 1442 and in 1445 we assume that it relates to the same man; if the name G.H. occurs in 1442 and not again until 1449 (*i.e.*, with two gaps and one blank period in between) we assume that we are concerned with two different men.

In the chart we have made no attempt to indicate that, where a mason was at work at the beginning, or at the end, of a wage-period, without his name appearing at the end of the immediately previous wage-period or at the beginning of the immediately subsequent wage-period, it is probable that his length of service at Eton was greater than that indicated by the solid line which represents his recorded employment during the wage period. We feel obliged to leave the partial filling in of the gaps to the imagination of the reader. In endeavouring to prepare a statistical table, however, of spells of employment at Eton we have had to make allowances for masons who were in employment when a wage period started¹ or ceased² but whose names do not appear at the end of the previous wage-period or at the beginning of the subsequent wage-period. Our method has been to place them either one or two classes higher in our tabulation according as their spell of service impinged on one, or on two, gaps.³ We recognise that our methods are rough and ready, but as the average length of the gaps is two years, or excluding the big gap October, 1449, to September, 1453, during which building activity greatly declined and dismissals must have been frequent, eighteen months, we think that the arbitrary additions we have made, which average approximately half the length of a gap, where one gap is impinged on, and half the length of two gaps, where two gaps are impinged on, are not unreasonable.

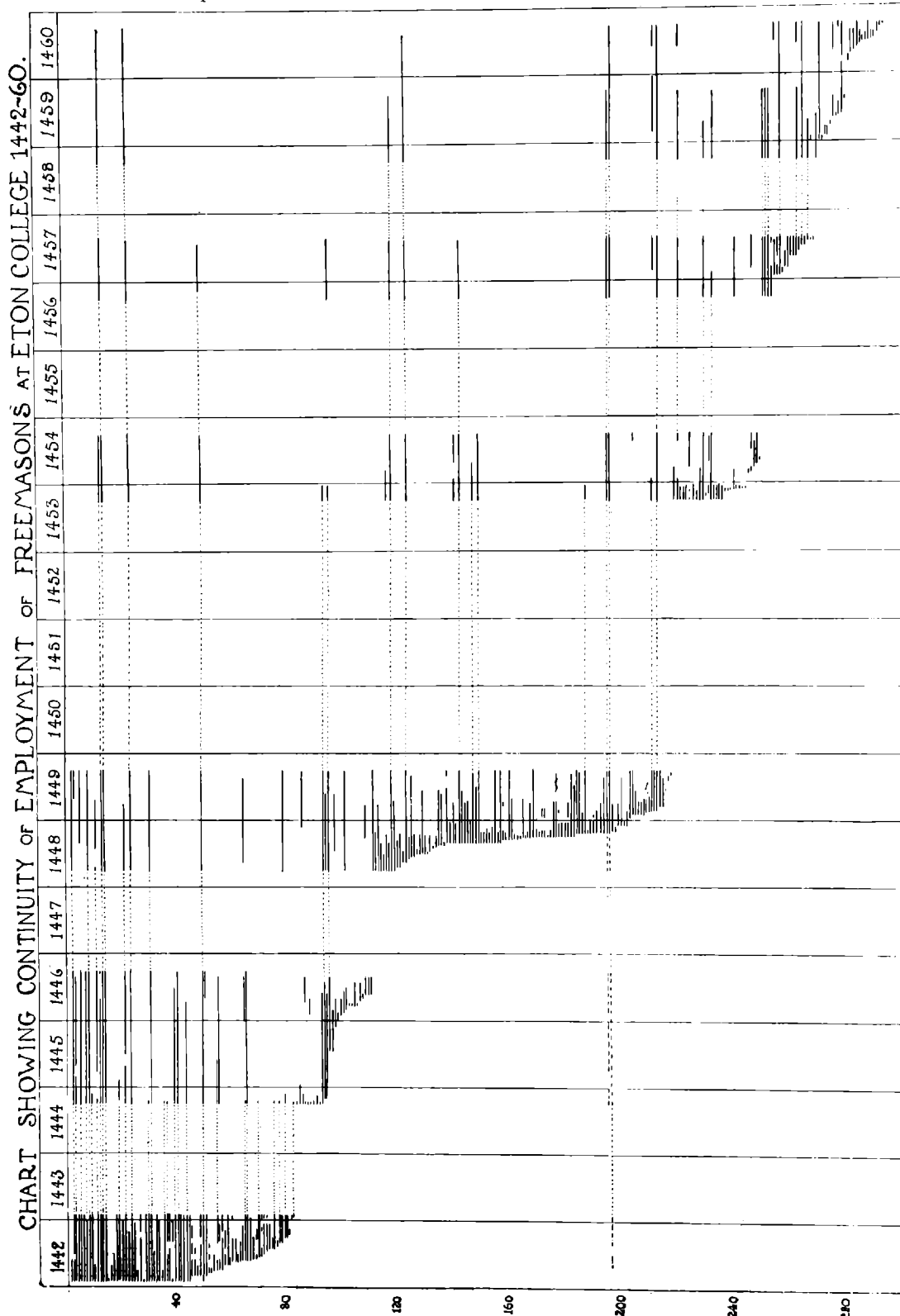
In the chart tracing the employment of freemasons at Eton College from 1442-1460 we have omitted all names so as to produce a compact diagram which could be reproduced on one page, and we have therefore contented ourselves with numbering them. Commencing in February, 1441-2, the recorded service of each man is inserted in the order in which the names first appear in the wage-registers of freemasons. The first black line at the top left-hand corner represents the career of John Sutbery, who was employed continuously from February 12th, 1441-2, to May 19th, 1442, and then entirely disappeared. The second black line represents the career of John Bright, who worked from February 12th, 1441-2, to May 19th, 1442, and again from July 16th, 1442, to

¹ Other than the first wage-period.

² Other than the last wage-period.

³ *E.g.*, a mason employed in July and August, 1442 (the middle of a wage-period) and in October, November, and December, 1444 (the beginning of the next wage-period) would be placed, not in the class 14 to 26 weeks, but the next higher class, 27 to 52 weeks. A mason who served two years from October, 1444, to September, 1446 (*i.e.*, right through a wage-period) but at no other recorded time, would be placed, not in the class 1 year 1 week to 2 years, but two higher in the class 3 years 1 week to 4 years. A mason serving through two complete adjoining periods, say from October, 1444, to September, 1446, and from April, 1448, to September, 1449, would be treated, not as a man employed for five years (class 4 years 1 week to 5 years), but as a man serving two years longer (class 6 years 1 week to 7 years).

February 9th, 1442-3, from October, 1444, to September, 1446, with the exception of odd weeks, and again from the end of March, 1448, to the end of September, 1449. His name does not appear in the later records. The fourteenth line represents the career of John Ridale, who, with the exception of



odd weeks, worked at Eton throughout each of our six wage-periods. The eighty-fifth line represents Wm. Dalinton; actually his name is the twelfth on the freemasons' wage-register of 1444-5, but the eleven names ranking before his belong to masons who appear in the 1442-3 list. His is the first new name on

the 1444-5 list, and it only appears there for three weeks and is then seen no more. The two masons who figure some two-thirds of the way down the list and are shown as having commenced work at the beginning of 1444-6 and of 1442-3 respectively, although grouped with masons commencing work in 1448, are John Boile and Thomas Peverell. They are placed according to where their names first appear in the list of freemasons; their earlier service was as hardhewers. We refer to these two men again in discussing mobility of labour.

Considering the chart as a whole, it shows us that whilst at all periods some of the recruits remained at Eton and became what we may call long-service men, there was nevertheless a marked preponderance of short-service men, a preponderance which would be even more striking if the numerous short-service men employed during the gaps could be brought into the picture. For the benefit of those who do not find it easy to follow a diagrammatic representation of the position, the situation may be represented in a different way. Of the 85 freemasons¹ whose names first appear on the wage-lists in 1442-3, 33 were still employed in 1444-5, 21 in 1445-6, 14 in 1448-9, 5 in 1453-4, 4 in 1456-7 and 3 in 1458-9 and 1459-60; or, putting it the other way round, of the 85 freemasons whose names first appear on the wage-list in 1442-3, 52 had disappeared by October, 1444, 64 by October, 1445, 71 by April, 1448, 80 by October, 1453, 81 by October, 1456, and 82 by October, 1458. We have analysed the new names in each period in this way and have embodied our analysis in a table.

Table showing the number of freemasons employed at different periods analysed according to when they first began to work at Eton College.

	1442-3	1444-5	1445-6	1448-9	1453-4	1456-7	1458-9	1459-60
Began work 1442- 3	85	33	21	14	5	4	3	3
" " 1444- 5		16	8	5	3	2	1	—
" " 1445- 6			14	3	—	—	—	—
" " 1448- 9				105	11	5	4	3
" " 1453- 4					30	5	3	2
" " 1456- 7						19	8	4
" " 1458- 9							11	4
" " 1459-60								13
Total number of free masons on wage lists in each period.	85	49	43	127	49	35	30	29

Thus the table shows that of the 16 freemasons first employed in 1444-5, 8 continued to be employed in 1445-6, 5 in 1448-8, 3 in 1453-4, 2 in 1456-7, 1 in 1458-9 and none in 1459-60. It also shows, for example, that of the 43 different masons whose names appear in the wage-list of 1445-6, 21 were first employed in 1442-3, 8 in 1444-5 and 14 in 1445-6.

Finally, we have prepared a table grouping 293 freemasons employed at Eton from 1442 to 1460 according to their length of service, which we have estimated in each case on the assumptions set out earlier in this section:—

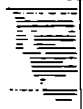


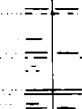
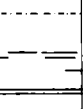
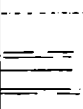

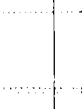





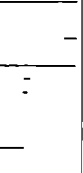

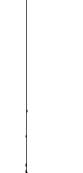

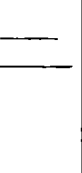









Length of Service.	No. of Freemasons.	Length of Service.	No. of Freemasons.
1 week to 4 weeks	40	8 years 1 week to 9 years	5
5 weeks to 13 weeks	55	9 " 1 " 10 "	1
14 " " 26 "	57	10 " 1 " 11 "	—
27 " " 52 "	45	11 " 1 " 12 "	1
1 year 1 week to 2 years	36	12 " 1 " 13 "	2
2 years 1 week to 3 years	19	13 " 1 " 14 "	1
3 " 1 " 4 "	8	14 " 1 " 15 "	1
4 " 1 " 5 "	5	15 " 1 " 16 "	1
5 " 1 " 6 "	8	16 " 1 " 17 "	—
6 " 1 " 7 "	3	17 " 1 " 18 "	—
7 " 1 " 8 "	2	18 " 1 " 19 "	3

¹ Including Peverell, as if he had been a freemason from the outset.

Of the 293 freemasons known by name whose periods of employment at Eton during the 18½ years from February, 1441-2, to September, 1460, it is possible to estimate, 152, or rather more than half, served for 6 months or under, or, if the dividing line is drawn at 12 months, 197, or rather more than two-thirds, served for 12 months or under.

So far as hardhewers, rowmasons, layers of stone and brickmen are concerned, but few appear to have been employed after 1448-9. The last hardhewers whom we have been able to trace occur in the wage-lists of the summer of 1448. None were employed in 1449, or in 1453-4, 1456-7 or 1458-60. A score of layers were employed yet in the summer of 1449, but most had left before

CHART SHOWING CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT AT ETON COLLEGE 1442-1450.

	1442	1443	1444	1445	1446	1447	1448	1449	1450
HARDEHEWERS									
ROWE MASONS LAYERS AND BREKEMEN									
HARDEHEWERS OR LAYERS									

the wage-account closed at Michaelmas. In the autumn of 1453, five layers were employed, of whom Thos. Hertford and Ric. Fuller had worked previously at Eton.¹ In the autumn of 1456 and the summer of 1457 only Hertford and Fuller were employed as layers, whilst Fuller was the only layer employed in October, 1458, after which he disappeared. As only five names occur after 1449, we have limited the chart and statistical tables relating to hardhewers, rowmasons, layers and brickmen to the years 1442-49. We have divided the diagram into three sections. In the first section we record the service of hardhewers; the two

¹ Hertford worked in 1442-3, 1444-6 and 1448-9 as a layer. Fuller worked in 1442-3 first as a layer and then as a hardhewer, throughout 1444-6 as a hardhewer, and in 1448 either as a hardhewer or as a layer. In our chart and statistics, 1442-9, he is classed as a hardhewer.

whose service is indicated by a broken line are Peverell and Boile, who afterwards became freemasons and have been classed by us as such throughout. Morrell, whose recorded service is represented by the first line, and Fuller, whose recorded service is represented by the nineteenth line, worked for 3 weeks and 14 weeks respectively as layers in 1442 before being grouped with the hardhewers. In the second section, we place the rowmasons, layers of stone and brickmen, whose work appears to have been to a considerable extent interchangeable. We have graphed their service in each period in the order indicated: it so happens that there were some brickmen in 1444 who were never employed at Eton as layers of stone, which explains why certain men starting work in 1444 are placed lower down the diagram than some men starting work in 1445. In the third section, we have placed those men whom we have no means of picking out of the collective group "hardhewers and layers" in the 1448-9 records as being definitely hardhewers or definitely layers.¹ In the tables we have ignored the men in this section.

The diagram suggests that in the case of hardhewers in the early years at Eton, there was a very fair continuity of service²; on the other hand, the service of the layers always appears to have been of a very discontinuous character. We have prepared two tables for hardhewers and layers respectively from 1442 to 1449, analagous to that for freemasons from 1442 to 1460 given previously. The tables tell the same story as the diagram.

Table showing the number of hardhewers employed at different periods, analysed according to when they first began to work at Eton College.

	1442-3	1444-5	1445-6	1448	1449
Began work 1442-3	21	9	5	4	0
1444-5		18	14	6	0
1445-6			6	2	0
1448				16	0
1449					0
Total number of hardhewers on wage-lists in each period.	21	27	25	28	0

Table showing the number of rowmasons, layers and brickmen employed at different periods, analysed according to when they first began to work at Eton College.

	1442-3	1444-5	1445-6	1448	1449
Began work 1442-3	38	6	3	2	2
1444-5		15	2	1	3
1445-6			7	0	0
1448				7	0
1449					23
Total number of row masons, layers & brickmen on wage-lists in each period.	38	21	12	10	28

¹ In the 1442-3, 1444-5 and 1445-6 registers hardhewers are separated from layers, whereas they are lumped together in 1448-9.

² The *Compotus* Rolls show that nearly as much was spent in hardhewers' wages in 1443-4 as in 1444-5 and 1445-6. The *Compotus* Roll for 1446-7 does not separate hardhewers' wages from the masons' wages in general, but the total figure shows a big decline as compared with the total figure for 1445-6, so that presumably the employment of hardhewers contracted rapidly after 1446, prior to petering out in 1448.

MOBILITY OF LABOUR.

Movement from place to place.

Eton being but a very small place in the middle of the fifteenth century and Windsor on the opposite bank of the Thames not being very large either, it is certain that supplies of labour must have been drawn from outside the immediate area of the building operations to enable these to be conducted on the substantial scale which the Building Accounts reveal. At the outset, considerable reliance was placed upon the system of impressment, and we are disposed to think that use was made of the same system in 1448, if not at later dates. In February, 1441, William Lynde, the first clerk of the works, was authorised to impress as many masons and other artificers as he might require and to imprison all such as should refuse to work for the King at reasonable wages.¹ At the same time another commission to arrest stone-masons, masons, etc., was issued to Thomas Wight.² In June, 1441, Robert Westerley, chief mason, in whose favour letters patent had been issued to select stone-hewers, etc., went to Burford and Oxford where his activities interfered with the work in progress at All Souls College.³ As a result of representation to the King, these workmen were exempted, but in October, 1441, John Wynwyk, warden of the masons at Eton,⁴ was authorised to take stonehewers and masons, even in the fee of the Church.⁵ It was possibly in virtue of this commission that seven masons were taken from All Souls College to work at Eton College.⁶ In April, 1442, a further commission was issued to John Wynwyk, stone-cutter, to take stone-cutters and masons at the king's wages and to imprison all persons contrary therein.⁷ In the same month we find a reward of 20s. being paid to Robert Westerley for purveying freemasons in divers places of England.⁸ In July, 1442, a commission was issued to William Veysy, brickmaker, to take masons

¹ Maxwell-Lyte, *History of Eton College*, 1911, pp. 11-12.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1436-41, p. 525. A purveyor of that name occurs in the Accounts.

³ Maxwell-Lyte, p. 12.

⁴ Possibly the same as John Wynwik, the king's servant, who was granted the office of warden of the masonry at Westminster, the Tower of London and elsewhere in England on 23rd August, 1439 (*Patent Rolls*, 17 H. VI., page 2, membrane 14, quoted by W. J. Williams, *The King's Master Masons*, A.Q.C., vol. xliii., p. 96). If the two men were one and the same, he would hardly be "warden of the masons at Eton" in the usual sense of second mason.

⁵ Maxwell-Lyte, pp. 12, 13.

⁶ Jacob, *loc. cit.*, p. 129. By the courtesy of the Warden of All Souls College, we have had an opportunity of examining the Building Account upon which Prof. Jacob's article is based. The entry (fo. 69) under September 16th, 1441, may be translated: "Pd. to John Chaunter hired to carry to Windsor the gear of seven masons, taken by mandate of the King, for his works there, 20d." *Prima facie*, this suggests that the masons were taken to work at Windsor Castle, but we incline to agree with Prof. Jacob's conclusion that Windsor was used in the Account to include Eton just across the Thames. Our reasons for thinking so are: (i.) There is nothing in the detailed Windsor Castle Building Account for 1440-41 (*Exchequer K.R.* 496/9) which points to the arrival of seven new men at the end of the season. All the masons are named: 15 worked there for 44 days and upwards; 1 for 18 days and 1 for 12 days, and all except the last had worked there the previous year (see *P.R.O. Ministers' Accounts*, 1302/8). (ii.) Building activity at Windsor was declining in 1440-41, as compared with the previous year when 45 masons were employed. It is unlikely, therefore, that masons were being recruited for Windsor in September, 1441. On the contrary, Andrew Broyne, *cementarius*, after working 131 days at Windsor in 1439-40 and 89 days there in 1440-41, appears to have gone to All Souls College in September, 1441, where he is described as a carver (fo. 68^v.) and paid 3s. 8d. a week. (iii.) We can trace four All Souls College masons at Eton College in 1442, viz., William Campyon, John Rydale, Andrew Broyne, and John Plesance. With the exception of Plesance, they were not among the newcomers arriving at Oxford from London, Norfolk, and Suffolk in August or September, 1441, though Prof. Jacob states that it was seven of such newcomers that were taken to work at Eton. Unfortunately, only very few names are given in the All Souls Account; otherwise we might have been able to trace more Oxford masons at Eton College.

⁷ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1441-6, p. 70.

⁸ Willis and Clark, I., 384 n.

and layers called 'brike leggers' at the king's wages and to commit resisters to prison.¹ Concerning a somewhat later period, there is an entry in John Vady's Account, 1445-6, "expenses of Richard Burton being at Abingdon, Burford and sundry other places (not named) for provision of masons, 7 days 7s."

In view of the fact that there was so much impressment of labour at Eton, we may turn aside for a moment from the problem of the mobility of labour to consider what light the Accounts throw on the conditions of pressed labour as compared with those enjoyed by free labour.²

(i.) *Rates of pay.* Pressed labour had to work at the king's wages. In a previous section we have seen that at Eton during the 1440's freemasons received 3s. a week, summer and winter, including pay for most holidays, whilst other masons received 6d. per day, summer and winter, but no pay for numerous holidays with rare exceptions. At Oxford, from which town we know that some of the masons were taken, the normal wages paid to masons engaged on the building of Merton College Bell Tower from May, 1448, to May, 1450, were 3s. 4d. per week from the first week in February to the last week in October,³ and 2s. 9d. per week from the first week in November to the last week in January. Thus, in theory at least, a freemason at Oxford could earn 3s. 4d. per week for 39 weeks and 2s. 9d. per week for 13 weeks, or £8 5. 9. per annum; whilst a freemason at Eton could earn 3s. for 52 weeks, or £7 16. 0. per annum. Actually at Eton there were certain holidays for which no wages were paid amounting to 1½ weeks in all, thus reducing the maximum yearly earnings to £7 11. 6. At Merton College there also appear to have been certain holidays without pay. Of the 15 masons (*latomi*) who figure in the Accounts, only one, Thomas Wykes, worked for a complete year; he received the normal remuneration of 3s. 4d. per week in summer and a winter wage of 2s. 10d. per week (compared with the normal 2s. 9d.). In view of the regularity of his employment and of his slightly enhanced winter rate, we may assume that Wykes was the first of the working masons. He commenced work at Merton College the third week of June, 1448, and was never absent when work was being done. His earnings to the end of the second week of June, 1449, *i.e.*, for his first complete year, amounted to £7 10. 4. As freemasons at Eton could have earned £7 11. 6. in the same period and were in addition provided with lodging, fuel and the services of a cook,⁴ and almost certainly had more holidays with pay than Wykes, their position in the 1440's appears to have been at least as good, if not slightly better than that of freemasons at Oxford. With the introduction of the summer rate of 3s. 4d. at Eton in the 1450's⁵ the Eton freemasons appear to have enjoyed better financial conditions than those which applied to freemasons at Merton College. In 1448-9 hardhewers, rowmasons and layers at Eton probably earned slightly less than a mason like Wykes at Oxford, especially if the greater irregularity of their work be taken into account, though very possibly they earned as much as masons doing similar work.

(ii.) *Length of employment.* So far as we can tell, there was nothing in the Eton letters patent or commissions authorising impressment to indicate how long the pressed labour could be held. On the other hand, the fact that the commissions were renewed so frequently does suggest that even though they remained valid they were not effective for very long. The Accounts also seem to

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1441-6, p. 93.

² A further study of impressment will be found in our article *The Impressment of Masons for Windsor Castle, 1360-1363*, to be published in *Economic History*, February, 1937.

³ Two masons Robert Janyns and John Atkyns, received 8d. per day, summer and winter, when at work, but they worked very irregularly at Merton and often for broken weeks. Possibly they were there in a supervising or consulting capacity. The Building Account is printed in Rogers, *History of Agric. and Prices*, III., pp. 720-757.

⁴ It is possible that Wykes enjoyed similar treatment at Merton College though there is nothing to show it in the published accounts.

⁵ This rate was in force in 1456-7 and 1458-60.

CONTINUITY OF EMPLOYMENT
OF FREEMASONS RECRUITED JULY-OCT. 1448.

[illegible]

May 31st, 1442, the names of four rowmasons, William Lynde, John Lynde, John Sacrys and Thomas Rigware appear in the wage-lists for the first time. They worked for seven weeks until July 14th, and then disappeared. In Lynde's Account for 1442-3 there is the following entry¹:—

16 July, 1442, John Lynde, William Lynd, John Sacrys and Thomas Rigware, Row Masons of Norwyche in reward at their going ... xvi. d. ha

On royal works in the second half of the sixteenth century discharged artisans were allowed the same rates as pressed men, *i.e.*, $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per mile on their return,² and we are disposed to think that the money was paid to these four rowmasons for that reason.

The most active period of recruitment amongst freemasons at Eton was in 1448; from the week ending July 27th to the week ending October 19th, *i.e.*, in a period of three months, the names of 69 new freemasons appeared upon the wage-lists, there being as many as 20 newcomers one week and 12 in another. This mass recruitment strongly suggests a vigorous policy of impressment. As the wage-records are continuous until 27th September, 1449, the employment of these men at Eton can be traced week by week for periods varying from 62 weeks to 49 weeks. We have prepared a chart to show what happened to these 69 recruits, from which it will be seen that only eight were at Eton when the Account closed on 27th September, 1449. The average *maximum* period of service of these 69 men was $54\frac{1}{2}$ weeks; their average *actual period* of service was $24\frac{2}{3}$ weeks, or 45 per cent. of the maximum. Putting the facts in another way, of the 69 freemasons recruited in the three months ending 19th October, 1448:—

41	were employed at Eton in the middle of November, 1448
40	„ „ „ „ „ „ December
29	„ „ „ „ „ „ January, 1448-9
33	„ „ „ „ „ „ February
30	„ „ „ „ „ „ March
19	„ „ „ „ „ „ April, 1449
19	„ „ „ „ „ „ May
14	„ „ „ „ „ „ June
13	„ „ „ „ „ „ July
13	„ „ „ „ „ „ August
11	„ „ „ „ „ „ September

If we are correct in assuming that the majority, if not all, of these 69 recruits were pressed men, the rate of wastage, or leakage, or release, appears to have been not inconsiderable.

(iii.) *License to be absent.* Among the marginal entries in our first wage-book are several which indicate that a careful eye was kept, not only on the punctuality and industry of the labourers, but also on the coming and going of freemasons, rowmasons and hardhewers. In the week commencing November 19th, *e.g.*, John Reding lost part of his pay *for going w^tout lycens*. Apparently, permission was required for a mason to absent himself over the week-end; against the name of Robert Norton, who is recorded as drawing full pay for the week commencing March 5th, there is the note *Et reueniet die lune*; he returned by the afternoon of March 12th and drew 2s. 9d., instead of 3s. for that week.³ In some instances more extended leave was given. Richard Golding, *e.g.*, in the

¹ Willis and Clark I., 384 n.

² Rogers, III., 657.

³ Edmund Knight, who in the week commencing January 28th lost pay *for going on Saturday at xj. of ye belle*, was probably in too great a hurry to start on his leave.

week commencing August 13th, has *this day senet*¹ opposite his name; in the following week he was absent, but was at work again on August 27th. Similarly, against the name of William Bullyon, on August 27th, there is the note *this day iij. wek*,² and, on September 10th, against the names of Philip Walker and William Tolleram, *to Myhlemess*. In contrast with these grants of leave, during which the men concerned would be absent from the masons' hostel, there is one entry which, in somewhat doubtful grammar, indicates that permission to remain in the hostel could sometimes be obtained by a craftsman who had ceased to be employed on the works. In the week commencing March 26th, against the name of James Wychingham, it is recorded that *Inest domu[m] (sic) usque die[m] lune octabis Pasche cu[m] licencia*.

The use of the system of impressment is not the only indication of movement from place to place. There are other entries in the Accounts which point to such movement. Thus, under the head of "Expenses & Rewards" in Roger Keys' Accounts of 1448-9, we find:—

26 April. Paid to James Woderoff and John Jakes, *lathomi*, for their expenses coming from Norwich to Eton £4

4 July. To James Woderoff by precept of the King for certain expenses coming from Norwich to Eton with his gear (*cum harnes' suis*).

The names of neither of these *lathomi* appear in the wage-lists; this, together with the largeness of the amount and the fact that a payment was made by precept of the king, seems to point to these men being experts of some kind or other who were brought from Norwich to Eton for a special purpose.³

In the wage-lists of 1448-9 there occur two names which a short time previously appeared in other building accounts and which seem likely to refer to the same men: Henry Rydfayre, *lathomus*, worked regularly at Eton from the end of March, 1448, to the end of September, 1449, whereas the name Henricus Rydefare, *cementarius*, occurs in the Fabric Roll of York Minster in 1446.⁴

The name of Robert Jannings, *lathomus*, first appears in the Eton wage-lists in the fortnight 10th-22nd February, 1448-9, when he is described as Warden, and was paid 8s. in part payment of his wages of £10 per annum. A mason of that name was Warden (under Richard Cheynton) at the erection of All Souls College, Oxford, 1438-1443.⁵ During the autumn and winter of 1448 the name of Robertus Janyns, *latomus*, frequently occurs in the building account of the Bell Tower of Merton College, Oxford,⁶ at a wage of 8d. per day. His name last appears there in the first week of February, 1448-9, when he was paid for one day.

In the wage-lists of 1442 the name of Richard Reyner occurs among the freemasons. We think it possible that he was the same "Richard Reyner of Thornegge (in Norfolk) ffremason" who was surety for John Marwe of Norwich, freemason, in the Conesford Quay contract of 1432.⁷

In the wage-lists of 1442, there appear the names of five freemasons, Henry Roo, Wm. Rombolde, Thos. Berry, John Boston and Wm. Newman, who had

¹ i.e., *sennight*, 'week.' The same note is entered opposite the name of Stephen Burton on September 10th, but, since he was present on September 17th and 24th, he does not appear to have made use of his leave.

² He had not returned by September 24th.

³ In Keys' *Compotus*, 1449-50, there is an entry "Reward to James Woderoffe, *lathamus*, £7." He is almost certainly the same man. A certain James Woderowe, mason, was admitted to the freedom of Norwich in 1415 (L'Estrange, *Calendar of Freemen of Norwich*). Very possibly this was the same man.

⁴ See *Fabric Roll of York Minster* (Surtees Soc.), p. 61.

⁵ Jacob, *loc. cit.*, p. 128. In the Account he is described as *gardiannus lathomorum*. He was paid 6d. per day, together with an annual reward of 13s. 4d.

⁶ Printed in Rogers, III., pp. 720 *et seq.*

⁷ A.Q.C., vol. xxxv., p. 38.

previously worked at Windsor Castle: Roo, Rombolde and Newman in 1439-40 and 1440-41, Boston in 1439-40 and Berry in 1440-41.¹ Of these five, Newman worked for some 15 years at Eton, Roo for some 12 years and Rombolde for about $4\frac{1}{2}$ years.

The name of Andrew Brwyn also occurs among the freemasons in 1442 (and again for a short time in 1446). We think he was probably the same as Andrew Broyne who worked as *cementarius* at Windsor in 1439-40 and 1440-41 at 6d. per day,¹ and as "Carver" at All Souls College, Oxford, at 3s. 8d. per week in September, 1441.² Three other freemasons at Eton in 1442, viz., John Rydale³ (working there for 18 years), Wm. Campyon⁴ (working there some 5 years), and John Plesant⁵ [Plesance] (working there some $4\frac{1}{2}$ years), also appear to have worked previously at All Souls College.

When the Account for 1444-45 opens, the names of Wm. Dalynton and Thos. Glasier occur among the *lathom*. Shortly afterwards, and in immediate succession to each other, are entered the names of Stephen Pette, Robert Clynton and John Denman. Masons of these names had all worked at Christchurch, Canterbury: Dalynton in 1429, Glasier in 1437, 1439, 1441 and 1442 (and was to re-appear there in 1454), Pette in 1431, Clynton in 1429 and 1431 and Denman in 1433 and 1437.⁶ Of these five, Pette worked for some nine years at Eton, Denman for some eight years and Clynton for about $4\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Movement from Occupation to Occupation.

1a. *Rowmasons and brikemen.* In the Account of 1442, there were 38 rowmasons on the wage-lists; of these no fewer than 20 served for one or more weeks as brikemen. In some cases it was only for an odd week, in others it was for two or three months. Apart from these 20 rowmasons who laid bricks, there were only two brikemen on the wage-list, and they only worked for four weeks each. The same conditions with regard to wage-rates and holidays applied to rowmasons and brikemen.

1b. *Layers of stone (positoires petrarum) and layers of brick (positoires de brike.)* In 1444-6 the names of 18 stonelayers appear on the wage-lists, 10 of whom worked for shorter or longer periods as bricklayers. In addition to these there were 13 other bricklayers whose names do not otherwise occur. Rates of pay and holiday conditions were the same for both classes of layer with one peculiar exception. In 1445 Robert Caron worked 21 weeks as a bricklayer at 6d. per day, holidays normally not being paid for. In 1446 he worked 20 weeks as a stonelayer, being paid 3s. per week "by agreement," holidays normally being paid for; on 10 occasions when there were only five working days in the week he received 3s. Thus he was paid, not like a stonelayer, but like a freemason.

2a. *Hardhewers and rowmasons.* In 1442, two hardhewers, Richard Bronge and Richard Fuller, worked for a time as rowmasons, the remuneration and conditions of employment being the same in both cases. In the summer of 1446, a certain Roger Style served as a hardhewer, whereas four years previously a man of that name served as a rowmason and brikeman.

2b. *Hardhewers and stonelayers.* In 1445 Richard Fuller and another hardhewer, named John Sly, worked for a couple of weeks as stonelayers.

¹ P.R.O., *Ministers' Accounts*, 1302/8 (for 1439-40), and P.R.O., *Exch. K.R.* 496/9 (for 1440-41).

² *All Souls College Building Account*, fos. 68v., 69v.

³ John Rydale, *lathomus*, was paid 12d. on 6th May, 1441, "in reward. coming from Norwich" (*ibid.*, fo. 60).

⁴ Wm. Campyon, *lathomus*, was paid 5½d. per day in January, 1440 (*ibid.*, fo. 12).

⁵ John Plesance, *lathomus*, was paid 3s. 4d. in September, 1441, "coming from Norfolk, in reward" (*ibid.*, fo. 68).

⁶ Bodleian, *Tanner MS.* 165. fos. 133, 136, 143, 154, 157, 160, 161, 172.

3. *Hardhewers and freemasons.* Thomas Peverell, who worked as a hardhewer in 1442 and 1444-6, and John Boile, who worked as a hardhewer in 1444-6, worked as freemasons in 1448-9, 1453-4, 1456-7 and 1458-60. In each case, after the transference, they received the more favourable financial treatment accorded to freemasons.

4. *Layer and freemason.* In October, 1453, Thomas Boile worked as a layer (*cubator*) at 6d. per day; from the beginning of November, 1453, until the end of June, 1454, he worked as a freemason (*cementarius*) at 2s. 6d. per week, which, allowing for more favourable treatment in respect of holidays and more regular employment in winter, probably did not represent much, if any, reduction compared with the 6d. per day previously received. From July, 1454, until the end of the Account in September he received the full rate of 3s. per week. He was employed as a freemason at Eton from October, 1456, to February, 1456-7, at a summer rate of 3s. 4d. and a winter rate of 3s. per week, and he was again employed from October, 1458, till October, 1459, on the same terms.

5. *Freemasons and setters of stone.* In 1448-9, four freemasons worked for a time as setters of stone; in 1453-4, ten; in 1456-7, two; in 1458-60, four. In every case whilst so working they received 4d. per week more than the general body of freemasons.

6. *Promotions at Eton.* (a) Peter Palmer, who worked as a freemason in 1442, and whose name regularly appears on the wage-lists of freemasons in 1444-6 and in 1448-9, was, during at least part of the latter periods, purveyor of stone in Kent. He received a livery and 12d. per week expenses for 44 weeks in addition to his wage in 1445-6, whilst in the 1448-9 Account he is referred to as the King's purveyor.

(b) A freemason named Thomas Teneham worked at Eton during April, May and June, 1442. His name does not occur in the 1444-6 wage-lists, but at the end of March, 1448, a mason of this name was Warden, an office which he continued to occupy until the end of December, 1448, when he disappeared.

The names of both Peter Palmer and Thomas Teneham occur at Christchurch, Canterbury, the former among the *latham*i in 1437, the latter among the apprentices to the *latham*i de la logghe in 1429 and among the *latham*i in 1433 and 1437.¹ It would seem likely that these were the same men.

(c) When the Account for 1453-4 opens on October 1st, 1453, John Clerk was Warden of the masons. He vanished at the end of March, 1454, and was succeeded by Richard Philpot, who had been employed at Eton College for many years as a freemason.

7. *Promotions outside Eton.* It is not without diffidence that we suggest the possibility that certain masons who worked at Eton during one or more of the periods for which records exist came, at a later date, to occupy much more responsible positions at other building operations. In each case there is an interval of a good many years which is entirely unaccounted for, and it is obviously quite impossible definitely to prove that A.B., mason, of (say) 1450, was the same as A.B., master mason, of (say) 1470. It is quite possible that the second A.B. was a son or nephew of the original A.B., even if he were not a complete stranger. On the other hand, as there are four cases in point, we feel that it is very improbable that time or circumstances should prove all the cases to be unsound.

(a) Henry Janyns, who we are disposed to think was the son of Robert Janyns (or Jannings) the Warden of 1449, and the apprentice of John Clerk, the Warden of the winter of 1453-4, may very well be the same as Henry Jennings, Master Mason at the erection of St. George's Chapel at Windsor Castle in 1476.²

¹ Bodleian, *Tanner MS.* *ut supra*.

² Tighe and Davis, I., 375.

(b) John Coupere, who appeared to be serving his apprenticeship at Eton in 1453-4, 1456-7 and 1458-9, may very possibly be the same as John Coupere, Master Mason at the erection of Kirby Muxloe Castle in 1480-3.¹

(c) Robert Spillesby, *lathamus*, who worked at Eton from July, 1445, to February, 1445-6, is perhaps the same as Robert Spillesby who became Master Mason at York Minster in 1466, a post which he held until his death in 1472.²

(d) Thomas Jordan, hardhewer, who worked at Eton from Michaelmas, 1444, to Michaelmas, 1445, may possibly be the same as the Thomas Jordan who was "serjeant of our masonry within our realm of England" in 1464.³

MASONS' TOOLS.

During the period under review there were generally two smiths on the establishment of the College; at one time each received an annual salary of £6 and a livery; later, the chief smith was in receipt of £6. 13. 4 per annum and a livery. That the smiths, amongst other jobs, made masons' tools is quite clear from certain entries under the heading "foreign receipts" in some of the Accounts and *Compotus* Rolls:—

Thomas Milsent, smith of the works, paid £1. 16. 3 on account of various instruments of the masons and other workers by him made from the iron of the said works and by him sold. (Account, 1445-6.)

And of 52s. 11½d. received of Thomas Mylsent chief smith there for divers instruments of masons and other workers working in the aforesaid works by him made with iron appointed for work of the same kind in the same time. (*Compotus*, 1448-9, 18 mos.)

The amount received from Milsent on account of tools was 12s. in 1447-8 (6 months), 2s. 5d. in 1449-50, and 17s. 2d. in 1453-4.

The entries raise three questions in our minds:—

1. Were the tools made by the smith out of the College iron and sold by him (a) the only tools made during the accounting period, or (b) the surplus tools, which were being disposed of like surplus stone, bricks or lime, or (c) worn-out tools which were being sold off like old stores (such as wooden images and leaden stars) at York Minster? ⁴

2. Were the tools in question (a) sold to Eton College masons or (b) sold to other parties?

3. Were the tools in question (a) sold by the smith as an agent for the clerk of the works, to whom he accounted for the receipts, or (b) sold by the smith as a private trading venture after he had bought them outright from the College?

We cannot supply a certain answer to any of these questions for want of definite information, and have therefore to content ourselves with weighing the probabilities. In the first place, we think it unlikely that the tools sold represented old stores; as the tools were made by the smith out of iron belonging to the College, we can see no reason, if they were worn-out beyond repair and had become so much scrap iron, why such scrap iron should be sold, instead of being used by the College smith, along with supplies of new iron which might be purchased, to make new tools and other iron work. Further, the very substantial

¹ A. H. Thompson, *Building Accounts of Kirby Muxloe Castle*, 1480-84 (Leices Arch. Soc. Transactions, vol. xi.).

² *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 72, 77.

³ *Rolls of Parliament*, v., 547 b.

⁴ *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, p. 13.

amount derived from the sale of tools in 1445-6 and 1448-9 strengthens our feeling that they were not being sold off as scrap iron. In the second place, on the assumption that the tools sold were new, the question arises whether they represented the whole or the surplus output of tools. If they represented the surplus, as was apparently the case with the lime and the bricks that were sold, it would seem reasonable to expect that the sale of tools would be large in years when building was slack at Eton, and small in years when building was active at Eton. Actually, rather the reverse appears to have been the case; the sales were biggest at periods when we know that building was most active, which seems to point to the sale of the whole, and not of the surplus, output. In any case, the tools would probably only be made as required, so that there should really be no surplus. In the third place, if the tentative conclusions previously reached are accepted, viz., that the tools sold were new, and that they represented the whole output of the smiths, it seems to follow that they were sold principally, if not entirely, to the masons working at the College: this seems the only way of explaining big sales in years of active building; it also seems compatible with the statement in the second quotation that money was received from the smith "for divers instruments of masons and other workers working *in the aforesaid works*,"¹ which implies that the tools were made for men working at Eton. Further, as the supply of tools could be adjusted to requirements much better than the supply of lime or brick, we see no reason why there should have been any surplus tools made for the Eton masons but not required by them. If the conclusion is correct that the tools were sold to the Eton masons, then the practice at Eton differed from that which appears to have prevailed at some mediæval building operations with which we are acquainted. In the fourth place, we have to consider whether the Chief Smith sold the tools made in College time and with the College iron on his own account or as an agent for the clerk of the works to whom he had to account for the proceeds. It not being uncommon in the Middle Ages to find a craftsman who whilst employed was nevertheless conducting some trade on his own account, it is quite possible that Milsent bought the tools from the clerk of the works and sold them at a profit to the masons on his own account. On the other hand, it may be that the tools were sold on behalf of the clerk of the works, who did not want to enter scores of very small items in his accounts, and preferred to lump all the proceeds together as received from the smith, who acted as salesman. On the whole, we are inclined to think that Milsent, the smith, acted as an agent for the sale of the tools, the case being analagous to that of a purveyor who acted as agent for the purchase of stone, although he actually appeared in the Accounts as the man paid for the stone. If Milsent traded in masons' tools on his own account, as very possibly he did, we should hardly expect those transactions to be mixed up with the College Accounts.

From the point of view of students of the history of operative masonry, mediæval building documents vary considerably in interest and importance. Some are useful mainly because they confirm conclusions already established, others because they throw light on matters previously uncertain. Of the very great importance of the records we have used for this paper there can be no possible doubt. The surviving documents relating to the building of Eton College in the period 1442-1460 are superior to those we used for the works at Vale Royal Abbey and Caernarvon Castle, because, invaluable as those records were on account of the picture they provided of the stone-building industry before the Black Death, the Eton documents stretch over a much longer period. They are superior to the fabric rolls of York Minster and Westminster Abbey, incomparable as the York Rolls may be in describing the government and organisation of the Lodge, because for several years they provide weekly or fortnightly wage-registers,

¹ The italics are ours.

which permit of a detailed study of the activities of individual masons. They are superior to the records of London Bridge, unrivalled as those may be in continuity and on account of the details concerning weekly payments which they preserve for centuries, because they relate to a large body of masons engaged in new construction, whereas the Bridge Accounts relate to a small body of masons engaged chiefly, if not entirely, in repair work. Notwithstanding the gaps in the weekly wage-registers, we know of no documents so capable of throwing light on the problem of continuity of employment among mediæval masons as the Eton building documents. They give a remarkably clear picture of the fluctuations in building activity and of the mobility of labour on a big building operation in which the king took a direct and active interest, for which he provided reliable financial resources and to further which he issued commissions to press workmen and punish those leaving without licence. Among other problems on which these Accounts throw an interesting light are those relating to holidays, to freemasons acting as setters, to the conditions of pressed labour and to the supply of masons' tools. On one matter hitherto very dark these records provide new information, namely, on the observance of the Feast of Quatuor Coronati. The circumstance makes it especially appropriate that the present paper on the building of Eton College should first be communicated to the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

A cordial vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Knoop for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. Williams, seconded by Bro. W. K. Firminger; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. G. W. Bullamore, C. F. Sykes and the Secretary.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

This is not the least important of the series of papers investigating the economic side of the mason craft for which we are indebted to Bro. Knoop and his learned colleague.

Our thanks are due to both of them, and there is no doubt that future students will find their paths made easier by reason of the intelligently directed labours of the authors.

The paper is valuable because it is based upon authentic contemporary evidence, and because the footnotes show the precise authority for most of the statements in the text. The conscientious care taken to avoid anything approaching guesswork is everywhere evident.

The writers of the paper have recorded the various descriptions of workers and have arrived at the conclusion that several of the terms were interchangeable and that the same men sometimes acted as "hewers" and sometimes as "setters". This is what we might expect having regard to the City of London ordinances of 1356.

As to the observance of the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati, the writers seem unduly diffident as to the significance of the reference in the *Regius* MS. They say that that MS. after setting out the legend of the Craft and the Customs of the masons devotes some 40 lines under the heading *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* to the subject of the Four Crowned Martrys without any suggestion, however, that they were the patron saints of masons.

Surely the very existence of those 40 lines in such a context is much more than the suggestion now alleged to be lacking, and therefore when we find the Feast observed at Eton before 1453 and in London in 1481, the true inference is that English Masons were merely following a precedent indicated in the *Regius* MS. and which in all probability had been the vogue long previously.

In Grose and Astle's *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iii., pages 52-3, the following extract appears from the Parliament Rolls, vol. v., p. 112:—

Presented A.D. 1443, 23 Hen. VI.

and yat from the Fest of Ester unto Mighelmesse ye wages of any free mason [a later translation of the French "frank mason"] or Maister Carpenter excede not by the day iiid with mete and drynk and without mete and drink vd o^b [*i.e.*, 5½d.].

A Maister Tyler Schlatter rough Mason and meen Carpenter and other Artificiers concernyng heldyng by the day iiii with mete and drynk and without mete and drynk iiii o^b [*i.e.*, 4½d.].

And from the Fest of Mighelmesse unto Ester a free mason and a Maister Carpenter by the day iiii with mete and drynk without mete and drink iiii o^b [*i.e.*, 4½d.].

Tyler, meen Carpenter, rough Mason and other artificiers aforesaid by the day iid o^b with mete and drynk withoute mete and drink iiii and every other Werkman and Laborer by the day ld o^b with mete and drynk and without mete and drink iiii and who that lasse deserveth to take lasse.

and that none Artificier, Werkman ne laborer, take any thyng for eny halyday ne for no werkeday excepte after the rate of the tyme of the day in which he laboreth.

(There is a different translation in *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. ii., 1377-1501, 23 Hen. VI., c. 12, p. 338, but the variations are merely verbal.)

The Statute was to operate from Michaelmas, 1446.

Reference to the Statute is made in Gould (*i.*, 362), but it is not rendered with exactitude.

It is interesting in connection with the present paper because it enables us to compare the Wages ordained to come into operation in 1446 with those actually paid to the King's workmen at Eton in the period 1442-1460.

It also shows the wages stipulated by Statute for the various classes of workmen, *e.g.*, Free Masons and Rough Masons.

Bro. W. K. FIRMINER said:—

Speaking as one whose Masonic career has for the most part been spent in a land (India) in which opportunities for research in such fields as Bro. Knoop has laboured so productively have been very limited, I thank the reader of the paper for the rich mine of materials he was so generously making available. In a former paper Bro. Knoop gave us a picture of William Baker in 1539: "Ij times Ryding to the Downes to have certayne communication with master controller there concernyng th[e] use and custome of ffre masons and hard hewers". In a footnote to the paper he has read to-night he explains that he has translated *latomi* as 'masons' "because there is nothing in the context to show whether it is used in the narrower sense of hewers of freestone as contrasted with the hard-hewers, or in the wider sense of hewers as in the expressions *lathami vocati* freemasons and *lathomi vocati* hardhewers." Probably even the most casual reader of *A.Q.U.* will see the importance of such points as these. What Bro. Knoop has to tell us about the observances of the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati in the years between 1448 and 1453 is of great interest to the liturgiologist as well as to the freemason. The earliest breviary to which Bro. Freke Gould could appeal for the observance of that feast was a Spier breviary of 1477, but Bro. Knoop takes us back to Eton in 1453, and eleven years before the outbreak of

the Civil War. Bro. Gould's authorities, at the time of his writing, appear to have been even then behind the advance of ecclesiological science. If the Worshipful Master will give me permission, and Bro. Knoop will accept my apologies for prescinding for a few moments from the subject of his paper, I would like to draw the attention of the Lodge to an Etonian who was in his day a very considerable Masonic worker. In the first vaults in the Ante Chapel at Eton, without any epitaph to mark the spot, repose the mortal remains of one who, if the event of Sedgemoor had favoured his father's arms, might have been King of England. The name of the proposer of the following resolution in Grand Lodge (21st November, 1724, *Q.C.A.*, x., p. 59) deserves to be commemorated by the brethren wheresoever spread over land and water:—

“That in order to promote the Charitable Disposition of the Society of free Masons and render it more Extensive and beneficiall to the whole Body a Monthly Collección be made in Each Lodge according to the Quality and Number of the said Lodge and put into a Joynt Stock”.

The passing of that resolution may surely be described as a historic event fraught with the happiest consequences to Masonry and the relief of those in distress. Incidentally, of course, it led on to a great step being taken towards the consolidation of the Masonic Society, for it involved the return to Grand Lodge of lists of members by the private Lodges, and it also provided a means of deciding whether or no, by long failure to pay dues, private Lodges had fallen into abeyance. The brother of whom I am speaking, after the death of his father and during the lifetime of his famous mother, Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch, was styled Earl of Dalkeith, and it was under that title he was nominated Grand Master at that stormy meeting, June 24th, 1723, from which the Duke of Wharton withdrew in so unceremonious a manner. He was succeeded in the Chair of Grand Lodge by his cousin, the second Duke of Richmond. On the 6th February, 1732, he succeeded to the rank of Duke of Buccleuch, an honour which, being his grandmother's by right, had not been forfeited by the attainder of his father, the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth. He died 22nd April, 1751, having outlived both his sons. By his own request, Bro. B. W. Harvey tells me, his body was buried beside that of his younger brother, the Hon. Henry Scott, a scholar of Eton, who was buried in that vault on March 9th, 1716. I apologise for this digression, but while we are talking of the building of Eton, it was perhaps not unpardonable to recall the memory of one who raised the corner stone of benevolence in the building up of our Grand Lodge of England.

BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

The interchangeability of the term *freemasons* with other terms I believe to be more apparent than real, for although the freemasons were *lathomi*, the *lathomi* were not necessarily freemasons. The decision of A.D. 1356 concerning the dispute between the hewers and the layers and setters swept away all barriers, and the layers acting as *lathomi* did not thereby become freemasons. The freemasons would act as setters because the setters were highly paid, but the Old Charges show that they looked down upon the layer, so that the freemason and layer is an unlikely combination.

These documents show that as a class the Freemasons were only present in the early years when the work of stone preparation was in progress. After the term is dropped we get an almost complete change of staff, and finally the classification becomes *cementarii*, *positores*, *cubatores*. The warden is changed, and the hitherto neglected Feast of the *Quatuor Coronati* becomes a holiday. The

explanation is that the Freemasons having nearly all departed, the layers and setters, who were under the protection of the Quatuor Coronati, became predominant. The presence of the *cubatores* or bedders would be due to the necessity to re-bed the second-hand material. Ordinarily this was done at the quarries. Thomas Boile, *cubator* and *cementarius* in 1453, I regard as a bedder and layer. Although described as a Freemason in this paper, there is not the slightest evidence that he was one of what Bro. Gould described as "the upper ten".

Skilled workmen seldom work single-handed. It is customary to have an assistant or "mate" receiving a lower wage. Owing to the weight of material, such an assistant would often be a necessity for a skilled mason, and at minor works he probably supplied his own man. Travelling together, therefore, would be an advantage to the mason and his mate when seeking employment, and I suggest that this is the explanation of workmen arriving and departing in pairs, the individuals of which were graded at different rates of pay.

Bro. C. F. SYKES writes:—

Bro. Knoop's and his collaborator's latest study in the History of Operative Masonry is a most valuable piece of work. I add my sincere thanks to them for an illuminating paper, one which does enlighten our knowledge of mediæval working conditions. I especially thank them for the excellent graphs and tables with which the paper is illustrated.

The period of greatest activity coincides with that during which the Earl of Suffolk was most prominent in the King's Council. His power began to fade at the close of 1449, and in the next year he was impeached, banished and subsequently murdered. After the fall of Suffolk, with the exception of the period 1452-3, when much material accumulated, work slowed down considerably. It would thus appear that the loss of Suffolk gravely affected building operations at Eton, and before they could recover, Civil War broke out, and had not ceased by the time the Eton records terminate.

The very heavy cost of transport is brought out in the figures quoted relative to stone obtained from Huddlestone. In 1448-9 a unit of stone costing from 10d. to 1s. at the quarry, increased in value to from 7s. 2d. to 7s. 4d. by the time it reached the building site. In 1453-4 transport was even more costly, a unit at the quarry costing 1s. 4d., increased in value to 9s. 4d. on arrival at Eton.

Similarly stone from Caen increased in value by 5s. 4d., and that from Taynton by 5s. per unit. Regarding the latter, the cost by barge from Henley to Eton at 1s. per unit appears to be high compared with that from London to Eton at 1s. 4d. per unit.

I like what I may term the human touches in the paper. The chart showing the continuity of employment of Freemasons 1642-60 presents the careers of nearly 300 individuals who worked for long or short periods. We see them come and go, can, perhaps, distinguish their varying abilities and picture the changing nature of activity on the building. Then the items concerning workmen arriving late, leaving without permission, Edmund Knight slipping away at 11 o'clock on Saturday, Richard Spenser and Richard Lyly stripping out to settle their differences in the time honoured fashion, all yield additional pleasure to reading the paper, even though the results of these actions did not add much joy to the delinquents on the subsequent pay day.

We read that in 1459-60 John Perrison de Medilbourgh in Selandia 'Ducheman et Schipman', brought stone to London, and there comes into view the Dutch ship with its foreign captain and crew, and we hear a strange tongue on Cawood quay.

This reconstruction of the scene and the revivifying of the working operations are accomplishments which render the writers of the paper worthy of any bouquets we can offer them.

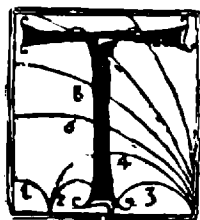
Bro. KNOOP writes, in reply, on behalf of G. P. Jones and himself:—

We wish to offer our cordial thanks to those Brethren who prepared comments on the paper, the more so because we realise that it is not the type of paper which lends itself readily to discussion. We ourselves are probably in the best position to make comments, as, since the paper was read in Lodge some three years ago, we have had opportunities (thanks partly to the generous assistance given by the Leverhulme Trustees) to examine various MSS. in London and Oxford, and thus to amplify some of the matters raised in the paper. Regarding impressment of masons, we have been able to make an intensive study of the problems at Windsor Castle in 1360-63, based on the building accounts, some Sheriff's expenses and numerous orders and commissions to take masons, the results of which are embodied in an article in the forthcoming issue of *Economic History*. In what concerns the Quatuor Coronati, we have discussed the subject at some length in the introduction to an edition of the *Regius* and *Cooke* MSS. which we are preparing with our colleague, Douglas Hamer, and which is shortly to appear under the title *The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.* We have given further attention to masons' tools, and have embodied our conclusions in *The Medieval Mason*. In that book, we have also examined in much greater detail the numerous words used in the Middle Ages to designate 'mason'. In all these cases we have left our original text unaltered and do not think that there would be any advantage in re-stating our present views here. On the other hand, where we have been successful in tracing some Eton masons, at Canterbury, at Windsor and at Oxford, we have incorporated the information in this paper. We have also, by the courtesy of the Provost of Eton College, been able to reproduce a photograph of the page in the wage register of 1453, which first shows the observance of the Feast of the Quatuor Coronati as a holiday.

ERRATA.

- Page 73 line 1: *for septimania read septimana.*
 Page 74 line 2: *for deliver read delivered.*
 Page 92 line 5: *for estiva read estiuo.*

FRIDAY, 5th MAY, 1933.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; W. J. Williams, I.P.M.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., S.W.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M., as J.W.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., Secretary; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, I.G.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., Stew.; and S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, Stew.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. R. Stansfield, W. A. Congdon, R. A. Wall, T. E. Rees, G. Y. Johnson, G. W. South, H. Bladon, P.G.St.B., C. F. Sykes, L. G. Wearing, Geo. Sarginson, Wm. Lewis, Ismay Drage, J. S. Charters, S. Battye, S. Mather Jones, Albert Thompson, S. A. V. Wood, E. S. Ladds, Geo. C. Williams, H. Johnson, F. Fighiera, P.G.D., F. A. Greene, G. D. Hindley, A. F. Ford, A. E. Gurney, J. L. E. Hooppell, P.A.G.Ch., Thos. H. Wheen, R. Girdlestone Cooper, A. B. Starling, E. Eyles, H. W. Martin, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., Fredk. Spooner, P.A.G.Purs., F. Morfee Walsh, A. E. W. Hare, S. S. Huskisson, Lewis Edwards, Geo. F. Shaw, T. F. Hurley, T. Simpson Pedler, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, H. G. Gold, R. Wheatley, E. W. Marson, Cecil Powney, P.G.D., H. Fletcher Moulton, P.G.D., F. W. Davy, P.A.G.Reg., and B. Ivanoff.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. H. C. Taylor, Lodge of Faith No. 141; and F. A. Pinfold, S.W., Earl of Sussex Lodge No. 2201.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. D. Knoop, *M.A.*, S.D.; J. Stokes, *M.A.*, P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; B. Telepneff, S.W.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; George Norman, *M.D.*, P.G.D., P.M.; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., J.D.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.

Two Lodges and Forty-two Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following members of the Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—Bros. W. L. Wade-Dalton, Junior Grand Deacon; C. J. Parsons, Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; J. A. Floyd, Assistant Grand Pursuivant; Sir T. Harris Spencer, Past Grand Deacon; O. Leo. Thomson, William N. Bacon, Hubert C. Bristowe, Maurice G. Chant, L. M. Douglas, Trevor Evans, W. E. Gilliland, N. T. Jungalwala, Edwin H. Middlebrook, J. M. Rowbotham, W. J. Shand-Smith, J. E. A. Sorrell, and Ernest C. S. Stow, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; E. J. Barrett, W. C. Hartley, D. T. James, W. Lyall, and J. Sworder, Past Grand Standard Bearers; and H. Chown and L. H. Strouts, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearers.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

A large coloured print: The Oriental Guide, containing three groups of Biblical and other scenes with Masonic reference, and various emblems, etc.

By Bro. E. EYLES, by permission of the Master of No. 167.

A set of eleven Officer's Jewels, the property of St. John's Lodge, No. 167. Those of the Master, I.P.M., Treasurer and Secretary of special design, probably pre-Union. The Deacons, dated 1821, as also the Tyler. The others of later dates.

By Bro. S. J. FENTON.

Apron. White linen, shield shaped with blue border. Flap with squared sides and a silver tassel. No emblems. Probably not Masonic.

By the SECRETARY.

Apron; orange borders, etc. Probably Dutch Constitution.

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition.

Bro. W. IVOR GRANTHAM read the following paper:—

THE ATTEMPTED INCORPORATION OF THE MODERNS.

BY BRO. IVOR GRANTHAM.



ROTHER GILBERT W. DAYNES at the time of his death in 1931 was engaged in the collection of material for a number of Papers intended for communication to this Lodge. The manuscript notes of our late Brother were fortunately preserved and passed into the hands of our Secretary who, shortly afterwards, entrusted to me that portion of them which related to the subject-matter of this Paper with the suggestion that I should endeavour to complete that which Brother Daynes had commenced. To this request I gladly acceded, and now offer for your consideration the result of my labours. In the collection of material for this Paper I have been much helped by Brother G. Y. Johnson, P.P.G.W., of York, who has kindly placed at my disposal the transcript of many relevant documents made by the late Brother W. R. Makins, for some years Assistant Librarian to Grand Lodge, who also was engaged at one time on the preparation of a Paper on the subject of the proposed Incorporation. Credit for the Paper now communicated to this Lodge is therefore due in large measure to these Brethren; its many imperfections are entirely mine.

In 1767 Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, was elected Grand Master of the original, but so-called *Modern*, Grand Lodge of England. In the year following his election the Duke of Beaufort initiated his scheme for the incorporation of the Society of which he was Grand Master. His proposal at the outset met with the general approval of Grand Lodge; but within a very short time a sharp difference of opinion arose as to the propriety of the Grand Master's project, and one Lodge even went so far as to enter a formal caveat against further proceedings in the matter. Thereafter, for a period extending over several years, argument on the subject was keen, special meetings were convened by both promoters and opposers, and each party set out its arguments in print. Ultimately the original proposal, which was for incorporation by Royal Charter, was dropped; and in the month of February, 1772, a Parliamentary Bill for the incorporation of the Society was introduced into the Lower House, where the measure was accorded a first and second reading. On April 1st, however—an ill-chosen date—on a motion for the third reading, the House of Commons delivered a *coup-de-grace*, the Bill expired, and within five weeks the Duke of Beaufort had retired from the position of Grand Master in favour of Lord Petre.

Such in outline are the events which now claim consideration. The purpose of the present Paper will be to record the principal contemporary references to the subject, to trace the steps taken by each party to the dispute, to give the text of the proposed Royal Charter and of the Parliamentary Bill, to indicate what would appear to have been the reasons or motives which actuated the contending parties, and to consider the proposed Incorporation from its legal aspect.

Although mainly concerned with the Grand Lodge of the *Moderns*, the present enquiry may conveniently commence with a brief glance at the Masonic situation in England in and around the year 1767.

By this time the *Antients* were firmly established, and competition between the rival Grand Lodges was keen. In the previous year (1766) the Hon: Thomas Matth w, Provincial Grand Master of Munster, had succeeded the Earl of Kelly as Grand Master of the *Antients*, but the moving spirit of this organisation was undoubtedly Laurence Dermott, who for the first eighteen years of its existence acted as Grand Secretary, and subsequently on two separate occasions became Deputy Grand Master.

In the older, yet so-called *Modern*, Grand Lodge the year 1766 was marked by the initiation of Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York and Gloucester during the Grand Mastership of Lord Blayney, who in the following year was succeeded in the presidency by Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort. At this period Spencer was Grand Secretary of the *Moderns*, and Thomas Dunckerley, later to acquire a remarkable number of Masonic appointments, was Provincial Grand Master of Hampshire.

On his election as Grand Master of the *Moderns* in 1767 the Duke of Beaufort re-appointed to the office of Deputy Grand Master Colonel John Salter, who had served in that capacity during the whole of the Grand Mastership of Lord Blayney. A year later, however, the Duke of Beaufort created a mild sensation by superseding his Deputy—without previous intimation to Colonel Salter, if credence may be given to the account of the proceedings published in the Appendix to the unauthorised 1769 edition of the *Book of Constitutions*. This account, constituting as it does the principal contemporary reference to the earlier stages of the subject-matter of the present enquiry, deserves to be given in full:—

At the Assembly and Feast, held at Merchant Taylors-Hall, in 1768, after a most elegant Entertainment provided by the Stewards, his Grace, Henry Duke of Beaufort, was requested to continue the Favour of presiding over them as Grand Master for the Year ensuing; which he graciously condescending to do, was proclaimed as such amidst the joyful Acclamations of the Brethren, and on being again invested with the Master's Jewel, and installed in Solomon's Chair, he appointed the Honourable Charles Dillon, Esq: to be his Deputy; also nominated Rowland Holt, Esq: to be Senior Grand Warden, Mr. Henry Jaffray, Junior Grand Warden, and continued the other Offices to the Brethren who were in Possession of them before the Election.

The Appointment of the Honourable Mr. Dillon to be Deputy Grand Master gave some Disgust, not only to Colonel Salter (by being done without any previous Intimation to him, who had so long filled that important Post with such distinguished Honour to himself, as well as Advantage to the Craft in general) but to many of the Brethren present, who taking into Consideration the said Nomination, and conceiving it as tending to be productive of disadvantageous Effects, drew up a Memorial in consequence thereof, which they presented to his Grace. In this Memorial they humbly represented their Fears that the Craft would suffer great Inconveniencies from being deprived of so able a Director, and prayed that his Grace would recall that Appointment, and confer it on Colonel Salter. But it being observed, on behalf of the Grand Master, by several of the past Grand Officers, That as it had been Time out of Mind the Custom, and was undoubtedly consistent with Reason, that the Grand Master should, without the least Controul, appoint whom he thought proper to be his Representative, the said Nomination was acquiesced with.

However well judged, at the Time of the Appointment, the Brethren's Fears of the Capacity of the Honourable Mr. Dillon might be, his manly and spirited Behaviour in the executive Parts of his Office since have removed every Chimera that the most suspicious Mind could form.

At the Committee of Charity held at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street, on Tuesday the 26th of February, 1769, previous to the Quarterly Communication at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, on the Friday following, it was declared by the Honourable Mr. Dillon, That his Grace the Duke of Beaufort proposed to petition his Majesty for a Charter of Incorporation in Favour of Free and Accepted Masons under the Constitution of England; but the particular Circumstances under which such Incorporation should be founded not being either generally known, nor clearly understood, occasioned much Altercation; as it did also when reported to the Grand Lodge assembled in Quarterly Communication. In order therefore to remove all Doubts, and that every Lodge might have an Opportunity maturely to consider the said Charter of Incorporation, the Honourable Mr. Dillon, by Command of the Grand Master, promised that a Copy of the said intended Charter should be sent to every Lodge under the immediate Government of the Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons, together with two printed Notes, one implying an Assent, the other a Dissent, in order to have one of them signed by the Master and Wardens, and witnessed by the Secretary, of each respective Lodge, agreeably to each Lodge's Determination. In consequence of which proceeding there were sent up to the Grand Secretary the Approbation of One Hundred and Sixty-eight Lodges, and the Disapprobation of only Forty-three.

In the Quarterly Communication, in ample Form, held by his Grace,, Henry Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master, with the rest of the Grand Officers, and a numerous Body of Masters and Wardens from the various Lodges, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, on Friday, April the 28th, 1769, after the Minutes of the Committee of Charity, held at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street, the Tuesday preceding, were read and confirmed, the Object of Incorporation was again taken into Consideration, and after being strongly debated, the Questions were put, when a very great Majority appeared in Favour of the Incorporation.

After the Business of the Grand Lodge was gone through, but before it was closed, his Grace the Duke of Beaufort was put in Nomination by the Honourable Mr. Dillon to be Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons for the ensuing Year; which Motion was joyfully received, and universally approved of, as it would give his Grace an Opportunity to carry into Execution those great and noble Designs which he has so generously adopted for the Good of Masons in Masonry.

*(Text of the proposed Charter,
to be given presently in full.)*

The above Copy of a Charter being, as before observed, sent to the Members of every Lodge for their Perusal and Consultation, removed all Ideas of Fear that had arose, lest any Innovations should be made in the Polity of a Society that had for so many Ages stood distinguished for Secrecy, Morality and Good Fellowship.

When this Charter therefore shall receive the Royal Sanction, it is to be hoped the several well-intentioned Schemes now in Embryo, will be carried into Execution, and that the good Intentions of many Brethren (who have been hitherto with-held from the want of such an Incorporation to validate their good Designs) will then shine forth with Lustre, and demonstrate to the World in general, but to the Craft in particular, that they not only profess, but exercise, the truly noble Principles of *Brotherly Love, Relief, and Truth*, Principles that ever did, and ever must produce those salutary Effects that are pregnant with relieving the Distressed, and removing the ghastly Aspects of Misery and Want from their Abode, by either contributing to their immediate Assistance, and so enable them to

amend their Circumstances in Life; or if that be impossible, to place them in some comfortable Asylum, that may shelter them from the dreary Horrors of spending their latter Days in absolute Penury and Want.

To the Aged only let not these benevolent Ideas be confined, but extend them even to young *Lewisses* that stand in need of such a Protection, as their several Conditions and Circumstances shall demand. Actions of such an elevated Nature cannot fail of having the Sanction of every rational Mason, nor can the Plan proposed for the support of such, it is presumed, be supported with any Arguments to destroy the Execution.

There is nothing in the above narrative to suggest that the Duke of Beaufort's design to have the Society incorporated was anything but original; and yet the question of incorporation had been raised several years previously by Earl Ferrers, Grand Master 1762-63. This fact is revealed by a publication bearing the following title-page:—

AN

ADDRESS

To the respective Bodies of
Free and Accepted Masons,

as delivered

At the Stewards Lodge, held at the
Horn Tavern, Fleet-street, London,
the 16th of November, 1763,
(Being Election and Installation Night),

By THOMAS EDMONDES, Esq;

One of the Grand-Wardens to the Right Honourable
and Right Worshipful Earl FERRERS, Grand-Master.

To which is added,

His CHARGE to the Right Honourable and
Right Worshipful Lord BLAYNEY, present
GRAND MASTER, on his being appointed
Master of the New Lodge, at the Horn-
Tavern, Westminster, constituted in due
Form, by THOMAS EDMONDES, who then
acted as DEPUTY GRAND MASTER.

LONDON:

Printed for S. Hooper, Bookseller, in the Strand, and
sold by all Booksellers. MDCCLXVI.

(Price One Shilling and Sixpence.)

On page 35 of this publication will be found this passage:—

. . . our ever-memorable grand master, Earl Ferrers, . . . proposes to set on foot the best approved plan to erect a proper building for the accomodation of the grand convocation, and grand lodges aforesaid, together with spacious rooms for a growing library, and school, for the qualifying and finishing twelve boys, sons of poor Masons, in the knowledge of some of the arts and sciences best adapted to their respective geniuses, in order to be put out in the world; . . . and I have the honour to inform you that our most worthy grand master Earl Ferrers, proposes to endow the scholastic part of the foundation with an annual perpetuity of 50 l. as a beginning, to defray the expence of the school; and that as soon as a freehold spot of ground, or convenient building can be bought for the purpose, he will, at his own expence, use his utmost endeavours to get a charter, to make us a

body corporate, and fix the foundation of the building, with its appurtenances, for ever in the grand officers for the time being, appropriated to the sole use and benefit of the Free and Accepted Masons, until this, with all the gorgeous palaces on earth, nay, the globe itself, be dissolved in the general crush. . . .

Here is a clear indication that several years before the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Beaufort the heads of the Craft contemplated the incorporation of the Society, the erection of a Hall and administrative offices, and the establishment of a School for Boys.

In view of the close connection to be traced between these various proposals, it will be necessary in what follows to devote a certain amount of space to matters which might, to some readers, appear to be foreign to the subject of the proposed incorporation. The record of subsequent events will, however, demonstrate the impossibility of eliminating all reference to these subsidiary questions.

The first public announcement of the Duke of Beaufort's intention to have the Society incorporated was made by the Deputy Grand Master at a meeting of the Committee of Charity held at the Horn Tavern, Fleet Street, on Friday, October 21st, 1768, when eighty-four Lodges were represented. The relevant Minute is as follows:—

Present

The Hon^{ble}. & Most Worshipful—

Charles Dillon, D.G.M.	as G.M.
Rowland Holt Esq ^r . S.G.W.	as D.G.M.
Henry Jaffray Esq ^r . J.G.W.	as S.G.W.
Henry Jaffray Esq ^r . J.G.W.	as S.G.W.
Tho ^s . Dunckerly Esq ^r . P.G.M.	as J.G.W.
Rowland Berkeley Esq ^r .	G.T.
Tho ^s . French	G.S.
Peter Edwards P.S.G.W.	

The Lodge was opened in due form.

His Grace the Duke of Beaufort having appointed Bro^r. Thomas French to succeed Bro^r. Spencer deceased the Most Worshipful Grand Master in the Chair invested him with the ensigns of his Office as Grand Secretary.

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The Most Worshipful Grand Master in the Chair then informed the Brethren that his Grace the Duke of Beaufort out of an ardent zeal and sincere regard for our noble Institution, and ever attentive to increase the harmony and promote the prosperity thereof, was resolved to have the Society incorporated, as well to add to its Ancient dignity and lustre, as to establish its incomparable laws on a firm, solid, and permanent basis.

And, as the immediate execution of a plan of so great and important a consequence to the honor, credit, and reputation of the Craft, cannot fail to be agreeably received, and earnestly desired, by every good and faithful Mason, he proposed, that the Brethren present should immediately take into serious consideration, the most effectual means to raise a fund, for defraying the expence of Building a Hall, and purchasing Jewels, Furniture &c for the Grand Lodge. But as the business had already advanced too far on the evening, his Worship was pleased to adjourn the Committee till Monday next at half past Six in the Evening.

The Lodge was closed in due form.

The adjourned meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, where there were present the representatives of forty-five Lodges presided over by:—

The Hon Charles Dillon D.G.M.	as G.M.
Rowland Holt Esq ^r . S.G.W.	as D.G.M.
Henry Jaffray J.G.W.	as S.G.W.
Rigg Esq ^r . R.W.M. of No. 1	as J.G.W.
Rowland Berkeley	G.T.
Thomas French	G.S.

The Lodge was opened in due form.

The Most Worshipful Grand Master in the Chair addressed the Committee on the subject of his Grace the Duke of Beaufort's kind intentions towards the Society and presented them with a scheme which he had ordered to be printed for their perusal to raise a fund for erecting a Hall and purchasing Jewels, Furniture &c for the Grand Lodge independent of the General Fund of Charity.

He earnestly recommended the Brethren to make what ever alterations they should think necessary that every measure might be forwarded to carry into immediate execution the excellent plan his Grace had proposed.

The Scheme being carefully examined several alterations and amendments were made, and the following unanimously agreed to be recommended to the Quarterly Communication for Confirmation.

- 1st. Every Grand Officer to contribute annually, in proportion to the dignity of his Office, not less than the following sums

Grand Master	20	0	0	}	37 17 0
Dep ^y . Grand Master	5	5	0		
Sen ^r . Grand Warden	3	3	0		
Jun ^r . Grand Warden	2	2	0		
Grand Treasurer	3	3	0		
Grand Secretary	3	3	0		
Grand Sword Bearer	1	1	0		

- 2^d. Every provincial Grand Master pays One Guinea to the Secretary for registering his name and half a Guinea for drawing out his deputation on parchment which fees (if the Sec^y. and his Deputy have a salary) will go to this fund, and supposing six nominations in one Year will raise £9-9-0.
- 3^d. Every provincial Grand Master who chuses to have his patent curiously drawn with the usual embellishments on Vellum to pay five Guineas which supposing 2 Yearly will raise £10-10-0.
- 4th. Every Lodge constituted pays one Guinea to the Secretary for being registered, and half a Guinea for drawing their Constitution on parchment, which supposing Twenty annually will raise 31-10-0.
- 5th. Every Constitution drawn with the usual embellishments on Vellum, at five Guineas each which, supposing three annually 15-15-0.
- 6th. Every new made Brother at his admission to pay a sum not less than two Shillings and sixpence for registering his name which as there are above 390 contributing Lodges, and supposing 350 to make, on an average Ten Masons annually will raise 437-10-0.
- 7th. No present member of any Lodge to be affected by this charge unless he joins another; then he is to pay two Shillings and six pence for having his name registered as member of every such Lodge which at a moderate computation will produce annually £100-0-0.
- 8th. Every Lodge to pay the sum of two Shillings and six pence for every Mason thay shall hereafter make, when such Bro^r. is registered which will produce annually £437-10-0.

- 9th. As there are many Cases according to the Constitutions wherein particular Lodges cannot act without a special power from the Grand Master, an annual dispensation will be granted in all such circumstances as are prescribed by our laws, excepting funerals and other publick exhibitions, or making Masons under age, to every Lodge within the Bills of Mortality at half a Guinea each, to every Lodge in the Country or abroad at a Quarter Guinea each,

100 within the Bills of Mortality will produce	£52-10-0	} 105-0-0
200 in the Country or abroad	52-10-0	

rejected

- 10th. Every Old Lodge which has lost its Warrant, except the two oldest Lodges to pay One Guinea for a new Patent which shall bear date from the time they were constituted. This will raise to this fund £105-0-0.

- 11th. A Book to be open in every Lodge for the voluntary Contributions of the members, to be applied to the purposes of the Grand Lodge.

Sum Total on an average, exclusive of	
Voluntary Subscriptions	£1290-1-0.

By this Scheme the General Fund of Charity will be greatly augmented as the salaries, with every other expence will be defrayed out of this Fund.

All Business being over the Lodge was closed in due form.

On Friday, October 28th, 1768, this Scheme was sanctioned by Grand Lodge, subject to the deletion of Clause 10—an amendment to which may be attributed the marginal note subsequently inserted in the Minute Book of the Committee of Charity.

The relevant Grand Lodge Minute reads:—

The Hon^{ble}. and Right Worshipful CHARLES DILLON, D.G.M., having acquainted the Brethren at the last C.C. with his Grace the Duke of Beaufort's Intentions to have the Society incorporated, and also represented to them the Advantages that would result from the Accomplishment of so great a Design, proposed, previous thereto, that the Committee should take into its serious Consideration the most effectual Means for raising a Fund to build a HALL and purchase Jewels, Furniture, &c. for the Grand Lodge independent of the General Fund of Charity and at the same time recommended a Plan to their Perusal to which several Amendments were made and the following Resolutions agreed to, were referred to this Communication and unanimously Confirmed.

Here follow, in the original entry, the first nine and the last of the eleven financial proposals submitted by the Committee of Charity.

Amongst other allusions in the Press to these projected schemes, the following may here be quoted:—

The Public Advertiser

(London)—October 31st, 1768.

On Friday Evening a grand Meeting of the Free Masons was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, when 300 l. were collected for the purposes of Charity, and it was agreed to build a Hall for the Use of the Society, and likewise a Number of Almshouses for the Accommodation of decayed Masons having large Families.

The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser

(London)—November 10th, 1768.

We hear his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, has given a piece of ground at St. Mary le Bone, whereupon to erect an Hospital for the sick and lame members of the

fraternity, and another for the aged and infirm; as also a school for the children and orphans of decayed brethren.

The Newcastle Journal

(Newcastle)—November 26th, 1768.

We are credibly informed, that the English Society of Free and accepted Masons, intend to apply for a Charter to make themselves a legal body corporate, in order to annihilate the Society who stile themselves Antient Free Masons, on account of the disgrace they have brought on Freemasonry, by indiscriminately admitting every one into it who can pay their fees, let their character be ever so infamous.

The motive imputed to the *Moderns* in this last paragraph deserves to be noted.

Thomas French, appointed Grand Secretary in October, 1768, was soon engaged in heavy correspondence, as may be seen by perusing the Letter Book of this period. Following upon the meeting of Grand Lodge on October 28th, he addressed the Grand Master in these terms:—

May it please your Grace

The Grand Lodge of the Antient & Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons under your Grace's authority and protection in Quarterly Communication assembled, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand on Friday the 28th day of October 1768 unanimously resolved that their thanks be given to your Grace for the honour of your patronage and the particular regard you have professed for the Society by Our Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master, which they will ever remember with the deepest sense of gratitude, and assure your Grace that their utmost endeavours will ever be exerted to preserve the harmony of the Craft, and to support you in every measure that can bring honour, credit, and reputation to the Society.

I have the honour to subscribe myself with the most dutiful respect,
May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most Obed^t. & Hum^{le}. Serv^t.

THO. FRENCH, G.S.

To this letter of thanks a somewhat tardy acknowledgment was accorded on February 11th, 1769:—

Grosvenor Square

Feb^y. 11 1769.

Sir,

I received yours (with a message from the Grand Lodge held the 28th day of October 1768) and beg you will at the next Quarterly Communication present my best Compliments to the Grand Lodge, and assure them that their approbation of my conduct in Masonry makes me extremely happy; that what was proposed to them by Brother Dillon was meant by me for the good of the Society; and as they have received it as such it gives me the highest satisfaction.

I desire you will return them very sincere thanks for their ready reception of this most useful and beneficial plan and for the general support they have already given it. I hope they will continue to act with unanimity and cordiality the true characteristics of good masons, that we may, with greater speed and ease bring this matter to a happy conclusion. No endeavours on my part shall be wanting to accomplish it.

I am, Sir,

Your and their most affect^{le}. Brother and Well-wisher,

BEAUFORT, G.M.

P.S.

I take this opportunity of desiring you to return my sincere thanks to those Masters of Lodges who so cordially promised to support me and the

Grand Officers in the measures necessary to be taken to bring this plan to perfection.

This reply is phrased in a way which suggests that the Grand Master was not unaware of the opposition which was already manifesting itself. But before the nature of this opposition is indicated, further letters written by the Grand Secretary during the closing months of 1768 must be quoted:—

Brother French to Brother Banks.

To the Right Worthy and Worshipful Master,
Wardens and Brethren of the Eighth Lodge
at Calcutta—Greeting

. . . His Grace the Duke of Beaufort and the Honourable Charles Dillon are resolved to have the Society Incorporated as well to add to its dignity as to establish its Laws; and the Grand Lodge have unanimously confirmed the inclosed scheme previous to the execution of that excellent plan, which we have every reason to believe will be agreeably received by you.

New Bond Street

THOS. FRENCH G.S.

London 31 Oct. 1768.

Brother French to Brother Middleton, P.G.M. Bengal.

Right Worthy Brother,

. . . I have the pleasure to inform you that his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, and the Hon^{ble}. Charles Dillon our Deputy Grand Master, ever zealous to promote the prosperity of the Craft, are resolved to have the Society incorporated; as well to revive its antient lustre, as to establish its incomparable Laws on a permanent foundation.

The inclosed Resolution of the Grand Lodge assembled in Quarterly Communication, are recommended to you by his Grace, who hopes the excellent plan proposed will meet with the favourable approbation of all our worthy Brethren in India.

I have the honour to be, with all due respect

Right Worshipful, Your most affectionate Brother
and most obliged Humble Servant

New Bond Street

THOS. FRENCH G.S.

London 31 Oct. 1768.

By order of the D.G.M.

Reference to the contemporary Letter Books preserved in the Grand Lodge Library reveal the text of similar letters addressed to

Brother Price	Boston,
Brother Griffin	Mother Lodge, St. Kitts,
Brother Errington	Barbados,
Brother Trotter	Darlington.

The letter addressed to Brother Trotter at Darlington contains an expression of hope

that the Brethren of your Lodge will pay a proper regard to our Regulations.

The date of this letter is November 28th, 1768.

Owing to the scarcity of contemporary Minutes, it is difficult to gauge accurately the nature of the reception accorded by Lodges to the Grand Master's financial and other proposals. The Grand Secretary must indeed have been gratified by the receipt of a letter couched in these terms:—

Whitehaven

Worthy Brother,

25 Nov. 1768

As our most noble Grand Master His Grace the Duke of Beaufort's intentions are to have the Society incorporated, and supposing the advantages resulting therefrom will answer the end proposed, we do more gladly concur

with the same or any other measure that the Grand Lodge shall at any time think proper to enter into for promoting the interest of this our most Antient and honourable Society.

HENRY ELLISON	Master
JOHN HARRIMAN	} Wardens
ROB ^t . SANDEMAN	

The New Year (1769) was destined to bring trouble to those in authority, for on January 2nd, at a regular meeting of the Caledonian Lodge No. 325, a resolution was passed authorising a Memorial against the proposed incorporation of the Society to be presented at the next Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge. This Memorial (shortly to be given verbatim) was prepared with obvious care, and contained reasoned arguments against the project. Other Memorials against the proposal were prepared by the St. Alban's Lodge (then No. 26), the Stewards Lodge (then No. 70), and the Royal Lodge (then No. 313). The text of these last three Memorials unfortunately cannot be traced, but they would all appear to have been presented to Grand Lodge at or before the meeting held on February 28th, 1769.

Intimation of this growing opposition must have reached the ears of those at headquarters, because on January 25th there appeared in the London Newspapers (*The Public Advertiser* and *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, to mention but two in which the announcement can be seen) a peremptory notice calling upon all Masters of Lodges to attend a meeting on the very next day. This was the form of the notice:—

FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS
Under the Constitution of England

The Masters of all regular Lodges are requested to meet the GRAND MASTER, at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street, To-morrow, the 26th instant, at seven in the evening on special affairs.

T.F. Grand Secretary.

Of the business transacted at this meeting of the Craft, called at such short notice, there would appear to be no official record. For an account of what transpired other sources of information must be searched.

The Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity contain this entry:—

1769 February 1.

The R.W.M. informed us that in consequence of an Advertizem^t. he had attended a Meeting of the Grand Officers and of the Masters of a great number of Lodges convened at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street the 26th. Ult^o. When the D.G.M. in the Chair informed them that in Consequence of a previous proposition some Steps had been taken for obtain^g. a Charter for the Incorporation of the Society, but that he wished to know the Sence of the Members in Gen^l. before it was fur^r. proceeded in. And the R.W.M. fur^r. informed us that at such Meeting it was agreed to send a Letter to the Grand Ma^r. thanking his Grace for the Great Regard he show'd to the Society, and desiring he wo^d. lay before them a Draft of the intended Charter for their Approbation.

A very different account of the proceedings at this gathering is to be found in the printed "Case of the Caledonian Lodge," which was later freely circulated. This publication, which deserves to be set out in full, is the first of the contemporary records to mention the Caveat stated to have been entered in the Office of the Attorney-General by certain members of the Caledonian Lodge.

All efforts to trace this Caveat have so far failed. The Law Officers' Department of the Royal Courts of Justice, created in 1893, contains no records of earlier date than 1856. Prior to the formation of this Department the Law Officers carried on their official duties at their private chambers in the Temple, and it was apparently the custom for the outgoing Law Officer to hand to his successor such official papers as remained in his possession. As a result of this arrangement many documents of historical value to posterity must assuredly have been mislaid, or possibly even destroyed—amongst them, perhaps, the very document referred to above.

At the Public Record Office a Caveat Book is preserved, which covers a period of more than a century (1689-1791); but the object of our search is not in this volume, nor is it to be found amongst the unbound Papers of the Privy Council or in either of the two undermentioned volumes of the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic Series, Home Office Papers)—1766-1769 and 1770-1772.

A reference to the Caveat in question may, however, be seen in the Privy Council Register, Volume 6, Geo. III., at page 439, where the following entry occurs:—

At the Council Chamber Whitehall
the 7th day of February 1769
PRESENT

Lord President	Viscount Weymouth
Duke of Grafton	Lord North
Earl of Hillsborough	Sir Edward Hawke

.
This Day Mr. Beardmore in Wallbrooke entered a Caveat against any
Petition for a Charter for the Free and Accepted Masons.
.

At the request of the present writer the Clerk to the Privy Council with his accustomed courtesy caused a search to be made amongst the records remaining at the Privy Council Offices, but no trace could be found of any document relating to the subject of this enquiry. To the Clerk is due the discovery of the entry in the Register, quoted above.

The voluminous *Case* of the Caledonian Lodge read as follows:—

C A S E
of the
CALEDONIAN LODGE
of
FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS
No. 325

Held at the HALF-MOON Tavern, CHEAPSIDE.

The Master and Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, on receiving the Grand Secretary's letter, dated the 18th of November last, with a copy of the New Regulations, and likewise a letter from the Honourable Mr. D - - - -, Deputy Grand Master, dated the 16th of the said month, appointing Brother J. H. Maskall their Provincial Grand Master, and ordering them to receive him as such, came unanimously to the resolution to make some humble remonstrances against these new measures; accordingly a memorial was drawn up, read in open Lodge at their monthly meeting the 2^d. of January last, unanimously approved of, signed by all the present members, and ordered to be presented to the Most Noble GRAND MASTER and Brethren in Quarterly Communication assembled: The like Memorials, or to the same effect, were then prepared by many other respectable Lodges, expecting the Quarterly Communication, according to custom, to be near at hand.

Some time after, an advertisement appeared in the public papers, signed T.F. requesting all Masters of regular Lodges to meet the GRAND MASTER on the 26th of January, at six o'clock in the evening, at the Horn Tavern, Fleet Street; in obedience to which the Master of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, among others, duly attended the said meeting.

The Honourable Mr. D - - - -, as Deputy Grand Master, in the Chair, begun the business of that night with reading to the Brethren a long memorial, in support of the new measures and Incorporation, expressing his surprise to hear of an opposition intended to be made against the New Regulations and Incorporation, and reflecting very severely on some particular Brethren, members of the Grand Lodge, partly by name, and partly by description pointed at in the said memorial.—Proper notice being taken of the impropriety of such an address, the question was put to Mr. D - - - -, On what special business that meeting was called? and what sanction and authority he intended to give it, or could give it? the Brethren being almost unanimously of opinion, that, at a meeting like this, called by public advertisement only, without a proper summons to the respective Lodges, specifying the business to be entered upon, without any licence, appointment, leave, or power from any preceding Grand Lodge, nothing could be concluded which could in any way be binding on the Society.

The Deputy Grand Master then declared, That this meeting was called in consequence of a prevailing report of an intended opposition to the Incorporation that his Grace the Duke of B - - - - -, not intending to persist in any measures disagreeable to the Brethren, had charged him to take the sense of as many Brethren as possible on the subject; that he, the Deputy Grand Master, to save time and trouble in going about from Lodge to Lodge, for that purpose had caused the Brethren, the Masters of Lodges, to be called together, whom he desired to give their opinions, in order to make his report to the Duke accordingly.

The Masters of Lodges did not then think themselves authorised to give their sentiments as representatives of their respective Lodges; but offered to give their opinion as individuals only, if the Deputy Grand Master would allow it; which was immediately granted by Brother D - - - -; who added, that nothing done in that meeting should be looked upon as binding on the Brethren.

Several arguments for and against the Incorporation were then advanced by Brother D - - - - and others; (though more *against* than *for* it). In answer to some difficulties which were started relative to obtaining a Charter, the Deputy Grand Master repeatedly declared, That he was certain of success, and that the Charter might be ready in three days.—After a good deal of time spent in debates, the Deputy Grand Master rose up, and said, That seeing the majority of the Brethren were so much against any Charter whatsoever, the matter should drop there, and nothing more should be heard of it; which was doing justice to the intentions of his Grace the GRAND MASTER, by whose direction Brother D - - - - attended; and should have finished the business of that night, according to his Grace's message: Notwithstanding which a motion was made, and the following question put, Whether a letter should not be drawn up, and signed by as many of the Brethren as chose to do it, and sent to the GRAND MASTER, returning thanks for his Grace's intentions to have the Society incorporated, praying him to go on with this business, and to lay a draught of the Charter before the Lodges? which motion, by an unaccountable misunderstanding, was carried by a majority in the affirmative; and a letter was accordingly drawn up by a committee, consisting of the Grand Secretary, the Provincial Grand Master for Hampshire, the Provincial Grand Masters for London (as

they are called).—However, many Masters of Lodges present saw very well through this last effort of an expiring party, who wanted to carry their point at any rate, and to mislead, by the innocent look of the question, a former sensible majority against it; agreeable to a declaration made by the Grand Secretary some time before, that a Charter would be obtained in spite of their teeth; and were surprised, that the very same Deputy Grand Master and Brethren, who, an hour before, had acknowledged, that no business of the Society could be done at this time or place, should now take upon themselves to approve, at least in general terms, of an Incorporation, and desire the GRAND MASTER to go on immediately with that business; when it appeared by the Deputy Grand Master's declaration, that three days only would be wanting to finish the whole.—Those Masters, therefore, when they saw, at a meeting called on purpose by the Duke of BEAUFORT to know the real sentiments of the Brethren, that their GRAND MASTER's most gracious intentions were so much abused, and that endeavours were used to impose upon his Grace a sham approbation of the Charter from a mistaken majority, when their real sentiments were against it; when they saw my Lord Duke was desired to put himself to further trouble for an Incorporation, against which not a single argument had been refuted; they thought, in justice to the profound respect they owed his Grace of B - - - - -, to their regard for their laws and constitution, and to the preservation of their rights, freedom, and liberties as Masons, they ought to protest against such premature proceedings; and the Master of the CALEDONIAN LODGE together with fourteen more Masters of Lodges, signed the following public instrument.

To the Honourable C - - - - - D - - - - -, Esq;

Right Worshipful SIR,

Though, in obedience to a summons in the public papers, requesting the attendance of all the Masters of regular Lodges to meet your Worship, I have attended as Master of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, No. 325. I take the liberty to declare, That I have appeared as an individual member of a Lodge of Masters, held by your Worship only; I therefore protest, in the name of myself, as Master of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, against any act or vote passing in this Lodge, which may in the least affect the freedom, liberty, or independence of the Society. This I think necessary to do, not only in my own name, but in the name of all who please to adhere thereto.

London, 26th January 1769.

This protest was publicly read and signed in the Lodge; and before the closing of it, offered by the said Master of the CALEDONIAN LODGE to the Deputy Grand Master in a public manner, who peremptorily refused acceptance of it; whereupon the Lodge was closed.

On February the 6th, at the monthly meeting of the said CALEDONIAN LODGE, a report was made of the unprecedented proceedings in the said extraordinary meeting; and, after due consideration, it was unanimously resolved and ordered, That a *Caveat* should be entered against the Incorporation, in one of the public offices through which it must pass; and which the Brethren of the said Lodge thought they had a right to do, on the following considerations, submitted to every impartial Brother and honest man.

1st, By the law of the land, which gives a right to the meanest of his Majesty's subjects to be heard by council, against any grant in agitation, whereby he may think himself injured, or his liberty or his freedom in the least affected. It is indeed no favourable prospect for a Charter, if the mere idea of it should already thus intoxicate us with such an imaginary power,

as to pretend to fly in the face of the laws of the realm, and to rob the subjects, under the pompous title of *Free and Accepted*, of one of their noblest birthrights, which, in the case now before us, (if the Society was incorporated), would literally happen.

2dly, By the laws of Masons; because they must never interfere with the laws of the land, and because there is no law or regulation in the Constitution-book on which the case in question can be tried. They therefore are ignorant on what pretence their Constitution is to be taken away, except it is done in a despotic, arbitrary, and unmasonic manner; for the Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, by entering the said *Caveat*, did not counteract any vote or resolution of the Grand Lodge or Committee of Charity; for the meeting of the 26th of January (in consequence of which the *Caveat* was entered) was neither; it being an illegal meeting, without either power or authority, and as such it was allowed; besides this, the Master of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, for himself, and in behalf of the Brethren, protested against the proceedings of that night, in manner as above related; and the Brethren of the said Lodge repeat protesting against it, and against any use being made of any thing done, voted, or declared there, to prejudice them in the cause now depending; and against their Master's being made answerable for any thing which passed there, except his private behaviour as an individual of the congregation then assembled.

3dly, By the laws of reason; for if those Brethren who wished to encourage the Charter were permitted by letter to desire the GRAND MASTER to proceed in that business, (though the consideration of the same had never been regularly submitted to the Society in Grand Lodge assembled), surely those Brethren who differed from them in opinion had an equal right to enter their protest against such a proceeding: but the letter of encouragement was countenanced and received by the Deputy Grand Master; and the protest on the other side was absolutely refused to be taken notice of.—They leave it to the Brethren to determine, whether the conduct of the Honourable Mr. D - - - - on this occasion was *partial* or *impartial*; and, after this treatment, what other method the Brethren, who had been thus treated, could pursue, but to put in a *Caveat* to these underhand-proceedings, where-ever they could, and where-ever they had a right to do it as men, after they had been, in so arbitrary a manner, refused to do it as Masons.

4thly, By the laws of prudence: The Deputy Grand Master has often declared, that the Charter might be ready upon three days notice:—the Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE are not so very ignorant of the nature of a Charter, or the means and requisites of procuring one, but they know that it is morally impossible that this business can be hurried through the different offices in such a short space of time; therefore, if there is any meaning in the Deputy Grand Master's advances, (and their great respect forbids them to think otherwise), common sense directed them to believe, that a great part of the formalities must already have been gone through; and though they could not well recognise this great forwardness of the Charter with the long delay of the rough draught of it being laid before them, yet such was their confidence in the Deputy Grand Master, that the Brethren did not in the least doubt of his assurances, and that the business went on apace, after the encouraging letter of the 26th of January; and therefore thought it most prudent to stop it, before it might be too late for either men or Masons to do it.—However, they do not intend thereby to hinder the Society from having a Charter, if it should be regularly proposed, fairly canvassed, and agreed upon by the majority of the Society to accept of one, in Committee of Charity or Quarterly Communication, as our laws direct in cases of moment, when they shall be very willing to withdraw the *Caveat*.

At the Committee of Charity the 24th of February, the Deputy Grand Master, without having sent any particular summons to the CALEDONIAN LODGE, before the Master of it was present, and at the very beginning of the evening, thought proper to impeach the said Lodge for entering the above *Caveat*, in such terms as, had they come even from any private Brother, must have greatly prejudiced the Brethren against the said Lodge, before they had an opportunity of justifying themselves: how infinitely more then must such an accusation do it, when delivered from the chair by the Deputy Grand Master! who, they humbly conceive, as such, was judge, and ought rather to have been the *advocate* for than the *accuser* of the offending Brethren:—The sum and substance of it was, “That for such a *daring* and *unjustifiable* act (as Mr. D - - - - was pleased to call it) he would move to have the Constitution taken from the Lodge, and every Brother who signed the *Caveat* by name *expelled* the Society, in which he hoped to be supported by the Brethren in the next Quarterly Communication.”

At the Quarterly Communication the 28th of February, immediately after the laws relating to the behaviour of the Masons in the Grand Lodge were read, without any further summons to the CALEDONIAN LODGE, without their representatives being in the least called upon to answer anything laid to their charge, and without further entering into the cause, the Deputy Grand Master Brother D - - - - painted the fact in the blackest manner possible, and really moved for the annihilation of their Constitution, and the expulsion of such members from the Society as had signed the *Caveat*; and thus passed sentence, or at least *dictated* the most severe punishment, *instructed* and *prejudiced* the jury, before the party was heard; and had it not been for the early attendance of the Master and Wardens, and the brotherly support of some dignified Brethren, acquainted with the purity of the intention of the accused, their Constitution would have been taken away, and they cut off from so honourable a Society, before they knew they had any thing to answer for; such being the influence of the Chair, that it was even with some difficulty they were allowed the benefit of an express law in the Constitution-book, according to which all complaints are to be reduced into writing at one Committee of Charity, and the parties regularly summoned for the next.—The motion being made, Whether this affair should be laid before the Committee of Charity or next Quarterly Communication. (the *Prosecutor* being for the latter, and the defendants for the former), the question was carried for the Quarterly Communication by a majority, where it will come on next meeting and where, if the Deputy Grand Master Brother D - - - -, who has publicly declared himself in this cause the *Prosecutor*, chuses to act his part again so masterly as he did last Quarterly Communication by speaking to and supporting every argument on his side of the question, and interrupting every one speaking against it; if, by the holding up of hands for it, he, with his new-created Provincial Grand Masters for London, will first sway his hand with loud huzza's, and, during the holding up of hands for the contrary, he will again entertain the Brethren with his fears of their mistaking the question; or if he will again refuse to put a question properly moved, seconded, and called for from all corners of the room, for fear of its being carried against his inclinations;—if all this should happen again, as it did in the last Quarterly Communication, and the CALEDONIAN LODGE should, by that means, be voted out of the list, the Brethren thereof will at least have some reasons to excuse the mistaken zeal of a misled majority, and the satisfaction to know, that the blame of such an unbrotherly act cannot properly be laid to the charge of the body of a Society, which they ever have revered, and ever shall. Nor are they without hopes, that the strict adherence to candour and equity which the Brethren in general have hitherto so manifestly shewn in all other cases, will procure them that justice due to the uprightness

of their acts and intentions, notwithstanding the great disadvantage they labour under, by their chief *Judge* and *Protector* being turned their *Prosecutor*; as it is certain that Mr. D - - - - has resolved upon their ruin, and looks upon their fate as already decided: for what other reasons can be given for treating their representatives with the greatest disdain in open Quarterly Communication, where he said, that he *despised* them and refused to receive the memorial offered him in behalf of this Lodge, to the great concern of all the Brethren, who think themselves intitled to stand innocent in the opinion of their judges until they shall be convicted by the Brethren of the crime laid to their charge.

They are in general concerned to have unknowingly incurred the Deputy Grand Master's displeasure to a degree hitherto unheard of in Masonry; and the many material errors in his very accusation make them believe, he must have the knowledge of the *Caveat* merely from hearsay, and are therefore at a loss to know, how he possibly could, consistent with his acknowledged wisdom, without the least direct inquiry, which the Brethren of the said CALEDONIAN LODGE would have readily satisfied, and without any proofs or certainty, so absolutely resolve upon the ruin of a Lodge, so respectable at home and abroad, so loyal to the Grand Master and his officers, so generous in support of the fund of charity, and so indefatigably zealous for the welfare of the Craft, even admitting the entering of that *Caveat* (which Mr. D - - - - himself has declared no ways hurtful or prejudicial to the intended measures) to be such a hainous crime as he has been induced to believe it.

The unmerited hard treatment the Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE have met with of late, would be an apology for enlarging upon this subject, and representing every transaction in a stronger light; but they will always avoid making any more reflections upon the conduct of their superiors, than are absolutely necessary to justify themselves in the eyes of the whole Society: or if this attempt should be thought too bold, and they should fail in it through the powerful influence of dignity and titles; yet they hope the most sensible part of the Fraternity will not think them deserving the punishment wherewith they are threatened, and, if over-ruled, pity their case.—They mean still to entertain due respect to authority, convinced that the Deputy Grand Master will soon see through the mean, selfish, and despicable arts of evil designers to Masonry in general, and inveterate enemies to the CALEDONIAN LODGE in particular, who endeavour to make them despised by their Noble Chief and his Deputy, by misrepresenting facts, by perverting words and sentiments, and painting, in the most odious colours, every step taken to preserve the ancient constitution, freedom, and independency of the Society from a total destruction.

The *Memorial* referred to in the opening paragraph of this *Case* was subsequently printed for circulation, together with an Introduction and a somewhat lengthy Postscript, as follows:—

(As the affairs of Masonry have hitherto, for the most part, been determined in an amicable manner within the walls of the Grand Lodge, the Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE are heartily sorry, that, by some late arbitrary measures, such fraternal and harmonious determinations are at present rendered absolutely impracticable.—At the last Quarterly Communication the Brethren of the said Lodge presented the following Memorial, in the humble expectation that the same would be read in the Grand Lodge, and deliberated upon by the Brethren, as it contained nothing but remarks for the good of the Society in general; but they were greatly surprised to find it absolutely refused, and they thereby deprived of their undoubted privilege of offering what occurred to them for the benefit of the Fraternity. As the Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE have ever studied the welfare of the Craft, and always wish

to preserve the Society from innovations, especially when these endanger its very existence, by an almost total revolution of its ancient form of government, they have resolved to lay their rejected Memorial before the Brethren in their several Lodges, and only wish them to receive it with the same degree of brotherly sincerity and affection with which it is offered.)

MEMORIAL
of the
CALEDONIAN LODGE,
No. 325.

held at the HALF-MOON Tavern, CHEAPSIDE.

Humbly addressed to the Most Worshipful the Grand Master of Masons,
the Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master, and the Members of the
Grand Lodge, in Quarterly Communication assembled.

Right Worshipful SIR, and Brethren,

The intended New Regulations and Incorporation are, in our opinion, of so dangerous a nature to the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, that we, relying on your gracious promise, that every member should have a right to complain to your Grace about innovations, think it our duty to lay before your Grace, and all the Brethren, those considerations which hinder us from accepting your Grace's intended generous offer, and concurring with other Lodges in the pursuit of it.

The Incorporation being the chief object on which all the other New Regulations and Taxations depend, we shall make it our first care to shew your Grace and the Brethren the inconsistency of an Incorporation of Masons, and the dangerous effects it would have on the Craft in general, and the fund of Charity in particular; and afterwards prove in as few words as possible, how unnecessary many of those New Regulations are, and how odious the name of a taxation is amongst a body which calls itself free.

Of what utility an Incorporation would be to the Society of Masons, the Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE are at a loss to know. It is apparent, that Masonry never shone with a brighter aspect; vast numbers are yearly associated in every part of the globe to that free body; it owes its being at present so extensive to its freedom; and would inevitably decay in a short time, if, by being incorporated, the members of the Society far removed from this metropolis (where, in our opinion, the Incorporation ought to centre) should be subject to laws only consistent with the custom and forms of government of this country, and perhaps entirely opposite to their usages. Besides, if any utility accrues from being incorporated, which they are far from thinking, it is only appropriated for the benefit of the Lodges held in London and its suburbs; as it certainly is a matter of no consequence to a Lodge at Amsterdam, Berlin, Frankfort, or Calcutta, whether the inhabitants of London enjoy some privileges attached to an Incorporation, of which they have no idea, and which they should not even wish to partake. But it is evident to all the world, that Incorporations are detrimental and prejudicial, witness the flourishing trade of Liverpool, Birmingham, and Manchester, and foreign ports, where no associations are allowed, and every one enjoys the full exertion of his native freedom, compared with the languishing commerce of those towns where trade is confined to an united body.

It has been alleged, in support of the Charter, that legacies may and will be left to an incorporated body, according to the laws: but why cannot they be left as well to a society not incorporated? surely several hospitals, and other public charities, are not incorporated; and yet daily experience proves, what vast sums are left to those associations of individuals.

The advantage which may be reaped from suing and being sued, they cannot conceive: they never had as yet any occasion for it, and hope they never will. If the Grand Treasurer should prove deficient in refunding the capital in his hands, you can prosecute him in law when incorporated; but if he and his sureties should be unable

to pay, the Society, though provided with a Charter, might lose its capital: But the manner in which that capital is at present secured, or perhaps some other more convenient method which might be fallen upon, leaves no room to fear any such danger.

They think an Incorporation inconsistent with the mere idea of being a free Society, in three several respects, 1st, As it lays the same, and all even its greatest mysteries, under the inspection of government: for they believe nobody so presumptuous as to imagine, that his Majesty or the ministry would grant a Charter to a body which pretends to have unknown mysteries, without being minutely informed whether those mysteries are in any shape prejudicial to the established form of government in church and state. 2dly, As the word *Incorporation* implies a trade, art, or profession, by which a set of people earn their maintenance; whereas it is well known that Free Masons are, of all professions, and Masonry, only cemented by friendship, without any views of lucre, profit, or gain. 3dly, As it intitles to the same privileges with the native or naturalized inhabitants of this country, foreigners who, by the laws of the land, are debarred from the enjoyment of the said privileges.

They imagine it to be in a manner impossible; because the benefit (if any) arising from an Incorporation will (as already hinted) be confined to the inhabitants of this metropolis, and all the other Masons residing in distant places, cannot be imagined willing to contribute, not for the good of the Fraternity in general, not for the relief of poor or distressed Brethren in particular, certainly the only motive of their former free donations, but merely for the vain-glory and parade of a few individuals, (the extent of Masonry considered), or at best for a shining lustre to the London Lodges. In this manner the universality of Masonry will be destroyed, the strong tie of friendship broken, and every Lodge, even in and about this metropolis, not directly dependent on the Grand Lodge, or receiving some benefit by the Incorporation, will, if not instantly, at least in time, throw off all allegiance to the GRAND MASTER, all correspondence with the Quarterly Communication, and be a separate body of itself; or, associating with other Lodges under the same circumstances, form a new set of Masons, independent of the present Grand Lodge, to the great detriment of the same.

An Incorporation, they are morally certain, will be of the most dangerous consequence to the fund of Charity, as the obtaining of a Charter will come at least to L.500; and how to procure such a sum they do not know, unless by touching the same fund, entirely appropriated for a much nobler end, and consecrated to the relief of the distressed.

The New Regulations chiefly consisting in taxations, they think it not a great difficulty to show your Grace and the Members of the Grand Lodge, (the inutility, inconsistency, impossibility, and danger of the Charter being demonstrated), how unnecessary and odious they are.

The Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE think them unnecessary, as they hope, (the reason for which they were intended being removed), the Society stands in no need of such a supply; besides, hitherto, every thing concerning Masonry has been transacted with the greatest harmony and decorum; the fund of Charity has yearly increased, and not a single well-deserving Brother in distress has met with the least refusal of assistance on proper application: Why then an imposition of taxes at the same time, when an application for a voluntary subscription is made? Why a nomination for Provincial Grand Masters, in London, when we meet under the immediate inspection and protection of your Grace, or your Deputy? Who can, with any ground or reason, suppose that a set of men hitherto free from all taxes, (except such as are necessary to defray the expences of their private meetings), will cheerfully submit to taxations hitherto unknown, and at the same time generously make free donations? the latter will, we suspect, be but of very little consequence. And what right an incorporated body in London has to tax even Lodges in country-towns, not to speak of those in foreign countries, we cannot guess. They may be threatened with the loss of their Constitution; but being initiated in all the mysteries of Masonry, and when they can shelter under other Constitutions, they will not lay great stress upon such

menaces, and, we fear, if too rudely attacked, really separate themselves. The Lodges then remaining under your Grace's protection will find the burthen too heavy, follow the example set them, and, in time, few will remain to answer for a debt too rashly contracted, and never payable.

Upon the whole, we humbly intreat the Right Worshipful GRAND MASTER, and Brethren, to take the above reasons into consideration, candidly weigh their import, and by revoking the proceedings of the Committee and Quarterly Communication of the 21st, 24th, and 28th of October last, preserve the Society from the danger which at present threatens it.

By Order of the LODGE,

P - - - - - R - - - - - Secretary.

POSTSCRIPT

As the several Lodges in this metropolis have now the plan of the intended Charter under their consideration, the Brethren will be enabled to judge what *mighty* advantages will accrue to the Society from its being incorporated, and whether these advantages will in any degree compensate for the disturbance and animosity it has already occasioned in the Fraternity, not to mention the danger of losing some of the most respectable Lodges in this city, who have already remonstrated against such an unnecessary proceeding, and will undoubtedly secede in case it should be carried into execution. The Brethren of the CALEDONIAN LODGE, however, are unwilling to slip this opportunity of making some observations on the address and letter that accompany the said plan, and on the new and unprecedented manner of collecting the votes of the constituent members of the Grand Lodge.

The address, (which is signed by the Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master), begins with a profession of his attention to the real interests of the Society, and of his intention of restoring it to its primitive lustre. We believe that this attention of late has been less directed to the *real* than to the *ideal* interests of the Craft; and we defy even the most intelligent Brother, he who is best acquainted with our annals, to mention any period in which we shone with greater lustre: When were we more numerous, more universally spread over the face of the globe, or more nobly patronized by the illustrious and great, than we are at this day? and all this without the aid of a Royal Charter. We are sorry to find that the Deputy Grand Master could be induced to lend his name to any assertion calculated to mislead the ignorant and unwary. Will any Mason of common sence believe, that the Society, regulated as it is at this day, has suffered such a vigorous exertion of superior power, as is there alledged? The least application to the history of the Craft contained in our book of constitutions will shew the foundation of, and at the same time obviate this assertion. And we believe it will be difficult to condescend on any instance of the Society being disturbed in their associations for want of legal authority since the year 1716, the earliest period of our meeting under the sanction of a Grand Lodge, that we can write of with any certainty. If this be the case, as it certainly is, we may confidently deny the utility of such a charter, at this time, without incurring the imputation of being void of candor and integrity. Before finishing this article, we beg leave to remind the Deputy Grand, that though the Brethren thought themselves obliged to their Noble Patron for his kind intention, yet his generous offer did not give that universal joy he is pleased to insinuate.

How keen the promoters of this plan are to hurry it into execution, is evident from the new and unheard of method of voting which they have invented, in direct opposition to an express law in the constitution-book, which says, that all votes shall be collected by each person holding up one of his hands, which, if the division should be doubtful, are to be counted by the Grand Wardens. Besides this, it counteracts another of our ancient laws, by which the Stewards Lodge is intitled to twelve votes in the Grand Lodge; whereas, by this new mode of voting, it is only considered as a common Lodge, and by that means deprived of no less than nine votes. However, the intention of it is easily seen through; the promoters of this plan, being well apprized that the Stewards Lodge disapproves of their proceedings, are willing to cut off all

possible opposition to a measure which they are determined to carry into execution, in spite of all reasoning, and the most solid arguments: nay, they have taken care to leave room for neither of these, by demanding only a simple affirmation or negative; by which means the right of representatives is taken away; so that hereafter we shall have no occasion for a fair canvassing in Quarterly Communications; when any thing of consequence to the Society is in agitation, the Masters of the several Lodges have no more to do than collect the opinions of the majority of their Lodges, which they transmit by letter to the Grand Secretary, who presents it to the Deputy Grand Master, and he to the Right Worshipful Grand Master, whose single authority may hereafter (by an equal stretch of power) be thought sufficient to give such resolution the sanction of a law. Such are the proceedings of our new Reformers. But it is hoped, the Brethren will take more time than is at present allowed them, maturely to deliberate upon an affair of so much consequence to the Society in general.

As the Caledonian Lodge *Memorial* and *Case* are somewhat lengthy documents, an attempt to summarise the arguments against Incorporation, and the alleged grounds of complaint, may prove acceptable to readers.

*Summary of the arguments advanced by the Caledonian Lodge
against Incorporation.*

1. That Incorporation was inconsistent with the nature of a Society denominated "Free."
2. That Incorporation was inappropriate to a Society composed of men of all trades and professions.
3. That Incorporation would necessitate the exposure of all masonic secrets.
4. That Incorporation would result in members of the Society of foreign nationality acquiring rights and privileges in this country denied to foreigners.
5. That Incorporation, intended primarily for the benefit of Lodges in and around London, would impose upon Lodges abroad rules and regulations inappropriate to them by reason of their location.
6. That Trade flourished most in those centres of industry where the workers were not incorporated.
7. That the legal effect of Incorporation in connection with the ownership of property would prove no more advantageous than the existing method of vesting property in trustees.
8. That the acquisition of the right to sue and to be sued in a corporate name would not prove beneficial to the Society.
9. That the cost of Incorporation was prohibitive, and would invite misapplication of the Fund of Charity.
10. That an incorporated Society quartered in London would possess no right to impose taxation upon Lodges situated abroad.
11. That the universality of the Craft would be jeopardised with the consequent risk of secession.

Summary of the complaints of the Caledonian Lodge.

1. The meeting held on January 26th, 1769, was unconstitutional for the following reasons:—
 - (a) the meeting was convened at one day's notice published in the Press;
 - (b) the meeting was confined to Grand Officers and Masters of Lodges;
 - (c) notice of the business to be discussed had not been given;
 - (d) the method of voting was contrary to the established practice.

2. The conduct of the Deputy Grand Master who presided at this and at subsequent meetings was biased, particularly in the following respects:—
 - (a) after the majority of those present on January 26th had expressed disapproval of the proposed Incorporation, the Deputy Grand Master, by deliberately confusing the issue, induced the meeting to agree to a letter being addressed to the Grand Master praying him to proceed with the execution of his plans;
 - (b) the Deputy Grand Master declined to receive a formal written protest, signed by the Masters of fifteen Lodges, and tendered to him at this meeting;
 - (c) the Deputy Grand Master sought to take disciplinary action against the Caledonian Lodge without giving the Lodge an opportunity of being heard in its own defence.

It was also argued by the Caledonian Lodge:—

1. That, apart from the question of Incorporation, the financial proposals were unnecessary in that, if additional charitable funds were needed, an appeal for voluntary contributions was likely to prove more effective than a compulsory levy.
2. That no need had arisen for the appointment of Provincial Grand Masters in London, where Lodges met under the immediate inspection of the Grand Master and his Deputy.

The consideration of these various arguments is postponed in order to avoid interruption of the narrative.

The official account of this dispute with the Caledonian Lodge is thus recorded in the Minutes of the Committee of Charity and of Grand Lodge. It will be observed that there is no official record in either set of Minutes of the irregular meeting held on January 26th, 1769:—

Committee of Charity.

Committee Meeting Horn in Fleet Street
Friday 24 February 1769.

Present

The Hon ^{ble} . Cha ^s . Dillon	D.G.M.	as G.M.
Rowland Holt Esq ^r .	S.G.W.	as D.G.M.
Richard Ripley Esq ^r .	P.S.G.W.	as S.G.W.
Peter Edwards Esq ^r .	P.S.G.W.	as J.G.W.
Tho ^s . Dunckerley Esq ^r .	P.G.M.	
James Galloway Esq ^r .	P.G.M.	
J. J. De Vignoles Esq ^r .	P.G.M.	
Rowland Berkeley Esq ^r .	G.T.	
Thomas French	G.S.	
Tho ^s . Dyne	G.S.B.	

*(together with the representatives of 67 Lodges,
including the Master of the Caledonian Lodge)*

The Deputy Grand Master acquainted the Committee, that, to his very great surprise, he was informed, the Caledonian Lodge, No. 325, held at the Half Moon Tavern, Cheapside, had, in express violation of that allegiance due to the Grand Lodge, entered a Caveat in the Attorney Generals Office, with the ungenerous view of opposing that noble intention of our Grand Master, in having the Society incorporated, and that, before the said Lodge, or any other, had been acquainted with the proposed plan. His Worship, convinced that so arbitrary and illegal a proceeding could result only from the spirit of *party* and *faction*, and knowing these to be inconsistent with the established end of our Institution, did impeach the said Lodge, the same being an insult, not only on the Grand Master, but the whole Craft.

Grand Lodge.

28 February 1769 (*The D.G.M. in the Chair*)

The Caledonian Lodge No. 325 held at the Half Moon Tavern Cheapside having been impeached by the D.G.M. of entering a Caveat in the Attorney Generals Office to oppose the Incorporation of the Society, it was proposed & agreed to that the Consideration of this Affair be deferred to next Communication.

The three following Lodges presented to the Right Worshipful G.M. Memorials against the Incorporation, Viz.

No. 26 held at the St. Alban, St. Alban Street,

No. 70 Stewards Lodge, held at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street,

No. 313 Royal Lodge, held at the Thatch'd ho^s. Tavⁿ. St. James' St.

28 April 1769.

The Most Noble & Rt. Worshipful	}	G.M.
Henry Somerset DUKE of BEAUFORT		
The Honorable Charles Dillon		
		D.G.M.

The Impeachment laid by the D.G.M. against the Caledonian Lodge No. 325 for entering a Caveat against the Incorporation was taken into Consideration and the Brethren being of Opinion that this Lodge had been guilty of a great Offence against the Society by presuming to oppose the resolutions of the Grand Lodge a Motion was made and the question put for its being erased out of the List of Lodges; but on Bro^r. E. G. Muller Master of the said Lodge publicly asking pardon in name of himself & his Lodge, the Offence was forgiven.

Prior to the meeting of Grand Lodge held on April 28th, 1769, a printed letter was circulated to all Lodges by the Grand Secretary. This letter set out the full text of the proposed Royal Charter, and concluded with Voting Forms for the use of Lodges. A copy of this document is preserved in our Lodge Library—Q.C.L. "Masonic Miscellanies," Volume 32, No. 3918:—

BRETHREN,

The Most Worshipful GRAND MASTER, ever attentive to the real Interest of the SOCIETY, and willing to pursue every Measure that might bring it into Esteem, took into serious Consideration the most effectual Means of restoring to our Royal Order its primitive Lustre. He searched into the Annals of the CRAFT, and saw that this SOCIETY had formerly obtained a free Charter from King *Athelstan*, Since the Loss of this Charter, in particular Periods of different Reigns, our Assemblies have suffered the utmost Rigour of superior Power. His Grace consulted with many respectable Brethren, by whose Advice he was induced to communicate to the Fraternity his Intentions of endeavouring to procure a CHARTER OF INCORPORATION, if agreeable to the several Lodges; which, if obtained, will screen us for the Future from the like Persecutions; the Utility and good Effects of a Royal Sanction to our Assemblies must be evident to every Mason of Candor and Integrity. I made known to the Brethren, assembled in quarterly Communication, the Intentions of our Most Worshipful GRAND MASTER, and saw with Pleasure they accepted the Offer with universal Joy and Gratitude.

It is now, in Consequence of their Request, that his Grace has ordered the following Plan to be printed, and sent to all the Lodges, that, in a Matter of so public a Concern, every Individual may have an Opportunity of delivering his Sentiments.

CHARLES DILLON,

Deputy Grand Master.

CHARTER OF INCORPORATION OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.

GEORGE THE THIRD, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, TO ALL to whom these PRESENTS shall come, Greeting, WHEREAS the SOCIETY of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS, have for

Ages held frequent Meetings within this Realm, and have ever demeaned themselves with Duty and Loyalty to Us and Our Predecessors, with Reverence and Obedience to the Laws, and Kindness and Good-Will to their Fellow-Subjects; And whereas, the said Society appears to have been originally instituted for humane and beneficent Purposes, and have distributed from Time to Time to all without Distinction, who have had the single Claim of Wretchedness, Sums to a great Amount, collected by voluntary Contribution among themselves. And whereas, Our entirely beloved, &c. &c. &c.

Members of the Society of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS, under the Constitution of England, in Behalf of themselves and many others of the said Society, by their Petition humbly presented to Us, have most humbly besought Us, to grant Our most gracious LETTERS PATENT to INCORPORATE the said SOCIETY, and make them a Body Politic and Corporate forever. NOW KNOW YE, That We, out of our Princely Regard to a Body of Men, associated for such laudable Purposes, willing to manifest to the World our entire Approbation of their past Conduct, and desirous to enable them to answer more effectually the humane Ends of their Institution, of Our especial Grace, certain Knowledge, and mere Motion, have ordained, given, and granted, and by these Presents for Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, do ordain, give, and grant, That for the Future there shall be a PERPETUAL SOCIETY, which shall be called by the Name of THE SOCIETY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF ENGLAND. And We do hereby declare, That the said Society shall consist of a Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, Grand Wardens, Past Grand Officers, Provincial Grand Masters, Grand Treasurer, Grand Secretary, Grand Sword Bearer, Twelve Stewards, and of the Masters and Wardens of the several subordinate Lodges, who, together with those already numerated, compose the GRAND LODGE, who by the Name of THE SOCIETY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF ENGLAND, shall for ever hereafter be a Body Politic and Corporate, in Deed and in Law, and that, by the same Name, they and their Successors, shall have perpetual Succession; and that they and their Successors, by that Name, shall and may, for ever hereafter, be enabled, and rendered capable, and have power (notwithstanding the Statute of Mortmain) to purchase, have, take, acquire, receive, possess, enjoy, and hold, to them and their Successors, Manors, Messuages, Lands, Rents, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, Annuities, and Hereditaments, of whatsoever Nature or Kind, in Fee and Perpetuity, or for Terms of Life or Years, or otherwise. And We hereby give and grant unto the said Society and their Successors, by the Name aforesaid, Our special Licence, full Power, and lawful Authority, to hold and enjoy Lands and Hereditaments, which may be hereafter devised, granted, or sold to the said Society; And also, to purchase, hold, receive, and possess, in Mortmain, in Perpetuity, or otherwise, to, or for the Use of, or in Trust for them and their Successors, and for the Use and Benefit of the said Corporation, from any Person or Persons, Bodies Politic or Corporate, their Heirs and Successors, respectively, such Manors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, and Hereditaments, as they shall think fit to purchase, or shall be given, granted, devised, or conveyed to them by Deed, or otherwise, not exceeding the Yearly Value of over and above all Charges and Reprizes, so far as they are not restrained by Law; And also, to sell, grant, demise, exchange, and dispose of any of the same Manors, Messuages, Lands, and Tenements, whereof or wherein they shall have an Estate of Inheritance for Life or Lives, or Years, as aforesaid. And We further grant, That the said Society and their Successors, by the Name aforesaid, may and shall by the said Name of THE SOCIETY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF ENGLAND, be able to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in all Courts and Pleas whatsoever, of Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, before any of Our Judges and Justices, and other Officers of Us, Our Heirs and Successors, in all and singular Actions, Suits, Plaints, Causes, Matters, Demands, and Things whatsoever, and to do and act in all Matters and Things relating to the said Corporation, in as ample a Manner and Form as any other Our Liege Subjects, being Persons able and capable in the Law, or any other Body Politic or Corporate, in this part of our Kingdom of Great Britain, called England, lawfully may, or can act or do: And that

the said Corporation for ever shall and may have and use a Common Seal, for the Causes and Businesses of them and their Successors, and that it shall and may be lawful for them and their Successors, to change, break, alter, and make new the said Seal, from Time to Time, as they shall think fit. And We do hereby give and grant unto the said Society a Coat of Arms; that is to say,

And, for the better Execution of this Our Grant, We do nominate, constitute and appoint Our Right Trusty and dearly beloved Cousin and Counsellor Henry Duke of Beaufort to be the First Grand Master, Our Trusty and Well-beloved the Honourable Charles Dillon to be the First Deputy Grand Master,

each of them respectively to be and continue in their several and respective Offices of Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, &c. &c. &c.

until the Feast of St. John the Evangelist which shall happen next after the Expiration of One Year from the Day of the Date of these Presents, and from thence until other fit and able Persons be chosen into the said Offices in their respective Rooms. Provided always, That all the Persons so appointed, or hereafter to be appointed, Members of the Grand Lodge shall, in all Things, aid, advise, and assist in conducting the Business, and in all Matters relating to the Regulation and Government of the said Society of **FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF ENGLAND**. And We do give and grant unto the said Grand Master, or his Deputy, his or their Successor or Successors for the Time being, full Power and Authority, by Virtue of these Our Letters Patent, to issue Warrants for the constituting of subordinate Lodges; and the said Lodges, warranted as aforesaid, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be legal and regular. And furthermore, We do give and grant to the said Society that they shall and may hold Meetings of themselves, for the better Management of their Funds, and the Application of them to proper Purposes, and the Transaction of all other Business relating to the Society when and as often as it shall be necessary, in any place within the City of London, or Ten Miles thereof. And it shall be lawful for the said Society from Time to Time to nominate and chuse, once in every Year, one fit and able Person to be Grand Master, and one other to be Grand Treasurer of the said Society; the other Officers to be appointed in the Manner and Form heretofore established by the long and uninterrupted Usage of the Society, to continue severally until the Feast of St. John the Evangelist next after the Expiration of One Year from the Time of their respective Elections or Appointments (if they shall so long live, or not be removed for some just or reasonable Cause), and from thence till another be chosen. And in case the Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, &c. &c. &c. or any of them shall die, recede or be removed from any of the said Offices respectively, then and in such Case it shall be lawful to chuse or appoint (according to ancient Usage) a fit and able Person to fill up such Office as shall become vacant. And the Person or Persons so chosen or appointed shall continue till the Expiration of the Year for which their Predecessor in such Office had been chosen or appointed. And if it shall happen that the Election of the Grand Master, and Grand Treasurer, and Appointment of the other Grand Officers, cannot be perfected on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, We do hereby grant, that the Grand Master may lawfully assign or appoint any other Day as near as may be after the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, for the perfecting such Election or Elections, which shall always be in the Manner and Form heretofore observed by the said Society, and for the Nomination and Appointment of such Officers as by the ancient Usage of the said Society are not elective, and so from Day to Day, till the said Elections and Appointments shall be completed. And We further give and grant to the said Society, that the Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, and constituent Members of the Grand Lodge for the Time being, shall and may, from Time to Time, assemble together in such convenient Place in London, or within Ten Miles thereof, as the Grand Master or Deputy Grand Master (by the Grand Master's Authority) shall appoint, by Summons or other Notice, which he is by these Presents impowered and required timely to issue for that Purpose to all the said Members; and that they being so met, shall have full Power to make, constitute and ordain such Statutes, Bye-Laws and Ordinances as shall appear to them to be good, and necessary and

expedient for the Government, Order and Regulation of the said Society, and every Member thereof; which Statutes, Bye-Laws and Ordinances, not being repugnant to the Laws of this Realm, shall and may be effectually observed and kept; and to do all other Things concerning the Government, Estate and Revenues of the said Society. Provided nevertheless, and Our Will is, That no Bye-Law, Statute or Ordinance, so to be made by this Corporation, shall be binding upon the said Society, until the same shall have been read over and approved of by the Majority of the Society assembled together for that Purpose.

In Witness whereof We have caused these our Letters to be made Patent. Witness Ourselves at Westminster.

WE the MASTER and WARDENS of the LODGE, No. held at
having communicated to our Members, the intended CHARTER of INCORPORATION, transmitted to Us by the Most Worshipful GRAND MASTER, and collected their Opinions thereon, do hereby signify their Approbation of the proposed Plan, and earnestly request that the most effectual Means may be immediately used, to compleat so salutary an Undertaking.

Master.

} Wardens.

Witness

Secretary.

WE the Master and WARDENS of the LODGE, No. held at
having communicated to our Members, the intended CHARTER of INCORPORATION, transmitted to Us by the Most Worshipful GRAND MASTER, do, by their Authority, signify our Disapprobation of the proposed plan.

Master.

} Wardens.

Witness

Secretary.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,

ON Receipt of this You are requested immediately to issue out Summons (particularly specifying the Purpose) to convene all the Members of your Lodge, in order to collect their Opinions concerning the inclosed PLAN of INCORPORATION; and in consequence of their Determination, please to transmit to me (at least Ten Days before the ensuing Communication) one of the above Forms, properly filled up, and signed by the Master, Wardens, and Secretary of your Lodge.

By Order of the GRAND MASTER,

THO. FRENCH,

New Bond Street.

Grand Secretary.

This printed circular bears no date; but the letters of acknowledgment indicate that the circular was issued on various dates towards the end of March, and at the beginning of April, 1769.

According to the draft of the Grand Secretary's report, dated April 25th, and intended no doubt for communication to Grand Lodge on April 28th, favourable replies had already been received from the following fifteen Country Lodges:—

Town.	Name of Lodge.	Number (1755 enumeration).
Bristol	—	165
Bristol	Union	372
Cambridge	Scientific	182
Carmarthen	Perfect Friendship	167
Dartmouth	Castle	405

Town.	Name of Lodge.	Number (1755 enumeration).
Deal	Royal Navy	282
Falmouth	Love and Honour	146
Holyhead	Mona	415
Ipswich	British Union	270
Lowestoffe	—	191
Lyme Regis	Royal Edwin	311
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	St. John	225
Plymouth Dock	—	67 (or 237)
Stockton-upon-Tees	Philanthropy	23
Whitehaven	—	261

Fifteen may appear to be a small number. But only a few weeks had elapsed since the issue of the circular letter; in each case a Lodge meeting had to be convened, after due notice specifying the nature of the question to be considered; while it must not be forgotten that the postal facilities of this period were not those of the twentieth century. It is also probable that many Lodges, instead of forwarding the printed forms of assent or dissent by post, entrusted these forms to those members who were to attend the approaching meeting of Grand Lodge in person.

At this meeting of Grand Lodge, held on April 28th, 1769, according to the official minute,

The D.G.M. informed the Brethren that in consequence of the Orders he had received from the G.M. he had sent a Plan of the intended Charter of Incorporation to the several Lodges for their Approbation and that the following return had been made.

For the Incorporation	168 Lodges.
Against it	43 —

A Motion was then made & the Question put, whether the Society should be Incorporated or not, when it was carried in the Affirmative by a great Majority.

At this period there were apparently 437 Lodges on the roll. Of this total the contributing Lodges numbered "above 390," if we may accept the estimate of the then Grand Secretary. The total number of votes cast at this meeting of Grand Lodge was 211, to which must be added the "70 or 80" further votes in favour of incorporation received subsequently, as mentioned by French's successor in a letter addressed to the Provincial Grand Secretary of Barbados on November 13th, 1769. Many of these later votes were probably received from Lodges situated abroad. It is therefore apparent that close upon 300 Lodges recorded their votes—that is to say, 75 per cent. of the total number of active Lodges—and, of those voting, the majority in favour of incorporation was nearly 6 to 1.

In an Appendix will be found details of certain Lodges the records of which disclose formal votes or resolutions in favour of, or against, the proposed incorporation. It is to be hoped that the researches of other Brethren will enable these tables in the Appendix to be considerably extended before final publication of this Paper in the printed *Transactions* of our Lodge. In the meantime it is interesting to observe that of the ten Lodges known to have opposed incorporation nine were London Lodges, the tenth being located no further afield than Wapping; while of the 27 Lodges known to have favoured the project as many as 21 were Country Lodges. It seems clear, therefore, that the opposition came principally from Lodges in and around London; but the proportion of Lodges whose votes are known is so small that no safe deductions from these figures can be made.

At this stage of our enquiry it is proposed to quote a number of extracts from Lodge Minutes, and from such official correspondence as has survived, in the hope that readers of this Paper enjoying access to local contemporary records will feel prompted to furnish further references extracted from similar sources at their disposal. It is true that some of the Minutes and letters quoted below do not add much to our store of knowledge, but to ignore such sources of information altogether would be inexpedient:—

Jerusalem Lodge.

1769 April 5

By order of the right Worshipful the Master this Lodge was Summoned by virtue of a Letter rece^d. by him from the Grand Secretary, with a form of a Copy of Letters Patent inclosed, purporting that the Body of Free and Accepted Masons of England were intended to be incorporated into one Body, and the same to be carryed into a Law for the Benefit and Utillity of Masonry And desiring the Opinion and Concurrence of this Lodge; if agreeable to them that the same may be carryed into a Law if the same sho^d. meet with the Approbation of other Lodges and Brethren, And upon reading the said Copy and the Question being put, it was carryed in the Affirmative, the Numbers were for the Question 27 and agst. it 4.

Royal Cumberland Lodge.

1769 April 10

The Charter of Incorporation was read and approved of N.C.

St. George's Lodge No. 315, Taunton (extinct)

1769 April 10

In obedience to an order of ye Grand Lodge dated the 21st March last, for convening the members of this Lodge to collect their opinions concerning a plan of a Charter for incorporating this Society . . . the Right Worshipful Master having communicated to ye said Brethren the intended Charter of Incorporation transmitted to himself by the Most Worshipful the Grand Master, and collected their opinions thereon, the Lodge signified their approbation of the proposed plan and unanimously resolved that the following certificate should be forthwith transmitted by the Right Worshipful Master in a letter to the Right Worshipful Brother Smith, Provincial Grand Master of Somerset, viz.:—"We, the Master and Wardens of the Lodge No. 315, held at the Fountain in Taunton, in the County of Somerset, having communicated to our members the intended Charter of Incorporation transmitted to us by the Most Worshipful Grand Master, and collected their opinions thereon, do hereby certify their approbation of the proposed plan, and earnestly request that ye most effectual means may be immediately used to compleat so salutary an undertaking."

St. Paul's Lodge No. 43, Birmingham.

1769 March 31

Lodge of Emergency.

The Lodge assembled this night in consequence of a Letter received from the Grand Lodge with a plan for Incorporating the Society. The matter was duly considered, and it was unanimously agreed to transmit our approbation of the same.

1769 April 21

Stated Lodge.

A Letter from the Caledonian Lodge, London, representing their disapprobation of the Charter of Incorporation and their being refused to be heard by the Grand Lodge, was read and referred to a further consideration of the members who are desired to report their opinion on the case next Lodge night.

The Lodge closed in Unity in due time.

Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

Cambridge 31 March 1769

Sir,

We the members of the 182 Lodge held at the Three Tuns Tavern have since the arrival of yours held a Lodge when every member was present. The plan for Incorporation was read, and I need not say we were unanimous in our approbation when every member has subscribed his name, and the Grand Master may always depend on our Lodge at all times in doing every thing which shall be for the good of the Craft.

I am, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

EDWARD BARNES.

Dartmouth 31 March 1769

Brother French,

I received yours and according to the directions of the Grand Master have collected the opinions of our members concerning the intended plan of Incorporation and by their desire I now signify to you their entire approbation.

HOLDSWORTH NEWMAN.

Master of the Castle Tavern Lodge.

Deal 4th April 1769

We acknowledge the receipt of the Grand Masters plan for Incorporating the Society, and do most heartily join with the Grand Lodge in wishing all success may attend their endeavours for the good of the Craft and herewith enclose you our resolutions in that behalf signed by our Master and Wardens and witnessed by Sir

Your Affect^d. Bro^r. & very Hum^{ble}. Serv^t.

JNO. OAKLEY.

N^o. 263 to Bro^r. French.

We hereby acquaint your Honours that all our Members are unanimous in consenting to and approving of the intended Incorporation of the Society.

Bristol, 4 April 1769

At a Meeting (last night) of our Society, the members thought, there could be no objections made to the propos'd Plan of Incorporation handed them by you; but unanimously approved of so noble a design, and wished for the speedy execution of it.—The acquisition of this Charter must certainly be of singular service to the fraternity in general, and which must appear evident to every faithful Brother.

I am (By order of the Master) &c.

JOHN MORGAN Sec^y.Carmarthen 4th April 1769.

Dear Brother,

Your favour of the 21st ult covering a Plan of Incorporation for your Antient and Hon^{ble}. Society of free masons was duly received and last night read in our Lodge; it was unanimously approved of by the Members and visiting Brethren that appeared on the occasion who expressed their utmost gratitude to the Most Worshipful Grand Master and all others concerned in promoting so great and laudable a design, and you may assure them of our due obedience to all Laws they may agree to.

Lodge of Perfect Friendship

-- WILLIAMS.

Dear Brother,

Having received the proposed plan of Incorporation and convened the Lodge at the Angel, agreeable to the directions of the plan, and collected their opinions thereon, the members have requested me to write you to intreat the favour of your resolving them, whether after this Charter is obtained

(if it can be so) we shall not be obliged to have a new Constitution to become Masons, according to the stile and title given them in the Charter, and whether we shall be at liberty to make our own Bye Laws for the regulation of our own Lodge as by the present Constitution we may do, And further to ask what the expence of such new Constitution (if we must be obliged to have one) will amount to.—I hope you'll be kind enough to send me your sentiments on this head in time that the doubts of the Brethren concerning this matter may be removed.

I must confess I much approve of the Scheme, and hope it will meet with every desired success; but as our members are very few, I hope every method will be taken to render the execution of this Charter as little expensive as possible—And I am with all due respect

Crediton.

Your affectionate Brother

5 April 1769.

SAM^L. RUDALL.

To this enquiry the Grand Secretary replied as follows:—

Right Worshipful,

I rec^d. yours of the 5th inst. and beg leave to resolve your Doubts concerning the plan of Incorporation. If it succeeds it will not make any alteration in the present Constitution of Masonry nor will it require fresh warrants to be taken out by the several Lodges—Your present Warrant will still continue in force and every Lodge be at liberty to make its own Bye Laws, as heretofore—The money arising by the new Regulations will defray all charges, so that no private individual nor particular Lodge can be affected.

I am with sincerity

Your very affectionate Bro^r.

New Bond Street.

THO. FRENCH,

19 April 1769.

G. S.

In the Grand Secretary's draft report, dated April 25th, 1769, there is nothing to indicate either the number or the nature of the unfavourable replies. That forty-three Lodges resolved to oppose the scheme is shown by the Grand Lodge minute already quoted; but so far no trace has been found of any letter addressed to the Grand Secretary containing expressions of disapproval. To ascertain the nature of some of these unfavourable replies, other sources of information must be explored.

In the Minutes of the Old Dundee Lodge the following entries occur:—

1769 March 9

Visitor—Ephraim Gotlieb Muller, Master of the Caledonian Lodge No. 325.

1769 April 13

Resolved that the Affairs concerning the Incorporation should be Postponed to next Monday Night to consult about the same and that y^e Tyler send Notice to all the Members of this Lodge.

1769 April 17

A Special Lodge was held this night when a Ballot was taken in regard to Incorporation, when there was 30 against it and 8 for it, whereupon this Lodge according to the Majority Resolved that they would not be Incorporated and that the following Resolution be sent to the Grand Secretary:—

April 17 1769

We the Master and Wardens of the Lodge No. 9 held at our own Private Room in Red Lion Street Wappin, having communicated to our members the Intended Charter of Incorporation transmitted to

Transactions of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

us by the Most Worshipful Grand Master, do by their Authority signify our Disapprobation of the proposed Plan.

TIM CURTIS Master.
JNO STRAY
FRANCIS HOLMAN } Wardens.

Witness

FELL PARKER
Secretary

Mourning Bush Lodge No. 13 (now Lodge of Emulation No. 21).

1768 November 29

Considering that the Society of Free and Accepted Masons are not yet incorporated, and that the Voluntary Subscription towards a fund for the laudable Scheme for building a Hall, &c., might not be hindered thereby, a motion was made, and seconded, That (notwithstanding the Grand Secretary's Letter directed that all Subscription money should be quarterly paid into the hands of the Grand Treasurer) such Subscription money should be kept in the hands of the Treasurer of this Lodge till an Act of Parliament for the incorporation of Masons should be obtained, except a Determination of a Quarterly Communication should otherwise direct. And it was carried by a great majority that the money should be so kept, till otherwise determined by the Qua: Com. or by this Lodge.

1769 March 13

A Pamphlet addressed to the Master of this Lodge was, at the request of the Members, read; and a motion thereupon made by Bro^r. Adams, Past Master: That as the said Pamphlet made public the Proceedings of a Grand Lodge, contrary to the Laws of Masonry, and as it was an anonymous performance, it should be burnt by the Tyler of the Lodge, which motion was carried in the Negative, with this proviso, That the Pamphlet might first be reconsidered the next Lodge night.

1769 March 27

The Reconsideration of the Anonymous Pamphlet, mentioned in the Minutes of the last Lodge Night was this Night deferred *sine die*, by the unanimous consent of the Brethren present.

The Lodge of Antiquity.

1768 December 14

Two Letters were received from the Deputy Grand Master one in Answer to that sent to inform him of the Removal of the Lodge in which he says we have the Grand Masters Consent for so doing. The other informing us that the Grand Master had thought proper to appoint Officers to inspect our Proceedings, investing them with the Name as well as the full Power and Authority of Pro(vincial) Grand Masters and thereby willing and requiring us to receive the worthy and well beloved Hen^y. John Marshalls as our Provincial during OUR Pleasure.

1769 February 1

(Minute already quoted—*vide ante*)

1769 April 5

The R.W.M. acquainted the Lodge that he had Rec^d. a printed Draft of the Intended Charter of Incorporation

Signed Cha^s. Dillon Deputy Grand Master.

The Lodge in generall Agreed to Postpone the Consideration of the aforesaid Charter of Incorporation till the next Lodge Night.

Our R.W.M. next moved to the Lodge whether the Grand Ma^r. consistent with the Constitution had the Appointment of Provincial Grand

Masters within the District of London and wher. such Officers are Beneficial or not. Resolved (with only one Dissenting Vote) that Prov^l. G.M^s. in Town are not necessary. The Or. Questⁿ. was postponed.

1769 April 19

The Question wher. the G^d. Master has the Power of Appointing Provincial Grand Masters in London is now resumed, when it was the unanimous Opinion of the Members present that he has not such Power but that the Appointment of such Officers was confined to the Country and distant Parts only.

The proposed Charter of Incorporation was again taken into Consideratⁿ., And it was the Opinion of the Majority of the Members that the Society's being Incorporated will tend to render us more respectable, and was approved of according to the Plan laid before us.

These Minutes of the Lodge of Antiquity introduce the subject of the short-lived Provincial Grand Masters for London—a matter of interest to-day, at a time when the question of dividing London Lodges into a number of Metropolitan Grand Lodges is again being keenly debated.

The earliest mention of this Office, so far traced, is that to be found in the Minutes of the Moira Lodge No. 92 for December 5th, 1768, when the Lodge, then numbered 200, was meeting at the King's Arms, Seven Dials. It is clear, however, from the passage which occurs in the opening paragraph of the Caledonian Lodge's printed *Case*, that the appointment of Provincial Grand Masters for London may be traced back at least to November 16th, 1768, on which date the Deputy Grand Master wrote to the Caledonian Lodge instructing them to receive as their Provincial Grand Master Brother H. J. Maskall, presumably identical with the Master of the Ark Lodge, and variously described throughout these records as Maskall, Maskell, and Marshalls.

The Minutes of the Moira Lodge, referred to above, record that:—

This Night the R.W.M. rec^d. a Letter from the D.G.M. to Will and Require him & the Brethren of the Lodge to Receive our Worthy and Well Beloved Brother James Gallaway as Provincial Grand Master.

A similar reference to the Office is to be found in the Minutes of the London Lodge, dated December 17th, 1768, in which connection it is worthy of note that at the meeting of this Lodge at which Galloway had announced his intention of attending in his capacity as Provincial Grand Master, only three members put in an appearance!

In the "Minuet & Quart Book" of the now extinct London Lodge, numbered 91 at the 1755 enumeration of Lodges, "Br. Galloway Provintial G:M" is shown as having visited the Lodge at its regular meeting held upon an unspecified date in January, 1769.

The Minutes of the Mourning Bush Lodge (now the Lodge of Emulation No. 21) record:—

1768 December 12

A Letter to the Master of this Lodge being received from the D.G.M. requiring the Lodge to receive Bro. Henry John Maskell as Provincial Grand Master the said Letter was read, and the consideration thereof was postponed till after the next Quarterly Communication.

1769 March 27

A Motion was made and seconded: That the matter of Provincials for this Metropolis be maturely considered the next Lodge night, in order that the R.W.M. may know with certainty the opinion of the members concerning

it so as to be able to speak agreeable thereto at the next Committee of Charity or at any other time or place he may be legally called upon by the Grand Master or his Deputy for that purpose.

1769 April 10

On holding up of hands the Brethren were for the R.W.M. and Wardens voting against the appointment of Provincials for this Metropolis.

On page 167 of the 1812 Edition of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* this passage occurs:—

Another new appointment likewise took place during his Grace's administration, viz. the office of General Inspector or Provincial Grand Master for Lodges within the bills of mortality: but the majority of the Lodges in London disapproving the appointment, the authority was soon withdrawn.

The Grand Lodge Minutes contain no allusion to the appointment, although on April 29th, 1768, Richard Ripley, J.G.W., in the chair, moved a resolution with reference to the fees payable by Provincial Grand Masters in these terms:—

That for the future each Brother who shall be appointed a Provincial Grand Master shall (unless he has before served the Office of Steward at a Grand Feast) pay the sum of £10-10-0 into the Hands of the G. Treasurer to be applied to the use of the Grand Fund of Charity on such his appointment or before he received his Apron.

Time and space will not permit of any more detailed review of this temporary appointment, or of the holders of the office. It seems probable, however, that the office was introduced, and the appointments made, with the object of furthering the Duke of Beaufort's design to have the Society incorporated by bringing official pressure to bear upon London Lodges and by raising further sums of money to finance the Grand Master's various proposals.

It will be recollected that at the meeting of Grand Lodge held on April 28th, 1769, Thomas French reported progress in the capacity of Grand Secretary. Within a week he had been superseded in that office by James Heseltine, a Proctor of Doctors' Commons. A fresh Letter Book, begun on May 5th, 1769, opens with this brief announcement: "Mr. French has unfortunately become a Bankrupt and is at present gone out of the way." On this very date, however—May 5th, 1769—Thomas French was present at a Convocation of the Royal Arch Chapter then meeting at the Turk's Head Tavern, Gerrard Street, Soho, where he proposed as a Candidate for Exaltation Sir Watkins Williams Wynn, Baronet—an individual destined to figure prominently amongst the supporters of the Grand Master's scheme for the incorporation of the Society. Sir W. W. Wynn had been initiated in the Lodge of Friendship on February 24th in the preceding year.

The bankruptcy of "Mr. Thomas French, Linnen Draper, of New Bond Street," was recorded in the June number of *The Gentleman's Magazine*; while in a letter addressed to William Collins, Whitehaven, on June 27th, 1769, James Heseltine referred to his predecessor as "having lately left England, as supposed, or at least is not to be met with."

In July the same periodical contained the report of a street accident in London, as a result of which the Duke and Duchess of Beaufort were thrown out of a phaeton and injured. The Duke escaped with little more than a shaking, but the Duchess sustained a compound fracture of the leg.

Heseltine's term of office opened at a difficult period, and the holder was soon to be involved in much correspondence on the subject of the proposed Incorporation.

The Horn Tavern in Fleet Street, hitherto the scene of meetings of those who supported the Grand Master, became the venue of an Opposition gathering on May 24th, 1769, when, according to the Minutes of the Shakespeare Lodge No. 99, Brother Richard Ripley presided over a meeting of Masters and Past Grand Officers, who resolved to support the Caledonian Lodge in its recent action in the matter of the caveat. This meeting of dissentients had been summoned by letter.

This Opposition Meeting led to the issue of a printed statement of the case in favour of Incorporation, dated June 10th, 1769. Addressing himself to G. Stable, Whitehaven, on July 12th, the newly-appointed Grand Secretary wrote:—

There are some few things still in the possession of Mrs. French belonging to the Society which will be given up shortly.

As various disputes have arisen in the Society here, relative to an Incorpor^{on}. and as the conduct of the Grand Officers has in many respects been misrepresented, the inclosed state of the case, has by the G.M's. directions been printed for the inform^{on}. of the Society in general, w^{ch}. I have therefore the hon^{or}. to transmit and am with respect Sir

Yours &c.

Drs Comons

JAS. HESELTINE, G.S.

12 July 1769

The "inclosed state of the case" referred to above was a printed 3-page folio letter reading as follows:—

Right Worshipful Master, and Brethren.

His Grace the Duke of *Beaufort*, our present Most Worshipful Grand Master, determined that the Lodges under the *English* Constitution in distant parts, should not only enjoy the common patronage and protection of the Grand Lodge (as heretofore), but also be informed of every important transaction therein; has directed the following proceedings to be laid before you.

When his Grace entered upon the office of Grand Master, desirous of pursuing every measure that could promote the prosperity and dignity of the Craft, he consulted the Annals of our Order, and found, that the fraternity had in former periods, acted under the sanction of *Royal Charters*; as in the reign of King *Athelstan*, and so lately as that of *Henry* the VIth. But he observed with concern, that those records had been unfortunately lost, through the intestine evils and confusion which happened afterwards.

Those observations excited in his Grace a design of obtaining a new *Charter of Incorporation* from our present Most Gracious Sovereign; firmly persuaded that such *Charter* could not fail of producing the most advantageous consequences to the Craft; for though he observed that the Society had flourished of late years, and augmented its fund by degrees, to a capital of about 1500l. yet he could not doubt of its increase having been greatly retarded, through the insufficiency, and instability of the security on which such Fund depended; which objections, he apprehended, would, in future, be totally obviated by a *Charter of Incorporation*: as it would raise us from a *self created body*, to a *legal permanent establishment*; would put us on a *more respectable footing in the eye of the public*; would enable us *effectually to secure our property, and recover legacies, and other donations with authority*, consequently to *enlarge our contributions to the distressed, and render our Charity more generally beneficial*; circumstances abundantly sufficient to evince the necessity and utility of a *Royal Charter*.

His Grace's kind intentions having met with the general approval of his Grand Officers, he desired the Deputy Grand Master to acquaint the Society therewith. Accordingly, at a Committee of Charity, held on the 21st of *October* last, the design was communicated to the Masters of Lodges then present, who highly approved of such a measure: but thought it would be proper first to consider of the means for raising

a fund to build a Hall, purchase Furniture and Jewels, &c, for the use of the Grand Lodge. In consequence of their determination, a scheme was formed for raising money to answer these purposes, *exclusive* of the Grand Fund of Charity, and a Meeting of the Grand Officers, with the Masters of Lodges was called by advertisement, in order to settle such scheme, which, after various alterations and amendments, was then *unanimously* approved of. Notwithstanding the most perfect harmony and cordiality appeared at the several meetings before mentioned, and the Craft in general seemed pleased with the Conduct of the Grand Officers, and highly applauded their endeavours to serve the Society; yet this harmony was of short duration, for before the next Grand Lodge, a set of brethren, some of them past Grand Officers, (whether from an *envious* apprehension that the measures at this time pursuing would eclipse everything that passed in their administrations, or from pique and disappointment at their not being *continued in office*, is uncertain) formed an opposition to every act of the brethren then in office: and at the quarterly communication held the 29th of that month, various debates ensued relative to the *scheme*: but on putting the question for confirmation, it was, by a very great majority, approved of.

Disappointed in this attempt, the opposers took every Method to inflame the minds of the brethren by artful insinuations against the intended *Charter*; which they apprehended would be the next consideration of the Society. They accordingly visited Lodges in all parts of *London*, and endeavoured to persuade them that the *freedom* and *universality* of the Society would be *destroyed* by a *Charter of Incorporation*, and that *they* were determined to support its liberty and independance. But these insinuations, however artful and plausible, were not attended with any great success; the brethren in general, saw through the mask, and treated them with proper contempt; fully convinced, that nothing more was meant by the Incorporation, than to render the Society more respectable and permanent, without affecting the universality, or the fundamental laws thereof, in any manner whatever.

By insinuations, however, of this sort, a report prevailed, that a great number of the Society *disapproved* of an Incorporation, which induced the Grand Master to call a meeting of the Grand Officers, and Masters of Lodges, to know their *final* sentiments on the point; when, out of near 100 present, there appeared only 12 or 15 who dissented: The rest applauded the measures taken, and signed a respectful letter to the Grand Master, returning him thanks for his past conduct, and requesting him to proceed, *so far* as to have a form of the intended Charter drawn up, and sent to the several Lodges for their approbation; which the Deputy Grand Master assured them should be done, before any farther steps were taken; alledging that the Grand Lodge *only* could determine, whether the Society should be Incorporated or not.

But how vain were all those efforts to preserve peace and harmony; disappointments in succession, drove the discontented to desperate means; *desperate indeed they were*: for immediately after the last public meeting, the Master, and Past Master of a Private Lodge, in the name of that Lodge, caused a *caveat* to be entered in one of the Offices, through which the Charter was to pass; with a view, if possible, to *deter* the Society from prosecuting their laudable intentions; thereby creating a necessity to have a hearing before the Crown Lawyers, as to the utility of a measure, which could only be argued *with propriety*, in the Grand Lodge; and this step was taken, *even before any plan of the Charter could be prepared*, and before they knew, whether by the tenour thereof, the Society would have the least reason to regret what had been done. This *audacious* proceeding, did not, however, pass unnoticed; a complaint was made against the Lodge, for *daring to enter such a caveat*, and thereby *counter-acting* the authority and determination of the Grand Lodge.

At the Quarterly Communication, held the 28th of *April* last, the brethren voted this Lodge was guilty of a *high offence*; and a motion was made, that their constitution should be taken away, which would undoubtedly have been the case, so incensed was the Society at their proceedings; had not the Master desired permission, (as an atonement for the offence), to ask public pardon, which he accordingly did; and the Lodge was thereupon restored to favour.

At the same Grand Lodge the Deputy Grand Master informed the brethren, that, agreeable to his promise, a plan of the intended Charter of Incorporation had been sent to the several Lodges for their approbation, and that the following return had been received: For the Incorporation 168 Lodges, against it 43. A motion was then made, and the question put, whether the Society should, or should not be Incorporated, and it was again carried in the affirmative, by a *very great* majority.

After this fresh check, the party had recourse to their usual mode of proceeding. A private meeting was called, to consider of the steps necessary to be taken in support of their Cause; when some few *Enthusiasts* proposed an attempt to *divide* the Society; but this Motion was over-ruled by the *more moderate* part of the Company, who it seems were of opinion, that the Caveat, already entered, should remain, (notwithstanding the *determination* of the Grand Lodge) and the Charter be opposed; and in Case their Objections should be over-ruled, and set up a new (*pretended*) Grand Master; with which Resolution the Meeting broke up. Yet in this they will probably be deceived, as no Nobleman or Gentleman can approve of behaviour, so directly repugnant to the Laws and Principles of our Order, calculated to suppress all party Cabals, and to encourage Harmony and Peace.

In this situation Affairs remain at present, and as they are of the utmost concern to the Society, the Grand Master was unwilling to omit this opportunity of transmitting you an account thereof.

I shall only add, that as Transactions of the best tendency, may (by a disappointed Party) be represented as fraught with the blackest and most pernicious consequences; the most Worshipful Grand Master trusts, that if any applications should be made to our brethren in the country, they will be treated with proper contempt, and that the respective Lodges will transmit to me the purport of such applications. Be assured the present Grand Officers have ever had the real interests of the Society at heart; and it is expected, notwithstanding all opposition, that the Charter of Incorporation will be obtained, (of which you shall have proper notice) and that it will tend to the general good of the Craft; for with that view, and that *alone*, it was first proposed. Your contributions as usual, will be received with due respect. I wish the brotherhood every happiness, and remain with sincere regard,

Right Worshipful Master, and Brethren,

Your most Affectionate Brother,

Doctors Commons

JAMES HESELTINE, G. S.

June 10, 1769.

This statement of the case in favour of Incorporation would appear to have been circulated generally amongst all the *Modern* Lodges both at home and abroad. Heseltine's Letter Book bears evidence of official communications addressed during the latter half of the year 1769 to the Provincial Grand Masters of America, Canada and Bengal, and nearer home to the Provincial Grand Master of Scilly, similar communications being addressed during the same period to private Lodges at Gibraltar and St. Christophers, in the Barbados and Antigua, and in North and South Carolina. Two of these letters may be quoted as fair specimens of the remainder, which are all couched in the same strain:—

Doctors Commons 11 Aug^t. 1769.

Isaac Head Esq^r. P.G.M. Scilly.

Sir,

I have just received your favor of the 7th Instant and should have had much pleasure in furnishing you with the particulars you request, had it been in my power; But for various reasons, the Charter of Incorporation is at a stand, till the next Quarterly Communic^{on}., when the final Determination of the Grand Lodge will be had—after which, you may depend on hearing from me as soon as possible in answer to your Request.—The Charter remains at present with the Blanks unsupplied.

I am Sir, Your most affectionate Bro^r. & Obed^t. Servant

JAS. HESELTINE G.S.

Bro. George Errington, P.G.S. Barbadoes.

. You will therein also find a circular Letter on the Subject of an Incorporation. Since the printing of that Letter, divers other Lodges to the number of 70 or 80, have sent their approbations, and the opposition seems to be nearly annihilated; so that in my next, I hope to have the pleasure of acquainting you that the Charter is obtained; which I think cannot fail of answering many advantageous purposes to the Society as a charitable institution, by giving energy to its excellent Laws, and dignity to the whole order. Our most Noble G.M. and his Deputy are adored by the Society in General, and I trust will not quit their Stations, till they have accomplished many advantageous regulations.

Doctors Commons

(&c.)

J.H.

13 Nov^r. 1769.

The Grand Secretary's expectation that Grand Lodge at its approaching meeting would reach a final determination on the question of Incorporation was not to be realised, for at the meeting of Grand Lodge held on October 27th, 1769 (Rowland Holt, S.G.W., on the Throne as G.M.) a resolution was moved by Brother Maskall, Master of the Ark Lodge, with the object of ensuring that the funds of the Society should be at the disposition of the Grand Officers of the year, by means of a series of annual transfers. This proposal met with stout opposition, particularly on the part of those who resisted the scheme for Incorporation, fears being entertained by these brethren that such funds, if transferred, would be utilised in financing the Grand Master's project.

According to the Grand Lodge Minutes:—

The G.T. delivered in his Account which was read and approved of, and there appeared a Ballance in his Hands of £1-19-1 exclusive of £204 collected this Night, and £1300 Bank Annuities Consolidated with £ * Subscription towards the Grand Lodge Fund.

Brother Berkeley then resigned his Staff of Office, and was unanimously re-elected Grand Treasurer for the ensuing Year.

Brother Maskall Master of the Ark Lodge then made some observations upon the nature of the Security given by the Grand Treasurer for the Fund of the Society, and thought it would be for the benefit of the whole Body, to have such Fund Annually Transferred into the names of the Grand Officers for the time being, and concluded with a Motion That the Money standing in the Bank of England in the Names of Mr. Berkeley and his Sureties, on behalf of and in Trust for this Society, should be immediately Transferred into the Names of the present Grand Officers, which was duly seconded, and after mature deliberation

Resolved

That the Sum of £1300 standing in the Names of Mr. Rowland Berkeley as Grand Treasurer, together and his two Sureties Mr. Arthur Beardmore and Mr. Richard Nevison, in the 3 p^r. Cent Consolidated Annuities of the Bank of England, being the Property of and held in Trust for this Society, be immediately Transferred into the Names of the present Grand Officers. And that the Grand Secretary do in Writing acquaint the said Mr. Rowland Berkeley, Mr. Arthur Beardmore, and Mr. Richard Nevison with this resolution and desire the Transfer to be made accordingly.

All Business being over the Grand Lodge was Closed in due Form.

* Blank in the original.

In pursuance of this resolution the Grand Secretary on October 31st wrote the following letter:—

Mess^{rs}. Berkeley, Beardmore & Nevison
Gentlemen,

At a Quart^{ly}. Commⁿ. of the Society of Free & Accepted Masons, held at the Crown & Anchor Tavern in the Strand on Friday last the 27th Instant, it was resolved That the money standing in the Names of Mr. Rowld. Berkeley, Mr. Arthur Beardmore and Mr. Richard Nevison, in the Bank of England on behalf of and in trust for the s^d. Society should be forthwith Transferred into the names of the present Grand Officers I am therefore directed to acquaint you with such resolution and to desire you will immediately Transfer the same into the names of His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, The Hon^{ble}. Charles Dillon, Rowld. Berkeley Gent. James Heseltine Gent. and William Smith Bridle Cutter as the present Grand Officers of the said Society, pursuant to the above mentioned resolution. Your speedy ans^r. will oblige.

Gentlemen

Your most obed^t. Serv^t.

Doctors Commons

31 Oct^r. 1769.

J.H.

G.S.

Beardmore must have promptly raised objections to this proposal, for these three letters were addressed to him within the next few days. Beardmore's letters in reply have not been traced, but their nature is sufficiently indicated by the letters addressed to him:—

To Mr. Beardmore
Sir,

Mr. Berkeley having this day acquaint^d. me that you wished to see a Copy of the minute of the Grand Lodge relative to the transfer of the Fund of the Free Masons Society by the late Grand Treasurer to Mr. Berkeley &c I accordingly inclose you a copy thereof and am Sir Your humble Servant

Doctors Commons

JAs. HESELTINE, G.S.

2^d. Nov^r. 1769.

Arthur Beardmore Esq^r.

Sir,

I am informed by the G.S. that you refuse to Transfer the Stock belonging to the Society to the pres^t. Grand Officers, after the resolution of the Gr^d. Lodge at the last Quart^{ly}. Comⁿ. Since that resolution is passed I am obliged to inforce the Execution of it, and hold myself accountab^{le}. to the Society in this business by virtue of my office. I therefore hope you will comply without delay, as this affair must absolutely be settled previous to measures of the utmost importance, or that you will favor me with your reasons for this denial, that I may take the Opinion of the Society, to determine upon proper methods to recover and secure its property. I am Sir Your very humble Serv^t.

Hertford Str^t.

CHAs. DILLON.

4th. Nov^r. 1769.

To Arthur Beardmore Esq^r.

Sir

Your aversion to Compliments proves your modesty, which generally accompanies superior merit—those I paid you in my Letters were only the tribute due to that merit; but since you refuse even the praise you justly deserve, I shall without any more Compliments take the liberty to make some observations on the Letter I rec^d. from you yesterday. I have read it several times with great attention and think it above the comprehension of those who cannot reconcile contradic^{ns}. You first say the Secr^{ys}. information to me, of your refusing to comply wth. the resolution of the G.L. is false, & in the next Line, you tell me you will not transfer the Stock till you have

met, consulted and advised. You will be pleased to take notice that the Society has nothing to do with your Consultations the Craft has certainly a right to entrust its property to whom it pleases you are not left to Judge whether such Disposition be proper or not, but are *bound in Duty* to obey the resolution of the G.L. as well as myself, which order has occasioned this agreeable correspondence. I must therefore repeat my request that you will before next Sunday name a future Day as early as possible for finally settling this business otherwise I will call a G.L. when you may rest assured your Letters shall fairly be produced, that you may not be deprived of that share of praise, (notwithstanding your blushing merit) you are so justly intitled to; by your elegant performance

Your h^{ble}. Servant

Nov^r. 9th 1769.

CHAS. DILLON.

This refusal on the part of Beardmore led to the summoning of an Extraordinary Grand Lodge at the Crown and Anchor on November 29th, 1769, at which Charles Dillon presided as Grand Master, when

The Most Worshipful Grand Master acquainted the Brethren that in pursuance of the resolution of last Q.C. Mr. Rowland Berkeley Grand Treasurer, Mr. Arthur Beardmore, and Mr. Richard Nevison his two Sureties, had been applied to, and required to Transfer the £1300 Bank Ann^s. Consolidated, standing in their Names on behalf of, and in Trust for, this Society, into the Names of the present Grand Officers—That Mr. Berkeley and Mr. Nevison had agreed to comply therewith, but that Mr. Beardmore had refused to join in the Transfer—The G.M. also produced sundry Letters that had passed between himself and Mr. Beardmore relative thereto, which were read.

Brother Edwards P.G.W. then spoke in justification of Bro^r. Beardmore's conduct, and alledged that he could not safely comply with the resolution of the G.L. for Transferring the Stock, as he would thereby subject himself to Actions at the Suit of the Obligees.

In answer to this assertion the G.S. read the Bond given for securing the Fund. By the condition of which it appeared—That on compliance with the resolutions of the G.L. such Bond would become void.

The G.M. hereupon observed—That it was his sincere wish to have the Matter settled in an amicable manner, and that every possible lenient Measure might be persued on this Occasion—For which purpose he proposed that a Letter should be wrote to The Right Honorable Lord Blayney, Colonel John Salter, Richard Ripley, and Charles Tuffnall Esquires, as Obligees in the Bond, to request their concurrence in the Measures taken—which was duly Seconded—

And on putting the Question—it passed in the Affirmative—Whereupon a Letter was prepared by a Committee of Five Brethren nominated for that purpose—And the same was read, approved of, and directed to be Signed by each of the then acting Grand Officers—

All Business being over the Grand Lodge was closed in due Form.

Letters written by the Grand Secretary during the month of December indicate that the Obligees were in no hurry to reply to this official communication. Of these letters, two may be quoted with advantage:—

To Br. McCoul Sec^{ry}. of the Lodge at Darlington.
Sir & Bro^r.

I duly rec^d. y^r. favor of the 23^d. Nov^r. and am authorized by the G.M. to return your Lodge thanks in the names of all the G. Off^{rs}. for the great regard & confidence reposed in their honour & justice by granting a Deputation for the appointm^t. of such Brethren to attend the last G.L. as they sh^d.

approve of, but it was judged unnecessary to appoint any representatives for you on that occasion. In order to give you a regular acct. of the intention of that meet^g. I must begin by telling you that at the last Q.C. in October last, it was resolved that the Sum of £1300 stand^g. in the Bank in the names of Mr. Rowld. Berkeley, Mr. Arthur Beardmore & Mr. Rich^d. Nevison as his two Sureties on behalf of and in Trust for the Society of Free Masons sh^d. be immediately Transferred into the names of the pres^t. G.O. Mr. Berkeley & Mr. Nevison accordingly declared they were ready to Transfer, but Beardmore refused. The last Extra Grand Lodge was therefore called to consider of the measures necessary to be taken for the recovery of this money. It is secured to the Society by a Bond, which was in the yr. 1766 given by the 3 beforement^d. Gent^l. to Lord Blayney Coll. Salter Mr. Ripley & Mr. Tuffnall, then G.O. The G.L. therefore resolved that a L^r. sh^d. be wrote to those Gentlemen, desiring their concurrence in the measures taken, as by that means the Bond may be put in force at Co^mon Law, and the money be easily recovered—but sh^d. they, or any of them, refuse to concur, the Society will be under the disagreeable necessity of Fyling a Bill in Chan^{cy}. against the parties, as the only method left them for the recovery of their property. What will be the event of these Letters a little time must shew. The party I ment^d. in my circular printed Letter transmitted you some time since, who were endeavouring to foment a Division, are the sole abettors of this infamous detention. When anything further is done you will be acquainted wth. it.

The Gr^d. Treas^r. is now out of Town, so that I am unable at pres^t. to give you any ans^r. to the money you remitted in Dec^r. last, but you may depend upon hear^g. from me on that head shortly I was not Sec^{ry}. in Dec^r. last.

The next Co^mittee of Charity will be held at the Horn Tavern Fleet Str^t. on Wednesday the 31st Jan^{ry}. next—and the Q.C. on the Wednesday following (the 7th Feb^{ry}. before w^{ch}. time be pleased to make yr. intended remittance.

I am &c.

D^{rs}. Co^mons 23rd Dec^r. 1769

J.H.

To Edw^d. Bacon Esq^r. P.G.M., Norwich.

* * * * *

In my last I acquainted you with the reasons for calling the late extraordinary G.L. at which it was resolved that every possible Lenible measure should be pursued for the recovery of our Charitable Fund rather than go to extremes (Mr. Beardmore having refused to Transfer pursuant to the resolutions of the former G.L. as I also informed) And therefore a L^r. was wrote to Lord Blayney and the other Obligees in the Bond requesting their concurrence in the resolut^{ions}. as by their assent the Bond may be inforced at Common Law & the property easily recovered, which otherwise cannot be done without a Bill in Chancery. To this L^r. we have not yet received any Answer and therefore cannot say what will be the event.

I am Sir &c.

D^{rs}. Co^mons 19th December 1769.

J.H.

The reply, when it did arrive, was in these terms:—

7 Jan^{ry}. 1770.

S^r.

Having received a letter signed by the Grand Officers of an extraordinary Grand Lodge held 29th Nov^r. 1769 requesting us to signify our concurrence to the measures therein mentioned by a line addressed to you.

In answer thereto, we desire to enjoin them, that as Obligees of the Bond given for securing the 1300£ 3 pr. Cent Ann Consold^d. We look upon ourselves Trustees for the Society at large, and cannot give our assent to the measures at present proposed, which we think neither legal constitutional or tending to the general Good of the Craft: & more especially, as we are at a loss to know what Construction to put on a Declaration made by the Deputy Grand Master in a Letter to Brother Beardmore on this subject, by which he informs him, that the Transfer of the Annuities must be absolutely made previous to measures of the utmost importance.

We are Sr.

Your affectionate Brothers

	JOHN SALTER	P.D.G.M.
To	RICH ^d . RIPLEY	P.S.G.W.
Mr. James Heseltine.	CHAS. TUFNELL	P.J.G.W.

In the meantime the Opposition had not been idle. Towards the end of December, 1769, Lodges received a lengthy anonymous pamphlet dealing with these financial proposals. This pamphlet read:—

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL MASTER and BRETHREN,

As an extraordinary Grand Lodge has been lately held for the purpose of settling affairs of the utmost importance to the Craft, it surely cannot be thought improper or unconstitutional to transmit to the different Lodges a *true and faithful* account of its proceedings; for though it may be true that *veritas odium parit*, it is equally certain that truth will stand firm on its own basis, while *misrepresentations* need the support of those in power.

Prior to the recital of what passed at the Grand Lodge above mentioned it will be necessary to take a retrospect of the conduct of our present Grand Officers for a short time before.—Our Most Worshipful Grand Master, with the greatest good-will to the Craft, proposed some time ago to provide us with a Charter, as the means of rendering us a legal and permanent body, from one self-created, and having no legal existence:—the thoughts of being thus sheltered under the wings of royal authority, were too flattering not to produce the most pleasing ideas in the mind of every zealous Mason, who did not maturely deliberate on what might be the consequences of such a change in our constitution: a scheme was produced, and, after much opposition and alteration, agreed to, *for raising a fund to defray the expences of erecting a hall, &c.*; but however great was the majority in favour of the scheme, the articles of which it consisted were nevertheless several of them of the most dishonourable kind; some being of a most extortionate nature, others setting the prerogative of the Grand Master to sale. Things seemed now in a prosperous train, and the Craft were in expectation that their next meeting would have been by incorporation; but unfortunately, some thinking Brethren, finding how absurd it would be to attempt the incorporation of a body of people, natives of all nations, and resident in all countries; and further considering, that as the power of the crown extends no farther in the business of incorporation than to its own natural subjects, or those who are become so by naturalization, (and not unto them unless resident in Great Britain); so if the Charter proposed should be obtained, it must necessarily cut off from our body all foreigners not already naturalized, as well those in our own country as those belonging to Lodges abroad; these Brethren, I say, finding the absurdity of the attempt, determined to use their utmost efforts to prevent it; and in consequence of these considerations, a caveat was regularly entered against it in the proper law-office by the Caledonian Lodge, the members of which (being principally foreigners, and consequently incapable of becoming participants of any advantages which might arise from the acquisition of a Charter, or even of being considered at any rate as members of the body when corporate) were not only justifiable in, but commendable for their behaviour on this occasion: this, however, appeared to the Deputy-Grand-Master as so heinous a crime, that he, *without much candour*, ordered them to be IMPEACHED (a new word in the Masonic

language); and when the matter came judicially before the Grand Lodge in Quarterly Communication assembled, they were voted *guilty of an offence*, (though not at the motion of the Deputy-Grand-Master, who was desirous of proceeding to extreme punishment before it was known that the Grand Lodge held them guilty); however, the necessary question being put, the Lodge declared them guilty; and then the Deputy-Grand-Master (sure of a triumph) proceeded to wreak his vengeance on them, by moving the Lodge to take away their constitution; but a great majority appearing against it, he insisted upon a SCRUTINY (another novelty!) though being at length dissuaded from so rash an attempt, he was *graciously pleased* (because it was the pleasure of the Lodge) to accept their submission.

This being the true state of the case (notwithstanding the *notorious falsehood* in the letter to which the Grand Secretary, *I suppose imprudently*, subscribed his name) the Charter came again upon the tapis; and we were given to understand, that as soon as the affairs of the Craft could be properly prepared to receive it, a Charter could be obtained in *three days*;—a speed which considering all things, is not very credible: but since that time we have heard nothing more concerning it, except in distant hints; and there is much reason to suppose, that the impetuosity of the incorporating party tired them before they reached the goal, and caused them to finish their career too soon. However

All on a sudden the Craft were alarmed by a violent suspicion that those obstinate people, to whose trust the fund of Charity was committed, had no intention of surrendering it to the order of the Grand Lodge; and in consequence thereof a motion was made, that the money in the funds should annually be transferred into the hands of the Grand Officers for the time being; which being carried in the affirmative, the Deputy-Grand Master wrote to the trustees to inform them of the resolution of the Grand Lodge, and to require a transfer accordingly; but received in answer from Mr. Beardmore (one of them) that he could not comply with his request, till he should have consulted those Past Grand Officers to whom he gave his bond, nor could he with safety to himself transfer the same without their consent. This was the general purport of a correspondence, the rest of which, on the part of the Deputy-Grand-Master, consisted of little more than such sneering compliments, as can by no means tend to make his person beloved, though they may make his pen feared: the following passage in one of the Deputy-Grand-Master's letters seems worthy of observation, viz. "*as this affair must absolutely be settled previous to measures of the utmost importance*"; and here I must observe, that it would have well become him to have acquainted the Grand Lodge what were those mighty affairs whose execution depended on, and which were of necessity to be preceded by a transfer of the stock.—Alas! Alas! thus to treat us is attempting to deceive us with our eyes open; and only drawing a cobweb veil over the plan, which the brush of candid enquiry must soon sweep down.

It is very remarkable, that hitherto the Craft has never been informed how the expence of obtaining a Charter was to be defrayed: the scheme before mentioned might indeed at one time be speculated upon, as sufficient to answer all demands; but experience seems to find the scheme rather *Utopian*: it may with propriety be conjectured, therefore, that the money is wanting to purchase the Charter; and that if you give up your fund into the hands of the Grand Officers, without security for its application to charity only, great part of what was meant for the relief of distressed Brethren, will be made use of to feed the luxury of court-drones, and gratify the ambition of those who mislead our rulers. A strong argument in support of this conjecture is, that unless the 1300*l.* was wanted for the purpose of *obtaining* a Charter, our incorporation need not be retarded; seeing that though the Charter should be obtained previous to the transfer of the stock, yet the body corporate would by means of their Charter, be enabled to compel the trustees to deliver up their trust to the Grand Officers, or such of their members as they should appoint to receive it: but "*it is necessary that the stock should be transferred previous to measures of the utmost importance*";—and so it is, if it be thought a matter of utmost importance

to make dupes of so large a body of people as Masonry is composed of; which, I trust, will not be the case, if you will *think for yourselves* a moment; but at present *decipimur specie recti*.

In consideration of Brother Beardmore's refusal to comply with so unconstitutional a proceeding, an *extraordinary* Grand Lodge was called, with *extraordinary* precipitation, to consider this matter; and was opened by a speech which the Deputy-Grand-Master *read* to the assembly, and which some called a *pathetic*, others a *virulent* composition: It must be allowed, that he expatiated with much and most sympathetic energy on the many hardships to which the petitioning members of our Fraternity were reduced by the Charity being with-holden from their relief; but as it is well known, that no petitioner has ever yet failed of receiving whatever relief the Grand Lodge has thought fit to grant him, I shall leave this stubborn fact to reply to that erroneous part of the Deputy-Grand-Master's declamation. After much debate, the managers of this farce, finding themselves to have made an egregious mistake, by applying to the *three Trustees* for the transfer, when they should have demanded it of *those to whom the bond of the said Trustees was given*, came to a resolution to make application to the proper persons; and a letter was immediately composed for that purpose:—and there the matter now rests. Thus this extraordinary Grand Lodge was only held to be witnesses of the inability of their Officers to judge, whether it were proper to make their application, for the ultimate compliance with the obligation of a bond, to its Obligees or its Obligers.

As this epistle has unavoidably reached a length much greater than was at first intended, I shall quit the debate concerning the transfer (which, I think, is so plain as to need no comment) and conclude with a few cursory remarks on some parts of that night's conference, which were merely incidental.—In the course of the debates, an accusation was laid against a Past Grand Officer then present, alledging, That he had proposed a division of the Craft, and the setting up another Grand Master. To this accusation the Deputy-Grand-Master (who it must be understood all through this letter sat as Grand Master unless in the *impeachment* of the Caledonian Lodge, when the Grand Master himself was present, and distinguished himself by the uprightness of his behaviour) listened with great attention and apparent pleasure: but when the accused desired to be heard in his defence (which if heard, would have been plain, and must have acquitted him totally) the Deputy-Grand-Master stood up with seeming warmth, and declared, That the business of that meeting was of such consequence, that he would not suffer it to be interrupted by any thing whatever that did not come immediately to the point.—Why then was the accusation heard?—When the *extempore* committee was withdrawn to form the letter of application, a motion was made, that the future advertisements for the meeting of Grand Lodges should be addressed *To the Free and Accepted Masons*, and that the words *under the constitution of England* should be thenceforth omitted; but here the Deputy-Grand-Master suffered an altercation to ensue, which was quite foreign to the motion, and indulged it as much as possible; the reason seemed to be, because it was an accusation against a Brother (who had rendered himself obnoxious to the Deputy-Grand-Master by being instrumental in entering the caveat against the Charter) saying, that he was the means of withdrawing the Dutch Lodges from their allégiance to our constitution; but as this matter is to be again rehearsed at the next Quarterly Communication, I shall not seek to prejudice your opinions; though I cannot help remarking, that the favour in which the *accuser* is held, and the evil eye with which the *accused* is regarded, give room to suppose, that candour will have but little share in the debate, if influence can possibly prevent it. To elucidate this affair still further, be it observed,—That the accuser stands indebted to the Grand Master for conferring on him a dignity of a very extraordinary nature, that of Provincial Grand Master of all such foreign Lodges as had not already a Provincial Grand Master of their own before his appointment; and this same Provincial Grand Master (whose jurisdiction may, for aught I know, extend to the Antipodes) resides in London.—*Risum teneatis amici!*—A Provincial Grand Master for Lancashire has also been appointed, whose residence in that Province is only three

months in the year; and *that* in the summer, when Lodges meet less frequently; so that it should seem as if those appointments were only meant to increase their partizans, and make us relish unwelcome measures whether we will or no.

The vast multiplicity of absurdities, and their daily increase, give room to fear, that the Grand Lodge will shortly become an Augaeon stable, which nothing less than a Masonic Hercules will be able to purge from its corruption:—Be it then, my Brethren, our business to support the dignity of the Grand Officers, and to aid them in all undertakings which we shall find laudable and salutary, after judging them by the criterion of our constitution: but let me intreat you, to consider well what may be the consequences of transferring your stock; and to debate, with that calm impartiality which the seriousness of the subject requires, the two following questions:

1st, *Whether to transfer the stock into the hands of the Grand Officers for the time being without any stipulated security, be not absolutely repugnant to our Constitution-laws?*

2^{dly}, *Whether there be not room to apprehend (in case the proposed transfer should succeed) a misapplication of the fund of the Charity?*

And should it appear to you, from a discussion of these two questions, that the proposal for the transfer is unjust, you will, no doubt, give proper instructions to your representatives at the next Grand Lodge to oppose the measure, *that we may be able to withstand all sinister attempts, and having done all, TO STAND.*

On receipt of this anonymous circular, Lodges at Deal, Swansea, Whitehaven and Richmond (Yorks) communicated with the Grand Secretary on the matter.

At a meeting of the Lodge of Friendship No. 3 on January 10th, 1770, at which only three members were present,

. . . the letter, being anonymous, insidiously reflecting on the present Grand Officers in respect of the fund of Charity; and several late proceedings of the Grand Lodge, was deem'd an infamous, false & inflammatory, as well as paultry production. Therefore it was moved, seconded & order'd, that it be, and the same was accordingly, burnt.

The Grand Secretary, in replying to the Lodge at Whitehaven, wrote:—

To Lodge at W^t.haven.

. The Anonymous L^r. you mention has been sent to all the Lodges in Town as well as Country so that you need not give yourself the trouble of remitt^g. the Copy sent to W^t.haven. Your P.G.M.'s opinion of it is very just, It is the production of the same set of men who have so long disturbed the harmony of our G.L. and of whom mention is made in my Printed Circular L^r. some time ago—there is hardly a circumstance throughout that is not a Most Gross falsehood and calculated to ans^r. the most pernicious purposes particularly wth. respect to the Fund of Cha^{ty}. the authors are well known to have intentions of dividing the Society and they have repeatedly declared previous to the Measures now in agitation that the £1300 Bank Annuities should never be given up to the Society. But that if they co^d. accomplish the proposed division—A New G.L. sh^d. be formed & the money sh^d. be appropriated to its use. Declar^{ons}. of this nature were some time since made by Beardmore and another of the Party to me, and various other Brⁿ. but were not credited as we apprehended no Bro^r. who w^d. wish to be esteemed an honest man c^d. be guilty of an action so base—but at last the report became Universal and it was then judged necessary by sev^l. Mas^{rs}. of Lodges to move for a Transfer into the names of the present G.O. w^{ch}. was agreed to unanimously in G.L. and a L^r. was sent to the Parties concerned I mean the G.T. and his Sureties (in whose Names the Ann^s. stand) requiring the Transfer to be made accord^{ly}. when the

Treas^r. and one of his Sureties immediately declared their readiness to comply—but Beardmore refused allege^s. he c^d. not do it with safety, with^t. the concurrence of the Obligees in the Bond given for Securing this Money notwithstanding. by the condition of the Bond it is expressly declared that if the G.T. & his Sureties shall transfer the Stock & comply wth. the resolut^{ns}. of the G.L. respect^s. the same then the obligⁿ. is to be void &c. Now the obligees are some P.G.O.^s of the same Kidney who refuse to put the Bond in Execution agst. Beardmore, and therefore no remedy remains but by a Bill in Chancery & that step must no doubt be taken, so that you see from hence one of the most infamous Schemes adopted by the Consciencious Authors of the Anonymous L^r. that ever disgraced Free Masons. The Hon^{ble}. Mr. Dillons behaviour is much condemn^d. by the Authors and their Friends, perhaps in all 10 or a Dozen—but the rest of the Fraternity applaud & adore him and certainly no D.G.M. ever did more honour to the Office. The Fund of Charity was never meant to be touched on acc^t. of the Incorporation and as to the rest of their Declam^{ons}. it is equally false consequently unworthy notice. Youll hear from me again soon after the 7th Febr^{ry}. I have not time to say more that I am most truly

Dr. Sir &c.

Dr^s. Co^mmons.

J.H.

18th Jan^{ry}. 1770.

In Heseltine's second Letter Book, between the copies of two letters each of which is dated January 2nd, 1770, there appears this undated communication addressed to the Deputy Grand Master:—

Honble. Chas. Dillon.

Hon^{ble}. Sir,

You will herewith receive an anonymous L^r. which has been Sent to all the Lodges in England by the Party in opposition to Our measures. I have the greatest reason to believe it the work of that ingenious Gentlⁿ. Mr. Arthur Beardmore wth. the assistance of Mess^{rs}. Edwards, Tenbroke & a little man whose name is Massey, and who spoke in opposition to the Advertizement for the last G.L. relative to the words “under the Constitution of Engl^d.” I have had the pleasure of hear^g. it voted a scandalous false and inflammatory production in several Lodges lately—and of seeing it Burnt by the Tylers at the directions of those Lodges & doubt not it will meet wth. the same Fate in many more. I am really at a Loss to determine whether the ignorance or impudence of those authors is most conspicuous for it is an unpardonable piece of folly to suppose the Masons in London who have been witnesses to every Transaction of the G.O. will be imposed upon by such flimsy Assertions—and it is on the other hand a piece of impudence no other set of Men than those I have before mentioned could be capable of to offer falsehoods the most glaring to the Society by way of exculpating themselves from the charges lately bro^t. ag^t. them.

I have lately been informed that many of the Lodges entertain doubts about the intentions of the G. Officers with respect to the Fund of Charity; and alledge that they cannot see any reason for prolonging the application for an Incorporation, till the final settling of matters as to the Transfer. In order to satisfy every one, I would humbly submit to your consider^{on}. whether it would not be most adviseable to apply to Parliam^t. for an Act of Incorporation rather than by Petition to the King, as I am informed Foreigners may in that case be included without difficulty, which is a point the opposition have urged on all occasions as an effectual Bar Ag^t. an Incorporation. If this mode sh^d. be approved of would it not be proper to have a Bill prepared as soon as possible with proper Clauses as to Foreigners by w^{ch}. means every doubt might be obviated in that respect at

the next G.L. and would it not be advisable to move that the money in the Treasurers Hands on Acc^t. of the late regulations Sh^d. be appropriated to the purposes of obtain^g. the Act of Incorporation &c. w^{ch}. w^d. satisfy every one that the G.O. have no intention of approp^g. any part of the Fund of Charity to improper uses?

I have got a case ready for the opinion of Mr. Yorke relative to the Transfer agreeably to your directions w^{ch}. cannot I presume be made use of till y^r. return.

I have the Honour to be with the most perfect respect,

Sir, Your most obliged & most obedient Serv^t.

This letter to the Deputy Grand Master foreshadows that complete change in the method of procedure which was shortly to occur in the attempt to secure Incorporation. Instead of relying upon a Royal Charter, which it was hoped to obtain by prerogative of the Crown, the Deputy Grand Master and his supporters eventually determined to proceed by way of Petition to the House of Commons. Many months, however, elapsed before any concrete steps were taken in this direction. In the meantime stormy scenes continued at meetings of the Committee of Charity and at the Quarterly Communications of Grand Lodge.

At the meeting of the Committee of Charity held on January 31st, 1770, attended by the Masters of sixty-eight Lodges, and presided over by the Deputy Grand Master, according to the official minute,

Brother Muller who avowedly attended this Evening as Master of the Caledonian Lodge N^o. 325, recommended Bro^r. Gottverfrouw Holtzhuysen as an Object of Charity. Upon which Bro^r. Dunckerley Provincial Grand Master for Hampshire observed That the Caledonian Lodge had not contributed any thing to the Fund of Charity for upwards of 12 Months past. And that he had been informed the Brethren of that Lodge had declared they never would contribute any thing more than was absolutely necessary to preserve their Constitution. That by a Law of the Grand Lodge relative to the Committee of Charity—it is declared “That no Master of a Lodge shall be a Member of the said Committee whose Lodge has not contributed to the general Charity during 12 Months past”—That therefore he apprehended Brother Muller had no right to attend that Co^mmittee; and moved that the Law by him quoted might be read—The Law was read accordingly.—Whereupon a Motion was made that Bro^r. Muller should be ordered to quit the room, which was seconded—But previous to the putting this question The Grand Mas^r. observed that as the poor Petitioner appeared a deserving object he thought it would be hard to deprive him of relief on account of Brother Muller’s irregular recommendation—and therefore put the Question for relieving him—with £5—which passed in the affirmative. The Question relative to Brother Muller’s quitting the Co^mmittee was then immediately put and passed in the affirmative by a great majority. In consequence of this resolution the Grand Master desired Brother Muller to quit the room, which he refused, but after various remonstrances he, by the desire of his Friends, left the room.—Brother Tenbrooke who appeared as Master of the Steward’s Lodge, now made a motion that Brother Muller should be readmitted as a member of the Stewards Lodge, as had always been the custom. Upon which Brother Bowman Master of the Lodge N^o. 14, moved that the Law for the admission of Stewards might be read. But on enquiry no such Law existed. Bro^r. Tenbrooke again observed that ancient usage in those cases, he apprehended, amounted to a Law. In answer to which Bro^r. Bowman declared he thought Customs only became Laws by usage Time i^mmemorial and that the Custom for the admission of Stewards at the Co^mmittee had no such

warrant. This was immediately succeeded by a motion from Bro^r. Durham Mas^r. of the Lodge of Alfred, in the University of Oxford, That on account of Brother Muller's misbehaviour, and refusal to leave the room when ordered by the Grand Master he should not be readmitted in any capacity, which was seconded—And the Question being put it passed in the Affirmative by a very great majority—Bro^r. Tenbrooke then quitted the room, and the usual Business of the Evening was resumed but was soon interrupted by the Entrance of Bro^r. Muller in capacity of Mas^r. of the Stewards Lodge. He was hereupon acquainted by the Grand Master—That the Co^mittee had resolved he should not be admitted in any capacity—and commanded him to quit the room; which he peremptorily refused—and after having been many times, in vain, admonished to depart, the Tylers were directed to turn him out of the room, and he was turned out accordingly—Bro^r. Haywood Mas^r. of the Lodge N^o. then made a motion that Bro^r. Tenbrooke on account of his misbehaviour, by delivering up his Jewel as Mas^r. of the Stewards Lodge, to Brother Muller, as an authority to appear in the Co^mittee; in defiance of the resolutions thereof, should not be permitted to Enter the room again that Evening—which was seconded—and the Master of a Lodge who happened to be out of the room when Br. Tenbrooke quitted it—informed the Co^mittee that he saw Br. Tenbrooke deliver his Jewel to Bro^r. Muller—and heard him say at the same Time—put on this Jewel, and go into the room in spite of 'em—or he used words to that effect. The Question was thereupon put as to Bro^r. Tenbrooke's non admission, which passed nemine contradicente.

The remainder of the necessary Business was then most harmoniously completed—and the Lodge was closed in due form.

At the meeting of Grand Lodge a week later (February 7th, 1770), at which the Deputy Grand Master presided, again according to the official record,

A complaint was made by Brother Maskall Master of the Ark Lodge against Brother Muller Master of the Caledonian Lodge for having most grossly misbehaved at the last Co^mittee of Charity, and for having subsequent thereto brought an Action against Brother Preston Master of the Ionic Lodge (who assisted in turning him out of the said Co^mittee) by which means the Proceedings thereof would necessarily be exposed in a Court of Law, which ought never to be done till all other Constitutional Methods of redress prove fruitless, the consideration whereof he submitted to the G.L.

Upon which a Motion was made by Brother Bottomley of the Lodge of Antiquity, that Br. Muller for such his misconduct should be Expelled the Society, which Motion was seconded. But the G.M. desirous of reconciling Matters, if possible, requested Br. Muller, who was then present, to drop the Action, and make a Concession to the G.L. Brother Muller however persisted in what he had done and would not accede to the Grand Master's proposal. Whereupon the Question as to his Expulsion was put & it passed in the Affirmative by a very great Majority.

The G.M. then acquainted the Brethren that in consequence of the Letter drawn up and approved of at the last Extraordinary G.L. a Copy of which signed by all the Grand Officers then present, has been sent to each of the Obligees in the Bond for securing the Property of the Society, he had received an Answer from Colonel John Salter, Rich^d. Ripley & Cha^s. Tuffnall Esq^{rs}. three of the said Obligees, whereby they had refused to comply with the resolutions of the Grand Lodge, with respect to the Transfer of the Stock into the Names of the present Grand Officers—But as they had not given any satisfactory reasons for their non compliance and no answer had been received from Lord Blayney the other Obligee in the Bond—He proposed to the Brethren to postpone the further consideration of that Point to the

next G.L. And offered in the mean Time to wait upon Col^l. Salter, Mr Ripley, & Mr Tuffnall in order to know their particular Objections—which Proposition was approved of.

As the right of Members of the Stewards Lodge in general, to attend the Committee of Charity appeared doubtfull, in consequence of what had passed at the last Committee on account of Brother Muller. A Motion was made that such right should be taken into Consideration. And it was considered accordingly—And as no mention is made thereof in the Laws of the Society—The G.L. was of Opinion that they had not a general right to attend. But in order to prevent disputes in future and to make a proper distinction between that and other Lodges—A Motion was made that the Stewards Lodge should be allowed the privilege of sending a number of Brethren equal to any other four Lodges—and as the Master alone, of each private Lodge had a right to attend, so the Master and three other Members should attend on behalf of the Stewards Lodge, at every succeeding Committee—which Motion was duly Seconded—And on putting the Question it passed in the Affirmative.

In connection with the undignified incidents which occurred before the Committee of Charity on January 31st, 1770, the late Brother Makins extracted the following relevant passage from a pamphlet entitled “*Masonic Anecdotes—A Caution to the Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons under the Constitution of England*” :—

In 1768, an Intention of Incorporating the Society was in agitation and was proceeded in; but a Caveat being entered at the Attorney General's Office against such Incorporation, among others who opposed it was the Master of the Caledonian Lodge, then held at the Half-Moon Tavern in Cheapside, which brought on an altercation in the Grand Lodge; and so Strenuous was LITTLE SOLOMON in Support of that Grand Lodge (which he now despises) that he had the Assurance and Impudence to take the Master of that Lodge by the Collar, and, with Assistance, dragged him over the Table. A Suit at Law was instituted against him for the Assault, but by the Mediation of Friends the Matter was dropped.

This pamphlet was published *circa* 1787-88. “Little Solomon” was clearly William Preston.

Thomas Dunckerley, who was not amongst those present at the meeting of Grand Lodge held on February 7th, 1770, was acquainted with the events of the day by the Grand Secretary, who, in the course of his letter dated March 3rd, stated :—

With respect to the Quart^{ly}. Comⁿ. I can only inform you we had much noise and confusion, but did nothing material. Mr. Dillon undertook to wait on Coll^l. Salter & to know the reason of their refusal, as to the Transfer. What will be the result I know not.

You must, I presume, have heard of Mr. Dillons having been elected Mem^r. of Parliament for Westbury in Wiltshire last week, for w^{ch}. place he has now taken his Seat. This gives great Spirits to the Society in general, who hope of the Incorpⁿ. from this circumstance; and he is resolved to use his utmost endeavours for that purpose.

The extent of the opposition at this period is indicated by expressions contained in another letter written by the Grand Secretary at about this time. Addressing himself on February 15th to “Henry Price Esquire at Boston,” Heseltine wrote :—

There are not at this time more than 12 or 14 Lodges who dissent but those dissentients give a great deal of Trouble owing to their having the property of the Society so much in their power that I'm afraid we shall be obliged to file a Bill in Chancery for the recovery thereof. This property

stands in the Bank, amounting to £1300 and is there invested in the Names of the Treas^r. and his two Sureties—one of those Sureties refuses to give up the Money accord^d. to the directions of the G.L. and as the Obligees are of the same Opinion a Bill in Equity is our only remedy. The Incorpor^{on}. is therefore at a Stand till the determ^{on}. of this point and is the principal obstacle to its Execution. As soon as any thing farther is done you may depend on hearing from me.

The nature of the reception accorded by Lodges in America to the proposed Incorporation is revealed in an abstract of letters received by the Grand Secretary between the meetings of the Committee of Charity held in February and April, 1770. This abstract records the receipt of:—

A L^r. from H. Price Esq^r. P.G.M. for North America acquaint^s. me that the G.M.^s intention to have the Society Incorpor^d. had given high Spirits to the Fraternity in gen^l. in that part of the world. That a Com^{it}tee from sev^l. Lodges were preparing a proper answer on the subject declaring in favor of a Charter as a thing they had wished for these 20 years past. That they were of opinion the opposing Brⁿ. had a design to destroy all Charity & then farewell that Brotherly Love w^{ch}. had so long subsisted. That I might be assured all the Brethren in America w^d. * for a Charter. That a strict watch sh^d. be kept on the Opposers sh^d. they make any attempts on the Lodges there. He begs to have Copies of the Charter sent as soon as completed & desires that the sentiments of the American Lodges may be communic^d. to the G.M.

In ans^r. I acquainted him with what had been done relative to the Incorpor^{on}. & also relative to the Detention of the Fund of the Society by the late G.O.^s.

A L^r. from the Lodge at Deal complain^s. that the Caledonian Lodge had been rather troublesome to 'em, as well as Expensive. That they were determined to desire the C.L. would not trouble them any more wth. their Memor^{is}., Cases, Caveats, &c., in order to poison their Minds & draw them from the duty they owe the G.M. & his officers. That such Endeavours w^d. prove vain & that they c^d. wish to see them behave as men & masons wth. proper respect to the G.M.

Another L^r. from H. Price Esq^r. P.G.M. for America acquaint^s. me that the Lodges in & near Boston had in Quaterly Comⁿ. unanimously approved of an Incorpor^{on}. as a matter likely to prove exceedingly beneficial to the Order.

A non-committal reply was received from the Lodge of Amity at Poole (now No. 137), the members of which had clearly been taught to be cautious:—

Pool February 1770

Permitt us also to express our Concern at the unhappy Division occasion'd by the Charter: As we were not long enough establish'd to be proper Judges we chose to be Silent and to wait the Event; which we are Sorry has produc'd so much Animosity, and disturbance so contrary to the Genius & Spirit of Masonry we could wish that such conciliating Measures might be pursued as to prevent the fatal Effects impending on the best of Institutions.

(six signatures)

It will be remembered that the only reply received by the Grand Secretary to his formal demand for the written consent of Lord Blayney, Colonel Salter, Richard Ripley and Charles Tufnell, as Obligees in the Bond, was a letter of refusal from the three last named more than a month after the receipt by them

* Original torn, and one word indecipherable—presumably the word “vote.”

of the request for their consent. Lord Blayney ignored the demand for nearly three months, and then pleaded "a tedious fitt of the Gout" as his excuse for not replying earlier. The two letters on this subject which passed between Heseltine and Lord Blayney were worded as follows:—

Crown & Anchor Tavern

My Lord,

London 29th Nov^r. 1769.

At a Quart^{ly}. Commⁿ. of the Society of Free & Accepted Masons held here the 27th Oct^r. last it was resolved . . .

In consequence of this resolution Brothers Berkeley, Nevison and Beardmore were requested to make a Transfer of the Stock w^{ch}. the two former readily consented to, but Bro^r. Beardmore refused.

At another G.L. held this Day the above Resolⁿ. was confirmed when it was alledged on behalf of Bro^r. Beardmore that he cou'd not with safety join in the Transfer but must subject himself to an Action at the Suit of the Obligees (of whom your Lordship is one) however futile this objection considering that by the condⁿ. of the Bond a Copy of which is inclosed it will become void upon compliance with any order of the G.L. concerning the Fund. Yet the present G.L. wishing to have your Lordships approbation of every essential measure respecting the Society have directed us to signify the above to your Lordship, and your Co-obligees; and to request your concurrence by a Line addressed to the G.S. in Doctors Commons—We are,
My Lord,

Your Lordships Most Affect^e. Breⁿ. and

Lord Blayney.

Obedient Servants,

Gentlemen,

Dublin Febr^y. 23^d 1770.

Sometime since I was honor'd with your Letter, but a tedious fitt of the Gout, with the expectance of a Letter from the late Grand Officers who served with me, obliged me to defer giving a hasty answer in a matter of so much consequence to the Craft in General. This I hope will plead my excuse.

Your application to me as one of the Obligees for my consent to give up to the present Grand Officers, or *Grand Treasurer intended* the sum of £1300, now standing in the Names of Mr. Rowland Berkeley present Grand Treasurer and his sureties, I should most cheerfully comply with, if it were in the least likely to conduce to a thorough reconciliation of the Disputes at present subsisting among the Craft: but I am apprehensive it might widen the Breach, and make many worthy Brethren withdraw themselves from the Society: as the objections of the late Grand Officers seem chiefly to be founded on the apprehension of this money being appropriated to the expense of obtaining a Charter for Incorporating the Craft in a Body, which of course excludes all foreigners, who were contributors also to this Charity and must have a voice in the disposal of it, as well as our own Lodges, besides I am apt to think that the universality of Masonry may suffer through the Limitations of a Charter, for these reasons I think I cannot with propriety give my consent to Transfer the £1300 without proper security, and without the approbation of all the Lodges in general who have contributed to this Charity.

It is with great concern I hear of the Divisions & Disputes that have lately arose in a Society so remarkably distinguished for Charity, Brotherly Love & every Virtue—That Harmony & Unanimity may again be settled among you is the sincere wish of

Gentlemen

Your most affect^e. Brother

and most obed^t. H^{ble}.

Servant,

James Heseltine Esq.,
Doctors Commons.

BLAYNEY.

Dillon presided over Grand Lodge on April 25th, 1770, and

. . . acquainted the Brethren that since last Grand Lodge a Letter had been received from Lord Blayney, by which he refused to comply with the resolution of the Grand Lodge, with respect to the Transfer of the Stock into the Names of the present Grand Officers.—And therefore

A Motion was made by the Grand Master that a Committee of all the present and past Grand Officers, together with the Masters of all regular Lodges in and near London should meet at such time and place as should be appointed at the next Grand Feast, in order to consider of the steps necessary to be taken for the recovery of the Money standing in the Names of Messieurs Rowland Berkeley as Grand Treasurer, and his Sureties Arthur Beardmore and Richard Nevison in three per Cent Consolidated Bank Annuities on behalf of and in Trust for this Society—and which said Annuities had at a former Grand Lodge been directed to be Transferred Annually into the Names of the Grand Officers for the Time being, and in consequence of which resolution they the said Rowland Berkeley, Arthur Beardmore and Richard Nevison had been required to Transfer the same into the Names of the present Grand Officers, but had not complied therewith. This Motion was duly Seconded and on putting the Question it passed in the Affirmative by a very great Majority.

Another Motion was then made by the Grand Master that such Committee should be authorized to pursue such Legal Methods as they should judge requisite in order to enforce a compliance with the resolutions of the Grand Lodge and to procure the Transfer of the said Annuities into the Names of the Grand Officers for the Time being; to be by them held on behalf of and in Trust for this Society, and to be appropriated to the purposes of Charity only, in such manner as the Grand Lodge should from Time to Time direct. This Motion was duly Seconded, and on putting the Question it passed Nemine Contradicente.

* * * * *

A Motion was made by Brother Brooke of the Stewards Lodge that Brother Muller who had been Expelled the Society, should be reinstated, upon asking pardon of the Grand Lodge, which he was ready to do, upon condition that Brother Preston (who, he alledged, had assaulted the said Brother Muller at the Committee of Charity, in January last) would ask his Pardon. This Motion was Seconded But on putting the Question, it passed in the Negative by a very great Majority.

At the Annual Grand Feast, held at Merchant Taylors' Hall on May 7th, 1770, the Duke of Beaufort himself presided. At this gathering

The D.G.M. acquainted the Brethren that a Committee of present and past Grand Officers with the Masters of regular Lodges in and near London, would meet at the Crown & Anchor Tavern in the Strand on Wednesday the 15th of May Instant, pursuant to the resolutions of the last Q.C.

The official Minute of this Special Meeting reads:—

At an Extraordinary Committee held at the Crown & Anchor in the Strand London Wednesday the 15th May 1770

The Hon^{ble}. & Most Worshipful Charles Dillon, D.G.M. as G.M.

The ~~Grand~~ Lodge was opened in due Form.

The D.G.M. acquainted the Committee with the nature of the Business on which it was called.

Whereupon

The Committee proceeded to consider what steps would be most advisable to be taken in order to secure the Property of the Society, and to enforce a compliance with the resolutions of a former Grand Lodge, directing the

Money standing in the Names of Mess^{rs}. Rowland Berkeley Arthur Beardmore & Richard Nevison, to be Transferred into the Names of the Grand Officers for the Time being. And, after mature deliberation; was of Opinion, that as by the Book of Constitutions the G.T. is to be chosen by the G.L. the first Q.C. after each Grand Feast, and is to give a joint Bond with two other Brethren who shall be approved of by the G.L. to the G.M. the D.G.M. and G.W.^s for the Time being, in such Penalty and with such Condition as shall be approved of by the G.L. for the due performance of his Trust, it would be most adviseable to suffer Matters to remain in their present state till such Q.C. when it would be in the power of the G.L. to have satisfactory Security, and be furnished with a more certain mode of redress in case of any subsequent opposition to its Measures.

Ordered—That such Opinion be communicated to the G.M.

All Business being finished the Lodge was duly closed.

Five days previously Lord Blayney had written to the Deputy Grand Master:—

Dear Sir,

Last week I was honor'd with yours, & as I wish to contribute every thing in my power to establish our Fraternity upon their Original Institution, whatever is agreed, or determin'd by y^e Quarterly Communication in consequence of y^e application made to me, & y^e late Grand Officers for y^e disposal of y^e 1300 P^{ds}. I shall most cheerfully concur in—& am at all times with y^e highest regard & most acceptable Comp^{ts}. to y^e present Grand Master & Officers—Dear Sir—Your most Obed^t. & most H^{ble}. Servant,

Blayney Castle,

BLAYNEY.

May y^e 10th —70.

Lord Blayney's capitulation was complete. How the opposition of his obligees was eventually overcome is not clear, but the desired transfer of the funds followed closely upon the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge held on November 23rd, 1770, when

Brother Massey Master of the Lodge of Freedom thereupon represented that at the Co^mittee of the 15th of May, the Character of Brother Arthur Beardmore had been attacked with respect to the Fund of the Society remaining in the Bank, and that the Grand Secretary had on that occasion, in his Opinion, imposed upon the Fraternity. He therefore handed two Motions in Writing to the Grand Master in the Words following:—

1st. That it is the Opinion of this Grand Lodge, that the G.S. has been guilty of a flagrant Imposition on the Fraternity.

2^d. That he be publicly reprimanded for the said Imposition.

Such Motions being seconded; the Question was put as to the first of them, and it passed in the Negative by a very great Majority—Whereupon Bro^r. Massey thought proper to withdraw his second Motion.

Brother Berkeley then resigned his Staff of Office; and was Unanimously re-elected G.T. for the ensuing Year, and proposed Brothers Arthur Beardmore and Richard Nevison to become his Securities. Whereupon the Grand Master put the Question to the Brethren for their approbation of Brother Beardmore as one of the Grand Treasurer's Securities, which passed in the Negative by a great Majority—Another Question was then put to the Brethren for their approbation of Bro^r. Nevison as one of the Grand Treasurer's Securities which also passed in the Negative.

Brothers Peter Parker & John Townson Esquires then offered themselves to become Securities for Bro^r. Berkeley the Grand Treasurer, who proposed them as such accordingly, and on putting the Question they were approved of, one Brother only dissenting.

The Resolved and Ordered That upon a proper Bond being Executed by the Grand Treasurer and his New Securities, to the Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, and Grand Wardens for the Time being the Grand Secretary do wait upon the said Brothers Arthur Beardmore & Richard Nevison, in the Name of this Grand Lodge, and require them to Transfer the sum of £1300 three per Cent Consolidated Bank Annuities the Property of this Society, standing in the Names of them the said Rowland Berkeley, Arthur Beardmore, and Richard Nevison, into the Names of the said Rowland Berkeley, Peter Parker, and John Townson and that upon such Transfer being made (which the Grand Treasurer, being present declared himself ready to join or assist in as far as necessary) the Grand Secretary do deliver up to them the said Rowland Berkeley, Arthur Beardmore & Richard Nevison, their Bond to be Cancelled.

Bro^r. Massey informed the Grand Lodge that Bro^r. Muller who had been Expelled the Society was ready & willing to ask pardon of the G.L. for his Offence, provided Bro^r. Preston (who he alledged, had assaulted the said Bro^r. Muller) should be ordered to ask his pardon in G.L. for such Assault—And on these Conditions made a Motion that Brother Muller should be re-instated, which was Seconded, but on putting the Question it passed in the Negative.

All Business being over the Grand Lodge was duly Closed.

An undated copy of the fresh Bond has been preserved in the Grand Lodge Library. In spite of the absence of date, it is clear from the recital that the instrument was intended for execution on November 13th, 1770, immediately after the Quarterly Communication held on that date:—



KNOW ALL MEN by these Presents that we Rowland Berkeley of Stevenage in the County of Hertford Esquire Peter Parker of Queens Square Westminster in the County of Middlesex Esquire and John Townson of Grays Inn in the said County Esquire are held and firmly bound to the most puissant & noble Prince Henry Somerset Duke of Beaufort &c. &c. The Honourable Charles Dillon of the Parish of Saint George Hanover Square in the County of Middlesex Rowland Holt of the Parish of Saint James in the said County Esquire and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne of Grosvenor Square Baronet in two thousand pounds of good and lawful Money of Great Britain to be paid to the said Henry Somerset Duke of Beaufort Charles Dillon Rowland Holt and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne or their certain Attorney Executors Administrators or Assigns for which Payment to be well and faithfully made we bind ourselves jointly and severally and our and each and every of our Heirs Executors and Administrators firmly by these Presents Sealed with our Seals the twenty third Day of November in the eleventh Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith &c. And in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Seventy.

WHEREAS the above bounden Rowland Berkeley was at a Quarterly Communication held this Day unanimously elected and chosen Treasurer of the ancient and honourable Society of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS AND WHEREAS the Sum of one thousand three hundred Pounds three per Cent consolidated Bank Annuities the Property of the said Society now stands in the Names of the said Rowland Berkeley and Arthur Beardmore of Walbrooke Gentleman and one Richard Nevison now or late of the Parish of Saint Catherine Cree Church London Haberdasher in the Books of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England which said Rowland Berkeley Arthur Beardmore and Richard Nevison are ordered and directed to transfer into the Names of the said Rowland Berkeley Peter Parker and John Townson as soon as conveniently may be AND WHEREAS the said Rowland Berkeley hath now in his

Hands the Sum of One Hundred and Fifty five Pounds and also one hundred and twenty golden Mohurs of the Value of one hundred and seventy Pounds or thereabouts also belonging to the said Society NOW THE CONDITION of this Obligation is such that if the said Rowland Berkeley his Heirs Executors or Administrators shall and do from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter well and truly account to and with every Quarterly Communication of the said Society for all & every the Dividends and Produce of the said one thousand three hundred Pounds Annuitys and also for all such further Sum and Sums of Money as shall at any Time or Times hereafter by Order of any Quarterly Communication be vested in the same or any other Fund or Funds as the same shall grow due and be received AND ALSO if they the said Rowland Berkeley Peter Parker and John Townson shall and do in Pursuance of any Order of any such Quarterly Communication of the said Society sell transfer or assign the said Sum of one thousand three hundred Pounds or any Part thereof as shall be so ordered and also the whole or any Part of any such other Sum or Sums as hereafter shall be directed or ordered by any such Quarterly Communication to be laid out and invested in the said three per Cent Consolidated Annuities in the Names of them the said Rowland Berkeley Peter Parker and John Townson or in any other Fund or Funds AND ALSO if the said Rowland Berkeley his Heirs Executors or Administrators do and shall from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter well and truly account with the Quarterly Communications for the said Sum of one hundred and fifty five pounds also for the said Golden Mohurs and also for all such Sum & Sums of Money and all other Property as shall come to his Hands by means of the said Office and shall pay all such Monies as shall remain or be in his Hands being the Property of the said Society in such Manner as the said Quarterly Communications shall order or direct and observe perform and keep all such Order and Regulations as shall from Time to Time be made by the Quarterly Communications respecting the said Rowland Berkeley and his said Office then this Obligation to be void or else to remain in full Force

Sealed and delivered (being first
duly stamped and the Words "Hert-
ford Esquire" in the second line
and the Word "George" in the
seventh line being written upon
Erasure in the Presence of

ROWLD. BERKELEY
P. PARKER
JNo. TOWNSON

JAs. HESELTINE

With the execution of this Bond the financial difficulty was successfully overcome.

Heseltine's optimism throughout this period, in spite of all the opposition which he encountered, is reflected in a letter addressed by him to a Royal Arch Chapter at Bristol on July 14th, 1770, in which he wrote:—

With respect to the Incorp^{on}. a Bill is to be brought into the House next Sessⁿ. of Parliament, for the purpose of carrying it into Execution on a much more extensive plan than at first proposed—and we have the greatest reason to think it will pass, which must be of infinite service to the whole Body.

Justification for this optimism on the part of the Grand Secretary may perhaps be found in the fact that in March of this year the Deputy Grand Master had been elected Member of Parliament for the Westbury Division, in which capacity it was no doubt anticipated that he would be able to promote his fresh proposal to proceed to Incorporation by Act of Parliament.

According to the Parliamentary Agents' Bill of Costs (to be set out presently in full) the initial steps in this direction were taken on November 12th, 1770, when at a meeting held at an unspecified address in Bond Street instructions were given for the preparation of a Petition to be presented to the House of Commons. In this Bill of Costs the first few items all fall within the month of

November, 1770, at which point the statement of account breaks off abruptly until January 30th, 1772—some fourteen months later—on which date a charge is made for an attendance upon Dillon “to consult as to carrying in the Petition.”

The reason for this long delay is not altogether apparent; the period which elapsed, however, was by no means devoid of incident. At a meeting of the Committee of Charity held at the Horn Tavern on Friday, April 19th, 1771, the Deputy Grand Master

informed the Brethren that the Marquis De Gages, P.G.M. for the Austrian Netherlands, had transmitted the Copy of a Letter in the French Language, say'd to have been received by him from the Caledonian Lodge held at the Half Moon Tavern in Cheapside, reflecting upon the Grand Lodge in the grossest terms with respect to the intended Incorporation of this Society a Translation of which Letter was ordered to be read, and it was read accordingly—Whereupon a motion was made that such Letter with the Translation should be printed for the use of such Brethren as might attend the next Grand Lodge, and that the Brethren whose names appeared subscribed to such Letter should each have a copy thereof sent to them and be summoned to attend at the Grand Lodge on the 26th Instant to answer for their Conduct on account thereof, which motion was seconded and duly agreed to.

Accordingly the Grand Secretary circularised the Lodges as follows:—

At a Committee of Charity held the 19th of April 1771, the following Letter, in the French language, transmitted from the Marquis De Gages, P.G.M. for the Austrian Netherlands, was ordered to be printed, with a Translation thereof, for the information of such Brethren as may attend the next Grand Lodge.

* * * * *

TRANSLATION.

From the East of London,
and of our Caledonian Lodge,
the 11th Jan. 1771.

SIR, and RIGHT WORSHIPFUL G.M.

You have undoubtedly been informed that our Most Worshipful Grand Master, the Duke of Beaufort, at the instigation of certain persons, *not friends to the common good and interest of our Society*, formed a design some time since to get all the Masons incorporated, under the English constitution, by an Act of parliament, or by his Majesty's council. The plan thereof was distributed, and the means proposed, by which they hoped to raise the necessary funds for defraying the enormous expence of such Incorporation.

Our Lodge, seconded by many others, *the most respectable in this city*, having maturely weighed the reasons for and against such a novelty, thought it their duty to present their humble remonstrances to the Grand Lodge, and to shew the dangers and disagreeable consequences which must be the event of pursuing this design.

The unfavourable reception our proceedings met with, has not shaken us. By force of arguments we have convinced many, formerly dazzled by the flattering promises of an imaginary grandeur: they confess their error, and find the objections made to their heretofore favourite plan well founded. And it is with a very sensible pleasure we can assure you, R.W.G.M., that, except the *inventors of the novelty*, this *infraction upon the rights of Free Masons* is not at present supported, *except by the vulgar and uninformed*; who, in our Society, as well as in all others, are the greatest number, *but are of no great consequence in the execution of a design like the present*.

The affair has been agitated and debated for above two years past, and remains yet very far from being decided, though the favourers of the

Incorporation have had recourse to all sorts of art and finesse, unworthy of true Masons, to carry their point.—Such a meanness (as we have reason to think it) furnishes us with a reason to commence a correspondence with you R.W.G.M. and we are bold enough to hope, that you will be pleased to grant a favourable answer to our request.

One Mr. De Vignoles, who calls himself P.G.M. of all Foreign Lodges, or such as work in Foreign Languages, (though many dispute this title, and treat it as a chimera) has positively alleged, that you, and all the Lodges in the Austrian Netherlands under your direction, approve an Incorporation.

The COUNT DE NERAC (to whom we are obliged for your address) assures us of the contrary.—We beg of you for the common good of the Society, to inform us of the truth.—We have no reason to doubt the Count De Nerac's relation, but should be happy to be enabled to overturn the allegations of a man, who creates differences every where, and avails himself of the insinuation of his stile to mislead those who are not upon their guard.

We take the liberty to refer, for our address, to the conclusion hereof: in making use of it, as we request, you will infinitely oblige those who wish to you R.W.G.M. and to the Brethren under your administration, all possible happiness in this new and many succeeding years; and have the honour to subscribe ourselves, with perfect attention, sincere distinction and fraternal friendship,

SIR, and R.W.G.M.

Your most obedient and most humble Servants,
and devoted Brethren,

A. TEN BROEKE,	Master in the Chair.
B. P. DE LA COSTE,	Sen. Warden, P.T.
JOHN VESTENBURG,	Jun. Warden, P.T.

J. VIEREL, Sec.

This Letter agrees with its Original, Mons, the 18th March 1771

Le Marquis DE GAGES, P.G.M.

To the Grand Secretary's summons the alleged offenders replied:—

To the Most Noble HENRY SOMERSET, Duke of Beaufort,
Grand Master of Masons,

The Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master and Grand Wardens,
and the Brethren, Members of the Grand Lodge,
Right Worshipful Sir and Brethren,

We have severally received the Grand Secretary's Letter of Yesterday, by Direction (as is said) of the last Committee of Charity, inclosing a French printed Copy, and Translation of a Letter of the Caledonian Lodge, No. 263, to the Marquis De Gages, P.G.M. of the Austrian Netherlands, dated the 11th January, 1771, and requiring our Attendance this Day, at the Quarterly Committee, in order to answer to a Complaint then to be made against us, on account of said Letter, as our Names appear thereto.

Being all of us engaged in the Mercantile Business, we could not possibly without great Loss, attend on a Foreign Post Night at so very short a Notice, therefore we plead the Benefit of the Law Article, 11 Page No. 321, which enacts, that "All Differences or Complaints that cannot be made up or accommodated privately, not by a particular Lodge, shall be reduced into Writing, and delivered to the Grand Secretary, who shall summon all Parties concerned to attend at the next Committee of Charity, where the same shall be seriously considered and finally decided."

Our Summonses are of Yesterday for toDay, "to answer to Complaints then to be made," we hold therefore, that we are not legally summoned, and that the Order for our Attendance ought to be postponed at least to the Time given us by Law. We beg Leave further to observe, that

in affixing our Names to the said Letter, we acted merely officially for the Caledonian Lodge, in our several Capacities annexed to our Names, which Capacities are only temporary, and that we hold ourselves not answerable in our private Persons for a public Act of the Lodge. We could have no private Emoluments from it, nor had we any bad Design, when we acted as we have done, for the Lodge; and therefore, if it should be found a punishable Act by our Laws, it is that of the Brethren of the Caledonian Lodge collectively, and not ours separately; and we ought in this case to bear no greater Share in the Punishment of such an Act, than we would have in the Merits of publishing this Correspondence, if it should happily have the good Effect amongst the Craft which was intended: On this Ground we hold that the said Order for our Attendance, merely because our Names appear to the Letter in question, ought to be entirely dismissed. The Letter is from the Lodge, not a private one of ours; were it otherwise, the Grand Lodge surely would not spare Time in prosecuting and punishing every Brother who might happen in private Correspondence to censure their Proceedings to a Friend abroad, at least from the Candour they profess they would scorn to admit such Evidence against any Brother, as must have been procured by the foul and dark Means, of betraying Brotherly Confidence, and obtaining and publishing private Correspondence, In a Society that really acts in the Principles of Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth, Inadvertencies and Transgressions ought to go unpunished, when it cannot be done, but at the Expence of encouraging Treachery. Depending on your brotherly and impartial Consideration in this Affair, we are, with the utmost Respect,

Your Grace's and the rest of the Brethren's

Most obedient Servants,

and affectionate Brethren,

A.T.B.

B.P.L.C.

J.V.

J.V.

London,

16 April, 1771.

The Grand Master himself presided at the meeting of Grand Lodge held on April 26th, 1771, when

The D.G.M. acquainted the Grand Lodge that he had received a Copy of a Letter in the French Language dated 11th Jan. last, from the Marquis De Gages P.G.M. for the Austrian Netherlands—the Original whereof had been transmitted to the Marquis, and was signed A. Tenbroeke, John Vestenburg, B. P. De la Coste, I. Vierel, as Master Wardens and Secretary of the Caledonian Lodge N^o. 263 held at the Half Moon Tavern Cheapside. That such Letter reflected upon the Proceedings of this Grand Lodge in the grossest Terms, and tended to render its Authority contemptible and ineffectual—That in consequence of a resolution of the last Committee of Charity such Letter, with a Translation thereof had been printed for the information of this Grand Lodge, and that a Copy had been sent to each of the Parties whose Names appeared thereto, with a Summons to attend this Grand Lodge to answer to a complaint then to be made against them—The D.G.M. then moved that the Letter should be read—And it was read accordingly, as was likewise a paper signed by the said Brothers Tenbroeke, Vestenburg, De la Coste, and Vierel, wherein they acknowledged having signed the Letter complained of—Whereupon a Motion was made by Brother Allen, Prov^l. Grand Master for Lancashire that Brothers Tenbroeke, Vestenburg, De la Coste, and Vierel should, for having wrote and transmitted such Letter to the Marquis De Gages, be Expelled the Society, which Motion was duly Seconded, and the Grand Lodge having considered the whole Affair maturely, the Question was put, and it passed in the Affirmative.

Notification of the expulsion of these Brethren was duly circulated amongst the Lodges in the following form (extracted from the Minute Book of the short-lived Lodge at Coventry, then numbered 279 and meeting at the Rose and Crown):—

R.W. Mas^r: & Brethren—

At the Quarterly Communication held the 26th. of April last Bro^{rs}. Anthoney Ten Broeke, late Mas^r., De La Coste, Senior Warden, John Vestenburg, Junior Warden, and J. Vierel, Sec^{ry}. of the Caledonian Lodge, No. 263, held at the Half Moon Tavern, Cheapside London, were expelled the Society, for having in a most illiberal and unjust manner traduced the Grand Lodge in a letter signed by them and transmitted to the Marquies De Gages, Provincial Grand Master for the Austrian Netherlands.

You are therefore hereby particularly enjoined not to admitt them or any of them into your Lodge either as Members or otherwise.

By direction of the Grand Lodge,

JAs. HESELTINE, G.S.

References to this letter are also to be found in the contemporary records of the St. Paul's Lodge No. 43, Birmingham, of the Lodge of Friendship No. 3, London, and of the Shakespeare Lodge No. 99, London, which last-mentioned Lodge on March 13th, 1771, resolved that no member should attend the meeting of Grand Lodge summoned for April 26th, and that all charitable contributions should be withheld.

The members of the Moira Lodge No. 92 (then numbered 164 and meeting, unnamed, at the Royal Oak in Great Earl Street, London) appear to have been in two minds over the questions at stake, for after voting two guineas towards the expences of the Opposition at one meeting, the members non-confirmed this resolution a fortnight later. This vacillation on their part is revealed in the two following Minutes:—

1771 March 18

Motion was this Night Made by Br. Hawkins & 2^d. & 3^d. by Br. Lidia & Br. Garrett, & carried by Mejority for the Lodg to pay two pounds two shillg^s. for Opposing the Incorporation of Masons.

1771 April 1

The Minutes of the Last Loge Night being recv^d. and Not confirm^d., it was put to vote & caried by Mejority for the Incorporation.

On May 1st of this year Brother Jeffreys, Master of the Beaufort Lodge No. 443, Swansea, wrote to the Grand Secretary asking to be supplied with a further copy of the Plan of Incorporation, as

the late Master, Richard Lloyd, who has been turned out of our Lodge for doing things not fit to transcribe possessed himself of most all the papers, and left them in his own house for his family or any one else to peruse them, for which reason they have declared him a common Cowan; and having in his Custody the Plan for Incorporating the Craft, which I have never seen, should be glad if you would send me one by the return of the post.

It will be remembered that Heseltine as far back as July, 1770, in a letter which has already been quoted, indicated the intention of the promoters to drop their original plan and to proceed to Incorporation by Parliamentary Bill. This proposal is mentioned in a piece of intelligence published in Ireland—*The Belfast News Letter*—on May 16th, 1771.

We hear that the Society of Free and Accepted Masons intend to apply to Parliament for an Act of Incorporation, the majority of that Society having already given their votes in favour of that scheme; and so zealous are they

in the prosecution of the measure that they have already expelled several of the dissenting members, and are determined to quash the opposition by proceeding in like manner with all their opponents, until the resolutions for the said application shall pass *nemine contradicente!*—*risum teneatis amici!*

Is it mere coincidence that this newspaper paragraph concludes with the same Latin expression as is to be found in the anonymous circular of December, 1769?

The earliest Grand Lodge Minute relating to the contemplated proceedings in Parliament is that dated November 29th, 1771, which reads:—

Brother Farmer of the Stewards Lodge moved that Brothers John Allen and John Rigge the Solicitors appointed by the Grand Master to prepare and Solicit a Bill in Parliament for the purpose of Incorporating this Society, be authorised to draw upon the Grand Treasurer for such sums of Money as may be necessary towards procuring such Incorporation; and that the Grand Treasurer be directed, as occasion may require, to pay the same to Brothers Allen and Rigge, so far as the Money already collected on account of the Scheme for Building a Hall, purchasing Jewels, Furniture &c for the use of the G.L. and now in his possession, will extend, but by no means to affect the Fund of Charity—This Motion was duly Seconded, and on putting the Question, it passed in the affirmative.

Rowland Holt, whose name figured so prominently in the records of 1768, in which year he was Senior Grand Warden, was prevented from attending this meeting of Grand Lodge for the reason stated in the letter quoted below:—

Redgrave

Dec^r. 22^d., 1771.

Sir

I fully intended being in London last Communication But an unexpected event happened w^{ch}. you will guess at by the outside of my letter, and of consequence detained me here. I shall be in London before the meeting of Parliament, and hope if Mr. Dillon is not returned from Ireland, care will be taken that the next Communication is appointed, as I am ignorant what has been done since I saw you. I should be glad of some Information how matters stand at present, and am

St. Yr. H^{le}. Ser^t.

R. HOLT.

Doctors Commons London

The unexpected event, referred to above, was presumably a bereavement.

The announcement of the intention to introduce into the House of Commons a Bill for the Incorporation of the Society led to further determined opposition and ill-feeling. Several Lodges voted sums of money to defray the expences of opposition, amongst them the Shakespeare and the Mourning Bush Lodges, each of which voted five guineas. The Royal Lodge, which in 1769 had presented a Memorial against the proposal to incorporate, again forwarded a resolution to the Grand Master couched in the following terms:—

To His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, The Right

Worshipful Grand Master of free & accepted Masons.

Right Worshipful Sir,

By Order of the Royal Lodge, I have as Secretary, the Honor to lay before You, the following Resolution, with the most respectfull Compliments of the Lodge.

At a Special Lodge held 13th February 1772 The Subject of Incorporation upon which this Lodge was Specially convened; being maturely considered, & discussed; it was resolved *Nemini Contradicente*, that this Lodge

Letters & Messengers to Mr. Dillon at Boodles and afterwards to his House	5 0
Attending him respecting the Petition being presented to morrow and consult who shod. be named of the Committee	13 4
18 th —Attends. the House of Commons when Petition presented and Leave given to bring in a Bill	1 1 0
Attends. Meeting at Mr. Dillons to read over Draft Bill and further settle same	13 4
Attending Mr. Rigge, Mr. Heseltine & Mr. Preston at the Feathers on further Considerat ⁿ . of Draft and giving Directions for printing the Bill	13 4
23 ^d . Attends at the Feathers to examine & correct Proof Sheet	13 4
Paid Expences	3 0
Copy Bill for Mr. White Comm ^{ee} Cl ^k .	1 6 8
25 th . Attends. to examine and correct 2 ^d . Proof Sheet	13 4
Attends. Mr. White and Settling Bill to be brought into the House when he made some Alterations which required to be reprinted	13 4
26 th . The like on further Alteration	13 4
Attends. on Printer thereon	6 8
Attends. Mr. Dillon to acquaint him the Bill wo ^d . be carried in the 27 th And to request his Attend ^{ce} .	6 8
The like on Mr. Brickdale	6 8
Filling up Blanks of Six Bills for Mr. Dillon Mr. Brickdale &c.	1 1 0
Attends. to deliver same	13 4
27 th . Attends. at the House when Mr. Brickdale engaged in a Committee &c.—so that he fixed to morrow to carry in the Bill	13 4
Filling up the Blanks of four more Bills	14 0
28 th . Attends. at the House when Bill carried in and read the first Time	1 1 0
3 ^d . March—Filling up the Blanks of two more Bills	7 0
Attends. the House when Bill read a 2 ^d . Time	1 1 0
Making three fair Copies of Petition	7 6
Attends. Mr. Brickdale on the Speaker's recommending two additional Clauses—and taking Instructions for same—Viz ^t .—One to restrain the Society from purchas ^g . or retain ^g . Lands &c. above a certain limited Quantity—and the other to oblige the Society to invest such Cash as they shod. place out at Interest in the Public Funds	13 4
Making three fair Copies of the additional Clauses proposed together with that enabling the Society to hold Lands &c.	10 0
Attends. Mr. Brickdale thereon	13 4
6 th —Filling up the Blanks of 2 more Bills	7 0
Attends. Mr. Brickdale again when he desired a Copy of the Statute 3 ^d . Henry 6 th . to prevent Masons from confederating in Chapters	13 4
7 th . Two Copies thereof	5 0
10 th Attends. Mr. Dillon to take Instructions what Members to write to and advise on conducting the Business of the Committee	13 4
The like on Mr. Holt	13 4
Attends. the Speaker respecting the Mortmain Clause, when he directed me to come again to morrow	13 4
Attends. Clerk of the Comm ^{ee} with Bills filled up for the Committee and to confer with him thereon	13 4
Attends. the House to search if counter Pet ⁿ . presented as expected and bespeak ^g . Copy thereof	13 4
Two Copies of Same with 314 Subscriptions	1 0 0
Attends. to consult with Mr. Dillon Mr. Brickdale &c. thereon	13 4
11 th Filling up the Blanks of 4 more Bills	14 0
Writing Cards to 34 Members requesting their Attend ^{ce} . at a Committee of the whole House on the third reading of the Bill—Paid carry ^g . out same—Wax &c.	2 16 0
Attends. the Speaker by Appointm ^t . further to inform him as to the Grounds of the Applicat ⁿ . &c.	13 4
12 th Attending twice at the Speaker's when I had fur ^r . Conversat ⁿ . with him on the Bill and he desired a Meeting with Mr. Dillon &c.	13 4

Translating Act of 3 ^d . Henry 6 th .	6	8	
Two Copies thereof with Translation	7	6	
Drawg. Briefs—9 Sheets	2	5	0
N.B. In this Mr. Rigge assisted and drew near half Therefore I charge only half.			
Fair Copy for Counsel	2	5	0
Paid Mr. Day therewith and his Clerk	16	5	6
Attendg. him sev ^l . Time consultg. &c.	13	4	
Another Copy for Mr. Dillon	2	5	0
Attendg. him thereon	13	4	
20 th Attendg. with Mr. Dillon on the Speaker	13	4	
26 th Attendg. the House to get Commēe adjourn'd	1	1	0
Six Copies of Observations on the Petition of Col ^l . Salter and others— 5 Sheets	3	15	0
The like of Observations on and Arguments in support of the Bill.— 8 Sheets	4	16	0
28 th Attendg. to confer with Mr. Dillon	13	4	
30 th Attendg him again	13	4	
31 st Filling up the Blanks of 2 more Bills	7	0	
Cards for the Members of the House to attend the Commēe to morrow and paid carryg. them out	2	16	0
Attendg. Mr. Dillon when he directed me to wait on Mr. Onslow	13	4	
Attendg. Mr. Onslow to state the Intention of the Society in this Application	13	4	
1 st April—Attendg. the House when Commēe adjourn'd till to morrow	1	1	0
2 ^d . Attendg. the House when Commēe adjourn'd for 3 Months	1	1	0
Innumerable extra Attendg. on Mr. Dillon Mr. Holt, Mr. Brickdale, &c. &c. &c. in the course of this Business	—	—	—
P ^d . Coach Hire for Self & others to the House and on attendg. Members &c.	1	0	0
P ^d . Porters to and from the House &c. and other petty Expences	1	0	0
Nov ^r . 4—Drawg. Bond from Rowland Berkley Esqr. (on his being re- elected Grand Treasurer) and John Townson & Thos. Parker Esqrs. his Sureties to Lord Petre and the other Grand Officers for his duly accounting &c. with the Society—and fair Copy for their perusal— being long & special	1	1	0
Ingrossg. same and paid Duty	12	6	
Attendg. Execution at Garraway's when the Stock was transferred into the names of the Obligors	6	8	
Drawg. Bond from Lord Petre and the Grand Officers to the Duke of Beaufort and others for their putting the Treasurers Bond in Suit if necessary and that they wo ^d . not release any Action to be brought thereon &c.—fo. 18	1	1	0
Fair Copy for their Perusal	3	0	
Ingrossg. and paid Duty	12	8	
	£105	6	2

In connection with the proceedings in Parliament one might well imagine that *Hansard* would prove informative—and yet this series of Parliamentary Reports maintains a complete and aggravating silence on the subject of Incorporation, for not a single reference to the proposed Charter is to be found. A careful search through the appropriate volumes of *The Annual Register* and of *The Gentleman's Magazine* has proved equally fruitless. This absence of information may be attributed to the fact that at this period the question of the admission of Press reporters to either House was being keenly contested. *The Daily Advertiser* of March 10th, 1772, mentioned that “no persons were admitted into the House of Commons yesterday but Members; the Gallery was locked, and notwithstanding several Noblemen made Application for Admittance, they could not obtain it.”

In spite of this exclusion of reporters, brief references to the proceedings in Parliament were published in contemporary newspapers. *The Norwich Mercury* furnished its readers with the following reports, which Brother Daynes rescued from oblivion:—

(*Norwich Mercury*—Saturday, February 29th 1772)

London, Saturday, February 22nd

A Petition of the Duke of Beaufort, and other honourable Gentlemen, belonging to the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, has been presented to the House of Commons, setting forth, that they have given, from voluntary Contributions, to their distressed brethren annually upwards of 600l for some years past, and are possessed of a fund of 1300l Bank Annuities, besides ready money not invested, and the Grand Fund for building a hall: that the Society have it in Contemplation to build a hall, and also alms-houses, for necessitous people: and in order to prosecute that good end, have prayed that leave may be given to bring in a Bill for incorporating and making a body politic the said Society. The House has granted their request, and a bill is ordered in.

Last night the Quarterly Committee of Charity of the Antient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons was held at the Horn Tavern, in Fleet Street, where eighty pounds were distributed out of the general fund to the relief of Twelve distrest brethren.

(*Norwich Mercury*—Saturday, March 7th 1772)

London, Thursday, March 5th

The Mason Society petitioned the House of Commons to be incorporated. Ordered a bill in accordingly.

(*Norwich Mercury*—Saturday, March 14th, 1772)

London, Tuesday, March 10th

Last night was held at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, a numerous and respectable meeting of the Free and Accepted Masons (Major General Salter in the Chair) who unanimously resolved, That the present application to Parliament, for an incorporation is absurd, and has a direct tendency to the total ruin of that ancient and honourable fraternity: in consequence thereof a petition is now prepared, and ready to be presented to the House of Commons, to pray their rejection of the bill now depending.

London, Thursday eveing, March 12th

A Committee of the Whole House is appointed for Thursday next, on the Question of in-corporating the Free Masons, when it is expected there will be warm debate.

(*Norwich Mercury*—Saturday, March 28th, 1772)

London, Thursday evening, March 26th

This day the following Bills were taken under further Consideration in the H. of Commons. . . . A Bill for the well-governing and regulating the Society of free and -accepted Masons.

(*Norwich Mercury*—Saturday, April 4th 1772)

London, Thursday evening, April 2nd

Yesterday the bill for incorporating the Society of Free Masons, which was to have been taken into consideration of the whole House, was deferred.

(*Norwich Mercury*—Saturday, April 11th 1772)

London, Saturday, April 4th

The Free and Accepted Masons' Bill is deferred for three months.

For the benefit of those unacquainted with Parliamentary procedure it must here be explained that the passing of a resolution to defer further consideration of the Bill for three months implied that the measure was dead.

In the Official Records of Parliament (*Commons Journals*, vol. xxxiii., pp. 484-5) there occur the following entries relating to the proceedings in the House of Commons:—

1772 February 18th

A Petition of Henry Somerset, Duke of Beaufort, &c. &c. &c., the Honourable Charles Henry Dillon, Rowland Holt Esquire, Sir Watkins Williams Wynn, Baronet, and other Persons whose Names are thereunto subscribed, on behalf of themselves and many other Persons, was presented to the House, and read: Setting forth, That a Set of Men, who call themselves the Society of Free and Accepted Masons (whereof the Petitioners are Members) have, for Ages past, associated themselves within this Realm, for the carrying on the good Purposes for which their said Society was originally instituted; and have ever demeaned themselves with Duty and Loyalty to His Majesty and his Predecessors, with Reverence and Obedience to the Laws, and with universal Benevolence to all Mankind; and that, the said Society being founded upon humane and charitable Principles, the Members of it have from Time to Time, by voluntary Contributions, raised considerable Sums of Money; and have, for several Years past, applied to the Amount of £600 and upwards, annually, upon an Average, to the Relief of the Distressed; and that the said Society are now possessed of a Fund, which they call the Fund of Charity, consisting of One Thousand and Three Hundred Pounds Three per cent Consolidated Bank Annuities, together with Ready Money not yet invested in any Savings; and they are also possessed of other Monies, which they call the Grand Fund, for the building of a Hall and other Purposes; and that the said Society have it in Contemplation to purchase Lands, in order to build themselves a Hall, or convenient Place, wherein to assemble, and transact their Business; and also Almshouses for the Reception of necessitous People; and that the said Society cannot so effectually carry their said Designs into Execution, nor render their said Funds so secure and extensively useful, or otherwise prosecute the good Ends of the said Charitable Institution, as if the same was incorporated: And therefore praying, That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill for incorporating and making a Body Politic the said Society of Free and Accepted Masons; or that the Petitioners may have such other Aid in the Premises as to the House shall seem meet.

Ordered, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill, pursuant to the Prayer of the said Petition; and that Mr. Brickdale, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Holt, and Mr. Bacon do prepare and bring in the same.

This entry was printed verbatim in *The London Evening Post* on February 27th, 1772. The four members last named represented the following constituencies respectively:—Bristol, Westbury, Suffolk and Norwich.

1772 February 28th

Mr. Brickdale presented to the House, according to Order, a Bill for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons; and for other Purposes therein mentioned: And the same was received; and read the first time.

Resolved, That the Bill be read a Second Time.

1772 March 4th

A Bill for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons; and for other Purposes therein mentioned; was read a Second Time.

Resolved, That the Bill be committed.

Resolved, That the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole House.

Resolved, That this House will, upon To-morrow Seven-night, the 12th Day of this Instant March, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, upon the said Bill.

1772 March 11th

A Petition of Major General John Salter, Past Deputy Grand Master of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, Richard Ripley, Esquire, and Fleming Pinkston, Esquire, Past Grand Wardens, and other Persons, Members of the said Society, was presented to the House and read; Setting forth, That the Petitioners observe by the Votes, that a Bill has been presented, for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, and for other Purposes; and that, in the Opinion of the Petitioners, the said Bill, if it should pass into a Law, will not in any respect contribute to the well governing of the Society to which the Petitioners belong; but, on the contrary, will be very detrimental and oppressive to them and many others of the Society, and cannot possibly be attended with any good Consequences to the Public: And therefore praying, That the Petitioners may be at Liberty to be heard, by themselves or Counsel, against the said Bill; and that the same may not pass; or that the House will grant such other Relief as shall seem meet.

Ordered, That the said Petition do lie upon the Table.

* * * * *

Ordered, That the Order made upon the 4th Day of this Instant March, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, upon the 12th Day of the same Month, upon the Bill for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons, and for other Purposes therein mentioned, be now read.

And the said Order being read accordingly;

Ordered, That the said Order be discharged.

Resolved, That this House will, upon this Day Fortnight, the 26th Day of this Instant March, resolve itself into the said Committee.

1772 March 24th

The House was moved, That the Order made upon the 11th Day of this Instant March, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House upon Thursday next, upon the Bill for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons and for other Purposes therein mentioned; might be read.

And the said Order being read accordingly;

Ordered, That the said Order be discharged.

Resolved, That this House will, To-morrow Seven-night, the First Day of April next, resolve itself into the said Committee.

1772 April 1st

Ordered, That the Order of the Day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, upon the Bill for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons; and for other Purposes therein mentioned, be now read.

And the said Order being read accordingly;

Resolved, That this House will, upon this Day Three Months, resolve itself into the said Committee.

The Bill, as printed, read as follows:—

A BILL for Incorporating and well Governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons; and for repealing an Act made in the Third Year of the Reign of our late Sovereign Lord King Henry the Sixth, to prevent Masons from confederating themselves in Chapters and Assemblies, and for other Purposes therein mentioned.

Preamble

WHEREAS, for many Ages past, a very numerous Society of Men, calling themselves *Free and Accepted Masons*, many of whom have been, and are of Quality and Distinction; have held frequent Meetings within this Realm, and have demeaned themselves with Duty and Loyalty to his present Majesty, and all his Predecessors; with Reverence and Obedience to the Laws, and Kindness and Good-will to all Mankind: Which Society appears to have been originally instituted, and to be still continued upon Charitable, Humane, and Beneficent Principles; having, from Time to Time, as Occasion offered or required, distributed and given to the Necessitous and Distressed, Sums of Money to a large Amount, raised amongst themselves by voluntary Contributions:

AND WHEREAS the said Society are possessed of a Stock or Fund, called *The Fund of Charity*, consisting of One Thousand Three Hundred Pounds Capital Stock, in the Three *per Centum* Consolidated Bank Annuities; together with Ready Money not yet invested; and are also possessed of another Stock or Fund, which they call their *Grand Fund*, intended to be applied to the Building a Hall, and other Purposes of the said Society, independent of the said Fund of Charity:

AND WHEREAS the said Society are desirous of rendering themselves more extensively Beneficial, by erecting Almshouses for the Reception of the Indigent, and a Hall or convenient Place to assemble in for managing and transacting the Business of the said Society:

AND WHEREAS it is apprehended that many well-disposed Persons, who are acquainted with the generous and beneficent Principles upon which the said Society is founded, and with the Practice thereof, would, by their last Wills and otherwise, contribute liberally thereto, if the Members were incorporated, and thereby enabled to accept Donations, and to take and hold Lands and Tenements:

AND WHEREAS the annual Income of the said Society, by voluntary Contributions for the Purposes of Charity, and which hath been constantly applied to that Purpose, amounts to several Hundred Pounds, exclusive of considerable Sums of Money distributed amongst the Poor and Needy, by several Associations or Subordinate Lodges of *Free and Accepted Masons*, held at different Places:

AND WHEREAS the several Funds before mentioned, and such Sums of Money and other Property as the said Society may hereafter acquire, for and towards the better executing their pious Intentions, have been, and may be in great Danger, unless the said Society shall be made a Body Politic and Corporate:

NOW, in order to promote and effectuate the good Designs of the said Charitable Institution.

May it please your MAJESTY,

That it may be ENACTED, AND BE IT ENACTED, by the KING'S Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the passing of this Act, there be, and shall be, a Corporation, to continue for ever, which shall be called by the Name of *The Society of Free and Accepted Masons*; and shall consist of ¹

Incorporation
of the Society

Of whom it
shall consist

other Members or Brethren, regular Free and Accepted Masons under the Constitution of *England*, who shall desire to be Partakers of the Benefits of this Act:

¹ A space ten lines in depth in the original text.

Of whom
the Grand
Lodge shall
consist

And that the principal Body of the said Society shall be called *The Grand Lodge*, and shall consist of ¹

Power to
purchase and
take Lands
by Devise,
&c.

which said last enumerated Officers and Brethren, so composing the Grand Lodge, by the Name of the Society of *Free and Accepted Masons*, shall for ever hereafter be a Body Politic and Corporate in Deed and in Law: And that, by the same Name, they and their Successors shall have perpetual Succession: And that they and their Successors, by that Name, shall and may for ever hereafter be able and capable, and have full Power (without Licence in Mortmain) to purchase, have, take, acquire, receive, possess, enjoy, and hold, to them and their Successors, Manors, Messuages, Lands, Rents, Tenements, Goods, and Chattels, Annuities and Hereditaments, of any and what Nature or Kind soever, in Fee Simple and Perpetuity, or for Term of Life or Lives, or Years, or otherwise; and have full Power and lawful Authority to take, hold, and enjoy, all Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, and all and every Sums and Sum of Money, Goods, Chattels, Annuities, Effects, or other Property whatsoever, which shall or may at any Time hereafter be devised, given, granted, sold, or demised to the said Society for the Purposes of the said Institution, not exceeding in the whole, the yearly Value of over and above all Charges and Reprizes: And also, that it shall and may be lawful for the said Body Corporate, to sell, grant, demise, exchange, and dispose of any of the said Manors, Messuages, Lands, Rents, Tenements, and Hereditaments, and other Kind of Property whatsoever, wherein they shall have any Estate, Right, Title, or Interest.

Authority to
sue and be
sued,

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, by the Authority aforesaid, That the said Society or Corporation, and their Successors, shall and may, by the Name aforesaid, be able to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in all Courts of Record and Places of Judicature within this Kingdom, to all Intents and Purposes, in as ample Manner and Form as any other Body Politic or Corporate in this Part of our Kingdom of *Great Britain* called *England*, lawfully may or can act or do; and that the said Corporation for ever hereafter shall and may have and use a Common Seal for the Causes and Businesses of them and their Successors; and that it shall and may be lawful for them and their Successors, to change, break, alter, and make new the same from Time to Time, as they shall think fit.

and to have
a Common
Seal.

Appointment
of first Grand
Officers;

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That for the better Government and Regulation of the said Corporation, and carrying their laudable Designs into Execution,

shall be, and is hereby appointed the first Grand Master, by the Stile, Title, and Denomination of *Most Worshipful Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons*;

shall be, and is hereby appointed the first Deputy Grand Master, by the Stile, Title, and Denomination of *Right Worshipful Deputy Grand Master of Free and Accepted Masons*;

shall be, and is hereby appointed the first Senior Grand Warden, by the Stile, Title, and Denomination of *Worshipful Senior Grand Warden of Free and Accepted Masons*;

shall be, and is hereby appointed the first Junior Grand Warden, by the Stile, Title, and Denomination of *Worshipful Junior Grand Warden of Free and Accepted Masons*;

shall be, and is hereby appointed

¹ A space fourteen lines in depth in the original text.

the first Grand Treasurer, by the Stile, Title, and Denomination of *Worshipful Grand Treasurer of Free and Accepted Masons*;

shall be, and is hereby appointed

the first Grand Secretary, by the Stile, Title, and Denomination of *Worshipful Grand Secretary of Free and Accepted Masons*; and

shall be, and is hereby appointed

first Grand Sword Bearer, by the Stile, Title, and Denomination of *Worshipful Grand Sword Bearer of Free and Accepted Masons*; which

to continue
till the
Grand Feast

said several Persons shall be and continue in their said several and respective Offices until the Feast of *Saint John* the Evangelist, next after the passing of this Act, or until the next General Annual Meeting of the said Society, commonly called *The Grand Feast of Free and Accepted Masons*, which shall be annually appointed by the Grand Master, and held on, or as near as conveniently may be to the said Feast of *Saint John* the Evangelist; and from thence, until other fit and able Persons, Members of the said Corporation, shall be duly chosen or appointed in their respective Places, if the said several Persons shall so long live:

Power to
constitute
Subordinate
Lodges,

But if any of the said Officers shall happen to die, before another or others shall be elected or appointed in his or their Place or Places, then the Office or Offices of such Person or Persons so dying, shall be filled up in the Manner practised by the said Society on such Occasions: And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Grand Master of the said Society for the Time being, the Deputy Grand Master for the Time being, in the Name and by the Authority of the Grand Master, or any Provincial Grand Master for the Time being, within his Province or District, from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter, to issue Warrants and grant Authority to such other Person or Persons as they, either or any of them, shall think proper for the constituting as many Subordinate Lodges, Assemblies, or Conventions of Masons, and at such Place or Places as to them, either or any of them, shall, from Time to Time, seem fit and expedient: And such Lodges, Assemblies, or Conventions, so to be constituted, are hereby declared to be, and the same shall be, adjudged, deemed, taken, and allowed to be legal and regular, as are and shall be all the Meetings, Assemblies, and Conventions of the said Grand Lodge, and of all inferior or subordinate Lodges, already constituted under the Authority of the Grand Masters of *England*, desiring to partake of the Benefits of this Act as aforesaid: And such Meetings, Assemblies, Lodges, and Conventions, shall be ¹

Lodges, &c.
to be deemed
legal Assem-
blies.

to the Visitation, Controul, or Inspection of the Grand Master, or Deputy Grand Master, for the Time being, or such Person or Persons as shall, from Time to Time, be authorised by them, or One of them, for that Purpose.

Grand Master
to convene
Chapters.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That the Grand Master, or the Deputy Grand Master, for the Time being, (by the Grand Master's Authority) shall and may, from Time to Time and at all Times hereafter, as often as the Grand Master shall think proper or necessary, issue forth Summons or Notices to convene and call together the Members of the Grand Lodge, to meet at a Chapter or Communication, to be held at a Time and Place to be mentioned in such Summons or Notice, in *London*, or within Ten Miles thereof; such Summons or Notice to be delivered, or sent by the Post, at least

Days before the Time so to be appointed for any such Chapter or Communication; and the Brethren or Members, assembled in consequence of such Summons or Notice, if they amount to or more in Number, and if the Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, Senior Grand Warden, or the Junior Grand

¹ Blank in the original, but the word "subject" presumably intended.

withdraw
Constitutions
and expel or
punish Mem-
bers.

Warden for the Time being, or if any Person who shall have before filled any of those Offices, and continuing a Member of the said Society, be One, shall have full Power and Authority to make, constitute, and ordain such Orders, Constitutions, Statutes, Bye Laws, and Ordinances as shall appear to the Majority, so assembled, to be necessary or expedient for the Government, Order, and Regulation of all the Members and Affairs of the said Society; which Orders, Constitutions, Statutes, Bye Laws, and Ordinances, not being repugnant or contradictory to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, shall and may be effectually observed, performed, and kept: And such Grand Lodge, so to be assembled, or the major Part thereof, shall also have full Power and Authority to withdraw and take away the Constitution or Warrant granted to any Subordinate Lodge; and to expel and punish any Member of the said Society as to them shall seem meet; and to do all other Things relative to the Government, Estate, Revenue, and Effects of the said Corporation, and the Members thereof, any Thing herein contained to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

Bye Laws not
to be binding
till confirmed
at a sub-
sequent
Chapter.

PROVIDED ALWAYS, That no Order, Constitution, Statute, Bye Law, or Ordinance, so to be made, shall be binding, or in force, unless the same shall be made and agreed to at One Chapter or Communication, and until it shall have been read and again agreed to and confirmed by a Majority of the Members present at the Chapter or Communication that shall be held next after such Order, Constitution, Statute, Bye Law, or Ordinance shall be first proposed and agreed to: And that the same Method shall always be observed in abrogating, altering, or repealing any such Order, Constitution, Statute, Bye Law, or Ordinance.

Repeal of the
Act 3 Henry
VI.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, by the Authority aforesaid, That an Act, made in the Third Year of the Reign of his late Majesty King *Henry* the Sixth, to prevent Masons from confederating themselves in Chapters and Assemblies, shall be and the same is hereby repealed.

Public Act.

AND BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That this Act shall be taken and allowed in all Courts as a Public Act, and all Judges and Justices are hereby required to take Notice thereof as such, without specially pleading the same.

It will be observed that the text of this Bill followed fairly closely that of the draft Royal Charter circulated in 1769. In each case, provision was made for the meetings of Grand Lodge to be held in the City of London or within ten miles thereof; the annual election of officers was to take place on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, or as near thereto as convenient; and power was granted to constitute subordinate Lodges. But there are certain major points of difference deserving of special notice.

The draft of the proposed Royal Charter sought to confer upon the intended Corporation the title of "The Society of Free and Accepted Masons of England," whereas the Parliamentary Bill made provision for the Corporation to be styled "The Society of Free and Accepted Masons"—without the addition of any words of territorial limitation.

Again, according to the proposed Royal Charter (1769), the Corporation was to consist of

a Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, Grand Wardens, Past Grand Officers, Provincial Grand Masters, Grand Treasurer, Grand Secretary, Grand Sword Bearer, Twelve Grand Stewards, and of the Masters and Wardens of the several subordinate Lodges, who, together with those already numerated, compose the Grand Lodge.

That is to say—Grand Lodge, and not the whole Society, was to be incorporated; the rank and file, accordingly, would not have been members of the Corporation although furnishing the source from which, by election and appointment, the Corporate Body might be maintained.

In the corresponding passage in the Parliamentary Bill (1772), the clause declaratory of whom the intended *Corporation* should consist contained a space ten lines in depth, left no doubt for the insertion of detail not then settled, and presumably intended to include a number of specified Officers, followed by

other Members or Brethren, regular Free and Accepted Masons under the Constitution of England, who shall desire to be Partakers of the Benefits of this Act.

The framers of this Bill would therefore appear to have contemplated a wider scope for the intended Corporation by embracing as members thereof any regular brethren who might “desire to be Partakers of the Benefits of this Act.”

This issue, however, is somewhat confused by the next clause in the Bill, marginally stated to be declaratory of whom the *Grand Lodge* shall consist, but which, in effect, first of all sets out the composition of the Grand Lodge, and then goes on to provide that these “last enumerated Officers and Brethren, so composing the Grand Lodge . . . shall for ever hereafter be a Body Politic and Corporate in Deed and in Law.”

It will be observed that in this instance the space left for the insertion of details not then settled amounts to fourteen lines, instead of the space ten lines in depth to be found in the earlier passage of the Bill. If this difference was intentional, it is a little difficult to appreciate the reason; but careful consideration of the measure as a whole leads to the inference that the Corporate Body contemplated by the framers of the Parliamentary Bill was intended to comprise the Society at large, provision being made for the government of the Corporation by a select body to be called “The Grand Lodge.”

The proposed repeal of the Statute 3 Hen. 6 cap. 1 will be noted. This enactment, which prohibited the holding of Chapiters and Congregations of Masons, remained on the Statute Book until 1825.

The intended grant of arms, mentioned in 1769, finds no place in the Parliamentary Bill, the right to grant arms being a prerogative of the Crown, exercisable only by the King and those persons to whom the right to grant arms has been delegated by the Crown by Letters Patent, *i.e.*, the Kings of Arms. Enquiry at the College of Arms has elicited the reply that no trace can be found of any formal application on behalf of the Society for a grant of arms at the period in question.

While the Bill was under consideration in the Lower House each party convened a meeting by public announcement in the Press, the Opposers at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, on March 9th, and the Promoters at the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street, on March 25th, 1772.

Three days before the Opposition Meeting was held there appeared in *The Public Advertiser* this anonymous letter pouring contempt and ridicule upon the proposed Incorporation:—

The Public Advertiser.

Friday, March 6, 1772.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

Sir,

I have been ever fond of innocent Past-time and harmless Jokes, as they serve to relax the Mind from severer Applications, and let its Vigour rise again from Repose with additional Strength; but as Study when too intense causes the Scholar to degenerate into the Pedant, and Serenity of Temper into a morose Habit, so does an uncurbed Dissipation make the Wit

a Libertine, and his Joke licentious. There is hardly in this Country a Character of any distinguished Power or Fame that has not been the Butt of Satire or the Object of Ridicule at one Time or other; for it is not the Brilliancy of a Diadem, or the Reverence due to a legislative Authority, that can guarantee them from those Attacks; But of all the ridiculous Whims ever offered to Parliament, none has ever yet appeared to me to be so fully fraught with Ridicule as the Petition which has been offered to them to incorporate the Society of Free and Accepted Masons; a Society which has no commercial Art to plead in its Behalf, nor any national Advantage to recommend itself to this solicited Mark of Parliamentary Favour; besides, Sir, a Society of which every Member is bound, nay sworn, most solemnly sworn, to keep profoundly secret every Transaction of their Art and Mystery, as they call it, can never with Propriety urge the Parliament to incorporate them, unless they unfold their mighty Secrets to all its Members, which they cannot do without perjuring themselves, unless they can persuade the whole Legislature to be made Masons, which would be an Acquisition to the Society of much greater Value than an Incorporation. I have great Hopes that the House of Commons will so immediately perceive the Absurdity of this Scheme as to reject the Bill, otherwise they will entail upon themselves a vast Increase of Business, as I am told the Albions, Bucks, and Antigallicans only wait the Issue of this Affair to petition for separate Charters for themselves, and that these will speedily be followed by the Lumber Troop, and a Multitude of Box-clubs, and other Alehouse Societies, who have already, upon the Strength of this Petition being favourably received, begun to toss up their Caps against the Cieling, huzza, and cry out, " God bless the Parliament and Incorporation for ever! "

HIRAM.

The place of meeting first appointed for the gathering of those who supported the Bill was the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand; but on the very date of the meeting a further announcement appeared in the Press substituting the Mitre Tavern as the appointed place. The two announcements, as they appeared in *The Daily Advertiser*, read as follows:—

Monday, March 23rd 1772.

Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

The Present and such Past Grand Officers and Masters of Lodges, as have signified their Approbation of an Application to Parliament for Incorporating the Society, are desired to meet at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, on Wednesday the 25th Instant, at Seven in the Evening, on Special Affairs.

By the Grand Master's Command.

JA. HESELTINE, G.S.

Wednesday, March 25th 1772.

Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

The Present and such Past Grand Officers and Masters of Lodges, as have approved of an Application to Parliament for Incorporating the Society, are desired to take Notice, that the Meeting advertised to be held this Evening, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, at Seven o'Clock, will be held at the Mitre Tavern, in Fleet-Street, at the same Hour; where they are desired to attend, on Special Affairs.

By the Grand Master's Command.

JA. HESELTINE, G.S.

No record of the business transacted at this meeting has been traced.

The Opposition Meeting, it will be observed, was held within two days of the Bill being accorded a second reading. Notice convening this meeting appeared likewise in *The Daily Advertiser*, while a brief reference to the business transacted was published shortly afterwards in *The York Courant*.

The Public Advertiser.

Monday, March 9th 1772.

Free and Accepted MASONS.

Such Members of the antient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, as are desirous of opposing the Bill now depending in Parliament for their Incorporation, and wish to support the Interest of the Fraternity on its original and excellent Principles, are earnestly requested to meet at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, This Day, at six o'Clock in the Evening, on Special Affairs.

The York Courant.

Tuesday, March 17th 1772.

London, March 10.

Last Night was held at the Devil Tavern, Temple-Bar, a numerous and respectable Meeting of Free and Accepted Masons (Major-General Salter in the Chair) who unanimously resolved, That the present Application to Parliament, for an Incorporation is absurd, and has a direct Tendency to the total Ruin of that ancient and honourable Fraternity; in Consequence whereof a Petition is now prepared, and ready to be presented to the House of Commons, to pray their Rejection of the Bill now depending.

G.L.

Before the text of the Petition against Incorporation is given, mention must be made of two Press reports of the final debate.

The Westminster Journal & London Political Miscellany on April 4th, 1772, informed its readers that Mr. Onslow, Member for Guildford, in bringing in the Petition against Incorporation,

. . . urged many pleasant and many solid arguments in favour of the opposers. Among the first he observed, that if the Incorporation was allowed, there was no knowing where applicants would stop for similar distinction; the Bill of Rights Club, which deserved so peculiarly well of Government, might apply for a Charter to sow sedition; the Greasy Clubs of every tavern through the Kingdom might apply for a Charter to neglect their business; and even the Maccaronians at the worst end of the town apply for a legal right to degrade the dignity of manhood. Among the solid reasons against the incorporation, he observed, that granting the Free Masons a Charter was in fact to pass a general bill of naturalization for foreign Papists, and, in all probability, giving the Pretender himself the citizenship of a Country where he was prosecuted under the penalties of high treason. Mr. Dillon, on this, moved for postponing the consideration of the Charter for three months, and his motion being carried, the measure may be deemed virtually rejected, as in three months the Parliament will be under prorogation.

The London Evening Post on Thursday, April 2nd, 1772, published this paragraph:—

Minutes of the Two Houses

April 1.

This day his Majesty went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the bills that laid ready.—Adjourned to Friday.

The COMMONS.

Deferred the Committee of the whole House on the bill for incorporating the society of Free Masons.—Passed the bill for regulating the admission of freemen into corporations.

The Free and Accepted Masons who had petitioned the House of Commons to incorporate them (finding the opposition to the bill which was brought in for that purpose to be too great for them to overcome) sheltered themselves yesterday (being *April Day*) from the ridicule which they most naturally endured from a debate on the subject, by deferring the said bill for three months; their Deputy Grand Master, C.D. Esq; at whose particular request it was so deferred, declaring it was his intent, by thus deferring it, to put it off *for ever*.

Having regard to the length of some of the earlier literary efforts on the part of the Opposition, the text of the Petition presented to Parliament by the “numerous and respectable brethren” who disapproved of the proposed Charter is commendably brief. A contemporary copy of this Petition may be seen in the Grand Lodge Library—*Portfolio of Miscellaneous Manuscripts*, Volume 8. In this copy the names of the signatories have been re-arranged in more or less alphabetical order. In the list printed below this arrangement of names has been preserved, the use of brackets indicates words inserted in pencil in eighteenth century script in the Grand Lodge copy, while the use of italics indicates matter not to be found in this copy, but added here for the purpose of this Paper in those cases in which the Petitioner is still capable of being identified.

To

The Honourable the Commons of Great Britain
in Parliament Assembled

The Humble Petition of Major General John Salter Past Deputy Grand Master of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons Richard Ripley Esquire and Fleming Prinkstan Esquire Past Grand Wardens and other persons Members of the said Society whose Names are hereunto Subscribed on behalf of themselves and many others being Members of the said Society Sheweth

That Your Petitioners observe by the Votes of this Honourable House That a Bill has been presented for incorporating and well governing the Society of Free and Accepted Masons and for other purposes

That in the Opinion of Your Petitioners the said Bill if it should pass into a Law will not in any respect contribute to the well governing of the Society to which Your Petitioners belong but on the contrary will be very detrimental and oppressive to them and many others of the Society and cannot possibly be attended with any good consequences to the Public

Your Petitioners therefore Humbly Pray this Honourable House That they may be at Liberty to be heard by themselves or Counsel against the said Bill and that the same may not pass or that the House will grant such other Relief as to them shall seem meet

And Your Petitioners shall pray

<i>Name</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Lodge</i>	<i>Additional particulars</i>
Abington, Robert			
Adams, H.		Mourning Bush	
Albwin, Robert			
Alsager, Richard			
Ancell, John			
Anderson, John		Stewards L.	
Asher, John			
Austin, William			
Bachus, George			} ? Backus, G.—No. 111A (Antients), later { Caledonian Lodge
Backers, Andricus			
Baetyfleur, Bern ^d .	P.J.G.W.	Stewards	Steward 1752
Joachim		Caledonian	
Bailey, William			
Baker, John			
Ball, William			
Barrett, Henry		L. of Peace	
Barrington, Thomas			
Baxter, G.			
Beale, William		L. of Peace	
Beckett, John		Braunds Head L.	
Beech, James		Mourning Bush	
Beque, T. R.			
Berger, Nich ^s .			
Beverly, Jacob			
Bird, Samuel			
Blackmore, William			
Blissand, William			
Blower, Thomas		Swan L.	
Bowyer, Richard		No. 48 (Antient)	Identification doubtful
Boytoult, Leonard			
Bradshaw, James			
Broak, John			
Bredel, And ^w .		Three Tons Spittlefields	
Brice, Thomas			
Briscall, Samuel		Star, Coleman Street	
Briscall, John		Shakespeare	
Brockbank, John		Stewards L.	Steward 1771
Broderick, William			
Brooks, Robert Harwing		Mourning Bush	
Brounsdon, C.		Do.	
Bucky, John			
Burgess, Charles			
Bush, Atkinson		L. of Freedom	
Butler, Joseph.		No. 31A (Antient)	Identification doubtful
Caddley, D.		Mourning Bush	
Calling, Thomas		Do.	
Camroux, John Lewis		Three Tons	
Candler, Fred		St. Albans L.	
Carter, Thomas	(Antient only Token ho. Y ^d .)	No. 50 (Antient)	J.G.W. (Antients)
Chapman, Sam ^l .	(no Mem. Mas ^r . of the Ho.)	Mourning Bush	
Chapman, Thomas		Do.	
Cheetham, Abram ^m .			
Clarke, George	P.G.W.	St. Albans L.	
Clarke, William			
Clough, John			
Cock, James		No. 3B (Antient)	Identification doubtful
Colombe, Nich ^s .			
Coast, Francis			
Cook, John			
Cordell, James			
Corner, Henry			
Cornish, James			
Costa, Igmerba			
Coxwell, Edward			
Creighton, James		Three Tons	
Crespel, James			
Critchley, John			Steward 1768
Crozier, William		Mourning Bush	Steward 1773
Cruikshank, Robert		Old Caledonian L.	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Lodge</i>	<i>Additional particulars</i>
Davis, Peter			
Davis, Charles		Sea Captains L.	
Davis, Richard		Swan L.	
Davis, James		<i>Shakespeare</i>	
Dean, Hum ^r		L. of Sincerity	
Delaporte, Peter			
Desortembee, Paul		Three Tons Spittlefields	
Desious, John Bernard		Caledonian L.	
Desormeaux, James Lewis			
Devese, Felix		Braunds Head L.	
Dickey, Wm. Jun ^r .		Lebeck L.	
Dickson, Robert			
Donaldson, William			
Donneld,			
Dove, Alex ^r .			
Driver, I.			
Duckett, John		Braunds Head L.	
Dudmar, Thomas			
Duploin, Fran ^s .		Three Tons Spittlefields	
Dupree, James		Crown & Magpye Aldgate	
Dupree, Isaac			
D'Valengen, Fra ^s .			
Dutton, Ben	M.D.	Half Moon Cheapside	
Edgar, Francis			
Edwards, Richard		Braunds Head L.	
Elliott, George		Marriners Lodge	
Entwistle, Thomas	(Relieved at Com. of Ch.)		
Farrer, James		St. Albans L.	
Footman, John		Mourning Bush	
Forcast, John			
Fremont, John		Three Tons Spittlefields	
Frenaux, Step ⁿ .		Do.	Steward 1770
French, Hugh			
Gally, George		St. Albans	
Gamage, Abraham			
Gandol, I.			
Gapper, William		St. Albans L.	
Gardiner, Robert			
Garrett, Richard			
Gloster, William		<i>L. of Peace</i>	
Good, Thomas		Braunds Head L.	
Goodall, William		St. Albans L.	
Golden, Robert Jun ^r .			
Grant, James	I.L.D.	Caledonian L.	
Gray, George		<i>Three Tuns</i>	
Green, James		Kings Arms	
Grojan, T.			
Gwynn, John			
Haddan, William		Mourning Bush	
Hammond, John			
Hance, John		Kings Arms	
Hardy, Joseph		Crown and Anchor	
Harrison, Edward		Swan L.	
Harrison, Ja ^s .		Stewards L.	Steward 1771
Hart, Abm.		Do.	Steward 1758-9
Harwood, William		<i>Three Tuns</i>	
Haslam, John		Mourning Bush	
Hawkins, William		Do.	
Hawkins, John			Steward 1765
Heineken,			
Henderson, Robert		L. of Sincerity	
Hetzer, Sam		<i>Caledonian</i>	
Hewitt, Alex ^r .		Dundee Arms	
Hoffman, Luder		Caledonian L.	
Hopkins, Joshua			
Horkins, John			
Hore, Matthew			
Howell, Charles			
Hughes, John		Kings Arms	
		Mary Bone St.	
Humphreys, R.			

<i>Name</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Lodge</i>	<i>Additional particulars</i>
Jeyes, Thomas			
Johnston, Francis		St. Albans	Steward 1768
Jones, John			
Jones, Tim			
Jones, Robert		Corner Stone	identification doubtful
Jones, Sam ^l .			
Jones, David			
Ireland, Sam		King's Head, Hampstead	
Kauffelin, I. T.			
Kennedy, William		White Horse Spittlefields	
Keightley, Edward		St. Albans	Steward 1769
King, Joseph			
King, William		Crown & Magpye Aldgate	
Kirkby, William		Mourning Bush	
Kitton, Richard			
Lacon, Thomas		Stewards L.	Steward 1769
Lamb, Aaron		St. Albans	
Lane, John		Shakespeare	
Lang, Tudor			
Lang, John		Old Caledonian	
Langstaffe, Francis			
Le Sueur, Daniel		Three Tuns	
Levesque, James			? Levecque (No. 125 Antients)
Levesque, Abraham			
Levesque, John		Mourning Bush	
Lightfoot, William		Braunds Head L.	
Linstrom, Nich ^{as} .			
Littleton, Ed ^{md} .			
Lloyd, Thomas		St. Albans L.	
Lloyd, John			
Loud, Eman ^l .		Braunds Head L.	
Ludby, Thomas		St. Albans L.	
Lusancey, Henry			
Mackenzie, John		L. of Peace	
Mackford, Dan ^l .		Old Caledonian	
Marriott, Samuel	(No Mem. Mas ^r . of the H ^o .)	Do.	
Martin, Thomas		Do.	
Mason, Joseph		Do.	
Mason, D.			
Matiguer, William			
Menche, John W ^m .			
Meryotte, Nich ^o .			
Meollett, Amos		Star, Coleman Street	
Merryman, Harman			
Midgway,		Mourning Bush	
Milham, Francis			
Miln, James			
Middleton, John		Kings Arms	
Moon, Phil ^p .			
Morgan, K. T.		Mourning Bush	
Mulhausen, Englebert		Caledonian L.	
Nabby, J.		Mourning Bush	
Nix, John		Stewards L.	Steward 1765
Norton, Thomas			
Parry, Joseph			
Paterson, William		Mourning Bush	Steward 1769
Paul, Job W ^m .			
Peachy, Job			
Peacome, Jo ^a .		Swan L.	
Pearce, Anth ^y .		Caledonian L.	
Pemberton, W ^m .			
Pemberton, George			
Penkstan, Blackwood		St. Albans & Stewards	
Perrott, J.		St. Albans L.	
Percival, James		Mourning Bush	
Perry, Jo ^a .			
Pesor, Pier		Ancient French L.	

Name	Description	Lodge	Additional particulars
Pickersgill, Thomas	P.S.G.W.	St. Albans L.	Steward 1746
Pinkstan, Fleming			
Pohl, Sam ^l .			
Poole, Robert			
Poynter, James			
Prichard, Thomas		Braunds Head L. L. of Sincerity	
Prichard, William			
Pudney, John James			
Quighley, John			
Quighley, James			
Ranshall, Daniel	P.S.G.W.	Castle	Formerly a Modern Mason
Ranshall, John		Three Tuns	
Rennald, Pat		Mourning Bush	
Reed, Amplias			
Reeves, Thomas		Mourning Bush	
Rice, Samuel		Braunds Head L.	
Richards, Joseph		Mourning Bush	
Richford, Thomas		No. 31A (Antients)	
Ripley, Thomas			
Ripley, Richard Esq ^r .			
Roberts, William		St. Albans L.	
Robinson, William		Shakespeare	
Robinson, Samuel		Dundee Arms	
Robinson, James		Swan L.	
Romer, John			
Rose, John			
Rose, W.		St. Albans	
Russell, George		Half Moon, Cheapside	
Ryam, Philp.		Caledonian	
Ryley, John			
St. Croix, N. Dee	Major General	Old Caledonian L.	
Salter, John		Shakespeare	
Saubere, Jos.	P.S.G.W.		Steward 1769
Schombert, John			
Schue, William			
Scott, John Henry			
Scott, Robert			
Sefton, Robert		Stewards L.	Identification doubtful
Selton, Henry Fra ^s .		Shakespeare	
Settree, Thomas		Mourning Bush and Shakespeare	
Sharp, William		St. Geo. L. Exeter	
Shirley, Thomas		Stewards L. and	
Short, Robert		Old Kings Arms	
		Castle Tavern	
		L. of Truth	
		No. 102 (Antients),	
		Amsterdam	
Silva, James Jun ^r .		Esperance	
Smith, Richard		L. of Freedom	
Smith, Alex ^r .		L. of Sincerity	
Smith, Sam ^l .		L. of Peace	
Smith, Thomas			
Spencer, Christopher		Kings Arms	
Spicer, Richard		St. Albans L.	
Staines, James		Mourning Bush	
Stanton, Joram		L. of Truth	
Stevens, John			
Stevenson, James		Braunds Head L.	
Stewart, Daniel			
Stewart, Schumaker			
Philp.			
Stockford, James		Mourning Bush	
Stone, William		Castle L.	
Stone, Francis		Crown and Anchor	
Styles, John		Mourning Bush	
Summerfield, Richard		Do.	
Thompson, David		Three Tons Spittlefields	
Tinn, William		Sea Captains L.	
Torban, Ja ^b .		Braundshead	
Trueman, Robert			
Tude, Geo.			

<i>Name</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Lodge</i>	<i>Additional particulars</i>
Valenzin, Fra ^s .	M.D.		
Van Meuzin, Henry			
Vander Lauen, I. N.			
Vaughan, Henry			
Vaughan, William	M.D.		
Vidal, Emericie Jun ^r .			
Walker, John			
Wathall, T.			
Ward, William		<i>Shakespeare</i>	
Ward, Henry		<i>Shakespeare</i>	
Warner, D.			
Waylett, James		<i>Star, Coleman Street</i>	
Webb, James			
Webster, J.			
Wheeler, John		<i>Mourning Bush</i>	
Whishaw, Hugh			
Whitehead, James			
Wilbraham, William			
Wildsmith, John		<i>Stewards L. and St. Albans</i>	<i>Steward 1757</i>
Wilmott, William			
Williams, John		<i>L. of Freedom</i>	
Williams, James		<i>Mourning Bush</i>	
Williams, Thomas		<i>Stewards L.</i>	<i>Steward 1759</i>
Williamson, William	(No such Mem.)	<i>Globe Lodge</i>	
Wilson, Thomas			
Wilson, James		<i>Mourning Bush</i>	
Winder, J.			
Wintle, James			
Woolsey, James		<i>Stewards L.</i>	
Wortiman, Step ⁿ .			
Wright, J.		<i>Swan L.</i>	
Wright, Richard			
Wright, David			
Yeatman, William		<i>L. of Freedom</i>	

The original number of Petitioners, whose names are given above, was 305; but, according to the Solicitors' bill of costs, by the time the Petition was formally presented to the House of Commons this number had increased to 314. The large proportion of foreign names will be noticed.

The inclusion of representatives of the "Caledonian Lodge" and of the "Old Caledonian Lodge" affords a reminder that at the period in question there were two London Lodges bearing the same name. The older of the two Caledonian Lodges, constituted in 1761, was removed from the Roll in 1785; the younger, constituted in 1764, is still in existence and is now numbered 314. The loyalty of the latter Lodge is clearly demonstrated by the fact that it was awarded the Freemasons' Hall Medal in 1781 in spite of its stout opposition ten years earlier to the proposed Incorporation.

That this Petition may have been signed by persons who were *Antient* Masons, and even in some cases by individuals who were not Freemasons at all, is suggested in a note (quoted below) addressed to the Grand Secretary by Brother Preston on March 11th, 1772. In this connection the words inserted in pencil against the names of Thomas Carter, Samuel Chapman, Samuel Marriott and William Williamson should be carefully noted.

Preston's note reads as follows:—

Wednesday morning

11th March

Mr. Preston presents his best wishes to Mr. Heseltine—Informs him that several persons signed the Petition against the Incorporation who were antient masons, and many without being examined or known to be masons—Some Brethren who attended the meeting on Monday will attest this to

be the truth—It may not be now necessary to communicate this to Mr. Dillon The Bearer has been sent to Mr. P. with the above information.

America	} // // // // // // // // // // // // // // // //
Barbados	
Bengal	

Mr. Heseltine,
Doctors Commons.

The meaning to be attached to the series of twenty ticks following the word "America," and the two sets of four ticks assigned to Barbados and Bengal, is not apparent.

In a letter addressed to the Provincial Grand Master of Bengal a few days later the Grand Secretary wrote:—

To the P.G.Mr. & other P.G. Officers at Bengal.

In my last Letter of the 7th Febr'y. Ult^o. I promised to write you again shortly and very fully as to the event of the Incorporation. The matter is now depending before the House of Co^mons, and tho' undetermined yet I much fear it will not succeed, for the House seem to take it up on this ground. That to comply with our request would be giving encouragement to many other Societys to make similar applications, and that the event might instead of a benefit become the foundation of dissentientions and suits at Law between the Body and its Members, particularly among those who are not governed upon principles so charitable & praiseworthy as ours and that though it w^d. always be at the option of the Legislature to grant or reject the requests of the persons making application—yet this instance as to the Free Masons w^d. be pleaded as a precedent, & might in some cases become a party affair in the House of Co^mons.

Br. who will deliver this in person will be able to give you information upon every other masonic Business, as he has been prest^d. at most of our Gr^d. Lodges for sometime past.

&c.

D^{rs}. Co^mons 21 March 1772.

Towards the end of the year the Grand Secretary again wrote to the Provincial Grand Master of Bengal:—

To Sam^l. Middleton Esqr. P.G.M. of Bengal, &c.

. . . The affair of Incorporation was in the last Session of Parliam^{nt} bro^t. into the House of Co^mons but rejected. The Scheme is therefore dropped as we c^d not with^t. an Act of Parl^t. accomplish our wishes. The affair of Building a Hall &c. is notwithstanding to be prosecuted with vigour—and I flatter myself that by the contrib^{ns}. to that Fund at our next G.L. the Society in gen^l. will be convinced of the possibilty of accomplishing it. At last Anniversary on St. Johns Day His Grace the Duke of Beaufort late G.M. resigned the Chair & proposed as His successor in the Office of G.M. The Rt. Hon^{ble}. Lord Petre who was approved of and installed in ample form and he app^d. The Hon^{ble}. Cha^s. Dillon his D.G.M. Sir Peter Parker S.G.W. and W^m. Atkinson Esqr. Jun^r. G.W. Rowld. Berkeley Esqr. was again elected G.T. and I had the honour of being appointed G.S. for the ensuing year.

J.H.

D^{rs}. Co^mons 20th Dec^r. 1772.

Having regard to the suggestion that other Societies of a secret or convivial character might make similar application to Parliament for incorporation, it is interesting to observe in the notes left by Brother Makins distinct evidence of activity amongst these other Societies in the months of March and April, 1772,

at a time when the proposed Charter of Incorporation for the *Moderns* was under consideration in the House of Commons. Brother Makins has left on record brief references to the public announcements of meetings held by the Libertonians, the Sols, and the Bucks.

Hitherto the records quoted have related solely to the *Moderns*. Without a doubt, the *Antients* must have watched with considerable anxiety the persistent efforts of their rivals to obtain official recognition. In the Minutes of the *Antient* Grand Lodge no mention is made of the proposed Incorporation of the *Moderns*. Accordingly, the following two contemporary references to the *Antients*, published in *The Middlesex Journal, or Chronicle of Liberty*, at the beginning of April, 1772, are deserving of special note.

The Middlesex Journal; or, Chronicle of Liberty.

Thursday, April 9 to Saturday, April 11 1772.

At a meeting of the antient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, under the York constitution, held at the Half Moon, Cheapside, on Wednesday evening last, Lawrence Dermott, Esq. in the chair, a letter was read from his Grace the Duke of Athol, wherein he thanked them for the great honour they had conferred upon him, by continuing him Grand Master for the year ensuing; and he likewise acquainted them, that he was of opinion (and it is the opinion of the Society in general) that the MODERN MASONS are acting entirely inconsistent with the antient custom and principle of the craft.

A motion was likewise made, that a Chaplain be appointed to that Society, and was carried in the affirmative; when the Rev. Dr. Grant, Lecturer of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, and Curate of Whitechapel, was unanimously chosen.

Saturday April 11—Tuesday April 14 1772.

To the Antient Fraternity of Free and Accepted
Masons, according to the old Constitutions.

Whereas a Paragraph appeared in the Middlesex Journal of Saturday last, setting forth, "That the Duke of Athol in his Letter to the Grand Lodge, declared, that in his Opinion the Modern Masons were acting entirely inconsistent with the ancient Custom, &c. of the Craft. The said Paragraph must have been inserted by some malicious Person, who could have no other Motive than to cause a Disturbance among the People.

I do therefore declare the same to be false, for throughout his Grace's Letter, there is not the least Hint concerning the Gentlemen under the Modern Grand Master.

April 13, 1772.

W. DICKEY, G. Sec.

While referring to the *Antients*, mention must be made of a reference to the proposed Incorporation of the *Moderns* which appeared in the Introduction to the 3rd Edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, published in 1778. The relevant passage reads:—

Although falsehood found admittance into the calendar, yet a true and memorable transaction is omitted, viz. That the Modern Masons petitioned parliament to grant them a charter of incorporation, in order to give them the power and pleasure of punishing every Freemason in England, that did not pay quarterage to them. Had they obtained the charter, it would have shut out all Masons of the neighbouring kingdoms, as they could receive no manner of benefit therefrom.

The wisdom of parliament treated the petition with just contempt: And it was reported in the public papers, that the honourable Speaker of the House of Commons said: "That if the petition was granted, he made no doubt the chimney sweepers would soon apply for a charter."

It is remarkable, that the said petition was presented on (fool's day) the first of April, 1770.

It will be noted that the writer of this Introduction fell into error in giving the date of the final rejection as April 1st, 1770. The 1788 Edition of Preston's *Illustrations* gives 1771 as the year in which the Parliamentary Bill was presented and rejected, while by a curious coincidence Gould falls into a like error a century later.

The year 1771 is also mentioned in the course of a reference to the proposed Incorporation on page 158 of *Pictures of England and Italy*, by M. D'Archenholtz, published in Dublin in 1790, and referred to by Brother Chetwode Crawley in his *Contemporary Comments on the Freemasonry of the Eighteenth Century* (A.Q.C. xviii., page 211).

In justice to three members of this Lodge it must here be recorded that the correct date is given by the late Sir Alfred Robbins in his article published in *The Freemason* on August 11th, 1906; by Hughan in *The Freemason* on October 6th, 1906, and by Brother Songhurst in his notes in A.Q.C. xxx., at page 241.

In the latter half of April, 1772, a disappointed supporter of the intended Incorporation freely circulated amongst Lodges this anonymous printed letter:—

Right Worshipful Master and Brethren,

The long projected Scheme for incorporating our Fraternity being now defeated, must occasion disagreeable Reflections to all who consider how weak the motives have been for the Dissentions which have for some Years subsisted in the Grand Lodge:—and I have the greatest Hopes that every good Mason will exert himself in endeavouring to heal the Wounds which the Craft has in that Time received: but, as it can hardly be expected that those who have been the Opposers of the Incorporation through all its Stages, should now relinquish their former Conduct, I shall address the Promoters of the Bill more particularly.

If those who signified their Approbation of this Application to Parliament, will but look with a retrospective Eye on the Proceedings of the Grand Officers (and I trust they will do it impartially, now that the Tinsel of a Charter no longer dazzles their Optics) they will find themselves to have been *egregiously duped*: it appears in this Light to me, who have given it every Support in my Power: and I rejoice in being at length able to distinguish the Truth.

To enter into a Detail of their Conduct, would lead me into a length of Epistle far too great for my present Purpose; and I shall therefore leave the more remote Parts of it to your own cool Recollection, and be at present contented with observing, that their causing the Bill to be deferred for Three Months (which is the same in *Parliamentary Custom* as deferring it finally) in direct Opposition to the Opinion of a respectable Meeting summoned by them for the Purpose of Consultation, was treating the Members of it in a most unworthy Manner: Must it not fill every honest Heart with Indignation, to find their Advice disregarded, without one Attempt having been exhibited to comply with their Desires? I would not think so meanly of Masons as to suppose the Contrary.

My Brethren, we have been shackled too long: but the Time is at Hand, that will enable us, by a short Exertion of Resentment, to free ourselves from those Fetters which have been forged for us. Rouse Yourselves, therefore, like Britons:—and by doing Justice to yourselves at the ensuing *Quarterly Communication*, on the 29th Instant, in the *Election of a Grand Master*, convince your present Rulers, and leave it upon Record, that you will not let those who trifle with you escape with Impunity.

A Petitioner for Incorporation.

April 14, 1772.

The Minutes of the Lodge of Friendship No. 6 for June 10th, 1772, reveal the fact that the same fate was accorded this anonymous communication as befell the unsigned letter received by this Lodge in January, 1770:—

Rec^d. a Letter of 14 April last sign'd a Petitioner for Incorporation; The same was Read, and order'd to be burnt by the Tyler.

At the meeting of the Committee of Charity held at the Horn Tavern on Friday, April 22nd, 1772, the Hon: Charles Dillon presided over the representatives of fifty-three Lodges. At this meeting Brother John Johnson of the Stewards Lodge moved:

That the humble and affectionate thanks of this Committee be given to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort our present Grand Master, the Hon^{ble}. Charles Dillon Deputy Grand Master, and to Rowland Holt Esq^r. late Senior Grand Warden, for their great attention and regard to this Society in promoting to the utmost of their power an Incorporation thereof, a measure replete with the utmost good consequences to masonry in general, strongly recommended from the Committee of Charity, and approved of by a very numerous Majority in Quarterly Communication. This motion was duly seconded and on putting the Question it passed in the affirmative, one Bro^r. only dissenting.

The G.S. then made a motion that the thanks of this Committee be transmitted to Brother Matthew Brickdale Esq^r. of the Lodge of Friendship for his zeal in promoting in parliament the Bill for Incorporating this Society, which motion was duly seconded, and on putting the Question it passed in the affirmative, one Bro^r. only dissenting. Bro^r. Anderson of the Caledonian Lodge thereupon made a motion that the thanks of the Committee be also transmitted to Bro^{rs}. Sir Watkin Williams Wynn Bart. and William Hodgson Esq^r. the Grand Wardens for their great zeal in promoting an Incorporation which was seconded but as this motion was apparently made in an ironical manner and with a view rather to insult than to compliment the Brethren, a previous question was moved that Brother Andersons motion should not be put up, which was seconded and passed in the affirmative.

At the meeting of Grand Lodge held a week later, according to the official Grand Lodge Minutes:—

1772 April 29.

His Grace the Duke of Beaufort proposed The Right Honourable Robert Edward Petre Lord Petre to succeed Him as Grand Master for the ensuing Year, which proposal was duly seconded.

Brother Edwards late S.G.W. proposed Major General John Salter past D.G.M. to succeed His Grace the Duke of Beaufort as G.M. for the ensuing Year, which proposal was also seconded.

Brother Birch of the Royal Lodge proposed His Royal Highness Henry Frederick Duke of Cumberland to succeed His Grace the Duke of Beaufort as G.M. for the ensuing Year, which proposal was likewise duly seconded: but Brother Birch afterwards withdrew such his proposal—

Whereupon

The Question was put on the propositions in favour of Lord Petre and General Salter, when there appeared a very great Majority in favour of Lord Petre, and His Lordship was accordingly proclaimed Grand Master elect, and being present, received the Compliments of the Grand Lodge on the occasion.

Lord Petre, whose admission to the Craft had been sponsored by the Grand Master himself, was initiated in the Lodge of Friendship on March 13th, 1771.

With the resignation of the Duke of Beaufort the agitation in favour of incorporation subsided. The other official schemes, relating to the erection of a Hall and administrative offices, proceeded to fruition with the assistance of a

loan of £1,000 from the Charitable Fund, and in 1776 there was brought into use the Hall recently abandoned as part of the rebuilding scheme in connection with the erection in Great Queen Street of the Masonic Peace Memorial.

It is satisfactory to note, from the Minutes of the meeting of Grand Lodge held on April 18th, 1777, that:

. . . Brothers Ten Broeke, Vestenburg, & Muller late Members of the Caledonian Lodge, held at the Half Moon, Cheapside, who were some time since expelled this Society, had petitioned to be reinstated, and were ready to make acknowledgment of their error, and Bro^r. Ten Broeke being admitted into the Grand Lodge, made a genteel apology for himself and the said two other Brethren.

Ordered thereupon that the said three Brethren be reinstated to their respective ranks and situations in this Society.

This narrative of events may not inappropriately be brought to a conclusion with an extract from *The Leeds Intelligencer*, dated November 30th, 1773:—

London, Nov. 25

Last Friday a numerous and respectable body of Free and Accepted Masons met in Quarterly Communication at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, when the sum of 186l. 1s. 6d. were subscribed by sundry Lodges for the relief of distressed brethren, and upwards of 100l. for building a Hall for the Grand Lodge. Several resolutions were entered into for supporting the dignity of the Society, and the whole business was conducted with the greatest regularity and decorum.

A Correspondent observes, that he attended the above meeting, and was extremely happy to find that all the differences which have for some years prevailed in that respectable Society, are now amicably adjusted, and the greatest harmony seems to reign amongst them.

Peace and harmony once more prevailed.

CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing narrative contemporary records have been left as far as possible to speak for themselves. An attempt will now be made to formulate certain conclusions in the hope that these may be treated as a basis for discussion.

Before a definite opinion can be formed as to the propriety or otherwise of the proposal to incorporate the Society, it is necessary to consider in some detail certain of the legal aspects of incorporation. A comparison between the works of modern authors and the 1793 edition of Kyd on *Corporations* shows that the law relating to Corporations has altered little in the last two centuries.

As distinct from a corporation sole (*e.g.*, a Bishop), a corporation aggregate is an artificial body of persons, legally recognised, and possessing an entity distinct from that of its individual members. That which distinguishes a corporation from a mere voluntary association of individuals is the legal recognition accorded to the former. This legal recognition may arise at common law, or be acquired by royal charter, by authority of Parliament, by prescription, or by custom.

Incorporation for the Society at common law or by custom could not be claimed. Incorporation by prescription presupposes the existence of a lost grant or charter—a presumption which the Grand Master's supporters must evidently have realised was devoid of all foundation. Unable to claim incorporation at common law, by prescription or by custom, the promoters of the Duke of Beaufort's scheme were therefore faced with the two remaining alternatives—incorporation by prerogative of the Crown, and incorporation by Statute. Petitions for incorporation by royal charter are considered by the King in Council; incorporation by authority of Parliament necessitates compliance with all the

formalities of statutory procedure. It is true that before the Privy Council advise His Majesty in such matters opportunity is afforded, by public announcement in *The London Gazette*, for opposers to state their objections; but it is manifest that less publicity attends the preliminaries to incorporation by royal charter than attends those connected with incorporation by authority of Parliament. Accordingly, the method of procedure selected in the first instance by the promoters of the scheme need occasion no surprise.

Attention has already been directed to certain major points of difference between the draft of the proposed Royal Charter and the text of the Parliamentary Bill; the former, it will be remembered, provided for the incorporation of Grand Lodge, as distinct from the Society at large, while the latter contemplated a Corporation embracing such "regular Free and Accepted Masons under the Constitution of England" as "shall desire to be Partakers of the Benefits of this Act." Apart from any limitation expressed in its Charter, no special limits are placed upon the number of persons composing a corporation aggregate, provided that the number is definite or capable of being ascertained. No person can be made a member without his consent; but an application for membership made by a person possessed of the required qualification may be rejected, by ballot or otherwise, by the whole or a portion only of the Corporation, without any reason being assigned.

Even aliens may become members of an English corporation, unless the constitution of the corporation otherwise provides. In this connection it will be recollected that one of the objections to the earlier proposal to have the Society incorporated by Royal Charter was that incorporation by this method would result in the exclusion from the Society of all members of foreign nationality, whereas incorporation by authority of Parliament would not have this effect. If this distinction exists, or existed at the period in question, it has eluded the researches of more than one student. Nor is it correct to assert that incorporation leads to the automatic naturalisation of such aliens as are, or may become, members: for the members of a corporation retain their individual personalities, and consequently their respective nationalities as well.

Another objection advanced by the opposition would appear to have been founded upon a misconception—namely, the argument that incorporation would necessitate the exposure of all Masonic secrets. The books of a corporation are, as a general rule, open to the inspection of the corporators only. If the Society had been incorporated, the terms of its charter would have been available for public reference; its rituals, on the other hand, would have formed no part of its constitution. Apart, therefore, from any Order for Discovery made by a Court of competent jurisdiction in litigation in which the Society, if incorporated, might have been involved, its rituals, it is submitted, would have been no more open to public inspection than are those of the present day.

Of the remaining objections, already summarised on a previous page, the following are of little substance and require no comment; that incorporation is inconsistent with the nature of a Society denominated "Free," that incorporation is inappropriate to a Society composed of men of all trades and professions, and that trade flourishes most in those centres of industry where the workers are not incorporated.

Incorporation certainly simplifies the formalities connected with litigation and the transfer of property, but the Society has survived two centuries without experiencing any undue inconvenience arising from the lack of a corporate personality.

The temptation to misapply the Fund of Charity towards the cost of incorporation may have been great, but this objection was capable of remedy by the raising of a special fund.

It is true that the Lodges likely to benefit most by an incorporation were those in and around London; but it is not true to state that an incorporated

Society domiciled in this country would possess no power to impose taxation upon Lodges or individual members abroad, or that incorporation would necessarily result in the imposition upon Lodges overseas of rules and regulations inappropriate to them by reason of their location. It would have been competent to the Society, if incorporated, to pass appropriate regulations, differentiating if need be between London Lodges, Provincial Lodges, and Lodges abroad. That it was intended to recognise existing and future Lodges overseas may be inferred from the fact that the proposed Charter and Parliamentary Bill contained clauses, without words of territorial limitation, authorising the constitution of subordinate Lodges; while the measure introduced into the Lower House contained a clause specifically according recognition to all existing Lodges, and (as has already been noted) omitted the words "of England" from the title of the proposed Corporation—an omission attributable in all probability to a desire on the part of those responsible for the Bill to remove all possible doubts in this connection.

That there was a risk of secession may be gathered from some of the contemporary records already quoted; but, in the absence of further information, it is difficult to gauge accurately the precise extent of this danger. It does, however, seem likely that the promoters of Incorporation were actuated to some extent by a desire to gain an advantage over their rivals, the *Antients*, by acquiring official recognition for their own Society—a motive attributed to them by *The Newcastle Journal* as early as November, 1768. It is difficult to judge what effect such recognition, if it had been accorded to the *Moderns*, would have had upon the subsequent history of the Craft as a whole. The effect might have been very far-reaching.

In the printed *Case* of the Caledonian Lodge will be found arguments directed to show that the meeting of Grand Officers and Masters of Lodges held on January 26th, 1769, was unconstitutional. The grounds upon which this argument was based have already been summarised. A feeble attempt was made to justify the unusual character of this meeting, but the contemporary Book of Constitutions contained no rule capable of being invoked for the purpose of establishing the regularity of this gathering.

Allowing for the exaggerations of an interested party in the description of the Deputy Grand Master's conduct, when presenting the case for incorporation as well as when dealing with the alleged contumacy of the Caledonian Lodge, it can hardly be denied that the words and actions of this distinguished and highly placed official displayed distinct bias, and exhibited an entire lack of those qualifications so essential in one who may be called upon to preside over an assembly possessed of legislative and disciplinary powers.

It now remains to consider briefly the conduct of the Caledonian Lodge and the justification, or otherwise, for the entry of a caveat.

It will be recollected that the earliest public announcement of the proposal to incorporate the Society was that made by the Deputy Grand Master at a meeting of the Committee of Charity held at the end of October, 1768. The Grand Master's intention was formally communicated to Grand Lodge a week later, when certain financial proposals were adopted; but according to the official Minutes no formal vote on the question of incorporation was taken at this meeting. In spite of this fact the Deputy Grand Master, at a meeting confined to Grand Officers and Masters of Lodges, and convened by public advertisement at twenty-four hours' notice, intimated to those assembled that the Charter might be ready within three days. Such an announcement may well have occasioned surprise and feelings of uneasiness in the minds of those who genuinely doubted the propriety of incorporation. It may perhaps be fairly assumed that the Caledonian Lodge, at the outset at all events, was actuated by proper motives. According to their first manifesto their desire was, not to prevent an incorporation at all costs, but to prevent such a step being taken by unconstitutional means and without mature consideration. On this assumption, it will be appreciated that

their fears were by no means lessened by the unconstitutional nature of the gathering at which the intimation was given by the Grand Master's Deputy that the Charter might be ready within three days. If the Deputy Grand Master was in earnest in making this announcement—and of the contrary no one could be certain—the time available for action was strictly limited.

A written protest signed by the representatives of no less than fifteen Lodges was drawn up at this meeting and, though publicly tendered to the Deputy Grand Master, was by him peremptorily declined. The rejection of this protest must greatly have increased the misgivings of the representatives of these fifteen Lodges. Denied a hearing by the Deputy Grand Master, what action could these brethren take to prevent a premature incorporation?

The course adopted by the Caledonian Lodge, in pursuance of a resolution passed unanimously at a regular meeting of the Lodge, was certainly as unexpected as it was original; but the expedient was simple and straightforward. The entry of a caveat did not necessarily imply defeat of the Grand Master's proposal; it amounted merely to a precautionary measure designed to prevent completion of the formalities of incorporation until such time as the arguments of the contending parties had been judicially considered by a competent tribunal. The caveat certainly gave pronounced publicity to a purely domestic matter, but incorporation could not have been secured without ultimate recourse to civil law with its attendant publicity. Public litigation between members of the Craft has always been discouraged, but membership of the Craft does not, and cannot, deprive a citizen of his constitutional rights. In the opinion of the present writer, the entry of the caveat was constitutional, both masonically and otherwise.

The subsequent conduct of the Caledonian Lodge, and of certain of its members, cannot be so readily defended; tempers were lost, a general lack of tact was displayed, and unnecessarily forceful language was employed—criticisms which may be directed with equal truth at certain of those who favoured incorporation.

Time will not permit of detailed consideration of the many minor incidents with which this narrative abounds. Those to whom this Paper is communicated will be in a position to consider the evidence for themselves at leisure, to formulate their own conclusions, and to indulge in fascinating speculation upon the many possible consequences of incorporation of the Craft.

APPENDIX.

Lodges in favour of Incorporation.

Number (1755 enumeration, unless otherwise stated)	Name of Lodge	Place of Meeting	Remarks
1	Lodge of Antiquity	London	
3	Lodge of Friendship	London	Unanimous
23	Lodge of Philanthropy	Stockton-upon-Tees	Unanimous
25	King's Arms	London	Resolution against Incorporation subsequently rescinded
54	—	Derby	
59	Royal Cumberland	Bath	Nem. Con.
64	St. Paul's	Birmingham	Unanimous
67	—	Plymouth Dock	
(or 237)			
146	Lodge of Love and Honour	Falmouth	
149	Sea Captains'	London	2 members identified as having signed the Petition to the H. of C. against Incorporation

Number (1755 enumeration, unless otherwise stated)	Name of Lodge	Place of Meeting	Remarks
167	Perfect Friendship	Carmarthen	Unanimous
182*	—	Cambridge	Unanimous
191	—	Lowestoft	
200	Moirá	London	Resolution against Incorporation subsequently rescinded
225	St. John's	Newcastle-upon-Tyne	
261	—	Whitehaven	
263	Restoration	Darlington	Unanimous
270	British Union	Ipswich	
282	Royal Navy	Deal	
311	Royal Edwin	Lyme Regis	
315	St. George's	Taunton	
369	—	Carlisle	
372	Union	Bristol	Unanimous
405	Castle Tavern	Dartmouth	"Entire approbation"
(1770) 408	Jerusalem	London	Majority 27—4
415	Mona	Holyhead	
430	—	Scilly Isles	
—	—	Boston, U.S.A.	"All eager for it" and "Unanimous in Quarterly Communication assembled."
—	—	Barbados	"Very ardently wished for"
—	—	Bengal	"Very cordially join in the proposal"
—	—	North America	"Wished for for 20 years past"

* See comments by Bro. Covey-Crump.

Lodges sending non-committal replies.

241	Angel	Credition
338	Lodge of Amity	Poole
340	Rose and Crown	Sheffield

Lodges against Incorporation.

9	Dundee Arms	Wapping	Majority 30—8
13	Mourning Bush	London	30 members identified as having signed the Petition to the H. of C. against Incorporation. Resolution against Incorporation subsequently rescinded
25	King's Arms	London	Resolution against Incorporation subsequently rescinded
26	St. Alban's	London	19 members identified as having signed the Petition
34	Corner Stone	London	1 member ditto
70	Stewards'	London	13 members ditto
182	Scientific	Cambridge	Unanimous
200	Moirá	London	Resolution against Incorporation subsequently rescinded
221	Shakespeare	London	10 members identified as having signed the Petition
313	Royal	London	Resolution against Incorporation passed "Nem. Con."
325	Caledonian	London	8 members identified as having signed the Petition

Lodges to which Petitioners against Incorporation belonged.

Lodges to which Petitioners against Dissolution					
Number of Petitioners	Name of Lodge	Meeting Place	Number (1770)	Present Name	Number
Country Lodges (<i>Moderns</i>).					
2	Dundee Arms	Wapping	9	Old Dundee	18
1	Mariners'	Wapping	203	St. George's	112
1	St. George's	Exeter	213		
London Lodges (<i>Moderns</i>).					
31	Mourning Bush		13	Emulation	21
1	Globe		16	Globe	23
3	Castle		21	Castle	26
5	King's Arms		24	Old King's Arms	28
19	St. Alban's		25	St. Alban's	29
1	—	White Horse, Spitalfields	30		
1	Corner Stone		31		
1	—	King's Arms, Marylebone Street	43		
4	Lodge of Freedom		50	Grand Stewards' Constitutional	55
13	Stewards'		60		
2	—	Half Moon, Cheapside	70		
3	—	Star, Coleman Street	71	Howard Lodge of Brotherly Love	56
12	—	Three Tuns, Spitalfields	73		
11	—	Braund's Head, New Bond Street	74	Felicity	58
2	—	Crown and Magpie, Whitechapel	84		
2	—	Crown and Anchor, (?) (303, 339 or 357)	115		
2	Sea Captains'		119		
1	Antient French		153		
10	Shakespeare		179	Shakespeare	99
1	—	Lebeck Tavern, Strand	200		
6	Caledonian		208	Caledonian	134
8	Caledonian		263		
5	Lodge of Peace		316		
2	Lodge of Truth		325		
			(or 392)		
1	—	King's Head, Hampstead	336	St. John's	167
4	Lodge of Sincerity		358		
1	L'Esperance		369		
London Lodges (<i>Antients</i>).					
1	—		5c	Albion	9
2	—		27A		
1	—		31A		

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Grantham for his valuable paper, on the proposition of Bro. Flather, seconded by Bro. Firminger; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. W. Covey-Crump, W. J. Williams, G. P. G. Hills, G. Y. Johnson, H. C. de Lafontaine, S. L. Coulthurst, and C. F. Sykes.

Bro. DAVID FLATHER said:—

It gives me very great pleasure to propose "That our very grateful thanks be accorded to Bro. Ivor Grantham for his paper."

At the same time, we heartily congratulate him upon the splendid contribution he has made to our knowledge of that most interesting and critical period, during which the Incorporation of the Society was under consideration,

and I would also like to congratulate him, on your behalf, for the masterly way in which he epitomised the paper so as to reduce it to the requisite proportions for reading aloud.

I would first refer to Bro. Grantham's introduction to his paper, for he has struck a sad chord in the memory of us all, in that he refers to the preparatory work done by two of our recently deceased Brethren, but while we deplore their loss, we are forcibly reminded of the truth, that it is not only the building of the superstructure which is honourable to the Builder, but, that by clearing the ground and establishing strong foundations upon which others may build, we can contribute effectively towards the success of those who follow us.

Bro. Grantham's paper is so complete and so fully documented, that it is difficult to suggest any addition to it. It would, however, be interesting if we could gather from the records of both London and County Lodges what actually took place on receipt of the communication from Grand Lodge on the subject of the proposed Incorporation. The following extract from the Minutes of the Rose & Crown Lodge, No. 340, Sheffield, will, I hope, be of interest:—

April, 1769.

Lodge opened upon the 3 Step Bro. Jas. De La Pryme D.M.; present 14 members proceeded to Business, the Writting Sent down from the Grand was read over as also the Case & Memorial of the Caledonian Lodge it was thought proper by the Master, Wardens and the majority of the members, that the following Queries should be sent to the Grand before the Lodge would Signe their proposals signed by the Worshipfull Master, Senior & Junior Wardens, and Secretary, and are as follows:—

1st Why has not the Grand Lodge sent down to the Lodges, the real uses and what particular Benefits they can Expect to reap from an Incorporation.

2nd What Benefit can the Lodges in the Country held under the Warrant of the Grand Lodge Expect from this Incorporation.

3rd How far may the Grand Lodge by Virtue of their power of making by Laws oblige a Lodge at a greater distance than 10 miles from London in Taxing the Sd. Lodges towards defraying the extra Xpenses of the Grand, and why the manner of such taxation is not laid before the said Lodges distant more than 10 miles from London.

4th What are the new regulations, made in the Grand Lodge.

Closed the Lodge in due form.

It is interesting to see that the communication from the Caledonian Lodge was received at the same time as that from the Grand Lodge.

I do not find any further reference to this matter or to communications from Grand Lodge until three years later, when the following Minute appears:—

A.M.5772

Business 14th February, 1773.

The Lodge open'd by the right Worshipfull Master upon the Second Step, Present 12 members A Letter received from the Grand Lodge for Subscriptions Towards the Building a Hall and procuring Jewels for the use of the Grand Lodge was read and Duly attended to, a Book agreeable to the Dictates of the Grand Lodge lay open on the Table for Subscriptions, the Lodge then closed in Due form.

Again open'd upon the Third Step and Bro. Benj. Withers was raised Master, the Lodge then Clos'd in Due form.

John Creswick, Master.

The next reference to the affairs of Grand Lodge occurs twelve months later:—

February 25th, 1774

Opened upon the second Step of Masonry.

At a Special Lodge then called to take into consideration. A Letter from the Grand Lodge wherein we are desired to contribute and subscribe towards the Purchase of Ground and building a Hall thereon; after sufficient deliberation it is resolved *Nem Con* that no subscription or contribution shall be entered into for the above purposes on account of several reasons to the contrary (*viz.*)

1st The Grand Lodge neglecting to answer the sev'l Queries proposed to them in April 1769 respecting the incorporation of the Society of Free & Accepted Masons.

2nd That as the Bill for this incorporation never passed into an Act we presume that a sufficient and proper Conveyance cannot be made to any Person or Persons so as the whole Community shall be benefitted thereby &

3rdly We cannot conceive what advantage the Building of this Hall can be to Masonry in General

Notwithstanding it resolved that the Annual Subscription to the Grand Lodge shall be continued.

After these resolutions the Lodge closed in due form.

Thos. Smith,

Master.

These resolutions were embodied in the following letter written by the Secretary, Bro. Thomas Lambert, and copied by him into the Minute Book:—

Copy of Letter to Bror. James Heseltine, G.S.

dated 10th March 1774

Bror. Heseltine,

In conformity with yours in the name of the Right Worshipfull Grand Master the members of this Lodge have met and maturely considered the contents of that Letter and upon such consideration cannot perceive that the building a Hall for the Grand Lodge will in any manner redound to the benefit or advantage of this Lodge, or to the Good and Honour of Masonry in General;

Resolved therefore *Nemine Contradicente*, that no Subscription for the purposes mentioned in the said Letter shall be enter'd into by this Lodge.

Notwithstanding we mean to continue our annual Subscription to the General Fund of Charity as usual, and did some time ago give directions to a Brother belonging to our Lodge to pay our said Annual Subscription into your Hands, but find from the last Quarterly Communication it has not yet been paid which has been owing to our said Bror. being upon a journey into the West at the time we expected he would be in London.

I must also beg leave to observe to you, that upon receiving a Letter from the Right Worshipful Grand Master at the time a Bill was proposed to be laid before Parliament for incorporating the Society of Free and accepted Masons, and also for building a Hall for the Grand Lodge; in which letter we were solicited to subscribe towards the carrying these purposes into execution; we thought it necessary in order to clear up some doubts we had herein to address the Grand Lodge for an answer to such Questions as we

then by our letter proposed, to which letter dated April 5769 I refer you; which the Grand Lodge was not so kind to condescend to answer nor had we ever an answer thereto which we cannot help thinking a contempt and neglect of that attention that ought to have been paid unto us.

I am,

Your most obedt.

Humb. Servt.

T. Lambert,

Secy.

Although there is no record of any further discussion with Grand Lodge on this matter, it would appear by the Minutes of the 3rd April, 1774, that a reply was received from Grand Lodge in which a demand for a list of members of the Lodge had been made. After full discussion of this letter it was decided to furnish the required list of names; together with certain money which was claimed for dues.

The Lodge, however, seem to have felt rather guilty for refusing to contribute to the building of the Hall, and held two special meetings to consider the question, and on 13th May, 5774, "it was agreed that the Lodge do subscribe One Pound One Shilling towards the building of an Hall and this to be remitted the first opportunity".

Incidentally, it is interesting to learn that the Lodge expenses for these two special meetings amounted to 19/4d.

The money for the Subscription was entrusted to Bro. Ben Withers, who was on a journey to London, but he omitted to hand it over; ultimately it was, on the 8th July, 1774, paid to Bro. Heseltine and a receipt obtained.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

The monograph presented to us by Brother Ivor Grantham deals so fully and clearly with the subject that except for supplemental extracts from minutes and old letters we are left with little to do but to thank him and congratulate ourselves on his achievement. The narrative throws light upon the character and conduct of the actors who participated in the proceedings. One outstanding result is the clear demonstration that it is futile and mischievous for any attempt to be made by officers of a Masonic Society based on Brotherly love to attempt to dragoon their Brethren into a forced acquiescence with propositions which, however honestly intended, fail to find well-nigh unanimous support.

The paper, however, entices us to consider what is the legal status in the present day of the Society of Free and Accepted Masons under the Government of our Most Worshipful Grand-Master.

Is it not the case that our Society is in fact a Corporate Body acting in that capacity under the express sanction of our Most Gracious King?

It is clearly not necessary to the existence of a Corporation that a Charter or Act of Parliament should be produced stating that the grantees are thereby constituted a Corporation. Bro. Grantham has told us that the recognition of a corporation aggregate may arise at common law, or be acquired by royal charter, by authority of Parliament, by prescription, or by custom.

What is prescription? "Prescription is when a man claimeth anything for that he and his ancestors or predecessors or they whose estate he hath, have had or used it all the time whereof no mind is to the contrary". ("Termes de la Ley," as quoted in Stroud's *Judicial Dictionary*, page 1540.)

That such a claim has been made by Freemasons for more than two hundred years past is so patent that no one acquainted with the facts will be so hardy as to deny it. The claim and the recognition of its validity are two different things, but the claim has been made and reiterated in printed and authoritative documents going back to A.D. 1723, and the Old Constitutions carry the claim back much further. Bro. Grantham states that prescription presupposes the existence of a lost grant or charter. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it has been found convenient in most cases where prescription is claimed to set up (what is known in many instances to be purely imaginary) the existence of such a document. But I make this further proposition that if the King, from whom or from whose predecessors a charter of incorporation is supposed to have come, formally recognises the existence of a corporate body and at the same time confers new privileges upon it, no further proof of incorporation is needed and the Courts are in duty bound to take notice of a body so authenticated. All the cases dependent upon the theory of a lost grant from the Crown are cases where the Crown was either not a party to the proceedings or being a party put the claimant to the proof of his title. In the nature of things neither of those conditions arises when the Sovereign actually recognises the Corporate existence of the entity upon whom he confers further privileges.

If, however, the theory of a lost grant had to be set up on behalf of Grand Lodge there would not be any insuperable difficulty having regard to the allegations in the Old Constitutions as to King Athelstan and others.

The expression "incorporated" occurs in the Articles of Union dated 25th November, 1813, but that refers to the incorporation together of the Modern and Antient Masons.

In order that I may no longer keep the Brethren in suspense it is well that I should at once divulge what foundation there is for my allegation that the King has recognised the Corporate existence of our Society and at the same time conferred on them further privileges. On 18th June, 1919, King George V. set his hand and privy seal to a grant of Arms particulars of which now follow. The original grant and exemplifications are in the custody of Grand Lodge.

His Majesty's signature, "George R.I.," and his seal appear (as is usual) at the head of the document; which then proceeds thus:—

George the Fifth by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas King Defender of the Faith Emperor of India To our Right trusty and well beloved Counsellor Sir Edmund Bernard Talbot (commonly called Lord Edmund Talbot) Knight Grand Cross of Our Royal Victorian Order and Deputy to Our Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin Bernard Marmaduke Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshal of England Greeting.

Whereas Our Most Dear Uncle His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of Connaught and Strathearn Knight of Our Most Honourable Order of the Garter Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of England hath by his Petition humbly represented unto Us that the said United Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of England has long borne certain armorial ensigns on its Common Seal Shields Banners and otherwise but that the same have not been duly established and recorded in Our College of Arms and that to commemorate the long association of His late Majesty King Edward the Seventh Our most Beloved Father with the said Grand Lodge as Grand Master thereof and also similar close association of many other Royal and Illustrious members of Our Family and further to distinguish the said

Grand Lodge as the governing body of Free and Accepted Masons of England and the Branches of which exist throughout Our Dominions the said Grand Lodge is desirous that the Armorial bearings hitherto borne may be duly established and that there may be added to the Arms a bordure indicative of the Arms of England and the said Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of Connaught and Strathearn as Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of England therefore most humbly prays Our Royal License and Authority that the United Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of England may bear and use certain Armorial bearings on its Common Seal Shields Banners or Otherwise.

Know Ye that we of Our Princely Grace and Special Favour have given and granted and by these presents give and grant unto the said United Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of England Our Royal License and Authority to bear on its Common Seal Shields Banners or otherwise according to the Laws of Arms the Armorial Ensigns following viz:—

(Here follows the Heraldic description of the Arms. They are also emblazoned in due form.)

The same being first duly exemplified and recorded in Our College of Arms otherwise this Our License and permission to be void and of none effect.

Our Will and Pleasure therefore is that you Sir Edmund Bernard Talbot commonly called Lord Edmund Talbot deputy of our said Earl Marshal to whom the cognizance of matters of this nature doth properly belong do require and command that this our Concession and Especial Mark of our Royal Favour be registered in Our College of Arms to the end that Our Officer of Arms and all others upon occasion may take full notice and have knowledge thereof and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court at Saint James this 15th day of June 1919 in the 10th year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command

Edward Shortt.

Recorded in the College of Arms London pursuant to the Warrant from the Deputy Earl Marshal.

C. H. Athill

Norroy and Registrar.

The Exemplification of the Arms is contained in the same Case. It is given under the hands and Three Seals of

H. Farnham Burke	Garter.
William H. Weldon	Clarencieux
C. H. Athill	Norroy

and bears date 9th July, 1919.

It is a most ornate document; but the Grant itself bearing the Sign Manual and Seal of our Most Gracious King is for us more important.

The grant might perhaps be safely left to speak for itself, but one important point is that it confers authority on the United Grand Lodge to use the Arms as then authorised on the Common Seal. The right to use a Common Seal is probably the most distinctive privilege of a Corporate Body.

To test the status of our Society let us for a moment imagine a Petition now being made to the King for a Charter of Incorporation. Would not an appropriate answer be that the Petitioners appeared to be forgetful of the fact

that the King had some years ago in a very formal manner conferred on the Society the right to use Arms and a Common Seal and that such right had been exercised by the Society in accordance with the grant and therefore such a Petition was derogatory to the aforesaid grant, both in its express terms and in its implications?

What is the use of a Common Seal? Its main function is therewith to seal documents of importance whereby the entity using the Seal confers rights on grantees or enters into binding contracts. Let us for a moment suppose that the United Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of England entered into a Contract under that name to purchase fittings for the new Building and executed that Contract by affixing its Seal. Could it be maintained with any prospect of success that the party contracting to supply the goods could not sue the Grand Lodge by its said title for the price of the goods or that Grand Lodge could not maintain an action for breach by the Vendor of the contract to supply? What is the nature of the entity upon whom the King conferred the right to use a particular Common Seal? Can there be any other answer than that it is a Corporate Body? We need not stay to discuss whether it became such by Common Law or by Prescription or otherwise. It is enough that it exists. The power to possess and use a Common Seal is incidental to a Corporation (Sutton's Hospital Case 1612, 10, Coke's Reports 23a, 30b). Upon no other footing can the grant of a Seal be explained than that it is intended to be used as an attribute of a Corporation.

The existence of a Corporation being conceded it follows from the case last quoted that a Corporation has the right to do those things and to be under those liabilities which are incident to its working capacity.

In Halsbury's *Laws of England*, vol. 8, 358, section 804, it is stated that a non-statutory Corporation (speaking generally) can do everything that an ordinary individual can do unless restricted directly or indirectly by statute.

In *Attorney General v. Chester Corporation* (1849), I. Hall & Twells 46, a Charity founded in the twelfth century and commonly known as "The Master Brethren and Sisters of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist", whose lands with the mastership of the hospital were subsequently granted by the Crown to the Corporation of Chester, was held not to be a Corporation the leases of the hospital lands never being granted under a Corporate Seal but in the private name of the master for the time being and sealed with his own private seal the brethren and sisters being stated to consent. That case shows very emphatically how important the existence of a Common Seal is.

In the case of *Lloyd v. Loaring* (1802), 6 Vesey 773, the case of the status of a private Lodge came before the Lord Chancellor Eldon, who held that a Lodge of Freemasons was not a Corporation. This, however, is a very different case from that of the Grand Lodge with the special rights conferred by the Sovereign.

The Lodge then referred to was "known by the name of the Caledonian Chapter No. 2, being No. 2 on the list of the Societies of Royal Arch Freemasons".

These observations should perhaps be regarded as a series of questions, rather than of assertions. It can, however, be no answer to those questions to say that the King's Warrant, being merely an authority for a grant of arms and for the use of them in certain ways, is not a Charter of Incorporation. That is not alleged. What is alleged is that it recognises the existence of a Corporation and enlarges and legalises its privileges in a manner which is entirely inappropriate to a non-corporate body. The grant distinctly states that it is made "further to distinguish the said Grand Lodge as the governing body of Free and Accepted Masons of England". Is not the word "body" synonymous with "Corporation"?

Bro. C. F. SYKES said:—

In this paper Bro. Grantham has presented to us a very complete story of the Moderns' attempt at Incorporation. It is an account replete with interest, and though it will necessarily be impossible to read it at length in Lodge, I am sure its subsequent publication in the *Transactions* will afford great satisfaction to all who will have the privilege of reading it.

In the text of the proposed Royal Charter it may be worth while to point out that the term 'Past Grand Officers', in the sentence stating the constitution of Grand Lodge, applies only to the four previously named Grand Officers. Past Rank at the time the proposed Charter was prepared was allowed only to the offices of Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master and Grand Wardens. Consequently the other specified Grand Officers were members of Grand Lodge only during the periods they actually served in their respective offices. On relinquishment, their membership of Grand Lodge ceased unless they were otherwise qualified. The Grand Treasurer, Grand Secretary and Grand Sword Bearer were not definitely recognised as members of Grand Lodge until 1741, and twelve years more elapsed before the Grand Treasurer was declared a Grand Officer by virtue of his office.

The proposed Royal Charter specified the constitution of Grand Lodge, definitely enumerating the offices and stating an obligation to elect and appoint to these offices. What would have been the position on the creation of new Grand Offices? The Grand Lodge was given "full power to make, constitute and ordain such Statutes, Bye-laws and Ordinances as shall appear to them to be good, and necessary and expedient for the Government, Order and Regulation of the said Society". A new bye-law would thus legalise the new office, and I suppose the obligation to appoint to that office would be similar to that for the offices specified in the Charter. Had the Charter been obtained *and subsequent events remained the same*, what then would have been the procedure relative to the office of Grand Chaplain, created in May, 1775, vacant from 1777 to 1780, filled in 1781, vacant again in 1782, 3 and 4, and once more filled in 1785? Would the bye-law legalising the office in 1775 need to be cancelled in 1777, re-enacted in 1781, cancelled again in 1782, and re-enacted once more in 1785?

With regard to the making of new Bye-laws, etc., the Bill is definitely clear that such made at one meeting were not binding until they were confirmed at the next meeting. The Royal Charter is not so clear that confirmation would be necessary at the subsequent meeting. It appears to me that a new bye-law could be agreed to, afterwards read over and approved at the same meeting.

Two of the figures associated with the Incorporation proposals—the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master, and Thomas French, Grand Secretary—had been concerned, with others, in 1767, in irregularly obtaining by purchase the Charter of Lodge No. 3, meeting at the Sun and Punch Bowl, and using the Charter thus obtained as authority for a Lodge known as the Lodge of Friendship. This irregularity was reported to the Committee of Charity, which deferred a decision as to the illegality or otherwise of the action, "but as a mark of high respect to His Grace the Duke of Beaufort and the Noblemen and Honourable Gentlemen meeting under the name of the Lodge of Friendship and in consideration of their being very young masons [it was ordered], that the Constitution of No. 3 shall remain with them, even tho' it should appear upon further enquiry that this affair hath been transacted contrary to the Constitution, but at the same time resolved, that this shall not be looked upon as a Precedent for the future on any account whatever". At the next meeting of the Committee of Charity this action was confirmed, except that part relating to Bro. French. He was not exonerated until he had formally apologised in Grand Lodge.

of Edward Barnes in its list of members, I can only surmise that he wrote on behalf of a different Lodge, which undoubtedly did then meet at the Three Tuns, in Peas Hill, but had certainly no right to allege itself to be "Lodge 182". That the Lodge at the Sun was the legitimate one is provable by the fact that, owing to a schism between the Lodges at the Sun and the Black Bear (in 1761), the former was acknowledged by Grand Lodge to be the true and regular one. May I add that, although the "Scientific" declined to support the Incorporation Scheme, it did in 1774 subscribe to the Building Fund for the Hall in Great Queen Street?

BRO. W. K. FIRMINGER writes:—

The Lodge must congratulate itself on a complete treatment of so important a subject as that of the proposed Incorporation of our Society. The matter was one which particularly lends itself to be dealt with by professional lawyers who, like Bro. Daynes and his continuator, possess the sense of history. Of our late Bro. Daynes, as we listened to the paper to-night, we could feel "he being dead, yet speaketh". The completion of his work could not have been placed in fitter hands than those of our Brother Grantham. He would have us impute the imperfections of his paper to himself and its merits to others. This is true modesty, but I more than suspect that what our Brother would consider to be "imperfections" are indeed some of those *lacunæ* in regard to which he, after having taken much trouble to inform himself, has discovered that the documents he has been in search of are not to be found in the archives where they might be expected to be. Anyone who has engaged in research work cannot but be aware, firstly, that "imperfections" of this kind are evidences which go to show that the treatment of the subject has been as complete as circumstances perhaps will ever allow, and also that next to a happy discovery of historical materials, this placing on record of an unsuccessful hunt for them is of value. I take it that what Bro. Grantham has told us of the missing Caveat is an instance of a praiseworthy "imperfection".

Bro. Grantham's paper in its full form in print is a lengthy one. He is to be congratulated on the skill by which he has abridged it, so as to be able to read the salient portions in Lodge to-night. In writing a paper that was bound to be so lengthy, the writer must have placed himself under a self-denying ordinance, and resisted a temptation to tell us things about persons and lodges which are of interest and importance, but not directly relevant to the subject of the proposed Incorporation. For my own part, I venture to think that the subject also requires to be viewed together with the wider context of Masonic history of the times. The Caledonian Lodge, for instance, seems to have had an active interest in the almost contemporary troubles of the Lodge which is now Antiquity No. 2.

Then, too, we should notice that several of the movers for an incorporation were associated with one another by membership in a Lodge which, at a meeting held at the *Thatched House* in St. James' St. in March, 1767, resolved to be called in future the Lodge of Fellowship. On that occasion Bro. the Hon. Charles Dillon, who seemingly had served the office of Worshipful Master for the space of one week, resigned his office in favour of the Duke of Beaufort. I must crave the pardon of the Brethren who are familiar with the story of the transaction by which the constitution of Lodge No. 3 passed into the hands of a body of young and highly connected Masons, if I repeat facts which are familiar to them.

Those who have studied our Bro. Henry Sadler's *Thomas Dunckerley* will perhaps recollect that in 1755 the Lodge meeting at the *George*, Grafton Street, near Newport Market [now Lodge of Friendship], made good its claim to be placed as No. 3 on the Grand Lodge list, thereby defeating the claim to that position made by the Lodge at the *Fish and Ball* [now Fortitude and Old Cumberland, No. 12]. The victorious Lodge was in fact the third (the *Apple Tree*, in Charles St., Covent Garden), which had been one of the four time immemorial Lodges which in 1717 had co-operated in the formation of Grand Lodge. While meeting at the *Swan* at Hampstead in 1733, it appears to have amalgamated with itself the Lodge at the *Castle*, Highgate, which in 1731 appears to have been founded as a "county" counter-part to two sister Lodges—the Bear and Harrow and the University Lodge—perhaps after the precedent of the Lodge at the *Gold Spikes* at Hampstead, of which Bro. Anthony [Brown], Viscount Montague and Bro. Lord Teynham were Masters in succession. After a brilliant period of working under Master Clare (died 1751), this Lodge, which had moved from the *Shakespear Head*, Marlborough Street, held its meetings in 1761 at the *Sun and Punch Bowl*, High Holborn. Six years later the Lodge seems to have fallen into decay. Now I think that what happened was not without at least one precedent. I surmise that about the year 1728 the Lodge that met at *Free Masons' Coffee House*, New Belton St. (*Q.C.A.*, x., 43), had fallen into abeyance. No doubt the existence of its Constitution provided an opportunity of providing an important Lincolnshire Brother, Sir Cecil Wray, with a Master's Chair and a sphere of work in London, and also Bro. Sir Robert Lawley with the means of organising his Grand Stewards. Instead of constituting a new Lodge, the expedient seems to have been adopted of bringing in new members into a Lodge no longer able to support its existence. On the 23rd of February, 1767, the Lodge at the *Punch Bowl* admitted the following brethren:—

Bro. the Hon. Charles Dillon
 „ Roland Holt
 „ Thos. Dunckerley, Esq.
 „ Thos. French
 „ Capt. Bernard
 „ James Galloway
 „ Robert Brown
 „ John Errington, Esq^r.
 „ Henry Errington, Esq^r.

On the 4th of March, the Lodge resolved to transfer its venue to the *Thatched House* in St. James St., and with the consent of the officers and brethren the Master resigned his office, and Bro. Dillon was set in his place with Bros. French and Galloway as respectively his Senior and Junior Wardens, and Bro. Dunckerley as P.M. Fourteen brethren, including the Duke of Beaufort and Lord Wenman, were elected joining members, and the *Punch Bowl* brethren resigned on the ground that the *Thatched House* was too far from their several places of abode. These brethren, who seceded in goodwill, a few months later were constituted in what is now the Lodge of Honour and Generosity, No. 165, after having, so Bro. Sadler tells us, made a clear profit of twenty-six guineas by the sale of their regalia. Bro. Sadler could not see (p. 121) "either harm or illegality" in this transaction, but at a significantly large meeting of the Committee of Charity held on 8th of April, 1767, on the recommendation of Bro. Salter, the D.G.M., in the Chair, it was resolved that "as a mark of high respect to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort and other noblemen and Honourable Gentlemen who meet under the name of the Lodge of Friendship, and in consideration of their being very young Masons, that the Constitution, No. 3,

should remain with them, even tho' it should appear upon further inquiry that this affair hath been transacted contrary to the constitutions—but at the same time resolved that this should not be looked upon as a Precedent for the future on any account whatever''.

We can thus see that the project of incorporation, set on foot by Lord Blaney, came to be championed by the members of the Lodge of Friendship. Now as to their youth and some other particulars.

1. Henry [Somerset], 5th Duke of Beaufort, was born 16th October, 1744. He was a nephew of Henry the 3rd Duke, who had been one of the principal supporters of the Jacobite cause in England, but died on 24th February, 1746.
2. Charles Dillon [12th Viscount in Sept., 1787] was born 6th November, 1745, and was the son of Henry, 11th Viscount, Col. Proprietor of the Regiment de Dillon in the French Service, who in October, 1744, married Lady Charlotte Lee, eldest daughter of George Henry, 2nd Earl of Lichfield.¹ Dillon, I believe, attained the honour of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society before he had passed the age of twenty-two.

In Bro. Grantham's paper, Bro. Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, the 4th Bart., is referred to. He was the eldest son of that ardent Jacobite of the same name, who died 26th Sept., 1749, in consequence of injuries sustained by a fall from his horse. In 1769 he married Lady Henrietta Sommerset, a sister of the Grand Master Duke of Beaufort. I pass on to notice Robert Edward, 9th Baron Petre. He was born in 1742, and his mother was Lady Anna Maria Barbara Radcliffe, daughter of that third Earl of Derwentwater who was executed in 1716 for his share in the famous "15", and who by some guessers was identified with "Harnouester", the first Grandmaster in France. The mother of the ill-fated Earl of Derwentwater was Lady Mary Tudor, a daughter of Charles II. by Moll Davies. Perhaps I have said enough to show that the insinuation made in Parliament to the effect that the incorporation of the Masonic Society might afford a precedent for an incorporation of Jacobites could seem to have some foundation.

The Radcliffes and the Petres were already connected, by the marriage of Lady Mary Tudor Radcliffe, sister of the 3rd Earl of Derwentwater, to William Petre, of Stanford Rivers. Dr. Radcliffe, who appears as a member of the Lodge at the Ship without Temple Bar in the 1725 list, appears in the Register of English Roman Catholic Jurors, 1715 (Estcourt and Payne's edition, p. 176) as once occupying a house in Bloomsbury Square, which the famous Jacobite, Doctor John Meade, afterwards tenanted, and this appears to be the house that belonged to Lady Mary Radcliffe [Lady Petre]. It stood at the corner of Powis Place, in Great Ormonde Street, and in that street, in 1722, Dr. Stukeley was residing.

As to Lord Teynham in the genealogical table, I find that one of his descendants was named "Cadwallader Blaney". Evidently there was a rather compact group of noblemen-masons. The Lord Teynham who was Master of the Lodge at the *Golden Spikes* did not conform to the Church of England, although his father had done so. His son conformed and the family became Anglican. Dillon conformed in 1767. The Erringtons who appear in the paper were, I take it, members of the well known Yorkshire Roman Catholic family. Henry E. comes into Miss Petre's *Life of the ninth Lord Petre*.

¹ A member of the Lodge at the White Bear at Bath. His mother was a daughter of Charles II. by Barbara Villiers, and sister to the First Duke of Grafton.

King Charles II. by Barbara Villiers
Duchess of Cleveland.

Sir Edward Lee = Lady Charlotte Fitzroy. Henry 1st Duke of Grafton. Killed 9th Oct., 1690.
of Ditchley, 4th Bart. Created Earl of Lichfield. D. 1713.

Charles, Marquis of Worcester.
Henry [Somerset] 2nd Duke of Beaufort. D. 1714.

Charles 1 = Henrietta 2nd Duke. D. 1757.

(Natural son) Charles (2nd) = Frances = (1st) Henry, 3rd Duke of Beaufort. D. 1745, Feb. 24.

Frances = Charles 2 Henry, 5th Duke of Norfolk. Beaufort. G. Master.

Frances = Charles 2 Henry, 5th Duke of Norfolk. Beaufort. G. Master.

Edward Visct. George Henry = Frances, da. of John Hales, Bart., and Jacobite Earl of Tenterden. D. 1743. 38.

Dinah, da. of Sir Thos. Frankland and 4th in descent from Oliver Cromwell. = George Henry 3rd Earl of Lichfield.

Charles = Henrietta Maria, da. of Constantine Phipps, 1st Lord Mulgrave.

Charlotte Frances = Sir Thomas Webb, 6th Bart. of Odstock.

Lady Anne = Henry [Roper] 8th = (1st Wife, Catherine da. of Philip [Smythe] Visct. Strangford).

Lady Anne = Philip, 9th Henry, 10th Anne = John Webb, S. of Sir John Webb, Bart. D. 1727. 117. 217-18. D. 1731.

Charles 4th Duke. D. 1756.

Lady = Henry 11th Visct. Dillon. D. 3 Sep., 1787.

Lady Charlotte. Lee. = Henry 11th Visct. Dillon. D. 24 Oct., 1741.

Lady Barbara Lee. = Robert 4th Earl of Lichfield. d. 1746.

Admiral John Henry Lee. = Arthur Dillon, Comte by Louis XIV., Jacobite Earl. Proprietor of the Regiment de Dillon.

Lady Frances Lee. = Arthur Lieut.-Gen. in French Service. Governor of Tobago. Guillotined 1794.

Henry = Major - General first in French and then in the English Service.

† Made a mason at the Horn Tavern, Feb. 8th, 1730.

‡ Pr. Grand Master of Hereford, 1789.

Sir John Webb Bart. = Mary, da. and heiress of John Blomer
cf Odstock. of Hatherop, whose mother was Maria
 Browne, da. of Anthony, 2nd Visct.
 Montague.

(1) Helen, da. of Sir = Sir John Webb = 2. Barbara, da. and sole heiress of John
 Richard Moore d. 1745. Lord Belasyse, 2nd son of Visct.
 of Fawley, Hants. Bart. Fauconberg.

1. Mabella, da. = John Webb = Anne, da Sir Thomas Anna = James Mary = James Barbara = Anthony,
 of Sir Henry d. 1745. of Henry Webb Maria Radcliffe Webb 1st Earl of Webb = 6th Visct.
 Tichborne. 45. 178. 8th Baron Bart. Webb 3rd Earl of Derwentwater. whose mother Waldegrave, Montague.
 Bart. Teynham D. 1763. Executed 1716. da. of James was Henrietta Grand Master. Winifred = William
 of Frankland
 of Richmond.

John = Anna Maria = Robert James = James = Maria, illeg. = H.R.H. William Henry, Duke
 Titular 4th Earl of Barbara 8th Baron Petre 2nd Earl da. of Sir E. of Gloucester.¹
 Derwentwater. D. Radcliffe. D. 1742. Walpole.

Robert Edward Elizabeth = George Charlotte = Anna = Lord Hugh
 9th Baron Petre. Laura 4th Earl Maria Duke of Horatia Seymour
 G. Master. of Walde- Grafton.
 D. 1801. grave.

Numbers under names refer to pages in Grand Lodge Minutes and Lists, *Q.C.A.*, x.

¹ Made a Mason in 1766. Died 2 Aug., 1805.

Bro. Grantham writes:—“The older of the two Caledonian Lodges, constituted in 1761, was removed from the Roll in 1785; the younger, constituted in 1764, is still in existence and is now numbered 314”. To Brethren who study the 1885 edition of Gould’s *History* (vol. ii., pp. 422-23), a difficulty will present itself. Referring to William Preston, Bro. Gould writes:—“Soon after his arrival in London, a number of Brethren from Edinburgh attempted to establish a Lodge (in London) under the sanction of a constitution from Scotland. Lest, however, such a grant should interfere with the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England, it was agreed (1762) to refuse their request. But the Grand Lodge of Scotland offered to recommend them to the [*Antient*] Grand Lodge of England, who granted them a dispensation to form a Lodge and make masons. Preston was the second person initiated under this dispensation, and the associated brethren were afterwards constituted into a lodge (No. 111) by the officers of the Antient Grand Lodge in person, on or about April 20, 1763. After meeting successively at the Horn Tavern, Fleet Street; the Scots Hall, Blackfriars; and the Half Moon, Cheapside, the members of No. 111—at the instance of William Preston—petitioned for a charter from the ‘Regular’ Grand Lodge, and the lodge was soon after constituted a *second* time in Ample Form, by the name of the ‘Caledonian’ Lodge, under which name it still exists (No. 134), on May 21, 1772”. Bro. Gordon Hills, in his Prestonian Lecture (*A.Q.C.*, xli., p. 165), writes:—“Brother Preston and some other members, dissatisfied with the status of their governing body, soon became members of a Lodge meeting at the Talbot, in the Strand, under the other [Modern] Grand Lodge of England, and prevailed on their friends of No. 111 of the Ancients to transfer their allegiance to the older Grand Lodge. So, under the Grand Mastership of Lord Blaney, and for a second time, the Lodge was constituted in ample form as No. 325 ‘the Caledonian Lodge’, under which name it still flourishes as No. 134 on the Roll of Grand Lodge to this day”. The founders of Preston’s Mother Lodge had been Scotch, but, if we could set “Mac” before their names, Ephraim Gottlieb Muller, Tenbrocke, Vestenburg, De la Coste, Vierol are not convincing as Scotchmen. The place of their assembly is the Half Moon, in Cheapside. This was the tavern which, after the Fire of London, replaced the Mermaid. The present *Mecca Café* represents the entrance to it from Cheapside, while the mark of the Saddlers Company, to be seen on Nos. 44 and 44A, Gutter Lane, perhaps represents the back entrance. The *Horn*, in Fleet Street, is represented to-day by Anderton’s Hotel.

The 2nd Duke of Grafton was “admitted and sworn” in the Horn Lodge, Westminster, now No. 4, on Feb. 8th, 1730, the Duke of Richmond presiding (*A.Q.C.*, xxxix., p. 109).

Our Bro. Grantham’s associations are to our unmeasurable regret leading him beyond the seas, but we do not doubt that his residence in a land so rich in the vestiges of a mighty past will effect perhaps a change in the selection of his subjects of research, but not an abeyance in his contributions to the labours of our Lodge. We wish him God-speed.

BRO. IVOR GRANTHAM writes, in reply:—

For the patient hearing and friendly reception accorded to this paper I express my thanks.

As Bro. Firminger has correctly surmised, the temptation to embark upon side issues was great; but biographical sketches of persons and historical notes of Lodges were deliberately omitted, in order to avoid undue interruption of the narrative and to keep the length of the paper within due bounds. Additional details of this nature are nevertheless most welcome by way of comment; and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

December, 1935.

L.V.

UN THAUMATURGE AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE: MARTINES DE
PASQUALLY. SA VIE, SON ŒUVRE, SON ORDRE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

February, 1936.

W.K.F.

FRENCH PRISONERS' LODGES.

By John T. Thorp.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

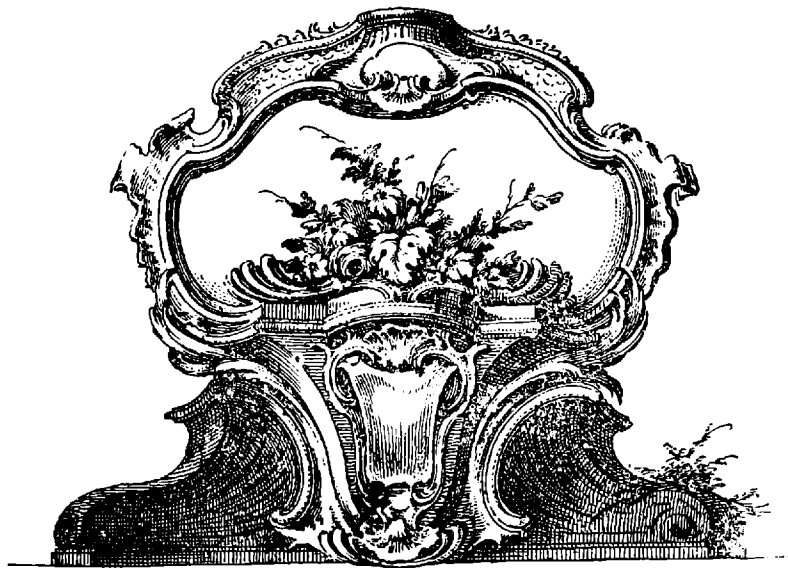
These poor prisoners become something more than mere names to us, when we think of them marshalling themselves in those mean Lodge-Rooms against enemies more inexpugnable than any met in the flesh, against the overwhelming forces of Untruth, Disgraceful Compromise, Prejudice, Poltroonery, and that most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

C'est inutile? Je le sais.
Mais on ne se bat pas dans l'espoir du succès.
Non! non! c'est bien plus beau lorsque c'est inutile
Ah! je vous reconnais tous mes vieux ennemis!
Je sais bien qu'à la fin vous me mettez à bas;
N'importe: je me bats, je me bats, je me bats!

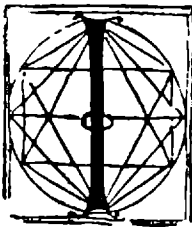
No unworthy epitaph for our Brethren the prisoners, nor yet for that great lover of truth and searcher after knowledge, their historian.

April, 1936.

J. HERON LEPPER.



OBITUARY.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

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Brethren of the Correspondence Circle are entitled to wear a membership Medal, to be procured of the Secretary only. In Silver Gilt, engraved with the owner's name, with bar, pin and ribbon, as a breast jewel. 10/6 each.

Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

NO. 2076, LONDON.



SECRETARY:

LIONEL VIBERT, P.A.G.D.C.

OFFICE. LIBRARY AND READING ROOM:

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.2.

→* Ars *← Quatuor Coronatorum

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



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

VOLUME XLVI. PART 2.

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1937.

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 Antigraha*, appear at undefined intervals, and consist of facsimiles of documents of Masonic interest with commentaries or introductions by brothers well informed on the subjects treated of.

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

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

St. John's Day in Harvest

SATURDAY, 24th JUNE, 1933.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; W. J. Williams, I.P.M.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M., as S.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Supt.W., P.M., D.C.; and George Elkington, P.A.G.Supt.W., J.D.

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

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

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

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

Upon Ballot taken:—

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

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

and

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

were regularly elected Joining Members of the Lodge.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

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

Die for Seal of Lodge Royal Artillery No. 156.

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

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

Pierced Jewel, Silver, circular. Inscriptions:—

Amor Honor et Justitia

Sit Lux et Lux fuit.

No date, but probably about 1800 or so.

By Bro. MENDAY.

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

By Bro. WASHBOURN.

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

By Bro. Dr. R. T. Halliday.

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

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

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

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

Bro. CECIL ADAMS read the following paper:—

AHIMAN REZON, THE BOOK OF CONSTITUTIONS.

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

INTRODUCTION.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LAURENCE DERMOTT.

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

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

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

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

So we are introduced to Laurence Dermott,² a great, perhaps even the greatest character in the Craft history of the eighteenth century. A journeyman painter, born in Ireland in 1720, he was initiated in Lodge No. 26 in Dublin, on the 14th January, 1740,³ in which Lodge he served all the Offices, including that of Secretary, and was installed Master on the 24th June, 1746.⁴ He claimed to

¹ No mention of raising.

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

³ Register, Grand Lodge of Antients.

⁴ Minutes, Grand Lodge of Antients, 2nd March, 1757.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE FIRST EDITION—1756.

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

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

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

¹ *Miscellanea Latomorum*, xvi., 122.

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

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

⁴ *Miscellanea Latomorum*, ii., 30.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *Morgan's Register*.

² *A.Q.C.*, xxxii., 114.

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

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

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

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

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

and the book is also designed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² Lepper and Crosslé, i., 90.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁴ i.e., Faithful Brother Secretary.

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

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

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

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

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

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

I placed the following Works round about me, so as to be convenient to have Recourse to them as Occasion should require, *viz.* Doctor Anderson¹ and Mr. Spratt² directly before me, Doctor D'Assigny³ and Mr. Smith⁴ on my Right-hand, Doctor Desagulier⁵ and Mr. Pennell⁶ on my Left-hand, and Mr. Scott and Mr. Lyon behind me: A Copy of (that often called) the Original Constitutions (said to be in the Possession of Mr. John Clark,⁷ in Paris), and another Copy of the same Magnitude handed about in England, together with the Pamphlet printed at Frankfort in Germany,⁸ I tied up in the Public Advertiser of Friday, October 19, 1753,⁹ and threw them under the Table.

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

¹ Evidently the *Book of Constitutions*, 1738.

² *Book of Constitutions*, Dublin, 1751.

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

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

⁵ This refers to the *Book of Constitutions* 1723, which had a Dedication signed by Dr. Desagulier.

⁶ *Book of Constitutions*, Dublin, 1730.

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

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

⁹ Containing the Leland-Locke MS., copied from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the previous month.

AHIMAN REZON:

O R,

A Help to a Brother;

Shewing the

EXCELLENCY of SECRECY,

And the first Cause, or Motive, of the Institution of

FREE-MASONRY;

T H E

PRINCIPLES of the CRAFT,

And the

Benefits arising from a strict Observance thereof;

What Sort of MEN ought to be initiated into the MYSTERY,

And what Sort of MASONS are fit to govern LODGES,

With their Behaviour in and out of the Lodge.

Likewise the

Prayers used in the *Jewish* and *Christian* Lodges,

The Ancient Manner of

Constituting new Lodges, with all the Charges, &c.

Also the

OLD and NEW REGULATIONS,

The Manner of Chusing and Installing *Grand-Master* and *Officers*,

and other useful Particulars too numerous here to mention.

To which is added,

The greatest Collection of MASONS SONGS ever presented to
public View, with many entertaining PROLOGUES and EPILOGUES;

Together with

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE an ORATORIO,

As it was performed for the Benefit of

F R E E - M A S O N S.

By Brother LAURENCE DERMOTT, Sec.

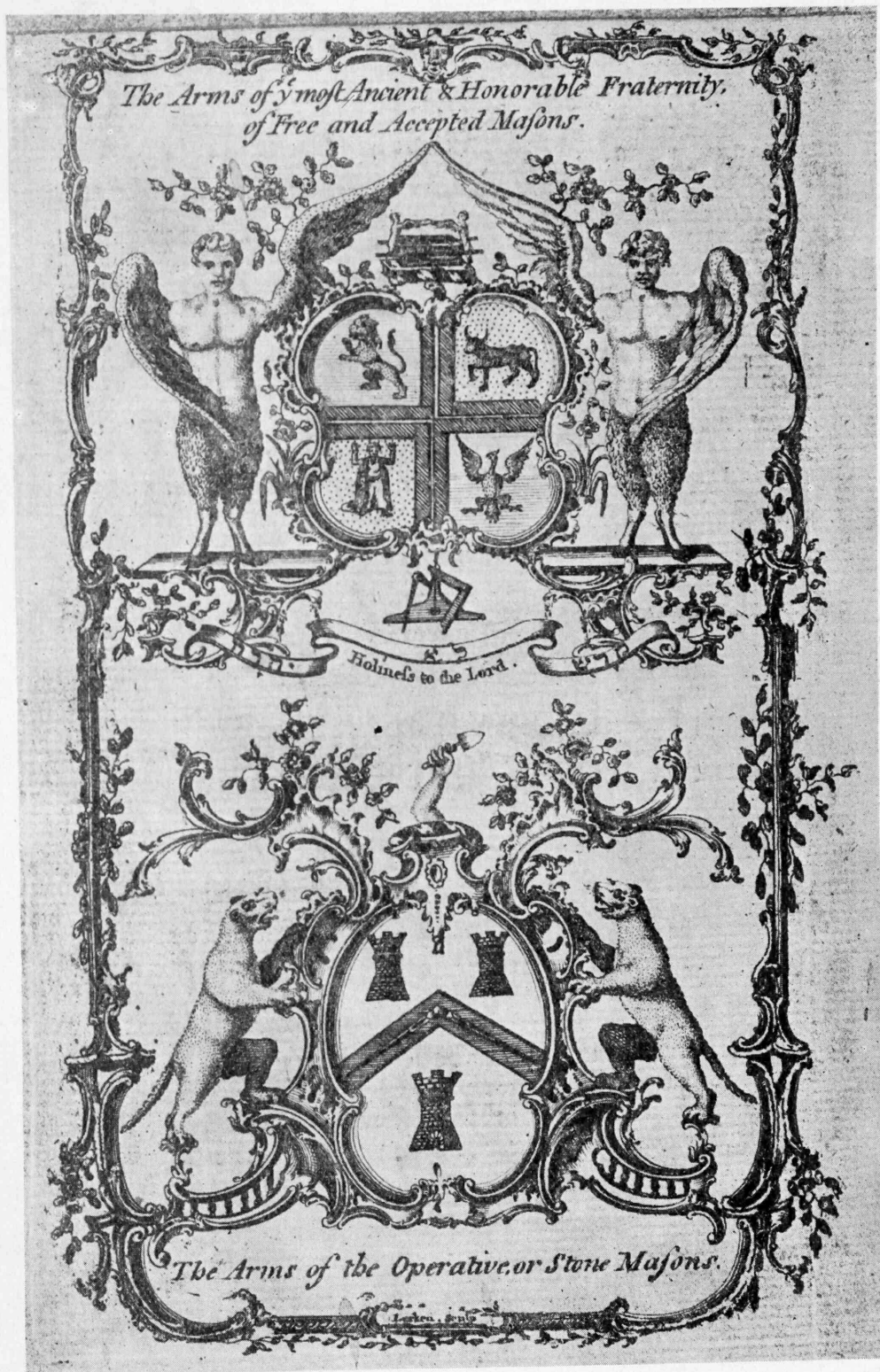
L O N D O N :

Printed for the EDITOR, and sold by Brother *James Bedford*, at the
Crown in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*.

MDCCLVI.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, London, 1756.

From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.



Frontispiece, *Ahiman Rezon*, London, 1764.

From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.

"Mr. Lyon" evidently refers to Jacob Jehuda Leon (c. 1603—c. 1680) who wrote a description of Solomon's Temple, of which he had a model.¹ Dermott in the second edition, stated that he saw this model when it was exhibited in 1759-60. At first glance, one would take "Mr. Scott" to refer to the 1754 *Pocket Companion* of Jonathan Scott, but it is quite likely that the intention is another interesting character, who would naturally be linked with Leon, namely, Councillor Schott. This individual also wrote a description of the Temple, and had a model which was on view in London about 1725.² The name is incorrectly spelled, but the same applies to Leon. As Dermott was a hard-working journeyman painter,³ he may well have taken two years or more in preparing his book, in which case, Jonathan Scott's *Pocket Companion* would not have been published when he started to write. The song, *Wake the Lute and quivering Strings* which is in *Ahiman Rezon* seems to have been taken from Scott's book, but this may have been added shortly before publication.

The next four pages are occupied by the names of 217 subscribers, including Edward Vaughan, Grand Master, and many Grand and Past Grand Officers, including L. McIntosh, the Junior Grand Warden, who has been suggested as Dermott's printer, and James Bedford, the seller of the book. Three persons took two copies each, and ten ladies are mentioned, three of whom did not have husbands among the subscribers. The name of the Earl of Blesington is not included, and it may be, therefore, that he was not approached by Dermott before the publication. James Quin,⁴ the actor, was a subscriber, but not Thomas Grinsell, his half brother. We shall hear more of this pair when we come to the third edition. As one would expect, a number of Irishmen subscribed, and there is also a very definite Jewish element, for the names Levi Hart, Abraham Jacob, Mordecai Isaacs, Lion Solomon and Israel Wolfe are included. The list of subscribers is followed by four pages of Contents, and then the main part of the book with new pagination.

This is a dissertation on the Duty of Freemasons, but it consists of a number of sections strung together by the author and containing a great deal of material collected from various sources. The first part is on the Excellency of Secrecy, showing how pleasing that quality is to God. Several illustrations are given from the Classics—Cato the Censor, and the story of Alexander and his friend Hephestion,⁵ both of which are from Plutarch's *Lives*⁶; a story from the *Attic Nights* of Aulus⁷ Gellius, which is also found in the *Saturnals* of Macrobius; the account of Anaxarchus, who bit off his tongue⁸; the Athenian Statue of Brass; the Egyptian god Harpocrates; the Roman goddess Angerona; the story of the servants of Plancus and Cato; the account from Quintus Curtius of the hiding of King Darius when defeated by Alexander.⁹ Extracts are given from the writings of Horace, Pythagoras, Aristotle, St. Ambrose and King Solomon. Except for the last, Dermott probably made use of contemporary essays.

The next section is on the Character of a just and steadfast Man, and this is demonstrated by a metrical translation from Horace. Then we have a section on the Superiority of Free-Masons in concealing Secrets. It is stated that

the most cruel Punishments could never extort the Secret (even)
from the weakest Member of the whole Fraternity.

¹ See *A.Q.U.*, xii., 150.

² See *Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry*, W. J. Hughan, 1909 edit., p. 125.

³ He said that he worked 12 hours a day. See Minutes, Grand Lodge of the Antients, 13th July, 1753.

⁴ See *D.N.B.*

⁵ "Ephestion" in *Ahiman Rezon*.

⁶ In the eighteenth century, Dryden's translation was probably the only one available; there is a London edition of 1727 in the British Museum.

⁷ "Alius" in *Ahiman Rezon*.

⁸ Pliny, Book vii., ch. 23.

⁹ The British Museum has: *Quintus Curtius, his History of the Wars of Alexander*, Translated by J. Digby, London, 1747.

There is a section on the Cause of the Institution of Free-Masonry, and this is followed by an account of its Use to the World. The latter is in verse, and most of it is translated from D'Assigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry*.¹ One of the subscribers for this book was Lawrence McDermott, who was apparently our author. The first ten lines follow D'Assigny very closely. Then, there is "history" from D'Assigny and the Old Charges, the Ark, the Rainbow (called "An heav'nly Arch"), David, Solomon's Temple, with finally, twenty more lines from D'Assigny.

The next six pages are D'Assigny, almost without alteration, and these contain sections on the Principles of the Craft, the Benefits arising from a strict Observance thereof, and What sort of Men ought to be initiated into the Mystery. After Advice to some who may have an Inclination to become Members, and What Sort of Masons are fit to govern Lodges, Dermott finishes with hints on Behaviour in and out of the Lodge, which is practically from the Ancient Charges of the Constitutions, as given a little further on in the book. For example, on p. 22,

he is to pay due Respect, and be obedient (in all reasonable Matters)
to the Master and presiding Officers

while on p. 30,

you are to pay due Reverence to the Master, Wardens and Fellows,
and put them to worship.

Or, again, on p. 22,

nor behave himself ludicrously, nor jestingly, while the Lodge is
engaged in what is serious and solemn

and on p. 30,

nor act ludicrously while the Lodge is engaged in what is serious and
solemn.

His remarks regarding Freemasonry and Religion are interesting:—

And I honestly recommend . . . regular Lodges, as the only
Seminaries where Men (in the most pleasant and clearest Manner)
may hear, understand, and learn their Duty to God; and also to
their Neighbours. And this without the Multiplicity of spiteful and
malicious Words, long Arguments, or fierce Debates; which have been
made Use of, among mistaken Mortals, upwards of a thousand Years
past: And instead of uniting Men in one sacred Band (as the Servants
of God, and Brethren of the same Houshold) have divided them into
as many different Opinions, as there were (not only Languages, but
even) Men at the Confusion of Babel

and in the last paragraph there are some striking words:—

These few Hints may serve to put the Brethren in Mind of the Duty
incumbent on them as Free-Masons; and likewise, how to behave
themselves in such a Manner as may be acceptable to God, agreeable
to the Principles of Masonry, and much to their own Honour: . . .

So far, the book is largely in Dermott's words, but the remainder, except for a few songs, was taken by him from other sources. The Charges are clearly copied with a few verbal alterations from Spratt's *Constitutions*, but the explanatory footnote to "Noachida," which was omitted from the Irish book, reappears here. The word "Prentices" used by Anderson and Spratt is now replaced by "Apprentices." This spelling continues in later parts of the book, and was

¹ A *Serious and Impartial Enquiry*, Dr. F. D'Assigny, Dublin. 1744, p. 23.

employed by Entick in the 1756 English *Constitutions*. In the fourth Charge, an apparent inaccuracy in the Irish book has been corrected, and this looks as if Dermott checked his book with the 1738 original of Anderson.

The Short Charge To a new admitted Mason, which follows, is not from the *Constitutions*, but from a *Pocket Companion*, probably the Dublin edition of 1735, the wording of which it seems to follow, rather than that of the 1754 London edition of Jonathan Scott.¹ Referring to the familiar phrase "He is not to neglect his own necessary Avocations for the Sake of Masonry," we are given a new footnote which, however, has not, so far as I am aware, persisted in our modern Ritual. It is as follows:—

Here you are to understand that a Mason ought not to belong to a Number of Lodges at one Time, nor run from Lodge to Lodge; or otherwise, after Masons or Masonry, whereby his Business or Family may be neglected; but yet every Mason is subject to all the Bye-Laws of his Lodge, which he is strictly and constantly to obey;—for the Attendance and Dues of one Lodge, can never prejudice neither him nor his Family.

The Manner of Constituting a new Lodge is taken from Spratt's *Constitutions*, the main alteration being the suggestion of some installation ceremony. The word "installed" is introduced by Dermott, and instead of "With some other Expressions that are proper and usual on that Ocasion [*sic*], but not proper to be written," we now find "after some other Ceremonies and Expressions that cannot be written." There seems to be no doubt that at this time, the installation ceremony for the Master was peculiar to the Antients.² At the end of the Constitution, thanks to the Grand Master are to be given "according to the Custom of Masters," and a new clause gives instructions for a "Proclamation":—

Then the Grand-Secretary, or some Brother for him, (by the Grand-Master's Order) in the Name of the Grand Lodge, declares and proclaims this new Lodge duly constituted No. , &c.

Four Prayers are here inserted in the book. The first is said to be used by Jewish Free-Masons at the Opening of the Lodge, &c., but I cannot trace its appearance in any previous Masonic work. There is a footnote referring to the Preface to the Mishna, giving a description of the method by which Moses taught the Explanations of the Laws to the Israelites without writing. The second prayer is the well-known invocation to the Trinity which is given at the beginning of most copies of the Old Charges. Then follows a prayer from Spratt's *Constitutions* "which is most general at Making or Opening." Finally, we have a prayer "repeated in the Royal Arch Lodge at Jerusalem." This is headed "Ahabath Olam," meaning "Eternal Love," from the opening words "Thou hast loved us, O Lord our God, with eternal Love." There is a footnote "See Dr. Wooton [*sic*] on the Mishna."³ Having referred, in the heading of this last prayer to the Royal Arch, Dermott warns his Brethren against an impostor who had been improperly communicating the secrets of that branch of Masonry:—

Having inserted this Prayer, and mentioned that Part of Masonry commonly called the Royal Arch (which I firmly believe to be the Root, Heart, and Marrow of Free-Masonry) I cannot forbear giving a Hint of a certain evil Designer, who has made a Trade thereof for some Time past, and has drawn in a Number of worthy, honest

¹ See p. 244 *ante*.

² A note on page xliii. of the 3rd edition of *Ahiman Rezon* states that the two societies "differ exceedingly in makings, ceremonies, knowledge, masonical language, and installations."

³ This prayer is from *Miscellaneous Discourses Relating to the Traditions and Usages of the Scribes and Pharisees In our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ's Time*, W. Wotton, D.D., London, 1718, vol. i., p. 180.

Men, and made them believe that he and his Assistants truly taught them all and every Part of the above-named Branch of Masonry, which they soon communicated to the worthy Brethren of their Acquaintance, without being able to form any Sort of Judgment whereby they might distinguish Truth from Falshood [*sic*], and consequently could not discern the Imposition; but, as the wise Seneca justly observes, it fares with us in human Life as in a routed Army, one stumbles first and then another falls upon him; and so they follow, one upon the Neck of another, till the whole Field comes to be but one Heap of Miscarriages. This is the Case of all those who think themselves Royal Arch Masons, without passing the Chair in regular Form, according to the ancient Custom of the Craft: To this I will add the Opinion of our Worshipful Brother Doctor Fifield D'Assigny, printed in the Year 1744.

He then quotes from the *Serious and Impartial Enquiry* to support his assertion that the Chair of a Craft Lodge is an essential qualification for the Royal Arch:—

Some of the Fraternity (says he) have expressed an Uneasiness at this Matter being Kept a Secret from them (since they had already passed through the usual Degrees of Probation) I cannot help being of Opinion, that they have no Right to any such Benefit until they make a proper Application, and are received with due Formality: And as it is an organised Body of Men who have passed the Chair, and given undeniable Proofs of their Skill in Architecture, it cannot be treated with too much Reverence; and more especially since the Characters of the present Members of that particular Lodge are untainted, and the Behaviour judicious and unexceptionable: So that there cannot be the least Hinge to hang a Doubt on, but that they are most excellent Masons.

After this quotation from D'Assigny, Dermott again returns to the subject of the "evil Designer" and trusts

that God may guide him back, out of his present Labyrinth of Darkness, to the true Light of Masonry; which is, Truth, Charity, and Justice.

He adds that he has no "evil Design" against this person, any more than had Hesiod against his Brother Perses, and then ends with a quotation in English from Hesiod's *Works and Days*.¹

Here we come to the most important part of *Ahiman Rezon*, the General Regulations, for it was in order to publish these regulations that the book came into being. They are taken from Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751, with such alterations as Dermott found necessary. The introductory note giving the name of the Grand Master of Ireland, and the approval of the Irish Grand Lodge are omitted, as well as the reference to the 1738 *Constitutions*, which is given by Spratt. Naturally, Dermott would not refer in any way to an official publication of the premier but rival Grand Lodge. These regulations follow the system adopted by Spratt from Anderson, of printing the Old and New Regulations in two parallel columns. There are 27 regulations arranged in this way, finishing with "The End of the old Regulations." Then follows Regulation No. xxviii. in one column only, headed "New Regulations," with ten numbered paragraphs giving the procedure in Grand Lodge. Then we have "The End of the new

¹ *The Works of Hesiod Translated from the Greek*, Mr. Cooke, London, 1728, vol. i., p. 94.

Regulations," followed by two Biblical quotations run together and taken from *Proverbs*, iii., 1, and xxii., 28. These should read:—

My Son, forget not my Law; but let thine Heart keep my Commandments, and remove not the ancient Land-Mark which thy Fathers have set. Solomon.

The last word refers to the author of the passages, but by a misprint, the full-stop prior to that word was omitted, and the sense thereby changed. This was not corrected until the publication of the third edition in 1778. These Biblical quotations were not in the Irish *Constitutions*, nor was the following passage with which Dermott concluded this part of the book:—

Though the foregoing are called new Regulations, yet they are of many Years standing, and have been wrote at different Times, by Order of the whole Community, as Amendments or Explanations of the old Regulations; for we are not to break in upon the ancient Rules of the Fraternity, as before mentioned in New Regulation xxvii.

Several minor alterations were made by the author of *Ahiman Rezon* in copying Spratt's Irish *Constitutions*, and many of these do not call for comment. We find that the word "Masonry" has been replaced by "Free-Masonry," and "Masons" by "Free-Masons."¹ Dermott ensured that his own Office was entitled correctly "Grand Secretary," the word "Grand" being added in several places.² The necessity for reference to London instead of Dublin required some corrections,³ while the widespread organisation visualised by the energetic Grand Secretary called for an alteration in *New Reg.* xx. Anderson required the presence of a Grand Officer for an official visit, or for constituting a Lodge. This was copied by Spratt, but Dermott added:—

except Places at too great a Distance from the Grand Lodge, and in such Case some faithful Brother who has passed the Chair, &c. shall have a proper Deputation, &c. under the Grand Lodge Seal for the Constitution of such new Lodge or Lodges, in distant or remote Countries, where the Grand Officers cannot possibly attend.

In *Ahiman Rezon*, there are several alterations in those regulations referring to the election and installation of the Grand Master. At the end of *Old Reg.* xxiv., Anderson's *Old Reg.* xxxiv., has been added. This gives the procedure when the nomination of the Grand Master is not unanimously approved. It was omitted from Spratt's *Constitutions*, and this indicates that Dermott did not rely entirely upon the Irish book, but made use of the older English *Constitutions* when he needed them. To this same regulation, Dermott inserted an interesting footnote referring to the ceremony of installing the Grand Master:—

This is a most noble and grand Ceremony, but cannot be described in Writing, nor ever known to any but Master-Masons.

This seems to infer that only Master Masons could attend Grand Lodge, or possibly that the secrets of the Chair were known to Master Masons. The *New Reg.* xxiv. refers to the corresponding *Old Reg.*, and begins with the words "This is the general Practice of Grand Lodges, for they seldom or never disapprove the Choice." This is followed at the foot of p. 80 by the catchword "xxv. 1.A," which is the correct beginning of *New Reg.* xxv. on p. 82.

¹ *New Reg.*, xxvii., and xxviii., 10.

² *Old Reg.*, xxiii., and *New Reg.*, iii., v. and xiv.

³ *Old Reg.*, xxii., and *New Reg.*, viii. and xxiv.

But on p. 81, another paragraph of *New Reg.* xxiv. is given, stating the reason for leaving the *Old Regulation* in the book. Evidently, this was inserted by Dermott when he read the proofs. In *Old Reg.* xxiii., where Spratt, referring to the installation of the Grand Master, says "shall proclaim him aloud," Dermott inserts the word "thrice." Installation of Grand Masters by proxy is in *New Reg.* xxvi., and the names of some 'Modern' Grand Masters are given without comment, as in Anderson's and Spratt's *Constitutions*. Dermott has added a new sentence:—

But the Grand Installation is not performed until the real new Grand-Master is present.

It is interesting to remember that the first Grand Master of the Antients, Lord Blesington, was installed by proxy on the 27th December, 1756, and again in 1758. There are several alterations in the regulations regarding attendance at Grand Lodge. Spratt's regulation that all members of the Grand Master's Lodge can attend meetings of Grand Lodge, has been omitted from *Ahiman Rezon*.¹ A regulation permitting a past Officer to take the place of a Lodge Officer who cannot attend Grand Lodge, has been altered by a stipulation that the substitute must have held "that or a higher Office."² When a Grand Officer is also the Officer of a Lodge, he deposes a member of his Lodge to act in Grand Lodge as the Lodge Officer, but *Ahiman Rezon* requires the substitute to be a past Officer.³ In Grand Lodge, every member is to keep his seat, and in *Ahiman Rezon* the words "(according to the No. of his Lodge)" are added.⁴

Dermott's regulations for Masonic clothing are of interest. He has omitted from *New Reg.* ii. the 'Modern' rule (copied into the *Irish Constitutions*) that Masters and Wardens may line their aprons with white silk and hang their jewels on white ribbons, and we find all the 'Antient' requirements in *New Reg.* i. There, Anderson (1738) stated that Grand Officers only might wear gold jewels on blue ribbons, and that they and Past Grand Officers might wear white aprons with blue silk. This was copied by Spratt (1751), but Dermott altered it to the effect that "Some Grand Lodges" ordered that Grand Officers only "should" wear these distinguishing marks, and he adds a footnote stating that Grand Officers only should wear gold jewels, but he is certain that every Member of "the Grand Lodge" has a right to wear purple, blue, white, or crimson. There are some interesting alterations which Dermott made in order to distinguish his Grand Lodge from their rivals. In *New Reg.* vi., the earlier *Constitutions* permit the admission of a visitor to a Lodge when there are not more than three ballots against him. In *Ahiman Rezon*, there is a new paragraph:—

I shall not mention the Cause of the above new Regulation being made, but certain it is that real Free-Masons have no Occasion for any such Regulation, they being able to distinguish a true Brother, let his Country or Language be ever so remote or obscure to us; nor is it in the Power of false Pretenders to deceive us.

Evidently the Antients were the "real Free-Masons," and the same expression occurs in *New Reg.* xi. Spratt's *Constitutions* read "The same Usages, for Substance, are actually observed in every Lodge," but in *Ahiman Rezon*, the wording is "every regular Lodge (of real Free and Accepted Masons)." In *Old Reg.* xxii., which refers to the meeting of Brethren at the Annual Feast, Dermott ensures that only his particular organisation is included, by speaking of "regular Lodges" instead of "Lodges," and in the corresponding *New Regulation*, after the words "Brethren around the Globe" he adds "(who are true and faithful Members of the ancient Craft)."

¹ *New Reg.*, xxviii., 1.

² *New Reg.*, xii.

³ *New Reg.*, xvii.

⁴ *New Reg.*, xxviii., 4.

The General Regulations are followed by those for the Committee of Charity, which, however, call for little comment. The introduction tells us that they are

as they have been approved of and practised by the Grand Lodge of Ireland since the Year 1738, when our Right Worshipful and Right Honourable Brother WILLIAM STUART, Lord Viscount Mountjoy (now Earl of Blessington) was Grand-Master. Also the Regulations of the Stewards Lodge, or Committee for Charity, as they have been approved of and practised by the ancient York-Masons in England since the Year 1751.

These regulations are in two parallel columns, the Irish from Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751 on the left, and those of the Antients (here called the York-Masons) on the right. The latter do not appear to date from 1751, as Dermott claimed, for the formation of the Committee of Charity, and the rules governing it, are first mentioned in the Grand Lodge Minutes of the 14th March, 1754. There, it is stated

That such committee shall be renewed every Kalendar Month and that such Committee shall meet on the 3d Wednesday in Every month . . .

These days of meeting still remain with us for the Board of Benevolence; in fact, many of the regulations governing that Board can be traced to those given for the Committee of Charity in the first *Ahiman Rezon*. There is one textual mistake which should be noted. In the Dublin Regulation 3, the editor has used the word "Treasurer" instead of "Secretary"; this was corrected in the second edition.

Here we come to the end of the more serious part of the work, and the remainder, following the example of most of the Masonic books of the period, comprises songs and poems. There is a second Title-page:—

A CHOICE
COLLECTION
OF
MASONS SONGS,
With several ingenious
PROLOGUES and EPILOGUES.
To which is added,
Solomon's Temple,
AN
ORATORIO,
As it was performed at the
Philharmonic-Room in Fishamble-Street,
DUBLIN,
For the Benefit of sick and distressed
FREE-MASONS.

LONDON:
Printed in the Year MDCCLVI.

There are sixty Songs, the first thirty-two of which come from Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751. Thirty-three songs are in that book, but Dermott for no apparent reason has omitted *Grant me, kind hear'n*. These are followed by two songs which were in the Dublin *Pocket Companion* of 1751, and No. 35, *Pray lend me your Ears my dear Brethren awhile*, appeared in Cole's *Constitutions* in the same year. No. 40, *'Tis Masonry unites Mankind*, comes from H. Roberts' engraving of 1736, and was in the Edinburgh *Pocket Companion* of 1752. No. 50, *Wake the Lute and quivering Strings*, was in Scott's London *Pocket Companion* of 1754; I have already called attention to this, as it is

uncertain whether Dermott made use of that book.¹ The last song, *Come ye Elves that be*, was first, I believe, in Cole's *Constitutions* of 1731. The remaining twenty-two songs are original to *Ahiman Rezon*, and in many cases, the names of the authors are given. Three are by Bro. "L—— D——," obviously Dermott, and there are two by Alexander Kennedy, "Shoolmaster." Bro. John Jackson, the Senior Grand Warden, provided a song, another is by Bro. Alexander Dixon, and two are by Brother "E—— P——." The only Antient Mason with these initials in *Morgan's Register* is Edward Power, also called Richard Power, a "Taylor." This trade seems to have been productive of song writers, for John Jackson, and one of the two Brethren named Alexander Dixon in that Register are "Taylors." Robert Hall, who wrote a song for the 1778 *Ahiman Rezon*, seems to have been a shoemaker. Three of the songs were by John Cartwright, of Salford in Lancashire, who was quite a Masonic character. In the second edition of *Ahiman Rezon* he is described as "Of Cheadle," so he must have moved to that place prior to 1764. The Minutes of the (Antient) Lodge No. 39² show that John Cartwright of Cheadle was a watchmaker and a member of that Lodge, which met at St. Ann's Church and Mitre at Manchester. Lane shows this Lodge as meeting in Cathedral Yard, but this seems to have been a mistake as there was no Cathedral at the time.³ Cartwright was Secretary in 1757, became Junior Warden in December, 1760, Senior Warden in the following June, and Master on St. John's Day, the 28th December, 1761, and again the following June. There is a note in the Antients' Register:—

July 3d 1762. John Cartwright Master of this Lodge was granted Liberty to Make and Admit Masons at discretion.

He left the Lodge in December, 1763, and later, gave lectures to the Lodge Benevolence, No. 83 (Antient), at Stockport, becoming their Master in 1774. When he resigned in 1776, he was elected an honorary member, because he was "A Mason of extensive knowledge and experience in the Art."⁴

As in the 1751 *Constitutions*, which served as Dermott's model, the Master's song and the Warden's song are given with the last verse and chorus only, and the Entered Apprentice's Song appears with the "Ladies'" verse without any explanatory note. Dermott had to make several alterations to songs which contained the name of a Grand Master. In the Warden's song of the 1738 *Constitutions*, there was the phrase "To great Caernarvon now our Master Grand"; Spratt substituted "Kingsborough," and in *Ahiman Rezon* we find "To the King and to our Master grand." In the song *Hail Masonry! Thou Craft divine!* Anderson gave "From Adam to Caernarvon⁵ down," and this was reworded by Dermott "From Adam down until this Time." The toast at the end of this song is (as in the 1751 *Constitutions*) "To his Imperial Majesty (our Brother) Francis, Emperor of Germany." In the fifth and sixth songs respectively instead of "Caernarvon's⁶ mild Reign" and "Let Great Caernarvon's⁷ Health go round," we have "Great George's mild reign" and "Let ancient Masons Healths go round." In *Come follow, follow me*, Dermott has introduced a favourite subject, for he has substituted "Arch-Mason" for "Free Mason." The fourth verse of *On you who Masonry despise* is now obsolete, as the allusions to the newspapers must have been forgotten. Instead of

Then let us laugh, since we've impos'd
On those who make a Pother,
And cry, the Secret is disclos'd
By some false-hearted Brother,
The mighty Secret gain'd, they boast,
From Post-Boy, or from Flying Post. With a fal, &c.

¹ See p. 247 *ante*.

² Now in possession of the Lodge of Friendship, No. 44.

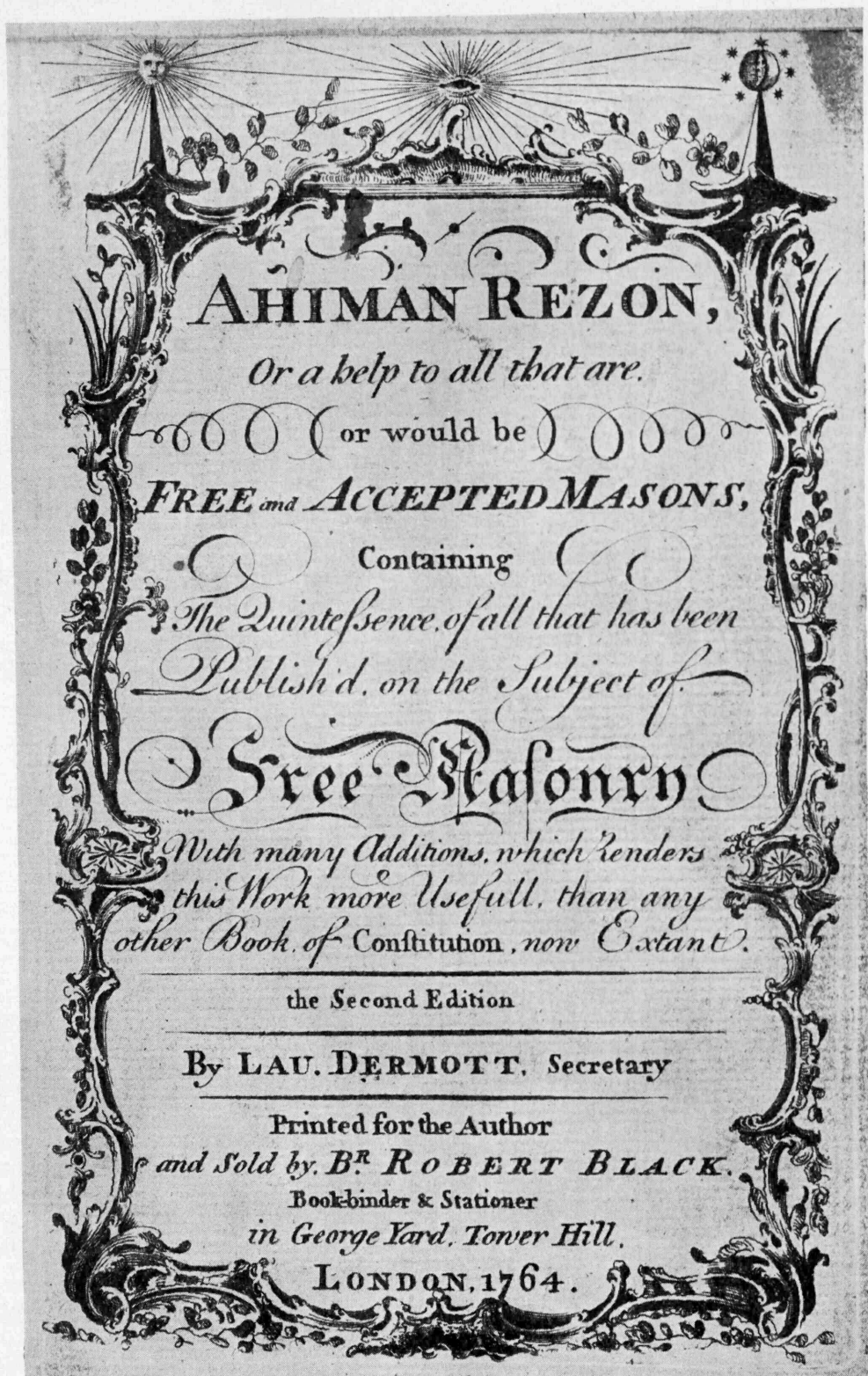
³ See *Transactions of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research*, vol. xi.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ "Kingsborough" in the Dublin 1751 *Constitutions*.

⁶ "Kingsborough's" in the Dublin 1751 *Constitutions*.

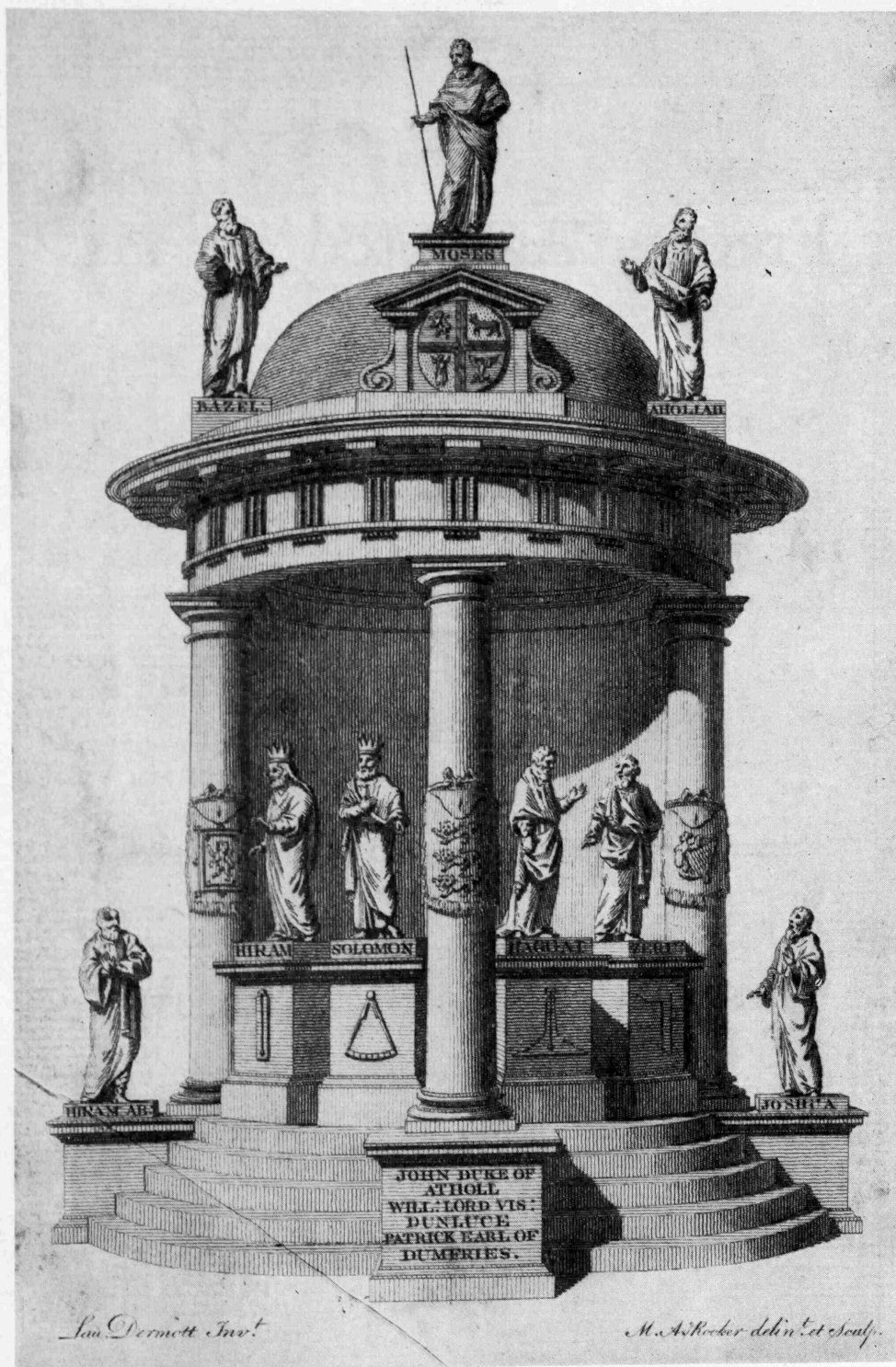
⁷ *Ibid*.



Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, London, 1764.

From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.



Frontispiece, *Ahiman Rezon*, London, 1778.
 From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.

Dermott has given us a poor substitute:—

Some of our Rules I will impart,
But must conceal the rest;
They're safely lodged in Mason's Hearts,
Within each honest Breast:

We love our Country and our King;
We toast the Ladies, laugh, and sing; With a fa, la, la, &c.

The toasts at the end of the songs have, in some cases, been altered to suit the changed conditions, and there are many new ones. In the Irish 1751 *Constitutions* the toasts finish with song No. 11, but in *Ahiman Rezon* they continue to No. 39. The toast after *The curious Vulgar could never devise* is "To the ancient Sons of Peace," which is usually included in Toast lists of this period. After *Ye ancient Sons of Tyre*, the toast is "To the memory of P.H.Z.L. and J.A.," evidently referring to Principals Haggai, Zerubbabel and Joshua.¹ It has been suggested,² but seems improbable, that the key is "*Propheta*, Haggai, Zerubbabel, *Legislator*, and Jeshua, *Armiger*." In the same song, "Columns" are said, in a footnote, to refer to Grand Officers in the phrase "Our Temple now rebuilding, You see grand Columns rise." It is the song *As Masons once on Shinar's Plain*, which contains the expression "The horn'd Buck and Gallican," and to this there is a note:—

Here is meant a certain Club who call themselves Antigallic Masons, and not the laudable Association of Antigallicans,³ whom I esteem as an honourable and useful Society and worthy of Imitation.

No. lii. and No. lviii. in the book under consideration were incorrectly numbered lvii. and lix. respectively. The third verse of song No. xxv. has been numbered ii. owing to a misprint; this error persists in the second edition, but has been corrected in the third.

All the five Prologues and Epilogues given by Spratt reappear in *Ahiman Rezon*, two are original, one comes from the Dublin *Pocket Companion* of 1751, and *While others sing of Wars and martial Feats* is, strangely enough, from *Book M* of Newcastle (1736). The book ends with the Oratorio *Solomon's Temple* which, so far as I know, had not been previously printed. It occupies nine pages, the heading being:—

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE,
an
ORATORIO,
As it was perform'd
At Philarmonic-Room, in Fishamble-Street, Dublin,
For the Benefit of sick and distress'd
FREE-MASONS.

The Words by Mr. James Eyre Weeks.
The Music compos'd by Mr. Richard Broadway,
Organist of St. Patrick's Cathedral.

Dramatis Personæ.
Solomon, the Grand Master.
High Priest.
Hiram, the Workman.
Uriel, Angel of the Sun.
Sheba, Queen of the South.
Chorus of Priests and Nobles.

¹ *Miscellanea Latomorum*, xii., 39 and xv., 58.

² See *Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry*, Hughan, 1909 edit., p. 100, note.

³ See *Miscellanea Latomorum*, ii., 9.

THE SECOND ENGLISH EDITION—1764.

The second edition of *Ahiman Rezon* was issued in 1764. It has rather more pages than Dermott's first venture, but there are not many alterations of importance. By this time, the Antients were a firmly established organisation, and Dermott has now no hesitation in disparaging the rival Grand Lodge, which he mentions frequently. The printer is unknown, but the book was sold by Robert Black, a book-binder and stationer and a member of Lodge No. 31 (Antient), who in 1756 joined No 7 (Antient). The Title-page of this edition is engraved, and there is also an engraved Frontispiece by Bro. Larken, who was almost certainly the same person as Peter Larkin, also a member of Lodge No. 31. He engraved the frontispiece for *Multa Paucis*, which was published about the same time as the book under consideration, but the engraving in that book is very crude.

The Frontispiece depicts two sets of armorial bearings. Those above are described as

The Arms of y^e most Ancient & Honorable Fraternity, of Free and Accepted Masons.

These are the Lion, Ox, Man and Eagle, with the Ark as crest and the Cherubim as supporters. They were, in fact, those which Dermott appropriated for the Grand Lodge of the Antients, and as they are mentioned in another part of the book, I shall refer to them again. Below, were engraved

The Arms of the Operative, or Stone Masons.

These were being used by the Moderns, and Dermott mentions this in the text, but he does not attempt to ridicule them in any way. The arms of the Masons' Company were: "Azure, on a chevron between three castles argent, a pair of compasses somewhat extended of the first." In this engraving, if the usual conventions were used, the tinctures have been reversed, for there is an azure chevron on an argent field. The Company had no supporters to their arms, but a castle was used as a crest. Dermott has substituted here the crest found on the earliest Irish Grand Lodge seal,¹ a bowed arm holding a trowel. The supporters shown on this frontispiece appear to be cats, or leopards, and not the beavers, which were later adopted by the Moderns. The Arms of the United Grand Lodge were marshalled after the Union by the impalement of these two coats.

This edition has no Dedication, and the book starts with "The Editor to the Reader." This now contains a note on the subject of "Exposures." The author of *Three Distinct Knocks* is said to be one Daniel Tadpole, who was helped by his friend Balthazar Amraphel.² There is also a note about the author of *Boaz and Jackin* [sic]. There are a number of small variations, including the omission of the Emperor Valentinian, the son of a Rope Maker, from the catalogue of historical characters of mean parentage. Dermott did not, in this edition, give his initials at the end of this introduction.

Seven new pages appear at this point with "A Philacteria For such Gentlemen, as may be inclined to become Free-Masons," giving qualifications, method of proposing candidates, and so on. The proposal of a candidate must be made in "lodge hours":—

That is from the vernal to the autumnal equinox, between seven and ten o'clock in the evening, and from the autumnal to the vernal equinox following, between six and nine o'clock.

¹ *Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. I.

² The Title-page states that the book is by W——o V——n.

The initiate is to pay whatsoever sum the brethren shall think proper, but not less than two guineas,¹ and "cloath" the lodge if required. To this, there is a footnote:—

By cloathing is meant white aprons and gloves, not only for every member in the lodge, but also for all their wives and sweethearts.

In the "Philacteria," the author states that he is a "faithful guide, who has made free masonry (both antient and modern) his constant study for twenty years," and he concludes "Your faithful and obedient servant, Laurence Dermott." This part of the book received official recognition a few years later, for on the 17th May, 1769, at the Stewards' Lodge, a complaint was heard against L. McIntosh,² Grand Warden, for making Masons clandestinely. Whereupon, it was resolved:—

That the person or persons made or pretended to be made by the said McIntosh and his Associates without the Grand Master's Warrant or Dispensation are incapable of obtaining a Warrant or Dispensation or Admittance into any Regular Lodge, Untill he or they are initiated upon the terms, prescribed in the Philacteria in the Book of Constitutions intituled Ahiman Rezon.

"Having taken my leave of the strangers, I now beg leave to address myself to the Gentlemen of the most antient and honourable Fraternity." With these words, Dermott starts a new chapter, a large part of which is devoted to a comparison between the two rival societies. He says "I had the like curiosity myself, about sixteen or seventeen years ago, when I was first introduced into that society." This would have been about 1747, or 1748, and, no doubt, this is correct, as 1748 is actually mentioned in the 3rd edition. The wording here seems to imply that he joined a Modern Lodge, and was not merely a visitor,³ but no further particulars have come to light. The author says:—

I have not the least antipathy against the gentlemen members of the modern society; but on the contrary, love and respect them, because I have found the generality of them to be hearty cocks and good fellows (as the bacchanalian phrase is)

Here follows a series of questions and answers showing the difference between the two societies. The following is worthy of remark:—

Q. "What Art or Science has been introduced and practised in London without receiving the least improvement?"

A. "Freemasonry."

This does not seem to be happily worded, and evidently Dermott came to think likewise, for he omitted it from all subsequent editions. From these questions we learn that exaggeration was a weakness of the author, for he says "The number of antient masons, compared with the moderns, being as ninety-nine to one .". After these questions, there is an interesting reference to

the Right worshipful and very worthy Gentlemen of America, who for their charitable disposition, prudent choice of members and good conduct in general, deserve the unanimous thanks and applause of the masonical world .

He talks of the lethargy of the Craft in England owing to the age of Sir Christopher Wren when he was the Grand Master:—

¹ Approved by Grand Lodge, 2nd September, 1761.

² See p. 243 *ante*. Probably the printer of the 1756 edition.

³ See p. 241 *ante*.

Notwithstanding this state of inactivity in London, the lodges in the country, particularly in Scotland and at York, kept up their antient formalities, customs and usages, without alteration, adding or diminishing, to this hour, from whence they may justly be called the most antient &c.

He proceeds to give his account of the rise of the Moderns in 1717, and a fantastic description of various Modern practices, stating that "they seized on the stone masons Arms, which that good natured company has permitted them to wear to this day," and there is a footnote:—

The operative or stone masons are the 30th company in London, they were incorporated by Charles the second, and have a hall in Basinghall street, the number of their livery men about seventy, and the livery fine five pounds.

He states that there is in a Modern Lodge "in my neighbourhood" a large piece of iron scrole work, ornamented with foliage &c. painted and gilt (the whole at an incredible expence) and placed before the master's chair, with a gigantic sword fixed therein." In the 3rd edition, this is said to be at Wapping, and there is no doubt that it refers to the "Sword of State" which is still the property of Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18.² Still speaking of the Modern Lodges:—

Nor is it uncommon for a tyler to receive ten or twelve shillings for drawing two sign posts with chalk &c. and writing Jamaica rum upon one, and Barbadoes rum upon the other, and all this (I suppose) for no other use, than to distinguish where these liquors are to be placed in the lodge.

All this no doubt had some reference to the ceremonies of the Moderns. This part of the book concludes with:—

And hope, that I shall live to see a general conformity and universal unity between the worthy masons of all denominations. This is the most earnest wishes and ardent prayers of,

Gentlemen and Brethren,

Your most sincere friend,

Obedient Servant,

and faithful brother,

Laurence Dermott, Secretary.

There is to my mind, no doubt that Dermott would have welcomed a union even as early as this, on terms favourable to his own society. A united Grand Lodge was freely spoken of in his time, but he died in 1791, some years before it was consummated.

A note inserted at this point tells us that the arms in the upper part of the frontispiece were found in the collection of the "famous and learned hebrewist, architect and brother, Rabi [*sic*] Jacob Jehudah Leon,"³ and it is very likely that he was, actually, the author of the coat. Information is given regarding Leon's model of King Solomon's Temple,⁴ and the heraldic description of the arms. In the frontispiece to this edition, the arms are complete with crest, supporters and motto, all of which are mentioned in the description. In the 3rd edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, the full description remains, although the shield alone appears on the frontispiece, and it is not until the issue of the 1801 edition that the full coat of arms reappears. In the transliteration of the motto, the Unpronounceable Name יהוה has been rendered as "Adonai," for

¹ Dermott lived for some years at King Street, Tower Hill. *Notes on Laurence Dermott*, W. M. Bywater, p. 54.

² See *Ancient Freemasonry and the Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18*, Arthur Heiron, p. 157.

³ See p. 245 *ante*.

⁴ See *A.Q.C.* x., 161, and xii., 150.

we have *Kodes la Adonai*—Holiness to the Lord. This is, perhaps, an indication that the writer was an erudite Hebrew scholar. Dermott, although a journeyman painter, was no dunce. In the Minutes of the Stewards' Lodge¹ of the 21st March, 1764, we read:—

The petition of George Joseph Frange an Arabian Mason with whom the Gd. Sec. conversed in the Hebrew Language &c.

There is no list of Subscribers, or Contents, in this edition, but the section entitled "Ahiman Rezon" here follows, and the remainder of the book varies but little from the first edition. In the "Ahiman Rezon," in two places, the writer has for some reason not easily determined, replaced the name "Papius" by "Papirus." Horace as a lawgiver is supplanted by "Lycurgus," an alteration more easily understood. Part of the quotation from D'Assigny has been omitted, and there are several small alterations, made no doubt, in order to improve the poetry. Dermott has now adopted the spelling 'antient' instead of 'ancient'; also, some remarks regarding candidates are omitted, as the sense of these has been given in the "Philacteria." In the Regulations, there are few alterations of importance in this edition. A new paragraph to *New Reg.* xiii. gives the duties of the Pursuivant, an officer appointed by the Antients in their earliest days. *New Reg.* xxiv. is in error numbered xxv. The examples of installations of Grand Masters by proxy have now been omitted, as well as the sentence "But the Grand Installation is not performed until the real new Grand-Master is present." One is not surprised to find the names of Modern Grand Masters excised, and the omission of the reference to the Grand Installation is reasonable, when one remembers that the Earl of Blesington, their first Grand Master, never attended Grand Lodge. The word 'Hammer' has been replaced in *New Reg.* xxviii. by the now more familiar 'Gavel,' and Anderson's instruction that it is "always to be repeated by the Senior Grand Warden" has been omitted, probably because it contained no reference to the junior of the Principal Grand Officers. At the end of this same regulation, the use of counters and a balloting box in Grand Lodge are enjoined when occasion requires "in order to preserve harmony." Part of the heading of the Regulations of the Committee for Charity, giving the name of the Grand Master of Ireland in 1738, has been omitted, and there is a footnote giving the reason for the Antients having the title of York-Masons:—

They are called York-masons, because the first grand lodge in England was congregated at York A.D. 926 by prince Edwin, who (at the same time) purchased a free charter from king Athelstan, for the use of the fraternity.

The size of the Committee has now been increased, for in addition to the Grand Officers, there are ten instead of eight Masters of Lodges. The period of subscription to qualify a Brother for help has been increased from six to twelve months, and a 'sojourner' who is not subscribing, may be relieved "if certified." A petitioner must now go to his own lodge for the signature of the master, or a warden, and the brethren attesting are now required to certify "that the petitioner has been formerly in a reputable or at least in tolerable circumstances." All this indicates that there had been considerable imposition, and that more strictness had become necessary.

A second Title-page still precedes the Songs, etc. Eight new songs and an unnumbered ode are inserted after No. lviii., so that there are, altogether, sixty-nine in the book. One of these new songs comes from the Dublin, 1761, *Pocket Companion*, and three were in the *Pocket Companion* of 1763. All the others seem to be original. The ode *With grateful hearts your voices raise* was

¹ Written by L. Dermott.

by Edward Fenner, who was initiated in (Antient) Lodge No. 2 in 1763. Two songs were by Robert Hall, who perhaps was a shoemaker, of (Antient) Lodge No. 16. Another Brother of the same name appears in the returns for 1771 for Lodge No. 13 (Antient) meeting at Deptford. Song No. i. is now called the Grand Master's song instead of the Master's song. The final toast of No. viii. "To the Deputy Grand-Master" has been omitted. Song No. viii. previously had a short note regarding Captain Porteous, from No. 563 of *The Craftsman*.¹ The following is added to the note in this edition:—

The Affair was thus, Captain Porteous having committed Murder, was tried, convicted, and ordered for Execution at Edinburgh; but his Friends at Court prevailed on the Queen to reprieve him; this gave Umbrage to the People, who assembled in the Night, broke into (and took him out of) the Prison, from thence to the Place of Execution, ordered him to kneel down, which was also done by the whole Company, who joined him in Prayers for a considerable Time, and then all of them laid hold on the rope and hawled him up as they do on board a Man of War. It is remarkable that they all wore white leather aprons, which (by the by) is a certain Proof that they were not Free-masons.

Song No. xxii. contains the words

'Tis true we once have charged been,
With disobedience to our queen,

so a footnote had been added from Spratt's 1751 *Constitutions* about Queen Elizabeth's attempt to break up the meeting at York in 1561. The authors of Song No. xli., *Once I was blind and cou'd not see*, and No. xlvii., *How bless'd are we from ignorance free'd*, are not given in this book; in the first edition, they were said to be by Alexander Kennedy and Alexander Dixon respectively. It seems as if the first of these omissions was intentional, for in the first edition, Song No. xli. was said to be "By Bro. Alexander Kennedy," and No. xlii. "By the foregoing Hand." In the second edition, no author is given for the first, and the second is "By Brother Alexander Kennedy." In No. lxiv., the words "The Gregs" and the Gallics" occur, and there is a footnote: "See the Note to the 36th Song," which note refers to "The horn'd Buck and Gallican." The Prologues, Epilogues and Oratorio are unchanged.

The publication of this book in 1764, occasioned a reply in the following year, which evidently came from a Modern source. This was entitled:—

A Defence of Free-Masonry, As practised in the Regular Lodges, Both Foreign and Domestic, Under the Constitution of the English Grand-Master. In which is contained, A Refutation of Mr. Dermott's absurd and ridiculous Account of Free-Masonry, in his Book, entitled *Ahiman Rezon*; and the several Queries therein, reflecting on the Regular Masons, briefly considered, and answered.

This was a most virulent and scurrilous production, and probably did more harm to the Modern cause than to its rivals. Perhaps it came from the pen of John Revis, who had been Grand Secretary and Deputy Grand Master of the Modern Grand Lodge, or possibly even of Samuel Spencer, who was their Grand Secretary when the book was printed.³ Four of the songs from *Ahiman Rezon* are given, with some variations. One of these, which has seven verses in *Ahiman Rezon*, has eight in the *Defence*, with a note at the end: "N.B. The above Song being printed in an imperfect and execrable Manner, in Mr. Dermott's Collection, is the Occasion of its being reprinted in this."

¹ See *A.Q.C.*, xviii., 203.

² *i.e.*, the Gregorians. See *A.Q.C.*, xxi., 91.

³ See *Masonic Reprints and Historical Revelations*, H. Sadler, p. xlv.

THE THIRD AND FOURTH ENGLISH EDITIONS—1778 and 1787.

Laurence Dermott was Deputy Grand Master from 1771 to 1777, and the third edition of *Ahiman Rezon* of 1778, was stated on the Title-page to have been written by him, but it was published by James Jones, the Grand Secretary, and sold by Peter Shatwell in the Strand. Shatwell was Grand Steward of the Antients in 1769, and Junior Grand Warden in 1772. The book evidently came out towards the end of the year, for in the Grand Lodge Minutes of the 3rd June, 1778, we find:—

The Rt. W.D.G.M.¹ requested of the Grand Lodge (in behalf of the G.Secy.) for leave to print the Laws of the society in the present Edition of the Constitution Book now printing; which was accordingly unanimously agreed to

And at the election of Grand Secretary on the 3rd March, 1779:—

The Deputy Grand Master having declared Brother Bearblock duly Elected . . . As a small remark of his gratitude he begged leave to present the Grand Lodge with one of the Third Edition of the Books of Constitution lately printed.

The price of this book appears to have been five shillings, for that was the sum paid for it to Bro. H. Westley, the Grand Pursuivant, by the Founders of Lodge No. 31 in 1783.² There is no doubt that the corrections for this edition were made by Laurence Dermott, and very numerous they were. He profited by his considerable experience, and introduced alterations and explanatory paragraphs throughout the book, usually as footnotes.

A new Frontispiece has been engraved for this edition by M. A. Rooker from the design of Dermott, and illustrates a Doric Temple with nine statues. These are named as follows:—

Above:	BAZEL:	MOSES	AHOLIAH
Dexter:	HIRAM AB:	HIRAM	SOLOMON
Sinister:	HAGGAI	ZERU:	JOSHUA

Below the statue of Moses, are the arms which had been adopted for the Antients, but without crest, supporters, or motto. These were re-introduced when the frontispiece was re-engraved for the 6th edition. On the three columns of the temple nearest to the reader are tied aprons charged with the arms of England, Scotland and Ireland respectively, and on the central pedestal are the names of the Grand Masters of those countries:—

John Duke of Atholl	(3rd Duke was G.M., 1771-1774; 4th Duke was G.M., 1775-1781)
Will: Lord Vis: Dunluce	(G.M., Ireland, 1772-1773)
Patrick Earl of Dumfries	(G.M., Scotland, 1771-1772)

Evidently this plate was engraved about 1772, and probably it was originally intended to publish the book at that time. The engraved Dedication to the third Duke of Athol supports this theory, but on p. xl., it is stated that the book was written in July, 1778. The Title-page of this edition is printed from type, and has a list of *Errata* on its reverse. There was no Dedication in the second edition, but it was revived for the third, which is dedicated to the 3rd Duke of Athol, Grand Master, although the 4th Duke was the Grand Master at the time of publication. The Athol arms head the page, the wording partly follows the 1st edition and there is still a 'dash' in the subscription which reads: "Most Obligated Most Obedient And Faithful ——— James Jones, Grand Secretary." Then follows an Explanation of the Frontispiece, with the full

¹ William Dickey.

² *The Mount Moriah Lodge, No. 34*, F. Howkins, p. 18.

description of the arms, including crest, supporters and motto, which were not depicted in this book. There are four pages of Contents, no list of which was given in the last edition.

Several alterations have been made to the introductory chapter "To the Reader," from which the note on the "Exposures" added in 1764, has been omitted. In the account of the editor's dream, there appears in the early editions, an "old gentleman" wearing a breast-plate, which is described in the text. In the third edition there is a note "Such was the breast-plate, worn by the High-Priest at Temple." After the account of the dream, there are nine pages of new material regarding the history.

I do not wish to offend the persons or names of writers of historical truths. My intention being only to expose ridiculous innovations, and fabulous accounts of Grand Masters, whose Masonical authorities never existed.

There follows a statement that St. Austin, St. Swithin, St. Dunstan and other legendary Grand Masters, instead of patronising the Craft, would have been more inclined to excommunicate and curse its members. Then there is an account of the proceedings of the four Lodges which met together in 1716, taken from the 1738 *Constitutions*. The editor alleges that the new Grand Lodge was irregular, being self-created and defective in numbers, for:—

To form (what Masons mean by) a Grand Lodge, there must have been the Masters and Wardens of five regular lodges, that is to say five Masters and ten Wardens.

In this edition, *New Reg.* xii. has been altered to require this *quorum* at Grand Lodge, and this is obviously a device which was introduced to make the proceedings of the Moderns appear irregular. It is interesting to note that, according to *Multa Paucis*, six Lodges were represented at the revival in 1717. This book was published about 1764, and so it is unlikely that it has any bearing on this point. Dermott states here that the Moderns spoke of the revival of the Grand Lodge, but if there had been no innovations or alterations, their ceremonies would agree with those in Ireland and Scotland, which was not the case. He quotes from the *Free Masons' Calendar*¹ to infer that instead of a revival, Antient Masonry was discontinued:—

The Ancient York Constitution, which was entirely dropt at the revival of the Grand Lodge in 1717.

The next item is an account of the treatment of William Carroll, an Irishman, who applied to Samuel Spencer, the Grand Secretary of the Moderns, for relief, when he was told²:—

Your being an Ancient Mason, you are not intitled to any of our Charity the Antient Masons have a lodge at the five Bells in the Strand, & their Secretary's name is Dermott. Our Society is neither Arch, Royal Arch or Ancient so that you have no Right to partake of our Charity.

A footnote in *Ahiman Rezon* states that the original reply to Carroll is in the author's possession. This "Certified Sojourner" was assisted at the Grand Lodge of the Antients by a private subscription. The events are stated to have occurred about fourteen years previously, and this would make the year of writing appear as 1774. It will have been noticed that numerous indications

¹ 1777 edition, p. 31.

² Minutes, Grand Lodge of the Antients, 5th December, 1759.

AHIMAN REZON:

OR A

Help to all that are, or would be

Free and Accepted Mafons.

(With many ADDITIONS.)

The THIRD EDITION.

By LAU. DERMOTT, D. G. M.

“As for his Works, in Verse or Prose,
“I own myself no Judge of those;
“Nor can I tell what Criticks thought ’em,
“But this I know, all People bought ’em.”

SWIFT.

PRINTED FOR
JAMES JONES, GRAND SECRETARY;

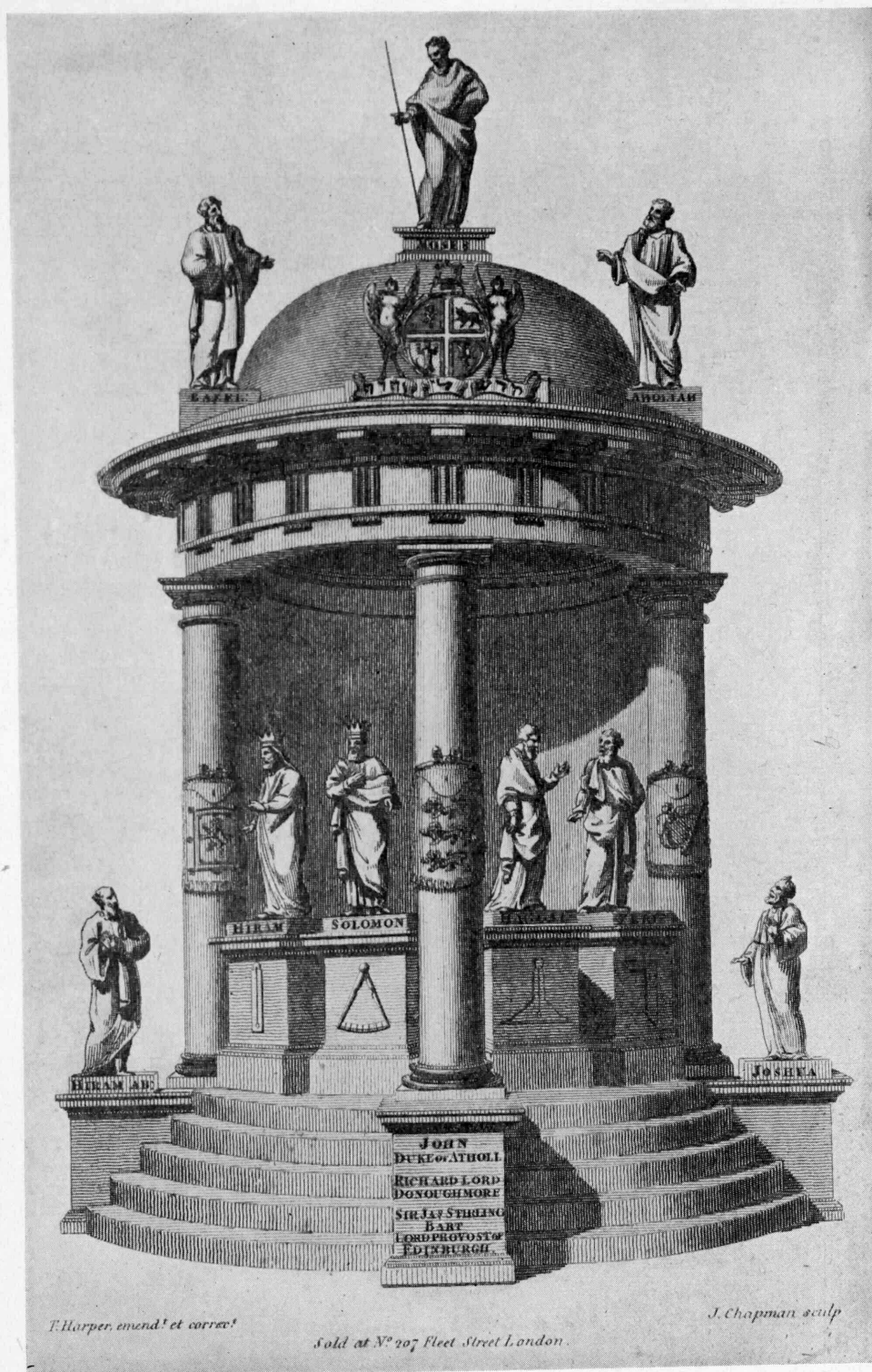
And Sold by

PETER SHATWELL, in the STRAND.

LONDON, 1778.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, London, 1778.

From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.



Frontispiece, *Ahiman Rezon*, London, 1801.
From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.

suggest that preparations for this edition were made some years before its publication in 1778. The editor then returns to the *Free Masons' Calendar* of the Modern Grand Lodge:—

In the aforesaid Calendar,¹ amongst other things which I am to suppose were extracted from the records of modern Masons, I observed a censure passed (in the year 1755) on persons for calling themselves Ancient Masons.

This was Modern Lodge No. 94 meeting at “Ben Jonson’s Head” in Pelham Street, Spitalfields, the members of which, Dermott pointed out, were censured, not for assembling as Antient Masons, but, being a Modern Lodge, for practising ‘Antient’ Masonry. This seems to have been the first official notice that the Modern Grand Lodge took of its rivals. Here is the account as it is given in *Ahiman Rezon*:—

Some of them had been abroad, and received extraordinary benefits on account of Ancient Masonry. Therefore they agreed to practise Ancient Masonry on every third lodge night. Upon one of those nights some Modern Masons attempted to visit them, but were refused admittance: the persons so refused laid a formal complaint before the Modern Grand Lodge, then held at the Devil Tavern, near Temple-Bar. And the said Grand lodge, though incapable of judging the propriety or impropriety of such refusal (not being Ancient Masons) ordered, that the Ben Johnson’s lodge should admit all sorts of Masons without distinction.

They did not comply, and the Lodge was erased. They then, according to Dermott, drew up and published a Manifesto and Masons’ Creed, sold by Owen in Fleet-street. This is doubtful, as there was a notice of this publication in the *Public Advertiser* of the 26th June and the 8th July, 1754, the year before these events occurred.² Part of the preface is reproduced in *Ahiman Rezon*, but no copy of the Manifesto is known. Dermott says that the brethren censured had no connexion with the Antient Grand Lodge at that time nor since “. . . and the names of the ingenious Marigeot,³ Cheetham, Cornish, &c. &c. will be long remembered with esteem and veneration . . .” We cannot say what ceremonies were practised by this Lodge, but it has been suggested that it refers to the Royal Arch, and the necessary changes thereby required in the third degree.⁴ Dr. Oliver has, however, other ideas⁵:—

some of the brethren of the Lodge No. 94, meeting at the Ben Jonson’s Head, Spitalfields, had been on the continent, and had brought from thence the rituals of the Ecossais, the Elu, and Ramsay’s Royal Arch, which they practised secretly every third Lodge night, under the designation of ancient Masonry. This was soon whispered abroad, and Dr. Manningham,⁶ with a few other Brethren, in the course of their visitations, called at the Lodge on one of its peculiar nights, and were refused admittance.⁷

¹ On p. 33.

² See *Miscellanea Latomorum*, xviii., 12.

³ Apparently *recte* Merigeot. He was stated in the Minutes of the Modern Grand Lodge, 24th July, 1755, to have been a Warden. Perhaps Cheetham and Cornish were the Master and other Warden.

⁴ See *A.Q.C.*, iv., 221.

⁵ *Revelations of a Square*, Dr. G. Oliver, pp. 89 and 433.

⁶ Then Deputy Grand Master.

⁷ Probably this is quite incorrect; he made the complaint to Grand Lodge on the 20th March, 1755, but from the Minutes of the 24th July, 1755, it appears that Bros. Jackson and Pollard were refused admission.

A copy of the ritual supposed to have been worked in this Lodge was in Dr. Oliver's possession, and is now in the library of the Grand Lodge of Iowa. The Master's degree contains the essentials of the Royal Arch.¹ As this came from Dr. Oliver, I am afraid it must be regarded as extremely unreliable. Dermott has yet another complaint about the 1777 *Free Masons' Calendar*, for it contains² an Anthem said to be by H.D. and sung after the Dedication Ceremonies of the new Masonic Hall. This begins

To heaven's high Architect all praise,
All praise, all gratitude be given,

and he points out that it comes from the Oratorio *Solomon's Temple* which was written by James Eyre Weeks, an Antient Mason of Dublin, and was, of course, published in 1756 in the first *Ahiman Rezon*. In *Masonic Miscellanies*, it is ascribed by Stephen Jones to Henry Dagge, who was Junior Grand Warden (Modern) in 1775, and a member of the Hall Committee. The editor says that he would not have taken so much notice of the *Calendar*, but the title-page says that it is "published under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of England."

He mentions that some of the Moderns are respectable gentlemen, and he is sorry that they have been so incautious as to sanction these falsehoods. They have, however, omitted one true and memorable transaction, namely, the petition of the Moderns for a Charter of Incorporation on 1st April, 1770.³ This failed, and the Speaker of the House of Commons is reported as saying that if the petition were granted, he "made no doubt the chimney sweepers would soon apply for a charter."⁴

The Philacteria is almost the same as in the previous edition, but Dermott here subscribed himself "Late Deputy Grand Master," so that this part of the book, at any rate, must have been written after 1777, when he resigned. The Address to the Gentlemen of the Fraternity is very much longer than in the 2nd edition. There are several small alterations, and some footnotes have been added. There is a new note, stating that some of the Moderns have been extremely malapert of late:—

Not satisfied with saying the Ancient Masons in England had no Grand Master, some of them descended so far from truth, as to report the author had forged the Grand Master's hand writing to masonical warrants, &c. Upon application his Grace the most Noble Prince John Duke of Atholl, our present Right Worshipful Grand Master, avowed his Grace's hand writing, supported the ancient Craft, and vindicated the author in the public news papers.

The handwriting of the 3rd Duke of Athol⁵ was in fact avowed by the 4th Duke of Athol.⁶ Bro. Lionel Vibert has had a search made in the newspapers of the time for this vindication but without success.⁷ This story had evidently been going round, as we have in the Antient Grand Lodge Minutes of 3rd December, 1777:—

The Master 193 reported that several members of His Lodge was very refractory, . . . declaring that the Duke of Atholl was not Grand Master but only represented so to the Fraternity

¹ See *Trans.*, Lodge of Research, No. 2429, 1911-1912, p. 76.

² On p. 43.

³ *Recte*, 1772.

⁴ See *A.Q.C.*, xlvi.

⁵ Grand Master, 1771-74.

⁶ Grand Master, 1775-81.

⁷ *Miscellanea Latomorum*, xv., 123, and xvi., 24.

To an account of the proceedings of 1717, there is an interesting footnote¹:—

Brother Thomas Grinsell, a man of great veracity, (elder Brother of the celebrated James Quin,² Esq.) informed his lodge, No. 3, in London (in 1753) that eight persons, whose names were Desaguliers, Gofton, King, Calvert, Lumley, Madden, De Noyer, and Vraden, were the geniusses to whom the world is indebted for the memorable invention of modern masonry. Mr. Grinsell often told the author that he (Grinsell) was a free mason before modern masonry was known. Nor is this to be doubted, when we consider that Mr. Grinsel [*sic*] was an apprentice to a weaver in Dublin, when his mother was married to Mr. Quin's father, and that Mr. Quin himself was seventy three years old when he died in 1766.

The first sentence is incorrect, and so the "great veracity" is doubtful. It is taken from the 1738 *Constitutions*,³ where there is an account of an Occasional Lodge at Kew Palace on 5th November, 1737, held by these eight persons (with their names in the same order) to initiate Frederic, Prince of Wales. The truth of the remainder of the quotation is doubtful. Had he known of this, Dermott would, surely, have included it in an early edition.

Continuing the description (?) of the Modern revival:—

Hence it was ordered, that every person (during the time of his initiation) should wear boots, spurs, a sword and spectacles.

There is a new footnote to this:—

This may seem a very ludicrous description of making free-masons. But Mr. Thomas Broughton, master of the lodge, No. 11, London, declared that he was present in a modern lodge, not one mile from the Borough of Southwark, when two or three persons dress'd in liveries with shoulder tags, booted and spurr'd, &c. &c. were initiated into modern masonry; and upon enquiry who they were, he was told that they were servants to Lord Carysfort, then Grand Master of modern masons.

Also, there is a new note regarding the "form of walking" adopted by the Moderns:—

After many years observations on those ingenious methods of walking up to a brother, &c. I conclude, that the first was invented by a Man grievously afflicted with the Sciatica. The Second by a Sailor, much accustomed to the rolling of a Ship. And the third by a man, who for recreation or through excess of strong liquors, was wont to dance the drunken Peasant.

There may here be some allusion to the ceremonies in which the two Grand Lodges differed. The note on the City Company of Masons has been altered considerably, and the statement that they were incorporated by Charles the Second has been omitted. The following is new, and of interest:—

They were originally incorporated in the year 1410. by the name and style of the society of free-masons. And William Hankflow or Hankstow, Clarencieux King at Arms (in the year 1477,) granted them their arms, which the modern masons have usurped as well as that of their title. For the said Company is the only society in the kingdom who have a right to the name of free-masons of England.

¹ See *A.Q.C.*, xxix., 389.

² An actor 1693-1766. Grinsell was his half brother. *D.N.B.*

³ p. 137.

Nor did the Accepted Masons of old ever claim such a title; all they assumed was that of Free and Accepted Masons; but the present Moderns, have been hardy enough to assume the title of free-masons of England, and got their lodge room foisted into Harrison's new history of London, under the name of Free-Masons Hall. But those who admitted Tenducci and Madam D'Eon¹ may do anything.

The sword "in my neighbourhood" is now stated to be at Wapping. Possibly, this was altered, because Dermott may have left King Street, Tower Hill, by this date. I do not know the year of his removal, but certainly by 1770 when he made his Will he was living in the Parish of St. Botolph, Aldgate. Later still, he moved to Mile End Old Town, Stepney, where he died in 1791.² As Aldgate is not far from Wapping, it is suggested that he reached Mile End before he wrote the 1778 *Ahiman Rezon*. The remainder of this section of the book is new, and is intended to show "the apparent state of ancient and modern masonry in England at the time of this present writing, i.e. July 1778." The Free Masons are not protected nor prohibited by law, and this lenity has given birth to many societies mainly for eating, drinking, singing, smoking, etc. The names of thirty-eight are given, two of which, the Never Frett Club and the Kill Care Club, are stated to have been founded by the author.³ These tippling clubs have existed for many years, so no wonder freemasonry should meet with encouragement

as being the only society in the universe which unites men of all professions (believing in the Almighty Creator of all things) in one sacred band. And at the same time carrying in itself, evident marks of its being not only coeval with the scripture, but in all probability prior thereto.

This last sentence would be more suited to the pen of Dr. G. Oliver than that of the practical Grand Secretary of the Antients. The author then mentions that, in no European country, has a true history of masonry been written. This, he concludes, is due to the bigotry and superstition, which associated the Craft with the black art. Naturally, therefore, the brethren concealed their knowledge and meetings, and this will be clear by reading the Leland-Locke MS., which follows this part of the book. "In this light we are to view the fraternities of ancient and modern free masons, who are become two great communities now in England." He proceeds by pointing out that they are quite distinct, names their Grand Masters, and states that the present Antient Grand Master was installed in the presence and with the concurrence and assistance of the Grand Masters of Ireland and Scotland "an honour never conferred on Modern Masons. These are sterling truths, from whence the impartial reader will draw the natural inference." This part of the book is signed "The Author," instead of "Laurence Dermott, Secretary," which graced the 1764 edition. The two pages regarding J. J. Leon, and the Free Masons' arms are naturally omitted from this edition, as the frontispiece has been replaced by one, in which the arms are not prominent.

At this point, the book contains some new items. First the Leland-Locke MS. is given in full, with the Glossary. The end of Locke's letter, however, with his signature, is out of place, and appears as part of Note 19 on "Universelle Longage of Maconnes." A large part of Note No. 9 on "Wyse-acre" is omitted, by a printer's error. This was not corrected in the list of *Errata* at the beginning of the book, but it appears in the *Errata* of the 1787 edition. There is a new footnote of interest, which evidently refers to the so-called Masonic Cyphers:—

¹ See p. 266 *post*.

² *Notes on Laurence Dermott*, W. M. Bywater, p. 56.

³ In *A.Q.C.*, iii., 161, Bro. R. F. Gould states that he thinks that this list comes from *Clubs and Societies of London and Westminster* by Edward Ward. There seems to be no doubt of this, as the clubs are in the same order in both books.

In the Queries relative to Ancient and Modern Masonry, page xxxi., the author of Ahiman Rezon has said, that he could convey his mind to an Ancient Mason in the presence of a Modern Mason, without the latters knowing whether either of them were Masons. He now positively asserts that he is able (with a few Masonical implements, *i.e.* Two squares and a common gavel or hammer) to convey any word or sentence of his own (or the immediate dictations of a stranger) to skillfull or intelligent Free-mason of the ancient order, without Speaking, Writing, or Noise. And that to any distance where the parties can see each other and at the same time be able to distinguish squares from circles. But as Mr. Locke observed this is not the case with all Masons (Note, there were no Modern Masons in his time) few of them are acquainted with this Secret.—The writer of this note has known it upwards of 30 years and never taught it to more than six persons, of which number our R.W. and very worthy Deputy Grand Master, William Dickey, Esq. is one, and Brother Shatwell, the publisher of this book, another.

Dermott.

After the Leland-Locke MS., there is a page of poetry on the Seven Liberal Arts and Sciences. Then follow some records of correspondence with the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, intended to show the harmonious relations existing between them and the Antients. First, an extract from the proceedings of the Grand Lodge (Antients) of the 2nd September, 1772, when a letter from the Deputy Grand Secretary of Ireland to Laurence Dermott was read, setting forth the state of Masonry in Ireland. It was then resolved to establish fraternal relations with that Grand Lodge, and also with that of Scotland. We are then given the proceedings of the Irish Grand Lodge of the 5th November, 1772, with the resolutions which had arrived from the Grand Lodge of England (no mention of the word 'Antient'), and of the Scottish Grand Lodge of the 30th November, 1772, with the resolutions from the Grand Lodge "according to the old Institution." Both Grand Lodges agreed to the proposals. There is a curious misprint in this part of the book, as two consecutive pages are numbered lvi., and this results in the right-hand pages continuing with even numbers until the end of this chapter, when the Arabic system of pagination begins.

The remainder of this edition has no new features, but unimportant verbal alterations occur throughout. In "Ahiman Rezon," the editor gives us a Latin quotation in the paragraph about Angerona, the Roman goddess of silence, who was depicted with her finger on her mouth, for, says he, "Hence the Latin sentence *linguam digito compesce*." On the subject of secrecy, he also quotes from *Ecclesiasticus*, ch. xxvii. In the Charges, there are two new and interesting footnotes. At the end of Charge ii., after

though a brother is not to be countenanced in his rebellion against the state, yet, if convicted of no other crime, his relation to the lodge remains indefeasible

there is a note:—

That is, he is still a Mason, although the brethren may refuse to associate with him: However, in such case, he forfeits all benefits from the lodge.

And in Charge iii., to the words "no woman, no Eunuch," the following note has been added:—

This is still the law of ancient masons, though disregarded by our brethren (I mean our sisters) the modern-masons, who (some years ago) admitted Signiour Singsong, the Eunuch, T——nd——ci, at one

of their lodges, in the Strand, London. And upon a late tryal at Westminster, it appeared, that they admitted a woman called Madam D'E——.¹

The Short Charge requires no comment. There are new footnotes to the Manner of Constituting a Lodge. One of them provides for cases when the Grand Officers cannot attend. And the new Master

calling forth his senior-warden, a fellow-craft (master-mason) has the note:—

They were called fellow-crafts, because the Masons of old times, never gave any man the title of Master-mason, until he had first passed the chair.

Another note states that the Grand-Wardens generally install the Wardens of the new Lodge. The Prayers remain unchanged, but to the remarks about the "evil designer" which follow, there has been added a note:—

I am sorry to find he has a second in iniquity, but as they are both overwhelmed with years and poverty, e'en let them die in ignominy and silent contempt.

Suggestions as to the identity of these malefactors would be very welcome.

Considerable alterations have now been made to the General Regulations, due, no doubt, to Dermott's experience in these matters. Many are unimportant, but perhaps the following are those which call for most attention. *New Reg.* iii. formerly contained the words "precedency of lodges is grounded on the seniority of the constitution." This has been omitted, as the Antients had for many years allowed Lodges to obtain by purchase a higher position on the Roll. An interesting new footnote has been added to *New Reg.* xi., which stated that the same usages were observed in every regular Lodge:—

It is a truth beyond contradiction, that the free and accepted Masons in Ireland, Scotland, and the ancient Masons in England, have one and the same customs, usages, and ceremonies: But this is not the case with the modern Masons in England, who differ materially not only from the above, but from most Masons under Heaven.

It will be remembered that ere this, fraternal correspondence between the Antients and the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland had been opened.² *New Reg.* xii. has already been mentioned,³ as it now states the *quorum* necessary for Grand Lodge, namely, the masters and wardens of five Lodges, together with one or all of the Grand Officers. The rule provides for substitutes for those who cannot attend, and there is a footnote permitting the presence of Past Masters who are still members of Lodges.⁴ A footnote to *Old Reg.* xiii. has become of great importance on the other side of the Atlantic. This contains the words:—

the Right Worshipful Grand Master has full power and authority to make (or cause to be made in his Worship's presence) free and accepted Masons at sight, and such making is good. But they cannot be made out of his Worship's presence, without a written dispensation for that purpose. Nor can his Worship oblige any warranted Lodge to receive the persons so made if the members should declare against him or them; but in such case, the Right Worshipful Grand Master may grant them a warrant and form them into a new lodge.

¹ See *A.Q.C.*, xvi., 229. These names were printed in full, earlier in the book, see p. 264 *ante*.

² See p. 265 *ante*.

³ See p. 260 *ante*.

⁴ See p. 267 *post*.

It is from this note, that the power to "make Masons at sight" has been taken, in the United States of America, to be the prerogative of the Grand Master. In *New Reg.* xiii., referring to lists of new members of Lodges, there is a fresh paragraph:—

These lists are brought to the grand lodge every quarter, *viz.* on the first Wednesday in March, June, September, and December.

This is the first mention in the regulations of the dates of Quarterly Communications. They had been settled at Grand Lodge on the 6th November, 1754, and have remained unchanged up to the present day. In the same regulation, referring to Lodge charity, attention is called to the special Regulations for Charity on p. 92; this, however, is a misprint for p. 102. This note was evidently inserted on the proofs, as an incorrect catchword "Another" still appears on p. 73.

In *New Reg.* xviii., we are now told that if Grand Lodge wishes for a new Deputy Grand Master, the members must choose a new Grand Master, as by this action, the Deputy's chair becomes vacant! *New Reg.* xx. refers to the constitution of a new Lodge by a Grand Officer, but in distant places, a Past Master may be given power to act by a deputation under the Grand Lodge seal.¹ There is a new footnote:—

The grand master or his deputy may use their private seals; but if the order is made in their absence, the grand lodge seal must be affixed thereto.

Old Reg. xxiii. has a new footnote regarding titles:—

The masons of old addressed their grand masters by the title of Right Worshipful; but the modern masons (by a refinement peculiar to themselves) give the title of Right Worshipful to every master of a private lodge. And that of Most Worshipful not only to their grand master, but even to the deputies of provincials.

The Antients retained the title of Right Worshipful for the Grand Master until the Union. The Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, which is of 'Antient' origin, bears that title to-day. *New Reg.* xxviii. has been misprinted xviii., and in the first paragraph, the membership of Grand Lodge has been altered to include Past Masters. This inclusion was implied in a Minute of the Antient Grand Lodge of the 6th November, 1754:—

That the past and present Grand Officers, the Grand Secretary & Treasurer, with the Masters and Wardens of all Warranted Lodges under this Constitution, with their past Officers as prescribed by the Regulations are the only proper Members of the Grand Lodge.

It was not, however, definitely laid down until the 4th September, 1765, when we find in the Minutes:—

All and every Regular pastmaster while a Member of any private Lodge under the sanction of this Grand Lodge, shall be a Member of this Grand Lodge, also. And shall have a vote in all cases except in making New Laws. Which power is vested in the Masters and Wardens, as being the only true Representatives of all the Lodges according to the Old Regulation the Tenth.

Then follow the Regulations for Charity. These have been entirely rewritten, and the Dublin Regulations are now omitted. A footnote states that The stewards for distributing the charity, were meeting at the Half-Moon Tavern, Cheapside, London. In earlier days, they met at the Crown, St. Paul's Churchyard.

¹ This is in previous editions.

Five of the Songs which first appeared in Dermott's 1756 edition, have now been omitted, including the two which had been written by Alexander Kennedy. There is one new song, *Ye sons of great science, impatient to learn*, which comes from Trewman's *Principles of Freemasonry*, 1777. The toast after the Song *Hail Masonry! thou craft divine!* was formerly "To his Imperial Majesty (our Brother) Francis, Emperor of Germany." Francis, who was initiated when Duke of Lorraine, had died in 1765, and the toast has been replaced by:—

To the Right Worshipful Grand Masters, Atholl, Dulce, Dumfreys,¹ and Dalhousie.

'Dulce' should be 'Dunluce,'² and Dalhousie, who was Grand Master of Scotland, 1767-68, was probably included, because he was in the Chair when the Grand Lodge of Scotland agreed to open a fraternal correspondence with the Antients.

A new verse and chorus of *King Solomon that wise projector* are given in this edition, with a note that they were composed "by another hand." Formerly, in the Song *From the depths let us raise*, the verse about the advance to the River Jordan, and the Canaanite wars, came after that about King Solomon, but this has been rectified. The Song *Begin, O ye muses, a free-mason's strain* has a new footnote of interest:—

The highest person in the lodge is upon a level with the lowest (the officers excepted) but when out of the lodge, all due distinction is strictly observed; and free masons are so far from taking any liberty with noble brothers on account of masonical familiarity, that they pay them more homage than the rest of mankind.

There are many misprints, and the numbers of Songs iv., lvii., and lx. are given as viii., lvi., and lix. in error. Two new Prologues by Laurence Dermott are in this edition. The first of these was "Spoken in the character of an Irish Free-mason, at the Theatre-Royal in the Hay-market." In the text, it tells us that "this night is the day, Appointed for L'Estrange's benefit play," and it contains the words "Were Yankees free-masons, and the Britons too, They'd hearken to reason, old friendship renew." The second new prologue was said to be "Spoken in the character of a Teague [*i.e.*, an Irishman], for the benefit of an English Free-mason in distress."

Seven years later, most of the 3rd edition had, so it seems, been sold, for in Grand Lodge on the 31st January, 1785:—

It was afterwards proposed for the Consideration of the Grand Lodge to print another addition of Ahiman & R. for the Benefite of the Grand Charity & agreed to be taken into further Conson. upon the 1st Wedy. in March.

Possibly Dermott, who was Deputy Grand Master for another term, pointed out that *Ahiman Reason* was his property, for no further action was taken in March. The subject was not forgotten, for at Grand Lodge on the 29th September following:—

Resolved: That the Books of Constitutions in Mr. Jones³ and Shatwel's⁴ possession shall be purches'd, and that invested in the D.G. Master to treat for them. Resolved: That a Vote of thanks be given to the Deputy Grand Master for his Condisention in giveing up his property of Ahiman Razon to the Charity.

¹ Grand Master, Scotland, 1771-72.

² Grand Master, Ireland, 1772-73.

³ Grand Secretary.

⁴ Peter Shatwell, the bookseller.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

AN ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
CONSTITUTION OF FREE-MASONRY,
OR
AHIMAN REZON:
CONTAINING ALL THE
NECESSARY CHARGES, PRAYERS, &c.
ACCORDING TO THE OLD CONSTITUTION;
Also,
A complete Selection of Masonic Songs:
To which is added,
A LIST OF LODGES,
CORRECTED FROM THE LAST QUARTERLY RETURN.

LONDON:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY BROTHER GOODCHILD,
NO. 8, CLOTH-FAIR;
Sold also,
BY BROTHER EVANS, 79, LONG-LANE.

Title-page of Abridged *Ahiman Rezon*, London, c. 1810.
From the Copy in the Collection of Bro. Lewis Edwards.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

AHIMAN REZON:

O R, A

HELP to a BROTHER;

SHEWING

The EXCELLENCY of SECRECY, and
the first Cause of the Institution of FREE-
MASONRY; the PRINCIPLES of the CRAFT,
and the Benefits arising from a strict Observance
thereof; the Sort of Men that ought to be initi-
ated into the Mystery, and the Kind of Masons
that are fit to govern Lodges, with their proper
Behaviour in and out of the Lodge.

The ancient Manner of CONSTITUTING new
LODGES, with All the CHARGES, &c.

LIKEWISE

The PRAYERS used in *Jewish* and *Christian* Lodges,

ALSO,

The OLD and NEW REGULATIONS,
the Manner of Chusing and Installing *Grand-
Master* and *Officers*, &c.

To which is added,

A large Collection of MASONS SONGS,
entertaining PROLOGUES and EPILOGUES,

AND

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE:

An ORATORIO.

By Brother LAURENCE DERMOTT, Sec.

D U B L I N:

Printed by DILLON CHAMBERLAINE, in Smock Alley:
For the EDITOR.

MDCC LX.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, Dublin, 1760.

From the Copy in the Library of Grand Lodge.

And on the 7th December, 1785:—

Agreed by the Gd. Lodge that the D.G.M. shall Draw upon the Treasurer for the mony to pay for the Books of Constitutions at the price he agreed for

In 1787, these remainders, and there were probably not many, as they are very rare, were issued with a new Title-page. The Frontispiece remains unchanged, but the next four pages are new, replacing the four unnumbered pages in the 1778 edition. This is known as the fourth edition, although it is not so entitled. On the Title-page, Dermott is given his rank as Deputy Grand Master, and as he had given up all claim to profit from the book, it is

PRINTED FOR
The BENEFIT of the GENERAL CHARITY,
AND SOLD BY
Brother JOHN FEAKINS, *Grand Treasurer*,
Earl-Street, Blackfriars.

London, 1787.

On the reverse is a new Dedication

To the Most noble, sublime, and illustrious Princess, Charity.

It states that the author thinks himself amply paid by the sale of three former editions, and desires to give this and future editions to the charitable fund. There are small alterations on the next page, which is the Explanation of the Frontispiece, and in referring to Lord Dunluce, whose name is engraved as the Grand Master of Ireland, there is a note:—

Lord Viscount Dunluce, then grand master of Masons in Ireland, is now (1787) Earl of Antrim, &c. and grand master of the Ancient Craft in England.

The list of *Errata* has been corrected, and is on the following page. The rest of the book has no alterations, and is, page for page, the same as the 3rd edition.

THE FIFTH AND SIXTH ENGLISH EDITIONS—1800 and 1801.

Laurence Dermott died in 1791, and the remaining English editions of *Ahiman Rezon* were revised by Thomas Harper, a jeweller. Harper was Senior Grand Warden of the Antients from 1788 to 1790, Deputy Grand Secretary from 1795 to 1800, and Deputy Grand Master from 1801 until the Union.

During the forty-four years which had elapsed since the publication of the first edition, the power and prestige of the Grand Lodge of the Antients had increased enormously. In 1756, they were a small, almost unknown body of Freemasons with no history, and we have seen that the author of *Ahiman Rezon* was compelled to invent an excuse for omitting a history from his book. By the end of the century, things were different. In England, instead of five Modern Lodges for every Antient Lodge, the ratio was about five to two, and although the Antients were still much the smaller body, they had gained vastly in importance and prestige, and had made a history of their own. There was, then, no necessity for the continuation of Dermott's elaborate fiction, and in the 1800 edition and those which followed, much of Dermott's writings was omitted.

The revision of *Ahiman Rezon* was discussed in 1794, for we find in the Grand Lodge Minutes of 3rd September of that year:—

The R.W. Deputy Grand Master¹ moved That a Committee of all present and past Grand Officers with the Nine Excellent Masters² be appointed to Assist the R.W. Deputy Grand Master in preparing revising and Publishing under the Authority of this Grand Lodge a New Edition of the Laws and Constitutions of the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and accepted Masons of England according to the Old Institutions and that Copies thereof so revised and Corrected be sent to the respective Lodges in and adjacent to the Cities of London and Westminster.

This was to be considered at the December meeting, but no further action was taken at that time. The book, however, appeared early in 1800, and was advertised for sale at 6s. 6d. in the printed Proceedings of Grand Lodge of the 5th March, 1800, but this seems to have been incorrect, for in later Proceedings the price is given as 7s. 6d. It is known as the 5th edition, but no indication of this is given in the book itself.

It opens with a short Half Title and the engraved Frontispiece from the 3rd edition follows. The Title-page bears the imprint:—

LONDON
PRINTED BY T. BURTON, LITTLE QUEEN-STREET,
FOR THE EDITOR.

1800.

Thomas Burton was initiated on the 4th December, 1782, in Antient Lodge No. 195, and, later, he joined No. 128. The editor was Thomas Harper, but his name is not here mentioned. The Explanation of the Frontispiece remains with a few verbal alterations. In the 1787 edition, a footnote was added to explain the obsolete allusion to Lord Dunluce in the engraving, but this has now been dropped, as the names of both the Irish and Scottish Grand Masters are incorrect. There is no list of *Errata*, and the Dedication to Charity has been omitted, but we have a new Dedication to John 4th Duke of Athol. This is engraved and headed by the arms of the Duke from the plate which was used for the 3rd edition. The Antients managed to effect some economies by keeping a Duke of Athol at the head of affairs. Instead of "James Jones, Grand Secretary," the subscription is now "Thos. Harper, Past S.G.Warden." The introduction "to the Reader" is much abbreviated, for Dermott's account of his writing a history of the Craft, his dream, and the consumption of his manuscript by a dog, are omitted. The account of the formation of the Modern Grand Lodge remains, as well as Dermott's reasons for its illegality. The episode of William Carroll, the petitioner from Ireland, is still related as having occurred about fourteen years previously. The Philacteria is unaltered, but some of the more disparaging parts have been omitted from the Address to the Gentlemen of the Fraternity, for example, the statement that the number of Antient Masons, compared with their rivals, "being as ninety-nine to one." The list of clubs has been omitted, as the majority had been extinct for many years. The Duke of Manchester is still referred to as the Grand Master of the Moderns, although the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., had held that office for ten years. That part of the Leland-Locke MS. which had been misplaced in the

¹ William Dickey was D.G.M., 1794-1800.

² The Nine Excellent Masters are mentioned at the beginning of the first Royal Arch Register of the Antients and in the Royal Arch Regulations, in the 1800 edition of *Ahiman Rezon*. See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 451.

3rd edition, has now been corrected. The contents then follow those of the last edition, but a new final sentence has been added to the Short Charge, which is worth quoting as, in effect, it remains with us to-day:—

From the attention you have paid to the recital of this charge, we are led to hope that you will estimate the real value of Free-masonry, and imprint on your mind those dictates of truth, honour, and justice, which it so forcibly enjoins.

After the Prayers, there follow the familiar remarks regarding the “evil designer” who is still, as he was in 1778, “overwhelmed with years and poverty.”

There are a few new features in the General Regulations. *Old Reg.* iv. limited the number of candidates to five, and the age of a candidate to twenty-five. The corresponding New Regulation stated that this was not strictly observed, and a new sentence has been added:—

Full and mature age has been long considered at full twenty-one years, (who must be his own Master) and some respectable occupation in life.

This change was made by the Moderns in their 1767 *Constitutions*. In *Old Reg.* vii., the more modern “Treasurer” has replaced the “cashier” of a Lodge. *Old Reg.* xv. formerly decreed that when the Wardens of a Lodge acted as Grand Wardens, their places in Grand Lodge were taken by “two fellow-crafts, or master masons of the same lodge.” In this edition, the “fellow-crafts” are omitted. *New Reg.* xxii. provided for the election of Grand Officers at the December Quarterly Communication, but this was found inconvenient, and there is an addition:—

but for many years past it has been on the first Wednesday in September, there being a law for that purpose.

A resolution to this effect was passed in Grand Lodge on the 2nd September, 1778. At the end of the Regulations, there follow about three pages of laws passed at various times between 1761 and 1794. They are headed:—

ADDITIONAL REGULATIONS,

Extracted from the Proceedings of the Grand
Lodges, which have been ordered to be observed.

They concern, *inter alia*, the payment of fees by candidates, public processions, and the work of the Grand Secretary. Candidates must pay on initiation at least two guineas.¹ The paragraph regarding fees to be paid to the Grand Fund of Charity for the registration of initiates by Country, Foreign and Military Lodges, is dated the 5th March, 1794, which was the date of the confirmation of the law by Grand Lodge. The subject first came before Grand Lodge on the 5th December, 1792, and was approved on the 3rd December, 1793. The proceedings of the 29th September, 1785, are incorrectly transcribed, and some of the duties of the Grand Secretary have been omitted. In *Ahiman Rezon*, it states that it was resolved:—

That the Grand Secretary and his Deputy together shall attend and regulate all Masonic processions, wherein all, or the major part of the Grand Officers shall walk,

but this is not in the Grand Lodge Minutes. The next resolution is extracted from those Minutes and this reads:—

That the Grand Secretary, or his Deputy, shall attend and regulate all funeral processions, ordered by the Grand Master, or his Deputy, according to the regulations of July 13th, 1753

¹ Also given in the *Philacteria*.

On the latter date, a Grand Committee of Emergency fixed the order of a Masonic funeral procession, but the duties of the Grand Secretary in such affairs were not settled until the 18th October.

These Additional Regulations are followed by *New Reg.* xxviii.¹ for the Government of Grand Lodge, after which come the Regulations for Charity. The Stewards have left the Half-Moon Tavern, Cheapside, and are now at the Crown, near St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street. There are a few minor alterations, but nothing of importance.

At this point we are treated to a record of friendly correspondence with the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which is reported to be recorded in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the Antients of the 27th December, 1791. Referring to those Minutes we find:—

The Grand Secretary reported to the Grand Lodge that he had lately received a letter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland—the same was brought up and being Read in Grand Lodge—Ordered that the same be Recorded as part of the Minutes of this Grand Lodge.

This letter is not inserted, but there is one from the Grand Secretary of Ireland. Following the Scottish correspondence in *Ahiman Rezon* are the following paragraphs:—

The same good understanding also subsists with us and the Grand Lodges of Ireland Canada, Pensilvania, Maryland, South Carolina, New York, New England, Nova Scotia, Gibraltar, and most of the Provinces and Islands in the East and West Indies, &c. &c. &c. from whom we receive the most friendly and regular communications.

At the particular request of the Ancient Masons of Canada, a grand warrant was given on the 7th of March, 1792, to his Royal Highness Prince Edward, (now Duke of Kent), as Grand Master of Canada.

Actually, the Duke of Kent was never appointed Grand Master of all Canada, but only of the Lower Province. On the 7th March, 1792, Warrants were ordered for Alexander Wilson to be Substitute Grand Master for Lower Canada, and William Jarvys (or Jarvis) to be Substitute Grand Master for Upper Canada. Before the former Warrant was sent, a letter of 27th December, 1791, arrived from Quebec stating that Prince Edward had agreed to become Provincial Grand Master of Upper and Lower Canada. William Jarvys, who was then in England, had received his authority for Upper Canada, and evidently was not inclined to hand it back. The only thing then was to appoint Prince Edward to Lower Canada, and the Grand Secretary had to write to Alexander Wilson to explain matters.

Here follow the

Rules and Regulations for the Introduction to and Government of the Holy Royal Arch Chapters under the Protection of and supported by the Ancient Grand Lodge of England, made at several Times. Revised and corrected at a General Grand Chapter, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, London, October 1, 1794.—Confirmed in Grand Lodge, December 3, 1794.

These regulations tell us that Masonry consists of four degrees, and

It follows, therefore, of course, that every regular warranted Lodge possesses the power of forming and holding Lodges in each of those several degrees; the last of which, from its pre-eminence, is denominated among Masons a Chapter.

¹ Unnumbered in this edition.

The members are referred to as "Excellent Masons," and the Principals are "Chiefs." A candidate must be twelve months a Master Mason¹ as well as an Installed Master.² A form for making returns to the Grand Scribe concludes with the words "Given under our hands and Masonic mark in Chapter." At the end of these regulations is a note:—

The General Grand Chapter, held in October in each year, shall elect nine Excellent Masters³ to assist the Grand Officers in visiting Lodges, &c. that the general uniformity of Ancient Masonry may be preserved and handed down unchanged to posterity.

The next item is "An Address delivered by a Noble Brother to his Son, on his first Initiation into Free-Masonry," which finishes with a quotation from a poem by Edward Young. This address was published separately,⁴ under the Title "A Royal-Arch Mason's Admonition to his Son." It is also in the Dublin 1817 edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, where it is headed:—

The following Discourse, (Translated from the original French) was pronounced at Brunswick, Lower Saxony, When Prince Ferdinand was Grand Master, By the Comte T . . ., at the Initiation of his Son.

The date is given in *Use and Abuse of Freemasonry*, 1783, as the 29th November, 1773, and in the *Institutes of Freemasonry*, 1788, the author is stated to be "de Toloda." This is followed by "The Free-Mason's Memento," by Brother T.M. of Southton,⁵ which is a description of the Craft in acrostical form. It was in the *Freemason's Repository* of about 1787. Then, there are six verses on the subject of "Love," the last being in a poem entitled "Deity" by Samuel Boyse, and they bring this part of the book to an end.

The Songs are, as usual, preceded by a separate Title-page, which states that it is a "selection" of songs, instead of a "collection," as formerly. Evidently this was a late alteration, for the catchword on the previous page is still "A COL——." The heading of the songs has the same alteration. The toast to the Fellow Craft's song is now "To the Right Worshipful Grand Masters, Atholl, Donoughmore⁶ and Huntley.⁷" The song *Begin, O ye muses, a Free-Mason's strain* has a footnote about the "Gregs and the Gallics" as in former editions, which refers to song xxxvi. This was correct for the 3rd edition, but is incorrect here, as the song to which reference is intended is now xxxv. Edward Fenner's ode, *With grateful hearts your voices raise*, previously unnumbered, has now been given No. lix., which is misprinted as liv. Two of the old songs are omitted, but there are nine new ones. One of these, *Grant us, kind Heav'n, what we request*, is given elsewhere in the book and so is duplicated, seven are well known Masonic songs from other books, and No. lxix., *Long hath the curious world with prying eye*, seems to be original. The two last lines of this song are:—

Spite of the tales of Pritchard, Plot, and Slade,
They ne'er can know how a Free-mason's made

referring to Dr. Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire*, 1686, S. Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, 1730, and A. Slade's *Freemason Examined*, 1754. One of the Prologues, which had a reference to the American War of Independence (now

¹ A regulation which remained unchanged until 1893.

² They are referred to as "Geometric Master Masons," which seems to mean Installed Masters.

³ See p. 270 *ante*.

⁴ A copy is in the Library of Grand Lodge, bound up with the printed proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the Moderns.

⁵ Presumably 'Southampton.'

⁶ Grand Master of Ireland since 1789.

⁷ Grand Master of Scotland, 1792-93.

finished) is naturally omitted. There is, in this edition, no separate Title-page for the Oratorio, but following it is a new Epilogue, *Oh! pray pardon my hurry,—indeed I'm so heated!* from the *Principles of Freemasonry*, 1777.

The 1800 edition was re-issued in the following year with a new Frontispiece and Title-page, and this is known as the 6th edition. The 5th edition was advertised in the Grand Lodge Proceedings up to June, 1801, but in September of that year the wording changes:—

Price, bound, 7s. 6d. or printed on fine Wove-Paper, hot-pressed, bound in Calf, and gilt, Price 9s. 6d.

and this continues until December, 1803. It is probable, therefore, that the remainders, which were published in 1801, were issued about September of that year. Some writers have thought from the advertisement in the Grand Lodge Proceedings of the 27th December of 1803, that a List of Lodges was sometimes bound up with this re-issue. This advertisement is:—

The Constitution of Freemasonry; or, *Ahiman Rezon*; Revised, corrected, and improved, with Additions, From the Original of the late Lawrence Dermott, Esq. D.G.M. May be had of the Grand Secretaries; Price, bound, 7s. 6d. or printed on fine Wove-Paper, hot-pressed, bound in Calf, and gilt, Price 9s. 6d. also,

A correct List of the Lodges of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. &c. Printed for Robert Leslie, Grand Secretary, London; and Sold by Richard Barry, No. 106, Minories.

It is certain, however, that the Lodge List was a separate publication, for it was advertised separately in the Proceedings of March and June, 1804. It seems to have been used for the Dublin 1804 *Ahiman Rezon*.¹ In the 1801 *Ahiman Rezon*, the Frontispiece has been redrawn, but the design has been very little changed. The Ark of the Covenant has been added to the Arms as a Crest, and there are the two Cherubim as Supporters, with the Hebrew motto below. The names on the central pedestal have been brought up to date:—

JOHN
DUKE OF ATHOLL
RICHARD LORD
DONOUGHMORE²
SIR JAS. STIRLING
BART
LORD PROVOST OF
EDINBURGH³

The imprint of the plate reads: "T. Harper, emend^t. et correx^t. J. Chapman sculp. Sold at No. 207 Fleet Street London." A John Chapman was initiated in Lodge No. 195 in March, 1781, and it seems likely that this was the engraver, as this is the Lodge of Thomas Burton, the printer. The address given is that of Harper. The main Title-page has been altered by the omission of the initials "D.G.M." after Dermott's name, and the addition of the words "By Thomas Harper, Deputy Grand-Master." The date of publication is given as 1801. The alterations on this Title-page give us the probable reason for the withdrawal of the 5th edition and the re-issue of the same book almost at once. In 1801, Thomas Harper became Deputy Grand Master, and he determined that his work should bear his name and his new rank. No other alterations were made in the text of the book, but in the later copies, four pages numbered 1 to 4 with the

¹ See p. 289 *post*.

² Grand Master of Ireland since 1789.

³ Grand Master of Scotland, 1798-99.

imprint of T. Burton at the end were inserted between pages 128 and 129. As these recall an interesting quarrel, which had some bearing on the Union of the two Grand Lodges later, it will be worth while giving a short summary of the events.

The focus of the trouble was Francis Columbine Daniel,¹ a well-known figure, both in Masonic circles and outside, who in later years received a knighthood. He was initiated in Antient Lodge No. 3² in 1788, but according to the Register of the Moderns his initiation took place in that year in Modern Lodge No. 344. In any case, he joined the United Mariners Lodge, No. 23 (Antient),³ in 1789, and the Royal Naval Lodge, No. 57 (Modern),⁴ meeting at Wapping, in the year 1791. He eventually obtained complete control of the latter Lodge, occupied the Chair from year to year, and evidently attempted to make it independent of either of the Grand Lodges. In fact, he went as far as to issue certificates to his initiates similar to those granted by the Grand Lodge of the Antients. This behaviour caused Antient Lodge, No. 290, which also met in Wapping, to complain to Grand Lodge. The Stewards' Lodge heard this complaint on the 21st January, 1801, and on the 18th February of that year, Daniel was excluded, an action which was confirmed by the (Antient) Grand Lodge on the 4th March.

At this time, many of the prominent Freemasons belonged to Lodges under both authorities, and it was a simple matter for Daniel to plan a revenge. Accordingly, on the 10th April, 1801, he lodged a complaint at the meeting of the Committee of Charity of the Moderns that five Brethren encouraged irregular meetings and infringed on the privileges of the Modern Grand Lodge. These were Thomas Harper, the Deputy Grand Master of the Antients, the two Grand Wardens of that organisation, Richard Barry of the Royal Naval Lodge who probably objected to Daniel's activities,⁵ and Francis Green of (Antient) Lodge No. 31⁶ which met at Wapping. This complaint was followed by a violent circular⁷ issued by Daniel on the 15th April. On the 20th November, 1801, the complaint was considered by the Committee of Charity. Harper was asked to renounce the Antient Grand Lodge, and he requested an adjournment, so that he could consult others with a view to terminating the differences between the two Grand Lodges. A decision was then postponed, and on the 5th February, 1802, the Committee of Charity suggested the appointment of a Committee to negotiate with the Antients. It was left to Harper to make arrangements, and in view of this, the complaint against him was dismissed. During the next few months, it seems that Harper changed his mind, and instead of trying to effect a union he began to work against it. It may be that he did not wish to lose his position as a Deputy Grand Master, or perhaps he was afraid that his sales of Masonic jewellery would suffer.⁸ Another very probable reason for this change of attitude was that he had formed the opinion that the Moderns were engineering a union to help their funds, which had been depleted by the building of Freemasons' Hall. His own story⁹ was that an expelled Antient Mason, who also belonged to the Moderns (presumably F. C. Daniel) issued "violent and libellous publications," for which he perhaps thought that the Modern Grand Lodge authorities were, in some way, responsible. Whatever the reason may

¹ See *A.Q.C.*, xxiii., 152; and *An Address to His Grace the Duke of Athol, On the Subject of an Union*, 1804. It appears from p. 11 of the *Memoir of Sir F. C. Daniel, Knt., M.D.* (n.d.) that he was the author of this Address.

² Now St. George's and Cornerstone Lodge, No. 5.

³ Now United Mariners Lodge, No. 30.

⁴ Now Royal Naval Lodge, No. 59.

⁵ He also belonged to United Mariners (Antient) Lodge, No. 23.

⁶ Now Mount Moriah Lodge, No. 34.

⁷ A copy is in a scrap-book in the Grand Lodge Library.

⁸ See Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 497.

⁹ *Ahiman Rezon*, 1807, p. 121.

have been, he took no steps to help the *rapprochement*, and the Moderns became anxious. The Committee of Charity on the 19th November, instructed the Grand Secretary to write to him, and the letter, with his reply, are given in the Grand Lodge Minutes of the 24th November. These letters are not very enlightening, as he merely gives the cause of his inactivity as "some untoward Circumstances." The Moderns then issued a broadsheet, apparently as a warning, stating that the consideration of the conduct of the miscreants was postponed until the following February.¹ So negotiations ended, and on the 1st December, 1802, a letter for publication was, apparently, approved by the Grand Lodge of the Antients, although it is not mentioned in their Minutes. It is, however, reproduced without any explanation in the printed Proceedings of the 27th December, 1802, and it is copied in the *Ahiman Rezon* of 1807,² where the date is given incorrectly as 1st December, 1801.

The letter does not mention the Moderns by name, but

in the love of change (a thing to which all institutions, however sacred, are subject) Masonry has not totally escaped the rage of innovation. When men once suffer themselves to depart from the purity of original principles, they are liable to run into the wildest extravagance

and so on. And there is a suggestion of the debts of the Moderns, on account of their Building Scheme:—

The Ancient Grand Lodge of England, without one Shilling of debt, has a clear ascertained income of more than £500 a Year

And the following is interesting:—

We have too much respect for every Society that acts under the masonic name, however imperfect the imitation, to enter into a war of reproaches; and, therefore, we will not retort on an Institution, established in London for some years under high auspices, the unfounded aspersions into which a part of their body have suffered themselves to be surprised. Their own sense of propriety will soon make them ashamed of having listened to the falsehoods of an unworthy individual; who, having attempted to prostitute Masonry into a gainful trade, was expelled from the Ancient Grand Lodge of England for mal-practices.³

The Moderns did not like this, and on 9th February, 1803, Thomas Harper was expelled "for countenancing and supporting a Set of Persons calling themselves Antient Masons." They then issued another broadsheet publishing this expulsion, and this gives a list of some of the Antient, and all the Modern Lodges.⁴ In the Antient list there is:—

277 † Virginia Coffee-house, on Pell's Street, Ratcliff-High-way, called the Mariner's L. (*Very Notorious*)

and there is a footnote:—

† six of Mr. H—s Colleagues (four of whom are Principals in the Irregular Lodge, No. 277,) was excluded April 8, 1803.

But Harper had not yet finished. The Antient Grand Lodge on the 2nd March, 1803, approved another edict directed definitely against the Moderns, and the

¹ A copy is in Grand Lodge Library, Broadley Collection, *Miscellanea*, vol. i.

² See p. 280 *post*.

³ Obviously this refers to F. C. Daniel; and his profitable exploitation of the Royal Naval Lodge No. 57.

⁴ A copy is in Grand Lodge Library, Broadley Collection, *Miscellanea*, vol. i.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

AHIMAN REZON:

OR, A

HELP to a BROTHER.

SHEWING

The EXCELLENCY of SECRECY, and
the first Cause of the Institution of FREE-
MASONRY; the PRINCIPLES of the
CRAFT, and the Benefits arising from a strict
Observance thereof; the Sort of Men that ought
to be initiated into the Mystery, and the Kind
of Masons that are fit to govern Lodges, with
their proper Behaviour in and out of the Lodge.

The ancient Manner of CONSTITUTING new
LODGES, with All the CHARGES, &c.

LIKEWISE

The PRAYERS used in *Jewish* and *Christian* Lodges.

ALSO,

The OLD and NEW REGULATIONS,
the Manner of Chusing and Installing *Grand-
Master* and *Officers*, &c.

To which is added,

A large Collection of MASONS SONGS,
entertaining PROLOGUES and EPILOGUES,

AND

SOLOMON's TEMPLE:

AN ORATORIO.

By Brother LAURENCE DERMOTT, Sec.

The Fourth EDITION with ADDITIONS.

D U B L I N:

Printed by DILLON CHAMBERLAINE, No. 5, in
College Green. MDCCLXXX.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, Dublin, 1780.

From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

FRATRIMONIUM EXCELSUM.
A NEW
AHIMAN REZON:
OR, A
HELP TO A BROTHER.

With an elegant COPPER-PLATE FRONTISPIECE.

SHEWING,

The EXCELLENCY of SECRECY; and the first Cause of the Institution of FREE-MASONRY; the PRINCIPLES of the CRAFT, and the Benefits arising from a strict Observance thereof; the Sort of Men that ought to be initiated into the Mystery, and the Kind of MASONS that are fit to govern LODGES, with their proper Behaviour in and out of the LODGE.

The ancient Manner of CONSTITUTING new LODGES, with All the CHARGES, &c.

LIKEWISE,

The PRAYERS used in *Jewish* and *Christian* Lodges.

ALSO,

The OLD and NEW REGULATIONS,
The Manner of choosing and installing GRAND-MASTER and OFFICERS, &c.

To which is added,

A large COLLECTION of NEW MASONS SONGS, entertaining PROLOGUES and EPILOGUES,

AND

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE:

An ORATORIO.

With a LIST of all the MASTERS and WARDENS of the different LODGES in DUBLIN.

BY A WORTHY BROTHER.

D U B L I N:

Printed for all the LODGES in *England, Ireland* and *America*, and sold by THOMAS WILKINSON, BOOKSELLER, No. 40, *Winetavern-street*.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, Dublin, c. 1790.

From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.

beginning makes it clear that the former letter was on the same subject. It starts:—

It was represented to this Grand Lodge, that notwithstanding the very temperate notice which was taken, in the last Quarterly Communication, of certain unprovoked expressions used towards the Fraternity of Ancient Masons, by a society generally known by the appellation of the Modern Masons of England, that body has been further prevailed on to make declarations, and to proceed to acts at once illiberal and unfounded with respect to the character, pretensions, and antiquity, of this institution.

The statement asserts that the Moderns had altered the old established forms of the ceremonies, quoting from the Modern Constitutions,¹ and then mentions the Grand Lodges which were in friendly correspondence with the Antients, Scotland and Ireland and later, the Grand Lodges of America, and the East and West Indies. The Grand Lodge Minutes refer to this edict, but it is not itself printed therein, although like its predecessor, it is published in the Proceedings. It is this last edict which was printed on four pages and bound up with some copies of the 6th edition of *Ahiman Rezon*. The heading is:—

Crown and Anchor Tavern, London.

In

Grand Lodge,

Wednesday, the 2d of March, 1802.²

and bears the signature: R. Leslie, G.S. It refers to *Ahiman Rezon* by name, and so was evidently, at first, published separately. These events had the effect of making the Union impracticable for the time being, and they help us to understand the difficulties which had to be faced.

THE SEVENTH ENGLISH EDITION, 1807, AND ITS ABRIDGED VERSION.

The advent of the next edition is proclaimed by an advertisement in the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the Antients of the 2nd September, 1807:—

Just published A new Edition, being the Seventh, price, bound, Eight Shillings. The Constitution of Freemasonry, or *Ahiman Rezon*;
. . . A few Copies are printed on fine Wove Paper, price, bound in Calf, Half a Guinea.

This book is printed in better type and more modern style than those which preceded it, there are no catchwords, and short *esses* replace the troublesome long letter of the earlier editions. A great part of the work is still Dermott's, but some of the wording has been considerably altered. It has, in fact, been thoroughly edited.

The Title-page tells us that Thomas Harper, the editor, was keeping work in his family, for it is printed by T. Harper, junior. This is the first edition since that of 1778, which has the number of the edition on the Title-page. It is said to be the seventh, and this agrees with the books as we know them. The imprint reads:—

London:

Printed by Brother T. Harper, jun.

Crane Court, Fleet Street.

For the Editor, No. 207, Fleet Street.

1807.

¹ 1784 edition, p. 240.

² A misprint for 1803.

The Frontispiece has not been changed, but its explanation has been re-worded; for example, "aprons" have become "badges." There is an allusion to the compact made between the Antients and the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland in 1772. There are depicted five steps leading up to the Doric Temple, and in the explanation

The ascent to the building, alludes to the five Orders in Architecture, and also to the summit and perfection of Ancient Masonry.

The motto on the engraved arms is correctly copied in Hebrew, with the English translation "Holiness to the Lord." The words *Kodes la Adonai* of former editions have been omitted. The Dedication is unchanged, but the Athol arms at its head have been re-engraved and slightly altered. The "Editor to the Reader" is now entitled an "Introduction." It has three pages dealing with the origin of science after the Fall of man. In describing the formation of the Grand Lodge of the Moderns, there is now a reference to the 1784 *Constitutions* instead of to Anderson's book of 1738. The editor points out that if this had been a revival of the ancient Craft, the Masons of Ireland and Scotland would agree with their secret language and ceremonial, but such is not the case. America has now been added to the list of countries in amity with the Grand Lodge of the Antients. The episode of William Carroll, which occurred in 1759, is now stated to be about thirty years previously, an error of nearly twenty years. The Philacteria is omitted, but part of its subject matter comes later. Dermott's Address to the Fraternity is dated July 1778, and at the end, we have the name of Laurence Dermott instead of "The Author." The poem on the Seven Liberal Arts and Sciences has vanished from this edition. The wording of the part entitled "Ahiman Rezon" has not been greatly altered. In the story of Anaxarchus, we are now given the name of Nicocreon, who tried to discover his secrets. Inserted in this part of the book we have:—

Here it may be necessary to put in a word of advice to those who have an inclination to become members of this ancient and honourable Society.

Then follows part of the Philacteria which is omitted from this edition. The minimum initiation fee has been increased from two to two and a half guineas, and this agrees with the Regulations which come later. "Ahiman Rezon" ends on page 28, and the Charges begin on page 31, so that two pages are missing from the numeration. The folded sheets of which the book is composed are complete, and the mistake is probably unintentional. The wording of some of the Charges has been altered, and footnotes are omitted. At the end of Charge iii., there is a new paragraph to the effect that a Lodge shall not make more than five Brethren without Dispensation, and Candidates must be proposed at a meeting held prior to their initiation. These rules occur in *Old Regulations* iv. and v. This book continues with the usual contents, but the order of the Prayers has been changed, and the remarks regarding the Royal Arch and the "evil designer" have been omitted. Surely that malefactor must have been dead for many years.

In the General Regulations, a thorough revision has taken place, but of the verbiage rather than the subject matter. It will only be necessary here to call attention to the more important and interesting features. In previous editions, we have had regulations dealing with "private" and also "particular" Lodges, both words having the same import. The word "private" is now used throughout. In *New Reg.* viii., we now have the phrase "London and its suburbs" appearing for the first time, indicating the changes which had taken place in the Metropolis. According to *Old Reg.* xii., the Deputy Grand Master in Grand Lodge must now be seated on the right, instead of on the left of the Grand Master. In *New Reg.* xiv. and xv. "former" Grand Officers are referred to as Past Grand Officers, so, no doubt, the more familiar phrase came into use

at this time. The *Old Reg.* xix. which gave the procedure "If the Grand Master should abuse his great power" has been omitted, and to fill the gap, *Old Reg.* xviii. has been divided into two parts. The corresponding paragraph of *New Reg.* xviii. has also been added to *New Reg.* xix., but by a misprint, the number xix. has been omitted. The former *New Reg.* xix.:

The Freemasons firmly hope, that there never will be occasion for such a regulation

still remains, but it means nothing, as the old regulation to which it referred has been omitted. *New Reg.* xx. deals with official visits to private Lodges, and formerly stated that Master Masons must on such occasions act as Wardens if the Grand Wardens are absent. This edition requires the rank of these substitutes to be Masters, or Past Masters. *Old Reg.* xxi. stated that if the Grand Master is not present, his place in Grand Lodge is taken by one of his predecessors or, failing them, the Deputy Grand Master, "or if there be no Deputy, then the oldest Mason the present Master of a Lodge." These last words, inserted by Dr. Anderson, probably to regularise the proceedings of 1717, are now omitted. *New Reg.* xxii. required Grand Lodge to meet at the place appointed "till they have built a place of their own." These last words have now been dropped, probably because they called attention to the fact that the Moderns had had a home of their own since 1777, whereas the Grand Lodge of the Antients was still meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand. In *Old Reg.* xxiii., the sarcastic remark in the footnote regarding the use of the titles "Most Worshipful," etc., by the Moderns, is omitted, possibly in deference to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which gave and still gives the title "Right Worshipful" to the Master of every Lodge. After the election of the Grand Master, *New Reg.* xxiii. required "the Secretary" to inform him, but this duty is now given to the Deputy Grand Master, as, no doubt, Thomas Harper considered it his prerogative. Many new Additional Regulations have been added to the list which follows the General Regulations. The raising of the minimum initiation fee to two and a half guineas has already been mentioned.¹ This change was made in Grand Lodge on the 4th December, 1805, and it is entered here twice, once as a footnote to the old regulation, and then again separately. There is a new regulation dated the 7th March, 1798, to the effect that money granted by the Stewards' Lodge must be paid personally to the Petitioner. Actually, this was approved by the Stewards' Lodge on the 21st March, 1798, and confirmed by Grand Lodge in the following June. The Charity Regulations are now headed "Regulations for the Stewards' Lodge, or Committee of Charity." The old misprint in *Reg.* xiv. referring to *Reg.* x., instead of *Reg.* xi. has now been corrected. The Royal Arch Regulations in this book precede the extract which deals with sister Grand Lodges. They are "Revised, approved and amended in General Grand Chapter, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, Strand, London, 1st April, 1807." The correspondence with Scotland and Ireland is changed but little. The letter from William Mason, Grand Secretary of Scotland, refers to "His Grace's attachment to the Craft, both in England and Scotland" alluding to the Duke of Athol, and there is a footnote "His Grace having been Grand Master of Scotland." The last paragraph of Mason's letter, giving their Grand Officers for 1791 has been omitted. Massachusetts has been added to the list of Grand Lodges "from whom the most friendly communications are constantly and regularly received." There is a paragraph on the Act of the 12th July, 1799, "for the more effectual suppression of Societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes, and for preventing treasonable and seditious practices." It is stated that the Duke of Athol obtained exemption for Masonic Lodges. The next item deals with the attempt to assassinate King George III. on the 15th May, 1800, in Drury Lane

¹ p. 271 *ante*.

Theatre. A special meeting of Grand Lodge was called on the 24th June, 1800, when an address expressing congratulations on his escape was approved, which address is here given in full. Then we have the circulars of the 1st December, 1802, and the 2nd March, 1803,¹ issued after the dispute with the Moderns.² This part of the book ends with the Address by Comte de Toloda, the Free-Mason's Memento and the Poem, which is now entitled "Charity or Love, a Principle necessary to every Free-mason."

There is a general improvement in the tone of the Songs, and the coarser verses and songs have been omitted, as well as those which are chiefly concerned with drinking. Explanatory footnotes have been omitted, as well as some of the long songs, while others are shortened by the omission of verses. Song No. vi. is new, and although it begins *Genius of Masonry, descend*, it is not the Ode by Mr. J. Banks, for the second line is *And with thee bring thy spotless train*. It is here called "the Master's Song" and was in the 1775 edition of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*. Bennett's *Modern Free Masons Pocket-book* of about 1774 has evidently come to the notice of the editor, for he has given us seven new songs from it. There are two songs from *Masonic Miscellanies*, 1797, and one *Hail Masonry! thou sacred art*, which I cannot find before 1791, when it appeared in the *Oriental Masonic Muse* of Calcutta. *Unite, unite your voices raise* is printed twice in this edition. Several of the songs are incorrectly numbered. One hymn, two anthems and five odes are collected together at the end of the songs, after which there are the Prologues and Epilogues, two of which have been omitted, and finally the Oratorio.

At the end of the book there is a new and important feature, a List of Grand Officers and Lodges "according to the Old Constitutions." This has new pagination and a separate Title-page:—

A
LIST OF LODGES
OF THE
MOST ANCIENT AND HONOURABLE FRATERNITY
OF
FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS,
Granted by, and held under the Sanction
OF THE
GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND,
ACCORDING TO THE OLD CONSTITUTIONS.

Alphabetically arranged.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY BROTHER T. HARPER, JUN.
Crane Court, Fleet Street.

1807.

The Grand Officers do not occupy much space. There are but eleven, including the Grand Master, Grand Pursuivant and Grand Tyler. The first list of Lodges is arranged alphabetically by the Towns in which they meet. There are 170 in this list, including the Military Lodges, which are duplicated later. Under Liverpool, there is a local Committee of Relief, London has 49 Lodges, as well as Grand Lodge, Grand Chapter and the Grand Stewards' Lodge. The days of meeting of all the London Lodges and some others are given. The Foreign list has 105 Lodges, including Provincial Grand Lodges, as well as some Lodges in Jersey and Guernsey which were also in the English tables. There are Provincial

¹ Still incorrectly printed as 1801 and 1802 respectively.

² See p. 276 *ante*.

Lodges with their own numeration in Gibraltar, Halifax and Jamaica. The 48 Military Lodges conclude the lists. In the English tables, Lodge No. 74 Portsmouth is a misprint for No. 79. The Foreign List includes No. 183 Tortola, which is a misprint for No. 108. Two Madras Lodges are entered twice. Harmony Lodge, No. 28, at Halifax is not known, and Lane thinks that this refers to No. 28 on the Provincial Register of Nova Scotia. The Military List includes No. 18 in the 17th Regiment Foot, which, it appears, was never on the English roll of Lodges.¹ No. 213 should be No. 9, as it had taken that number many years before. The title of the regiment of No. 312 is given incorrectly, for it should be the Prince of Wales' Fencible Cavalry, and not that of the Princess. The youngest Lodge on the English list seems to have been No. 157 of Whitehaven, which was constituted on the 14th March, 1807, but No. 168 of Hythe was constituted the previous day, although it had a Warrant dated the 9th April, 1771. There is no Foreign Lodge of as late a date in the tables, but Military Lodge No. 339 is included, and this was constituted on the 11th July, 1807. So far as I have been able to estimate, 42 Lodges in the lists had previously lapsed, 4 had never been constituted, 6 had joined other Grand Lodges abroad and 1 had joined the Moderns, making altogether 53. No doubt the circumstances of some of these were not known at headquarters, but it appears that as many Lodges as possible were retained on the list, in order to enhance the prestige of the Grand Lodge of the Antients.

An abridged version of the seventh edition appeared a few years later. It contained but forty pages, and seems to have been intended as a pocket-book. As it was not printed by T. Harper, jun., it was probably unofficial, although from a statement on the Title-page that it has been corrected from the last Quarterly Return, it seems that the editor must have had access to official documents. The book begins with a list of Military Lodges which has been taken from the 1807 edition with very little change. Lodge No. 215 in Anspach's Hanoverian Regiment had lapsed, and on the 9th October, 1807, the number was given to the Lodge of the Royal Cumberland Militia. This change is recorded here, and No. 216, which follows it, is by a misprint allocated to the Last² Devon Regiment Militia. This list is followed by a selection from the Charges, the Short Charge to Initiates, some of the Prayers, twenty-three Songs and finally the English and Foreign Lodges. This List is prefaced by the following:—

Although the Printer and Publisher of this Abridgment of the Constitution of Ancient Free-Masonry, has taken a great deal of pains to correct the Second Edition of the following List of Lodges, he is perfectly aware, it is not so correct as he could wish, owing to the Removal of different Lodges, reviving Old, and issuing New Warrants, changing their regular Lodge Nights, &c. He, therefore, respectfully acquaints the Craft in general, that any Communication, correcting those Errors, or any Information respecting Lodges of Instruction, left, or addressed, post paid to C. Goodchild, Printer, No. 8, Cloth-fair, West Smithfield, will be gratefully received, and punctually attended to in a Third Edition.

This seems to imply that the Lodge List in the 1807 *Ahiman Rezon* was the first edition, and that a third edition is to be expected later. There is no trace of any such work, unless indeed, it be the list of Lodges incorporated in the *Ahiman Rezon* of 1813. The Military Lodges have been removed from these lists to avoid the duplication which occurred in the 1807 *Ahiman Rezon*. I have examined the details carefully. There are some obvious mistakes in the abridged *Ahiman Rezon*, but so far as I can judge, the list was corrected in the latter part of the year 1810, and the book, therefore, was probably published at that time.

¹ See *Masonic Records*, John Lane, 1895.

² *Recte* East.

The move of Lodge No. 245 from Barbican to the Princess Royal, Paul Street, Finsbury Square, is included, and this is stated by Lane to have been made in 1811. I am, however, inclined to believe that Lane has made a mistake about this, and that the move really took place late in 1810, as many new Lodges constituted late in 1810 and early in 1811 are not included in this book. Bro. Lewis Edwards is the fortunate owner of the only copy of this book that I have been able to trace.

THE EIGHTH ENGLISH EDITION—1813.

The last English edition of *Ahiman Rezon* was intended for publication in 1812, for there was an advertisement of it in the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of the Antients on the 2nd September of that year, which read "now in the Press and will be ready for delivery in about three weeks." There must have been some delay, for in the Proceedings of the 2nd December, we are told that it would be ready on the 15th February, 1813. Probably it appeared, for the Proceedings of the 3rd March tell us "now published . . . Price, bound, 10s.; and on fine Paper, hot pressed and bound in calf, 13s." The Frontispiece is unchanged, and the Title-page gives the following particulars:—

Revised and corrected with considerable additions, brought
down to the present time, from the original of the late
Laurence Dermott, Esq.

by
Thomas Harper, D.G.M.

Eighth Edition.

London:

Printed by Brother T. Harper, jun.
Crane Court, Fleet Street,
For the Editor, No. 207, Fleet Street.

1813.

The Explanation of the Frontispiece has been re-worded, and instead of "Ancient Lodges" they are described as "Lodges of the old constitution." The second Temple at Jerusalem is now "the Grand and Royal Lodge," a phrase which is familiar. Now that we have lost Laurence Dermott with his knowledge of Hebrew, a misprint appears in the Hebrew words.

A separate Title-page is used for the Lodge List, and as this list has its own pagination, it was probably intended to be published separately. The Grand Officers are given for 1813, followed by the days of meeting of 58 London Lodges, none of which meet on the 1st or 3rd Wednesdays, the days appropriated for Grand Lodge and the Grand Stewards' Lodge respectively. The following note appears at the foot of the page:—

Information relating to Removals, or the stated time of Meeting, or any addition which may occur to the subjoined List, will be thankfully received by the D.G. Secretary, and duly noticed in the next publication, if transmitted before 27th Dec. 1813.

The Lodges are numbered consecutively from 1 to 354, eight numbers being omitted. Two of the Lodges are stated to be "withdrawn," and there are, therefore, 344 active Lodges in the list, and of these, 70 are in London, 154 in the Country, and 120 Foreign. The list in many respects resembles that in Downes' *Ahiman Rezon* published in Dublin in 1804, and both include many Lodges which had lapsed and are not in the 1807 London edition. It is

extremely inaccurate; in fact, it is really useless to examine it in detail. The list was probably compiled between January and April, 1813, as, in the latter month, the numbers of Lodges Nos. 15, 27 and 36, which were formerly allotted to London Lodges, were given to Lodges in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Gateshead and Hastings respectively. In this list, all are "London." No. 355, constituted on the 29th April, 1813, is omitted, but Lodge No. 217 of the 6th January of that year is included. There are several obvious inaccuracies, for example, No. 141 is said to meet at Minorca "West Indies," and No. 274 of Montreal, Lower Canada, is said to meet in Upper Canada. Seventy-nine Lodges in the list had lapsed, eight are probably fictitious Lodges which never existed, nine had left the Antients and joined Grand Lodges abroad, one had joined the Moderns, and there are four which are entered twice with different numbers. It seems probable that the list was purposely inflated in order to enhance the prestige of the Antients, and give them influence at the Union which was now almost in sight.

The remainder of the book proceeds along the usual lines. In the Introduction, the affair of William Carroll (1759) is still stated to be "about thirty years ago." The substance of the Address to the Fraternity is unchanged, but Dermott is now stated to be the author. There are three new explanatory pages at the end of the Leland-Locke MS. At the end of the Resolutions regarding Scotland and Ireland, there is a note that fraternal contact has been established with all the Grand Lodges of America, and the East and West Indies. "Ahiman Rezon" is rather larger than in the last Edition. There is a dissertation regarding unworthy persons who join the Craft, but who are powerless to injure it. The minimum fee for initiates was increased to three guineas on the 4th March, 1812.¹ The Charges are somewhat altered, and in Charge v. we are told that the hours of work are 7—10 from the 25th March to the 29th September, and 6—9 for the remaining six months.² There is a new footnote to the Short Charge:—

This very old charge is continued with very trifling alterations; and is in general use throughout the ancient Craft. To alter it therefore, would lessen its value.

In the Manner of Constituting a Lodge, there are new regulations for submitting a petition, the form for which is given. It must be signed by at least seven Master Masons, recommended by the nearest Lodge and sent with the fees to the Grand Secretary. If approved, a Warrant, Book of Constitutions and a By-Law Book "filled up in a proper manner" are issued. A footnote describes the Warrant and its uses. A new paragraph in this chapter gives the meanings of Ample Form, Due Form and Form in the opening of Grand Lodge. The words "yet with the same authority," which are in the *Constitutions*³ of to-day, are not there, for the Antients held that the authority was not the same. In the ceremony of Constituting, the new Master and Wardens are to be "yet among their Fellows," the phrase in earlier editions having been "yet among the Fellow-crafts." The closing of the Lodge after its Constitution is now by the Deputy Grand Master, instead of by the Senior Grand Warden. The Prayers which follow are those which have appeared in previous editions.

In the Regulations, the following addition to *New Reg.* vi. is the only alteration of interest:—

The local laws of each Lodge must guide them in this respect, some Lodges admit of one black ball only against, others two, but if three, no candidate can be admitted on any pretence whatever under the authority of this Grand Lodge.

¹ See p. 284 *post*.

² See p. 254 *ante*.

³ Rule 61.

The Additional Regulations have been brought up to date. The following passed by Grand Lodge on the 1st June, 1757, has been included:—

That if any . . . Person . . . shall admit . . . any
Member or Visitor not strictly an Ancient Mason . . . such Lodge
so transgressing, shall forfeit their Warrant .

The rule of the 4th March, 1812, increasing the minimum fee for initiates to three guineas, is given, as well as a footnote with the same information. There is a new rule of the 3rd June, 1812, ordering 5s. from London Lodges and 2s. 6d. from Country, Foreign and Military Lodges, for each registration, to go to the "Institution for Clothing and Educating the Sons of Deceased and Indigent Ancient Freemasons." Every regulation passed by Grand Lodge did not get into *Ahiman Rezon*. On the 4th March, 1807, it was decided in Grand Lodge that a Master of a Lodge must be one year registered a Mason, and in 1811, a requirement of twelve months' service as a Warden was enacted, and twelve months' service in the Chair to qualify as a Past Master. None of these rules is incorporated in *Ahiman Rezon*. There are two pages on Masonic Charity, dated the 3rd July, 1798, which refer to the work of the Masonic Boys' School. It started with six pupils, and had fifty at the time of writing. The Regulations for Grand Lodge and the Stewards' Lodge are changed but little. In the latter, a footnote states that the Lodge was meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand at seven o'clock. This was also the meeting place of Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter. In the Royal Arch Regulations, the duties of the nine Excellent Masters, or "Skilful Royal Arch Masons" are given more fully than in the last edition. The Extracts from the Proceedings of the Grand Lodge are amended, and the long circulars issued at the beginning of the century and directed against the Moderns have been omitted, probably in order to produce a better feeling. The Comte de Toloda's Address, the Freemasons' Memento, and the Verses on Love remain unchanged.

The faulty numeration of the Songs has been rectified in this edition. Mr. J. Bancks' Ode has been omitted; also, one song which was previously duplicated, and *Of all the places in the town*. This contained the expression "The Wardens sitting in the West." There are six songs which were not in the previous edition, three being from *Masonic Miscellanies*, 1797. One of these is Robert Burns' *Farewell* to the Brethren of St. James' Lodge, Tarbolton. It was the first of his important Masonic poems, and was recited in 1786, when he was leaving with the intention of going to the West Indies. Another new song was by Robert McCann, P.M. of Lodge No. 244. In July, 1810, he was a member of the Committee of the Antients, appointed to formulate the Union. He was Grand Sword Bearer in 1813, and was elected Junior Grand Warden in December, 1813, just before the Union took place.

Within a year of the publication of this last English edition, the Union of the rival Grand Lodges was effected, and *Ahiman Rezon* became little more than a name. The eight books throw considerable light on the history of the Antients, and are invaluable as a mirror in which we can read something of the mind of the Freemason of a century and a half ago.

THE IRISH EDITIONS.

We have seen that, in England, *Ahiman Rezon* was an official publication. It was not long after the first edition of 1756 that the book was reprinted in Ireland, for in 1760, a Dublin edition appeared, and this was followed by a number of others, not only in Dublin, but also in Belfast and Drogheda. They continued long after the Union in England had put an end to the name in this country, and it was not until 1858 that the last Irish edition appeared. A table of these Irish books is given in Appendix III., which also shows the probable source of each. Although the contents of the first Irish editions vary but little

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

AHIMAN REZON

OR, A

Help to a Brother.

COLLECTED FROM THE

Best Editions Extant.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, THE

*Choicest Collection of Miscellaneous
Matter ever before published.*

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY BORTHEN JOSEPH HILL.

No. 1, COPINGER'S ROW. 1803.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, Dublin, 1803.

From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

By Permission of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

THE
Lodge CONSTITUTION
OF
FREE-MASONRY;

held OR, *in*
AHIMAN REZON;

His TO WHICH *Majesty's*
SELECTION OF M-SONGS,

38th Prologues and Epilogues, *Regiment*

AND AN
ORATORIO

ENTITLED

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

REVISED CORRECTED AND IMPROVED, WITH ADDITIONS.

Dublin :

PRINTED BY
BROTHER CHARLES DOWNES,

No. 3, Whitefriar-Street.

(Printer to the Grand Lodge of Ireland).

1804.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, Dublin, 1804,
From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.

from the English original, the books have one great difference—they were not official publications, and it was only after 1803 that the Irish *Ahiman Rezon* had official sanction and became the Book of the Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. Spratt's *Constitutions* of 1751 was not reprinted, and, no doubt, was out of print by 1760. *Ahiman Rezon*, it will be remembered, was based on that book, and, therefore, was doubtless issued in Ireland with the idea of taking its place. It had, in fact, much the same objects as the *Freemason's Pocket Companion*, an edition of which was published in Dublin in the following year. It is interesting to notice that the early Irish *Ahiman Rezon* was a much smaller book than the English official publication, and so could be fairly described as a portable pocket book. These books appeared, as one would expect, when the *Pocket Companions* were out of print. In 1760, both Spratt's *Constitutions* and the Dublin *Pocket Companion* of 1751 were almost certainly unobtainable, and the first *Ahiman Rezon* appeared in that city, but it must have been a very small edition, as it is now extremely rare, and a new *Pocket Companion* appeared in the following year. There were no more Dublin *Pocket Companions*, and after Wilkinson's unofficial *Constitutions* of 1769 was out of print, a new *Ahiman Rezon* was published in 1780, and thereafter, these books held the field. In Belfast, the first *Ahiman Rezon* appeared in 1782 after the disappearance of the *Pocket Companions*.

The Dublin edition of 1760 is practically a reprint of Dermott's first book, and it is evident that no revisions have been made from Spratt's 1751 *Constitutions*. The "Editor to the Reader" is now signed "LAU. DERMOTT," instead of "L.D." The List of London subscribers is, of course, omitted, and at the end of the book is a new list of 101 persons, who altogether subscribed for 106 copies. The list includes Mr. Mi. McDermott, Mer. of L. 340 in Stokestown, Co. Roscommon. There were fourteen subscribers from that Lodge, whose meeting place was not far distant from that of L. Dermott's mother Lodge. It is possible, and has been suggested,¹ that Dermott was known in the neighbourhood, and that these subscribers were for that reason interested in his publication. The poetry paraphrase from D'Assigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry* has been revised, and is now headed "The Excellency of Masonry described." It ends:—

By thee inspir'd, Hibernia's Sons advance,
Uprear the Sword, and point the glitt'ring Lance.
Against the Foe with martial Ardor run,
And take that Vengeance which they seek to shun.

After the General Regulations, the full-stop, missing from the 1756 edition, has been inserted, and the passage now reads correctly ". . . which thy Fathers have set. Solomon." The second Title-page has no imprint, and there is no alteration to the Songs, except that the names of their authors have been omitted.

The next Dublin *Ahiman Rezon* that I have been able to trace is the 4th edition of 1780. This was printed by Dillon Chamberlaine, who also printed the 1st Dublin edition, and this, also, is a great rarity. Evidently, this printer produced a series, but I have not been able to trace any copies of the 2nd or 3rd editions. No doubt, there were not many copies put on the market. It might be imagined that the 4th edition is from the London 3rd edition of 1778, but such is not the case. The Dublin 4th edition hardly varies from the 1st, but it has, of course, been re-set, and there is no List of Subscribers. At the end of the book there is a new Epilogue "Address'd to the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick. By Mr. Brooke." Evidently, soon after printing, the book was found to be of little use, as it did not incorporate the Irish Regulations of 1768.² It was taken off the market, and the remainders used for a new 5th edition in the same year.

¹ Lepper and Crosslé, i., 238.

² See *Caementaria Hibernica*, Fasc. iii.

This 5th Dublin edition of 1780 was really the 4th edition with certain extra pages, and it was issued with two alternative Title-pages, the imprints reading:—

(I.)

Dublin:

Printed by D. Chamberlaine, No. 5, College-Green, and W. Rainsford, No. 22, St. Andrew-Street.

MDCCLXXX.

(II.)

Dublin:

Printed by D. Chamberlaine, No. 5, College-Green, and T. Wilkinson, No. 40, Winetavern-Street.

MDCCLXXX.

William Rainsford, a leading member of Lodge No. 584, lectured on Masonry in 1785, having been authorised by Grand Lodge.¹ This is probably the book which Wilkinson advertised at page 60 of the 3rd edition of *Hiram: or the Grand Master-Key*, "A Himan Reason or Help to a Brother, bound, 2s. 2d." After the Title-page, four new unnumbered pages have been added, the first having "Some Toasts used in Lodges," and the remainder furnishing a list of the Contents, so that there are two such lists in this edition, but the earlier contains references to the new material which has been inserted. The next addition is eight pages after the Regulations for Charity on page 62. These are numbered 33* to 40* and contain the "Rules, Orders and Regulations" which were approved on the 3rd November, 1768. In one copy of this book which I know, these Rules precede the Dedication. Pages 135 and 136 have been removed, and in their place, new pages 135* to 156* have been added, but the last page of these does not bear any number. These pages have ten additional Songs and a Knights Templars' Prayer "Used in the High Knights Templars Lodge, Dublin." Two of these songs have already appeared earlier in the book, five are from the 1775 edition of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, and two I have been unable to trace in any earlier book, namely, *Excuse my weak untutor'd Muse*, and the Knights Templars' song, *God bless the royal Band*. The other song is *Adam the first of all*, which was in the 1723 *Constitutions*, and it is here stated to be "By Dr. ANDEREON." This misprint indicates that the book was produced hurriedly, but it is a mistake which proves to be useful in tracing future editions of which this was the original.

These Dublin books served as models for editions printed elsewhere, the earliest of which seems to have been published in Drogheda in about the year 1780. This was printed by John Fleming, who was in business as a printer from 1772 until he died in 1785.² It is said on the Title-page to be the fourth edition, and appears to have been copied from the Dublin 4th edition of 1780 with certain parts from the Dublin 5th edition of the same year. It was, therefore, probably printed in that year, or very soon afterwards. It is possible that the model for this edition was the Belfast *Ahiman Rezon* of 1782,³ but I think that this is unlikely, for several reasons. The spelling of "Pekin" in the Belfast book has not been copied here, and we find "Pequin" as in the Dublin edition. Also, the mis-spelling of Dr. Anderson's name in the Belfast book does not occur here. There seems, on the other hand, no doubt that this Drogheda edition did not serve as a model for any others. There are mistakes in the book, which do not appear elsewhere; for example, on p. 15 a note⁴ has been omitted,

¹ Lepper and Crosslé, i., 250.

² *Ibid.*, i., 241, note.

³ See p. 287 *post*.

⁴ "See New Regulation VIII."

but this omission only occurs in this edition. The book in general appearance, strongly resembles those from Dublin, and I am of opinion that it was based on the 4th edition, but some corrections were made later from the 5th edition. The Irish Regulations of 1768 are included, as well as the song *God bless the royal Band* from the Dublin 5th edition. The song *Once I was blind and could not see* is duplicated as in that book, and there are some other well-known Masonic songs which were not in the earlier Dublin editions.

A Belfast *Ahiman Rezon* of 1782 entitled the 5th edition was doubtless based on the Dublin 5th edition, which it strongly resembles. It, and the 6th and 7th editions of 1795 and 1803 respectively, were printed by James Magee, and these books are textually almost identical. It is probably the 1795 book which was purchased by the Downpatrick Lodge No. 367 (I.C.) for 3s. 3d. (*i.e.*, 3s. British) in March, 1798.¹ The book begins with a Half Title stating that it is addressed to the Belfast Orange Lodge, No. 257. The imprint on the Title-page is:—

Belfast:
Printed by James Magee, (for the Editor)
at the Bible and Crown, in Bridge-
street. M,DCC,LXXXII.

but there is an alternative second line found in some copies "Printed for the Editor, by James Magee." After the Dedication to the Earl of Blesington there is, in this book, a new Dedication

To the Right Worshipful
Past MASTER †, MASTER *,
WARDENS and BRETHREN
of the
Orange Lodge of BELFAST, No. 257.

(*Footnote:*) † Amyas Griffith, Esq;
* John Brown, Esq; Major of the Belfast Battalion.

which contains the words: —

you who have confessedly constituted and established one of the first
Lodges of Free and Accepted Masons, in the three kingdoms; a Lodge,
that (since September, 1780, "when it was last revived") has been
productive of the most munificent Acts of Charity and Benevolence.
. . . you have been the glorious Means of reviving the Royal Craft
all over this Province; . . .

Belfast, The Editor.
May 25th, 1782.

The Editor seems to imply that it was owing to this "revival," that the printing of the book became necessary, and he is grateful to the members for giving him the opportunity of turning an honest penny. As he relies on them to buy the book, he evidently considers that a little flattery would not be out of place.

After the "Editor to the Reader," there is a page of Toasts which is full of interest. One of these is "The memory of old Cymon" which at first seems a puzzle. The solution is found in a song at the end of the book, which contains the phrase "Let's toast Cymonic Masons," for there is a footnote "*Vide* the Knights Templars Song," in which there are references to "Simon." Possibly "Cymon" was adopted as a cryptogram for the more familiar name. At the end of the book is another and different list of toasts, but "Old Cymon" appears again, as we have in this list "The Memory of old ———." Here are two toasts which are worth quoting:—

¹ See *A.Q.C.*, xlvii., 28.

May the virtuous Resolutions of Ireland be imitated by Great-Britain; and may the two Nations ever go Hand in Hand, united in patriotic Pursuits and liberal Sentiments, to the Glory of our Brother the King, the Exaltation of our Country, and the certain Overthrow of our combined Foes.

The Memory of our Sister, Allworth, of New-Market.

There follow particulars of the five Lodges then meeting in Belfast, Contents, and then a List of the Members of the Orange Lodge, No. 257. There are eighty-nine names, some of the members being "Esq." and some simply "Mr." John Brown, the Master is not here described as a Major, but there are fourteen of Military rank. Amyas Griffith, the Past Master, is also Captain General of the Knights Templars, and there is a High-Priest in the List. The Lodge Officers are the Master, two Wardens, Chaplain, Secretary and two Deacons. At the end of this list, in some copies of the book, an extra page has been inserted, dated October 1783, giving the names of 52 new members "since this Edition of Ahiman Rezon was printed." A fair increase in under two years! Many of the Songs are incorrectly numbered, and some of them are new. Two are composed for the Orange Lodge, No. 257, and the music of one of these was first published in *Walker's Magazine*, February, 1782. One new song, *There is a Lodge in Skibbereen*, was written for the Carberry Lodge, No. 504, which was in Downes' Lodge List of 1804, and met at Skibbereen in County Cork. Dr. Anderson's name which appeared as "Andereon" in the Dublin 5th edition has now become "Anderson." There is a new Knight Templar Prologue in this book. In the Belfast 1795 edition, many of the misprints in the last book have been corrected, including the numeration of the songs and the spelling of Dr. Anderson's name; the 1803 edition¹ is textually practically identical with the last.

The next book which we have to consider is somewhat of a curiosity in many respects. It is a Dublin *Ahiman Rezon*, published by Thomas Wilkinson,² who was concerned with the 5th Dublin edition. It has the extravagant alternative title *Fratrimonium Excelsum*, and bears no date. Strangely enough, its contents have been copied mainly, not from the previous Dublin book, but from the Belfast edition of 1782. The name of Dermott has been omitted throughout. The Frontispiece is a poor imitation of that in the English 1723 *Constitutions*, or perhaps the Irish 1751 version. It is partly reversed, several figures have been omitted, the engraving is poor, and it bears the imprint:—

Printed by Thos. Wilkinson No. 40, Winetavern St. Dublin.

The Title-page is very long,³ stating that the book is by "a Worthy Brother" and it is "Printed for all the Lodges in England, Ireland and America . . ." The Dedication in the Belfast edition has been copied with a few alterations, so that it is now to the "Right Worshipful Past Master, Master, Wardens and Brethren of the Grand Lodge of Ireland." The Dedication to the Earl of Blesington follows, and in this, the date 1740 has by a misprint become 1770. There is then a list of the Grand Officers of Ireland for 1790, and this is followed by the Officers of the Grand High Knight Templar and Early Grand Knight Templar Encampments, as well as a list of twenty-eight Dublin Lodges with their names, principal Officers, dates and places of meeting. Then we have a report to the Grand Lodge of Ireland by a Committee appointed at the request of several Armagh Lodges to investigate irregularities in that County. This Committee reported on the 11th November, 1790.⁴ There is no Introduction to the Reader, but the Toasts are taken from the Belfast edition, and after a list of Contents,

¹ Title-page reproduced in Lepper and Crosslé, i., 241.

² Wilkinson advertised it in his *Solomon's Temple spiritualiz'd: "Fratrimoni Excelsum, or a new Ahiman Rhezon . . ."*

³ Reproduced in Lepper and Crosslé, i., 307.

⁴ See Lepper and Crosslé, i., 301.

we have "Ahiman Rezon," and the book continues along the usual lines. The misprint "Dr. ANDERON" is still found, and there are four new songs. After these, and before the second list of Toasts, is a copy of the Charter of Incorporation, which was proposed in England, but never granted.¹ This may have been copied from Wilkinson's unofficial *Constitutions* of about 1769, which is advertised at the end of the book. From the list of Grand Officers, the date of publication appears to be about 1790-1791, but the book could not have been issued prior to the 11th November, 1790, that being the date of the publication of the report of the Armagh Committee. The date can be fixed rather more accurately by a reference to the Lodge list. All the officers of the Lodges appear to be those for the period 24th June to the 27th December, 1790. In no case, have I been able to trace that any are for the period beginning the 27th December, 1790. One may reasonably suppose from this, that the book was published between the 11th November and the 27th December, 1790.

The next Dublin *Ahiman Rezon* was that printed by Joseph Hill in 1803. This was taken mainly from the Dublin 5th edition of 1780, but a large part of it is from *Masonic Miscellanies*, 1797. Hill also printed the Dublin edition of *Masonic Miscellanies* in 1800, and it is frequently bound up with *Ahiman Rezon*. For that reason, no doubt, this edition has no Songs, for they are included in the former book. The emblematic Frontispiece,² some Prayers, Charges for the Second and Third Degrees and Toasts and Sentiments are copied from the original *Masonic Miscellanies* by Stephen Jones. Dermott's name still remains in this edition, and there is his Introduction, which is followed immediately by "Ahiman Rezon," the Charges, a new selection of seven Prayers, the Charges of the three Degrees and the Regulations. The Irish Regulations of 1768 have been brought up to date, there is a note on the formation of the Grand Master's Lodge on the 3rd January, 1749, and, finally, a list of Toasts and Sentiments, many of which have been taken from the songs of the previous edition. *Masonic Miscellanies* was definitely a Modern book, and included a list of the Modern Grand Masters, and the ceremony of installation without reference to any esoteric work. It was for this reason that Hill's *Ahiman Rezon* was objectionable to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which was in amity with the Antient organisation in England. In July, 1803, Hill wrote a violent letter to Charles Downes, a rival printer, who no doubt led the attack on Hill's book, and this letter was printed and distributed. Downes asked Grand Lodge to arbitrate, with the result that Hill was suspended for one year. It has been suggested that Hill was also the author of an attack on the Deputy Grand Treasurer in an anonymous circular issued in May, 1804.³

Charles Downes, having satisfactorily disposed of his rival, at once published an edition of his own, which had not the Modern features that made Hill's book so objectionable to the Irish Brethren. The author made no use of the 1803 *Ahiman Rezon*; in fact, it is doubtful whether it was published before Downes' book was written. He based his work on the earlier Dublin 5th edition of 1780. When the book was in the press on the 2nd February, 1804, he took the precaution of obtaining official sanction by the Grand Lodge of Ireland. This, then, was an official publication, and so became the approved Book of Constitutions of Ireland. In this, it differed from the earlier Irish editions, all of which were unofficial handbooks. All the subsequent Dublin books were official. This book was sold at 3s. 9½d.⁴; it is frequently bound up with a list of Lodges,⁵ the price of which was given on the Title-page of that list as 2s. 2d. It has no Frontispiece, and after the *Imprimatur* and Title-page, there is a Dedication signed by C. Downes to the Earl of Donoughmore, Grand Master of Ireland. There is no mention of

¹ See p. 117 *ante*, and Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 472.

² Imprint: Published by Brother Joseph Hill—Dublin 1800.

³ See Lepper and Crosslé, i., 332 *et seq.*

⁴ *A.Q.C.*, xvii., 158.

⁵ See Lepper and Crosslé, i., 307, 413, *et seq.*

Laurence Dermott here, or elsewhere in the book. It continues with "Ahiman Rezon" and the usual contents, but there is, naturally, no reference to Dermott's "evil designer." The *New Regulations* are now printed on the pages opposite to the *Old Regulations* to which they refer. The notes regarding the Grand Master's Lodge are given, and the 1768 Regulations are followed by the newer laws, continuing up to July, 1803, after which are Regulations for the Irish Masonic Female Orphan School. Then come the Songs, etc., most of which were in the Dublin 5th edition. Four songs and a prologue come from *Fratrimonium Excelsum*, one song from *Masonic Miscellanies* and the last song, which begins *Right worshipful master*, I have not traced prior to its publication by Gavin Wilson in his *Edinburgh Collection of Masonic Songs* in 1788. After the songs, we have the Free-Masons' Memento, which was in the London 1800 edition, and finally a list of Toasts, many of which are from the songs of previous editions.

Downes' Second Edition was published in 1807, and differs but little from that of 1804. The date of the Grand Lodge permission is not now given, and on the Title-page, the printer is now described as "P.M. 141." The Dedication is slightly altered, the Regulations contain no amendments subsequent to July, 1803, there are a number of new Songs and the Free-Masons' Memento has been omitted.

In a footnote to Vol. i. of Lepper and Crosslé's *History*, on page 309, it is stated that another un-dated edition of *Ahiman Rezon* appeared between 1807 and 1817. Bro. P. Crosslé has written to tell me that this is a mistake, and the book in question has been found to be one of the 1817 edition, with the date carefully erased from the title-page.

After the Union in England, the Constitutions had to be re-written, and those of the Irish Grand Lodge were also altered in order to conform. A new *Ahiman Rezon* embodying these alterations was brought out in 1817, but an abridged edition of this appeared in the previous year. This contained only a Title-page, the new Constitutions, a *pro forma* for returns to be made by Lodges, and an Index. The same sheets of the Constitutions were used for the full edition of 1817, and the remainders were subsequently issued with a new Title-page in 1820. At the end of one section of the Constitutions, on page 9, is a small ornamental tail-piece. This was evidently altered during the printing, for two alternative designs appear in both 1817 and 1820 books on that page.

For his third edition of 1817, Downes made considerable use of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, and from a careful textual examination, I am of opinion that he worked from the 11th edition of 1804, and not the 1812 edition. Preston's book was, of course, 'Modern,' but after the Union in 1813 the Grand Lodge of Ireland would not object to that. This edition was dedicated to the Duke of Leinster, and the contents follow the usual lines as far as the Prayers, some of which have been omitted. Then follow the Masonic Funeral Service, the Ceremonies of Constitution and Installation and the Leland-Locke MS. with Preston's notes, all taken from the *Illustrations*. After this, there is the Address of the Comte de Toloda from the London 1800 edition, and this is followed by a list of Remarkable Occurrences taken from the *Free Mason's Calendar and Pocket Book* (1815), which was originally compiled by William Preston.¹ Then follows the 'History,' also from Preston, and the new Irish Constitutions which appeared in the book of 1816. The second Title-page, prior to the Songs, contains the familiar words "to which is added Solomon's Temple," but the editor probably found that he had no room for that Oratorio in the book, for it is not there! There are a number of changes in the Songs. The remainders of the 1817 edition, with a new Title-page, were published as a fourth edition in 1820. The Dedication was re-set, but there are no other alterations in the book. According to the title-page, this edition was "Sold by William F. Graham and Son, 35, Capel-Street, and 16, College-Green."

¹ Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, ii., 423.

We must now turn our attention again to Belfast, where an unofficial *Ahiman Rezon* was published in 1818. This was based on Downes' Dublin book of 1817, which it closely resembles. It has a Frontispiece similar to that in Hill's edition of 1803, but it was probably copied from the original in *Masonic Miscellanies*. The Title-page reads as follows:—

AHIMAN REZON:
OR
CONSTITUTION
OF
FREE MASONRY.
TO WHICH IS ADDED,
A SELECTION OF THE MOST APPROVED SONGS & TOASTS.

REVISED AND CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.
*With the addition of all the New Rules and Regulations, up to the
Present Year.—1818.*

Dedicated to the Belfast Masonic Committee.

[Masonic wood-cut]

BELFAST:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY GEORGE BERWICK,
No. 1, North-Street.

Price, 3s. 4d.

Following the Title-page is a list of thirty-nine Belfast Lodges, which differs considerably from the lists in the earlier editions. The Songs have been changed a great deal, and there are no Prologues or Epilogues in this edition.

There are three more Dublin editions of *Ahiman Rezon*, but these do not call for much comment. The 1839 edition does not mention either Dermott or Downes, and the Title-page is much shorter than that of any of its predecessors:—

The
Constitution
of
Freemasonry;
or,
Ahiman Rezon:
To which are added,
Certain Lectures,
Charges,
and
A Masonic Ritual.
Dublin:
Printed by Brother William Underwood,
Eden-Quay.
M.DCCC.XXXIX.

This book begins with the Grand Officers, which, by the way, are for 1840. The Regulations are followed by those for the Royal Arch, Knights Templar and Council of Rites. Then there follows "The Masonic Ritualist and Lecturer" with a separate Title-page. This section contains notes, lectures, etc., on the three degrees, and is taken principally from Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* and Dr. G. Oliver's *Star in the East*. This part is by Archdeacon W. B. Mant, who is well known as the author of the *Pocket Companion* of 1831 under the

pseudonym "a Brother of the Apollo Lodge." He was Provincial Grand Master of Carie and Dunluce at this time, and in 1858 he was given the Province of Belfast and North Down. In later copies of this book, after a third Title-page, there is an account of the Proceedings at the Dedication of Free Masons' Hall, Dublin, on the 19th March, 1840, and an *addendum* brings the Regulations up to date. The Leland-Locke MS. has been omitted from this edition and there are no Songs.

The 1850 edition is very similar to that of 1839. The Title-page has the words "Published by the Grand Lodge of Ireland." The dissertation entitled "*Ahiman Rezon*," which was written by Dermott for his first book, has been omitted from this edition after appearing in all those issued previously, both in England and Ireland. The Leland-Locke MS. is back again after being omitted in 1839. The list of Remarkable Occurrences still ceases at the year 1813, but a few special Irish items have been added.

The last Irish *Ahiman Rezon* is that of 1858, and in this, the order of the contents has been altered. The Funeral Service and the Comte de Toloda's Address have been omitted. Several new items have been added to the list of 'Occurrences.' It is recorded here that in B.C. 1264, the Phœnicians settled in Ireland, and Masonry was introduced there by Heber and Heremon! The last entry is dated 1857 and is "A new edition of the Irish Constitutions of freemasonry printed by order of the Grand Lodge of Ireland."

After this publication, the title *Ahiman Rezon* was dropped in Ireland, and, thereafter, there was a *Book of Constitutions*. These Irish books form a long series, they are of great interest, and their contents are of a much more variable character than those of the English editions.

THE AMERICAN EDITIONS.

In North America, there were many Lodges under the Antient Grand Lodge, and these naturally made use of Dermott's *Ahiman Rezon* as their official Book of Constitutions. In the course of time, when independent Grand Lodges were formed, the new official books were based on those which the Lodges had been using. The result of this has been that a number of editions of *Ahiman Rezon* were printed in North America, the first dated 1783, and these have continued up to the present time. Although there is to-day little resemblance between these books and Dermott's first *Ahiman Rezon*, it is interesting to find that the name given to his Book of Constitutions has survived across the Atlantic, although it disappeared from the British Isles over seventy years ago.

Perhaps the most interesting of these American editions is that published in Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1786, and this is also one of the rarest. There was an Antient Provincial Grand Lodge in Halifax with a number of subordinate Lodges, and this book had the sanction of that authority. It was "published by the Consent and Direction of the Grand Lodge of This Province." This was not an independent Grand Lodge, for the sovereign authority in that Province did not come into being until late in the nineteenth century. This book is based on the 3rd English edition of 1778, and it has several local features including a Dedication to John Parr, the Governor and Provincial Grand Master, an account of Masonry in Nova Scotia, a Charge given at Provincial Grand Lodge, Provincial Regulations, Provincial Grand Officers, and a list of Lodges.

The first *Ahiman Rezon* to be published in the United States seems to have been issued in 1783 in Philadelphia. There were Antient Lodges in the State of Pennsylvania, and no doubt they were tending to become independent at this time, although the sovereign Grand Lodge was not formed until 1786. This edition is derived from the English second edition of 1764, and is dedicated

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

AHIMAN REZON:

OR, A

HELP to a BROTHER;

S H E W I N G

The EXCELLENCY of SECRECY;
the first Cause of the Institution of F. & A. M.
MASONRY; the *Principles* of the Order;
and the Benefits arising from a strict Obedience
thereof; the Sort of Men that ought to be admit-
ted into the Myſtery, and the Kind of Maſons
that are fit to govern Lodges, with their proper
Behaviour in and out of the Lodges.

The ancient Manner of conſtituting NEW
LODGES, with all the CHARGES, &c.

L I K E W I S E,

The Prayers uſed in *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Lodges.

A L S O,

The OLD and NEW REGULATIONS,
the Manner of Chuiſing and Inſtalling *Grand-
Maſters* and *Officers*, &c.

To which is added,

A large Collection of MASON SONGS,
entertaining PROLOGUES and EPILOGUES.

A N D

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

AN ORATORIO.

By Brother LAURENCE DERMOTT, Sec.

The Fourth EDITION with ADDITIONS.

D R O G H E D A.

Printed by JOHN FLEMING, in *Derry-Street*.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, Drogheda, c. 1780.

From the Copy in the Library of the Prov. Grand Lodge of Antrim.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

AHIMAN REZON:

O R, A

HELP TO A BROTHER.

S H E W I N G,

The EXCELLENCY of SECRECY, and
the first Cause of the Institution of FREE-
MASONRY; the PRINCIPLES of the
CRAFT, and the Benefits arising from a strict
Observance thereof; the Sort of Men that ought
to be initiated into the Mystery, and the Kind of
MASONS that are fit to govern LODGES, with
their proper Behaviour in and out of the LODGE.

The ancient Manner of CONSTITUTING new
LODGES, with All the CHARGES, &c.

LIKEWISE,

The PRAYERS used in *Jewish* and *Christian* Lodges.

- ALSO,

The OLD and NEW REGULATIONS,
The Manner of choosing and Installing GRAND-
MASTER and OFFICERS, &c.

To which is added,

A LARGE COLLECTION of MASONS SONGS,
entertaining PROLOGUES and EPILOGUES,

AND

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE:

AN ORATORIO.

By Brother LAURENCE DERMOTT, Sec.

The Fifth EDITION, with ADDITIONS.

B E L F A S T:

PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR, BY JAMES MAGEE,
AT THE BIBLE AND CROWN, IN BRIDGE-
STREET. M,DCC,LXXXII.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, Belfast, 1782.

From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.

to George Washington.¹ The Province of Pennsylvania (Antients) had subordinate Lodges in Maryland and Virginia, and this accounts, no doubt, for the editions published in Baltimore and Richmond, although in these cases and in all others that I have been able to trace, the books were not published until after the formation of the sovereign Grand Lodges. The Baltimore edition of 1797 is probably the rarest issued in the United States. The next edition of 1817 contains several pages from the writings of William Finch, the notorious charlatan, but these were omitted from later Baltimore editions. This 1817 *Ahiman Rezon* was translated into Spanish, and printed in two volumes at Philadelphia in 1822.

The Antient Lodges in South Carolina and New York account for the editions published in Charleston and New York City after independent Grand Lodges had been formed in those States. The renowned Dr. Frederick Dalcho edited the Charleston books. These contained a well-known address *We are now about to quit this sacred retreat . . .* which was copied from the Massachusetts *Constitutions* of 1792.² The following "Constitutional Rules founded on the Ancient Land Marks," which are in these books, are of interest:—

Any five regular Lodges can form and constitute a Grand Lodge, in
a state, kingdom or nation, where no Grand Lodge is already
established; .

No candidate can receive more than two degrees in one night

Every applicant for initiation must be born of free white parents
. . .

The Grand Lodge of North Carolina and Tennessee issued an *Ahiman Rezon* in 1805, but the contents do not justify the name, for it does not seem to have been derived either directly or indirectly from any of the editions of Dermott. Probably it has nothing 'Antient' except the title. Particulars of the best-known American editions are given in Mackey's *Encyclopædia of Freemasonry*.³ Those issued up to 1850, which I have been able to trace, are listed in Appendix I.

CONCLUSION.

There is but little more to say. Our examination of these books tends to confirm the idea of the strong personality and character of Laurence Dermott. His words and phrases were carried by them all over the English-speaking world, and some are still found in the *Book of Constitutions* of to-day. All the English and Irish *Ahiman Rezens* that I have been able to trace, as well as the earlier American versions, are noted in Appendix I., and this, by giving the libraries where they are to be found, affords some idea of their rarity. It is curious that no *Ahiman Rezon* was published in Scotland. There was no official *Book of Constitutions* in that country in the eighteenth century, and the Mason must have relied on the various *Pocket Companions*.

I have been given great help in preparing this paper by many friends to whom I must express my gratitude. First and foremost, our own Treasurer and Secretary and Bro. Gordon Hills, the Librarian of Grand Lodge, have given me facilities to consult the books in their care, as well as valuable advice. For information regarding the Irish editions, my thanks are due to Bros. Philip Crosslé, W. Jenkinson and our Belfast veteran, Bro. S. Leighton. It has been an interesting study, but I feel sure that my work is very incomplete, and it is greatly to be hoped that others will be able to supplement my efforts.

¹ Part of this was reproduced in *The Freemason's Companion, or Pocket Preceptor*, John Phillips, Philadelphia, 1805.

² See *Miscellanea Latomorum*, i., 66, 90.

³ Subject: *Ahiman Rezon*.

APPENDIX I.

Libraries to which reference is made:—

1. Grand Lodge of England.
2. „ „ „ Ireland.
3. „ „ „ Scotland.
4. „ „ „ Iowa.
5. „ „ „ Massachusetts.
6. „ „ „ New York.
7. „ „ „ Pennsylvania.
8. Grand Orient of the Netherlands.
9. Quatuor Coronati Lodge.
10. Supreme Council, 33°, England, etc.
11. Supreme Council, 33°, S.J., U.S.A.
12. Masonic Library, Birmingham.
13. „ „ Worcester.
14. „ „ York.
15. „ „ Belfast, Northern Ireland.
16. „ „ Lahore, India.
17. „ „ of F. H. Marquis, Mansfield, Ohio.
18. British Museum.
19. Masonic Library of Harold V. B. Voorhis, N.J.

Index Number.	Page of Text.	Place.	Date.	Libraries.	Remarks.
<i>English Editions.</i>					
1	241	London	1756	1.2.3.4.5.7.8.9.11.12.13. 14.16.17.	
2	254	London	1764	1.2.4.5.8.9.10.11.13.14. 15.16.17.	
3	259	London	1778	1.2.4.5.8.9.10.11.13.14.16. 17.18.	
4	259	London	1787	1.4.5.9.13.14.17.	Remainders of 3.
5	269	London	1800	1.2.4.5.8.9.10.13.14.16.17.	
6	269	London	1807	1.2.4.5.9.11.13.14.16.17.	Remainders of 5.
7	277	London	1801	1.2.3.4.5.9.11.12.13.14.16. 17.19.	
8	281	London	c.1810	Private Ownership, London.	Abridged Edition of 7.
9	282	London	1813	1.2.3.4.5.9.11.13.14.17.	
<i>Irish Editions.</i>					
10	285	Dublin	1760	1.2.	
11	285	Dublin	?	—	2nd Edition. Un- discovered.
12	285	Dublin	?	—	3rd Edition. Un- discovered.
13	285	Dublin	1780	9.	4th Edition.
14	286	Dublin	1780	4.17.	5th Edition. Chamber- laine & Rainsford.
15	286	Dublin	1780	2.	5th Edition. Chamber- laine & Wilkinson.
16	288	Dublin	c.1790	1.2.5.9.11.13.14.17.	Fraternitium Excelsum.
17	289	Dublin	1803	1.2.4.5.6.9.11.14.16.17.	
18	289	Dublin	1804	2.5.9.11.13.14.15.16.17.	First official Irish Edition
19	290	Dublin	1807	1.2.5.9.11.17.18.	
20	290	Dublin	1816	1.	Abridged Edition of 21.
21	290	Dublin	1817	1.2.9.11.15.16.	
22	290	Dublin	1820	1.2.9.11.14.	Remainders of 21.
23	291	Dublin	1839	1.2.5.15.17.	
24	292	Dublin	1850	2.10.15.	
25	292	Dublin	1858	1.2.10.13.14.15.	
26	286	Drogheda	c.1780	11.15.16.17.	
27	287	Belfast	1782	1.4.5.6.9.11.14.15.17.18.	
28	287	Belfast	1795	1.2.3.4.5.9.18.	
29	287	Belfast	1803	1.2.4.5.6.11.13.15.17.18.	
30	291	Belfast	1818	1.2.11.15.	

American Editions prior to 1850.

Index Number.	Page of Text.	Place.	Date.	Libraries.	Remarks.
31	292	Halifax, N.S.	1786	18.	
32	293	Baltimore, Md.	1797	4.5.11.17.	
33	293	Baltimore, Md.	1817	1.4.5.11.17.	
34	293	Baltimore, Md.	1826	4.5.11.17.	
35	293	Charleston, S.C.	1807	1.4.5.6.8.11.17.19.	
36	293	Charleston, S.C.	1822	1.5.11.17.	
37	293	Newbern, N.C.	1805	4.	
38	293	New York, N.Y.	1805	4.5.6.11.17.19.	
39	292	Philadelphia, Pa.	1783	4.5.6.7.8.9.11.14.16.17.	
40	293	Philadelphia, Pa.	1822	10. (Vol. II. only).	2 Volumes in Spanish.
41	293	Philadelphia, Pa.	1825	1.4.5.7.9.17.19.	
42	293	Richmond, Va.	1791	4.5.6.17.	
43	293	Richmond, Va.	1818	4.5.9.17.	
44	293	Richmond, Va.	1847	4.5.	

APPENDIX II.

Collations of the various British editions:—

F. Frontispiece.

T. Title-page.

*Index
Number.*

1. 4to. T. (black and red), *verso* blank; (i.) (black and red); (ii.)—xvii., *verso* blank; 8 pp. n.n.; (1)—96; second T., *verso* blank; (99)—(209), *verso* blank.
2. 4to. Engraved F.; Engraved T., *verso* blank; (i.)—xxxvi.; (1)—96; second T., *verso* blank; (99)—224.
3. 8vo. Engraved F.; T., Errata on *verso*; Engraved Dedication, *verso* blank; 2 pp. n.n.; (i.)—iv.; (i.)—lxii.; (lxiii.) blank; (1)—106; second T., *verso* blank; (109)—232.
4. 8vo. Engraved F.; T., Dedication on *verso*; 2 pp. n.n.; (i.)—iv.; (i.)—lxii.; (lxiii.) blank; (1)—106; second T., *verso* blank; (109)—222; third T., *verso* blank; (225)—232.
- 5, 6. 8vo. Half T., *verso* blank; Engraved F.; T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; (vii.)—xii.; Engraved Dedication, *verso* blank; (i.)—lxii.; (1)—130; second T., *verso* blank; (133)—245, *verso* blank.
7. 4to. Half T., *verso* blank; Engraved F.; T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; Engraved Dedication, *verso* blank; 6 pp. n.n.; (i.)—l.; (1)—134; 2 pp. n.n.; second T., *verso* blank; (139)—234; third T., *verso* blank; (3)—16.
8. 4to. T., *verso* blank; (3)—40.
9. 4to. Half T., *verso* blank; Engraved F.; T., *verso* blank; 2 pp. n.n.; (i.)—vi.; second T., *verso* blank; (3)—16; (i.)—liv.; (1)—133; (134) blank; third T., *verso* blank; (137)—234.
10. 6to. T., *verso* blank; (i.)—(xiv.); (1)—62; second T., *verso* blank; (65)—(152).

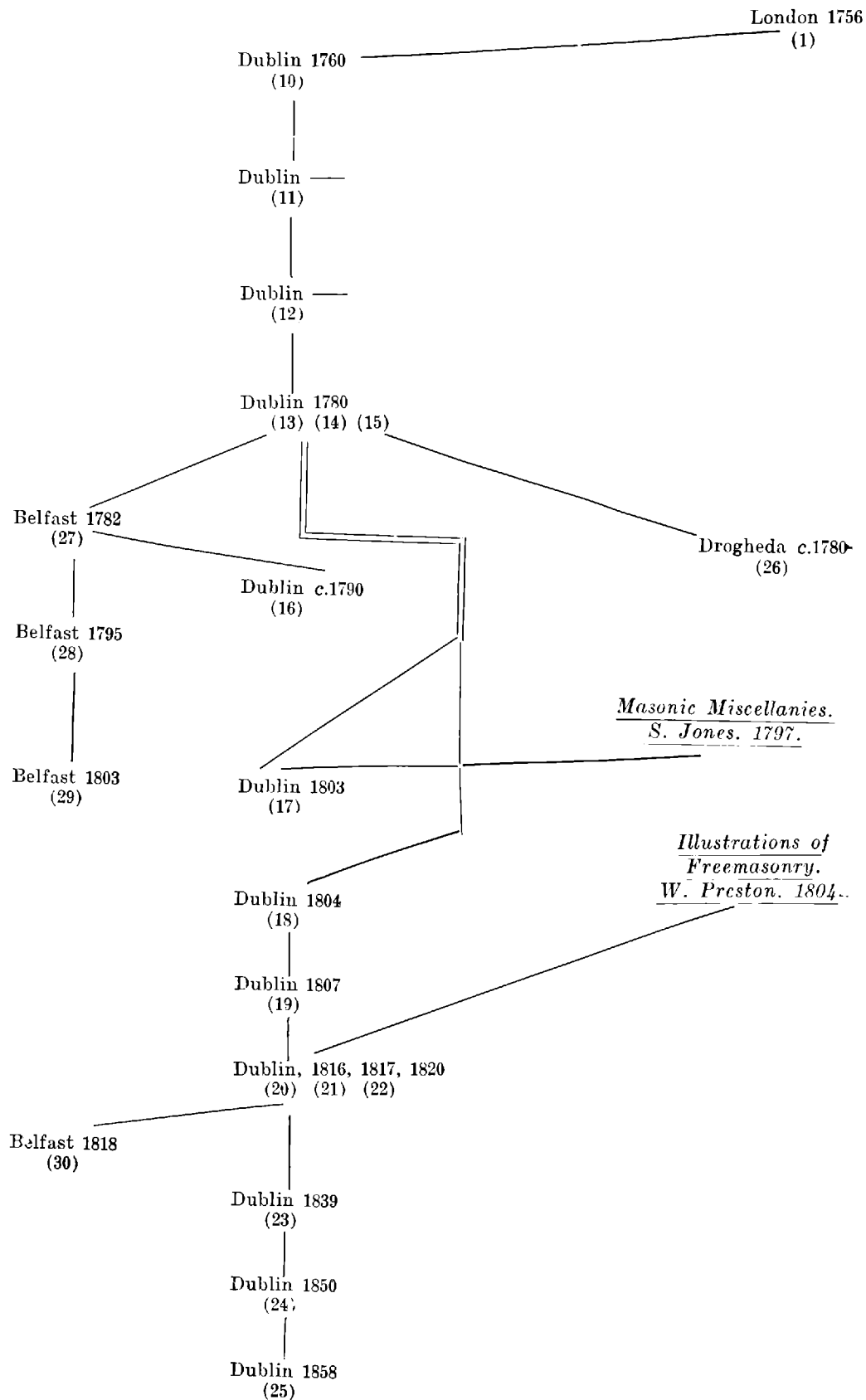
*Index
Number.*

13. 12mo. T., *verso* blank; (iii.)—(xvi.); (1)—62; second T., *verso* blank; (65)—152.
- 14, 15. 12mo. T., *verso* blank; 2 pp. n.n.; (i.)—(xvi.); (1)—62; 33*—40*; second T., *verso* blank; (65)—134; 135*—(156*); 137—152.
16. 6to. F.; T., *verso* blank; (iii.)—xxiv.; (1)—70; second T., *verso* blank; (73)—203; 1 p. advertisement n.n.
17. 12mo. F.; T., *verso* blank; (1)—78.
18. 4to. Half T., 1 p. n.n.; T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; (i.)—vi.; (1)—88; 89*—90*; second T., *verso* blank; (89)—216.
19. 4to. Half T.; 1 p. n.n.; T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; (vii.)—xii.; (1)—90; second T., *verso* blank; (93)—220.
20. 4to. T., *verso* blank; (1)—9, *verso* blank; 11—23, *verso* blank; 25—43, *verso* blank; 6 pp. n.n.
- 21, 22. 4to. Half T.; 1 p. n.n.; T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; 9 pp. n.n., *verso* blank; (i.)—lxxix., *verso* blank; lxxxi.—cli., *verso* blank; (1)—9, *verso* blank; 11—23, *verso* blank; 25—42; second T., *verso* blank; (45)—128.
23. 4to. T., *verso* blank; 1 p. n.n., *verso* blank; (v.)—xii.; (1)—78; second T., *verso* blank; (81)—108.
24. 4to. Half T., *verso* blank; T., *verso* blank; (v.)—xvi.; (1)—165, *verso* blank.
25. 4to. Half T., *verso* blank; T., *verso* blank; 2 pp. n.n.; (1)—197, *verso* blank.
26. 4to. T., *verso* blank; (i.)—xii.; (1)—71, *verso* blank; second T., *verso* blank; (75)—(185), *verso* blank.
- 27, 28, 29. 12mo. Half T., *verso* blank; T., *verso* blank; (v.)—(xxv.), *verso* blank; (1)—70; second T., *verso* blank; (73)—192.
30. 12mo. F.; T., *verso* blank; (1)—2¹; (3)—192.

¹ Printed "4" in error.

APPENDIX III.

Diagram to show the probable sequence of the Irish editions. The "Index Numbers" from Appendix I. are given in brackets.



A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Adams for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. Flather, seconded by Bro. de Lafontaine; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, G. W. Bullamore, G. Y. Johnson, Lewis Edwards, J. Heron Lepper, Sam. Leighton, and C. F. Sykes.

BRO. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

Our newly-admitted Brother, Cecil Clare Adams, is certainly to be congratulated on having prepared so exhaustive an examination of the various editions of *Ahiman Rezon* to be read on the night of his election.

I am, therefore, sorry that I am not able to be present to hear a synopsis of the paper, which I am sure is all our author will have the opportunity of presenting in the time at his disposal.

I hope I may be forgiven if I submit a few remarks in writing, not by way of criticism, but purely in the way of comment.

It seems to me unfortunate that the peculiar title and its possible meaning should have been summarily dismissed in a footnote.

One fact alone is clear, that the title is two proper names taken from the V.S.L. Why Dermott should have adopted these names is a puzzle many Brethren have attempted to solve. It does seem evident that the compiler of the book was well acquainted with the Genevan Version of the Bible and probably with that particular edition of it which contains the Table of Proper Names with their interpretations.

The attempts of Mackey, Crucefix, Oliver and others to rig up Hebrew words having some resemblance to the title and to place interpretations on them which suited their purpose may be swept aside as useless.

Bro. the Rev. Morris Rosenbaum, with rather more acumen, endeavoured to show that the words *might* have been understood by Dermott to bear the meaning "Faithful Brother Secretary". He did not attempt to prove that this was a correct translation of the words, and this point cannot be too strongly insisted on. The meanings given in the Genevan Version are:—

AHIMAN, a prepared brother, or brother of the right hand, or brother mine, what? One of the sonnes of Anak.

REZON, small, lean, secret, or a secretarie or a prince.

So that a good many other feasible explanations could be arrived at; -even the sub-title, "A Help to a Brother", being quite a possible one. A secretary ought certainly to be a help! and princes in our day are more than useful.

But I submit my own attempt to show that the whole thing might be a cryptogram on the words Free Masonry (although the theory did not meet with any general acceptance) was not altogether wide of the mark when Dermott's predilection for cyphers and ambiguities is considered.

It is strange, too, that Bro. Adams should have been able to write so much about Dermott and his work without making frequent reference to William Preston, who was his great antagonist on behalf of the rival Grand Lodge.

There is also no mention of the special value of the *Ahiman Rezon*, particularly of the second edition, from the point of view of knowledge of many eighteenth century details of Craft working.

These few comments in no way lessen my appreciation of Bro. Adams's paper, and I heartily support the vote of thanks which I am sure will be accorded to him.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

In his introduction Bro. Adams suggests that the Antients, prior to the drawing up of rules on 17th July, 1751, "considered themselves bound by James Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1738". This is a debateable question. Personally, I am inclined to regard the Antients as the legitimate descendants of the mediæval freemasons and to look upon the Moderns and James Anderson as an irregular body.

I think it likely that the original organisation of the Freemasons was an oligarchy which granted power to individuals to form lodges of masons, the power being conveyed by means of copies of extracts from the constitutions. These extracts were known as the old charges, and without the master and his old charges no lodge was possible. When the rebuilding of London after the fire had been completed, certain lodges of operatives that had been meeting regularly were no longer summoned by their masters. Honorary members of these lodges continued to meet on their own initiative and eventually gave rise to the G.L. of the Moderns. In 1725 Verno Commodus tells us that "the doctor pretends he has found out a mysterious Hocus-Pocus word". Dr. Desaguliers was prominent in the Modern organisation, and about this date we get copies of the Old Charges in the handwriting of William Reid, Secretary to the Grand Lodge of the Moderns. I note that Rawlinson, "the non-juring titular Bishop of London" as Pennant calls him, was a member of four lodges and that his lists of members contain names which are not recorded in Grand Lodge. Many lodges seem to have held masters' lodges.

It is interesting to note that at a later date a Modern lodge held a meeting of its Rose Croix Chapter and stated that the Duke of Cumberland was Grand Master in place of Charles Stewart. It makes one wonder if it was purely coincidence that the standard of the Old Pretender was a pelican in her piety.

Bro. Adams speaks of the crest, "a bowed arm holding a trowel", as though it could be definitely regarded as an invention of Dermott derived from the seals of the Irish Lodges. This crest has always interested me, as a similar crest is common among trade companies, the bowed arm being used in conjunction with some implement appertaining to the trade. Mottoes and Crests in Heraldry are liable to alteration, and I have wondered whether this innovation might not have come through Londonderry from the London Company. The original grant of arms of 1477 was sable, three castles argent, etc. The castle is depicted as a crest, but is not mentioned in the wording. Later the ground colour is changed to azure, but the reason or authority, if any, are unknown. The modern G.L. used a dove as a crest, and beavers were added as supporters. Randall Holmes gives pillars as supporters, and the triple towered castles degenerate into towers similar to the chess rook or castle. The motto also varies in different examples. As Dermott had nothing to do with these other variations there is just a possibility that the Irish Seals were derived from a coat of arms and that Dermott described this variation of the Heraldry.

A hand holding a trowel as a thrusting implement is depicted on an old Irish building stone with the date 1738. This may have some ceremonial significance, and it would be interesting to know whether it was the forerunner of the bowed arm of the seal or was suggested by it.

Bro. S. LEIGHTON writes:—

I sincerely congratulate Bro. Cecil Adams on his most comprehensive analysis of the work of that doughty Irish Mason L. Dermott, as revealed in the

detailed and fascinating study of the various books of *Ahiman Rezon*, which he has given to the Lodge of Quatuor Coronati this evening. It is the first time the subject has been handled in such detailed form, and the research work which the essayist has put into the preparation of his paper, deserves the highest commendation.

Dermott stands out as the most vilified and misunderstood freemason in history. After a hundred years of obloquy, it fell to the lot of Henry Sadler to demonstrate to the world the great Masonic principle, "Magna est veritas et praevalerebit" as exemplified in the case of Laurence Dermott.

Bro. Adams has to-night extended our knowledge, and it is with the greatest pleasure I acknowledge his right to stand on the same platform with Sadler and Bywater, as having contributed a valuable addition to the literature of the subject, and thereby helping to reveal Dermott, not only as an earnest and sincere freemason, but also a man of great personality and forceful character.

The eight English editions of *Ahiman Rezon* have been admirably analysed and described by the essayist, and from my own personal study of them in the Grand Lodge Library (by favour of the courteous librarian, Bro. Gordon Hills) I can sincerely compliment Bro. Adams on his careful and accurate analysis, and cordially approve of his deductions.

With regard to the Irish editions, I would respectfully offer some few comments from an Irishman's point of view.

It may be interesting to point out that, the "Orange Lodge" No. 257, Belfast, which Dermott favoured with a complimentary letter, was not an "Orange" Lodge as generally understood at the present time. It was a true "Masonic" Lodge, Warranted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and is still working in Belfast.

At the end of the eighteenth century, Ireland was in the throes of rebellion, and religious feelings ran high, but it was not till the year 1795 that the first political "Orange" Lodge was formed at a little place called "Loughgall" "after the model of Freemasons", by a number of men who were refreshing themselves at an inn after they had fought the Battle of the Diamond.

Orange and Blue were Protestant party colours, and many Orangemen were also Freemasons. Masonic Lodge No. 272, warranted in 1756, is one of our oldest lodges still working in Belfast. It was first called "New Blues", which subsequently became "True Blues", carrying a similar meaning as the word "Orange".

The letter of Dermott is addressed to the "Right Worshipful Past Master, Master, Wardens and Brethren of the Orange Lodge of Belfast No. 257".

It will be noticed that the P.M. comes first; a footnote tells us that his name was "Amyas Griffiths Esq.—Captain General of Volunteers".

He was a well-known man in Government Service, and one of the founders of Lodge No. 257.

The W.M. was "John Brown Esq. Major of the Belfast Batt. of volunteers".

He belonged to a well-known Belfast family, and was "Sovereign" of the town for several years; this office was the same as what is now known as "Mayor".

The Volunteers were formed for the defence of the country against the threatened invasion of the French, and the newspapers were full of advertisements from Masonic Lodges, offering their services to King and country against their enemies.

The Irish edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, 1760, was first mentioned in an old copy of the *Belfast News Letter*, 2nd December, 1758, when an advertisement appeared:—

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

CHARGES AND REGULATIONS,

O F T H E

**ANCIENT AND HONOURABLE SOCIETY
OF FREE AND ACCEPTED**

M A S O N S,

EXTRACTED FROM

AHIMAN REZON, &c.

TOGETHER WITH

**A concise Account of the Rise and Progress of
FREE MASONRY in NOVA-SCOTIA, from the first
Settlement of it to this Time;**

A N D

**A CHARGE given by the Revd. Brother WEEKS,
at the Installation of His Excellency JOHN
PARR, Esq; GRAND MASTER.**

D E S I G N E D

**For the Use of the Brethren, and published by the
Consent and Direction of the GRAND LODGE of
this PROVINCE.**

H A L I F A X :

Printed by JOHN HOWE at his Printing Office, in
BARRINGTON-STREET, CORNER of SACKVILLE-STREET.

MDCCCLXXXVI.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, Halifax, N.S., 1786.

From the Copy in the Collection of Bro. Wallace Heaton.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

Supplement
AHIMAN REZON

ABRIDGED AND DIGESTED;

A S A

Help to all that are, or would be

Free and Accepted MASONS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A S E R M O N,

PREACHED IN CHRIST-CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA,

AT A GENERAL COMMUNICATION,

CELEBRATED, AGREEABLE TO THE CONSTITUTIONS, ON

MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1778, AS THE ANNIVER-

SARY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF

The GRAND LODGE of PENNSYLVANIA,

By WILLIAM SMITH, D. D.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY HALL AND SELLERS,

M, DCC, LXXXIII.

Title-page, *Ahiman Rezon*, Philadelphia, 1783.

From the Copy in the Q.C. Library.

Proposal for printing by subscription "Ahiman Rezon or help to a brother".

BY BROTHER LAURENCE DERMOTT SEC.

— CONDITIONS. —

1. That this book will be printed in an octavo volume containing 210 pages, on good Dutch paper and large type.
 2. That the price to Subscribers will be three British sixpences; one British sixpence to be paid at Subscribing, and the remainder on delivery of the book, sewed in blue paper.
 3. The subscribers names shall be printed if required: and the work put to press as soon as 200 copies are subscribed for.
- Subscriptions are taken in by the undertakers.

Here follows a list of booksellers in Belfast Newry, Armagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, Newtonlimavady, Coleraine, Ballymoney and Downpatrick.

Inside the cover of the copy in the Grand Lodge Library there is an autograph letter from Bro. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, LL.D., addressed to Bro. A. M. Broadley, congratulating him on "having hit on a rare edition of A.R." which, he says, is "the rarest of all Irish editions". Lodge CCIX is stamped on the cover. Inside the cover of the Irish edition of *circa* 1790, are two interesting autograph letters pasted, one from Bro. G. W. Bain and the other from Bro. G. W. Speth, discussing the possible date of publication, etc.

These letters testify to the interest taken in the books; they also give an added interest to the copies in Grand Lodge Library.

On the page opposite the title of the copy of the English 4th Edition of 1787, in the same collection, there is an interesting note; possibly written by Bro. Crucefix:—

This copy was for many years used by the Grand Lodge of the "Ancients" or Atholl Masons—up to the very last meeting of that society—it is also the identical copy upon which the Duke of Sussex was obligated when he became a member of that society.

Presented to Bro. Crucefix in 1833 by Edward Harper.

On the blank page inside the cover is written:—

DERIVATION OF "AHIMAN REZON"

A corruption of three Hebrew words:—

ACHI MAN RATZON

Signifying the thoughts or opinions of a true and faithful brother.

"Fellows exposition of Mysteries". Note on P. 233.

Bro. Adams has placed us under an obligation of gratitude for his patient research work, which will be a valuable reference for the future, and be the means of spreading the knowledge of the contents of these historical and interesting volumes, whilst at the same time, giving at firsthand, a true estimate of their brilliant and masterful author, Laurence Dermott.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS writes:—

Bro. Adams states that the prayer to be used by Jewish Free-Masons at the opening of the Lodge cannot be found by him in any previous Masonic work. Further than this, save for its restriction to Old Testament references, there

seems to be little or nothing therein reminiscent of the Jewish liturgy, and it was probably an *ad hoc* compilation of Dermott's. In striking contrast to this, the prayer "repeated in the Royal Arch Lodge at Jerusalem" is an integral and well-known part of the Modern, as it was of the Ancient, Jewish Service. It is a confirmation of Dr. Wotton's statement that it is "very ancient", that it is stated on page xlix. of the Historical and Explanatory Notes to the Authorised [Jewish] Daily Prayer Book, 12th Edn., that "the Ahabah prayer—one of the most beautiful in the liturgies of the world—probably belonged already to the Service of the Temple". We read in the Jewish Encyclopædia (art. Ahabal Rabbah; Ahabah Olam) that in the controversy regarding the prayer and its variant form, it was claimed that the latter was "recited by the priests in the Temple at the morning Service . . . The benediction itself . . . is very old and probably dates from the time of the institution of the Shema [the proclamation of the Unity] by the founders of the Synagogue (the men of the Great Synagogue)". It is interesting, even if the fact is no more than a coincidence, to note that the period of the Great Synagogue dates from the time of Ezra.

With regard to Wilkinson's *Patrimonium Excelsum*, I have in my possession two copies of that work, one in boards and one in leather. In spite of the statement on the title-page, the former has no frontispiece, nor are there any signs in the binding or sewing that it ever had one; the latter has a frontispiece, but it is a folding one of a tracing board with Wilkinson's name and address thereon. The copy in boards in the Lodge Library is similar to my own, while the leather-bound one has the copy of the 1723 frontispiece. In these circumstances, it seems likely that there not being enough copies of the 1723 frontispiece, Wilkinson did not issue any with the copies in boards, and that as the supply was not enough even for all the leather-bound copies, he issued some of the latter with the tracing-board frontispiece. If this is so, it is only consistent with what we know of Wilkinson's vagaries.

Bro. C. F. SYKES writes:—

I extend to Bro. Cecil Adams my thanks for his interesting paper. After reading it a first time I certainly felt I had made my day's 'advancement in Masonic knowledge', and further acquaintance with the paper demonstrates its value to the Craft in general.

There is only one point on which I desire to comment. It refers to clothing the Lodge noted in the 2nd Edition.

Bro. Gould, writing on the subject of gloves, gives examples from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of the presentation of gloves to operative workmen. He points out that according to the Schaw Statutes of 1599 the gift was to be made in the opposite direction, that is, by the candidate to the members of the Lodge.

Dr. Plot, in his account of Freemasonry, alludes to the custom of candidates presenting gloves, not only to the 'Ancients of the Order', but to their wives.

Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 state that new brethren were, "decently to cloath the Lodge—that is, all the Brethren present".

The 2nd Edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, 1764, states that the initiate is to clothe the Lodge if required, and the footnote explains that, "By cloathing is meant white aprons and gloves, not only for every member in the lodge, but also for all their wives and sweethearts".

I have lately read a French Ritual by J. N. Ragon, published about 1860. Towards the close of the Initiation ceremony the Venerable or W.M. presented two pairs of gloves to the candidate, one pair for his own use and the other pair he was requested to present to the woman highest in his esteem.

Considering that Freemasonry according to Ragon was introduced into France by some partisans of the Pretender in 1725, Anderson's *Constitutions* of two years earlier would probably be known to them. The 2nd Edition of *Ahiman Rezon* shows that the English custom for the Candidate to present gloves to the Lodge, remained.

It is curious, therefore, to note that the French usage nearly a century and a-half after Anderson's *Constitutions* and a century after the 2nd Edition of the Antients' *Constitutions*, should have been more in accordance with the practice of mediæval operative days, that is, the presentation was made to the candidate and not to the Lodge.

Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON writes:—

I have read through the paper *Ahiman Rezon, the Book of Constitutions*, by Bro. Cecil Adams, with great interest and should like to congratulate him on an excellent paper. The more we learn about Laurence Dermott the more we know of eighteenth century Freemasonry.

I agree that there is every possibility of other Irish editions or issues being in existence, as there is a signed letter at York from Bro. Chetwode Crawley which states that:—"Thos. Wilkinson's publications were issued between 1780 and 1800, he had originally printed off a large number which he kept by him in sheets and issued from time to time with new title pages, introductions or additions, sometimes even with a frontispiece of a haphazard character. Also he seems to have supplied sheets to local booksellers in other Irish towns who published them with local title pages to suit themselves".

Bro. J. HERON LEPPER writes:—

I regret that I am unable to hear the delivery of this paper, which is such a monument of Masonic erudition and research, and to congratulate Bro. Adams on taking that seat in our Inner Circle which he has so fully earned. We shall all join in wishing our Brother long and happy years to enjoy this new Masonic honour, and to devote his fine talents to the future advantage of the Craft, wheresoever dispersed.

All the comments I have to offer are trifling, and will merely aim at making a very complete masterpiece yet more complete.

There is, I think, a small error of fact in describing the earliest Irish Grand Lodge seal. A *facsimile* of this will be found at page 224 of the *Bicentenary History*. It was simply a hand and trowel (no arm shown), and was in vogue till 1759. A new form was adopted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1760, and this was taken by Dermott as the crest for the frontispiece of his second edition.

I should now like to make an incursion into more debatable ground and discuss the meaning of Dermott's allusion to his encounter with the Moderns (in 1747-8). His words are: "I had the like curiosity myself, about sixteen or seventeen years ago, when I was first introduced into that society"; and of course the whole question is, did he attend the Modern Lodge as a visitor, or as a member? I have not the least doubt in my own mind that he went as a visitor. It was the natural course for an Antient Mason to adopt. When away from

home in a strange place, he exercised his "right of visit", attended the Lodge or Lodges sitting in his new domicile, and only after such inspection would he seek membership in such Lodge as appealed to him most. It would be needless to go into details about how he proved his *bona fides*. The "right of visit" is a privilege still prized and exercised by all Master Masons of the Constitution that brought Laurence Dermott to true Masonic light. I am confident he exercised it on coming to England in 1747; the more so, because he tells us that his motive was curiosity. He naturally wanted to see what the English Craft was like; nor was he the type of man to join a Lodge before being certain that he would feel at home in it. Then he says he "was introduced into that society", and I take the verb to mean that he was introduced as a visitor; if he had joined, I should have expected him to use another verb, "received, or admitted, or affiliated" as a member. However, we might go on breaking such philological lances all night without getting much forrarder.

I now wish to make a suggestion about the missing 2nd and 3rd Dublin editions of the *Ahiman Rezon* (index numbers 11 and 12), which is, that they never had any existence; that the so-called 4th Dublin edition (number 13) was labelled thus by Dillon Chamberlaine because he had either heard of, or seen the 3rd English edition, and wished to make his own publication seem the very last word in *Ahimans*. This is a mere conjecture of mine, based on experience of the devious ways of publishers at all times and in all nations, and some lucky discovery may, of course, knock out of it any bottom it may possess.

I have now to offer what I hope is more constructive material to be applied to the Belfast edition of 1782. There is not the least doubt, I think, that Amyas Griffith¹ was responsible for its seeing the light.

The Masonic and public career of this worthy would make a paper in itself, but it will be enough to put on record here a few notable facts in his life history. He was an excise officer by profession, a pamphleteer by predilection, a politician to his own confusion, and an active Mason wherever he happened to be. The first track of his Masonic footprint is found on the 3rd December, 1764, when he was registered as a M.M. in Lodge No. 244 held in the 2nd Regiment of Foot. He was probably so registered because he was returning to civil life, as did so many Irish soldiers at the end of the Seven Years' War. Apparently he then obtained a post in the Excise in Munster, for we find him registered as a member of Lodge 71, Tralee, in June, 1766. In September, 1770, he joined Lodge No. 96, Clonmel. In October, 1770, he was one of the founders of Lodge No. 484, Fethard. (Incidentally, he seems to have taken possession of the Warrant, and carried it with him to Belfast.) On the 3rd December, 1772, he joined Lodge No. 492, Dublin. On the 5th August, 1773, he was a founder of Carberry Lodge No. 504, Skibbereen, Co. Cork. On the 27th January, 1781, he was registered a member of Orange Lodge No. 257, Belfast. This was an old Lodge, dating from 1755, which had fallen into arrears with its payments to the Grand Lodge. Griffith actually joined it some time in 1780, because he joined in its petition to Grand Lodge in December of that year that three guineas be accepted in lieu of all arrears. It was the Volunteer era in Ireland, and the northern citizen soldiers seem to have flocked into the resuscitated Orange Lodge, hence the many military titles. The names of all the leading men of the period will be found in its list of members. It was also a time of violent political movement, and to his sorrow Griffith put his finger in the pie and got it scalded. He was dismissed from his post in the excise in Belfast, and returned to Dublin penniless and without a position. On the 20th April, 1786, he joined Lodge No. 202, Dublin, and was from this time on a frequent visitor at Grand Lodge. On the 5th June, 1788, he was appointed a member of the Grand Lodge

¹ The name is also found written Griffiths. He himself used no terminal s.

Committee to enquire into and report on the Higher Degrees. Then, on the 2nd January, 1790, we find another notice concerning him in Grand Lodge Minutes, which I venture to think helps to elucidate one of Bro. Adams's unsolved problems; on that date "Brother Griffiths was ordered to print Brother Darling's proposals, which are to be sent to all the Lodges". When in Belfast, Griffith had owned a private press, which he used for printing electioneering squibs, *etc.*, and plainly when fallen upon evil days in Dublin he was ready to turn an honest penny by typography. So now, I think we can hazard a shrewd guess who helped Wilkinson with the publication of his *Pratrimonium Excelsum*, and why that book was based on the 1782 Belfast *Ahiman Rezon*. Though not strictly necessary, may I add the details that in April, 1792, a theatrical performance was given in the Theatre Royal, Dublin, "for the benefit of Amyas Griffith P.M. of Lodge 202 Dublin . . . and now a prisoner in the Four Courts Marshalsea"—for debt. Griffith emerged from the house of bondage, and on the 27th December, 1799, presided over Grand Lodge when "Grand Officers were saluted according to Masonic Form and ancient Custom". And last extract of all (from the *Belfast News-Letter*, 4th September, 1801):—"Died early on Saturday morning [29th August] Amyas Griffiths Esq., St. James's Street, Dublin. His death was remarkably sudden, as he appeared to be in good health the preceding evening".

Perhaps I should add that Amyas Griffith has left us an account of his own life printed in Dublin in 1788. The details of his Masonic career I have collected from various other sources. They illustrate and annotate to a remarkable degree the additions made to the 1782 Belfast *Ahiman Rezon*, and if I refrain now from dotting all the i's and crossing the various t's, it is not from lack of inclination, but consideration for the patience of my readers.

BRO. CECIL ADAMS writes, in reply:—

It has been very gratifying to find that my paper, which expresses more facts than theories, has evoked so many interesting comments. The chief criticism appears to be that I have omitted dealing in full with certain matters which the commentators consider of importance. I think that my readers will realise, as no doubt my hearers realised at the Lodge meeting, that the paper is already long, and any additions would have made it unwieldy.

My paper is intended to be a bibliographical study, and I have kept as far as possible to the books themselves. Bro. R. H. Baxter wished me to deal more fully with the meaning of the words "*Ahiman Rezon*". As this has been discussed by many qualified writers, I could see no object in stating their arguments anew, particularly as I had nothing to add. William Preston would naturally occupy a large part of a paper devoted to the Masonic history of the latter part of the eighteenth century, but I can find very little reason for references to that worthy in dealing with Dermott's books. I quite agree with Bro. Baxter that I might have written much more on the details of Craft working as exemplified in the second edition. My excuse must be that I could not deal fully with everything, and further, that this is a subject which it is almost impossible to treat properly in a printed paper.

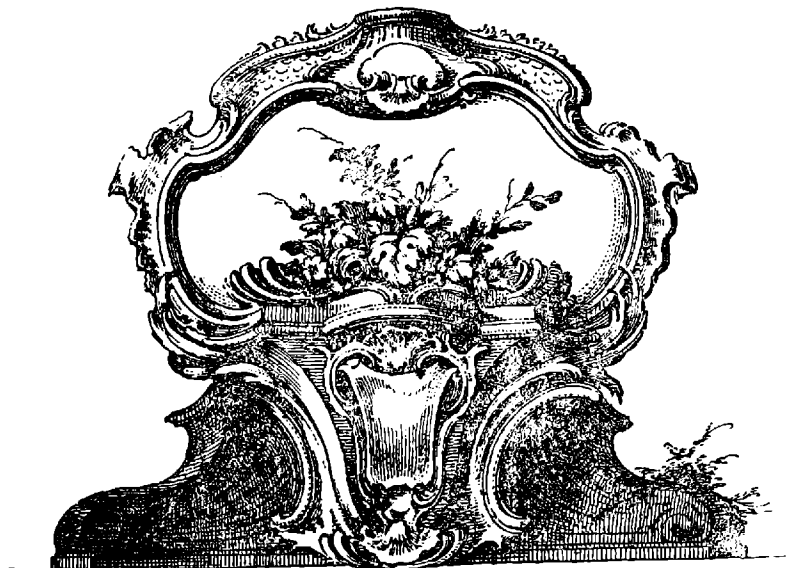
The theory propounded by Bro. G. W. Bullamore is certainly interesting, and I am very glad that he has given us these notes. I am also grateful to Bros. S. Leighton and Lewis Edwards for their useful comments. All of them have given valuable explanatory notes on points regarding which they are specially qualified to write, and very useful items have also been furnished by Bros. C. F. Sykes and G. Y. Johnson.

I hope that I may, without making any invidious distinction, call especial attention to the remarks of Bro. J. Heron Lepper, whose comments are by no means trifling, as he so modestly suggests. I am grateful to him for pointing out my mistake regarding the Irish seal, but I am afraid we shall not agree as to the meaning of the word "introduced" as used by Laurence Dermott, when he attended his first Modern Lodge. Had he only paid a visit, the appropriate word would seem to be "visited", and to my mind "introduced" means something more than that. Bro. Lepper has, in my opinion, given satisfactory solutions to two problems which baffled me, and concludes with an interesting account of Amyas Griffith. I am most grateful for his kind and useful remarks.

Very little is, I think, known about the private life of Dermott. Recently I have found references to him in the records of the Bishop of London. It appears that he obtained two marriage licences at an interval of about twelve months, both the ladies were described as widows, and as he himself was, on both occasions, denoted a widower, he was probably married altogether at least three times. The following are the particulars of these licences:—

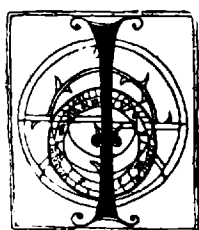
- (1) 2nd November 1765. Laurence Dermott, widower, of Shadwell, Middlesex, to Mary Windell, widow, of St. Clement Danes, Middlesex.
- (2) 12th November 1766. Laurence Dermott, widower, of St. Clement Danes, Middlesex, to Elizabeth Merryman, widow, of Bethnal Green, Middlesex.

The paper has been given a generous reception, and I must conclude by expressing my sincere gratitude to all who have been kind enough to express their appreciation.



SUMMER OUTING, 1933.

EAST KENT.



T was in the very early days of the Lodge, in 1893, that the one day of which the Summer Outing then consisted was devoted to Canterbury, which will be found described with numerous photographs in *A.Q.C.*, vi. Under present conditions Canterbury itself is quite impracticable as the headquarters for our party as it possesses no hotel that could possibly house so large a number. But the Brethren of the East Kent Masters Lodge came to our aid, and suggested that if we were to make Folkestone our headquarters it would be a simple matter to include in our Itinerary not only Canterbury but Dover, Richborough and Barfreston, having regard to modern transport facilities, to say nothing of Folkestone itself. Months previously Bro. Klein, of Folkestone, had formed a local committee, consisting of himself, Bros. Atkinson, White and Helmsley at Folkestone, Col. Hayward at Dover, and Bros. Westron and Biggleston at Canterbury, to work out a programme for us, and he and his committee were untiring in the trouble they took to ensure that we should see everything under the best possible auspices.

Accordingly on Thursday, 6th July, our party assembled at Charing Cross Station for the 2.30 train, and by the courtesy of the Southern Railway officials our coach was specially detached at Folkestone Junction, and sent down to the Pier Station, from which to our headquarters, the Royal Pavilion Hotel, was but a step. The party consisted of :—

Bros. Dr. E. Allan, Barrow-in-Furness, P.M., 1021 ; Wm. N. Bacon, London, P.A.G.D.C. ; Lieut.-Col. J. G. A. Baillie, Ramsgate, P.Dep.G.S.B. ; R. H. Baxter, Rochdale, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., 2076 ; A. Blackhurst, Grange-over-Sands, P.M., 4765 ; H. Bladon, London, P.A.G.D.C. ; F. J. Boniface, London, P.M., 2694 ; Geo. W. Bullamore, Newbury, Berks., 441 ; G. S. Collins, London, P.A.G.D.C. ; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, Wisbech, P.A.G.Ch., P.M., 2076 ; Dr. A. J. Cross, Dalton-in-Furness, P.G.D. ; H. C. de Lafontaine, London, P.G.D., P.M., 2076 ; H. K. Duckworth, Grange-over-Sands, P.Pr.A.G.D.C. ; S. Duckworth, Grange-over-Sands, P.M., 1715 ; Wm. S. Ellis, Newark, P.Pr.G.D.C. ; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., Hampton Court, P.G.Ch., S.W., 2076 ; David Flather, Maltby, Yorks, P.A.G.D.C., W.M., 2076 ; J. F. H. Gilbard, London, 56 ; F. W. Golby, London, P.A.G.D.C., 2076 ; W. Barry Gregar, Westcliff, P.Pr.G.D. ; John W. Hall, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W. ; Dr. R. T. Halliday, Glasgow, J.G.D. (Scot.) ; Thos. Hart, Glasgow, G.Marshall, Pr.G.M., Renfrewshire East ; Wallace E. Heaton, London, P.G.St.B. ; Rev. J. L. E. Hooppell, London, P.A.G.Ch. ; J. P. Hunter, Sheffield, P.Pr.G.Sup.W. ; G. Y. Johnson, York, P.Pr.G.W. ; H. Johnson, Guildford, L.R., P.M., 2191 ; H. C. Knowles, London, P.A.G.Reg. ; Dr. F. Lace, Bath, P.A.G.D.C. ; E. S. Ladds, Kuala Lumpur, 2337 ; W. Laidlaw, Glasgow, Sub.Pr.G.M. ; F. J. C. Lilley, Glasgow, P.M., 103 ; W. F. Morrison, Stenhousemuir, G.Stew. ; C. A. Newman, Peterborough, P.Pr.G.W. ; Dr. C. E. Newman, London, 4453 ; T. J. Oldland, London, L.R. ; J. Herbert Parker, Lowestoft, P.Pr.G.W. ; Cecil Powell, Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M., 2076 ; W.

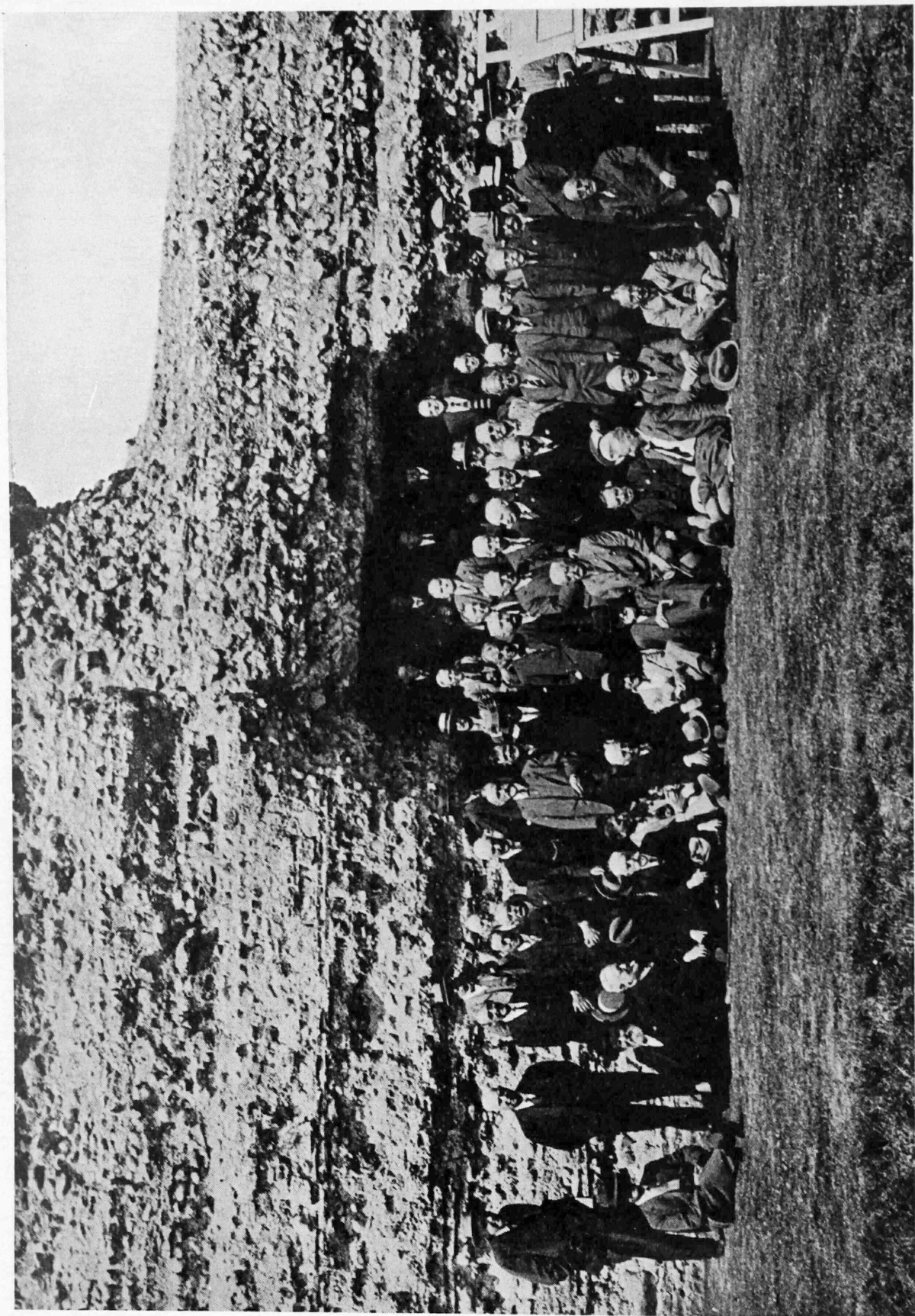
Readman, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, P.Pr.G.O.; J. G. Robertson, Giffnock, G.Stew.; A. P. Salter, London, L.R., P.M., 2932; W. Scott, Saltburn-by-the-Sea, P.Pr.G.D.; Thos. Selby, Eaglescliff, P.Pr.G.W.; C. J. C. Small, Grange-over-Sands, 1715; W. J. Songhurst, London, P.G.D., Treas., 2076; Dr. R. Stansfeld, Hailsham, 4006; Dr. John Stewart, Glasgow, P.M., 772; Dr. John Stokes, Sheffield, D.Pr.G.M., P.M., 2076; R. W. Strickland, Ightham, P.Pr.G.Reg.; E. Tappenden, Hitchin, P.A.G.S.B.; F. J. Underwood, Worcester, P.M., 280; Lionel Vibert, London, P.A.G.D.C., P.M. and Sec., 2076; S. Warhurst, Ulverton, Lancs., P.Pr.G.D.; E. J. White, Bath, P.M., 53, P.Pr.G.St.B., Wilts.; W. J. Williams, London, P.M., 2076; J. A. Worsnop, Halifax, Pr.S.G.W.; A. W. Youngman, Lowestoft, P.A.G.D.C.

Bro. J. H. Kent, Vice-Chairman of the Corporation Parks Committee, had very kindly given each member of the party a copy of a pamphlet on the Roman ruins, and soon after our arrival the Borough Engineer, Bro. A. E. Nichols, P.Pr.G.W., took a party up to the Roman Villa and explained it all to us in a most interesting manner. The note that follows is derived from *Roman Folkestone*, by S. E. Winbolt, M.A., a copy of which was presented to our Master for the Lodge Library by the Brethren of the two local Lodges as a souvenir of our visit.

FOLKESTONE: THE ROMAN VILLA.

The heights of Folkestone, commanding as they do a view over the Straits of Dover, extending to the French coast opposite, have always been a position of great strategical importance, and there is good reason for believing that there was a residence here of considerable extent before the Roman occupation. The *Classis Britannica* was organised at some date after A.D. 43, with its headquarters originally at Boulogne, its main duty being to protect the transports carrying across the Channel the supplies for the troops operating in Western and Northern Britain. The chief stations on this side of the Channel were Dover and Lympne; there was a signalling station on the Folkestone cliffs and also a small fort. The archæological evidence proves that in *circa* A.D. 100 the villa was extensively rebuilt and enlarged, and was from that time until its destruction by the Saxons in A.D. 368, or perhaps twenty years later, in the occupation of a high Roman official associated originally with the fleet. The fleet had ceased to function about A.D. 300, and the Saxon menace was now dealt with by the Count of the Saxon Shore. But the villa continued to be an important residence, and it is significant that it is the only Roman villa along the whole of this coast that is close to the sea. This suggests that the area was a military one, not available for ordinary civilian residence. The villa as now excavated, with its mosaic floorings and other features of interest, has been to a great extent protected by sheds put up by the Borough Council, and the various finds of pottery, ornaments, coins and so on, are exhibited in the Museum.

At dinner every member of the party found by his plate a complimentary ticket for the Leas Cliff Concert Hall, and a copy of the *Folkestone Guide*, a presentation from the Mayor and Corporation, and after dinner we were accorded a Reception by the Officers and Brethren of the two Folkestone Lodges and the East Kent Master's Lodge in the Winter Gardens attached to the Hotel. We were received by the Master of the Temple Lodge, No. 558, Bro. Capt. A. H. Turner, the Master of the Radnor Lodge, No. 2587, Bro. C. H. M. Brooke, and Bro. H. Westron, P.M. and Secretary of the East Kent Masters' Lodge, No. 3931, representing the Master, who unfortunately was unable to be present. The evening's programme, which had been thought out in every detail, was under the direction of Bro. A. Atkinson, Pr.G.D.C.



At Richborough.

Bro. Capt. Turner welcomed us in a charming speech, being supported by Bro. Brooke, and they then presented our Master with the copy of Winbolt's work on Roman Folkestone already referred to. After our Master had suitably responded, we were privileged to listen to a musical programme arranged for us by Bro. Greenstreet, and to make the personal acquaintance of many of the local Brethren. The cordial welcome they gave us was but an earnest of the kindness we were to experience during the whole of our visit.

On the Friday morning we went to Canterbury and our first visit was to the Cathedral, where we divided into two parties, one under the guidance of the Revd. Canon Gardiner and the other in charge of the Senior Vesturer, Bro. J. McClemens. Both put fully at our disposal their unrivalled knowledge of their glorious Cathedral, with all its historical features; it is too well known to call for any detailed description here. We then adjourned to the County Hotel for lunch, at which we were joined by the Provincial Grand Master, Lord Cornwallis, and several Provincial Grand Officers. After lunch we found it necessary to divide the party once more. Some of us went to St. Augustine's Abbey, where Dr. Badcock, Fellow and Librarian of St. Augustine's College, took us all over the site and explained it all in a delightful manner.

Another party visited the old Pilgrim's Hospital, where the Master, the Revd. S. Gordon Wilson, acted as our cicerone, and the Castle (now unfortunately the Corporation Gas Works), which was described in detail by the Borough Surveyor, Bro. H. M. Enderby. A smaller party, under the guidance of Bro. H. Biggleston, perambulated the City generally and also went out to inspect the Norman Church at Patricksbourne and the old port of Canterbury, Fordwich, with its ancient buildings, ducking stool and many other features of interest. We reassembled at the Guildhall, where Mr. Wright Hunt very kindly gave us an address he had specially prepared for the occasion. It is printed in the Appendix to this paper.

Eventually we all made our way to the Masonic Hall in St. Peter Street, where we were the guests of the East Kent Masters at tea, and were able to inspect the Provincial Masonic Library and Museum, and admire, and envy, the sumptuous manner in which the Brethren of Kent have been able to arrange and display their many Masonic treasures.

Saturday was devoted to Dover, Richborough and Barfreston. At Dover we first of all visited the College, where Col. F. G. Hayward met us and took us all over the buildings.

Dover College stands on the site and includes portions of the ancient St. Martin's Priory, an important establishment of Benedictines, the foundation of which was laid by Archbishop Corboil in 1132. It was finally dissolved in 1535, and despoiled by Henry VIII.

The site passed into private ownership, but in 1871 the present College was established.

The old Refectory is now used as the College Hall; it still contains traces of ancient paintings. The Gate House now forms the Library, and the Guest House, or Strangers' Hall, is to-day the Chapel. The beautiful College Close now covers a large part of the original site, and still preserves several fragments of the old buildings. (From notes kindly supplied by Bro. Topham).

We then made our way up to the Castle, and once more were indebted to Col. Hayward for our explanations. The Castle, which till recently had been merely a military barracks, greatly to the detriment of its archæology, had been handed over to the Office of Works two years previously, and is now scheduled as an ancient monument. It is sad to reflect that so recently as 1850 twelfth century towers were destroyed to be replaced by modern batteries; the church became a coal-store; guns were mounted on the summit of the keep, and fire

step parapets replaced the old battlements. The Keep itself was roofed in with brick to support a water-tank. But the Office of Works has done a great deal to restore the Keep at all events to something like its original condition, which involved removing eight feet of earth covering the floor of the basement. There is still some 130 feet of rubbish to be cleared out of the well. Restoration is also in progress at the Constable's Tower. We were able to appreciate the good work that is being done, and also to enjoy the wonderful view from the top of the Keep.

On our way to Deal we had a glimpse of Walmer Castle, and after lunch at Gordon's Hotel proceeded to Richborough, where Mr. W. P. B. Stebbing met us and took us all round the Roman Fort.

RICHBOROUGH: THE ROMAN RUTUPIAE.

The Saxon Shore, extending from the Wash to the Isle of Wight, was defended by nine major fortresses (besides minor works), erected originally in all probability by Constantius I., from 296 A.D. onwards, after the insurrection of Carausius and Allectus had been quelled. Each commanded a possible landing place for a hostile fleet, and the duty of protecting these shores from invasion was now taken over by them, having previously been entrusted to the *Classis Britannica*. Rutupiae, the modern Richborough, commanded the southern entrance to the waterway that originally separated Thanet from the rest of Kent, the northern entrance being guarded by Regulbium, now Reculver. Rutupiae had been an important harbour from the very earliest days of the Roman occupation, with wharves and a landing place, and was the starting point of a road which went to Canterbury, always an important centre, and eventually linked up with Watling Street, the principal military road from Dover to London. As a fortress it was the headquarters of the second Legion.

When the British cities were left to defend themselves after the withdrawal of the Roman garrisons in A.D. 409, the fortress appears to have held out for some little time longer, but by 470 A.D. or so it must have fallen, and it was then deserted and left to fall into decay, or to serve as a quarry for the towns that came into existence in the neighbourhood at a later date. To-day it is represented by the enormous quadrangle of the original external walls, which, although largely ruined, are still standing, with their entrance gates, except on the side facing the shore, and by the bare foundations of the original barracks and other buildings that they enclosed. The most striking of these is a massive foundation in the form of a cross, near the centre of the enclosure, as to the purpose of which archæologists are still unable to agree. (*c.f.* Winbolt *op. cit.*)

A group photograph was now taken, and our departure was somewhat delayed by the discovery by some of the Brethren of a bungalow which could provide tea, and when we did get under way for Barfreston our progress was still further hindered by level crossings and devious and narrow ways, not well understood by our conductors. But eventually, if somewhat behind scheduled time, we arrived at Barfreston, and the Rector, the Revd. P. J. Boyer, was there to meet us and show us this unrivalled gem of Norman architecture. For the Note that follows I am once more indebted to Bro. Topham.

BARFREESTON.

Barson, as the place is commonly called, is famous for its beautiful little Norman Church—a gem in stone. The length is only 42ft. 4in. The Nave is 16ft. 8in. wide, the Choir 13½ft. The walls are 2ft. 9in. thick. The building is of Caen stone. It is said to have been erected about 1081 as a thank-offering by a nobleman who nearly lost his life while hunting in the forest.

Both inside and out it is richly decorated by grotesque carvings. The south door is particularly fine: one can note in the inner moulding the two hogs drinking from the same pot, hounds chasing rabbits, &c. At the west end is a very fine Norman arch with zig-zag mouldings. Between the Nave and Chancel is a Norman arch supported by two wreathed pillars. At the foot of the wall are two arched recesses, probably intended for the reception of tombs. Elsewhere are mural tablets to Thomas Boys (d. 1599) and Robert Ewell (d. 1638). The eight-light rose window at the east end is particularly fine. The charming old building has been discreetly restored.

As usual, on the Saturday evening we were At Home after dinner to our hosts, and did our best to convey to them our gratitude for all their kindness. Bro. Wallace Heaton had brought down an oil painting, a portrait of Dr. William Perfect, Provincial Grand Master of Kent in 1794, which he asked our hosts to receive on behalf of the Provincial Grand Lodge. It is now in the Provincial Museum at Canterbury. Bro. W. J. Songhurst read a paper: Some Notes on Freemasonry in Canterbury, which was illustrated by exhibits of various rare Masonic prints. It is printed in the Appendix. Cordial votes of thanks brought to its close a most interesting evening.

On Sunday morning we had an opportunity of visiting the Museum, which was specially opened for our convenience, and after lunch we were once more indebted to the courtesy of the Southern Railway officials for allowing our party to board the Boat Train at the Pier Station; we were back at Victoria at 3.30 after an Outing distinguished by exceptional weather, during which we had been able to visit under the most pleasant possible auspices some portion at least of the county which is surely the richest in England in historical and archæological interest.

APPENDIX.

The text of Mr. Wright Hunt's address at Canterbury on the Friday is as follows:—

I am privileged for a few minutes this afternoon during your brief visit to Canterbury to give you a few details of history and some information about the Guildhall.

This present Guildhall, though built on the site of a much older building, has not much to recommend it to your notice either historically or architecturally, and to us who have duties here it often proves very inadequate for many of the purposes for which it is required. Besides the monthly meetings of the Council which are held here it also serves as a Police Court. Quarter Sessions and County Courts are also held here, and it is from time to time customary to receive here such bodies as yourselves or other distinguished visitors to our City.

For such purpose this Hall is often found quite inadequate, and we are waiting until some generous benefactor or the time arrives when the City funds will allow, when more convenient and dignified accommodation can be provided for some of our City functions.

Before saying anything more of the Guildhall for the moment may I lead up to it by a very brief outline of the facts regarding the City, its past history, particularly its early history which you may not learn of elsewhere to-day?

We are glad that you have chosen East Kent on this occasion, for S.E. England has in the past been a very important part of our country. It is the great bridge over which peoples and influences from the earliest times have entered the British Isles. Through this county passed the earliest inhabitants while Kent yet joined to France. By this way also came the Romans and the

Jutes and for hundreds of years later the stream of European civilisation. Julius Cæsar, in that great history of his wars which gave us so much trouble in our school days, says of the inhabitants of Britain, "The most civilised of all the nations are those who inhabit Kent"—and so it still remains.

The origin of our City is lost in the mist which envelopes our early history. But it has been said that a settlement existed here as early as 900 B.C., at a time when Ahab was King of Israel and 150 years before the traditional founding of Rome. It is, however, possible that this was merely the flight of fancy of an early writer who hoped to improve on the history of Romulus and Remus to the advantage of Canterbury. There are, however, evidences of a very early settlement on this site, afforded by the fact that through the once swampy marsh of this district here was a ford over which access could be conveniently gained to the other side. Only a few yards from here there is still to be seen on the old Watling Street the site where this ford existed. Tracks through the forest led towards this ford, which later were improved and made into roads during the Roman occupation. Three of these Roman roads converge on Canterbury from the coast, one from Richborough, near Sandwich, one from Dover (the Watling Street) and one from Lympne, near Hythe.

After the time of the Romans all cross-channel traffic passed through the Cinque Ports of Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney and Hastings. Since the port to which a ship came in those days was often an accident of wind or current, a focus was necessary behind them, and this was Canterbury. The Romans made Canterbury a fortified town of considerable size and called it Durovernum, the word probably being derived from the Celtic root *Dur*=water, referring to the river on which the City stood, and it is additional proof that there was an established town here when they arrived. Many Roman remains have been and are often being found during excavations, and a good collection may be seen in the Public Museum a few doors away. They are now found at a depth of 7-10 feet below the surface. The levels of the City are constantly rising, and there are many instances in old buildings where, owing to the rise in the road, steps are found leading down to the interior. In other cases, as in this Guildhall, the old ground floor has become too low, and exists to-day as a basement, the first storey becomes the ground floor and is approached by steps going up. There are evidences of Roman burial grounds on the outskirts of the City, while just across the road on the site of the County Hotel there have been found the massive remains of Roman masonry which are considered to indicate the site of the Roman *Arx* or Citadel.

After the Romans left Canterbury the City suffered severely from attacks by the Danes, and in 1011 they sacked the City, burnt the Cathedral and murdered the Archbishop. Later, however, King Canute, in expiation of the damage done by his countrymen, gave his golden crown to the Cathedral, and a representation of this is shown in the crown which surmounts our City coat of arms.

The three most important events in the history of Canterbury are:—(i.) The coming of the Romans, B.C. 54; (ii.) the arrival of Augustine, 597; (iii.) the murder of Becket, 1170. The first laid the foundations of the City on a definite plan and brought the customs and laws of a more civilised community to it. The second established Canterbury as the ecclesiastical capital of the country, the present Archbishop being the 95th holder of the title of Primate of England. The third event, the murder of Becket, brought Canterbury into repute, and for three centuries his shrine became the most famous in Christendom, bringing thousands of pilgrims to the City to the great enrichment of the Cathedral.

In 1420, one of the Jubilee years, 100,000 pilgrims are said to have been congregated in or about the City; the difficulties of accommodating so large a crowd can only be vaguely imagined.

We have the unenviable reputation of having more licensed houses in proportion to our population than any other county borough in England, and it would be interesting to know how far some of them owe their origin to these pilgrimages. The predominant feature of the history of Canterbury lies in the fact that from being the birthplace of British Christianity and the seat of the Primate of All England it was for many centuries one of the most famous centres of the Roman Church.

It is difficult now to realise the enormous power exercised by the Church in pre-Reformation days. It impressed itself upon every part of the social structure. It was pre-eminent in learning; at the time of Henry VIII. the monasteries held one-third of the total landed estates of the country. The Pope was a mighty King, and men and women were conscious of the power of the Church at every turn. It is not difficult to understand how Canterbury, the seat of an Archbishop the chief representative of the Pope in England, was naturally a place of great importance. Many of the Archbishops were scarcely less important in power than the King himself.

The building of the Guildhall is closely associated with those who administered the affairs of the City. We find that the Romans set up a form of government which lasted long after they had left. The City was then governed by a Bailiff or Prefect. In Saxon times the Kings of Kent had jurisdiction over the City, though they probably appointed their own Prefect. Later the government of the City was divided between the King, as represented by his Prefect, the Archbishop and the Abbot of St. Augustine. Each had his own court and dispensed his own justice. This appears to have led to much confusion, as a criminal crossing over some boundary might escape from the jurisdiction of the power where the offence had been committed and take advantage of the jealousy existing between the three courts of justice to escape judgment altogether. Later the chief officer was known as a Portreeve and later still as the Sheriff. Henry III., for a substantial fee, granted the City a Charter which empowered the citizens to elect as their own officers two Bailiffs. In 1448 the office of Bailiff was abolished and the Mayoralty established.

This Guildhall stands on the site of a much older building, as can be seen by the old basements below. It is recorded that the Guildhall existed on this site in 1453, but was rebuilt in 1495, again rebuilt in 1707, in the reign of Queen Anne, and most of what was then erected remains now. A rather significant entry appears in the records of the rebuilding in 1707:—"That the doorway giving out of the gallery of the guildhall into the forechamber of the Red Lion be blocked up". The beamed roof is probably part of the work done in 1495. It was first known by the name of Guildhall in the reign of Henry VI., from the old English Gild=a Society or Corporation; as its name indicates it was evidently the place where the gilds, who were very strong in Canterbury, held their meetings; previous to this date it was known as Speech House. The first mention of a Speech House in Canterbury refers to a site a little east of this building; for in 1317 it is recorded that a new prison was constructed near St. Andrews Church where also stood the Town Hall or Speech House, part of the same building. Sumner, writing in 1640, says of this: "Very properly did the prison and the Speech House stand contiguously together as well for the safe custody of those that are to be tried as for the easy bringing of them before the judgment seat".

This Hall appears to have served the dual purpose of a Police Court and Town Hall in mediæval times, for Sumner also says: "Here is the Court Hall (vulgarly we call the place the Guildhall) and here is a court kept every Monday throughout the year for Law matters and for the deciding of differences and righting of grievances between party and party. And on every other Tuesday

Court of Burghmote holden besid, for meeting and treating about the affairs and good government of the City''.

City Mace. The Charter of Henry VI. conferred on the Mayor the right of having a mace borne before him. Several maces have been in existence and altered from time to time, but the present one, of silver gilt, dates from 1680 and was purchased by the City for £62.

The Sword of State was presented to the Mayor by James I. in 1607. The mace is carried before the Mayor, the sword before the Sheriff. When the Mayor goes in procession through the streets of Canterbury to the Cathedral the mace is carried by the Sergeant on his shoulder. But years ago, during the many differences that existed between the City and Ecclesiastical authorities, an agreement was come to whereby on entering the Cathedral precincts the mace is lowered from the shoulder to the arms of the Sergeant. Being anxious for the continuance of some of these old customs, we have recently reverted to this old-time compliment to the Dean and Chapter. The small silver mace dates from 1767.

We also have the custody of the mace that formerly belonged to the Borough of Fordwich, now no longer possessing a mayor of its own.

The Burghmote horn is a very old instrument. Formerly used for the assembly of the Corporation; reference is made to it in the reign of Henry III. It was used for its original purpose down to 1835. It is now customary, once a year, through the skill of one of our Town Sergeants, to greet the Mayor with a few notes on it at the annual banquet.

The pictures are portraits of some former Mayors and benefactors to the City. The Pikes and Matchlocks were brought to the Guildhall in 1641 when the City was fortified at the common charge. Earlier than this, in 1564, it was ordered that every Alderman and Councillor and as many of the inhabitants as the Mayor shall appoint, shall provide one armed pike to be kept for use if needful. At the same time each Alderman, Councillor, or Sheriff had to provide one sufficient bucket at his election in the event of fire. Later the Aldermen had to contribute two buckets, and the Guildhall was strung all over with buckets.

In conclusion, may I say Canterbury, like many other old cities, suffered badly in the past from vandalism. Many historic features were demolished, sometimes to provide the material for other buildings, for widening roads, or for so-called improvements. To-day, however, better regard is being paid to the preserving wherever possible of these old buildings which go so much to make Canterbury, and the local Archæological Society is constantly educating public and City Council on the value to Canterbury of these old landmarks of the past. We have now, through the Town Planning Act, a technical advisory committee under the Town Council which examines all plans affecting frontages and elevations of buildings. Up to recently their powers were largely moral or persuasive, but now the Town Planning Act has greatly increased them, and we are able to prohibit definitely the erection or alteration of premises which are considered unsuitable or which would conflict with the general appearance of the City. But I am glad to be able to record that in most cases such advice as we offer is readily followed by owners or occupiers of the buildings concerned.

The following is the text of the paper read by Bro. W. J. Songhurst on the Saturday evening:—

When it was made known that I had promised to read some Notes on Freemasonry at Canterbury, I was asked if I proposed to put before you a dissertation on *The Canterbury Tales*. It is scarcely necessary to say that this is

not my intention. They provide a very excellent 'atmosphere' of the period in which they were written, but I am not aware that they contain many points of Masonic interest. It will, however, be remembered that Chaucer was to some extent connected with Building Construction, for towards the end of his life he received from the King the appointment of Clerk of the Works at Westminster Palace, and then a similar appointment at Windsor and other Royal Palaces. A study of his career does not show that he had acquired any technical knowledge of the Craft with which he thus became connected.

It may be noted also that in mediæval times several Craftsmen from Canterbury held high offices under the Crown. Thomas of Canterbury, in 1326, had charge of the construction of a Chapel in the Palace at Westminster, Walter of Canterbury being apparently engaged on the same building as well as at the Tower, while Michael of Canterbury erected the Eleanor Cross in Cheapside.¹

As to St. Thomas of Canterbury, an attempt has been made to trace a parallel between the circumstances attending his death and a modern ritual connected with the Hiram legend.

With none of these, however, I am at present concerned. I propose to deal with a much more recent period in Masonic history, and desire first to call attention to the fact that in the year 1800 there was printed at Calcutta a book entitled *Poems in Three Parts*. The book does not contain the name of the Author, but a copy in the Library of the Q.C. Lodge² has an inscription stating that "To Charles Raitt, Esq. Commander of the Earl Spencer, East Indiaman, a man I am sure who has an honest heart, this book is presented by his obedient Servant, The Author, J.H.", and the back label is lettered "Hawkesworth's Poems". We may therefore fairly assume that J. Hawkesworth was the Author of the work.

So far, I have failed to find any further information about the man, though I like to think that he was related to—perhaps a son of—a certain John Hawkesworth who was prominent in English Literary circles about the middle of the Eighteenth Century. He was, for a short time before his death in 1773, a Director of the East India Company, and a little later we find our J.H. at Calcutta. He wrote a History of Captain Cook's voyages, and J.H. inscribed one of his poems to Captain Cook.

These are very slender links, and indeed may be nothing more than coincidence. The point is not of much importance to us; a matter of greater interest would be to ascertain the Masonic record, if any, of our Author, because one of his Poems is called "The English Free Masons".³ I have searched the Histories and Lists of Members of Lodges in Bengal without finding any mention of his name.

The Poem is described as "a translation from a very elegant Latin Poem which appeared in the Free Masons Magazine. The circumstances it relates happened some years ago in the City of (I believe) Canterbury". Here again my searches have been in vain. I have examined the eleven volumes of the *Freemasons' Magazine* which were published in London under various titles from 1793 to 1798, but have not found our Author's Poem, though there are several other pieces of Latin verse with English translations for which he may have been responsible.

The Poem gives an interesting and amusing description of a procession of Masons on St. John's Day, from a Lodge-room to Church, and back again to

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 83-85.

² Given by Bro. Wallace Heaton.

³ Part the Third, p. 95.

dinner. After a few introductory lines and an invocation to his Muse, the Author says:—

Behold THE CRAFT, on ST. JOHN'S sacred day,
Move from THE LODGE in beautiful array,
The different ornaments each rank express,
And varying grandeur of each separate dress.
The ribbands which across their shoulders lie,
Their silver figur'd pendent medals tie.

* * * * *

They don't confus'dly on each other throng,
But two by two go decently along;
The Treasurer's here—and here a Romish Priest,
Next in procession are two Painters plac'd,
(One *Monsieur Daub* from *Gallia* wafted o'er,
And *Mr. Patrick* from Hibernia's shore).
A Barber—honest Taylor—and Divine,
Dressed in his surplice follow next in line.
Behold a Toyman next in order pass,
And next a manufacturer of brass;
A weather-beaten sailor next is seen,
And next the jolly Keeper of an Inn,
With a full pimpled face and saucer eyes,
And bloated belly of enormous size.
But next is ONE OF MORE ENGAGING LOOKS,
A MILD, INGENUOUS PUBLISHER OF BOOKS!

We have a long description of the viands provided for the dinner (which included Pidgeon, Woodcock, Quail, Partridges, as well as Venison and enormous Sirloins), with a note of the Wines and Toasts, and then comes a fairly frank account of the incident represented in the well-known Print "The Free Masons surpriz'd, or the Secret discover'd. A True Tale from a Masons Lodge in Canterbury". This print provides a puzzle which I am unable to solve. A copy in the Q.C. Library was published by T. Wilkins of Rupert Street on 26th December, 1754. Within a month (30th January, 1755) the *London Evening Post* advertised¹ what appears to be the same print, but with the names of three London publishers in addition to "J. Abree at the Printing House in Canterbury". This is the only instance I have come across of a Canterbury man being associated with the publication of the print. I think it is almost certain that there was a still earlier issue, because in 1754 there was no Lodge in active work at Canterbury, and without such a Lodge the print would be pointless. Anyway, even if 1754 be the original date, it is evident that our Author could not have had any personal knowledge of the incident which it depicts. Later in the century another Plate was engraved for Rob^t. Sayer of Fleet Street, who put

¹ The Advertisement is as follows:—

To the Right Worshipful Masters and Wardens, &c., of all Regular Lodges,
to be careful to see them well Tiled.

This Day was published

Price 6d plain, properly colour'd 1s.

THE FREE MASONS Surprised; or The Secret Discover'd. A very
humorous Print,
To which is annex'd, A true Tale, from a Constituted Lodge in Canterbury.
Printed for Mr Cooper in Paternoster-Row; A. Dodd, Without Temple-Bar;
B. Dickinson on Ludgate-Hill; and J. Abree at the Printing House in
Canterbury, and may be had of the Newsmen.

out prints with his own name. Still later the name of John Smith of Cheapside was added.

The print found an echo in 1802 when G. Thompson of Long Lane, West Smithfield, published "The Canterbury Discovery improv'd or the Whole Secrets of Masonry Lay'd Open as Practiz'd at the Mitre Lodge at Chatham". This was the present Lodge No. 20, which met at the Mitre, Chatham, from 1767 to 1770. Two pictures are shown on the wall of the Lodge-room in which this so-called discovery was made, one of them being a rough copy of the Canterbury print. The other—a Shipwreck Scene—is taken from one of a pair of prints called "Keep within Compass", first published by Carrington Bowles of St. Paul's Churchyard in 1784. These last mentioned highly moral prints are said to have been presented by the Governours of the Foundling Hospital to the children when leaving that Institution.

The Lodge of Relief No. 42, at Bury, has a painting of the Canterbury incident, which Bro. W. H. Rylands (*A.Q.C.*, v., 184) considered was copied from the print by a member of the Lodge about 1771-4.

I have said that Hawkesworth could have had no personal knowledge of an incident which occurred in or before 1754, but his description of the *procession* is something quite apart from the print, and it is more than likely that it was written from actual observation if not from participation; and although the Poem is said to have been written while he was in the East Indies, it does not contain any Eastern suggestion. I think, therefore, it might perhaps be useful if our Canterbury brethren were to look through their Lodge records and see if they can find as Members a group of men such as Hawkesworth describes. In particular I suggest that search be made for the "ingenuous publisher of books" whose description Hawkesworth printed in Capital Letters, thereby implying that he was a person of some notoriety. And assuming that he was a Canterbury man, we may ask whether the charlatan William Finch was likely to be the publisher referred to. Round about 1800 Finch was living at Canterbury, where he published (from the press of J. Atkinson of Deal) some of his Masonic books which were dedicated, by permission, to William Perfect, the Provincial Grand Master. We really know very little about Finch, especially before he moved to London, and any information that can be obtained will be welcome.

On 3rd April, 1730, a Lodge was constituted at the Red Lion, in the High Street, Canterbury, and soon afterwards it appears to have aroused the suspicions of the Civic authorities. This we find from a letter which was printed in *The Universal Spectator* of Saturday, 20th May, 1732.¹ The correspondent of this newspaper says that "The Secret of Free Masonry has as much amus'd the Ignorant as it has disturb'd the Malicious, or weaker part of the World, tho' both join in the full cry of the Invectives against what they are strangers to, and some uncommon Incidents have appear'd in Parts distant from London, in which the Royal Craft has suffer'd by slander and been misrepresented". And then he describes how the Mayor of Canterbury had caused the Town Cryer to read the following Proclamation on "several Market Days":—

Whereas a Report runs through Cyte, Town and Country, of an unlawful Assembly of a number of Men that met togather at [the Red Lion Tavern] in this Cyte, and their bound themselves under wicked Obligations, to do something that may prove of sad Effect, Therefore the Mare of this Cyte desires any Parson that can, to inform him aright, because the whole Truth ought to be known, that such Dark-Lanthorns may be brought to Light.

¹ See *A.Q.C.*, xxxiii., 186.

The writer of the letter says that this "answered not the designed End, but at last became only the Object of Ridicule, and was burlesqu'd in the following honest tho' Rustick Manner":—

O! Canterbury is a fine Town,
And a gallant City;
It's governed by the Scarlet Gown,
Come listen to my Ditty.
The Mayor by his Cryer maketh Proclamation,
And thus he begins his Worship's Declaration.

Whereas a Rumour round this City runs,
And Country too, that certain mighty Dons,
Were sent down here, in Coach and Six from London,
By whose Arrival we may all be undone.

They say the've come Free Masons to create,
I wish it prove no Plot against our State:
Their Meeting is within a certain Tavern,
The Room too is darkned, darker than any Cavern.

Now, I having at Heart a super Veneration,
For this our rich and antient Corporation,
Resolv'd like old Foresight, our Ruin to prevent,
And thus to bring them all to condign Punishment.

First, I'll my Mirmidons, my Constables assemble,
At sight of them this varlet Crew shall Tremble:
For who knows what Plagues their Designs are to bring
On us at least—if not our Lord the King.

Their Magick Arts may prove of sad Effect,
May blow up Church and Town, but no new ones erect:
I'll thank and reward who can tell me aright
How all those Dark-Lanthorns may be brought to Light.

Who was this worthy Mayor? It seems a pity that his name should not be "brought to Light". Cannot the Civic records be examined? Possibly they contain some reference to the agitation, and perhaps even a copy of the Proclamation may be found. The Lodge against which the fulminations were hurled was the first Lodge to be constituted in the County. It had a very short life. It soon ceased to make any communications to Grand Lodge, and it was removed from the list in 1754.

As these notes have been concerned mainly with Poetry, or at all events with Rhyme, I will end them by quoting some lines written by one Matthew Garland, and published in his *Masonic Effusions* after his death in 1819. The lines were addressed to the members of the Industrious Lodge at Canterbury, where he was evidently paying a visit:—

Attractive fellowship, my polar star
Still wafts me where my boon-companions are.
From west to east the impulse wings along,
And Canterbury yet protracts my song.
Anticipation furnishes the mind
With the ideas of what we hope to find.
Industrious Brothers, it remains with you
To crown the day, and share the honours too;

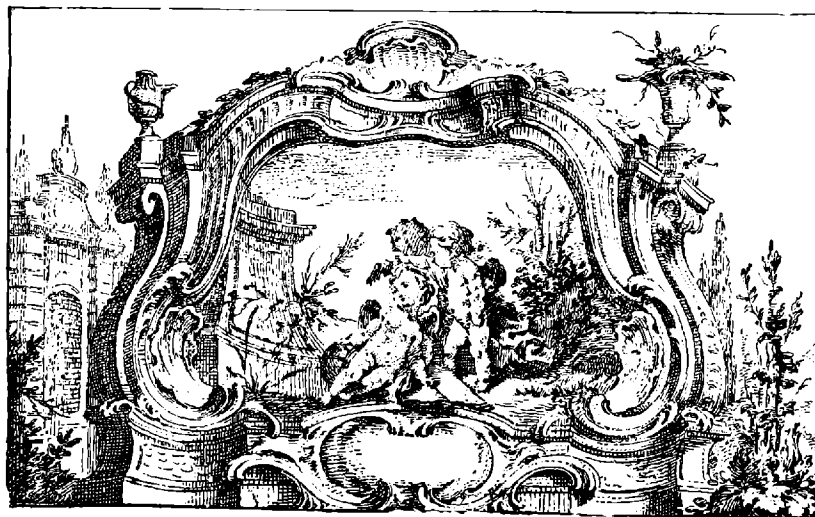
The task is your's—to manage and prepare,
And make arrangements that demand your care:
Zealous attention leaves you nought to dread,
When numbers meet to break fraternal bread;
When the full goblet circulates around,
And mutual glee and harmony abound.
But this exterior bliss, however high,
With sacred consolation cannot vie.
Merely convivial hours if we enjoy,
We suffer bondage, and our peace annoy.
Each to the other properly combined,
Forms the essential kernel in the rind.
The upright Mason knows no guilty sorrow,
He acts to-day what he approves to-morrow.

Garland lived to see the Industrious Lodge absorbed by another one, later in constitution but earlier in number, and this is now represented by the United Industrious Lodge No. 31.

We may look upon Garland's lines as heavy and cumbersome, but one judges that he was on the whole not dissatisfied with the reception he received at the Lodge. To the members at Canterbury he said: "The task is yours, to manage and prepare", and now after perhaps 120 years we seem to feel that his exhortations have not been forgotten. The successors of those brethren have certainly 'managed and prepared' for us in a manner which merits full praise, and we all desire to express our gratitude to those who have arranged our Outing and carried out the plans with so much care and forethought.

July, 1933.

W.J.S.



THE SKETCHLEY MASONIC TOKENS: TRIANGLE TYPE.

BY BRO. THE REV. H. POOLE, P.Asst.Gd.Chap.



THESE are the only tokens which have any known or even probable association with James Sketchley of Birmingham. Their vogue can have extended little, if at all, beyond the year 1794; and there is ample reason for supposing that their manufacture passed very early from Sketchley to Lutwyche, also of Birmingham, who probably issued all except perhaps the two earliest types. But a good many misconceptions exist with regard to the whole group; and this note has been drawn up in order to dispel these, and at the same time to give as complete a statement as is possible as to the known types.

Two main errors require correction. In the first place, a good many Masonic accounts of the tokens ascribe to Sketchley a number of tokens with which he can have had no connection, on account of the edge-reading MASONIC HALFPENNY TOKEN MDCCXCIV found on them. This is due to the very random way in which edge-collars were used in Lutwyche's workshop; and the fact that in nearly every case such tokens (with normal edge-readings) are known to have been issued by Lutwyche constitutes a strong proof that Lutwyche, not Sketchley, was the manufacturer of the majority.

Another source of misunderstanding is due to the very large variety of type. Shackles, for instance, gives no fewer than five variants of the edge-reading 'e' (below): while SCRITCHLEY, SCHITCHLEY and other variants have been noted for SCETCHLEY in edges 'h¹' and 'h²' (below). The very simple process of placing such variants alongside normal types and comparing them letter by letter reveals, however, the fact that all are due merely to indifferent striking; and the pieces should be regarded rather as poor specimens than as varieties in the numismatic sense:

Actually three distinct dies for the Obverse were used; two for the Reverse; and thirteen collars for the edge. The following are the various forms:—

Obverse: Within an equilateral triangle is a winged cherub with right hand pointing upwards, the left resting on a plumb rule. Behind are clouds, above is an irradiated letter G, and on the ground are Masonic emblems and implements. Along the sides of the triangle is the legend WISDOM|STRENGTH|& BEAUTY and around the whole SIT LUX | ET LUX | FUIT

Varieties: A: Rays all composed of lines, and descend almost to the ground. Stops after BEAUTY and FUIT

B: Rays composed of lines alternating with lines of dots, which descend below the arms of the cherub. No stops.

C: Rays all formed by lines of dots, and do not descend below the left arm of the cherub. Stop after FUIT

Reverse: The Masons' Arms supported by two beavers; crest, a dove upon a sphere. Motto on scroll below, AMOR HONOR ET JUSTITIA and legend around the whole 24 NOV 1790 PRINCE OF WALES ELECTED G. M.

Varieties: A: No comma after NOV; supporters have ribs.

B: Comma after NOV; supporters have no ribs.

Edge-Readings:—

a: MASONIC TOKEN BROTHER | SKETCHLEY BIRMINGHAM
FACIT

b: × · MASONIC HALFPENNY | TOKEN MDCCXCIV · × · × ·

- c: PAYABLE AT LONDON | . + . + . + . + . + . + . + . + . + . +
d: PAYABLE IN LANCASTER | LONDON OR BRISTOL
e: HALFPENNY PAYABLE AT THE | BLACK HORSE TOWER-
HILL . ×
f: PAYABLE AT W. PARKERS OLD BIRMINGHAM WARE-
HOUSE
g: PAYABLE AT JOHN CROWS'S COPPER SMITH
h¹ + . + . + MASONIC TOKEN | I. SCETCHLEY FECIT. 1794
h² × MASONIC TOKEN | I SCETCHLEY FECIT. 1794
i: o × o × o PAYABLE AT | LONDON OR DUBLIN
j: MASONIC TOKEN J. SKETCHLEY | R A & P · G · S · BIRMING-
HAM FECIT *
k: PAYABLE AT RICHARD LONGS LIBRARY
l: HALFPENNY PAYABLE AT DUBLIN CORK OR DERRY

The following combinations have been observed and/or recorded (N.B. Numbers in brackets indicate the Middlesex series of Atkins and of Dalton & Hamer respectively; indications of rarity are from D & H):—

A.Aa	(263a/371a)	6
A.Ab	(263/371)	12
A.Ac	(263b/371b) RR	3
A.Ad	unpub.—2 specimens known	2
B.Ab	(262d/370e)	15
B.Ac	(262c/370d) RR	0
B.Ad	(262b/370c)	6
B.Ae	(262/370)	13
B.Af	(unp./370f)	0
B.Ag	unpub.—a specimen in the British Museum	1
B.Ah ¹	(262a/370b) sc.	15
B.Ah ²	(262a/370a)	45
C.Ac	(261c/369c)	9
C.Ad	(261b/369b)	6
C.Ae	(261/369)	6
C.Ah ²	(261a/369a)	14
C.Ai	(261d/369d) sc.	6
CBb	(unp./372b)	20
CBd	(264e/372e) sc.	3
CBe	(264/372)	19
CBf	(264g/372g) RR (very doubtful)	0
CBh ¹	(264a/372a)	55
CBi	(264b/unp.)	0
CBj	(264c/372c)	12
CBk	(264f/372f) RR	0
CBl	(264d/372d) RR (very doubtful)	0
CB-	plain edge (264h/372h) RR	0

The above list may probably be regarded as substantially the chronological order of appearance of the types; and the evidence for this will now be reviewed.

In the first place, it is practically certain that only three actual Obverse dies were used, two Reverse dies, and thirteen collars. Both Obverse B and C dies had flaws which seem to prove their respective cases conclusively—the former in an oblique stroke across one limb of the T in FUIT; the latter in a

very obvious blotch above the G of STRENGTH. I have not found any such conclusive test for Obverse A, nor for the two Reverse dies; but a minute examination has failed to discover any variation. The edge readings have been compared by placing numbers of specimens together, when complete agreement is found in the spacing, etc.

In one respect, however, the last statement requires modification. The collars from which the edge-readings were impressed on the pieces consisted of two semi-circular parts; and the gaps at the ends of each half of a reading may and do vary considerably. A comparison of a number of specimens thus makes it possible to divide the edge-reading as the collar was divided; and all the readings above have been divided accordingly, except those of which I have not seen more than a single specimen.

Our investigation of the history of the pieces may well start with the advertisement which appeared in the *Freemason's Magazine* of September, 1794:—

MASONIC TOKENS.

In the course of the past month, some copper pieces newly struck from a die which appears to be executed in a stile superior to any of the Provincial Coins at present in circulation, came to the hands of the Proprietor of this MAGAZINE. On inspection they appear to be called MASONIC TOKENS, and to have been invented by a Brother JAMES SKETCHLEY, of BIRMINGHAM, who intended them to serve as pocket-pieces; but, either from the novelty of the idea, or the excellence of the workmanship, it would appear that many persons have been content to receive them in change as Half-pence, in the same manner as the Liverpool, Norwich, Lancaster, Anglesey, Bungay, Macclesfield, Leak, Manchester, Coventry, &c. coins have acquired credit and currency.

The subjoined Engraving Exhibits the obverse and reverse of the MASONIC TOKEN; and any gentleman desirous of preserving such pieces may receive them in parcels (containing 24) at One Shilling each, by applying at the BRITISH LETTER FOUNDRY, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, London.



From this we gather two facts: first, that the token was originally intended as a Masonic 'curio'; and secondly that it had already had a fairly wide circulation by September, 1794. Moreover, the engraving, which is remarkably accurate, shows a piece of type CB; the edge-reading does not exactly correspond with type 'j', but the latter is often more or less illegible in the "R A & P·G·S·" portion, and the asterisk at the conclusion seems to establish it as of this type.

Now we know that practically all, if not all, of the edge-readings except 'a' were commonly used by Lutwyche, who may thus be assumed to have

manufactured the bulk of the pieces. The fact that Obv: A is found in combination with the one edge not otherwise known among Lutwyche tokens, and this, moreover, a 'masonic' one attributing the manufacture to Sketchley, points fairly strongly to type A.1a having been the original type, and having been made by Sketchley himself. Assuming that Rev: B only came into use after Rev: A had been discarded, and remembering that it is only found in combination with Obv: C, it becomes fairly obvious that the sequence A.1—B.1—C.1—CB is the correct one.

Returning to the A.1 group: edge-reading 'b' is also found on Lutwyche tokens of Bury, Suffolk (Atk.: 27b) and Lancaster (Atk.: 19a), and also on one of the Howard tokens; while edges 'c' and 'd' are quite common, especially the former. It would thus appear that, while Obv: A was still in use, the undertaking passed into the hands of Lutwyche. Whether or not Sketchley himself ever used edge 'b' is not easy to decide; but type A.1a is apt to be the least neatly struck of the whole series; and it is not unlikely that Sketchley, having started the business, handed it over to Lutwyche at an early stage. The latter, at any rate, must either have made all of the A.1b type onwards, or taken over Sketchley's dies at that stage: for thereafter each Obv: and Rev: combination is found with well-known Lutwyche edge-readings; while the 'masonic' edge-reading 'b' occurs on other Lutwyche tokens. We cannot determine which of the edge-readings 'c' or 'd' was first used with the Sketchley dies; no doubt both were already in use in Lutwyche's workshop.

Passing to the B.1 group, we find five new edge-readings, 'e', 'f', 'g', 'h¹', and 'h²', while the original 'a' is not seen again. Edge 'f' in this group is marked by Dalton & Hamer as 'RR', and it is not given by Atkins; but the latter gives it as an edge appearing in conjunction with CB (264g/372g), which is copied by Dalton & Hamer, though the type may perhaps not have existed. Edge 'e' is of interest, as it helps to some extent to verify the sequence of types. When it first appears in the series, in the combination B.1e, the terminal × is very clearly visible; but in the following group (C.1e) it is usually so completely wanting, even on boldly marked edges, that I was inclined to treat it as a distinct variety until I observed several specimens in which a faint impression of the × is to be seen. Evidently the collar became worn, or defective in some way; and in the fourth group (CBe) also there are comparatively few pieces in which it is well marked.

The two 'h' edges present somewhat of a problem. During the issue of the B.1 group the Obv: B die cracked; and the result is seen in all stages of development in a pair of cracks, one through the UX of LUX, and the other extending from ET to the G of STRENGTH. These cracks appear in their most pronounced state in the B.1h² types; less so, and usually absent, in the B.1h¹, and occasionally faintly in the B.1d. It would thus seem likely that B.1h¹ and B.1h², in that order, were the latest of the B.1 group issued; and the adoption of edge 'h²' in place of 'h¹', suggests that the former had been broken or damaged. Accordingly, edge 'h²', but not 'h¹', is among those carried forward into the C.1 group, in which only one fresh edge-reading (i), a fairly common one in general circulation, was added. Edge 'h¹', however, reappears in the final series; and this was so unexpected that I re-examined a fair number of edge 'h¹' specimens to see if the collars were really identical. The result was interesting; for, although it is difficult, if not impossible, to detect any discrepancies between the edge-readings of B.1h¹ and CBe¹ pieces, it is noticeable that very few indeed, if any, of the latter have the date 1794 legible; it is almost invariably overlapped and obliterated by the ornamental crosses and dots; and this does not seem to be entirely due to the fact that these pieces are usually

slightly smaller than the normal. It looks very much as if the 'h¹' collar had been damaged, and passed out of use; and that for some reason it was later repaired, but in such a way that a good impression of the complete reading was no longer produced. It is interesting to notice that the edge-reading 'h' is recorded by Atkins for tokens of Bath (Som., 22d) and one of the Wilkinson tokens (Warw. 278f); but whether 'h¹' or 'h²' I do not know, as Atkins does not distinguish them. But a similar reading with no date is given by him for tokens of Deal (Kent 11a) and Glasgow (Lanark 4e); and it seems likely that these represent the 'second state' of the 'h¹' collar.

One fresh 'masonic' edge 'j' was added to the series in the last (CB) group. This, we may surmise, was especially designed at the time when Sketchley attempted to widen his circulation; and, as we have seen, it is almost certainly the one which appears in the engraving in the *Freemason's Magazine* of September, 1794. How successful he was in his attempt we have no means of deciding; the wide distribution of the pieces at the present day cannot be regarded as any indication. I have appended to the table of types (above) the actual numbers of specimens of each which I have observed while examining 268 in all. The relative frequency of the various types gives no indication of the total numbers issued, nor of the success or failure of the venture; though they seem to show that, in this series as in others, although Lutwyche used his collars in a somewhat random way, there were more or less normal combinations which predominated. I suggest that the following types should probably be regarded as the 'normals':—

AAa	—Sketchley
AAb	—Lutwyche
BAh	„
CAh	„
CBh	„
CBj	„

One further point may be of interest. Bro. S. J. Fenton has drawn my attention to the sources whence Sketchley got the ideas for the Obv: and Rev: of his tokens. The former was evidently derived from the figure engraved in the title-page of the *Freemason's Magazine*; while the latter was no doubt suggested



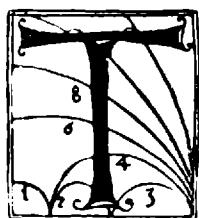
by the fact that Sketchley's Lodge had in 1786 adopted as their crest the Masons' Arms, which they displayed, complete with supporters and motto, in almost exactly the form in which it appears on the tokens.

June, 1936.

STUDIES IN CONTINENTAL XVIIIth CENTURY FREEMASONRY AND FREEMASONRY SO-CALLED.

II.—FREEMASONRY IN SAVOY.

BY BRO. THE REV. W. K. FIRMINER, D.D.



THIRTY years have gone by since I contributed to *A.Q.C.*, vol. xix., the first of a contemplated series of papers on XVIIIth Century Continental Freemasonry and Freemasonry so-called. Returning to India in 1907, I found myself unable to proceed in this particular kind of research. Since my final return to England, however, I have been able to study much of the literature which has of late years brought the Comte Joseph de Maistre, so famous for his ultramontane claims for the Papacy and for his *Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg*, into prominence as a mason and a "transcendental Christian". In a future paper I hope to deal with the subject of de Maistre as a freemason, but it will be best to prepare the ground by giving an account of the various Masonic bodies which existed in de Maistre's days in his own native land. The reader who will turn to Gould's *History* or Lane's *Records* will at once become aware how little about the history of Freemasonry in Savoy has been known in this country.¹ I must acknowledge my indebtedness to two short works by Dr. François Vermales:—

- (1) *La Franc-Maçonnerie Savoisiennne à l'Époque Révolutionnaire*, Published with a Preface by M. Albert Mathiez, as No. VI. of the 'Bibliothèque d' Histoire Révolutionnaire'. 1912. Ernest Leroux. Paris.
- (2) *Notes sur Joseph de Maistre Inconnu*. 1921. Librairie Dardel. Chambéry.

I am also indebted to:—

- Emile Dermenghem. *Joseph de Maistre Mystique*. Paris. "La Connaissance". 1923.
- do. do. *La Franc-Maçonnerie: Mémoire au Duc de Brunswick, par Joseph de Maistre*. Paris. F. Rieder et C^{ie}. 1925.
- Paul Vulliaud. *Joseph de Maistre: Franc-maçon*. "Bibliothèque des Initiations Modernes". I. Paris. Emile-Nourry. 1926.

¹ Even a French Masonic historian, so well informed as J. E. Daruty (*Recherches sur Le Rite Ecossais*), was much in the dark as to Savoy.

- François Descostes. *Joseph de Maistre. Avant la Révolution.* 2 Vols. Paris. Picard. 1893.
- Ernest Daudet. *Le Roman d'un Conventionnel.* Paris. Hachette et C^{ie}. 1904.
- The Marquis Costa de Beauregard. *Le Roman d'un Royaliste.* Paris. Librairie Plon. 1892.
- do. do. *Un Homme d'Autrefois.* Paris. E. Plon et C^{ie}. 1877.
- La Princesse de Belgiojoso. *Histoire de la Maison de Savoie.* Paris. Calmann Lévy.
- General F. D. Doppet. *Mémoires Politiques et Militaires.* Paris. Badouin Frères. 1824.
- Ch. Dufayard. *Le Club des Allobroges.* "Revue Historique". T. 50. Paris. Felix Alcan. 1892.

I.—THE FIRST PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER AND THE LODGE TROIS MORTIERS.

The history of Free Masonry in Savoy in the eighteenth century is a tangled tale, and also, owing to the changeful political vicissitudes of the country, it is a history that might fail to attract attention. Are we to look for the lodges of Savoy under France or Italy? The Count of Maurenne, "gate-keeper of the Alps", becomes Duke of Savoy (1417), King of Sardinia (1720), and is to-day King of Italy, but Savoy is no longer in his kingdom. In the middle years of the eighteenth century, Savoyards, although fully race-conscious, look to France for their culture, and for their government, not to the capital of Sardinia, but to Turin in Piedmont. In a general history of Free Masonry, or in a list of Continental Lodges, under what jurisdiction are we to look for a Lodge at Chambéry or Annecy? Three times in the eighteenth century was Savoy ceded to France, and since 1860 it has been an integral member of the French Republic.

In the "1723" MS. list of Members of Lodges of the Grand Lodge of London appears under the Horse Tavern at Westminster, the Lodge¹ of which the Duke of Richmond was the Master, the name "Marquis Des Marches" (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 5). It appears again in the "1725" list (*ibid.*, p. 28). The Records of the Grand Lodge of England show that in 1739 this brother was appointed Provincial Grand Master of Savoy and Piedmont by the Grand Master, Lord Raymond. A list of members of the Lodge which this brother constituted at Chambéry ten years later has it that the patents granted to "the late T[rés] R[espectable] G[rand] Master Brother Joseph de Bellegarde, Marquis des Marches, gentilhomme de la Chambre de S.M. [the King of Sardinia]" had emanated from "T.: R.: G. Mre.: frère le Prince² Charles de Richemonte, Lemoz [Lenox] et d'Aubigny". In what capacity the Marquis was employed in England I have not as yet been able to discover. Very possibly he was the Representative of the King of Sardinia at the Court of St. James. His residence in England must have been a fairly long one, for in 1720 was born in London François Eugène Robert de Bellegarde, who succeeded to the title of Marquis des Marches, and who was installed as Grand Master of Savoy on May 30th,³ 1774.

¹ Now Royal Somerset House and Inverness, No. 4.

² The Duke was a grandson of Charles II. by Louise de Querouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth. I would venture to suggest that the Duke's well attested Masonic activities in France may to a considerable extent account for the belief that Masonry in France was derived from the Stuarts. The former Ducs d'Aubigny were Stuarts, and Aubigny had in the middle ages been colonised by immigrants from Scotland.

³ According to Dr. Vermale, the Marquis Eugène was, not son, but brother to the Marquis Joseph. M. René Johannet (*Joseph de Maistre*, p. 33) wrongly speaks of François de Bellegarde as the importer of English freemasonry into Savoy.

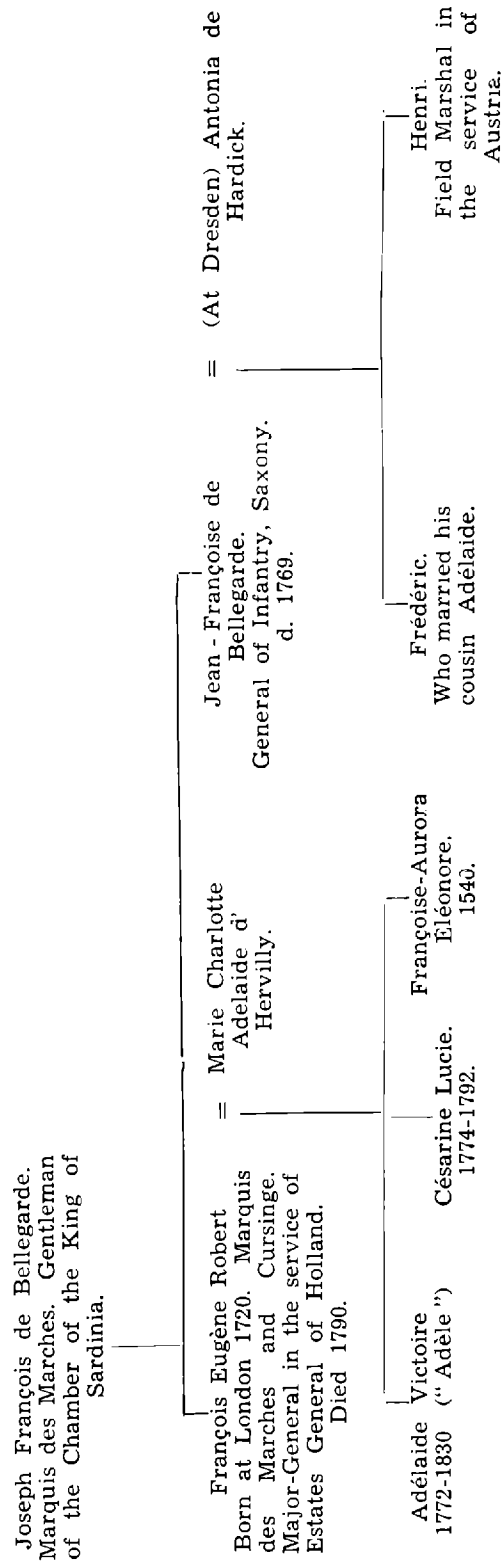
The Château des Marches is situated on the breast of a hill at a point where the valley of Chambéry joins the valley of Graisivaudan, and dates back to the first half of the fourteenth century. Erected to protect Savoy from invaders, it is of enormous size and strength. "From its terraces", writes M. Emile Daudet, "an unrivalled panorama is revealed: in front of it, in the foreground, the mountains of Allevard; above them those of Maurienne and Dauphiné, to the left the *massif* of the Bauges; to the right Mont Granier sets up its ragged summit over the plain of the 'Abymes' which in 1248 it covered with gigantic débris suddenly detached from its flanks, burying with one blow the little town of Saint André, the seat of the deanery of Savoy. In the vast space hollowed out between the heights which crown the château and the higher summits that dominate it, we perceive in an ocean of verdure, the blue sheet of a lake, the old donjon of Bellegarde, the cradle of the family of that name, the Chapel of Our Lady of Arians, the picturesque city of Montmélian, the town of Francin, and lastly the manor of Apremont, which formerly belonged to the d'Allinges, set between two torrents which descend from the mountain on which it rests. In the distance, sometimes lost in the haze, sometimes resplendent in the light, the snowy peaks of the Alps close in the horizon. When one contemplates this scene in the rising dawn or at the decline of day, or when the meridian sun gilds it with fires, it appears enchanting. It seems as if in no other part of the world has nature been able to give a more sumptuous background to constructions built by man".¹

In the year 1470 Jean Noyel (or Noël), entrusted with the watch over the entrance to Savoy—"la plus belle garde"—assumed the name of "de Bellegarde". His son, François, the representative of Charles of Savoy at the court of the Emperor Charles V., acquired the château. In 1682 Duc Victor Amadeus created Janus des Marches, Marquis des Marches and Comte d'Entremont his Grand Chancellor.

It was not until May, 1749, that de Bellegarde constituted the Lodge *Saint Jean des Trois Mortiers* at Chambéry. In the Lodge at the Horne Tavern, His Grace the Duke of Richmond had Bro. George Payne as his Deputy, and, save for the period (21st November, 1724, to 28th February, 1726,) during which he was Grand Master, he seems to have been permanently the Master of the Lodge.² The Marquis Joseph de Bellegarde seems to have adopted this practice in his Savoyard Lodge, and was probably known as "Maître en survivance". Of the existence of this Lodge *Trois Mortiers* there is no record preserved at the Grand Lodge of England. In 1753 the Marquis was by "raisons d'État" constrained to resign the chair. Pope Benedict XIV. in 1751 had renewed Pope Clement's bull of excommunication, and probably the reasons of State referred to were the *tracasseries policières* to which attendants at Lodge meetings might find themselves liable to be exposed. For some time the Comte de Montjoye occupied the chair, and after that most probably the Lodge was ruled by masters—"Vénérables"—periodically elected. Before his resignation, the Marquis appears in 1752 to have vested the powers received by him from the Grandmaster of England in the Lodge itself: "pouvoir de créer, de constituer des loges dans l'entendue des subdits États [*i.e.*, Savoyard Piedmont], les réprimer et suspendre, nommer, établir son vicaire Grand Maître, ses grands surveillants et autres frères et dignités".

¹ E. Daudet: *Le Roman d'un Conventionnel*, p. 96. The Château in 1904 was converted into an orphanage by Mlle. Costa de Beauregarde, a Sister of the Society of St. Vincent de St. Paul. In the seventeenth century the family spent their winter seasons at their town house in the Rue Croix-d'or at Chambéry.

² It is perhaps for this reason that the Duke's name does not appear in the "1725" MS. list of Members of the Horne Lodge. Lodge No. 4 to the present time has an Orator on its list of officers.



Dr. Vermale writes that Joseph de Bellegarde being dead, his brother Eugène de Bellegarde, "Marquis des Marches, général-major au service de la Hollande, fut élu et installé Grand Maître avec tous les pouvoirs de feu son frère le 30 mai 1774".¹ I admit that I may appear to be impudent when I venture to express my belief that this new Grand Master was the son, and not the brother, of the Founder of *Trois Mortiers*. I shall soon have occasion to speak of two Lady Bellegardes—Adelaide (called Adele) and Aurora. M. Emile Dumas, on p. 100 of his *Roman d'un Conventionnel* gives Adele's *acte de naissance*, extracted from the parochial registers of St. François de Chambéry²:—

24 Juin 1772, est née et a baptisée Adélaïde—Victoire, fille de François—Robert—Eugène de Bellegarde, Marquis des Marches et de Cursinge, général-major au service de leurs Hautes Puissances les États-Généraux, et de Marie—Charlotte—Adélaïde d'Hervilly, Marquise de Bellegarde. Parrain: le seigneur Janus de Bellegarde, Comte d'Entremont, général d'infanterie, gouverneur d'Alexandrie: Mairaine: dame Adelaïde-Victoire d'Castille d'Hervilly aïeule maternelle.

It is at once apparent that this evidence contradicts Dr. Vermale when he writes (p. 41): "the Marquis de Bellegarde, father of our heroines, was the importer of English masonry into Savoy". The list of members of *Trois Mortiers*, of which list I am about to speak,³ after referring to the "late Very Respectable Grand Master, Brother Joseph de Bellegarde", enumerates (as "Grand Maître en survivance")—"Très Respectable Frère Eugène de Bellegarde, marquis des Marches, Général-Major au service de la Hollande, assis, établi et reconnu G.^l. Mre.^l. de toutes les Loges du Duché de Savoye".

In 1765 Loge *Trois Mortiers* commenced to establish daughter lodges:—

- 1765. 20th January. A Lodge in the Regiment of Savoy Infantry.
- „ 11th July. *Vraie Amitié* at Rumilly:
- „ 27th December. *Mysterieuse* at Turin.

¹ Vermale. *Notes sur Joseph de Maistre Inconnu*, p. 12.

² The Marquis de Luchet: *Mémoires authentiques pour servir à l'histoire de Cagliostro*, p. 86, records a visit of this Comte Germain to Chambéry. The Comte sold his alchemical apparatus to the Marquis de Bellegarde. The melting pot when heated produced a material which had "the colour & weight, but not the ductibility of gold".

³ In an appendix, Dr. Vermale describes only too briefly a document entitled "Règlement de la Grand Maîtresse Loge des Trois-Mortiers du Duché de Savoye et les États de S.M. reçu et approuvé et signé par tous les membres composant l'assemblée du 18 août 1765". The signatures are:—

Jaume de la Valette, l'Énétable.	Boufert.
Marquis de St. Maurice: Orateur.	Bourgeois (de Tarentaise).
Comte de Laperouze.	Commandeur de Soyrier.
Desmaisons.	Ducoudray.
Marquis Deville.	Gariod.
„ De Coudrée.	Michaud.
Chevalier Chiesa.	Chevalier de Soyrier.
Boisset.	Comte Lazary.
Croza.	Balland.
Bourgeois (de Chablais).	Dellouilly, 2nd Surveillant.
	Genot.
	Daquin. 1st Surveillant.
Marquis Bellegarde.	Rey.
Dimier (l'ainé).	Perrety.
Capillini.	D'Evieux.
Le Prince de Holstein.	Vernier.
Chevalier d'Arvillars.	Pavy.

The first part is MS. The second, printed and in Dutch, is the "Duties and general regulations of Freemasons set in a new order and approved by the Grand Lodge of the United Provinces of the Netherlands 1761", and the third part is a MS. of the Statuts généraux de la Mère Loge de Lyon, April 9, 1763. See Vulliamd, *Op Cit.*, p. 42.

1768. July 22nd. *Sincère Union*, with the Cavalry Regiment of Piedmont.
 1774. May 24th. It regularised a *Parfaite Union*, which had for years past
 been working at Chambéry.
 1777. July 2nd. *Des Centrons* at Moutiers.
 1785. October 7th. *Triple Alliance* at Carouge.
 — — At Belley (Ain).
 — — Grand Orient Sarde, which existed until 1790.

For an Englishman to call into question the interpretation of an original document, which he has not seen, by an acknowledged French authority, may seem an impertinence, but the document described in the index of Dr. Vermale's *La Franc-Maçonnerie Savoisienne* as a "Tableau des membres de la Loge des Trois Mortiers en 1752", seems to me to be misdescribed. Here is the opening paragraph (Appendix II., p. 52):—

"Tableau Général des frères qui composent La Très Respectable Grand Maitresse Loge de *Saint Jean des Trois Mortiers* Fondée à l'Orient de Chambéry en 1749, Loge G. Mres. par feu T. R. G. Mre frère Joseph de Bellegarde, marquis des Marches, gentilhomme de la Chambre de S.M. ensuite des patentes à lui émanées de la Grande Loge de Londres, par T. R. G. Mre. frère le Prince Charles de Richemont, Lémox et D'Aubigny, la veille des Ides de juin 1739, qui l'établit Grand Maître dans tous les Etats de S.M. le Roy de Sardaigne, et déposé tous les pouvoirs et son siège de G. Mre. dans la dite Loge des *Trois Mortiers*, l'an. 1752".

My reasons for asserting that the list is misdescribed by Dr. Vermale as dating from 1752, are as follows:—

1st. Dr. Vermale himself states that the Marquis was in 1753 compelled, by "reasons of state" to abandon his high office. The Founder placed the Comte de Montjoye in the chair, but subsequently the lodge was ruled by Masters periodically appointed, until on May 30th, 1774, after the Founder's death, Eugène de Bellegarde Marquis des Marches was installed. In this list we are now discussing the first name given is that of the Grand Maître *en survivance*, "Très Respectable Frère Eugène de Bellegard, marquis des Marches, général-major au service de la Hollande, assis, établi et reconnu G. Mre. de toutes les Loges du duché de Savoye, dans la T. R. G. Messe. L. des *Trois Mortiers*, avec l'assistance des députés des R. L. ses filles, par le concours des frères, le 30 May 1774". The date 1752, therefore, is the date on which the Founder vested his powers in the Lodge, and not the date of a list of members.

2nd. The list contains the names of a number of brethren belonging to the "Prétendue Réforme", *i.e.*, the Strict Observance. We find in it also a number of brethren described as *écossais*. This at least suggests that the brethren so described were not actually members of *Trois Mortiers*, although, of course, it does not prove it. On March 19th, 1778, the Grand Master in the course of an address to the members of *La Parfaite Union* (under the Grand Orient) said: "I ought not to suffer you to forget that you should not adopt any reform, the ephemeral work of a philosophy directed by egoism the tendency of which is to disturb order and society; your works, directed by virtue, are sufficiently essential that you cannot interrupt their exercise or distract it by another plan which would become detrimental to you: this is enough to say to you in order to keep you between the square and the compass".¹ So early as 1752 the Strict Observance could not have existed at Chambéry.

¹ Vermale: *Franc-Maçonnerie Savoisienne*, p. 9, quoting the Minutes of *Parfaite Union*, p. 369.

3rd. In the list appear:—

“Maistre l'aîné,¹ substitut des généraux, maître symbolique, à la prétendue réforme.

“Salteur, substitut des généraux, maître symbolique, à la prétendue réforme”.²

Joseph de Maistre was born on April 1st, 1753.

In his later work, *Notes sur Joseph de Maistre Inconnu* (Chambéry, 1921), Dr. Vermale refers to a “tableau général des F. qui composent la Très Respectable Grande Maîtresse Loge de Saint-Jean des *Trois Mortiers*”, in which de Maistre and Salteur are described identically as in the “1752” list. He draws the conclusion that the two brethren had passed to the “Prétendue Réforme” from *Trois Mortiers*. The date of this second list is, he here says, September 4, 1778, and it was addressed to *Parfaite Union*. This second list, very similarly to the first, mentions:—

Desmaisons, médecin et maître élu.
Decoudray, secrétaire de Consulat et Maître élu.
Marquis de la Serraz, Maître élu.
Deville de la Malatière, Maître élu.
Pignière du bureau des Gabelles et Maître élu.
De Montfort, officier dans Tarentaise et Maître élu.
Brouilly, bourgeois et Chevalier d'Orient.
Rivoire l'aîné, bourgeois et tous les grades.
Marquis de Chevelu, officier dans Tarentaise et Maître Symbolique.
Picolet neveu, avocat et Maître Symbolique.

I can only conjecture that the second list is not really a different one from the first and that its date is September 4, 1778.³ The list does not show that the brethren à la prétendue réforme had actually withdrawn from *Trois Mortiers*, but, in point of fact, no doubt they had. By such withdrawals the Mother Lodge of Savoy must have been considerably weakened. Lodges composed of humbler persons than the Senators and military officers of the Mother Lodge could afford to disregard the frowns of Government. It is somewhat difficult to follow this list as it appears in Dr. Vermale's pamphlet, for there the names and titles are printed following on. I will therefore give it in a tabular form. I have marked with an asterisk each member described as ‘écossais’. E denotes ‘Maître Elu’: S denotes ‘Maître Symbolique’:—

Eugène de Bellegard.	Marquis des Marches.			Grand Maître en Survivance
De Soyrier.	Chevalier.	Major du Reg ^{nt} . Campement.	E.	Vénérable Député G.M.
Sancet fils.		Avocat au Sénat.	E:G.A.	Premier Grand Surveillant.
Pavy.		do.	E:G.A.	Second Grand „

¹ No doubt to distinguish him from his brother Xavier, the author of *Une Voyage autour de ma Chambre*. Joseph de Maistre became Comte de Maistre on the death of his father, January 16th, 1789.

² Jeane Baptiste Salteur, son of the First President of the Senate of Chambéry, Substitut de l'avocat général, 27th November, 1773, Senator 15th April, 1785. Decorated by Napoleon with the Legion of Honour. Died 27th October, 1812.

³ It would ill become me to find fault with a writer to whom I am so much indebted as I am to Dr. Vermale, but I can hardly help drawing attention to faults which are likely to occasion difficulties. For instance, *La Franc Maçonnerie Savoisienne*, p. 31: “*Parfaite Union* à Chambéry, qui venait de se fondre avec sa loge mère par délibération du 10 avril 1770”. Compare p. 19: “Ainsi sombra l’hégémonie de la G.M.L. des *Trois Mortiers*, qui craignant sans doute les manœuvres des Orientés rivaux, décida que la *Parfaite Union* cesserait d’avoir des travaux distincts à Chambéry, le 10 Avril 1790”. Or compare the former statement with the date he gives for regularisation of *Parfaite Union*.

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|--------------------|---|
| 5. | Perret fils.
Peyssard.
Léger. | Avocat au Sénat.
Négociant.
Archiviste de
S.M. | E:G.A.
S.
S. | Orateur. N.B.
Secrétaire.
Trésorier. |
| | Boisset père. | Proto-apoticare. | Chev.
d'Orient. | Archiviste. |
| | Rey. | Officier du solde. | Cadoche. | Maitre des Cérémonies. |
| 10. | *Vernier père.
Perrin. | Procureur.
Capitaine dans
la Légion. | S. | Frère Terrible.
Maitre d'hotel. |
| | Thiollier cadet.
Gariou. | Procureur.
Commissaire. | S.
S. | do. |
| | Beauregard père. | Secrétaire de
l'intendance. | S. | |
| 15. | D'Evieux de la Comte.
Pérouse. | | Chev. d'Orient. | |
| | *De Commene. Comte.
Cornuty. | Procureur. | S. | |
| | Jaume de la Valette. | Ancien capitaine. | | Revêtu de tous le grades.
Grand Chancelier de G.M. |
| | *De Malines. Comte et
Excellence. | | | |
| 20. | *De Cravette. Comte.
*Béardé Bourgeois.
l'ainé. | | | |
| | *Béardé cadet. | Officier en Allemagne. | | |
| | *De Megève. Comte. | | | |
| | *Marin. | Sénateur. | | |
| 25. | *De Viry. Comte. | Capitaine des
gardes de S.M. | | |
| | *Blanzy. | Commandant à Annecy. | | |
| | *Fleury. | Proto-médecin. | | |
| | Charles Duc. | Capitaine des Dragons. | S. | |
| | *Piobes. | Lieut.-Colonel. | | |
| 30. | *De Salons. Baron.
Veüllod. | do.
Procureur. | | S. |
| | *De Castellamond. | Capitaine au Reg ^{nt} . de
Piémont. | | |
| | *D'Andonne. | do. | | |
| | *Vernier père. | Procureur. | E. | |
| 35. | De Martine. | Major au Service de la
Prusse. | S. | |
| | De Barolle. Marquis. | | S. | |
| | *De St. Maurice.
Desmaisons. | Col. du Reg ^{nt} . de Savoye.
Médecin. | | Chev. d'Orient à la
prétendue réforme. |
| | Gonot. | Avocat. | | Chev. d'Orient. |
| 40. | Tarin. Chevalier.
Armand. | Officier.
Chirurgien. | S.
S. | |
| | *De Chabord. Baron. | Capitaine de Savoye. | | |
| | *Deville de
Traverney. Marquis. | | | S. |
| | *Colleony. Comte. | Capitaine de dragons. | | |
| 45. | Du Roch. | Religieux. | | Chev. d'Orient. |
| | De Nom. Comte. | Capitaine de dragons. | S. | |
| | De La Bâtie. Marquis. | | | Chev. d'Orient. |
| | De Ballan. | Ancien Major. | S. | |
| | Garella. | Architecte. | E. | |
| 50. | De Soyrier l'ainé.
Beaud. Bourgeois. | Capitaine dans Chablais. | | Grand Architecte.
Chev. d'Orient. |
| | *De Rochefort. Comte. | Gentilhomme de L.C. | | |
| | *De Manuel Comte.
père. | | | |
| | *Dalinge du Coudrée. | do. do. | | |
| 55. | *De Villette. | Capitaine dans Savoye. | | |
| | *De Menthon. Comte.
De la Val d'Isère. | Capitaine en 2 ^e de la
Garde de
S.M. | | Cadoche. |
| | *Croza. | Commandant. | | |
| | *Gambe de Comte.
la Pérouse. | | | |

60.	*Bourgeois.	Officier en Allemagne.	
	*Dutour.	Major dans Tarentaise.	
	Capetiny.	Architecte.	S.
	Garin.	Avocat.	S.
	Du Coudray.	Secrétaire de Consulat.	E. à la prétendue réforme.
65.	Dimier Bourgeois.		S.
	De St. Gille. Comte.	Officier des dragons.	Chev. d'Orient.
	De Clermont.	Capitaine dans Savoye.	S.
	Charles Denis.	do. do.	S.
	Roche.	Avocat.	S.
70.	*Charles d'Arvillard.	Capitaine de dragons.	
	*D'Arvillard. Baron.	Cornette des gardes du corps.	
	De Boringe. Comte.		S.
	Dacquin.	Médecin.	E. à la prétendue réforme.
	Revel l'aîné. Bourgeois.		S.
75.	Bourgeois.	Capitaine dans Chablais.	S.
	Bataillard.	Officier du solde.	E.
	De la Serraz. Marquis.		à la prétendue réforme.
	Déville de la Malatière.	Senateur.	E. do.
	Déville de la Croix.	Officier.	E.
80.	Pignière.	Au bureau des gabelles.	E. do.
	De Valérieux. Baron.		S.
	De la Place. Gentil-homme.		S.
	Delouly.	Contrôleur des douanes.	E. do.
	De Monfort.	Officier dans Tarentaise.	do.
85.	Brouilly. Bourgeois.	Chev. d'Orient	à la prétendue réforme.
	Michaud. Bourgeois.		S.
	Riviere l'aîné. do.		Tous les grades, à la prétendue réforme.
	De Ceresole.	Capitaine de dragons.	S.
	D'Avicco.	Maréchal des logis de dragons.	S.
90.	D'Alber.	Officier prussien	S.
	De Cernex. Comte.	Capitaine de cavalerie.	E.
	De Forax. Chevalier.	Capitaine dans Tarentaise.	S.
	De St. Réal.	Officier do.	S.
	Bonne Dezery.	„ au Rég ^{nt} . aux gardes.	S.
95.	De Charly de Cernex.	Capitaine de dragons.	S.
	Scalengle de Baldassan.	„ Cavalerie.	S.
	Deamasio.	Inspecteur.	S.
	Rey.	Officier dans Chablais.	S.
	De Bissy.	Capitaine des dragons.	S.
100.	Frœsia.	do.	S.
	Berlioz.	Fourrier des gardes du corps.	App. and Comp.
	Blondet. Bourgeois.		do.
	Falletti. do.		do.
	Maistre l'aîné.	Substitut des généraux.	S. à la prétendue réforme.
105.	Salteur.	do.	S. à la prétendue réforme.
	De Chevelu. Marquis.	Officier de Tarentaise.	S. do. do.
	De St. Sulpice.	Officier dans Savoye.	S.
	De St. Romain.	Aide-de-Camp de S.M.	Chevalier de l' Aigle.
	Gabet.	Garde du Corps de S.M.	S.
110.	Damos.	Ecuyer de dragons.	S.
	St. Severin.	Capitaine dans Tarentaise.	S.
	Bernard.	Receveur des gabelles.	S. à Moutiers.
	Picolet neveu.	Avocat.	S. à la prétendue réforme.
	De la Chambre. Marquis.	Capitaine de dragons.	S.
115.	Alen. Milor Vicomte.		S.
Frères servants.			
	Goy. Bourgeois.		S.
	Jacques Daviet.	Valet de chambre du Marquis de la Serraz.	App. et Comp. à la prétendue réforme.
	Urbain Gros.	Receveur aux Gabelles.	S. à la prétendue réforme.
	Guinchet.	Traiteur.	App. et Comp.

Dr. Vermale in one place at least speaks of a "Loge Prétendue Réforme" as if "Prétendue" were a part of the official designation of Lodge *Sincérité*, but the word as used in a list of the *Trois Mortiers* doubtless implies a negation of *Sincérité's* claim to be "reformed".

It has been seen that *Trois Mortiers* in 1774 "regularised" a lodge which had probably been working without a constitution. Dr. Vermale gives a list of the officers and members of this lodge which in 1781 bore the name of *La Parfaite Union*. I will reduce the list to tabular form:—

Munèry.		Vénérable.
Perret.		1st Surveillant.
Jourdan.		2nd do.
Bincaz.		Orateur.
Delabeye.		Secrétaire.
Gonnet.		Trésorier.
Bellemin.		Archiviste.
Vibert.		Maitre d'Hôtel.
Laraune.		do.
Morel.		Maitre des Cérémonies.
Dupasquier.		do.
Gorin.		Censeur.
Favre.		do.
Lyonnaz.		Frère Terrible.
Vincenty cadet.		do.
Berthier.		Visiteur des malades.
Sébastien. ¹		do. do.
Lard.		do. do.
<hr/>		
Martin.		Négociant à Lyon.
De L'hospital.	Comte.	
Perrin.		Officier dans Tarentaise.
Bonjean.		Financier.
Pillet cadet.		Avocat.
Mollingal.		do.
Antonios.		do.
Duroch.		Bourgeois.
Garrellaz.		Financier.
Vibert.		Bijoutier.
Berthet.		Négociant.
Corcellet.		do.
Heurteur cadet		do.
Millias aîné.		Chirurgien juré.
Jourdan.		Substitut procureur.
Janin.		do.
Perret Jean-Louis.		do.
Dianand.		Marchand-tailleur.
Heurteur aîné.		Financier.
Bertier.		Ancien garde de S.M.
J. L. Perret.		Financier.
Morel.	Bourgeois.	
Pomel.		Avocat.
Vincenty Cadet.		Orfèvre.
Louis Galley.		Curé à Chevelu.
Forest.		Négociant.
Burnier aîné.		Commissaire.
Silvoz.		Apoticaire.
Pacoret.		Epicier.
Delouly.		
Pavy.		Vble. et fils des
Garrellaz.		Trois Mortiers.
		1st Surveillant do.
		Archiviste et 2nd do.
		(Elus par délibération).
Léger.		Commissaire.
Vernier.		Agrégé 20 March, 1775.
Lionnaz.		Praticien.
Bertholus Feyge d'Aiguebelle.		
Vernier.		Avocat.
Boimond.		Secrétaire du Marquis de
		Coudray.
Gorin.		Imprimeur de S.M.
Gonnet.		Marchand.

¹ So in Vermale, but Sébastien is the Christian name of Berthier.

Munéry.	Financier.
Chevallier.	Négociant.
Dupasquier.	Procureur.
Béard.	Négociant à Hiène.
Millios.	Secrétaire des usines de Pesey.
Labeye.	Secrétaire aux archives de S.M.
Viviand cadet.	Negociant.
Garrellaz.	Architecte agrégé.
Joseph Poncet.	Notaire à Novalaise.
Michel Andrié. de Chamoin.	
Hyacinthe Guy.	Marchand Drapier.
Etienne Basso.	Entrepreneur.
Jacques Perrier fils.	Charpentier.
F. Servant.	
Tardy.	Procureur.
Buffard.	Notaire.

It will be recollected that Anderson (*Const.*, 1738, p. 196), after giving a list of "Deputations sent beyond Sea", writes: "All these foreign Lodges are under the Patronage of our Grand Master of England. But the old Lodge at York City, and the Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, France and Italy, affecting Independency, are under their own Grand Masters, tho' they have the same Constitutions, Charges, Regulations, &c. for Substance, with their Brethren of England, and are equally zealous for the Augustan Stile, and the Secrets of the antient and honourable Fraternity". The *sancta simplicitas* of a writer who could expect the distinguished Scottish gentry in the English Grand Lodge to swallow whole such a statement about Scottish lodges affecting independency of the Grand Master of England leaves one to wonder. Yet perhaps this passage in an official work may have superinduced the officials at Grand Lodge to forget the extent of the jurisdiction that had been entrusted to the Marquis Joseph de Bellegarde, or perhaps their acquaintance with political geography was but slight. In 1775 the English Grand Lodge granted a constitution to some masons at Turin to form a lodge *S. Jean de la Nouvelle Esperance*, which was No. 479, and remained on the English Register till 1813. (Lane: *Records*, p. 194.) From 1769 to as late as 1776, however, that thorough-paced rascal De Vignoles was holding at Grand Lodge the appointment of "Provincial Grand Master for Foreign Lodges". According to M. Descostes (*Op. cit.* T.I., p. 224) the very lodge at Turin, which had been constituted by *Trois Mortiers*, obtained from the Grand Master of England, Lord Petre, a warrant, dated April 3, 1774, appointing a Provincial Grand Master at Turin. In the Archives of M. André Perrin, M. Descostes found the protest of the Lodge *Trois Mortiers*. Unfortunately he has only published portions of it, for the document is not to be found at Grand Lodge, and anything coming from the pen of De Maistre is indeed a treasure:—

Le 4^e jour de la 2^e semaine du 10^e mois de l'année de la Grande-Lumière
5774 et de l'ère vulgaire le 13 octobre 1774,

A l'Orient de Chambéry, lieu sombre où règnent la tristesse, le trouble
et l'inquiétude;

La T. R. Grande-Maîtresse Loge des États du Roy de Sardaigne, Saint
Jean des Trois Mortiers, Au Grand Orient de Londres,

Source de lumière d'où nous attendons la consolation, la justice et la
paix :

Salut. Salut. Salut.

Sublime Grand-Maître.

V. P. et S. O. D. M. C.

et A.

Très chers et très dignes frères.

Les chagrins les moins supportables sont ceux qui nous viennent d'une main que nous avons toujours chéri et respecté. Si notre Loge devait être avilie, si tous nos privilèges devaient être foulés aux pieds, nous n'aurions jamais cru que l'orage se formerait à Londres, que vous renverseriez de vos propres mains un édifice que vous aviez pris plaisir d'élever, et que vous jetteriez dans la poussière des enfants qui feraient peut-être honneur à leur mère. Nous vous devons tout, T.C.F., nous l'avouons hautement. Mais pourquoi vous êtes-vous lassés si tôt d'être nos bienfaiteurs, et pourquoi nous avez-vous porté le coup le plus sensible, en donnant un Grand-Maître à la Loge de Turin? . . .

Vous qui n'avez jamais entendu retentir à vos oreilles la voix tonnante d'un souverain absolu! Vous qui pouvez, dit-on, tout ce qui n'est pas injuste! Songe que l'univers est plein d'hommes qui n'ont que la volonté de libre, parce qu'on ne connaît pas de moyen pour l'enchaîner. A Londres, quand le Souverain lève le bras, vous mettez la grande Charte entre vous et lui; son sceptre se brise sur ce bouclier, ou, s'il ne se brise pas, c'est votre faute.

Mais ailleurs, dès que le Maître a parlé, tout ce qui ne plie pas est écrasé et il n'y a plus de remontrances à faire ni de distinctions à proposer; la gloire est dans l'obéissance, et la moindre contravention devient dangereuse . . .

S'agit-il de convoquer une assemblée contre les ordres du Roy? Le franc-maçon, magistrat, militaire ou prêtre, craindra de perdre ses *employs* et sa tranquillité; l'homme qui n'est pas défendu par ses *employs* ne rêve que prison et chaînes, de sorte qu'on ne se détermine que difficilement à se trouver en loge.

Les assemblées, devenues très rares, ne permettent pas de traiter beaucoup d'affaires; les *malheurs* amènent la *nonchalance* et la tête s'endort. N'y aurait-il pas de la dûreté, T.C.F., d'exiger d'une société qui gémit dans l'*oppression* autant d'exactitude que si elle jouissait d'un calme inalterable? . . .

Quel est donc le motif de cette nouvelle institution? Qu'est-ce qui peut la rendre légitime? C'est une loi sacrée parmi nous que le dernier des frères ne peut être condamné sans être entendu; les droits d'un individu, sont-ils donc plus sacrés que ceux d'une société entière? N'est-ce pas une chose inouïe qu'une Grande Maîtresse Loge se voye flétrie, dégradée, sans qu'on ait daigné l'avertir des entreprises qui se formaient contre ses intérêts, sans que personne ait paru pour elle, sans qu'on l'ait sommée de venir se *défendre*? Si vous aviez des supérieurs dans notre ordre, et qu'ils vinssent établir une grande loge égale à la votre à Oxford, à Cantorberi, à Cambridge, imaginez quels seraient vos sentiments et vous *auriez* une idée de ceux que nous éprouvons . . .

Une mère sensible pourrait-elle forcer ses enfants à se faire adopter par une étrangère? . . . Chassons cette idée, elle est trop cruelle. Daignez vous rappeler que c'est nous qui sommes votre première conquête dans ces contrées, que c'est un de nos *cytoïens* qui reçut vos pouvoirs à Londres. L'Italie, l'Allemagne, la France nous tendaient les bras; mais nous volûmes tenir la maçonnerie de vos mains, parce que nous vous regardions comme les hommes les plus sages de la nation la plus sage; ne démentez pas l'idée que nous avons de vous; surpassez-la s'il est possible. La justice et l'humanité, le sentiment et la raison, tout vous parle pour nous; rappelez le bonheur que s'obstine à nous fuir; ordonnez lui de se reposer milieu de nous; le

malheur nous a rendus dignes de la posséder. Songez surtout, songez que nous allons languir dans une incertitude désespérante, jusqu' à ce jour d'éternelle mémoire qui sera marqué par l'*abbatement* de la douleur ou par l'ivresse de la joie et les transports de la reconnaissance.

Nous sommes et nous serons éternellement, avec tous les honneurs qui vous sont dus et par les nombres mystérieux et secrets que nous connaissons.

Très chers et très dignes Frères,
Vos très dévoués et très affectionnés Frères.
Daguin, *Vénérable*.

Le chev. Deville,¹ Comte Salteur,
p. le 1^{er} surveillant. *2^e surveillant.*
Par Mandemant de la F.: R.: G.: M.: L.:
Maistre, *Grand Orateur*.

Sceau.

Scellé par nous, Grand Garde des
Sceaux et Grand Archiviste.
Jaume de la Valette.

The person responsible for the injury done to the Provincial Grand Master of Savoy was doubtless John de Vignoles, who had been appointed in 1769 by the Grand Lodge of London to be "Provincial Grand for Foreign Lodges". In a letter dated 26th July, 1774, the Deputy Grand Master (Roland Holt) wrote to the P.G. Master of St. Eustatius: "De Vignoles is dismissed from his office for various offences not more hon^{ble}. than the worst of those recorded in the papers you have transmitted to me relative to M^r. Duplissis", but on April 5th, 1776, the Grand Secretary wrote to de Lalande: "M. Vignoles has still the regulation of our correspondence with the Foreign Lodges". A more thorough-paced scamp than was this Vignoles could hardly have been found.²

Writing in 1794 to his friend the Baron Vignet des Étoles, de Maistre³ wrote: "I love and esteem the English much more than the French . . . If sometimes you have noticed me inclining to France it is because languages cause prejudices. Had I spoken Piedmontese as long as you have, I would detest the French as much as you do". Whether or no the feelings of resentment which the protest to the Grand Lodge of London so eloquently expressed had anything to do with the withdrawal of three of the signatories to that protest from *Trois Mortiers* we know not. At a time when *Trois Mortiers* had forbidden its members to visit the Grand-Orient *Sept Amis*, we find de Maistre, Daguin, Salteur, and Deville visiting it again and again.

¹ In the list of members of *Sept Amis*, in 1789 Louis Deville, Marquis de Travernay, on April 13, 1770, Officer of the Regiment d'Aoste cavalier en garnison at Chambéry, "membre né et compagnon" of *Vraie-Amitié* at Rumilly is given as a joining member. His name appears in the 1778[?] list of *Trois Mortiers*. In 1791 his name still appears in the list of *La Vraie Lumière* at Rumilly. The 1st Surveillant who signs the Protest to the English Grand Lodge is the Chevalier Hipolite de Ville, one of the senators of Chambéry, who was Hipolitus a Castro in the Strict Observance and President of the College of the Ordre bienfaisant de la Cité Sainte at Chambéry.

² See the late Bro. W. Wonnacott's paper *De Vignoles and his Lodgc*, in *A.Q.C.*, xxxiv. Heseltine must for some reason have found Vignoles' services too valuable to part with, and trusted to his own sagacity to keep the rascal under control. In 1772 Heseltine had obtained from Vignoles the jewels, etc., of the Provincial G. Lodge of Italy (of which the Duke de la Rocca was P.G.M.), "after a vast number of evasions and excuses for his conduct of a most ridiculous nature", and "not without an incredible deal of trouble and perplexity". It may have been Vignoles' theory that when a resident P.G. Master was appointed to a district "the London P.G. Master for Foreign Lodges made over a part of his jurisdiction to the newly appointed officer, and on such a plea sought to justify his being in possession of the jewels".

³ De Maistre, J., *Œuvres Complètes*, i., ix., p. 76.

II.—IN PASSING.

Before proceeding any further with this history, it is necessary to review very briefly the political and social conditions of Savoy in the years preceding its annexation to France. The affection of the inhabitants for its ancient race of rulers, if still dominant among the aristocracy, first began to wane among the subordinate classes, and latterly turned to hatred. In July, 1775, Victor Amadeus, accompanied by most of his family and with little ceremony, visited Chambéry and was enthusiastically received by his Savoyard subjects, but he had come from Italy to return to Italy. De Maistre, despite all his passionate loyalty, held in contempt and detestation the Piedmontese majors,—those “*kommandanteurs boches*”, who in their prussianised uniforms, policed the country. Although in a moment of exaltation he could apostrophise war as “*divine*”, his experience of a Piedmontese military domination over his native land drew from him the outcry, “*blessed a thousand times are the princes who suffer us a little to forget the art of war*”. In Savoy the worst evils of feudalism had already disappeared, vexatious imposts had been abolished, and the nobles were without those privileges which rendered the class so burdensome in France. Victor Amadeus’s policy of abstention from the armed conflicts of the great powers had secured for his kingdom long years of peace during which roads had been improved and bridges constructed. Since 1770 Savoy had possessed a legal code, and, if the extreme penalties of the law were still barbarous, yet probably in no part of the Continent were the unspeakable cruelties of so-called justice so seldom practised or resorted to as they were in Savoy. In his *Lettres d’une Royaliste Savoisienne*, written in 1793, de Maistre claims: “*We were the least taxed people in the universe, and the only people whose taxes had not been increased during the past sixty years . . .* What statesman has not heard that celebrated land-survey spoken of which places beneath the eye of every landowner a geometrical representation of his possessions, their precise extent, the nature of the different soils and the tax borne by each glebe? Who could praise sufficiently the assessment of that admirable land tax which we could call ‘*unique*’, since the *gabelle*¹ was but an imperceptible weight, even before the last law which reduced salt to two sous . . . Perhaps there was nothing in Europe more simple and more perfect than the organisation of our finances”. Of the aristocracy he writes: “*The nobility in Savoy had only that tempered lustre which sparkles without dazzling. It could be compared with those architectural ornaments of a sober and elegant character which dress the walls without encumbering them. Never had it injured the people with whom it shared posts and who participated with it in all the honours of the State. It is a known fact that the most brilliant posts in every career were accessible to citizens of the second order*”. M. Descostes, who cites these passages, illustrates them by recalling the fact that between the promulgation of the edicts of 1762 and 1771 on the redemption of the personal *taille*² and the enfranchisement from feudal rights the vassals exhibited less haste to claim the benefit than the nobles did to surrender them. “*The night of August 4th*”, he says, referring to the famous night when the French nobility and clergy at the Constituent Assembly renounced their pecuniary privileges, “*was accomplished in Savoy, more than thirty years before that of 1789*” (*Op. cit.*, 1, p. 279).

De Maistre, however, was looking back to a state of things which belonged to the time when, at the age of twenty, he had returned from the uncongenial social atmosphere of Turin to his patriarchal home in Savoy. “*Sorrow’s crown of*

¹ The salt tax. In certain parts of France, before the Revolution, every householder was compelled to buy during the year seven pounds of salt for every member of his family.

² The *taille personnelle* bore on the profits of the land: the *taille réelle* was assessed on survey and valuation of lands.

sorrow, remembering happy things". From the time of the visit of King Victor Amadeus to Chambéry in 1775 to the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, the love of the people of Savoy for their monarch in Italy was on the wane, and the cleavage between them and the nobility was growing wider and wider. On the occasion of that visit, a little thing in itself but of no small significance illustrates the feeling of vexation. From the beginning of the sixteenth century the townsfolk in Savoy formed Militia 'Compagnies de l'arc, de l'arbalète et de l'arquebuse' for the defence of their country in war time, for sport in time of peace. At the time of the royal visit the bourgeois 'chevaliers tireurs' paid the expences of a ball at which they, but not wives were permitted to be present. When, after the fall of the Bastille, the nobles of Savoy threw their doors open to receive the emigrant French nobles, the pride and overbearing manner of those unfortunate exiles brought the exasperation of the humbler classes of Savoy to the highest pitch.

Lack of employment and even hunger drove the naturally industrious peasants of the mountainous districts, not to the plains of Piedmont, but to France and Switzerland. It was asserted that out of a population of 400,000 people, 30,000 emigrated each year. The industrial classes came to believe that their country, under the heel of Piedmontese police, was being either neglected by their rulers at Turin or else hopelessly exploited. Chambéry was left unprovided with a university, and to Turin the sons of the nobility and the bourgeoisie were compelled to go in order to be equipped for the professional callings. In Savoy the monasteries were overfull, and Chambéry was too full of lawyers to offer openings for students on their return. Towards the close of the eighteenth century Savoy supplied France with gardeners, farm labourers, hewers of wood, dressers of vines, reapers, etc. From his terrace at Ferney, Voltaire saw

L'indigent savoyard, utile en ses travaux,
Qui vient couper nos blés pour payer nos impôts.

The immigrants crowded into Marseilles, Lyons and Rouen, and could be counted by thousands at Paris, where an 'Œuvre des Petits savoyards', a school for their children existed. A "Société des Savoisians residant à Paris" was founded by Savoyards who had made their way in the world of commerce for the relief of their unfortunate fellow country-men.

When the eventful year of 1789 drew near, the lawyer and professional classes had contributed to the stream of immigrants from Savoy, and among them went literary men prepared to give vent to their wounded patriotism. A pamphlet, *Le Premier Cri de Savoie vers la Liberté*, was printed at Paris,¹ but the name of the publisher given on the title-page was Gorin, who was printer to the King at Chambéry and a member of *Parfaite Union*. The writer complains that up to recent times Savoyards were known in France chiefly as migrant and miserable mountaineers, but now the plains are being depopulated. "The towns seem to be peopled only by monks, soldiers, pleaders, the unemployed and beggars. Its greatest scourge is militarism. Lucrative and honourable posts are kept for Piedmontese, and in his own country the young Savoyard has no opening in life before him save in the Church, the war, or the barracks. Government offices, fortresses, convents everywhere, but nowhere are there factories. The people have no representatives at the seat of government". He asks for more liberal laws, national representatives and taxes more equitably assessed and

¹ " *Le Réveil de la Savoie*, par CAA, grenadier, patriote Français, à Annecy, de l'imprimerie de monseigneur l'évêque et prince de Genève, avec approbation de sa Majesté Sarde. 1790 ", was not printed in Savoy! De Maistre writes that the demand for the *Le Premier Cri de Savoie vers la Liberté* was so great that he was only able to examine a copy for an hour.

death duties. The King is not yet denounced as the "tyran Sarde": his "virtue" is appealed to to remember that it is the Savoyards who have supplied the working power of his dynasty. But if this appeal should be cast out by the councillors who surround him, well, "the natural tendency of Savoy appears to be towards France and everything seems to alienate it from Piedmont". The money that passes from Savoy to Italy does not return to it for there is no commerce between the two countries. "What then is there in common between Savoy and Piedmont? Everything separates them, geography, habits, language". Not only had the people been deprived of the presence in their country of their duke, but the duke became king of another land, and had left the country beneath the heads of an alien military police. De Maistre, despite his passionate loyalty, again and again complains of *kommandanteurs boches*. "Plutôt le Sophi de Perse que les majors piémontais". The insolence of these functionaries in prussianised uniforms, their foreign jargon, their brutal methods, the bastinado, etc., etc., provoked frequent riots. And was it not but natural that the tradesfolk who belonged to French Lodges in Savoy, and on their visits to Lyons or Grenoble were made welcome in French Lodges, should view the disappearance of customs barriers with approval?

After the dramatic fall of the Bastille on July 14th, 1789, commenced the "first emigration" of the French nobility.¹ Hospitably received by the nobles of Savoy, these refugees, animated by the confidence that the revolutionary storm in their native land would soon pass away, by their pride of race and often ill-concealed contempt for the humble classes of the people among whom they found themselves, accentuated the social bitterness at work in the already formidable revolutionary movement.²

The story of the occupation of Chambéry by General Montesquiou, on September 24th, 1792, reads more like an agreed-on transaction than a military performance, although Lazari, who commanded the Piedmontese forces, appears to have been duped. Lazari, a relation of De Maistre and perhaps a member of the Lodge *Trois Mortiers*, had been in occupation of the Château Bellegarde. On the morning of the 22nd, he was aroused from sleep by the noise of a fusillade. His out-posts had been captured by the French Maréchal-de-Camp, Laroque, and Lazari's endeavour to rally his forces was frustrated by Montesquiou, who cut the Piedmontese army into two, dispersing one portion in flight in one direction and the other in another. But it is said that the Governor of Chambéry had previously received secret warning, in order to give him time "to clear out his effects and secure post horses necessary for his retreat". Montesquiou entered Chambéry to receive a long ovation by "patriots" welcoming the French as "brothers and liberators".

¹ In a letter written at Strasbourg, July 4, 1790, Saint Martin writes: "Ma soeur qui étoit en Dauphiné dans une maison de mécontents de tout ce qui se passe en France vient de se sauver avec eux à Chambéry". It is in this letter he resigns his "place dans l'ordre intérieur" and asks that his name may be removed from all the registers and masonic lists in which it may have appeared since 1785. Papus: *Louis Claude de Saint-Martin*, p. 207.

² "The conduct of the emigrés at Turin, so calculated to attract storms to the head of Victor Amadeus, was not the sole cause of recriminations. The French refugees at Chambéry did not give proof of any more common sense or perspicacity. Little by little Savoy was filled with emigrés. There they were at Chambéry, at Annecy, at Aix, at Montemélian, at Bourges, at Saint Genin, at Carouge, as they had been at Niece, Costa and in Switzerland. Everywhere, in Savoy, were they admirably received by the noblesse, the officers, clergy, monks and nuns. But the people and the bourgeoisie scowled at them, especially at Chambéry, where they invaded everything, disdainful and provocative, showing off their luxury, monopolising the pavement, mocking at the old customs of Savoy, the simplicity of its life, the want of elegance of its women, imposing their exigencies on the governor to such a point that, when a conflict broke out between them and the natives, he was always bound to give them the satisfaction". Dumas: *Histoire de l'Emigration*, i., pp. 39-40.

III.—LODGES UNDER THE GRAND ORIENT, AND OF THE STRICT OBSERVANCE.

On p. 55 of his *Franc-Maçonnerie Savoisienne*, Dr. Vermale gives a list of the members of the "Loge les Independants" of Chambéry. In the table of contents this list is entered as "Tableau de la Loge les *Independants* de Chambéry en 1770". On examining the list we observe that the majority of the members named in it were either initiated or joined in 1785 and 1786. The error made is similar to that which we have noticed in the case of the list of members of *Trois Mortiers*. The date "le 29 Août 1770" in the heading of the list refers, not to the date of this list, but to the date of the re-constitution of the Independents by the Lodge St. Jean de la Parfaite Union¹ at Grenoble. On p. 12 Dr. Vermale has told us that the Independents, through the agency of the Grenoble Lodge, obtained a constitution from the Duc de Clermont, date October 30th, 1769. It was again through the Grenoble Lodge, which itself in the meantime had been re-constituted by the Grand Orient, that the Independents were re-constituted, and obtained the title of *Sept Amis*. The list of members, re-arranged in tabular form, is as follows:—

[E=Maître Élu. M=Maître.]

Hugues Rebuffet.	Négociant.	Grand Ecossais.	Fondateur de la Loge; Reçu en 1758.
Gaudin.	Paumier.	E.	Reçu en 1758.
F. Millias.	Chirurgien Juré.	E.	do.
J. F. Berthet.	Négociant.	Chevalier prussien.	Agrégé 1770.
Simplicien Rousseau.	Religieux Augustin.	Tous les grades.	Agrégé 1770.
Vincent Millias.	Substitut Procureur.	E.	1763.
			Enfant de la Loge.
Guillaume Millias.	Négociant.	M. Bleu.	1768. do.
Marie Dom Gaspard.	Officier en Espagne.	do.	1768. do.
Emile Perrillat.	Religieux Augustin.	Apprenti.	1769. do.
Maxime Bertier.	Ancien garde de S.M.	M. Bleu.	Agrégé 1780.
Hector Dehorme.	Bourgeois.	do.	Agrégé 1785.
François Debrit.	Négociant.	E.	Agrégé 1785.
Louis Gruffy.	Notaire.	M. Bleu.	do.
André Villemenet.	Substitut Procureur.	E.	1785.
			19 June.
Abraham Faguet.	Praticien.	M. Bleu.	Agrége 1785.
Louis Deglapigny.	Avocat au Sénat.	do.	1785.
Pierre Perrety.	Notaire royal.	M. Bleu.	1785.
Joseph Charles Armenjon.	Contrôleur des Actes.	do.	1785.
Philippi Mayan.	Secrétaire à la trésorerie générale.	App. et Comp.	1785.
			1785.
			Enfant de la Loge.
Antonio Mansoz.	Prêtre.	do.	1785. do.
Pierre-Marc Dupuy.	Négociant.	do.	1785. do.
Gapilloud.	Substitut Procureur.	do.	1785. do.
Trouillet.	Révérénd bénéficiér.	App. et Comp.	1785. do.
Dupraz.	Révérénd Curé de St. Jean.	do.	1785. do.
Jean Claude Berthet.	Chirurgien.	do.	1785. do.
François Lacroix.	Commissaire ès droits seigneuriaux.	do.	1786. do.
Nicholas Perrin.	Musicien.	do.	1786. do.
Antoine Magnin.	Substitut Procureur.	do.	1786. do.
Bertrand.	Secrétaire à l'Intendance.	do.	1786. do.
Courtois.	Secrétaire Arch. de la Chambre des Comptes.	do.	1786. do.
David Huguenin.	Négociant à Lyon.	Apprenti.	1786. do.
Jean-François Defresne.	Substitut Procureur.	do.	1786. do.
Barré.	Musicien à Lyon.	do.	1785. do.

¹ Constituted 1 March, 1766. According to Daruty (*Recherches*, p. 152) the Grenoble Lodge was re-constituted by the Grand Orient on 21 September, 1780, but accorded the original date. The Duc de Clermont died June 16, 1771.

Comparing this list with that of *Trois Mortiers* in 1778, we note that in 1785 the following left *Trois Mortiers* and joined *Sept Amis* the Independents, who were to become, under the Grand Orient, Lodge *Sept Amis*:—

F. Millias. Chirurgien juré.
J. Fr. Berthet. Négociant.
Maxime Bertier. Ancien garde de S.M. [the King of Sardinia].

We notice firstly that there are three members described as “reçu” (whatever that may mean) in 1758, viz., Hugues Rebuffet “Grand Ecossais et Fondateur de la loge”, Gaudin, and Millias. This may mean that the Independents worked without a constitution before they received one from or through *Parfaite Union* at Grenoble. For the period between 1758 and 1770 six other names appear: and so we have nine names on the list on August the 29th, 1770. Then ten years pass by, and for that ten years we have only the name of a young member, Maxime Bertier, formerly a guardsman of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, but I am tempted to believe that here 1780 is a misprint for 1785. In the June of that year we observe tokens of activity. On June 19th, 1785 (*Op. cit.*, p. 57), François Debrit joins the Lodge, and, as will be seen, is almost at once elected its Vénérable or Worshipful Master. Three or four other masons join the Lodge on the same occasion, and there is an initiation. On the following day André Willeminet is initiated, and will shortly be appointed Orator: Perrety, initiated on July 1st is Maître des Cérémonies. Dehorme appointed Treasurer, is a recently joined member.

There can be but little doubt that a lodge in abeyance has been captured by F. Debrit on behalf of the Grand Orient. Although the date of the Constitution of *Sept Amis* under the Grand Orient was, as Dr. Vermale says, March 1, 1786, the Lodge secured the right to date its origin back to patents granted to it by *Parfaite Union* of Grenoble—August 29, 1770.

On p. 57 of his history, Dr. Vermale gives us another list of members of Lodge *Sept Amis*,¹ which he dates June, 1785:—

Francière Debrit.	Négociant bijoutier.	Aged 34.	Vénérable.
Vincent Millias.	Substitut Procureur.	„ 33.	1st Surveillant.
Pierre Gaudin.	Paumier.	„ 33.	2nd do.
André Willeminet.	Substitut Procureur.	„ 30.	Orateur.
François Berthet.	Négociant-Commissaire.	„ 49.	Secrétaire et Garde des sceaux.
Hector Delhorme.	Bourgeois.	„ 53.	Trésorier.
Abraham Faguet.	Praticien.	„ 41.	
Pierre Perrety.	Notaire et substitut procureur.	„ 40.	Maître des Cérémonies.
Joseph Armenjon.	Contrôleur des Actes.	„ 29.	
Phillipe Mayan.	Secrétaire à l'Intendance- générale.	„ 32.	
Pierre Marc du Puy.	Négociant.	„ 36.	
Joseph Gassillioud.	Substitut Procureur.		
François Lacroix.	Commissaire.		
Nicholas Perrin.	Praticien.		
Antoine Magnin.	Substitut Procureur.	„ 33.	
Pierre Bertrand.	Secrétaire à l'Intendance.		
Jacques Courtois.	Secrétaire archiviste à Turin.	„ 39.	
David Huguenin.	Négociant à Lyon.	„ 21.	
Joseph François Desfrène.	Substitut Procureur.		
Louis Gruffy.	Praticien.		
François Millias.	Chirurgien Juré.	„ 66.	

I cannot doubt that Dr. Vermale has faithfully followed the orthography of the documents he had before his eyes, but neither can I doubt that the ‘Joseph

¹ In 1791, when *Sept Amis* ceased to work “officially” and its members were divided into three sections under a “Directory”, the following belonged to the “Section du Midi”: — Armenjon, Willeminet, Pierre Marc du Puy [Despuis], Desfrène, Pierre Perrety, Mayan, Millias, Joseph Dardel, David Huguenin, etc., are still among the members.

Gassilloud' of the latter document is the 'Gapilloud' of the former, and that the Francière Debrit who is the Master of the Lodge in the second list is the François Debrit who joined the Lodge on June 19th, 1785.¹

In December, 1786, the *Sept Amis*, in the name of the Grand Orient, instituted the Lodge *Triple Equerre* at Annecy, and in January, 1788, *Trois Temples* at Carouge. The Master of *Triple Equerre* in 1789 was a person of some historical interest—"François Maurice de Sales, Marquis, Écuyer de S.A.R., M^{me}. la princesse de Piémont, capitaine de cavalerie, sous-adjutant général des troupes de S.M., T[ous] L[es] G[rades]". This Lodge was very largely composed of noblemen and military officers; it also included a fair number of representatives of the bourgeoisie.

Lodge *Sept Amis*, at Whitsuntide, 1786, invited *Trois Mortiers*, *Parfaite Union*, and *Sincérité* to take part in its Festival. The latter was a High Observance lodge, about which more anon. It accepted the invitation, and appointed as its deputation to *Sept Amis* its Past-Master, the Comte Desery, Comte Salteur, Dr. Desmaisons ("Grand Master of Ceremonies") and de Loully. The following is the reply of *Trois Mortiers*:—

Monsieur.

In reply to the letter you have done me the honour to send me, I am instructed to say to you that no society in the States is recognised other than those which emanate from a primitive point which has long existed here and of that those under your aegis cannot be unaware. There, Monsieur, is that to which my commission is limited. I have the honour to be with the most perfect consideration, your very humble and devoted servant,

Reynaud.

Chambéry, 3 June, 1786.

Parfaite Union,² through its Secretary (Tardy) replied enigmatically. After about four years of conflict, *Sept Amis* appointed a committee to consider if some understanding could be effected by which masonic "peace, union and concord" might be established. *Trois Mortiers* was ready (May 22nd, 1790) to assent to union, but on the sole condition that the union should bring about an immediate formation of a Grand Orient of Savoy.

Four years after receiving at the hands of the Grand Lodge of London so cruel a blow to its prestige, Mother Lodge *Trois Mortiers* was encountered by a formidable rival in the Lodge *Sincérité*,³ founded at Chambéry on April 30th, 1778, under the Directory of the Strict Observance at Lyons. In the 1778 list of members of *Trois Mortiers* the names of de Maistre, Salteur and fourteen others are given as belonging to the *Prétendue Réforme*. The

¹ There are several unfortunate slips as to dates in Dr. Vermale's *Franc-Maçonnerie*. For instance, p. 31, line 4, "1770" should be (cf. p. 19) "1790". On p. 55, in the list of members of *Parfaite Union*, we have "François Debrit, négociant, maître bleu, agrégé le 19 Juin 1785": On p. 57, "Francière Debrit, négociant bijoutier . . . âgé de 34 ans", is given as Vénérable of *Sept Amis* on June 5, 1785.

² In a list of members of *Parfaite Union* in June, 1786 (Vermale: *Franc-maçonnerie*, p. 57), appear "De L'Hopital et Tardy, députés au G.O.P." If by these initials the Grand Orient of Paris is to be understood, it looks as if *Parfaite Union*'s loyalty had been disturbed.

³ In his *Franc-maçonnerie Savoisienne* (p. 9) Dr. Vermale writes that *Réforme du Nord* was born of a split "que se produisit dans le maçonnerie anglaise et 1761". In his later book he has (p. 14) "la maçonnerie anglaise en Allemagne". On p. 10 of the former work he refers to "crise général que subit le rite anglais dans son pays d'origine et sur le continent avec l'apparition des loges dites écossaises ou se multiplièrent les grades maçonniques". Dermenghem (*Joseph de Maistre Mystique*, p. 57, N. 5) speaks of the "Réforme Ecossaise, schisme de la maçonnerie anglaise, qui avait en pour but de donner aux réunions plus de sérieux". This author, however, has accepted the legends he has found in Gustave Bord's *La Franc-Maçonnerie en France*.

attractiveness of this form of masonry has so often been ascribed by anti-masonic propagandists to its alleged revolutionary and anti-christian character. In a paper on de Maistre I hope to be able to contribute to *A.Q.C.* I hope to show how very far from the truth such assertions are. The men who in Savoy attached themselves to the Strict Observance were mostly sons of noblemen of the robe, ardent Catholics, though indeed bored by the provincialism of a derelict capital ("l'énorme poids du rien"—to use de Maistre's phrase), and dissatisfied with the merely convivial aspect of Freemasonry. At this very time Willemoz at Lyons was adding to the Strict Observance system two new grades intended for the benefit of those who took research into the hidden secrets of nature and art seriously, and he seems to have only preserved the Templar elements in the system in order not to make omissions that might render difficult a re-union between the Grand Orient allegiance and the Strict Observance. No doubt these young intellectualists possess the liberal ideas afloat in the age of the "benevolent despots": some of them may be prepared, as our own Wordsworth was, to accept the feeling of increasing emancipation with joy, but, when the Jacobins enter Savoy in triumph they will emigrate. We have seen that their names remain on the list of the Mother Lodge in 1778. On December 30th, 1778, that Lodge forbade its adherents to attend the "loge prétendue dit de la *Réforme*". Members of *Sincérité* certainly visited the Grand Orient Lodge *Sept Amis*.

In 1787 the Master of Lodge *Sincérité* was the Comte Frederick de Bellegarde, son of General Jean François de Bellegarde, General of Infantry and Minister of War in Saxony, and brother to Field-Marshal Henri de Bellegarde, who, in the service of Austria, highly distinguished himself in the wars against France. Dr. Vermale (p. 41) quotes from the Minute Book of *Sept Amis* a passage of which the following is a translation:—

The Committee of the L.*:. Sept Amis*, duly convoked at the instance of the V^{ble}. M.*:. Armenjon*, and the labours of apprenticeship being opened after the manner prescribed, the V^{ble}. M. said¹: "My Brothers. It is the marriage of the Very Illustrious and R[espectable] Brother of Bellegarde, V^{ble}. of the R^{de}. Lodge of *Sincérité* or of the *Réforme*, with the Illustrious daughter of the Marquis des Marches which occasions this assembly. Will you agree that witness be given to show how much our Lodge takes part in this happy event?" It then appearing fitting and even necessary to all the brothers, it was proposed that Brothers Dupuis, Gaudin, and Magnin should go to compliment the Very Venerable and Respectable Brother the Comte de Bellegarde on his marriage and the Lodge offer a bouquet as a slight token of the real interest that *Sept Amis* takes in the satisfaction of these two illustrious consorts and a sure gage of the sincere wishes they have for their happiness.

The bride was Adelaide ["Adèle"] Victoria, a girl of fifteen, eldest daughter of François Robert Eugénie de Bellegarde, Marquis des Marches et Cursinge, the *Vénérable en survivance* of Lodge *Trois Mortiers*. Between the bridegroom and the bride there was a disparity of fifteen years in age. After the marriage the couple resided with the old Marquis at the Château, but Adèle's husband was frequently absent, being much occupied by his duties as Colonel in the Legion des Campements, which he commanded during the coming forlorn struggle

¹ The name of the Chevalier Gaspard Roze, de Maistre's intimate friend and brother magistrate, does not appear in the 1778 list of members of *Trois Mortiers*. He is described by Descostes as one "of that liberal phalanx, sincerely and unshakably attached to the religion of his fathers, to the principles of order and authority, but aspiring to reconcile the classes by a more equitable distribution of the advantages and favours of the powers that be" (*Op. cit.*, Tom. i., p. 146). Roze returned to Chambéry in 1816, and was President of the Senate of Savoy in 1821.

with the French. The Marquis died early in 1790, and so did not live to see his Château occupied as the General Headquarters of the French General in September, 1792. Adèle and her beautiful sister Aurora, aged fifteen, had at first joined the crowds of emigrant Savoyard nobility, but, in order to secure their property, they returned. Decked in 'ceintures d'écharpes, tricolores, cocardes à la poitrine, tailles serrées dans carmagnoles, coiffées des bonnets rouges avec sabots aux pieds', the girls mingled with the Jacobin crowds, spoke their jargon, and adopted their manners. Adèle attached herself to the terrible Herault des Seychelles, who, with Gregorie, Jagot, and the Savoyard ex-priest Philibert Simond, as Commissaires en Mission from the French Directory, came to Chambéry. In connection with the last, Aurora gained for herself an unenviable reputation as 'la Simonetta'. When Herault and Simond returned to Paris these misguided ladies went with them. "There is a God who especially watches over pretty women", was the assurance the Marquis Costa Beauregard gave to his commanding officer, Adèle's husband, but to de Maistre he wrote: "Despite the beauty of my argument, avoid, my Friend, running about the world with Constitutional generals or Commissioners of the Convocation, for they are detestable company". At Paris Adèle obtained a divorce from her husband, but the days of her association with Herault were to be short. He accompanied Danton to the guillotine on April 5th, 1794. Simond met with the same fate a little later.

I cannot find that Lodge *Concorde des Centrons*, established by *Trois Mortiers* in 1777, at Rumilly, ever obtained a constitution from the Grand Orient, but I do find the Lodge writing to that body in 1781. "We think that correspondence between true Masons must become more necessary since a pretended reform in France seeks to extend itself in all parts and to sap the foundations of these children of the widow".¹

It must have been a hard blow for the Mother Lodge *Trois Mortiers* to receive when its own daughter Lodge of Rumilly in 1789, through the channel of *Sept Amis*, approached the Grand Orient. Addressing the Rumilly Lodge on May 5th of that year, the Master argued that a Grand Orient is, not a particular lodge, but a general assembly composed solely of the deputies from dependant lodges. "We see", he said, "that the patents give the T. V. Marquis des Marches power to create lodges and to erect the generality of those which he should have created into a provincial lodge of which he, in absolute dependence on the Grand Master of London, would be the provincial grand master. The said Marquis des Marches is content with constituting a single lodge, that of *Trois Mortiers*: he has not been able to erect it as a provincial lodge, since, according to the tenour of the patents the provincial lodge ought not to be a simple assembly of a particular lodge, such as is *Trois Mortiers*, but a general assembly of the Worshipful Masters and Wardens of all the lodges which have been constituted by the Marquis des Marches. The right which had been accorded him being personal and even limited by the good pleasure of the Worshipful Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge of London, he was not able to cede it or transfer it to the Lodge *Trois Mortiers*: so never has our Lodge had any correspondence with the Grand Lodge of London, and never has it paid to it the tribute of two guineas. . . . It is urgent in every respect for them to secure for themselves this regular existence, by obtaining a new Constitution in a Grand Lodge, recognised

¹ Thory, *Acta*, i., p. 148. Labady had been placed in prison consequent on his refusal to make over the records of the Grand Lodge of France to the schismatically constituted Grand Orient. The Grand Lodge wrote, February 4th, 1781, to the Lodge *Concorde des Centrons* of the founders of the Grand Orient:—"They calumniate their brothers and push their treason so far as to make them prisoners, in the hope of obtaining from one of them the Archives of the Order; but the grandeur of soul of the victim and his firmness has thwarted their projects". Daruty, p. 224.

as such throughout the whole masonic universe according to the most exact instructions. The Grand Orient of France has deserved this preference by the excellence of its regime, by the regularity and perfections of its workings, the national language being the same will obviate translation in correspondence: France moreover is a neighbouring nation with which the civil relations of the inhabitants of this Lodge being very frequent, the brethren of this Lodge would often have occasion to visit fraternally the lodges of France, and further, as one knows, there are already two lodges constituted by the Grand Orient of France which are the admiration of all the others and whose regularity sets them a pattern. They are the lodge constituted by the Grand Orient under the title of *Sept Amis* at Chambéry and the lodge on its recommendation constituted subsequently at Annecy under the distinctive title of *Triple Equerre*".¹

On February 23rd, 1790, the Grand Orient assigned its reasons for refusing to acknowledge *Trois Mortiers* as a Grand Lodge for the kingdom of Sardinia. It pointed out that the Grand Orient was the fruit of a free and voluntary reunion of a great number of Masters or representatives of lodges, and formed a common centre from which discipline could radiate. "Here there is a legislative body, composed by the universality of the Lodges, avowed by them, and of which the representatives bring to general assemblies the suffrages of their constituents: Here there is a national and independent body which exists solely by the will of those who have the right to form it: and such a Grand Orient should be: that is to say that it is necessary that it should receive from the lodges the power of ruling in order to be able to pretend to exercise that right. Far from having perceived in this Lodge *Trois Mortiers* any of these characters, we have on the contrary remarked that one isolated lodge, dependent on a foreign Orient, although it has accorded a number of constitutions, is not composed of representatives of the Lodges to which it has delivered them . . . these considerations, beloved Brothers, cannot bind us to treat with Lodge *Trois Mortiers* as equal with equal. So at our General Assembly of the 23rd day of the 2nd month of this year, after having taken the advice of our Grand Lodge of Counsel, we have decreed that *we do not recognise the Lodge of Trois Mortiers, at the Orient of Chambéry as Grand Orient of Sardinia, and that we do not accept the correspondence asked for by her*: in consequence we have remitted to her deputy all the documents in which she has dealt with us on this proposition.

Signed. Tanin. *Président*.²

De Jonquières. *Première Surveillant*.

Des Roches. *Orateur*.

Popelin. *Garde des Sceaux*.

Oudet. *Secrétaire General*.

Strangely enough for a Lodge claiming to be English, *Trois Mortiers* founded in 1787 a Sovereign Rose-Croix Chapter of Savoy, and on 4th May it founded a Lodge of Sisters, *la Parfaite Harmonie*, at Casal. Early in 1790, the Marquis Eugene de Bellegarde died.

Randolphe de Maistre in the short biographical notice of his father prefixed to a Lyons Edition of 1883 of the *Considerations*, writes:—"M. de Maistre was suspected of Jacobism and represented at the Court as a spirit inclined to novelties from which he failed to preserve himself. He was a member of the Lodge *Reformée* of Chambéry, a simple *loge blanche* and perfectly insignificant. However, when the revolutionary storm commenced to thunder in France and to tremblingly bestir the neighbouring lands, the members of the Lodge assembled; and judging that all meetings at this epoch might become

¹ Vermale, *La F. Sav.*, p. 15 *et seq.*

² So in Vermale. *Op. cit.*, p. 18. The name is Tassin. The second person is De Jonquières, the Prince de Conti's Intendant.

dangerous or make the government uneasy, they deputed M. de Maistre to convey to the King the word of honour of all the members that they would no more assemble, and this lodge was practically dissolved". De Maistre himself, however, tells another story. "At the commencement of the Revolution", he writes, "His Majesty's august Father having conceived some alarms as to these kinds of meeting, a member of the Lodge called *Reformée* took to him a list of all the names which composed it. The King said, 'There are names which suffice to reassure me: but at this moment every assembly, simply as an assembly, is suspect: one ought not to assemble'. So wise a thing admitted of no reply. The Comte Frédéric de Bellegarde, at that time the Colonel of the Royal Grenadiers, if I rightly remember, was the deputy to give to his Majesty the word of honour of all the members that they would not assemble again save by his permission".¹

Dr. Vermale tells us that a recorded discussion in the Lodge of Independents show that King Victor-Amedée of Sardinia (1773-1796) was a freemason.² The story is told that King Charles-Emanuel (1730-1773) had sent a body of soldiers to invest the Lodge at Turin. In the ante-room the Grenadiers find three ambassadors and one of the King's particular friends. "Go and tell the King", said the latter to the soldiers, "that you have found me here". The soldiers made excuses and departed.³ The lodge lists show how strongly the Courts and diplomatic corps were at that time represented in Masonry at Turin and Lyons. Yet convinced as the Government must have been that the danger lay not in the Freemasonry practised by persons whose reputation was beyond suspicion,⁴ it was prompted by caution to adopt police surveillance in regard to lodges in general. In Savoy the lodges dependent on French Masonic jurisdiction refused to dissolve themselves. Dr. Vermale dwells on certain analogies between the former Masonic assemblies and the civic feasts under the Convention, and the lists of members of lodges come in here to indicate a certain amount of continuity between the French Lodges in Savoy, the Clubs, and then the Lodge again. The goldsmith Debrit of *Sept Amis*, for instance, after the arrival of the French Army at Chambéry, became one of the principal "clubistes". Among the archives of the de Maistre family there is a *Mémoire sur la franc-maçonnerie* sent by Comte Joseph de Maistre to his friend the Baron Vignet des Etoles on April 30th, 1793. This document has unfortunately never been published, but M. Emile Dermenghem was permitted by the Comte Rodolphe de Maistre to examine the "volumes immenses couchés sur mon bureau"—the notes of his studies during thirty years—to which Joseph de Maistre refers in his *Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg*, and in his *Joseph de Maistre Mystique*. M. Dermenghem has provided us with quotations which show that long before the Abbé Barruel wrote his attack on Masons and Masonry, de Maistre, the future arch-propagandist of Papal Infallibility, had laboured to convince his friend that there was nothing in essential Masonry calculated to subvert social order. "La masse, le corps des loges Savoyardes même des plus bourgeoises, aient jamais été tatés par celles de France pour entrer dans la Revolution". He admitted that certain members of *Sept Amis* were

¹ Albert Blanc, *Mémoires Politiques et Correspondence Diplomatique de Joseph de Maistre*, p. 18. Victor Emanuel's edict prohibiting masonic assemblies in 1814 was issued by Comte F. C. de Bellegarde. Thory: *Acta Lat.*, ii., p. 234.

² *Franc-Maçonnerie Savoisienne*, p. 6.

³ Descostes: *Joseph de Maistre avant la Revolution*, i., p. 217. The author prints this from M. André Perrin, who supplied him with other information concerning the defunct Lodge *Trois Mortiers*. Anne Maria Demotz (sister of Christine, who was de Maistre's mother) married the Comte Nicholas Perrin d'Aviersieux, and was mother of Martha Perrin (who married de Maistre's younger brother Nicholas). Whether or no the Librairie Perrin (now M. Dardel at Chambéry) is connected with these kinsfolk of the great writer I do not know.

⁴ At Turin the Strict Observance was under the direction of Comte Gabriel de Berneze, Majordomo of the King of Sardinia—"Gabriel a Turri Aurea" in the Order.

individually "très mauvais", and he did not deny that it was possible that some of them had been approached by French propagandists, but "les trois grades classiques" were wholly innocuous. "They are purely societies of honest pleasures embellished by acts of beneficence": the other grades are concerned with "objets réels connus de l'Antiquité, et que ne le sont plus de nous. Il peut se faire encore qu'après ces grades symboliques un très petit nombre d'individus possède ou croit posséder des connaissances dignes d'occuper un homme sage et vertueux et qui sont aussi parfaitement inconnues du reste de la société que de vous qui n'en êtes pas". Even in the most suspicious lodges of Savoy, "il n'existe pas le moindre signe qui annonce un but politique dans le principe. Et quant à la loge de la Réforme [to which the writer himself belonged], Je puis vous l'affirmer sur tout ce qu'il y a de plus sacré". When the Abbe Barruel's book appeared, de Maistre wrote a refutation, but unfortunately that little treatise has never been published. In it he pointed out that Barruel's constant method was "de prendre pour la chose la corruption de la chose": following that method, he says, "I might as well say that the clergy of France was a detestable body whose real secret was only known by Cardinal de Brienne¹ and the Bishop of Autun".²

Trois Mortiers had, on July 2nd, 1777, constituted the Lodge *Des Centrons* at Mortiers. In July, 1790, this Lodge invited Lodge *Sept Amis* to secure for them a constitution from the Grand Orient. The letter is rather open to suspicion, for it is signed by Lacroix, First Surveillant (i.e., Warden) in the absence of Gumery the "ancien vénérable", Gumery, and Durandard "excusant le 2^d Surveillant". In it the writers say that "we will assist masters to sustain the masonic level face to face with those aristocrat Lodges or perhaps despots who set snares for the liberty of the true children of the widow, and who ignore the constitutional principles of a true Orient".³ To understand this outburst of a political feeling, a threefold distinction has to be kept in mind:—

1. Lodge *Trois Mortiers*, constituted by a nobleman who has brought with him his authority from the Grand Lodge is largely composed of aristocratic members. Its policy is to comply with the demands of Government and go into abeyance during the Revolutionary storm.
2. The young members of *Trois Mortiers* who were infected with the liberalism which so many of the Rulers of the time shared. They are intellectualists, and look to the esoteric Masonic teachers of Lyons for guidance. They associate themselves with the Strict Observance and also with Willermoz's Metropolitan College at Lyons. After the Terror they for the most part become royalists and emigrés.⁴
3. The bourgeois element which transfers itself from the "English" Masonic group, or, when directed by *Trois Mortiers* to go into temporary abeyance ("the pitfall") refuse, and seek constitutions from the Grand Orient of France.

¹ When it was proposed to nominate Lommenie de Brienne Archbishop of Paris, Louis XVI. remarked that for that position a man who believed in God was required. The other prelate referred to is Talleyrand.

² Quoted by Dermenghem: *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

³ That the revolt from the Mother Lodge *Trois Mortiers* was due to masonic rather than political or social causes becomes clear when we see that it was the endeavour to resist the Royal Order to go into abeyance that led to *Concorde des Centrons* refusing to obey.

⁴ Thory (*Acta Latomorum*, i., p. 185) writes: "La Grande Loge Écossaise de Chambéry ayant été forcée de suspendre ses travaux par ordre du Gouvernement, les loges de sa juridiction se divisent et passent les unes sous le régime du Grand Orient de France, et les autres sous celui du Grand-Orient de Genève; mais la majorité se range sous les bannières du Grand Directoire helvétique Romand". This statement, although it cannot be reconciled with facts, may perhaps supply a clue to trace the disappearance of Lodge *Sincérité*.

A letter from François, a mason, at Moutiers, dated December 27, 1796, and addressed to Willeminet of the *Sept Amis* relates that a meeting, followed by a banquet had been held at a hidden place. At this meeting the leading aristocrats who happened to be present, agreed unanimously, but amongst themselves only, that no more meetings should be held, the lease of the Temple given up, the furniture sold and the proceeds together with the funds of the lodge distributed among the poor. After a long discussion it was decided that the proposal should be carried into effect, but after the assembly had broken up, four of "the good brothers" remained behind, and resolved: (1) That as there had been no general convocation of the brethren, the action taken had been both informal and illegal; (2) that as some brethren had for a long time past endeavoured to create a schism, they had availed themselves of this occasion to execute their project; (3) that they four would not abandon the project of obtaining a Constitution from the Grand Orient of France.

Dr. Vermale quotes the following from register of *Sept Amis*:—

Le soussigné secretaire de la R.: des 7 amis déclare que les circonstances difficiles dans lesquelles elle s'est trouvé. dès le 7^e mois 1790 par suite des menées inquisitoriales du Gouvernement Sarde l'aient forcé a abandonner son local et à n'avoir que des assemblées partiales s'étant divisée en sections, ses délibérations dès le N°. 129 jusqu'an 149^o, tour 2 inclus, cette dernière sous-date du 5^e jour du 4^e mois 1792 ont été insérées dans un livre d'architecture particulier et en due forme contenant le résumé exact de tous ses travaux pendant les dites tenues.

A l'Or.: de Chambéry le 28^e jour du 10^e mois 1800.

Chabert, secrétaire, Arminjon vénérable.

Dr. Vermale was unable to trace the records of which Chabert speaks, but he has reproduced in his book (pp. 33-36) the minutes of the "Southern Section" of the Lodge *Sept Amis*, after it had been divided and placed under a "directory". After July 5th, 1792, the Lodge appears to have ceased working, and not to have resumed it till October 28th, 1800. This suspension may have been due to the pressure of political employment.

The Lodge *Parfaite Union*, which had been controlled by *Trois Mortiers*, had several members whose convictions were of a revolutionary kind. On 24th September, 1792, the day when he had without opposition led the French troops into Chambéry, General Montesquiou held a session of the Société des Amis de la Liberté et de l'Égalité, and on October 6th a proclamation of this Society was issued signed by J. Lyonnaz, the Orateur of *Parfaite Union* in 1789, and François Jacquier, an initiate of that Lodge. Of the 27 commissaires the Society sent out to secure votes of the election of members of the Assemblée Nationale des Allobroges the following belonged to Savoyard lodges:—

Bernard. *Concord des Centrons*.

Magnin, chirurgien, Ven. of *La Vraie Amitié* at Rumilly.

Duport. *Sept Amis*.

Jacquier.

Arnaud. do.

Debry [or Dubrit] (Ven.) do.

Lyonnaz. *Parfaite Union*.

Fauvre. do.

Garin. do.

Chablais. do.

Marin. do.

Tardy. do.

Morel. do.

IV.—MARTINISTS.

In the year 1779 Bro. De Maistre had come into touch with Jean-Baptiste Willermoz, who, after a varied Masonic career, had founded at Lyons the Directoire Ecossaise de la 11 Province d'Auvergne de la Stricte Observance Templière, of which the Duc Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lunenbourg was the Grand Master. Two years later, at an assembly held at Lyons, the Convent National de Lyon elaborated within the Observance two new grades, the Profès and Grand Profès, Chevaliers bienfaisants de la Cité Sainte. In dependence on the Metropolitan Colleges of Lyons, Colleges were founded at Turin, Naples, Chambéry, Grenoble, Montpellier, Strasbourg, and possibly elsewhere. To the College at Chambéry belonged:—

Hipolites, Chev. de Ville. Sénateur du Sénat de Chambéry and President of the College.	<i>In the Strict Observance.</i> Eques Joannes a Castro.
Max Rivoire aîné. Bourgeois. Dépositaire.	„ Marcus a Leone.
Joseph, Comte de Maistre.	„ Joseph a Floribus.
Jean-Baptiste, Comte Salteur.	„ Baptiste a Cane.

In a future paper I hope to trace De Maistre's Masonic activities more fully, so I must in this place content myself with making the observation that the idea cherished by so many of the older authorities that this organisation had a political character, or that it was militarily anti-ecclesiastical, is an entire fallacy. Among the members of the Metropolitan College at Lyons were:—

Jean-Antoine Castellat, ¹ doyen de l'église and Comte of Lyon.	<i>In the Strict Observance.</i> Eques Joannes a Maltco.
Marie Agate de Bernard de Rully, ² Chanoine de l'Eglise, Comte de Lyon.	„ Ferdinandus a Stella.
Louis Aug. Barbier de Lescoet, do. do.	„ Augustus a Leonè Coronato
Henry de Cordon, do. do.	„ Henricus a Griffone Olato.

At Stutgard we find Karl Eberard de Waecheter, Chamberlain to the King of Denmark, who in the Strict Observance was Eberardus a Ceraso, Chancellor and Grand Prior of Germany. So far from being a revolutionist, de Waecheter was an ardent supporter of the *émigrés* Bourbon princes.³ At Grenoble we find Comte François Henry Virieu, whose liberalism sent him to the States General and the Convention as an advocate of constitutional reform, but who when he saw the monarchy approaching its fall, proved by his sufferings and his death his steadfast loyalty to his ill-fated King and Queen. The charming and pathetic *Roman d'un Royaliste* by the Marquis Costa de Beauregard is the biography of this most sincere and devout Catholic. Willermoz himself, apart from some of his "transcendental" utterances, was a devout Roman Catholic. In 1790, when Lyons was in the hands of the representatives of the Directory, he was arrested three times, and only escaped death by the generous act of a soldier. He had dared to reproach the Jacobins on the score of their cruelty.

The Baron Jean de Turkheim (*Joannes a Flumine*) was one of the deputies from Alsace to the States General in 1789. He went there "très libéral mais

¹ M. Emile Dermenghem has edited the *Les Sommeils*—a record by Willermoz of healing by hypnotism, etc. In these operations the Dean was expert. It is unfortunate that M. Dermenghem in his introduction has placed so great a reliance on M. Gustave's uncritical and badly documented book.

² Rully was working hand in hand with Jacques Umbert-Colomas on behalf of the Bourbons in 1791.

³ Christian de Parrel: *Les Papiers de Calonne*, p. 48 et seq., says Waecheter, having failed to secure certain reforms in Freemasonry, abandoned it in 1782.

très royaliste", and to return in disgust before the year was ended.¹ In 1821, when Turkheim was still active as a mason, he writes to Willermoz:—"On this occasion I will give you an explanation of the word 'crypto-Catholic', and frankly make my profession to you of my faith in regard to it. I give my assent to the greater part of the dogmas of the Catholic Church which are not adopted by protestants: I regret that the schism took place, albeit you on your side provoked it a little; I observe that this dangerous extension of evangelical liberty has led a large part of protestants to Arianism and even anti-Christian rationalism²: I sincerely desire the re-union of the Christian Church in a single flock: I revere the pastor who governs yours to-day, and am certainly well rid of the prejudices of childhood; but I will not imitate the example of Stolzberg, Senft and Haller since my conviction is not yet *entire*, and I dread giving scandal and doing more harm than good, and I see in our Church a nucleus of true Christians attached heart and soul to the essential dogmas of our divine religion (to the fall of man, to the need of a reconciliation which cannot operate solely by human power, but needs the sublime Sacrifice of the God-Man, who has given us His Flesh and Blood for our spiritual nourishment in the Holy Supper, etc.); and I do not wish to scandalise this communion of true Christians by a *démarche* for which other motives would be imputed".³ As there has been so much misunderstanding in regard to the character of the Masonry at Lyons to which De Maistre, Salteur, etc., at Chambéry, attached themselves, it is not unimportant to correct the fallacious tradition, which Barruel popularised.

V.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

By decree of the Convention at Paris, on November 27th, 1792, Savoy became the Departement du Mont-Blanc. Among the deputies elected to the Convention on February 17th, 1793, we find:—

Anthelme Marin of *Parfaite Union*.

Bernard Jean Maurice Duport,⁴ born at Faverges in 1762, Advocate at the Senate of Chambéry, initiated in Lodge *Sept Amis* on April 1, 1789,

Jacques Antoine Balmain, Advocate at the Senate, born at St. Sorlin-d'Arve in the Maurienne, 11 April, 1751, initiated together with Duport.

Gumery, Avocat, Master of *La Concorde des Centrons* at Moutiers in 1781.

Under the Directory, in 1795, we find in the *Cinq-Cents*, Marin, Balmain, Duport, and in the *Anciens* Gumery. Dr. M. Masse, in his *Histoire de l'Annexion de la*

¹ Writing to his constituents, Nov. 23, 1789, he complains of the "avocats bavards qui répandaient plus de désordre que des lumières", and the invasions of "les clubs insolents qui siegeaient dans les cafés du Palais Royal s'étaient érigés en juges et en vengeurs des affaires de la nation". He concludes: "What has this hindered the advancement of our affair? I say it in all candour before God and my fellow citizens. It has not been the Nobility which has expiated in a cruel fashion ancient and unjust abuses: it has not been the Clergy who offered voluntarily to support proportionately the imposts, but whom it has been sought to deprive of all their property. No. It was a small body of men who had agreed among themselves to upset everything, and without the support of their categorical mandates, desired to drive into rebellion the twenty-five millions of men who could peacefully and thankfully repose on our labours".—*Revue d'Alsace*, quoted by Maxime de La Rochetier: *Histoire de Marie-Antoinette*, ii., 43.

² Although Bonald, the famous Catholic advocate, in his *Principe Constitutif de la Société* (Cap. xx.), refers to Starck's *Banquet de Theodule*, and describes him as "un des hommes les plus savants de l'Allemagne", and Starck had attacked the latitudinarianism of his time, he had been unorthodox in his earlier writings.

³ Dermenghem. *Jean Baptiste Willermoz: les Sommeils*, pp. 125-6. Périssé Du Luc *Andreas a Tribus Lunis*, in the Lyons' Strict Observance, was in 1789 a deputy to the Constitutional Assembly; he served as a royalist at the siege of Lyons in 1793, and, after the siege, was condemned to death. Milanese, *Jacobus a Quatuor Patis*, a Martinist, and liberal politician, volunteered as commander of Artillery on the royalist side, and was executed after the fall of Lyons.

⁴ He was Commissaire of the Directory at Rouen, and afterwards Minister of Finance of the Roman Republic. On his return he was attached to the Ministry of Justice at Paris, where he died in 1832.

Savoie à la France, has traced the cleavage of Savoyards as Girondins and Montagnards. Among the latter are:—

At Chambéry.

François Morel. Master of *Sept Amis* 1785.
 Claude Girod [or Giraud]. Initiated in *Sept Amis*. Substitut Procureur 1789.
 24 March.
 François Jacquier. Advocate. Init. do. 1786. 10 October.
 Antoine Depasquier. Joined *Sept Amis* from *Parfaite Union* 1787. Jan. 24.
 Joseph Chabert. Substitut-procureur et notaire royal. Initiated in *Sept Amis*
 1786. June 29.
 Debry [Debrit. Debril].
 Delabey. P.M. of *Parfaite Union*.
 Lard. *Parfaite Union*.

At Annecy.

Jean Claude Bunod. Procureur Syndic.	<i>Triple Equerre</i> .	Expert preparateur.
Claude Marie Philippe. Advocate.	do.	1 ^{er} Surveillant.
François Michaud. Maître de Chapelle.	do.	Orateur.
Louis François Ruphy.	do.	Secrétaire.
Bourgeois (also of <i>Sept Amis</i>).		
Vautier.		

At Rumilly.

Jean Claude Olive. Notaire Royal.	<i>La Vraie Amitié</i> .	1 ^{er} Surveillant.
Joseph Victor Saxe. Maître en Pharmacie.	do.	Géomètre, Ci-devant Garde des Sceaux

Among the Girondins.

Comte De L'Hopital.	<i>Parfaite Union</i> .	P.M.
Lyonnaz. ¹ Practicien.	do.	
Moras. Médecin Militaire.	do.	

In cases where dates of initiation are obtainable, it is observable that many of the persons who were pronounced revolutionaries were not masons of long standing. Some of them indeed had obtained office in their respective lodges so soon after becoming masons that their Masonic experiences could have but ill equipped them to expound the principles of the craft. The fact that from *Triple Equerre* in 1793 five fully fledged Montagnards emerge is compensated by the far more conspicuous fact that many of its members were persons who would have held Jacobinism in all its forms in detestation. It has been suggested that some of the bourgeois lodges which went into abeyance during the Terror had really become Jacobin clubs. It seems to be far more probable that they went into abeyance because the political crisis and the impending war had driven non-political activities out of consideration.²

VI.—AFTER THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

On October 28th, 1800, the Lodge *Sept Amis* resumed its working. Two days later it took into consideration a proposal to unite the different lodges in order to form a single lodge for the commune, and at this meeting it recommended Grand Lodge to grant a constitution for a new lodge, *L'Intimité*, at Aix-les-Bains. On November 10th the Lodge resolved:—

Considering that it is time to put an end to the slumber into which till this day circumstances have thrown the true friends of Liberty and Equality; Considering that to attain this in the most efficacious way, it will be fitting that the members of the Lodge *Trois Mortiers* should reunite themselves to *Sept Amis* to form one single Atelier, they resolve:

¹ Lyonnaz, after the fall of the Gironde, was imprisoned.

² Dr. Vermale dwells on similarities between the civic fêtes organised by Debri and Bernard, and certain masonic usages. M. Descostes (*Op. Cit.*, T. 1, pp. 236-7) cites the general obligations given in the By-laws of *Parfaite Union* (*Triple Union*?) in 1804. No. 1 concludes: "ne se occuper des objets de politique ou de religion".

Article I. It will be proposed to Lodge *Trois Mortiers* at the Orient of Chambéry to reunite themselves to that of *Sept Amis* in order to form one and the same atelier.

Article II. If there be no obstacle to this re-union, in each Lodge three commissaries will be named charged to define the bases.

The proposal was accepted by the brethren of *Trois Mortiers* on November 20th. It was agreed that: (1) "those hatreds, those bitter and sorrowful memories, inseparable from a great revolution" should be abolished, and (2) that to effect this end the names of the three lodges, *Trois Mortiers*, *Parfaite Union* and *Sept Amis* should be changed for the single name *Triple Union*. The Commissaries, however, reflecting that "the great political crises were still too recent, that wounds still bled, and that man has often need of reflection in order to make private feeling give way to grand views of justice and truth", agreed that a committee of seven or nine masters should select from the number of former members those who should be included in the new Atelier, and that none but those selected by the Committee should be admitted to membership of *Triple Union*.

In the month that *Sept Amis* revived, the Ven. F. Armenjon wrote to the G. Orient of France to inquire if the Government was aware of the activity of that body, and, if not, did the G. Orient think that the Government would disapprove of an assemblage of thirty-four masons, nearly all of them military men, who were about to petition for a constitution as the Lodge *Amis Réunis*. But at last the lodges in Savoy were accorded the favours of the State. Another lodge came into existence at this time—Saint-Jean-des Alpes (*Saint Jean de Maurienne*). It is not clear to me whether *Vraie Amitié* at Rumilly in 1801 is the former lodge of that name or a newly-constituted one.

So by the amalgamation of *Trois Mortiers* with *Sept Amis* in 1800 the last vestige of a connection with the English Grand Lodge has faded out of existence. Not a single name of noble rank is left, Dr. Vermale reports, in the lists of the lodges of Savoy. M. Albert Mathiez has well observed that the freemasonry of Savoy as it existed under the First Consul was very different from the freemasonry of the pre-revolutionary period. The former is unified and patronised by the State: the latter was heterogeneous and split into factions.

APPENDIX.

I.

M. Gustave Bord in his anti-masonic *La Franc-maçonnerie en France* gives a list of lodges in France and in many cases notes as to their officers. From M. Des Costes' *Joseph de Maistre avant la Révolution* he learned of the existence of *Trois Mortiers*, but he knew nothing as to the lodges constituted by that Lodge, or of its Grand Orient rivals. He, however, mentions *Triple Union*. Here is a translation of what he has to say about it:—

Triple Union et Réunion.

Under the first title, the G. L. constituted this L. 29th August 1770 to take rank July 5 preceding (Rebold says 1779). This L. has left no traces before the Revolution.

In 1802, it resumed its working with Bataillard, propriétaire, as Vén. et Marie,¹ professor of jurisprudence, as secretary. The last

¹ Probably a misprint for 'Marin'.

was Vén. from 1808 to 1814. Bordas, formerly deputy to the legislative assembly, was his Deputy during the Empire. In 1813 this L. took the title of *Réunion*. (Bord, *op. cit.*, p. 419.)

II.

The list of members of *Triple Union*, after the amalgamation of the three lodges, shows that membership of *Parfaite Union* had been regarded as equivalent to membership of *Trois Mortiers*. Some of the members:—

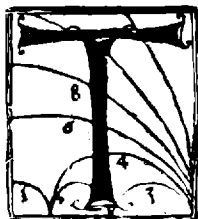
Vénérable.	Philibert Bataillard.	Mayor of Chambéry.	<i>Trois Mortiers.</i>
1 ^{er} Surveillant.	Joseph Armenjon.		<i>Sept Amis.</i>
2 ^{de} "	Jean-François Gabet.	Conseiller de Préfecture.	do.
Orateur.	Anthelme Marin.	Professor de législation.	<i>Trois Mortiers.</i>
Secrétaire.	Jacques Viervil.	do. d'écriture.	do.
	Joseph Chabert.	Notaire.	do.
	Pierre Louis Filliard.	President du Tribunal Criminel.	do.
	Hyacinthe François Garin.	Commissaire du Gouvernement.	do.
	Charles Munery.	Secrétaire de la Préfecture.	do.
	Marie François Gorrin. père.	Imprimeur National.	do.

Vraie Amitié at Rumilly was working again in May, 1801.

III.

M. François Descostes (*Joseph de Maistre avant la Révolution*, T. 1, p. 218), writes: "Des débris épars du batallion débandé de feu le Comte de Bellegarde ont formé à Chambéry la loge de la *Parfaite Union* à la tête de laquelle les frères à la unanimité des voix, placèrent comme Grand-maître le frère marquis des Marches . . . C'est à cette loge que Joseph de Maistre fut affilié à son retour de Turin en 1773. Jean-Baptiste Salteur franchit avec lui le seuil de la *Parfaite Union*, et ils ne tardèrent pas à être élevés, Salteur à la dignité de *second surveillant* et de Maistre à celle de grand orateur". De Maistre, for all that is known, may have been made a Mason at Turin, although his age at that time does not favour such a supposition, but Dr. Vermale declares that his name does not appear on any of the lists of *Parfaite Union*. Descostes also confuses the Comte de Bellegarde with the Marquis. He writes (p. 216) "in 1739, le Comte de Bellegarde, muni des pleins pouvoirs du Grand Orient de Londres, avait installé à Chambéry la loge des *Trois Mortiers*, seule grande maîtresse loge en Savoie et en Piémont". On p. 217, "Charles-Emanuel, qui ne voyait pas d'un bon œil les mystérieux exercices des frères chambériens, commença par enjoindre au Comte de Bellegarde de ne plus paraître en loge 'sous peine d'encourir son indignation'. Le Grand-Maitre, 'pénétré de tristesse', rendit le marteau, et ne fut remplacé". So on p. 218 M. Descostes describes *Parfaite Union* as a new Lodge composed of the "debris" of *Trois Mortiers*. On pp. 225-229 he gives the extracts of the protest remitted to the Grand Lodge of London, October 13th, 1774, signed by Salteur as 2nd Surveillant and de Maistre as Orateur of *Trois Mortiers*. He does not suggest that *Parfaite Union* claimed to have succeeded to the powers of *Trois Mortiers*. It seems that the author has made a most curious double blunder, and yet he derived his information from "une pièce fort curieuse, timbrée du sceau de la Loge des *Trois Mortiers*, laquelle m'a été communiqué par M. André Perrin". From Dr. Vermale, who has studied the actual minute books of the Chambéry lodges, we learn that on May 23rd, 1774, *Trois Mortiers* "donna une forme régulière aux travaux que pratiquaient, depuis plusieurs années, L. la *Parfaite Union* de Chambéry" (*La Franc-Maçonnerie Savoisienne*, p. 5).

FRIDAY, 6th OCTOBER, 1933.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; W. J. Williams, I.P.M.; Rev. W. K. Firminger, D.D., P.G.Ch., S.W.; B. Telepneff, J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; G. P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; Geo. Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., J.D.; Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, I.G.; Rev. A. W. Oxford, M.D., P.G.Ch., Almoner; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., Stew.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., Stew.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; and G. Hook, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. R. Girdlestone Cooper, W. J. Mean, F. S. Henwood, H. C. Towers, Ernest J. Marsh, Ed. M. Phillips, L. G. Wearing, W. W. Woodman, Chas. J. Hobden, H. J. van Aller, Reg. F. Baker, C. D. Melbourne, Geo. C. Williams, E. H. Cartwright, P.G.D., Arthur Saywell, P.A.G.St.B., G. W. South, R. A. Wall, C. F. Sykes, Frank Challans, E. Eyles, Jas. Wallis, Lewis Edwards, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., A. Thompson, H. G. Bennett, S. N. Smith, Wm. Lewis, Campbell Lee, W. T. J. Gun, R. W. Strickland, A. F. Ford, Chas. H. Lovell, L. H. Holliday, R. J. Sadleir, P.A.G.St.B., S. Leviten, G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, G. Pear, F. Lidstone Found, P.A.G.St.B., J. C. Harvey, W. Brinkworth, and A. F. Cross.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. I. V. Warnor, R.W.M. 36 (S.C.) St. David; Geo. W. Cussons, W.M., Junior Engineers Lodge No. 2913; J. B. Edwards, P.M., Lodge of Assiduity No. 4844; P. Laycock, P.J.G.W., S. Australia; G. M. Sank-Brown, Harpenden Lodge No. 4314; A. S. Wilson, James Speller Lodge No. 3577; J. N. S. Wright, Anglo-Overseas Lodge No. 4886; S. C. Smart, Manchester Lodge No. 179; A. Baron Burn, Clapham Lodge No. 1818; and Jno. F. Nichols, Old Sinjins Lodge No. 3232.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Major C. Adams, P.G.D.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland, P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; G. Norman, M.D., P.G.D., P.M.; John Stokes, M.A., P.G.D., Pr.A.G.M., West Yorks., P.M.; and B. Ivanoff.

Four Lodges, one Reading Club, and Forty-three Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following members of the Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the Especial Grand Lodge on 18th July:—Bros. C. Maple-Polmear, Major-Gen. J. D. McLachlan, T. H. Woollen, J. C. Gardner, C. C. Gill, and C. D. Eaton, Grand Deacons; G. T. Boag, T. J. Harding, E. H. Harries-Jones, L. F. Newman, and G. B. Soddy, Past Grand Deacons; Harry Bladon, G. T. Devonshire, and A. T. Penman, Assistant Directors of Ceremonies; G. S. Knocker, Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works; C. H. Clarke, Major E. J. Dunscombe, W. H. Edmunds, J. E. Pickard, G. Reeves-Brown, and W. Lee Roberts, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; J. Ingram Moar and W. Wagner, Past Grand Standard Bearers; A. H. Bowen, C. S. Burdon, and T. L. Found, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearers.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. MEYRICK HEATH.

Old Irish R.A. Certificate, issued by the Encampment No. 36 (with the 36th Regiment of Foot) at Malta on 23rd February, 1819. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. HUGO TATSCH.

Two specimens, one with purple ribbon, the other with green, commemorative medals of the Bi-centenary of the G.L. of Massachusetts. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Perpetual Calendar; engraved plate, the work of an English Prisoner of War (Joseph Bye) at Cambrai in 1813.

A copy of the 1746 *Constitutions*, with both title-pages 1738 and 1746; probably unique.

Original letter from the Duke of Richmond to Martin Folkes, apologising for forgetting the meeting of June 24, 1725. Also referring to a version of the O.C. (Text printed at *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 255.)

Three pamphlets:—

- (i.) A Sermon preached in Christ Church, Philadelphia before the Provincial Grand Master [etc.] on Tuesday 24 June 1755. By William Smith. London: reprinted for R. Griffiths.
- (ii.) *The Excellence and Usefulness of Masonry* . A Sermon By the Rev. Thos. Bagnall.
- (iii.) An Oration in honour of Freemasonry delivered before the G.L. of Scotland, 30 Novr. 1763 by David Erskine Baker. Edinburgh 1763.

By Bro. DAVID FLATHER.

Four jewels; French Prisoners' work. Craft.

A Jewel. F.P. work but cast metal, and *Orange*.

By Bro. FENTON.

Photograph of a Certificate issued by the Lodge of St. Albans, No. 176, at Birmingham in 1783.

Three jewels from the Royal Scots Lodge No. 216, Unity, Peace and Concord.

From the LODGE LIBRARY.

The *Constitutions*, 1738.

The re-issue of the 1738 in 1746.

A cordial vote of thanks was accorded to those Brethren who had kindly lent objects for exhibition and made presentations to the Lodge.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS read the following paper:—

ANDERSON'S BOOK OF CONSTITUTIONS OF 1738.

BY BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS.



N attempting any appreciation or criticism of a book written at a past date, however recent that date may be, it is necessary in order fairly to judge it, to consider it both in the light of the time and circumstances in which it was composed and also having fully in one's mind the characteristics of the author, his intellectual make-up, his social, religious and political *milieu*, desires, and aversions.

The age in which James Anderson wrote was one of political inquiry, of scientific inquisitiveness, of increasing social amenities. The first is connoted by the names of such political theorists as Hobbes (an early influence), Filmer, Locke, and Bolingbroke. The institution and influence of the Royal Society is the outward and visible sign of the scientific spirit, while the growing popularity of the coffee houses, of social gatherings, and the general spirit of clubability are evidence of the growth of the social spirit, of amenity, of urbanity. Moreover, the rise and prevalence of Deism and of ideas of toleration make the period one of considerable interest in the history of religious opinion. This side, however, may perhaps be more conveniently dealt with in discussing the somewhat tantalising phrasing of the First Charge and its variations in the 1723 and 1738 Editions.

Yet in spite of all this, however much the renaissance of Freemasonry may have been influenced or even inspired by these currents of opinion, it cannot be said that either the form or content of the *Book of Constitutions* show many effects of the spirit of inquiry, of rationalism, or of modern historical method. Indeed, though the first two editions of the *Constitutions* stand at the parting of the ways between the old Freemasonry and the new, and despite the claims of their author, yet it seems that they look backward in form and in spirit to what is popularly considered mediævalism rather than forward to eighteenth century enlightenment and method.

For, consider their characteristics. The reverence for antiquity, for precedent, for the great names of sacred and profane history, the claim to universality, the marks of a *pièce à thèse*, the jumble of facts and dates, the lack of proportion. It cannot be too often emphasised that while the modern mind cherishes material antiquities and tends to scorn old institutions, valuing them merely for their suitability or adaptability to modern needs, the mediæval mind, while accounting material antiquities as mere stocks and stones fitted only for the rude foundations of its own structures, valued ancient institutions as sacred by reason of their very age, and would use age and consonance with precedent as the criterion of perfection, proclaiming for anything new its derivation from the old, and not its novelty, as its title to regard. The smallness of the mediæval world, the idea of a Catholic Church and a Catholic State, was still impressed on men's minds when the conditions and institutions from which they derived had long since passed away. The writing for a purpose, rather than the inquiry without prejudice into the subject matter of the work, *e.g.*, to demonstrate the greatness and the wide extent of architecture, is another characteristic of the mediæval as opposed to the modern mind. The jumble of facts and dates, the lack of proportion, or what seems so to us, is due, not so much to a lack of a sense of chronology and of geography as to the fact that being viewed under a different aspect and from a different angle, events, times, and processes seem to our ideas curiously foreshortened and otherwise distorted.

THE AUTHOR.

The chief facts in the life of Dr. James Anderson, thanks to the studies of Bros. Crawley, Thorp, Robbins, and Miller, are well-known to the members of this Lodge, and it is unnecessary here to do more than briefly recapitulate them. But there are a few which either from their direct connection with the *Book of Constitutions*, or from the light which they throw on our author's character and opinions, require somewhat detailed treatment.

¹ His father, James Anderson, glazier, was a substantial burghess of Aberdeen, for many years secretary, and for some fifty years a member, of the Lodge of Aberdeen. James the younger was baptised on January the 19th, 1679, and was educated at the Marischal College there, becoming Johnston Bursar of Divinity, and probably leaving on the completion of his studies in 1702. There is no evidence of his presence at Aberdeen after this date, nor of his being licensed by the local Presbytery, but it would seem that he preached for some time thereafter in Scotland without having any definite living, probably being licensed by some other Presbytery. Save for this his history between 1702 and 1709, when he appears in London, is unknown to us. To close this account of his connection with Aberdeen it may be said that he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity there in 1731.

A question which has not yet been settled is the date and place of his initiation. As has been said, his father was a prominent member of the local Lodge (his Mason's Mark has been preserved), and Anderson himself introduces into the *Book of Constitutions* one or two Scottish Masonic terms; although there is nothing in the Lodge records to show that he was a member, yet these records are incomplete for the years during which his initiation may have taken place. And further we may compare two passages, one from the *Book of Constitutions* of 1738 (page 91):—

“The Fraternity of old met in Monasteries in foul Weather; but in fair Weather they met early in the Morning on the Tops of Hills, especially on St. John Evangelist's Day, and from thence walk'd in due Form to the place of Dinner, according to the Tradition of the old Scots Masons, particularly of those of the Antient Lodges of Kilwinning, Stirling, Aberdeen, etc.”;

and the other from the Aberdeen Lodge Rules of 1670 (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., 102 to 103):—

“no Lodge be holden within a dwelling where there is people living in it, but in the open field, except it be ill weather.”

“all entering Prentices be entered in our ancient outfield Lodge.”

The Rules of 1670 enacted that every apprentice and fellow craft, on admission, should provide a dinner, and that, on St. John's Day, twelve shillings should be collected from each member, the money to be spent as the Lodge should think fit for the honour of the Day, which was to be kept as one “of rejoicing and feasting.”

On the other hand, had Anderson been ‘made’ in Scotland, one would have expected him to have interested himself in English Freemasonry earlier than in fact he appears to have done, and it must be admitted that the circumstances just related are quite consistent with his not having been initiated until after he had taken up residence in England. Still, whatever other inference can be drawn, it is quite clear that he grew up with Freemasonry all about him and that whether from within or from without many of the practices and terms of the Freemasons were known to him.

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., p. 86.

¹ Coming to London, as has been said, in 1709 Anderson became the ritualistically inclined minister of a Scotch congregation meeting in Swallow Street, St. James's (opposite the Wren Church in which some 100 years later Gilkes was to be buried) and continued his ministerial duty apparently until his death in 1739, although after a secession or schism he and a part of his congregation removed to another meeting-house in Lisle Street, Leicester Square. He published a few sermons and theological treatises, a voluminous compilation on "Royal Genealogies" (in effect a translation with additions of a German work by Hübner) and two editions of the *Book of Constitutions*, while his "News from Elysium" was published posthumously. He held for a time the position of Chaplain to the Earl of Buchan, a member of a family closely associated with the early days of the Craft.

To his writings cannot be attributed any considerable literary qualities, and his readers generally are agreed that dullness and prolixity are their most characteristic features. In political opinions a staunch Hanoverian, and indeed one who received favours from the reigning House, in religion "a Defender of the Faith," and a foe to "Idolaters, modern Jews and Anti-Trinitarians"—to quote the smiting epithets of his pamphlet on "Unity in Trinity." One whose Masonic origins are—subject to what has been said above—obscure, whose interest in the Craft was seemingly intermittent and not free from motives of profit and glory. One who was careless and inaccurate in his facts and unattractive in his style and who sought that patronage of the great which is so useful an aid to the ambitious journeyman of letters.

This enumeration is not given as what modern jargon calls a mere pen-portrait, but is necessary to a full appreciation of the *Book of Constitutions*, and in particular in any attempt to answer or even to pose certain interesting questions arising thereout. Is there a political bias or basis? Is there a religious? How deep was Anderson's knowledge of the Craft, how large his experience, how sound the basis of his opinion? How far is his treatment affected and either improved or vitiated by qualities or defects of matter or manner?

On the eve of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, Anderson delivered and published the sermon entitled "No King-Killers," in Dr. Crawley's words, ² "A vigorous repudiation of the charge that the Scottish nation had permitted its commercial instincts to get the better of its loyal sentiments, in selling its King to the Parliament," the Dedication of which is addressed to the Reverend Daniel Williams, D.D., as "a professed and firm friend to Monarchy and Presbytery, and [as one who] ever asserted them to be highly consistent." The *Royal Genealogies* and the second edition of the *Constitutions* are dedicated to the Hanoverian Prince of Wales. ³ In October, 1735, he was granted by the Queen-Consort-and-Regent the sum of £200. Anderson was a loyal and firm adherent and admirer of the Duke of Montagu, a staunch supporter of the ruling house. Clearly then his own sympathies were definitely Hanoverian. On the other hand, there is clear evidence, even to the distortion and misrepresentation of facts, of what in 1738 had become our author's dislike of the Duke of Wharton, the notorious Jacobite. The subject cannot be fully discussed in this paper, nor the evidence considered of the Jacobite Lodge in Rome, or of the suggested political imagery of the legend of the Third Degree. But taking what little has been here said and the description of the Masonic gathering at Stationers' Hall given by the author of the *Praise of Drunkenness*, where "no mention [was] made of Politics or Religion . . . And when the Music began to play, 'Let the King enjoy his own again,' they were immediately reprimanded by a Person of great Gravity and Science," would it be wrong to assume that at about the time Anderson published his first edition there were in the Craft

¹ A.Q.C., xxiii., p. 6.

² A.Q.C., xviii., p. 30.

³ A.Q.C., xxiii., p. 17.

conflicting political currents, and that the recollection of these was yet in his mind at the time he published the second? Point is added to this assumption by the fact to be noted later, that to the second Charge of the 1738 edition (page 144) while inculcating respect and loyalty toward the civil magistrate, he yet adds that "tho' a *Brother* is not to be countenanced in his *Rebellion* against the State; yet if convicted of no other Crime, his Relation to the *Lodge* remains indefeasible." Is this an attempt at a *modus vivendi* between the two parties?

The question of the religious basis of Freemasonry after the Revival is one peculiarly difficult to decide. Begemann would see as its basis, Christianity in the form of the national Church of England. The other school is not unfairly represented by a recent French clerical writer, the late Mgr. E. Jouin,¹ who states that "the dogma is simple: it is that of a universal religion. In its own phrase, it is called Deism. The person who applies the term is certainly not yet an atheist but is travelling on the path of atheism."

In his first edition (p. 50), Anderson says: "A *Mason* is obliged by his Tenure, to obey the moral Law: and if he rightly understands the Art he will never be a stupid Atheist, nor an irreligious Libertine [*i.e.*, Freethinker]. But though in ancient Times Masons were charg'd in every Country to be of the Religion of that Country or Nation, whatever it was, yet 'tis now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that Religion in which all Men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves; that is, to be good Men and true, or Men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever Denominations or Persuasions they may be distinguish'd; whereby Masonry becomes the Center of Union, and the Means of conciliating true Friendship among Persons that must have remain'd at a perpetual distance."

In the second edition (p. 143), he puts the matter thus: "A *Mason* is obliged by his Tenure to observe the Moral Law, as a true *Noachida*; and if he rightly understands the Craft, he will never be a Stupid Atheist, nor an Irreligious Libertin, nor act against Conscience."

"In ancient Times the *Christian Masons* were charged to comply with the *Christian* Usages of each Country where they travell'd or work'd: But *Masonry* being found in all Nations, even of divers Religions, they are now only charged to adhere to that Religion in which Men agree, (leaving each Brother to his own particular opinions), that is, to be Good Men and True, Men of Honour and Honesty, by whatever Names, Religions, or Persuasions they may be distinguish'd; For they all agree in the three great *Articles* of Noah, enough to preserve the Cement of the Lodge. Thus *Masonry* is the Center of their Union and the happy Means of conciliating Persons that otherwise must have remain'd at a perpetual Distance."

Obviously the *prima facie* import of the passages cited is to show a society free from dogma, in which are inculcated only general Theistic and moral doctrines. But what evidence is there either to strengthen or to rebut this *prima facie* view?

It is noticeable, it is perhaps significant, that while many of the Old Charges open with a Trinitarian invocation, as does even the *Roberts* printed version of 1722, there is no such passage in either of Anderson's editions. In 1732 a Jew was initiated, and in the list of early Grand Stewards there occur many Jewish names. ² The members of the Order are attacked in the First "Letter to a Friend concerning the Society of Freemasons" of 1725 in regard to those "who write themselves S.T.P., which some are apt to imagine, stands for Sacrosanctæ Trinitatis Persecutores," and there are the "dust and scandal," unknown but imaginable, referred to in the Preface to the *Roberts* Constitutions.

³ Stukeley in his Diary refers to Martin Folkes as "in matters of religion an

¹ *Livre des Constitutions Maçonniques* (Paris, 1930), p. 69.

² Gould, iii., p. 480.

³ Diary, i., p. 100.

errant infidel and loud scoffer [who] believes nothing of a future state, of the Scriptures, of revelation . . . perverted Duke of Montagu, Richmond, Ld. Pembroke, and very many of the nobility, who had an opinion of his understanding, and who made 'the infidel System' fashionable in the Royal Society." Stukeley's language is so strong as to make us rather doubtful of the truth of his allegation, but it is rather a matter of wonder that within forty years of Bothwell Bridge and "The Killing Time," a society could constitute itself under so non-sectarian and so tolerant a banner as that of the Freemasonry of the Revival.

On the other hand, there seems to be nothing of the sceptic about Anderson himself. We have his Christian references, and even his mention of Jesus as "the Great Architect or Grand Master of the Christian Church." His pamphlet against "Idolaters, modern Jews, and Anti-Trinitarians" has been adduced to show that he would give no countenance to any non-Christian society, particularly one with Jewish members, but is it not plain that the reference is merely a controversial one, more or less synonymous with Anti-Trinitarians, and that there is no necessary inconsistency between such a reference in a theological controversy and meeting Jews in such a society as those who take the non-sectarian view hold Freemasonry to have been? Begemann¹ quotes the decidedly fervent Christianity of the Preface to *Long Livers* in support of the sectarian view, but the enthusiasm and expectancy of its author are much more apparent than any detailed knowledge of the Order.

Such, then, is a *résumé* of the chief evidence on each side, and it is open to anyone to decide this most interesting and most important question for himself. One may say of this as of other conflicts of evidence that we may have occasion to refer to hereafter, that in these trials by written evidence we are under the very great disadvantage of not being able to see the witnesses and note their demeanour, advantages which tell so strongly in a *viva voce* trial since it is often the *imponderabilia* which finally help in a decision. Here the *imponderabilia* are the peculiarities and unconscious predilections of those who judge, which is not nearly so satisfactory. Omitting these, and feeling that whichever side one takes one has some worthy names to support one, it is thought not unfair to put the position thus. As compared with the words of many of the Old Charges, Anderson's First Charge—in both versions—marks a great change of phraseology in a most important particular. It is more reasonable to suppose it deliberate than accidental, and were it accidental and opposed to contemporary feeling in the Craft, however slight may have been the control to which Anderson was subjected, we could scarcely expect it to have passed unchallenged and unamended by Grand Lodge and its advisers.

Perhaps it is possible to suggest a view intermediate between these two extremes. I have particularly in mind what Anderson says on page 23 in speaking of the Zoroastrians: "They are here mention'd, and not for their Religious Rites that are not the subject of this Book: For we leave every Brother to Liberty of Conscience. But strictly charge him carefully to maintain the *Cement of the Lodge*, and the three Articles of Noah." Might it not be that the First Charge attempts only to define not the whole body of religious belief of the members, but that part of the religion of each which is common to all, the highest common factor. Freemasonry admits those of many religions if its adherents admit the necessary minima of the common belief. Their additional articles of faith are irrelevant and indeed should not be discussed, lest an attempt to travel outside should create dissension.

What were Anderson's qualifications as the first Masonic historian? How long was his Masonic experience? How large his acquaintance with Grand Lodge and its proceedings? Much of the answer to this is doubtful. We do not know

¹ Begemann, *Vorgeschichte*, ii., 93.

where or when he was initiated. True he uses Scottish Masonic terms, like Entered Prentice, but he may just as well have learnt them outside the Lodge of Aberdeen as within. Begemann thinks that he did not associate himself with the English Order until it was becoming popular with noblemen and persons of consideration, and it is very probable that had Anderson been a member in the early days of the revival he would have been offered and (can we doubt?) have accepted office in Grand Lodge earlier than his own statements show him to have done. In the matter of his attendance at Grand Lodge, a fair index of his enthusiasm, we are on much surer ground. We have his version of his attendances and that in the Minutes.

As the latter begin only on the 24th of June, 1723, our sole guide—if guide it is—is ¹ Anderson's own account of his earlier connection with Grand Lodge, and according to this in September, 1721, he was ordered to digest the Old Constitutions; in December, 1721, a Committee was appointed to examine the work; in March, 1722, they reported that they had perused his manuscripts, and in January, 1722/3 he produced the *Book of Constitutions* and it was again approved. A full discussion of the credibility of these assertions will be found in Bro. Vibert's paper, and I need only say here that Anderson has attempted to make out that what was in reality a private undertaking was the carrying out of the spontaneous orders of Grand Lodge.

² Anderson states that on the 17th of January, 1722/3, the Duke of Wharton appointed him as (Junior) Grand Warden, apparently according to him in place of William Hawkins, "for Hawkins demitted as always out of town," at the same time as Desaguliers was made Deputy Grand Master. But the Approbation of the 1723 edition drawn up about the beginning of December, 1722, gives Desaguliers as Deputy and Hawkins as Junior Grand Warden. ³ Further, the earliest extant Minute, that of the 24th of June, 1723, has by Bro. Songhurst been found to have been tampered with. It originally read (as Junior Grand Warden): "The Reverend Mr. James Anderson who officiated for Mr. William Hawkins," but the last six words have been erased, leaving Anderson as Warden *simpliciter*. ⁴ Moreover, in the list of Grand Wardens for 1722, after the name of Hawkins is added in what is clearly Anderson's handwriting the words "who demitted and then James Anderson A. M. was chosen in his place." Therefore, if one leaves out what Anderson has written and restores what has been erased (and who other than Anderson could have had a motive for erasing it and an opportunity withal to erase as well as to add?), we find that from the Minutes Anderson's only claim to the rank of Junior Grand Warden is his acting as substitute for Hawkins. Further, in the 1756 edition of the *Constitutions*, although Hawkins is given as Grand Warden under date the 24th of June, 1722, his name is omitted altogether on the 17th January, 1722/3, his demission not mentioned, and "James Anderson A.M." is given as (Junior) Grand Warden. By the time the *Freemasons' Calendar* is published in 1775, no mention at all is made of the unfortunate Hawkins in the list of Past Grand Wardens. However, whether or not we can consider Anderson's claim to the Warden's chair as established, there can be no doubt that the subsequent Minutes recognise it, since after Grand Lodge had on the 10th of May, 1727, resolved that Past Grand Wardens should be admitted at all Quarterly Communications, he not only attended, but is noted as a former or late Grand Warden and on several occasions officiated in that capacity. He does not appear to have availed himself of the privilege extended to him in May, 1727, for some three years, although in fairness it must be admitted that the other Past Grand Wardens as a rule do not appear to have been assiduous or

¹ 2nd Edition, pp. 113-115.

² p. 114.

³ *Q.C.A.*, x., p. 49 and plate on p. 48.

⁴ *Q.C.A.*, x., p. 196 and plate.

even frequent in their attendances after the expiration of their periods of office. Anderson attended Grand Lodge once in 1730, twice in 1731 (once speaking on a Charity Petition), twice in 1732, and once in 1733. Now if we bear in mind the fact that in 1732 appeared the *Royal Genealogies* with a distinguished array of Freemasons as subscribers or encouragers, we can not unfairly guess the reason of his renewed interest in the Craft. On the 24th of February, 1735, Anderson presented a memorial regarding a new edition of the *Book of Constitutions* and his objection to what must have been Smith's *Pocket Companion*, and after that we find him attending on two other occasions in that year, twice in 1736, once in 1737, and twice in 1738, the year before his death.

It is therefore quite clear that except when concerned to get authority for his literary work or to obtain patronage for his publications, Anderson, if the attendances at Quarterly Communications be a criterion, was no more disinterestedly concerned in the affairs of the Craft than other past Wardens, and Begemann's view that his interest in Freemasonry was that of the discoverer of a remunerative field for literary employment can hardly be said to be unfair.

The Second Edition of the *Book of Constitutions* (1738) consists of:—

- I. Frontispiece and title-page.
- II. Anderson's Dedication to the Prince of Wales (iii.-vi.).
- III. "The Author to the Reader," containing a short introduction and explanation, and a table of contents (vii.-x.).
- IV. The Sanction, with on the reverse the arms of Lord Carnarvon.
- V. The Constitutions (1-139).
This is divided into three parts, each part being again divided into chapters.
Part I. The History of Masonry from the Creation throughout the Known Earth; till true old architecture was demolished by the Goths and at last revived in Italy (1-55).
Part II. The History of Masonry in Britain, from Julius Cæsar, till The Union of the Crowns, 1603 (55-96).
Part III. The History of Masonry in Britain, from the Union of the Crowns to these Times (97-139).
- VI. List of Grand Masters or Patrons of the Free Masons in England, from the Coming in of the Anglo-Saxons to these Times, who are mentioned in this Book (140-142).
- VII. The Old Charges (143-149).
- VIII. The Antient Manner of Constituting a Lodge (149-151).
- IX. The General Regulations (152-178).
[The "Old" and the "New" Regulations are set out in an attempt at parallel columns.]
- X. The Constitution of the Committee of Masons Charity first proposed at the Grand Lodge on 21 Nov. 1724 (178-184).
- XI. A list of the Lodges in and about London and Westminster (184-190).
- XII. Deputations of several Grand Masters to Wales, the Country of England and foreign Parts (followed by an historical and rhapsodical appreciation) (190-198).

- XIII. The Approbation (199).
- XIV. Some of the usual Free-Masons Songs (200-215).
- XV. A Defence of Masonry, published A.D. 1730. Occasioned by a Pamphlet called Masonry Dissected (216-226).
- XVI. Brother Euclid's Letter to the Author against unjust Cavils (226-228).
- XVII. Names of Brethren and Lodges who "kindly encouraged" the Author (229-230).
- XVIII. A page (un-numbered) of Corrigenda, with on the reverse the publisher's announcements.

I. FRONTISPIECE AND TITLE-PAGE.

Unlike the first edition, that of 1738 has no half-title. The frontispiece is the same in both editions, save that in the later the Engraver's name and address do not appear. The title-page of the 1738 edition is printed partly in red, and Anderson's name appears thereon for the first time. "James Anderson, D.D." The title itself is much longer, and may be compared with that of 1723:—"The | Constitutions | of the | Free-Masons | containing the | History, Charges, Regulations etc. | of that most Ancient and Right | Worshipful Fraternity. | For the use of the Lodges. | " (1723). "The | New Book | of Constitutions | of the | Antient and Honourable Fraternity | of | Free and Accepted Masons | containing | Their History, Charges, Regulations, &c. | Collected and Digested | By Order of the Grand Lodge from their old Records, | faithful Traditions and Lodge-Books. | For the Use of the Lodges. | " (1738). We may note the appearance of the description of the Craft which has now become time-honoured, the claim "By order of the Grand Lodge," and the variations of spelling, "ancient" and "antient" in the two editions. The new imprint is that of "Brothers Cæsar Ward and Richard Chandler," of the "Ship, without Temple Bar," Coney Street York and "Scarborough-Spaw."

It is to be noted that the account of the proceedings of Grand Lodge closes with the Meeting of the 28th of June, 1738; that he mentions the Lodge at Halifax meeting at the Black Bull being constituted on the 1st of August; that he dates his Preface the 4th of November, and that Brother Euclid's letter is dated the 9th of November. From this it is clear that the various parts of the *Book of Constitutions* were completed by Anderson at different dates, but it would appear nevertheless that these were printed consecutively in view of the fact that from the evidence of the catch-words the book was printed as a whole. The probable date of publication we should suggest in common with other authorities to be somewhere in or about February, 1738/9.

With regard to the publishers, Mr. Richard Chandler was a member of the Lodge meeting at the Sun in Fleet Street in 1731.

II. THE DEDICATION.

The Dedication is addressed to Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, "a Master Mason, and Master of a Lodge," by Anderson himself, and not as before by a third person, *i.e.*, Desaguliers, and the author states that he does so by order of the Grand Master and the Fraternity and in their name, although there is no record of the facts in the Minutes of Grand Lodge. It is interesting to note Anderson's reference to the Royal Art, and his allusion in the spirit of the Old Charges, to respect for the civil magistrate and to liberty of conscience.

Anderson records under date the 5th November, 1737, that an "Occasional Lodge" was held at the Prince of Wales's Palace at Kew, at which, there being present Desaguliers " (formerly Grand Master) Master of this Lodge," William

Gofton and Erasmus King, Senior and Junior Grand Wardens (neither of these brethren being Wardens of Grand Lodge and not even finding a mention in the Q.C. edition of the earlier Minutes), and others, the Prince of Wales "was in the usual Manner introduced, and made an Enter'd Prentice and Fellow Craft, and that he was made a Master Mason by the same Lodge, that assembled there again for that Purpose." There is no reference to Frederick's initiation in the Minutes, but that is accounted for by the fact that what was held appears to have been a meeting of a private Lodge, probably summoned especially for the purpose, and on the lines of the pre-1717 meetings, *e.g.*, that at which Ashmole was initiated. The influence of Desaguliers, who was Chaplain to the Prince, was, we may suppose, not without effect in beginning the connection between the house of Hanover and the Craft.

IV. THE SANCTION.

Bro. Vibert takes the view that the Approbation of the 1723 edition was written by Anderson himself, and the same would seem to be the case with regard to the Sanction of the 1738 edition.

There we find his expression in "ample form" which is not given in the Minutes. He states that on 25th November, 1723, Grand Lodge resolved "That no alterations shall be made in their printed Book of Constitutions without leave of the Grand Lodge." It did no such thing, and certainly on no such date.¹ The official record informs us that on the 24th June, 1723, the Sanction of the first edition (at the end of page 91) having been read, it was moved (on the main question) "That the said General Regulations be confirmed so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of Masonry," but that then the question was moved and put, whether the words "so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of Masonry," be part of the question, and this latter resolution was carried. But the main question was not put, and the question was moved "That it is not in the power of any person or body of men to make any alteration or innovation on the body of Masonry without the consent first obtained of the Annual Grand Lodge," which last question was resolved in the affirmative. That is the nearest we can get in words to Anderson's statement. We find that the words are incorrectly given, the version garbled, and the date erroneous, and the whole spirit of the resolution transformed. The condemnation of Smith's *Pocket Companion* in 1735 is fairly represented in the second paragraph of the Sanction, but in the third Anderson goes on to say that Grand Lodge "order'd" him to print the book, whereas what took place was that on his desiring the Grand Master's Commands and the approbation of Grand Lodge, this request was granted him.

The Sanction concludes with a recommendation of the book as the only *Book of Constitutions*, and a rather exhaustive warning against any other books, the compilations of Smith or of any imitators he might have, being no doubt implied.

It is instructive to compare this Sanction with that of the Grand Officers given to Preston's *Illustrations*, where it is much more accurately stated that Preston having compiled his book "has requested our Sanction for the publication thereof" and that having perused the said book, and finding it to correspond with the ancient practices of this Society, the undersigned Grand Officers "do recommend the same."

V. THE CONSTITUTIONS.

A criticism of the Constitutions will be attempted later when the whole book has been considered, but, before we consider them in any detail, it will be both fairer and more convenient if we endeavour to adjust ourselves to that angle

¹ Q.C.A., x., pp. 50-1.

of vision, however false it may seem to modern ideas, from which Anderson saw the things of which he wrote.

He states (p. vii.) that the MS. Constitutions contained not only the "Charges and Regulations, but also the History of Architecture from the Beginning of Time; in order to show the Antiquity and Excellency of the Craft or Art, and how it gradually arose upon its solid Foundation the noble Science of Geometry, by the Encouragement of Royal, Noble and Learned Patrons in every Age and in all polite Nations." He, to continue his explanation, was ordered to digest the old Constitutions "with a just Chronology" in the 1723 edition, and had now published his new edition "about twice as large, having many proper Additions," including the transactions of Grand Lodge since that date. "It had been tedious, and of no great use" to have given his authorities, particularly as most of the facts were to be found in other histories—"only some Authors are quoted as more necessary Vouchers." "But the Omission is well enough supply'd by an exact chronology . . . Some few Genealogies are put in the Margin . . . But the History here chiefly concerns Masonry, without meddling with other Transactions, more than what only serves to connect the History of Masonry, the strict subject of this Book." Such is Anderson's intention. Masonry for him connotes architecture, and his aim is to trace its rise and progress, and to detail its glories and its distinguished patrons and practitioners in every age and in every clime. He has his dislikes and preferences. His ideal architecture is Augustan; the purer and now greatly preferred Greek he has no such esteem for. It is noteworthy that that epoch of all others in English history to which the term Augustan is generally applied should have seen the revival of Freemasonry and in its first historian so great a lover of the Augustan style. As has been pointed out before, Anderson failed to observe that the Gothic period when individual craftsmanship counted for so much, and when classes and crafts were such individualized entities, is that in which the spirit of Masonry probably had its greatest success as an *esprit de corps* among the Operatives.

In order to give an idea of how little originality there was in Anderson's ideas and how these were in strict conformity with contemporary thought it is useful to quote the following passages from a book of reference which had a wide circulation at the time—the *Dictionarium Britannicum* or . . . *English Dictionary* by N. Bailey (Second Edition 1736). (It is noted on the title-page that the Etymological part is by T. Lediard, whom we know as the translator of *Sethos*):—

Geometry

Geometry originally signified the art of measuring the Earth, or any distances or dimensions on or within it: but it is now used for the science of quantity, extension or magnitude abstractedly considered, without any regard to matter.

It is very probable, that it had its first rise in Egypt where the river Nile, every year overflowing the country, and leaving it covered with mud, laid men under a necessity to distinguish their land one from another by the consideration of this figure; and to be able to measure the quantity of it, so that each man after the fall of the waters might have his portion of ground allotted and laid out to him. After which, it is very likely, a further contemplation of these draughts and figures helped them to discover many excellent and wonderful properties belonging to them, which speculation continually was improving and still is to this day.

Out of Egypt Thales brought it into Greece, and there it received its chiefest proportion. For the geometry of the antients was contained within narrow bounds, and extended only to right lines and curves of the first kind or order: whereas new lines of infinite orders

are receiv'd into geometry which orders are defined by equations, involving the ordinates and abscisses of curves.

The subject of Geometry is the length, breadth and height of all things. It is divided into Speculative and Practical. The former treats of the proportion of Lines and Figures, such as Euclid's Elements, Appollonius's Conicks, etc., and the latter shows how to apply those Speculations to use in life.

Geometry is painted as a lady with a sallow face, clad in a green mantle fringed with silver, and holding a silver wand in her right hand.

Gothick Building.

A manner of building brought into use after those barbarous people, the Goths and Vandals, made their irruptions into Italy; who demolished the greatest part of the ancient Roman architecture, as also the Moors and Arabs did the Greeks; and instead of those admirable and regular orders and modes of building, introduc'd a licentious and fantastical mode, wild and chimerical, whose profiles are incorrect, which altho' it was sometimes adorn'd with expensive and costly carvings, but lamentable imagery, has not that augustness, beauty and just symmetry, which the ancient Greek and Roman fabricks had: However, it is oftentimes found very strong and appears rich and pompous, as particularly in several English cathedrals.

Free Masons { a very antient Society or body of men, so-called,
Accepted Masons { either for some extraordinary Knowledge of masonry which they are supposed to be masters of; or because the first founders of that Society were persons of that profession. There are now in all or most nations of Europe; what the end of this society is, yet remains in some measure a secret, unless that they tend to promote friendship, society, mutual assistance and good fellowship.

And Bailey was not alone in his contempt for Gothic, as witness the following quotation from that arbiter of taste, the *Spectator*:—

Let anyone reflect on the disposition of mind he finds in himself at his first entrance into the Pantheon at Rome, and how the imagination is filled with something great and amazing; and at the same time consider how little, in proportion, he is affected with the inside of a Gothic cathedral, though it be five times larger than the other; which can arise from nothing else but the greatness of the manner in the one and the meanness in the other.

Spectator, vi., No. 415.

The Old Constitutions had been lax in their chronology, and many versions are not uninfluenced by the historical or literary predilections of the individual scribe, and in their faults Anderson excelled them. Flushed with the success of the first edition and his enlargement on his anonymous predecessors, and conscious of his authorship of the *Royal Genealogies*, Anderson gave free rein to his own fancy and his newly-acquired Chronology. Interpreting the directions of Grand Lodge as he did, as including the patrons of the art, he found himself free to fling his net over every age and over the great names of the civilised world, for all could be brought in, either as Grand Masters, or officers, or as patrons.

And indeed, a whole chapter might be written on Anderson's use of the term "Grand Master" (or "Deputy" or "Wardens") and another on his use of the word "Lodge." There are in the 1738 edition considerably over one hundred instances of the employment of one or other of these words in reference to conditions before 1717, when according to modern usage and with anything

like a close regard for exact nomenclature such a use would be at once ludicrous and unpardonable. To take only a few instances, we have:—

The Israelites . . . having many expert artists in every Tribe that met in Lodges and Societies (p. 9).

Hiram Abbif . . . who in Solomon's absence fill'd the Chair as Deputy Grand Master and in his presence was the Senior Grand Warden, or principal Surveyor and Master of Work (p. 12).

The High Priests of Jerusalem had been Provincial Grand Masters there, under the Kings of Egypt (p. 38).

Herod . . . marshalled them in Lodges under 1000 Priests and Levites that were skilful Architects, as Masters and Wardens of the Lodges, and acted as Grand Master himself with his Wardens Hillel and Shammai . . . (p. 40).

Laurentius I. . . . of Florence stiled the Magnificent Grand Master of the Revivers (p. 50).

(*cf.* Laurentius II. . . . Patron of the Revivers) (p. 50).

James Sansovino constituted a Lodge of Architects (or Masters) at Venice . . . and fortify'd the whole Republic as Grand Master of Masons (p. 54).

We may conclude our list with Anderson's statement, on p. 81, of a rule, found nowhere else, "Here it is proper to signify the Sentiment and Practice of the old Masons, viz.: That Kings and other Male Sovereigns, when made Masons, are Grand Masters by Prerogative during Life, and appoint a Deputy, or approve of his Election, to preside over the Fraternity with the Title and Honours of Grand Master; but if the Sovereign is a Female, or not a Brother, or a Minor under a Regent, not a Brother; or if the Male Sovereign or the Regent, tho' a Brother, is negligent of the Craft, then the old Grand Officers may assemble the Grand Lodge in due Form to elect a Grand Master, tho' not during Life, only he may be annually rechosen while he and they think fit." If we were here criticising we should have to ask not only what is Anderson's authority for the rule, but also whether the latter portion is not inconsistent with paragraph xix. of both the Old and the New Regulations.

We may discern in Anderson's use of the term at least three meanings of the word "Grand Master," *i.e.*, chief architect, patron of architecture, and prince or ruler. More space may have been given to this point than it seems worthy of, but if it be remembered how often the list of Grand Masters beginning with St. Alban has been found in works on English Freemasonry, and that it is on Anderson's assertions that the list is founded, perhaps justification may be pleaded.

There is a constant tendency, both in the Old Charges and in Anderson, to represent events in contemporary dress or in that of the mediæval operatives. For example, some of the great historical figures are said to have given charges or founded lodges, and if an analogy is sought for this, it may be seen in what was for centuries the universal habit of artists of dressing Biblical or historical characters in the habiliments of the painter's epoch. And the analogy supplies also a warning. One must no more think that because an historical personage is represented as giving charges or founding a lodge that he in fact did so in the form that we would think of or even that Anderson would think of as an historical fact, than we should be justified in thinking of the Madonna as having the features and wearing the dress of a Flemish *bourgeoise* or of an Italian *contadina*.

If my general observations on the Constitutions may seem rather fine-drawn or what is popularly called special pleading, it is because I have in them attempted, as has been said, to see things from Anderson's point of view. If sense and eye have been strained, it has been but to obtain an unusual angle of vision.

V. PART I. THE HISTORY OF MASONRY FROM THE CREATION
THROUGHOUT THE KNOWN EARTH: TILL TRUE OLD
ARCHITECTURE WAS DEMOLISH'D BY THE GOTHIS AND
AT LAST REVIVED IN ITALY.

In view of Bro. Vibert's detailed treatment of the sources of the historical portion of the first edition, it is unnecessary here to do more than to compare and contrast this with the second.

It is a small point, but one significant of the carelessness of Anderson, that even the heading of Part I. as given on page vii. differs slightly from that on page 1, *e.g.*, "good old Architecture," as compared with "true old Architecture." In the second edition Anderson seems to have followed the Scriptures more closely and indeed makes his early account more or less a masonic, that is, an architectural commentary on the earlier portion of the Book of Genesis. The tentative tone of 1723, "Adam must have had the Liberal Sciences, particularly Geometry, written on his Heart . . . No doubt Adam taught his Sons Geometry," becomes in 1738 quite positive, "till his Sons grew up to form a Lodge, when he [*i.e.*, Adam] taught Geometry and the Great Use of it in Architecture." Whereas Anderson had formerly, after mentioning the crafts of Tubal Cain, Jubal and Jabal, added "which last [*i.e.*, Tent Making] is good Architecture," this phrase is now omitted, and we may wonder whether this omission is in deference to the strictures of the "Briscoe" Secret History (p. 30) or is just another meaningless variation. In a footnote to page 3 of the earlier edition Anderson had mentioned Enoch's erecting the large pillars ("tho' some ascribe them to Seth"); but he now adds a new footnote to the effect that "some call them Seth's Pillars, but the old Masons always called them Enoch's pillars, and firmly believed this tradition." Yet, as Begemann points out, in the old versions the children of Lamech are given as the builders according to Masonic tradition. Anderson's apparently meaningless alteration and the vague but misleading statement by which he supports it are but one of many instances to be found throughout the work. Further, in this same footnote our author gives Josephus as the authority for a statement that the Stone Pillar still remained in *Syria* in the latter's time. What Josephus wrote was *Syna* (*i.e.*, Upper Egypt), but the letters as printed in italics in the 1675 edition of the Jewish historian might easily have been misread as Syria.

We are then told that "after the Flood, Noah and his 3 Sons, having preserved the knowledge of the Arts and Sciences, communicated it to their growing off-spring . . . they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar, and dwelt there together as Noachidæ, or Sons of Noah," and Anderson adds as a note to Noachidæ that it is "the first name of Masons, according to some old traditions." The story in the Old Charges of the recovery of the two pillars with the inscriptions thereon is thus dropped, and Anderson gives his own version of the oral transmission of the knowledge of the Craft.

We have also here the first printed use of the term Noachida afterwards so extensively used in Continental Freemasonry, which is also found in Krause's so-called York Constitutions. At a Grand Lodge held on 13th December, 1733,¹ at which Anderson does not appear to have been present, Captain Ralph Winter, Provincial Grand Master of East India, was announced to have sent a chest of arrack for its use and 10 Guineas from the members of his province as a contribution to the Charity, and at the meeting of the 31st March, 1735,² which our author attended, the Minutes state that Lord Crauford, G.M., ordered the arrack to be made into punch and distributed among the brethren.

Bro. Chetwode Crawley³ has discovered in the Rawlinson Collection at the Bodleian a letter of thanks from Lord Weymouth, Crauford's successor

¹ Q.C.A., x., p. 237.

² Q.C.A., x., p. 252.

³ A.Q.C., xi., pp. 35-6.

as Grand Master, addressed to the giver of the present, in which the fourth paragraph runs as follows:—" Providence has fixed your Lodge near these learned Indians that affect to be called Noachidæ, the strict observance of his Precepts taught in these parts by the Disciples of the great Zoroastres, the learned Archimagus of Bactria, a Grand Master of the Magians, whose Religion is much preserved in India (which we have no concern about) and also many of the Rituals of the Ancient Fraternity used in his time, perhaps more than they are sensible of themselves. Now if it was consistent with your other Business, to discover in those facts the Remains of Old Masonry and transmit them to us, we would all be thankful . . ." Now on p. 23 our author has a long paragraph dealing with Zoroaster:—

" In his Reign Zoroastres flourished, the *Archimagus* or *Grand Master* of the *Magians* (who worshipped the *Sun* and the *Fire* made by his Rays) who became famous everywhere, call'd by the *Greeks* the *teacher of all human and divine Knowledge*: and his Disciples were great Improvers of *Geometry* in the liberal Arts, erecting many *Palaces* and *Fire Temples* throughout the Empire, and long flourish'd in Eastern *Asia*, even till the *Mahometans* prevail'd. Yet a Remnant of 'em are scattered in those Parts to this Day, who retain many of the old Usages of the *Free Masons*, for which They are here mentioned, and not for their Religious Rites that are not the Subject of this Book: For we leave Every Brother to Liberty of Conscience; but strictly charge him carefully to maintain the *Cement of the Lodge*, and the three Articles of Noah."

The striking similarities, not only of diction but of thought, between the Grand Master's letter and Anderson's text strongly suggest that the same individual wrote both. It is the case that the original letter is not in Anderson's handwriting. At the very least, Anderson must have seen the letter, in the Grand Secretary's office presumably, and used its ideas and phraseology, including this word Noachidæ, which he also uses in the First Charge. In that case the letter not only takes the use of the word back to some undiscovered originator, but it shows that others at this time shared with Anderson his historical haziness, his desire to prove Masonry universal, and his laxity of nomenclature in the use of the title Grand Master. But the simpler explanation, to my mind, is that the Grand Master's letter to Captain Ralph Winter was drafted for him by Anderson himself.

On page 8 there is a misprint which is corrected in the Corrigenda. The reference for the appointment of Aholiab and Bezaleel as Grand Wardens is given as Exodus xxxii., 6, whereas it is in the thirty-first chapter that these two are named and their qualifications and duties described (although needless to say they are not given as Wardens), and the sixth verse of this latter chapter refers to Aholiab "given with him" (*i.e.*, Bezaleel). The Bible gives Aholiab as the assistant, or at any rate the junior in point of mention, which order is followed in the 1723 edition at page 8, but reversed in the footnote on page 12, whereas in 1738 he comes as the senior, whether for alphabetical reasons or by chance, and it is curious how Masonic ritual always speaks of Aholiab and Bezaleel, reversing the Scriptural order.¹

¹ R. E. Swartout in "The Monastic Craftsman" (1932) notes that a comparison with Bezaleel was "A common compliment to metal-workers, lay and monastic, in the Middle Ages" (p. 44, n. 4). Mortet in his *Receuil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Architecture* (p. 38) gives the following passage (1005-1030)—"Rursus Rodulfus, in omni arte fusoria peritissimus, velut alter Beseleel," and adds in a note that this surname was given in the Carolingian Palace to Eginhard, the superintendent of buildings under Charlemagne. Dermot in *Ahiman Rezon*, with his not unusual accuracy, in his frontispiece gives Bezaleel a position on the right of Moses as being apparently immediately next to the latter in precedence.

In the 1723 edition the ascription in the Old Charges of the building of the Tower of Babel to Nimrod had been rejected in favour of the posterity of Noah, but in 1738 the old version was restored, for what reason we know not.

In the second, as in the first edition, Anderson gives a long description of King Solomon's Temple, and it is not surprising to find that these descriptions vary one from the other, as they both do from that given in the *Royal Genealogies*.

In view of the fact that to the period between 1723 and 1738 belongs the spread, if not the rise, of the ceremony now known as the Third Degree, it is interesting to compare certain references in the two editions. The earlier (p. 11 and note) states that Hiram or Huram King of Tyre sent his namesake Hiram or Huram "the most accomplished Mason upon Earth," and then gives a long footnote, explaining his origin and that of his name. In 1738 (p. 12 and note), in the corresponding passage the King of Tyre is said to have sent "Hiram Abbif, the most accomplished designer and operator upon Earth, who in Solomon's absence filled the Chair as Deputy Grand Master, and in his presence was the Senior Grand Warden or principal Surveyor and Master of Work," and there follows a footnote to the same effect as before but with verbal variations, in which it is said "as in the Lodge he is called Hiram Abbif, to distinguish him from King Hiram." Our author then goes on to describe the building and completion of Solomon's Temple, and when he comes to the celebration of the Cope-Stone by the Fraternity he says: "But their joy was soon interrupted by the sudden death of their dear master Hiram Abbif, whom they decently interr'd in the Lodge near the Temple according to ancient usage."¹ He describes the consecration "after Hiram Abbif was mourned for," and then adds: "But leaving what must not, and indeed what cannot be committed to writing, we may certainly affirm, that . . . the Royal Art . . . was never perfected till the building of this gorgeous House of God . . .," which passage we may compare with a somewhat similar one in the "Manner of Constitution" and we may wonder whether this is a reference to the esotery of the "Third Degree" or just a piece of pseudo-crypticism.

The vexed question of that name of many aliases and of disputed connotation, Naymus Graecus, Anderson deals with in his own fashion. On page 16, he states that "the old Constitutions affirm, that one called Ninus, who had been at the building of Solomon's Temple, brought the refined Knowledge of the Science and the Art into Germany and Gaul," and at page 61 speaks of "Charles Martel, the Right Worshipful Grand Master of France . . . who had been educated by Brother Mimus Graecus."

It were tedious to follow Anderson through the many pages devoted to the history of Greece and Rome, and his attempts to bring into his narrative the great names in the story of both nations, and we will only quote a few of his more surprising passages and then make some observations which will serve to show his preferences in Architecture or Freemasonry, with him synonymous terms. In Greece (pp. 27-28) many excellent painters and philosophers, we are told, are in the list of ancient architects, openly taught Geometry, and being Gentlemen of good repute, "they were generally at the head of the craft, highly useful to the Fellow Crafts . . . and bred them up clever artists: only by a law in Greece no slave was allowed to learn the 7 liberal sciences, or those of the Free-born: so that in Greece also they were called Free Masons, and in their many Lodges, the noble and learned were accepted as Brothers, down to the days of Alexander the Great and afterwards for many ages"—for all the world like the noblemen and gentlemen of eighteenth century England! We may note that the catalogue of the liberal arts and sciences formerly so conspicuous with their names and descriptions in the Old Charges is here relegated to a side-note naming them "according to the Old Constitutions."

¹ The death of Hiram Abbif is not mentioned in Anderson's *Royal Genealogies*.

In the Greek section we have more than one instance of Anderson's quoting the old traditions and the old Masons as authorities for his statements. "Ptolemy, Grand Master, with Euclid, the Geometrician, and Straton, the Philosopher, as Grand-Wardens, built his palace at Alexandria," "according to the traditions and the old Constitutions"; Archimedes was "call'd by the old Masons the Noble and Excellent Grand Master of Syracuse." The surviving Old Charges give no support to these assertions.

Augustus Cæsar, "who patronized the Fraternity as their illustrious Grand Master (so call'd always by the old Masons)" and his successors, Anderson looks upon as the patrons of the Craft at its zenith: "Therefore the present remains of ancient Rome in his time [*e.g.*, that of Augustus], and of some following Emperors, are so accurate, that they are the best patterns of true Masonry extant, the epitome of all the old Grecian architecture, commonly expressed by the Augustan stile: and we now wish to arrive at its glorious perfection in Wisdom, Strength and Beauty."

Anderson passes to Judæa and gives a liberal amount of space to the reign of Herod the Great and the building of the Third Temple.

At the conclusion of the Roman Section, we return to the author's views on the general decline of architecture. With the accession of Totila the Augustan style totally departed in Italy and the West, and with that of the Iconoclastic Emperors in the East "the Augustan style was quite lost and the loss was public"; and the conquering Mahometans had no "Grand Design . . . to cultivate Arts and Sciences . . . so that Architecture in Asia and Africa suffer'd by them as in Europe by the Goths." "For when the Gothic nations, and those conquered by them, began to affect stately structures, they wanted both heads and hands to imitate the Ancients, nor could they do it for many ages . . . yet not wanting wealth and ambition, they did their best: and so the more ingenious gradually coalesced in Societies or Lodges, in imitation of the Ancients, according to the remaining traditions that were not quite obliterated, and hammer'd out a new style of their own, call'd the Gothic."

"But tho' this is more expensive than the old style, and discovers now to us the ignorance of the architect, and the improprieties of the edifice, yet the inventions of the artists to supply the want of good old skill, and their costly decorations, have manifested their esteem for the Royal Art, and have rendered their Gothic structures venerable and magnificent; tho' not imitable by those that have the true high taste of the Grecian or Augustan style."

In the last Chapter of Part I., after observing that "the Royal Art lies dead and buried still in the East, by the wilful ignorance of the Mahometan nations," Anderson goes on to deal with the history of the Renaissance in Italy and with its great names, with a good sprinkling of Masonic terms. Cimaboius and the Pisans "educated many fine Masters and Fellow Crafts" (p. 48); John de Medicis "became the learned patron of the Revivers, or their Grand Master, and carefully supported the said Lodge, or academy of masters and connoisseurs" (p. 49); "Pope Julius II. the learned patron or Grand Master of Rome retained Bramante as his architect and Grand Warden" (p. 51), and finally we are told that "But from the first Revival, the Masons began to form new Lodges (called by the painters Academies or Schools, as all true Lodges ought to be) far more elegant than the former Gothic Lodges; for instructing disciples or Enter'd Prentices, for preserving the secrets of the Fraternity from strangers and Cowans, and for improving the Royal Art, under the patronage of the Popes and the Italian Princes and States, as could be more amply prov'd" (p. 54).

As an instance of Anderson's incurable looseness in the use of terms, I may mention a small point in this chapter, where although there was obviously no purpose to be achieved by a mis-statement, he deliberately or carelessly makes one. The Medici family since the earliest part of the fifteenth century had become by

far the most influential in Florence, and with Lorenzo (d. 1492) had in effect become its rulers, but it was not until the time of Alexander that they were given the title, "Duke of Florence." Yet from the time of John, over one hundred years before, Anderson styles them Dukes of Florence, and to get over the difficulty in Alexander's case states that he was made the first "absolute" Duke.

PART II.

Here again, as in the case of Part I., and also of Part III., the heading in the table of contents on page viii. differs slightly from that in the book itself.

True to his plan of fitting Freemasonry into history, as he had done in the case of the Scriptural and classical periods, Anderson takes his reader through the whole course of English history, beginning with Julius Cæsar, but sparing us, as some non-Masonic chroniclers have not always done, any connection with classic Troy. In his accustomed manner he goes on to tell of Ostorius Scapula being succeeded by several Roman lieutenants "that soon formed Lodges for building castles and other Forts to secure their conquests." In the 1723 edition Anderson makes no mention of the story of St. Alban. According to Hughan (*Old Charges*, 1895 ed., pp. 131-2) he had become acquainted with the *Spencer* text (either the *Inigo Jones* MS. or a later representative) between 1723 and 1738, and to his account of the proto-martyr he adds a passage quoted from the *Spencer* MS. with a considerable amount of accuracy, with the important exception that to the MS. statement that St. Alban "was thereat himself" (*i.e.*, the Assembly) he adds "as Grand Master." On page 60 we get our first mention of Inigo Jones and John Webb in respect of their opinions of Stonehenge, but with no notice here of their being Freemasons.

We are told on p. 61 of the coming of Austin (*i.e.*, St. Augustine) afterwards to be numbered among the Grand Masters of the Order, though nothing is here said of any architectural works of the Apostle of the English, but we are told how he converted the Anglo Saxon Kings and how they started building and "requir'd many Masons who soon form'd themselves into Societies, or Lodges, by direction of foreigners that came over to help them." Can this be a jumbled reminiscence of Benedict Biscop's importation of foreign artisans?

In their account of Freemasonry in Britain the *Old Charges* jumped from St. Alban to Athelstan and Edwin. Anderson, however, like nature abhorring a vacuum, fills in this gap in the following fashion:—"Ethelbert . . . sent to Charles Martel the Right Worshipful Grand Master of France . . . who had been educated by Brother Mimus Graecus: He sent over from France [about A.D. 710] some expert masons to teach the Saxons those laws and usages of the ancient Fraternity that had been happily preserv'd from the havoc of the Goths: tho' not the Augustan style . . . This is strongly asserted in all the old Constitutions and was firmly believ'd by the old English Masons."

In the 1723 edition is purported to be quoted "a certain Record of Free-Masons, written in the reign of King Edward IV.," which Begemann¹ numbers among those of the Plot family, of which the most conveniently accessible is the *William Watson* MSS. As the question of Athelstan and Edwin is a rather vexed one, and in order to give a good and complete instance of Anderson's method, I shall, following and extending Begemann's example, take the *William Watson* MS.² and the relevant portions of the editions of 1723 and 1738, set them out and endeavour to compare and contrast them.

"Which said King Ethelstane and the same Edwin loved well Geometry and applied himself busily in learning that Science and also he desired to have the practice thereof. Wherefore he called unto him of the best Masons that were

¹ *op. cit.*, ii., p. 187.

² Hughan's Reprint, p. 16. But I have not thought it necessary to preserve the original spelling.

in the realm for he knew well that they had the practice of Geometry best of any craft in the realm and he learned of them Masonry and cherished and loved them well and he took upon him the Charges and learned the manners and afterward for the love that he had unto the craft and for the good grounding that it was found in he purchased a free Charter of the King his father that they should have such a freedom to have correction within themselves and that they might have communication together to correct such things as were amiss within themselves and they made a great Congregation of Masons to assemble together at York where he was himself, and let call the old Masons of the realm to that Congregation, and commanded them to bring to him all the writings of the old books of the craft that they had out of which books they contrived the charges by the devise of the wisest of Masons that were there, and commanded that these charges might be kept and holden and he ordained that such Congregation, might be called Assembly and he ordained for them good pay that they might live honestly the which charges I will declare hereafter and this was the craft of Masonry there grounded and considered." (*William Watson MS.*).

"That though the ancient records of the Brotherhood in England were many of them destroyed or lost in the wars of the Saxons and Danes, yet King Athelstan, (the Grandson of King Alfred the Great, a mighty architect) the first anointed king of England, and who translated the Holy Bible into the Saxon tongue, when he had brought the land into rest and peace, built many great works, and encouraged many Masons from France, who were appointed Overseers thereof, and brought with them the Charges and Regulations of the Lodges preserv'd since the Roman times, who also prevail'd with the King to improve the Constitution of the English Lodges according to the foreign model, and to increase the wages of working Masons."

"That the said King's youngest son, Prince Edwin, being taught Masonry, and taking upon him the Charges of a Master-Mason, for the love he had to the said Craft, and the honourable principle wherein it is grounded, purchased a free Charter of King Athelstan his father, for the Masons having a Correction among themselves (as it was anciently express'd) or a freedom and power to regulate themselves, to amend what might amiss, and to hold a yearly Communication and General Assembly."

"That accordingly Prince Edwin summoned all the Masons in the realm to meet him in a Congregation at York who came and composed a General Lodge, of which he was Grand Master; and having brought with them all the writings and records extant, some in Greek, some in Latin, some in French, and other languages, from the contents thereof that Assembly did frame the Constitution and Charges of an English Lodge, made a law to preserve and observe the same in all time coming, and ordain'd good pay for working Masons etc." (1723 *Constitutions*, pp. 32-3.)

Anderson in the 1738 edition relates that "Athelstan the eldest son [of Edward the Elder] succeeded tho' only the son of a concubine, and at first left the Craft to the care of his brother Edwin, called in some copies his son: for in all the old Constitutions it is written to this purpose, viz.," and he then goes on to repeat with very small alterations the first of the paragraphs of the 1723 edition just quoted, and continues as follows:—

"That Prince Edwin, the King's Brother, being taught Geometry and Masonry, for the love he had to the said Craft, and to the honourable principles whereon it is grounded, purchased a free Charter of King Athelstan his brother, for the Free Masons having among themselves a correction, or a power and freedom to regulate themselves, to amend what might happen amiss, and to hold a yearly Communication in a General Assembly.

"That accordingly Prince Edwin summoned all the Free and Accepted Masons in the realm, to meet him in a Congregation at York, who came and form'd the Grand Lodge under him as their Grand Master, A.D. 926.

"That they brought with them many old writings and records of the Craft, some in Greek, some in Latin, some in French, and other languages and from the contents thereof, they fram'd the Constitutions of the English Lodges, and made a law for themselves, to preserve and observe the same in all time coming, etc. etc. etc."

Anderson here finishes his quotation and proceeds as follows:—

"But good Prince Edwin died before the King [A.D. 938] without issue, to the great grief of the Fraternity; though his memory is fragrant in the Lodges, and honourably mentioned in all the old Constitutions.

"Some English historians say that Edwin being accused of a plot, the King set him adrift in a boat without sail and oars; that Edwin protesting his innocence, went abroad and jumped into the sea, and that his esquire was drove into Picardy.

"But the historian Malmsbury disbelieves the whole story as grounded only on some old ballad, and because of Athelstan's known kindness and love to all his brothers and sisters; and Huntingdon writes of the loss of Edwin by sea, as a very sad accident, and a great misfortune to Athelstan, who was very fond of him."

Bro. Vibert, in his Introduction to the Facsimile reprint of the 1723 *Book of Constitutions*, pp. xvii., xviii., points out that the passage which occurs in both of Anderson's quotations naming the languages of the old writings and records occurs for the first time in the later versions of the Old Charges, of the Grand Lodge and the Sloane Families, where the mention of Greek is usual. He adds that "some texts [*e.g.*, the Aberdeen of 1670] also mention Hebrew, but Anderson certainly did not come across any of them, for if he had he would not have failed to quote so valuable an addition to his evidence."

But if we consider these portions which deal with the Craft, we are on very uncertain ground. It is obvious how Anderson varied and expanded the *William Watson* version of the Plot Family and how his own two versions differed. The *William Watson* version gives Edwin as the son of Athelstan, the 1723 edition as his youngest son, and the 1738 edition as his brother. Begemann¹ suggests that Plot's objection of 1686 that Athelstan appears to have been unmarried resulted in the change of the Spencer Family to "brother" instead of "son," and that Anderson reading the Cole Constitutions of 1726 (belonging to that Family) made the alteration in his second edition.

We see Anderson again introducing the Masonic terms of the revival into his version of the Old Charges. He changes "Masons" into "Free Masons." The "Charges" of the *William Watson* MS. become the Charges and Regulations of the (foreign) Lodges. The "great Congregation" at York becomes first a "yearly Communication and General Assembly," and then "a yearly Communication in a General Assembly." In the 1723 edition Anderson introduces the phrase Master-Mason. The "Masons" and "old Masons" of the MS. assembled at York, became in 1723 a "General Lodge" of which Edwin is "Grand Master," and in the 1738 edition "the Free and Accepted Masons" constitute the "Grand Lodge" under the former as "Grand Master," with the date A.D. 926 given (without any discoverable authority) for the first, but unfortunately by no means the last, time. It may be noted that, though as Begemann suggests, Anderson read and used Cole's Constitutions, yet he assigns no date to the Charter, although Cole gives it as A.D. 932.

¹ *op. cit.*, i., 394, note.

Further discussion of the alleged Grand Lodge at York would be out of place here, otherwise than to quote Begemann's verdict¹ that "it has no other authority than the Legendary history of the Old Charges, and that fact completely demolishes the myth of the Grand Lodge of York and the 'Ancient York Masons' as they styled themselves."

In justice to Anderson it should be mentioned that Bro. Dring² makes him an honourable exception to those Masonic writers of the eighteenth century who "not being able to reconcile the legend with history, have had little compunction in asserting that the Edwin mentioned in the legend was not Edwin son of Edward, but Edwin, King of Northumbria 617 to 633."

He attributes the fact that Edwin is described in the Old Charges as the King's son to (1) the writer of the Cooke MS. in his ignorance of history attributing the obtaining of the Charter to the youngest son and (2) to later copyists, noticing the historical inaccuracy or wishing to emphasise the statement by giving the name, seeing in a charter the words "Edwinus Clito" and taking this to mean the son.

Dring also appositely quotes Freeman's *Mythical and Romantic Elements In Early History*, in which that author discussing the legend of Edwin states "that there is no evidence at all to connect Athelstane in any way with the death of his brother."

The earlier mention of Henry Yevell, "the King's Free-Mason, or General Surveyor of his buildings," becomes in 1738 "Henry Yevell" (call'd at first, in the old Records, the King's Free Mason) the "old Records" being Stow.

A matter is dealt with by Anderson on pages 73-74 which deserves a passing mention. He there quotes the Statute 3 Hen. VI., cap I., which is directed against the "yearly Congregations and Confederacies made by the Masons in their General Assemblies" whereby the Statute of Labourers is contravened and rendering the frequenting thereof a felony. He quotes the opinion of Chief Justice Coke (whom in the first edition, though not in this, he had claimed as a Freemason by reason of this opinion) that as the Statute of Labourers was repealed by the Act of 5 Eliz: cap 4, *cessante ratione legis cessat ipsa lex*, any act, including the Statute of Henry VI., passed against the contravention of the Statute of Labourers, became by the repealing act, of no effect. He adds that the Statute of Henry VI. was never effective, that the Masons always laugh'd at it, and, with a flourish, that "they ever had, and ever will have their own wages, while they coalesce in due form, and carefully preserve the cement under their own Grand Master; let Cowans do as they please." Begemann took the view³ that 3 Hen. VI., cap I., did not prohibit the ordinary meetings of the Craft, but was only directed against irregular assemblies, outside the formal organisation, which were aimed at raising wages in breach of the Statute of Labourers. Dr. Cunningham, however, in his *Notes on the Organisation of the Mason's Craft in England* (pp. 6 and 7), was of the opinion that it was the regular assemblies which were rendered illegal under Henry VI., though "there is no reason to suppose that they may not have formed a sort of national organisation of masonry under public patronage in the fourteenth century."

In his *Notes on the Craft Guilds of Norwich* Tingey⁴ states that: "The Masons again attracted the attention of the Assembly in 1491 when it appears that no Masters were sworn to make any search for defects of workmanship, and it is stated that by a recent statute masons were merely accounted labourers, and forbidden to cause any gathering for forming regulations upon such defects. Therefore it was agreed, that the mayor, with two or more discrete men of the craft, should have authority to correct such defects, assess fines, and so forth. What statute is here understood is uncertain, but probably an Act of Parliament, for it was unusual to call the local enactments by that name."

¹ *op. cit.*, i., 462.

² *A.Q.C.*, xxii., 11.

³ *op. cit.*, i., 326.

⁴ *A.Q.C.*, xv., 197.

But as in Rye's *Extracts from the Records of the Corporation of Norwich* we find that in the fifteenth year of Elizabeth the Corporation granted the Petition of Masons to hold an assembly and approved their regulation it would seem that they had recovered their former rights.

Anderson follows the passages just referred to by a statement that "even during this King's (*i.e.*, Henry VI.'s) minority, there was a good Lodge under Grand Master Chicheley held at Canterbury . . . in which are named Thomas Stapylton the Master and John Morris Custos de la Lodge Lathomorum or Warden of the Lodge of Masons, with fifteen Fellow Crafts, and three Enter'd Prentices all named there. And a Record in the reign of Edward IV. says, the Company of Masons, being otherwise termed Free Masons, of ancient standing and good reckoning, by means of affable and kind meetings divers times, and as a loving brotherhood use to do, did frequent this mutual assembly in the time of Henry VI. in the twelfth year of his most gracious reign, viz. A.D. 1434, when Henry was aged thirteen years." We may note in passing the usual anachronistic use of the term "Grand Master" in the case of Archbishop Chicheley. With regard to the contents of the first sentence of the passage just cited, we may quote Begemann's comments. Anderson in the margin quotes as his authority for his statement about Chicheley a document entitled "*Liberatio generalis Domini Gulielmi Prioris Ecclesiae Christi Cantuariensis Erga Festum Natalis Domini 1429.*"

Begemann¹ states that the actual document is in the Bodleian among the Tanner MSS., but that the contents differ materially from Anderson's account, and that he gives the names incorrectly. Nothing is said therein about Chicheley forming any Lodge; and it is merely a list of the Lathomi of the Loygge who were given clothing by the Priory. There were sixteen Lathomi (not fifteen) and Three Apprenticii, and there is not a word about Fellow-Crafts or Enter'd Prentices. Mapylton (not Stapylton) is styled Magister Lathomorum and Johannes Morys Custos de la Loygge Lathomorum.²

With regard to the second portion of our quotation Stow says: "The Company of Masons, being otherwise termed Free-masons, of ancient standing and good reckoning, by means of affable and kind meetings divers times, and as a living Brotherhood should use to do, did frequent this mutual assembly in the time of King Henry the fourth, in the twelfth year of his most gracious reign." In the 1723 edition, this statement is reproduced and attributed to "an old Record of Masons," but Henry V. is substituted for Henry IV. In 1738, as we see, the passage is again reproduced, but the Record becomes that of the reign of Edward IV. (1461-1483)—Stow's dates were 1525-1605³; and by an Andersonian progression Henry IV. now becomes Henry VI., while the addition "viz. A.D. 1434 when Henry was aged thirteen years" is our author's own.

Anderson gives on pages 78 and 79 an account of the levelling of the footstone of Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster as follows:—"This Royal Grand Master [*i.e.*, Henry VII.] chose for his Wardens or Deputies, the foresaid John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, and Sir Reginald Bray, Knight of the Garter, by whom the King summon'd a Lodge of Masters in the Palace, with whom he walked in ample form to the East end of Westminster Abbey and levell'd the footstone of his famous chapel on 24th June 1502." Scott, in his *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, quotes Holinshed's version which Stow repeats, Anderson probably basing himself on the latter, as we have seen him do before, but with what additions Scott's quotation will show:—

¹ *Vorgeschichte*, i., p. 94.

² See also Knoop and Jones: *Masons and Apprenticeship in Mediæval England—Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. iii., No. 3, p. 362. The authors mention a further entry in 1431 (p. 136) where are named 14 lathomi, 2 apprenticii and 6 cementarii.

³ Stow (1633 edn.), p. 630; Gould's *History*, ii., p. 177.

"An Reg. 18; 1503 In the eighteenth year, the twenty fourth day of January . . . the first stone of our lady chapel within the monastery of Westminster was laid, by the hands of John Islip, abbot of the same monastery, Sir Reginald Bray Knight of the Garter," etc. We see how our author embellishes his authority, again adding his usual anachronistic Masonic touches—"Grand Master," "Wardens," "Deputies," the summoning of a "Lodge of Masters," "ample form" (as we shall see later one of his own phrases) and in addition his carelessness in the matter of dates.

In the 1723 edition (p. 38, note) a story is given of how Queen Elizabeth, being jealous of the assemblies of Masons,¹ sent an armed force to break up an annual "Communication" at York, how her emissaries were at once admitted to the Lodge, and how being then satisfied of the honourable character of the gathering, they returned to the Queen with a favourable report and so allayed her fears that she left the Craft unmolested. This account is repeated in a somewhat different form in the second edition, and made more definite. The date is given as the 27th December, 1561, and it is there stated that "Sir Thomas Sackville, Grand Master, took care to make some of the chief men sent Free-Masons." Bro. Vibert says that he knows of no authority having yet been suggested for the incident just recorded. It is a curious fact that the scholarship of Sir Sidney Lee (and it is in knowledge of the Elizabethan period that this particularly manifested itself) far from affording us any help in the matter, here fails us in a peculiarly irritating fashion, for an examination of his account of Sir Thomas Sackville in the Dictionary of National Biography shows him to have included the story of the Lodge at York, but to have included it on the authority of Anderson himself. Our author fortifies himself by saying that his account was "firmly believ'd by all the old English Masons," but as we know this carries us no further. In support of Anderson's story there is quoted in *Mis. Lat.* (ii., 58, 59) a portion of an address given by Archdeacon Freer and reprinted in his *Memoirs* (1866) in which a somewhat similar story is related, but with Archbishop Parker in the place of Sir Thomas Sackville; but one cannot give much credit to this evidence in the absence of the Archdeacon's authority for his statement.² Bro. Vibert has further considered the matter in his *York and the Craft through the Centuries*, pp. 12, 13, and feels that Anderson must have had some foundation for his story. Can we believe that Anderson deliberately invented the story or that he so dressed it up that it cannot be recognised in any other authority, or that his is the only record that remains to us of an actual incident? Sharing Bro. Vibert's feelings, I can only say that the story may well be true in substance, if not in fact, but that one cannot corroborate it.

We are further told how in the reign of Elizabeth on the resignation of Grand Master Sackville, the Earl of Bedford was chosen in the North and Sir Thomas Gresham in the South. Preston, of course, repeats this account, but adds no other evidence, and in deciding the truth or falsity of this story we must be guided by whatever idea we may have formed of Anderson's credibility, and by our general view of York Freemasonry. We cannot accept the story as told,

¹ In chapter 9 of the rare German book, *Gründliche Nachricht von den Frey-Maurern* . . . Franckfurt am Mayn, 1738, there occurs the following passage, given in the words of the late Bro. J. T. Thorp's translation on page 11 of his Foreword to Leicester Masonic Reprint. xiv.:—"Thus this Samson was at length compelled, by the unshakeable determination of his Delilah, to hand over to her, in order that she might boast of her success in obtaining them, what the great Queen Elizabeth of England had long-ago failed to extort from the Earl of Essex (*sic*)."² I have never seen this passage quoted in juxtaposition to Anderson's account, and one would dearly like to know whether the two came from the same source.

² In *The Sufferings of John Coustos* (1746 edn.), p. 30, appears the story taken from Anderson, but with "the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of her Kingdom," in place of Sackville, so that Freer's source would appear to be Coustos, and Coustos' source his confused recollection of Anderson—so we are once again at a dead end.

but it is open to us to suppose that, however inaccurately, it may be based on some actual York tradition; but if this were so it is difficult to explain why Drake in his famous oration does not mention the tradition.

We need not linger long over our author's account of Freemasonry in Scotland and Ireland, save for two or three points that stand out in his record.

He relates that Claud Hamilton, Lord Paisley, made King James VI. a Brother Mason. It is a curious fact that James VI. was in fact made a Mason (though not in our modern sense), but not as Anderson supposed. Bro. D. Crawford Smith in his *History of the Ancient Masonic Lodge of Scoon and Perth*¹ says "there can be no doubt of the statement made further on in the Minutes that King James the VI. was by his own desire entered Freeman Mason and Fellow-Craft (there being no Master Mason degree in those days). King James made a state visit to Perth 15th April 1601, on which occasion he was made a Burgess at the Market Cross We think that it would be on this occasion that the King was entered by his own desire." Hughan in his Introduction to this work supported Crawford Smith and saw "no reason whatever to question the assertion of the ordinance of 1658, though it would have been still more satisfactory had an actual Lodge Minute, or some other contemporary record been preserved of the occurrence." The facts quoted do not of course support Anderson's credibility. It is obvious that he did not have them before him when he wrote, and that it just happens that he hit upon the truth, or an approximation thereto.

With regard to Ireland, stifling a sigh of regret that Anderson did not think it worth while to enquire into what Bro. Crawley's papers and Bros. Lepper and Crosslé's *History* show to have been the interesting beginnings of Freemasonry in that country, I will content myself with noting just two points in our author's account. He states (p. 96) that: "At last the ancient Fraternity of the Free and Accepted Masons in Ireland, being fully assembled in their Grand Lodge at Dublin, chose a noble Grand Master, in imitation of their Brethren in England, in the third year of his present Majesty King George II., A.D. 1730, even our noble Brother James King Lord Viscount Kingston"

Now Bros. Lepper and Crosslé in their *History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland* (vol. i., pp. 53 ff) take the view that the earliest date assignable for its foundation is 1723, and the latest 1724, and quote Begemann's suggestion (in his *Freimaurerie in Ireland*, p. 16) that it may even have been founded in 1721. In addition, they reproduce the issue of *The Dublin Weekly Journal* No. 13 of Saturday, 26th June, 1725, in which there is a long account of the meetings of the Most Ancient and Right Worshipful Society of Free-Masons, at which it was announced that the Grand Lodge had chosen the Earl of Ross Grand Master for the ensuing year. If Anderson could ignore or rather perhaps did not trouble to inform himself of an event occurring at the most some thirteen years before he wrote, we can gain considerable assistance from this fact in any attempt to estimate the general credibility of our author.

On page 95 Anderson gives an impressive account of the laying of the foundation stone of the Parliament House at Dublin on 3rd February, 1728/9, when "Lord Carteret then Lord Lieutenant, the Lords Justice . . . with many Free Masons . . . made a solemn Procession thither, and the Lord Lieutenant, having in the King's Name levell'd the Footstone at the South side, by giving it 3 knocks with a Mallet, the Trumpets sounded, the solemn crowd made joyful acclamations, a Purse of Gold was laid on the stone for the Masons, who drank to the King and the Craft etc." Bros. Lepper and Crosslé (*Freemasonry in Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 72 and 73) state that the story is a fiction, that Carteret was in London at the time and that in his absence the ceremony was performed in the presence of the Lords Justices and that "the only connexion

¹ Pp. 49-52.

of masons of any description with the ceremony was some money given to the workmen to celebrate the occasion." They add that Pennell who was at the time preparing his *Constitutions* and was probably present, describes on page 37 exactly what happened and that Anderson "got hold of Pennell's story, and, being always ready to adorn a tale, proceeded to make it more picturesque and absolutely misleading."

It must strike the most cursory reader of the second edition how the pages positively bristle, not only with dates, but with long genealogical tables. Anderson has remembered only too well his alleged order to "digest the Constitutions with a just chronology" (p. vii.) and has been far too modest in his statement (p. x.) that "some few genealogies are put in the margin (not to hinder the reader) that are needful for the connection of the history [*i.e.*, in Part I.]. But in Parts II. and III. they show more distinctly how the Craft has been well encouraged in the several periods and successions of the Saxon . . . Kings of England, down to the present Royal Family."

Anderson had issued Proposals for printing by subscription his *Royal Genealogies* which was in fact founded on the work of John Hübner of Hamburg, and had promised that "the subscribers names" would "be printed as the Encouragers of so useful a work."¹ It is characteristic of his curious use of words that when the book came to be published in 1732, he headed the list of patrons with the words "Subscribers to, or Encouragers of this book," which expression if we had not known the terms of the prospectus might lead us to suppose that some of these patrons were merely honorary. But knowing these terms as we do we must suppose that the more than four hundred names printed at the beginning of the book represent actual subscribers, and a very goodly collection it is, representing distinguished members of the nobility, gentry and the professions, and including many of the early officers of Grand Lodge together with two of the author's brothers. Needless to say, much of Anderson's history in the 1738 edition is repeated from the *Royal Genealogies*, *e.g.*, the account of Herod's Temple, although even here there are such considerable variations as to render the two accounts two different versions in many respects. The reference, "John ii., 20," correctly given in the *Royal Genealogies*, is given in the *Book of Constitutions* as John xi., 20. I shall give just one instance for the purpose of showing how Anderson worked up the materials of his *Royal Genealogies* into Masonic history for the 1738 edition. He had written in 1732: "Rome was now adorned with several noble structures by Agrippa, who also at his own charge, finished the famous Pantheon, or Temple of All Gods, (now the Temple of all Saints) and made curious Aqueducts for the City."² He had said of Augustus Cæsar that he "proved an excellent magistrate, reform'd the city and army, renewed the great secular games, and obliged the players to be modest and decent"³; but had nowhere spoken of any architectural pretensions of the Emperor. But in 1738 he could write (p. 37): "Octavianus, now called Sebastos, or Augustus Cæsar who patroniz'd the Fraternity as their illustrious Grand Master (so call'd always by the old Masons) and his Deputy Agrippa, who adorned the Campus Martius, and built the Grand Portico of the Rotunda⁴ Pantheon, with many more charming piles mention'd in history."

PART III.

Anderson commences this part with an account of Inigo Jones. He begins with his birth in 1572 (Mr. Gotch, his latest biographer, says the date was 1573) and his education, and tells how James I., "a Royal Brother Mason, and Royal Grand Master by prerogative appointed Jones his general surveyor" and

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xviii., pp. 31-2.

² *Royal Genealogies*, p. 294.

³ *Royal Genealogies*, p. 296.

⁴ In original misprinted *Routuda*.

approved of his being chosen Grand Master of England, to preside over the Lodges. Anderson (p. 98) gives a circumstantial account of how "the King with Grand Master Jones and his Grand Wardens (the foresaid William Herbert Earl of Pembroke and Nicholas Stone the sculptor) attended by many Brothers in due form¹ and many eminent persons, walked to Whitehall Gate, and levell'd the footstone of the new Banquetting House with 3 great knocks, loud huzza's, sound of trumpets, and a purse of broad pieces of gold laid upon the stone for the Masons to drink 'To the King and the Craft' A.D. 1607." It is an unfortunate fact that, again according to Mr. Gotch,² Jones did not obtain the Surveyorship until 1615, "and during the ten or fifteen years of maturity that preceded this event there is no properly authenticated building by his hand." Queen Elizabeth had built a Banquetting House of wood, which James had replaced in 1607 by another and a better one.³ The building constructed in 1607 was in fact burnt down in 1619, and it was then that Jones as the King's Surveyor was instructed to prepare plans to replace it. Thus Inigo Jones could have had nothing to do with Whitehall in 1607, and as for the procession, whether or not Jones was in it, we have found no other mention of it whatever. It is a coincidence which has been pointed out to me that the year 1607 is also the date which has been written (but not by Anderson) on the so-called *Inigo Jones* MS.; was it anything more?

Elias Ashmole's connection with Freemasonry is not referred to in Anderson's first edition, but is given considerable attention in the second. Bros. Chetwode Crawley and Shum Tuckett have dealt exhaustively with the variations between the MS. version, the two 1717 editions or issues, the second (1774) edition, and Dr. Campbell's article "Ashmole," in the *Biographia Britannica* 1747, and with the discrepancies between these and Anderson's version. In particular, there is the alteration of "were" to "was" and the variation of "by" before "Sir William Wilson," thereby making it appear as though Ashmole was again made a Mason (which is nonsense) and confusing the admission of Wilson with admission *by* Wilson. Anderson's version, although it reads "we" for "were," seems on the whole to follow the MS. more correctly than either the 1717 or 1774 editions so far as the 1682 entry is concerned, although he quotes the printed version of 1717, but he unwarrantably introduces the expression Fellow-Crafts.

Anderson in 1738 gives an account of a General Assembly and Feast of Freemasons held in 1663, and states that Charles II., who had been made a Freemason in his travels, approved of Lord St. Albans as Grand Master and that the latter appointed Denham his Deputy and Wren and Webb Grand Wardens. "According to a copy of the Old Constitutions," this Grand Master held the Assembly on the 27th December, 1663, when certain regulations (set out in full) (pp. 101-2) were made. Roberts in his *Constitutions* published in 1722 had published certain "Additional Orders and Constitutions made and agreed upon at a General Assembly held at . . . on the Eighth Day of December 1663" (pp. 23 ff). Anderson has obviously taken Roberts's account and adapted it in his own fashion. He has changed the date to St. John's Day, 27th December, added the name of the chief English architects of the time as the Grand Officers, and transcribed Roberts's Additional Orders with his customary variations and errors. In Clause one the expression "regular Lodge" is his own, and he replaced "workman" by "craftsman"; in Clause two there is a grammatical error. The change in Clause three is particularly interesting. The Roberts version had said "that no person hereafter, which shall be accepted a Free-Mason,

¹ Henry VII.'s procession was "in ample form"; this is "in due form," and yet on both occasions the Grand Master was present in person. I return to the question of this phraseology later on. For the present it is sufficient to say that, at this stage at all events, Anderson would appear not to have understood his own technical terms.

² J. A. Gotch: *Inigo Jones*, p. 15.

³ Gotch, pp. 104-5.

shall be admitted into any Lodge or Assembly, until he hath brought a certificate of the time and place of his Acceptance, from the Lodge that accepted him, unto the Master of that limit or division, where such Lodge *was* kept . . .”¹ Anderson altered the regulation to read “unto the Master of that limit or division where such Lodge *is* kept . . .” Roberts was obviously referring to those occasional Lodges, at which *e.g.* Ashmole was admitted, but Anderson by his slight alteration suggested his idea of a permanent and no doubt regular Lodge. In Clause five the word “Grand Master” is an unauthorised and glaring departure from Roberts, who had merely said “shall be regulated and governed by one Master,” not “one *Grand* Master.” Clause six agrees with Roberts, but Anderson omits Clause seven with the oath of secrecy. Throughout Anderson uses the word “Acceptation” for Roberts’s “Acception,” of the use of which former word Begemann² says it would be hard to find another instance. Almost all the changes from Anderson’s authority as we might by now have been sure are in the direction of showing Freemasonry as being in 1663 regularly and definitely organised, with officers, dates of meeting, and qualifications of candidates as at the time at which our author was writing.

The question of Sir Christopher Wren’s relation to Freemasonry, although so often debated, is one which must be touched on however inadequately, in an account of Anderson’s *Book of Constitutions* as it seems in many respects a crucial test of the author’s merits.

In the first edition, the only references to Wren are as the “ingenious architect” who “conducted” the foundation of St. Paul’s Cathedral (p. 41), and as “the King’s architect” who designed and conducted the Sheldonian Theatre (p. 43 note). But in 1738 things are quite changed. Wren is mentioned as Grand Warden in 1663; Deputy Grand Master in 1666, 1669 and 1673, and apparently from 1674 to 1679 or possibly 1685; as Grand Master in 1685 (and being confirmed in his office by William III.) until 1695, when the Duke of Richmond and Lennox³ was chosen Grand Master and he became Deputy again until in 1698 he became Grand Master once more. “Yet still in the South the Lodges were more and more disused, firstly by the neglect of the Masters and Wardens, . . . and the annual Assembly was not duly attended. G. M. Wren . . . celebrated the Capstone [of St. Paul’s] . . . in July A.D. 1708. Some few years after this Sir Christopher Wren neglected the office of Grand Master: yet the Old Lodge near St. Paul’s and a few more continued their stated meetings . . . after the Rebellion was over A.D. 1716 the few Lodges at London finding themselves neglected by Sir Christopher Wren, thought fit to cement under a Grand Master . . .,” and then follows the account of the Revival by the four original Lodges. Now Anderson’s statements and opinions are quite clear. Wren according to him was intimately and continuously associated with the Craft for some fifty years and it was through his ultimate neglect of his duties that the necessity arose for a revival. Is his statement acceptable and credible? Now we have the fact that although we have Wren playing a great part in the Society, and occupying a pivotal position, Anderson in 1723 while mentioning his architectural authorities and writing a sketch of Freemasonry in England does not think it worth while to connect the two. In spite of many allusions to the Craft in the periodical Press of the time and in pamphlets and other literary forms, we have no reference to Wren as a Freemason (with the exceptions to be mentioned) and nothing in the *Parentalia* or *Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens*. The exceptions are

¹ Begemann, *op. cit.*, i., 418.

² *id.*, 419.

³ The well-known petition of Edward Hall recommended by the Second Duke of Richmond, which according to the Minutes (*Q.C.A.*, x., 216 and note (a)) was read on 2nd March, 1732, will be remembered in this connection, as Hall was said to have been made a Mason by the late (*i.e.*, the first) Duke 36 years before that date.

Aubrey's *Memoires of Naturall Remarques of the County of Wiltshire* and two newspapers of the period. In the former occurs the following passage:—

1691 after Rogation Sunday
Mdm. this day [May the 18th being Monday] is a Great Convention
Accepted
of St. Pauls church of the Fraternity of the Free-Masons: where
Sr. Christopher Wren is to be adopted a Brother: and Sr. Henry
divers
Goodric:—————of y^e Tower, and sever others—————
There have been Kings, that have been of this Sodalitie.

Objection has been taken to the acceptance of this note on the ground of Aubrey's credibility, and the absence of contemporary corroborative evidence, and the great authority of Gould is against it.¹ But Crawley² puts the case, it is suggested, not unfairly, by saying that although Gould's argument has demolished Wren's alleged Grand Mastership, yet when his arguments are extended to exclude the possibility of Wren's acceptance they become inconclusive. "Something more than the silence of contemporaries who might have known or ought to have known, or even must have known, is required to invalidate Aubrey's clear report. Aubrey was a gossip; but all the better reporter. His testimony is unexceptionable on the points of honesty of purpose, habitual veracity,³ and adequate means of knowledge. The MS. was revised by himself, and the particular paragraph was remodelled, as will be seen from the version quoted by Mr. Halliwell. If he had seen any reason to correct the statement, he had an opportunity of doing so. The MS. was submitted to, and annotated by Ray, Evelyn, and Tanner, men conversant with Wren and his associates. If they had thought it worth while to correct the statement, they had an opportunity of doing so."

Among all the newspaper notices of Wren's death there are only two which refer to him as a Freemason. One is in the *Postboy*, No. 5,245, from March 2nd to March 5th: "London, March 5, this evening the corpse of that worthy Free Mason, Sir Christopher Wren, Knight is to be interr'd under the Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral," and the other in similar terms in the *British Journal*, No. 25, March 9th, the latter possibly copied from the former. But it seems on the whole most likely that these two newspapers (and these alone) were not referring to membership of the Society, but were merely using the term as applying to one who was an architect and builder.

Now the position is this. It seems probable that Wren was in fact made a Freemason as in Aubrey's account, which is accepted by Crawley and Begemann, but rejected by Gould. If, however, we accept this account, we cannot credit Anderson's story of the Grand Wardenship in 1663 of a person not admitted until 1691, nor reconcile the silence of Press and literature alike with our author's claim of a fifty years' prominent association with the Craft. As in the case of King James I., Anderson seems by accident to have stumbled on a part of the truth, but in such a way as to throw doubts on rather than to strengthen his own credibility.

The account of the other Grand Masters contemporary with Wren's association with the Craft—Rivers, Arlington and the rest—is altogether unsupported by any other authority (with a possible exception in the case of Richmond) and for this reason we can in no wise accept it, particularly in view of our author's garbled version of the Roberts *Constitutions*. Anderson has

¹ Gould, ii., pp. 4 ff.

² *A.Q.C.*, xi., p. 11.

³ If we think that Crawley's attribution of "habitual veracity" is too flattering in view of Aubrey's credulity, we may still well ask who can have had any object in imposing on the latter?

blundered rather badly in his account of the laying of the foundation-stone of St. Paul's. According to him (p. 103), Charles with a numerous retinue "in due form levell'd the footstone of the New St. Paul's, designed by D.G.M. Wren A.D. 1673, and by him conducted as Master of Work and Surveyor with his Wardens Mr. Edward Strong, Senior and Junior . . ." Valentine Strong had six sons who all followed their father's occupation of builder¹ of whom Thomas the eldest, and three others, including Edward, the fifth son (who compiled a Family Chronicle which, though not published until 1815, was in fact written in 1716), went to London in 1667 to take part in its rebuilding. Now Edward Strong states that it was his brother Thomas who laid the foundation stone; Edward himself was only 23 at the time, so that his son Edward, Junior, being either a baby or yet unborn, could not have been present at the ceremony. Moreover, according to the Family Chronicle, the elder Edward only took up his duties on the work after Thomas's death in 1681. The foundation was in fact laid in June, 1675. Begemann's comment on these facts seems fully justified: "This is one of the innumerable instances of Anderson's fertile imagination, and of the way in which later authors [he refers especially to Preston] have blindly accepted and improved on his assertions. They know nothing at all of the true layer of the foundation stone, Thomas Strong, the Family Chronicle not having been as yet published. But that is no excuse for these fictions, for both the Edward Strongs, father and son, were still alive in Anderson's days."

With the year 1717, we now come to perhaps the most important date in the history of the Craft, and it is at this point that Anderson's narrative should be of extreme value, if we could be at all sure whether it is accurate, or at least, how much of it is accurate.

Anderson says that what were later to be known as the Four Time Immemorial Lodges "finding themselves neglected by Sir Christopher Wren, thought fit to cement under a Grand Master as the center of union and harmony." We have seen that there is no evidence save his earlier statement of Grand Masters before 1717, and how little that statement is to be believed, and how, if we neglect his account of Wren (as we feel bound to do) and rely on Aubrey, there is nothing to connect Wren with either the neglect or the revival of the Craft. So that whatever truth there is in the record of the establishment of Grand Lodge, Anderson's record cannot be accepted nor his preamble admitted.² He then goes on to tell how the Four Lodges and some old Brothers met and having put into the Chair the oldest Master Mason (now the Master of a Lodge) they constituted themselves a Grand Lodge pro tempore in Due Form, and forthwith revived the Quarterly Communication of the Officers of Lodges (call'd the Grand Lodge) resolved to hold the Annual Assembly and Feast, and then to choose a Grand Master from among themselves, till they should have the honour of a noble Brother at their head.

Accordingly on S. John Baptist's Day in the third year of King George I. A.D. 1717, the Assembly and Feast of the Free and Accepted Masons was held . . . and the Brethren by a majority of hands elected Mr. Antony Sayer Gentleman, Grand Master of Masons Capt. Joseph Elliot, Mr. Jacob Lamball, Carpenter, Grand Wardens.

Sayer, Grand Master, commanded the Masters and Wardens of Lodges to meet the Grand Officers every Quarter in communication . . . He adds two marginal notes:—

"N.B. It is call'd the Quarterly Communication, because it should meet quarterly according to ancient usage. And when the Grand Master is present it is a Lodge in Ample Form; otherwise, only in Due Form, yet having the same authority with Ample Form" (pp. 109-110).

¹ Begeman, *op. cit.*, i., 47 note; Gould, ii., pp. 40 ff.

² *op. cit.*, ii., 37.

It is unfortunate that Anderson did not consider it necessary to set out these facts in his first edition. It is generally accounted a matter of suspicion when an historian omits to mention circumstances which should be fresh in his memory until a later date when that freshness has been lost. But it is perhaps possible to excuse him in this case, because by 1738 his plan had been enlarged. Even accepting this, there is much to be doubted in his narrative. He again pursues his favourite plan of reading past events in the light of their successors. He does not make the real organisation of 1717 a new thing as in fact it was, but makes out that it was a revival of the old Masonic administrative system. As we have seen, the office of Grand Master was a new one; and moreover the system of a centralised and permanent Grand Lodge was really an innovation to those who had been accustomed to the spasmodic and occasional meetings of local Lodges having little connection one with the other.

It is probable that the new movement was not universally approved; Sadler has demonstrated that there were probably Lodges in existence in 1717 which did not join in. Anderson's mention of the four Lodges and some old Brothers seems to suggest that there might have been other members of the Lodges to which the old Brothers belonged who did not approve. As far as we know, the distinction between "Ample Form" and "Due Form" is Anderson's invention, since there is no evidence in the Minutes of Grand Lodge up to the date of his second edition of any such distinction as he noted. We see that, in regard to most of the points on which Anderson's narrative can be checked, they find contradiction instead of confirmation, and there is much to be said for Begemann's conclusion that the whole story of the election of the first Grand Master is a myth of Anderson's invention, that the actual choice was made in a much more simple fashion, and that the single fact remaining as established is that Sayer was chosen Grand Master on 24th June, 1717, with Lambell and Elliot associate with him as Wardens.¹ We can perhaps accept the fact and the date of the re-organisation, but in the absence of corroboration reject Anderson's details.

I shall now proceed briefly to comment on Anderson's account of the subsequent assemblies.

24th June, 1718. Payne G.M. is stated to have recommended the strict observance of the Quarterly Communication. This would appear to corroborate what has already been said regarding these, *i.e.*, that they had not yet been regularly established. Payne desired the Brethren to bring "any old writings and records concerning Masons and Masonry," "and this year several old copies of the Gothic Constitutions were produced and collated" (p. 110.) There is no other evidence of this, and conversely, when, according to Stukeley,² Payne produced an old MS. of the Constitutions (the Cooke text) on 24th June, 1721, Anderson makes no mention of this fact. But it would be unfair not to point out that apparently the old records had not begun to be interesting and that there is no antecedent possibility against Anderson's statement.

24th June, 1719. "Some noblemen were also made brothers and more new Lodges were constituted." This is at best unlikely, otherwise one of the noblemen would probably have been made Grand Master; and we have no record of so early a series of constitutions.

24th June, 1720. "This year, at some private Lodges several very valuable Manuscripts (for they had nothing yet in print) concerning the Fraternity . . . were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous Brothers, that these papers might not fall into strange hands." Many theories have been built on this note, into

¹ *op. cit.*, ii., 39.

² Diary, i., 64.

which we cannot here enter. Begemann notes, for example, that we have no confirmation of this, but that on the contrary many MSS. have come down to us, that there is nothing in them which is secret, and indeed in 1722 Roberts published one of them. It is just conceivable of course that an unreasoning panic seized on some private Lodges, and that through fear and ignorance, the great enemies of written literature, such a holocaust may have been consummated, but it is unlikely. It is however possible that Begemann's view is too severe. With the discovery of such writings as the *Chetwode Crawley MS.*, and the later MSS. whose finding has been chronicled in *A.Q.C.*, it is becoming clear that there were written records of esoteric working, and that it is necessary to distinguish these from the Old Charges which dealt chiefly with the historical and administrative sides of the Craft, and in regard to which Begemann's remarks are apt. But it may be that Anderson was referring to Rituals, and in that case what he stated to have occurred may quite well in fact have happened.

"It was agreed, in order to avoid disputes on the Annual Feast-Day, that the new Grand Master for the future shall be named and proposed to the Grand Lodge sometime before the Feast, by the present or Old Grand Master . . ."

Anderson at the end of his book prints what he calls the Old and the New Regulations, and No. xxix. and the following Regulations deal with this point. The so-called "Old" Regulations say that at the Annual Feast the Master and Wardens of the private Lodges are to consult about the new Grand Master for the ensuing year (if they had not done so the day before) and if the old Grand Master is not to be continued in office, he shall nominate his successor. The "New" Regulation xxix. sets out the resolution of 24th June, 1720 (with the customary inaccuracy).

Prima facie it is curious to find that if the resolution so-called of 1720 was passed in that year, the Old Regulation as printed in 1723 does not incorporate it, but is to a different effect and that it only, according to Anderson, becomes part of the system some years after a different regulation had been approved. Further we find that on 24th June, 1723, according to the official Minutes, Wharton is desired to name his successor (in accordance with the old Regulations), in spite of the resolution of 1720. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that Anderson's date of 1720 as given on page 111 is wrong, and that the so-called Regulation of 1720 is really only a New Regulation introduced by Anderson in 1738.¹

"Also agreed that for the future the new Grand Master as soon as he is installed, shall have the sole power of appointing both his Grand Wardens and a Deputy Grand Master . . ." (p. 111). Old Regulation xxxv. however directs that the in-coming Grand Master shall nominate and appoint his Deputy, and also his Wardens, but that if his choice is not unanimously approved by Grand Lodge, then they shall be balloted for (p. 173). From the Minutes of 24th June, 1723² we see that the nominees of the new Grand Masters for all three offices were put to the Lodge and carried, though that of Desaguliers as Deputy only by a majority. At the next meeting of 25th November, 1723, it was expressly put to Grand Lodge and carried that: (1) the Grand Master had power to appoint his Deputy; (2) Desaguliers be Deputy as from the last meeting; (3) that the Grand Wardens appointed at that meeting be confirmed in their office; and on 28th April, 1724, that the Grand Master has power to appoint his Wardens. Thus we see that Anderson's version in his history differs from that in his Regulations, and that moreover as in the preceding quotation he has again antedated events.

¹ I have argued in this from Anderson's own statements and from the subsequent official Minutes. But as we have only Anderson's account of Payne's Old Regulations, which he admits he has recast, the whole matter is very doubtful.

² *Q.C.A.*, x., 51-2.

25th March, 1721. "Payne Grand Master observing the number of Lodges to encrease" (p. 112). This passage Begemann alleges is another case of ante-dating. He quotes Stukeley's diary under date 6th January, 1721, when the latter was made a Freemason,¹ and the Doctor's comment, "I was the first person made a free mason in London for many years. We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony. Immediately after that it took a run, and ran itself out of breath through the folly of the members,"² and also his entry in the third person, "that his curiosity led him to be initiated into the mysteries of Masonry suspecting it to be the remains of the mysteries of the Ancients, when with difficulty a number sufficient was to be found in all London. After this it became a public fashion not only spread over Britain and Ireland, but all Europe."³ This passage it must be added is, from what we know of the contemporary conditions of the Craft, not altogether clear in its implications. It is scarcely to be taken literally for there must have been in London several Lodges and an appreciable, if an uncertain, number of Masons. It is likely that what Stukeley means is that there could only with difficulty be collected a sufficient number of his own class or that there was a difficulty in assembling a quorum of those qualified to attend the ceremony which we now know as the Third Degree.

Begemann⁴ finds it hard to believe that as early as March 25th, 1721, there had been a noticeable increase of Lodges and is doubtful whether the Duke of Montagu was admitted as early as this, since he thinks that his initiation would have been chronicled in the Press, as was his installation on the 24th June. He thinks that Montagu had been initiated only a very short time before his installation. I suggest that here Begemann presses Anderson too hardily. Stukeley says that after 6th January, Freemasonry immediately took a run, and in view of this, and of its becoming "a public fashion," it is not unlikely that enough had occurred in the space of twelve weeks to bring about a considerable increase in the number of members of the Craft, although perhaps not to increase the number of Lodges. No doubt the installation of the Duke of Montagu increased the popularity of the Craft, but it is very probable that the admission of Montagu was also a result as well as a cause of that popularity.

Under date the 24th June, 1721, Anderson gives a long account of a meeting of Grand Lodge, several passages of which are open to comment (pp. 112-3): He says that they made some new brothers including Lord Stanhope. Stukeley in his Diary⁵ under the same date notes that the "Masons had a dinner at Stationers Hall, present, Duke of Montague, Lord Herbert, Lord Stanhope, Sir Andrew Fountain etc. etc. Dr. Desaguliers pronounc'd an oration." Now had these persons been initiated at that meeting it is almost certain that Stukeley would have mentioned the fact. Moreover, we have no other instance of an initiation being performed at a Grand Lodge instead of a Private Lodge (the Occasional Lodge of 5th November, 1737, which Anderson mentions, could hardly have been a meeting of Grand Lodge). Anderson further states that the Grand Officers, Past Grand Officers and Master and Wardens met the Grand Master elect at the King's Arms Tavern and marched on foot to Stationer's Hall, and that the old Grand Master made the first and the new Grand Master made the second procession round the hall. In regard to this, as Begemann points out,⁶ this statement is inadmissible for two reasons; firstly, because according to the Minutes of Grand Lodge the earliest occasion on which a procession was combined with the formal fetching of the Grand Master was the Duke of Norfolk's installation in 1730, and, secondly, because although the holding of the Feast is mentioned in the contemporary newspapers, there is no mention of a procession which, had it in fact taken place, must have drawn to itself much attention. Further, the processions of the outgoing and incoming Grand Masters round the

¹ Diary, i., 62.

² Diary, i., 122.

³ Diary, i., 51.

⁴ *op. cit.*, ii., 68.

⁵ Diary i., 64.

⁶ *op. cit.*, ii., 50.

Hall are not referred to in the Minutes until several years later, and the old Regulations dealing with the Installation made no allusion to any procession. Here again we have Anderson antedating.

With the mention of the name of the Duke of Wharton, we enter upon a famous episode in the history of Grand Lodge, and as it is also one with which Anderson's veracity, or at least his credibility, is closely connected, it is here necessary briefly to summarise the matter, referring those interested for a full treatment to Bro. Gould's paper (*A.Q.C.*, viii., pp. 114 ff).

Our author tells us that "Grand Master Montagu's Good Government inclin'd the better sort to continue him in the chair for another year [he had occupied it from June, 1721, to June, 1722]; and therefore they delayed to prepare the feast.

"But Philip Duke of Wharton lately made a Brother, though not the Master of a Lodge, being ambitious of the chair, got a number of others to meet him at Stationer's Hall, 24th June, 1722, and having no Grand Officers, they put in the chair the oldest Master Mason (who was not the present Master of a Lodge, also irregular) and without the usual decent ceremonials, the said old Mason proclaimed aloud Philip Wharton Duke of Wharton Grand Master of Masons and Mr. Joshua Timson, Blacksmith } Grand Wardens, but his Grace appointed Mr. William Hawkins, Mason } no deputy, nor was the Lodge opened and closed in due form.

"Therefore the noble Brothers, and all those that would not countenance irregularities, disown'd Wharton's authority, till worthy Brother Montagu healed the breach of harmony by summoning the Grand Lodge to meet on the 17th January, 1722/3," when on his promising to be true and faithful, he was proclaimed Grand Master.

Now in contradiction of Anderson's account there are the following facts:—

1. Stukeley's Diary under date May 25th, 1722, notes that he "met Duke of Queensborough, Lord Dumbarton, Hinchinbroke, etc., at Fountain Tavern Lodge to consider of Feast on St. Johns."
2. The public Press contained announcements of the forthcoming Feast of the Freemasons.
3. The 24th June, 1722, fell on a Sunday, and the Feast was accordingly held on Monday, 25th.
4. The Press records the Election of the Duke of Wharton either unanimously or without referring to any dissent.
5. The author of *The Praise of Drunkenness*, in an account referring probably to the Feast of June, 1722, gives no colour to any suggestion that the installation was without the usual decent ceremonies.
6. Stukeley's mention under date 3rd November, 1722, of the Duke of Wharton and Lord Dalkeith (who in fact succeeded Wharton as Grand Master) visiting his Lodge at the Fountain, shows that at least one of the "noble Brothers" had not "disown'd" Wharton's authority.
7. Desaguliers is mentioned by the *Daily Post* of 27th June, 1722, as having been chosen Deputy Grand Master, and had in fact signed the Dedication of the first edition of the *Book of Constitutions* as Deputy Grand Master, before it was presented to Grand Lodge in January, 1723, and the Approbation of the 17th January, 1722/3, is signed by Wharton as Grand Master and Desaguliers as Deputy, while the Frontispiece shows Wharton and a clergyman (presumably Desaguliers) in those respective positions.

In face of these matters of disproof it seems clear that Anderson was wrong in his account of the proceedings. But there are certain newspaper extracts given by the late Bro. Robbins (*A.Q.C.*, xxii., 67 ff) which tend to show conclusively that there were some discussions among the Masons, but what they were in effect is not clear. We leave the subject with an uneasy suspicion, not for the first time, that although our author has made an untrustworthy entry in his chronicle, although his facts are wrong, yet he is probably dealing with an actual occurrence, even though his method of treatment helps us little in determining its circumstances. However distorted by Anderson's prejudice, fancy, or faulty memory, we still have the smoke, and must presume the fire.

Anderson's account of the meeting of 25th April, 1723, again contains many statements open to challenge. He begins by stating that the Lodge was opened in ample form; as has been said before that was a distinction known at that date only to Anderson himself. Then according to his story there being no Secretary yet appointed (this is probably true, as the first Minute of Grand Lodge informs us that Cowper was not appointed until 24th June, 1723) Grand Warden Anderson called the roll. I have already discussed his claim to be Grand Warden; whether he called the roll may or may not be true—some have doubted it. Then Wharton "proposed for his successor the Earl of Dalkeith (now Duke of Buckleugh) Master of a Lodge, who was unanimously approv'd and duly saluted as Grand Master Elect." But the Minutes of 24th June, 1723, inform us "Then the Grand Master [Wharton] being desired to name his successor and declining to do so, but referring the nomination to the Lodge The Right Honourable the Earl of Dalkeith was proposed to be put in nomination as Grand Master for the year ensuing . . . accordingly the Earl of Dalkeith was agreed to be put in nomination as Grand Master for the ensuing year. The Lodge was also acquainted that (in case of his election) he had nominated Dr. Desaguliers for his Deputy." Desaguliers' appointment as Deputy was then put to Grand Lodge and carried by a majority of one. After dinner Dalkeith was declared Grand Master, and Wharton stating that he had doubts about the number on the division for Deputy proposed that this question be again put, and he and several others withdrew as voting against Desaguliers. In their absence, a written authority from Dalkeith was produced to the effect *inter alia* that he appointed Desaguliers his Deputy, and protest was made on his behalf and on that of the whole fraternity against Wharton's proceedings. On Wharton's return and his being made acquainted with what had taken place during his absence, "the late Grand Master went away from the Hall without any ceremony." If Wharton declined to name his successor in June it is not likely that, as reported by Anderson, he had proposed Dalkeith in April. But further let us see what is Anderson's version of the proceedings in June of which we have just given the official account. He states that Wharton came into the Lodge Room with his Deputy and Wardens and sent for the Masters and Wardens of Lodges and formed Grand Lodge. It was then pointed out to him by some that as Dalkeith was still in Scotland, he should name another successor, but Dalkeith's Wardens declared that he would soon be returning. Then they adjourned to dinner, and afterwards Wharton made the first procession round the tables and proclaimed Dalkeith Grand Master, the Deputy and Grand Wardens being appointed in the latter's name. Grand Warden Sorell was then ordered to close the Lodge. Not a word to suggest the dispute about Desaguliers, and Wharton's resentment. The probably unveracious statement of the Grand Warden's closing the Lodge (there is no mention whatsoever of any such procedure in any of the Minutes) fittingly closes Anderson's achievement in suppressing the true and suggesting and even expressing the false. Anderson's offence is made the more rank by the fact that we chance to have a letter written by him to the Duke of Montagu on the 29th June, 1723, which includes the following passage:—"Your Grace's company would have been useful, because, though with unanimity they

chose the Earl of Dalkeith the Grand Master, represented by his proxy, the D[u]ke of W[harto]n endeavoured to divide us against Dr. Desaguliers (whom the Earl named for Deputy before his Lordship left London), according to a concert of the said D[u]ke and some he had persuaded that morning to join him; nor will the affair be well adjusted until the present Grand Master comes to London." ¹

Under date the 24th June, 1725, Anderson records a meeting (during Richmond's Grand Mastership) saying that the Grand Wardens were continued 6 months longer (p. 119). The Minutes state that Martin Folkes, Deputy Grand Master, was present (suggesting inferentially that the Grand Master was absent) and that Desaguliers declared for the Grand Master that "it was his Grace's pleasure to continue the Deputy and Grand Wardens in office for the next 6 months" (*Q.C.A.*, x., 62). The hitherto unsuspected explanation of this is to be found in a letter from Richmond to Folkes, dated 27th June, 1725, which is now available in its original form since the recent dispersal of the Folkes Correspondence ² and which is given only in an incomplete version on page 120 of the present Duke of Richmond's *A Duke and His Friends*, in which the Grand Master apologises to Folkes for the fact that "St. John's Day, being the *great and important day*, was entirely out of my head, so much that I have never since cast an eye upon the report of the Committee upon charity; which I ought to have returned a week ago," that is, Richmond had apparently forgotten to attend Grand Lodge, and Folkes and Desaguliers had to cover his absence as best they could.

A few minor errors of Anderson's may be mentioned parenthetically. Under date the 24th June, 1724, George Payne and Francis Sorell are given as Grand Wardens (p. 118), whereas the Minutes of Grand Lodge gives them in the reverse order.³ In his account of the procession of the 29th January, 1730 (p. 126), he gives the names of several Grand Masters present, together with those of Desaguliers, Payne, and Sayer. The Minutes of Grand Lodge omit the last three,⁴ and if only by reason of the fact that the unfortunate Sayer's mention in the Minutes is only for the recording of disciplinary or charitable action, there is no reason to think that Anderson here again was other than inaccurate. He records under date the 27th March, 1731, the appointment of Brother George Moody ⁵ as Sword-Bearer (p. 128). But on the 29th May, 1733, the Minutes ⁶ stated that a memorial on behalf of the Master of the Lodge at St. Paul's Head in Ludgate Street relating to his carrying the Grand Sword at the annual feast being offered to be read, the Deputy Grand Master replied that the Grand-Sword Bearer being an officer of Grand Lodge was therefore to be appointed by the Grand Master, and that the then Grand Master had appointed Moody to that office, and that Brother is in fact given as Sword-Bearer in the Minutes of the following meeting. Anderson therefore is some two years out in his dates. Begemann,⁷ who points out this mistake, then goes on to say: "In his description of the procession of 29th January 1729/30 he describes the Book of Constitutions as carried by the Master of the Senior Lodge in contradiction of the minutes themselves"; but Begemann's attempted correction is itself wrong, as the Minutes clearly state "The Book of Constitutions carried on the velvet cushion by the Master of the Senior Lodge." Either Begemann had overlooked this point or wishing to challenge Anderson's account of his alleged procession on 24th June, 1724 (which the Minutes of that date justify his doing), he has

¹ *A.Q.C.*, xii., 106.

² *A.Q.C.*, xliii., 255.

³ *Q.C.A.*, x., 58.
⁴ *Q.C.A.*, x., 116.
⁵ Anderson had previously mentioned (p. 127) under date the 29th January, 1730/1, that Moody, the King's Sword-Cutler, had been ordered to engrave the scabbard of the sword of Gustavus Adolphus.

⁶ *Q.C.A.*, x., 229-31.

⁷ *op. cit.*, i., 444 2.

mistakenly given the wrong date 1729/30, instead of 1724. In effect, what Anderson did was to give an account of a procession in 1729/30 correctly, but also and incorrectly to give one as having taken place in 1724.

There are some general points arising out of Anderson's treatment of contemporary history which require some mention. Begemann¹ deals at length with the figures of Lodges given for the earlier years which by reason of the regular order of their progress, and for other reasons, he finds suspicious, *i.e.*, 12, 16, 20, 24. Bro. Vibert has dealt with the point in his paper to which I have referred,² so that it is not necessary again to consider it in detail. He points out in Anderson's favour that with regard to the critical date 1722, Begemann's estimate does not greatly differ from our author's, and that even Begemann's estimate which is based on the list of Lodges signing the approbation of the 1723 edition is not necessarily reliable since that list may not be a chronological one. Briefly to summarise the position, Anderson's figures may be somewhat round, but they are possible, at any rate as a rough estimate; Begemann's objections are not very firmly based, and even if successfully upheld, would not greatly affect Anderson's version at the critical date.

If we examine the dates of the meetings of Grand Lodge as given in the *Book of Constitutions* for its quarterly assemblies from 1720 until June, 1722, we find them to be as follows:—

24th June 1720.	27th December 1720.	25th March 1721.
24th June 1721.	29th September 1721.	27th December 1721,
25th March 1722.	24th June 1722.	

That is, all the meetings given above were held either on the legal quarter-days or on the 27th December, St. John the Evangelist's Day, which was for a time the date of the yearly assembly of the Scottish Lodges, and of those in the North of England. But Begemann³ points out that an analysis of the dates of meetings as given in the official Minutes shows that on very few occasions did Grand Lodge meet on the quarter day, and that although from 1725-1729 (with one exception) it met on 27th December, yet it did not do so previous to the former year. Moreover, we ought to note a fondness for the 27th December which Anderson has shown in his historical portion. It will be recollected that to that date have been rather arbitrarily assigned by him both Queen Elizabeth's attack on the Order in 1561 and the Earl of St. Alban's Grand Lodge of 1663. (Although Roberts dates the general Assembly as the 8th December.) With regard to the alleged meeting of 27th December, 1721, at which Grand Master Montagu is stated to have appointed "14 learned Brothers" to examine and report on Anderson's MS., and which "was made very entertaining by the lectures of some old Masons," Stukeley⁴ has the following notice in his Diary under that date: "We met at the Fountain Tavern Strand and by consent of Grand master present, Dr. Beal [Deputy Grand Master] constituted a new Lodge there, where I was chose Master:—" If Stukeley's entry is correct—and there is no reason in the circumstances to doubt it—it is scarcely likely that both the Grand Master and his Deputy would have arranged to attend the consecration of a private Lodge on the day of meeting of Grand Lodge, going from one to the other.

Anderson's historical portion makes use of two famous phrases for which Grand Lodge Minutes afford no authority, which were probably his own invention, and of which one at any rate has been adopted by the Craft, and the other by the 'side' degrees:—

"Brother Payne having invested his Grace's Worship with the Ensigns and Badges of his office and authority, install'd him in Solomon's chair . . ."
1721, p. 113.

¹ *op. cit.*, ii., 65, *et. sqq.*

² *A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., 64-6.

³ *op. cit.*, ii., 64.

⁴ *Diary*, i., 60.

"The Duke [of Richmond and Lennox] having bow'd to the Assembly, Brother Dalkeith invested him with the proper Ensigns and Badges of his office and authority, install'd him in Solomon's Chair . . ." 1724, p. 118.

"and having invested him [*i.e.*, the Duke of Norfolk] and install'd him in Solomon's Chair." 1729/30, p. 126.

"John Beal, M.D. as his Deputy Grand Master, whom Brother Payne invested, and install'd him in Hiram Abbiff's chair . . ." 1721, p. 113.

"Martin Folkes, Esq. his Deputy Grand Master invested and install'd by the last Deputy in the Chair of Hiram Abbif." 1724, p. 118.

I do not know of any instance of earlier references to these Chairs, and if there is none, Anderson's references are of considerable interest in view of the spread of what we know as the Third Degree.

With regard to the meeting of the 27th November, 1725, Anderson in the historical portion gives it a very short notice, merely mentioning that Lord Paisley was proposed as the new Grand Master, and that "no Stewards being appointed," Brother Heidegger was desired to prepare the feast (p. 119). As a matter of fact, the meeting according to the Minutes¹ was of considerable importance as Grand Lodge then dealt with the arrangements for the Festival, the restoration to private Lodges of the power to make "Masters," the Committee for Charity, and the giving of security by the Grand Treasurer; and though many of these points are dealt with by Anderson in the administrative portion of his Book, we feel that some reference to them might have been made in the historical portion. There is no reference in the Minutes to Heidegger under the date given, but at the next meeting it is recorded that the healths were drunk of the Grand Steward J. J. Heidegger and his two Deputies, Potter and Lambert. Anderson gives the meeting of the 27th December, 1728, as taking place at Mercer's Hall (p. 123); the Minutes² as at Stationer's Hall—Preston of course copies the former. Anderson records under date the 25th November, 1729, that Kingston G.M. presented several articles of masonic furniture, a "curious pedestal," a cushion for its top, and a velvet bag and a badge of two gold pens for the Secretary. It is somewhat strange that although mention is made in the Minutes both of the Duke of Norfolk's gifts and of the famous consignment of arrack, Lord Kingston's generosity passed apparently unregarded therein: one wonders whether there is any trace of the gifts in the other records of Grand Lodge. Anderson's accounts of the meetings of the 28th August and the 15th December, 1730 (p. 127), both very short in view of the many matters which the Grand Lodge Minutes show to have been discussed there, make no mention of the attacks on and exposures of Masonry which had been published. Desaguliers at the August meeting³ had stood up and taking notice of a certain exposure had "recommended several things to the consideration of Grand Lodge" for preventing the admission of false brethren into Lodges, and Blackerby, Deputy Grand Master "seconded the Doctor and proposed several rules to the Grand Lodge to be observed in their respective Lodges for their security against all open and Secret Enemies to the Craft." In December⁴ Blackerby took notice of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* and condemned it, proposing that measures should be taken for the strict vouching of any persons visiting a Lodge. It is a remarkable fact that Anderson does not interrupt what by this time has become a perfunctory abstract of Grand Lodge meetings to deal with or even to mention these facts. It cannot be accounted unto him for righteousness that when it comes to matters which in the opinions of many led to a considerable alteration in the Masonic Secrets he apparently ignores them, and this in spite of the fact that at the August meeting he was actually present and acting as Senior Grand Warden.

¹ *Q.C.A.*, x., 63 ff.

² *Q.C.A.*, x., 93.

⁴ *Q.C.A.*, x., 125 ff.

³ *Q.C.A.*, x., 131 ff.

Anderson says that the Duke of Lorraine (afterwards husband of Maria Theresa and Emperor of Germany) was made an Enter'd Prentice and Fellow Craft at the Hague, and then he adds, putting this second statement between circumstances related under date respectively the 14th of May and the 24th of June, 1731, that he was made a Master Mason at Walpole's "house of Houghton-Hall in Norfolk," at an Occasional Lodge, by Lovel, Grand Master. According to Bro. Daynes, the Duke did not arrive in England until October and he did not get to Houghton until November. Bro. Daynes was of the opinion that Desaguliers conferred all three degrees at the Hague and that the Royal Mason was not raised at Houghton. Anderson, probably having in mind the introduction into Free Masonry of the Prince of Wales, has either assimilated or confused the two incidents.

VI. LIST OF GRAND MASTERS OR PATRONS OF THE FREE MASONS IN ENGLAND.

We have already seen that what Anderson was desired to do by Grand Lodge was "to print the names . . . of all the Grand Masters that could be collected from the beginning of time, together with a list of the names of all Deputy Grand Masters, Grand Wardens, and the Brethren that have served the Craft in quality of Stewards."¹ These recommendations he cannot be said to have carried out; his sins were both positive and negative. Grand Lodge had made no mention of patrons in its instructions, but Anderson has, in form at least, extended those instructions, although in spite of not being told to do so, he has limited the list to England. That he extended them in spirit is not so clear. A body which eighteen years after the formation of Grand Lodge and the first use of the term Grand Master asks an author to produce a list of all the Grand Masters who can be "collected from the beginning of time" is to all intents and purposes asking to be supplied with some such fantastic mixture of history and legend, fact and fiction, misnomer and anachronism as that which Anderson so obligingly compiled.

A minor fault of Anderson's is that though he has in the historical portion mentioned the other Grand Officers, yet he has compiled no such list of them as Grand Lodge had ordered him to do.

There is no occasion to deal in detail with the list given on pp. 140-142. Some of the names have been dealt with in considering the historical portion. Suffice it to say, that the list (except of course from 1717) is chiefly one of those whom either history or legend have handed down as patrons of the building art, together with a few craftsmen whose connection with anything like Freemasonry in the modern sense is far from being established.

Although the *Constitutions* of Anderson as has been said found general acceptance, yet even from early days there was an under-current of objection. As far back as the *Briscoe MS.* its author takes serious objection to Anderson's history, points out that he makes the term Freemasonry cover too wide a ground, and as a matter of historical detail points out that there is no record of either Charles II. or William III. having been Freemasons.

And Dermott, in the *Ahiman Rezon* states his view as follows:—

"Query, whether such histories are of any use in the secret mysteries of the craft" p. i.

" . . . I immediately fancied myself an Historian, and intended to trace Masonry, not only to Adam, in his sylvan lodge in Paradise, but to give some account of the craft even before the Creation. And (as a foundation) I placed the following works round about me, so as to be convenient to have

¹ *Q.C.A.*, x., 251.

recourse to them as occasion should require, viz: Doctor Anderson immediately before me.

" . . . I tied up in the public *Advertiser* of Friday, October 19, 1753, and threw them under the table " p. ii.

VII. THE OLD CHARGES.

It is proposed only to deal here with the differences between these as given in 1723 and in 1738.

In view of the changes which have taken place in the head-lines, for purposes of comparison I set out those in the two editions and trace the subsequent changes.

First Edition: " The | Charges | of a | Free-Mason, | extracted from | the ancient Records of Lodges | beyond Sea, and of those in England, Scotland, | and Ireland, for the use of the Lodges in London: | to be read | at the making of New Brethren, or when the | Master shall order it."

Second Edition: " The old | Charges | of the | Free and Accepted Masons, | collected by the author from their old Records, at the | Command of the Grand Master the present Duke of | Montagu.

" Approved by the Grand Lodge, and order'd to be printed in | the first Edition of the Book of Constitutions on 25 March 1722."

1756 Edition as in 1738, save that the words "by the author" and "the present Duke of Montagu" are omitted.

1767 Edition. Same as in 1756.

1784 Edition has merely " Antient Charges: | Collected from Old Records."

1815 and 1819 Editions return to a slightly modified form of the 1723 edition:—

" The | Charges | of a | Free-Mason | extracted from | the Antient Records of Lodges beyond Sea | and of those in | England, Scotland, and Ireland | For the Use of Lodges | To be read | at the making of New Brethren, or when | the Master shall order it.

" Now republished by Order of the Grand Lodge."

All the subsequent editions follow the 1819 save that that of 1827 is the only one of them to have the words "Now republished [etc.]" That of 1841 and its successors have merely "published." The expression "old" used in connection with the Charges in 1738 and ever afterwards is something of a misnomer. In the form given they were no older than the first edition, and are in fact nothing more than Anderson's version of the genuine "Old Charges." Each of his two versions, the 1723 and 1738 contains the same seven charges, the "Finally" of the earlier being split up, part becoming a (new) Section Seven of the Sixth Charge, and part a separately numbered and headed Charge "Concerning Law-suits" in the later, but the wording and arrangement are altered in many places.

We have already discussed the religious question arising out of the First Charge, and suggested an origin for the expression Noachida, occurring in the later edition. The statement that in ancient times Masons were charged in every country to be of the religion of that country is amended to Christian Masons complying with the Christian usages. Begemann¹ sees in this only one more of Anderson's myths, since the latter knew no more of foreign Masonry than was to be found in the old texts, or than he had heard of its spread since 1723. He sees in the alteration only a recognition of the practice which had grown up of

¹ *op. cit.*, ii., 206.

admitting non-Christians. With regard to the reference to the "3 great Articles of Noah" which follows, the same authority, working from the reference to Brotherly Love or Love and Friendship in both editions, the emphasis laid on Charity in early Freemasonry, and the frequent references to Truth, and quoting "The Grand Mystery of Free-Masons Discovered" of 1724, and Drake's Oration of 1726, considers these to be the famous Masonic triad of Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth.

Bro. Vibert's view¹—a much simpler one—is that we can deduce from Anderson's text "that there was a stock phrase in use in the Lodges; the mason is to be a good man and true and strictly to obey the moral law, and that it is this sentence which is an echo of the text in Genesis 'Noah was a just man and perfect and walked with God' that constituted the Grand Articles of Noah." I confess I prefer this explanation.

Bro. Crawley² says that "the subsequent modifications of their language, particularly in that of the Second Charge will serve as an index to the spirit that actuated the Brotherhood. The Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) abandoned the version of 1738 throughout the remainder of the century, and reverted to the version of 1723, which formed the groundwork of the Irish version of 1730. The Grand Lodge of Ireland on the other hand, abandoned the original version of 1730 and adopted, in 1751, Anderson's later version of 1738. This, in its turn, entailed the adoption of the Irish form by the Grand Lodge of the Antients, whose *Ahiman Rezon* follows the Irish *Book of Constitutions* of 1751. The first two editions of the *Ahiman Rezon* reproduced the Charge without comment, but, in the third edititon, 1778, Laurence Dermott appended the following pithy note:—

"That is, he [the Brother convicted of disloyalty] is still a Mason, though the Brethren may refuse to associate with him: However, in such case, he forfeits all benefit from the Lodge."

Immediately after the suppression of the Rebellion of 1798, the Grand Lodge of Ireland, by solemn resolution, decided to omit for the future the concluding clause of the Charge "beginning with the word 'but,' and ending with the word 'indefeasible.' This Resolution continued in force during the nineteenth century. In June, 1899, the Grand Lodge of Ireland reverted to the Old Charges which they had adopted in 1730"

In the later version the Second Charge is less than one-half that of the earlier, although the effect is much the same. In 1738 the Third Charge is much extended on the whole, though some portion of the earlier version is dropped. The latter had spoken of particular and general Lodges, which would be best understood by attendance, "and by the Regulations of the general or grand Lodge hereunto annexed"; the former omits the reference to general lodges. The 1738 version is much more operative in character. To the qualifications are added, "hail and sound, not deformed or dismember'd at the time of their making . . . no eunuch," and then follows a new paragraph, still with a reminiscence of the old operatives, and a not unskilful mingling of operative and speculative: "When men of quality, eminence, wealth and learning apply to be made, they are to be respectfully accepted, after due examination: For such often prove good lords (or founders) of work, and will not employ cowans when true Masons can be had; they also make the best officers of Lodges, and the best designers, to the honour and strength of the Lodge: Nay, from among them, the Fraternity can have a noble Grand Master. But those Brethren are equally subject to the Charges and Regulations, except in what more immediately concerns operative Masons."

¹ Somerset M.L. Trans., 1927, 110-1.

² A.Q.C., xxiv., 56.

The Fourth Charge is half as long again in 1723 as in 1738. A comparison of the two versions is interesting as showing the now established position of the Master Mason. Previously Anderson had spoken of a candidate becoming an Apprentice and then a Fellow-Craft, so that if qualified he may be capable in succession of becoming Warden and then Master of a private Lodge, and Grand Warden and, if worthy, Grand Master. He could not become a Warden until he had been a Fellow-Craft, Master until he had been Warden, nor Grand Master until he had been Master. Anderson now says that a Prentice may when of age and expert, become an Enter'd Prentice and on "due improvements" a Fellow-Craft and Master Mason; the Wardens are chosen from among the Master-Masons, and (save in extraordinary cases) every Master must have served as Warden and every Grand Warden as Master. Whereas in 1723, as Anderson states, a Grand Master must have been a Fellow Craft before election and of noble or gentle birth or of personal distinction, in 1738 it is laid down that he must have served as Master of a Lodge. But Anderson's statements with regard to the necessary qualifications for a Master Mason seem not altogether borne out by certain facts we know of. Hughan in *The Origin of the English Rite*, p. 58, says that "There was a disinclination to proceed to the Third Degree manifested by many brethren during the early part of the 18th century, and there seems to have been some little truth, at least, in the assertion made in 1730: 'There is not one Mason in a hundred that will be at the expense to pass the Master's part.' As late as 1752, when the first Provincial Grand Master of Cornwall was installed, the Brother who presided was only a Fellow Craft." Further to our argument, Hughan states (p. 46) that "The two Wardens who were 'passed' as Masters in 1729, had been elected as Wardens previously," so the "Third" was not a prerequisite for office at that time, neither was it for years later, many brethren being content with their status as Fellow Crafts (p. 48). At a lodge meeting on the 3rd December, 1734, Sir Cecil Wray was re-elected Master and nominated his Wardens, but as these and several other Brethren worthy of the Master's degree had not been called thereto, Wray directed that a Lodge of Masters should be held on the 30th inst. at which they were admitted.

The Fifth Charge differs in the two versions, but chiefly in the recognition in the later of the trigadal system, and in the use of new Masonic terms which have since become part and parcel of the Craft. For "the most expert of the Fellow-Craftsmen" from whom the Master is to be chosen, we have "a Master Mason"; "nor shall Free Masons work with those that are not free" becomes "Free and Accepted Masons shall not allow Cowans to work with them."

In the Sixth Charge the second paragraph of the first section is abbreviated in 1738, but on the other hand the second half of the second Section of 1723 is cut off and made a third paragraph to the first Section of 1738. In both editions we get a reference to $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{The Catholic religion above-mentioned} \\ \text{the oldest Catholic religion above hinted,} \end{array} \right.$ *i.e.*, to "that Religion in which all men agree" of the First Charge. Sections three to six are substantially the same in both, but differ in phraseology and in length.

The forbidding of the forcing a Brother to eat or drink beyond his inclination in Section two gives Anderson an opportunity of referring it to "the Old Regulation of King Ahasuerus" quoted by him from the first chapter of the Book of Esther on page 24 of the historical portion.

As has been stated, the concluding paragraph of the 1723 version is split up. The exhortation to observe the Charges which begins it is taken out and made the conclusion in 1738, more logically, perhaps. The next portion becomes Section seven of the Sixth Charge, and the remainder is divided and becomes two paragraphs of a new Seventh Charge—in most cases, as we might expect, with many verbal alterations.

VIII. THE ANTIENT MANNER OF CONSTITUTING A LODGE.

As the 1738 version of this does not greatly differ from that of 1723, and as the "Manner" has been fully treated in Bro. Vibert's paper,¹ there is little that it is necessary to say here. With regard to the later edition he points out that the reference to Wharton in the heading is now omitted, not to be included again until the first post-Union edition in 1815. It is noteworthy that although the Charges, as has been pointed out, show signs of the trigadal system, yet this portion still retains the Fellow-Craft's as, so to speak, the qualifying degree for constitution and installation. Bro. Vibert states that neither "in the Manner nor in the Regulations is it anywhere laid down that the Master shall have served the office of Warden." This is as it stands correct, but one might usefully add that in the Fourth Charge—1723 edition (p. 52)—it is stated that a Brother cannot be a Master until he has acted as a Warden, and in the 1738 edition (p. 145) this is repeated, subject to exception in "extraordinary cases," or when "a Lodge is to be formed where none can be had," for then three mere Master Masons may be constituted Master and Wardens of the new Lodge.

The later edition has a new conclusion (p. 151): "This is the sum, but not the whole ceremonial by far; which the Grand Officers can extend or abridge at pleasure, explaining things that are not fit to be written: though none but those that have acted as Grand Officers can accurately go through all the several parts and usages of a new Constitution in the just solemnity."

This is one of those rather cryptic observations in which Anderson seems occasionally to delight. Bro. Speth² has however accepted it as conclusive evidence of a ceremonial and held that to doubt the ceremony of Constitution is "to cast a doubt on the origin of our present system."

IX. THE GENERAL REGULATIONS.

In view of the lengthy treatment which the earlier version has received at the hands of Bro. Vibert,³ all that need be done here is to compare the version given in 1738 with that given in 1723.

Once again we see considerable verbal and indeed substantial changes in the headings of the two versions. In particular the later omits the limiting phrase "for the use of the Lodges in and about Westminster" in view of the great extension of the Craft that had taken place meanwhile. Anderson's object was to set out the Old Regulations and to add in a distinct opposite column, as he says, "the New Regulations, or the alterations, improvements and explications of the Old, made by several Grand Lodges, since the first edition." Now the left-hand column should according to this be a verbatim reprint of those published in 1723, but so far from this being the case, throughout the whole thirty-nine I have found only one instance, that of No. 30, where there has not been some variation, even if often only a slight one, between the original and what in effect purports to be an exact reproduction. Moreover, the so-called "New Regulations" are not regulations at all. The Old Regulations were a code, or at least a digest. The New are little more than a jumble of resolutions of Grand Lodge (sometimes appositely quoted in extension, qualification, or amendment of the Old, and sometimes not), foot-notes and pious hopes, their insertion in many cases obviously dictated by the typographical necessity of placing some attempt at a New Regulation in the right-hand column opposite to one of the "Old."

In an Appendix I have brought together the more important changes introduced by Anderson in his 1738 version of the "Old Regulations."

¹ A.Q.C., xxxvi., 62-3.

² A.Q.C., viii., 214.

³ A.Q.C., xxxv., 56-62.

We have now within the limits of our space to consider the alleged "New Regulations."

Old Regulation One had laid it down that the Grand Master had a full right to preside at a private Lodge at which he was present, but that if the Grand Wardens were also present he need not ask them to act as Werdans, but might ask the Wardens of the Lodge or any other Master-Masons: in 1738 Anderson amends this by saying that the Grand Wardens must act, if present. In view of the scantiness of the early Minutes of private Lodges it is difficult to find out exactly what the practice was, but I shall quote two instances which may guide us in our conclusion. On 24th June, 1730, the Duke of Norfolk, Grand Master, and his officers attended the Lodge of Antiquity,¹ and "the Grand Master was received with the Honors of Masonry and every respect shewn to him and his company by the Right Worshipful Master in the chair *who presided during the whole evening.*" (The italics are mine.) Bro. Dixon, in the extracts from the Minutes of Lodge No. 28 given in his *History of Freemasonry in Lincolnshire* (p. 13), quotes the following passage:—"There were present also the Rt. Worshpl. Sr. Cecil Wray Bart. late Deputy Grand Master and the Rt. Honble the Lord Loudon Grand Master did this Lodge the Honour of a visit and they favoured the Society with their company to midnight when the Lodge was closed by the officers of the Lodge." We see that in neither of these cases did the Grand Officers apparently occupy their corresponding chairs in the private Lodge.

It would appear that the procedure varied according to whether or not the visit was "in form." Although it is much later than the period under consideration, an extract from a letter of Dr. Manningham, Deputy Grand Master, under date the 13th July, 1757,² seems to show the distinction: "Whenever they [*i.e.*, the Grand Master or Deputy Grand Master] honour a private Lodge with a visit, the Master of such Lodge immediately resigns the chair to them, if they choose to accept it, for they have votes and preside over all Lodges by Virtue of their high Office; when they visit in Form, they always take the chair, but if the visit is private, they accept or refuse it as they think proper; the Grand Wardens never act as Grand Wardens, but when the Grand Master or his Deputy presides." It should be borne in mind that at the time Manningham gave his ruling, the only written authority of Grand Lodge governing the point was a textual re-enactment of Anderson's Old and New Regulations.

In an addition to the Second Regulation, it is noted in the margin "but was neglected to be recorded"; and with this we can compare the entry as part of New Regulation xiii., "tho' forgotten to be recorded in the Grand Lodge Book"—25th November, 1723. This entry rather sets one wondering "where." There are no Minutes existing before 24th June, 1723, on which date William Cowper was appointed apparently the first Secretary. Were there in fact rough notes of the meetings in existence before this date from which Anderson obtained his account of the earlier meetings, or did he rely on his own and his friends' recollection, and if so why does he single out this particular item as omitted from the record? And were they not signed at the time? Bros. Lane³ and Rylands⁴ think it probable there were lists and notes accessible to Anderson or he may have used the recollections of his friends.

In the Third Regulation it is stated that during the Mastership of Dalkeith (1723-4) "a list of all the Lodges was engraven by Brother John Pyne in a very small volume." Now Bro. Lane⁵ says that "the other List of 1723 was engraved, and was, probably, the first ever published; but no copy is known to be in

¹ W. H. Rylands: *History of the Lodge of Antiquity*, i., 11.

² *A.Q.C.*, v., 110.

³ *Handy Book to List of Lodges*, pp. 3 and 4.

⁴ *History of Lodge of Antiquity*, i., 37.

⁵ *Handy Book to List of Lodges*, p. 5.

existence; for that in Grand Lodge, generally designated as of the year 1723, is actually a List of 1724 . . . in five small pages . . . at the foot of the fourth page is the imprint 'Printed for and sold by Eman. Bowen, Engraver in Aldersgate Street' manifestly indicating that this was the last page of a former List issued in 1723, to which a fifth page was added in 1724." But Lane has overlooked the fact that the ornamental heading of the List contains not only the words "Earl of Dalkeith Grand Master 1723" but also "J. Pine, Sculp." So that Anderson's statement is perfectly correct, although Bowen may have been responsible for the additional matter in 1724. After this note Anderson gives three resolutions of Grand Lodge, only one of which is even remotely connected with Old Regulation Three.

While the old Fourth Regulation deals with the age of initiation and the number of initiates to be taken at one meeting, the corresponding new Regulation deals with the Number of Lodges a Brother may belong to—quite a different topic.

It may be pointed out that certain resolutions passed by Grand Lodge on the 19th February, 1723, are separated by Anderson, part being given in New Regulation Four, part in Six, and part in Eight.

New Regulation Five is in effect but a note to Old Regulation Five.

New Regulation Six is a revision of Old Regulation Six by making complete unanimity in admitting a new member no longer necessary.

New Regulation Seven contains only a reference to the Account of the Constitution of the General Charity, and a note giving private Lodges power to make their own charitable arrangements.

New Regulation Eight consists of several resolutions concerning clandestine and irregular "makings" and Lodges which cease their functions. We may note this as evidence of the increasing authority of Grand Lodge, and call to mind prosecutions, *e.g.*, that of Sayer, for irregular or clandestine makings.

New Regulation Nine deals with the removal of Lodges, although the corresponding Old Regulation had dealt with ill-conducted and disobedient brethren, quite a different matter.

New Regulation Ten in extension of Old Regulation Ten which limited private brethren to giving their opinion in Grand Lodge through their Master and Wardens, allows them in a "sudden Emergency" to speak on leave being given.

New Regulation Eleven is merely a note to the corresponding Old Regulation.

New Regulation Twelve gives the resolutions extending membership of Grand Lodge to past Grand Officers and also certain resolutions concerning the wearing of jewels.

With regard to New Regulation Thirteen it should be said that Anderson wrongly gives the date of this important resolution as the 22nd instead of the 27th of November, 1725. He states the terms of the resolution as follows:—"The Master of a Lodge with his Wardens and a competent number of the Lodge assembled in due Form, can make Masters and Fellows at Discretion." In fact, as we learn from the reprinted Minutes of Grand Lodge, the real resolution was as follows:—"A Motion being made that such part of the 13th Article of the General Regulations relating to the making of Masters only at a Quarterly Communication, may be repealed, and that the Master of each Lodge with the consent of his Wardens and the majority of the Brethren being Masters may make Masters at their discretion. Agreed Nem Con." Anderson has therefore suggested that there were three classes of Masons instead of two and also, if we take him literally and the old and the new versions together, would have implied that previously the making not only of Masters but also of Fellow Craft was confined to Grand Lodge, which is absurd. Generally it may be said that this

Regulation is that of the whole series which has given rise to most controversy, and, as Bro. Songhurst¹ has said, is the basis of much that has been written on the subject of degrees. He pertinently adds that the alteration, *i.e.*, the restoration of the power to private Lodges, was made immediately after certain brethren who were members of a regular Lodge as well as of the Philo Musicæ Societas had been summoned for making Masons irregularly.

Anderson states in para. 4 of the same Regulation that Grand Lodge appointed Cowper Secretary, but that since then "the new Grand Master upon his commencement appoints the Secretary, or continues him by returning him the books," but we learn from the Minutes that on 17th April, 1728,² the Grand Master having appointed Reid Secretary would not insist on the appointment without their unanimous consent—*i.e.*, of Grand Lodge.

In New Regulation Fourteen Anderson states that it is the right of the Grand Wardens to preside in the absence of the Grand Master and his Deputy and that it has been since found that the Old Lodges "never put in the chair the Master of a particular Lodge unless there were no Grand Wardens present." One asks where and how it had been found, and why? He apparently adopts this method of concealing his previous error or inadvertence.

In the Fifteenth Regulation it is stated that "if no former Grand Wardens are in company, the Grand Master, or he that presides, calls forth whom he pleases to act as Grand Wardens *pro tempore*." One rather wonders whether, if this was so, Anderson's title to Grand Wardenship was due to this rule or practice, and whether Hawkins being absent on the occasion of the meeting of 24th June, 1723, Wharton asked our author to act as the erased entry suggests.

New Regulation Sixteen is a good instance of Anderson's method and of the fact that many of these New Regulations are used merely to fill up space. It runs as follows:—

1. This was intended for the ease of the Grand Master and for the honour of the Deputy.
2. No such case has happened in our Time and all Grand Masters have governed more by Love than Power.
3. No irregular applications have been made to the Grand Master in our Time.

Even as footnotes these observations would be at best perfunctory, but to constitute them a Regulation is absurd.

The Seventeenth Regulation lays it down that if a former Grand Officer is at the moment an officer of a private Lodge, he still sits and votes in the former capacity, and can depute a member of the private Lodge to act as its representative.³

New Regulation Eighteen refers to the custom of appointing the Senior Grand Warden to act as Deputy if the latter is absent, and adds two perfunctory notes regarding cases of dissension between the Grand Master and his officers.

New Regulation Nineteen is a mere 'Heaven forbid' to Old Regulation Nineteen.

We are fortunate in finding confirmation of the Twentieth Regulation, which is to the effect that when the Deputy Grand Master visits a Lodge without the Grand Master, he himself acts in that capacity; the Senior Grand Warden acts as Deputy; the Junior, as the Senior. In Bro. Calvert's *History of the Old King's Arms Lodge*,⁴ we find an extract from the Minutes under date

¹ *Q.C.A.*, x., 64 note (a).

² *Q.C.A.*, x., 85.

³ There may be mentioned a case where on Lord Weymouth becoming Grand Master, while still the Master of the Old King's Arms Lodge (No. 28), the Chair of No. 23 *ipso facto* became vacant and Sir Cecil Wray was elected in his stead (*A.Q.C.*, xviii., 91).

⁴ p. 6.

11th March, 1736, to the effect that a number of Grand Officers including John Ward, Deputy Grand Master, acting as Grand Master; Sir Edward Mansell, Senior Grand Warden as Deputy; Martin Clare, Junior Grand Warden as Senior Grand Warden; and Sir Robert Lawley, Master of the Steward's Lodge acting as Junior Grand Warden *pro tempore* "did the Society the honour of a visit in form."

New Regulation Twenty-One is an extension of Old Regulation Twenty-One.

Regulation Twenty-Two states that on the 25th November, 1723, "it was ordain'd that one of the Quarterly Communications shall be held on St. John Evangelist's Day, and another on St. John Baptist's Day every year" The Minutes¹ put the matter differently and say that the question was put and agreed *nem. con.* "Whether the Master and Wardens of the several Lodges have not power to regulate all things relating to Masonry at these Quarterly Meetings one of which must be on St. John Baptist's Day." Begemann² notes that since 1724, Grand Lodge has kept St. John Baptist's Day, and though a resolution to transfer the Festival to 27th December in accordance with Scottish usage was passed on 20th May, 1725, it has rarely been acted on. It may be added that in 1737 the Grand Lodge of Scotland resolved to hold their Annual Election on St. Andrew's Day, instead of St. John the Baptist's.

Anderson's account in Regulation Twenty-Three of the various resolutions passed regarding the choice, duties, &c., of the Stewards is substantially accurate, but as is not unusual he goes wrong in his introductory passage: "The Grand Wardens were antiently assisted by a certain number of Stewards at every Feast, or by some general undertakers of the whole." He has himself noted under date 25th March, 1721 (p. 112) that "the Grand Wardens were ordered, as usual, to prepare the Feast, and to take some Stewards to their assistance, Brothers of ability and capacity, and to appoint some Brethren to attend the tables; for that no strangers must be there. But the Grand Officers not finding a proper number of Stewards, our Brother Mr. Josiah Villeneau, Upholder in the Borrough Southwark, generously undertook the whole himself, attended by some waiters" It is not until the 27th December, 1725, that the Minutes state³ that a health was drunk "to the Grand Steward, viz., John James Heidegger, and his two Deputies viz. John Potter and Mr. Lambert with thanks for their handsome and elegant entertainment." Anderson's version (p. 119) is that "no Stewards being appointed, Grand Master Richmond desired our Brother John James Heidegger to prepare the Feast in the best manner." (27th November, 1725.) It would appear from the Minutes that the proper arrangements of the Feast and the choice of Stewards developed gradually, and that, at the earlier meetings of Grand Lodge, the appointing of a Steward was somewhat casual. The "anciently" is a mere flourish of Anderson's, and though according to him we have in Villeneau an instance of "some general undertaker of the whole" it is incorrect for him to state with regard even to the earlier period (if in his favour we may so interpret "anciently") that "the Grand Wardens were assisted by . . . Stewards at every Feast."

New Regulation Twenty-Five (p. 169) is a mere note. 17th November, 1725, is apparently a misprint for 27th November, 1725.

In New Regulation Twenty-Six Anderson states that "The Tylers and other Servants, within or without Doors, are now appointed only by the Stewards," this being his amendment of the Old Regulation that the Grand Master appointed "Porters and Doorkeepers." His statement receives confirmation from the account of the proceedings in Grand Lodge on 8th June, 1732,⁴ when the Stewards made a complaint to Grand Lodge that they having

¹ *Q.C.A.*, x., 53.

² *op. cit.*, ii., 232 note.

³ *Q.C.A.*, x., 69.

⁴ *Q.C.A.*, x., 220-1.

“employed Brother Lewis as an attendant upon them at the last Grand Feast, he had misconducted himself in his office, and on his publicly asking pardon of the Stewards he was forgiven.”

In Regulation Twenty-Eight Anderson states that “In antient times the Master, Wardens and Fellows on St. John’s Day met either in a monastery, or on the top of the highest hill near them, by peep of day.” For this there would seem to be some authority at any rate in tradition. The practice of the Lodge of Aberdeen has been mentioned in dealing with Anderson’s Scottish days, and there is also the legendary gathering at St. Rook’s Hill, Goodwood, of which the most substantial evidence is the entry in the *Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer* of the 17th May, 1720 (No. 264):—“A few days since, their Graces the Dukes of Richmond and Montagu, accompanied by several gentlemen, who were all Free and Accepted Masons, according to ancient custom, form’d a Lodge upon the top of a hill near the Duke of Richmond’s seat, at Goodwood in Sussex, and made the Right Honourable the Lord Baltimore a Free and Accepted Mason.”

New Regulation Twenty-Nine explains that the corresponding Old Regulation regarding the election of the Grand Master was inconvenient, and then gives the arrangements made on the 27th December, 1720, which were carried out at the election on Lady Day, 1721. As the Old Regulations of the first edition are stated by Anderson to have been compiled first by Payne in 1720, approved by Grand Lodge on St. John the Baptist Day, 1721, and digested with explanations by himself, why were not these inconveniences and amendments referred to in 1723? Is it not more probable that, as has been suggested earlier, the so-called resolution of 1720 is merely one formulated by Anderson for his second edition?

New Regulations Thirty to Thirty-Five, some dealing with, *e.g.*, the saying of grace, or the seating arrangements at the Grand Feast, others being mere notes, are briefly dismissed by Begemann as idle additions of Anderson’s own. We may note with regard to Thirty-Five, laying it down *inter alia* that a Deputy is appointed when the Grand Master is nobly born, that in Scotland (perhaps Anderson had this in mind when he wrote) an operative mason was appointed as Deputy when the Deacon or Warden was a nobleman or a laird.

New Regulation Thirty-Six deals with proxies.

New Regulation Thirty-Seven is a mere note, as is Thirty-Eight.

Regulation Thirty-Nine is of so remarkable a character in view of the incidents on which it is founded that forgiveness may be had for quoting it in full:—

“On the 24th June 1723 at the Feast, the G. Lodge before dinner made this Resolution, that *it is not in the power of any man or body of men to make any alteration or innovation in the body of Masonry, without the consent first obtain’d of the G. Lodge.* And on 25th November 1723 the G. Lodge in Ample Form resolved that *any G. Lodge duly met has a power to amend or explain any of the printed Regulations in the Book of Constitutions, while they break not in upon the antient Rules of the Fraternity. But that no Alterations shall be made in this printed Book of Constitutions without Leave of the G. Lodge.*

Accordingly:

All the Alterations or New Regulations above written are only for amending or explaining the Old Regulations for the good of Masonry, without breaking in upon the antient Rules of the Fraternity, still preserving the Old Land Marks; and were made at several times, as Occasion offer’d, by the Grand Lodge, who have an inherent power of amending what may be thought inconvenient, and ample authority of making New Regulations for the good of Masonry, without the consent of all the Brethren at the Grand Annual Feast; which has not been disputed since the said 24th June 1721 [*? 1723*] for the members of

the G. Lodge are truly the representatives of all the Fraternity, according to Old Regulation X.

And so on 6 April 1736

John Wood Esq. D. Grand Master in the Chair proposed a New Regulation of 10 Rules for explaining what concern'd the decency of Assemblies and Communications; which was agreed to by that Grand Lodge"—and then follow the 10 New Regulations.

Bro. Vibert¹ has set out the account that the Minutes give of these incidents, and we shall adopt his translation of them into the language of a modern meeting. It was proposed (? and seconded) that the General Regulations approved on the 17th January, 1723, "be confirmed so far as they are consistent with the ancient Rules of Masonry." An amendment to omit the words "so far . . . Masonry" was negatived. But in place of the original proposition the following resolution was adopted by a majority:—"That it is not in the power of any person or body of men to make any alterations or innovation in the body of Masonry without the consent first obtained of the Annual Grand Lodge." So that in fact the 1723 Constitutions were never fully sanctioned. Brother Songhurst² suggests that the apparent dispute "arose in regard to the power of Brethren at a Quarterly Communication to amend or alter the Regulations, for according to Regulation 39 (old version), this could only be done at the Annual Meeting," when the amendments or alterations had to "be offer'd to the perusal of all the Brethren before dinner in writing, even of the youngest Enter'd Prentice." That is, the question was one of the Annual Grand Feast as against the Quarterly Communication.

With regard to Anderson's account of what he claims was the Resolution of 25th November, 1723, the only entry at all relevant in the reprinted Minutes³ is as follows:—"Whether the Masters and Wardens of the several Lodges have not power to regulate all things relating to Masonry at their Quarterly Meetings. One of which must be on St. John Baptist Day. Agreed Nem. Con." It is relevant to our point that even this Resolution is suggested by Bro. Songhurst to be directed against the attempted enlargement of the Grand Master's power at the expense of Grand Lodge.

How then do the facts appear from Anderson's version and in what way has he used them? There is reason to believe that there was opposition to or at least suspicion of any changes in the "Old Charges." It was to them that a certain sacrosanctity attached. Anderson so to speak throws forward the dispute. He places the conflict as between the *Book of Constitutions* and its revision, whereas it was rather between the "Old Charges" and their revision in the *Book of Constitutions* itself. So little was his printed *Book of Constitutions* held in veneration that it would certainly seem as though Grand Lodge refused to confirm it. He has disingenuously given such a twist to the facts as to raise doubts of his honesty. Taking the resolution against the making of alterations or innovations which was directly against, or at least in limitation or qualification of his own work, he has quoted it as fortifying that work with the traditional sanctity of the Craft. Moreover, in his version of the November resolution he has added a marked reference and an additional protection to his book by adding words which did not appear and which he must have known did not appear in the Minutes, to a resolution which was probably directed to a point irrelevant to the issue which he raised. It is a device ingenious, but which being discovered recoils on its inventor.

To conclude our examination of the "Old" and the "New" Regulations, Anderson's account of what he calls "a New Regulation of 10 Rules" passed

¹ A.Q.C., xxxvi., 60 ff.

² Q.C.A., x., 50 note (b).

³ Q.C.A., x., 53 and note.

on 6th April, 1736, is substantially (though, as might be supposed, not verbally) accurate, save that the official Minutes call them "Laws" (he is still anxious to use his own terms wherever possible) and that they are nine and not ten—our author has divided one of them.

X. THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF MASONS CHARITY.

On the whole this portion is fairly well and accurately treated by Anderson, and requires little comment.

The fourth resolution of the 31st March, 1734, required only the name of the petitioner¹; it did not require his calling also, as Anderson states.

Under date the 6th April, 1738, he merely says that "the Treasurer Blakerby, having justly cleared his accounts, and stated the balance, thought fit to demit or lay down his office. Upon which the Secretary Revis was appointed Treasurer [etc.]," and does not mention the incidents preceding Blakerby's resignation. It appears from the Minutes² that the Committee of Charity had recommended that the Treasurer should give security for the moneys in his possession, his own bond to be sufficient, apparently. Some brethren however required that some other person should join the Treasurer in the bond, and this proposal being carried, Brother Blakerby, a faithful servant of Grand Lodge, the Housekeeper to the House of Lords, and a man of substance (perhaps partly as in succession the fortunate husband of two rich widows), feeling not perhaps unreasonably that his retention of the office was not consistent with his dignity, forthwith thanked the Brethren and resigned.

XI. A LIST OF THE LODGES IN AND ABOUT LONDON AND WESTMINSTER.

XII. DEPUTATIONS OF SEVERAL GRAND MASTERS . . .

Anderson prefaces his list by saying that "Many Lodges have by accidents broken up, or are partition'd, or else removed to new places for their convenience, and so, if subsisting, they are called and known by those new places or their signs. But the subsisting Lodges, whose officers have attended the Grand Lodge or Quarterly Communication, and brought their Benevolence to the General Charity within 12 months past, are here set down according to their seniority of Constitution, as in the Grand Lodge-Books, and the Engraven List." It was not until after some years that the precedence of Lodges was settled and it was only on 27th December, 1727,³ that the four officers of Grand Lodge were asked to report on the matter with a view to its settlement, and on the 17th April⁴ following "most of the Lodges present delivered the dates of the time of their being constituted into Lodges, in order to have precedency in the printed book," although even on 25th June, 1728,⁵ there were still some who had not given the required information. Bro. Lane⁶ points out that these Metropolitan Lodges occupy a separate portion of the List and are numbered consecutively from 1 to 106, so that the numbering does not agree with that of the official Engraved List. The Lodges are arranged in three columns, for the "Signs of the Houses," "Dates of Constitution," and "Days of Forming" (*i.e.*, of Meeting). The Three Lodges at the end of the List have no dates of Constitution, although their days of meeting are given, and to the first of these three "104, Checker Charing Cross" are added the words "have petition'd to be constituted" (presumably meant to include the second and third also). Now as the Lodge at "the Checker"

¹ *Q.C.A.*, x., 251.

² *Q.C.A.*, x., 298-9.

³ *Q.C.A.*, x., 81-2.

⁴ *Q.C.A.*, x., 83.

⁵ *Q.C.A.*, x., 87.

⁶ *Handy Book to List of Lodges*, pp. 35-6

was in fact constituted on 27th January, 1739, Lane is of the opinion that Anderson's second edition was not in fact published until that year. But it is at least possible that the added words merely show that it had not yet been formally constituted. The regular dates of meetings are given, and the Lodge may quite well have met—and on those dates—before Constitution, which ceremony frequently followed at some interval the *de facto* forming of the Lodge.

After the List of Metropolitan Lodges comes the "Deputations of several Grand Masters to Wales, the Country [*i.e.*, the Provinces] of England, and foreign parts." It is to be noted that in the English Section (there are only the two Provincial Grand Masterships in the Welsh) there is a separation between those of the "Deputations" which are directed to individuals appointing them to Provincial Grand Masterships, and the other cases in which the Grand Master is said to have granted Deputations "at the request of some good brothers in cities and towns throughout England, for constituting the following Lodges . . ." In the latter case what is meant is that for reasons of distance or otherwise it being inconvenient for the Grand Master or his Deputy to be present in order formally to constitute the Lodge, he has deputed certain other Brethren to attend on his behalf in order to perform that function. But in the section of those "sent beyond Sea," as Lane¹ points out, the two classes are mixed up indiscriminately. The same authority² further states:—

- (1) that Anderson has omitted from his overseas list No. 126 "Boston in New England";
- (2) that the Deputation for Gibraltar was not granted by Inchiquin (Grand Master Feb.-Dec. 1727) but by Kingston (Grand Master 9th March 1728/9);
- (3) The Lodge at the Hague did not appear in the Register until 1735, although Anderson states that Lord Lovel (Grand Master 1731-2) granted the Deputation to make the Duke of Lorraine a Mason.

Lane² states as against Anderson that although the Lisbon Lodge "is said in the Grand Lodge Minutes to have been constituted on 17th April 1735," Anderson assigns the grant of the "Deputation to Constitute" to Weymouth, Grand Master, who was not installed as Grand Master until the very same day—17th April 1735—on which the Lodge was constituted at Lisbon. True it is that Weymouth was only installed on the date mentioned, but the Lodge could not have been "constituted at Lisbon" on that date because the Grand Lodge Minutes³ state that a petition was received from some Brethren "in and about the City of Lisbon" asking for a Deputation to be granted for constituting them into a regular Lodge, that the prayer of that petition was granted, and that it was ordered "that the Secretary make out proper Deputations [*i.e.*, for this and another matter] accordingly." The Grand Lodge record is under date the 17th April, 1735, and the resolution followed Weymouth's installation. So that it would seem that rather unusually Anderson was right and Lane wrong.

There were no written Lodge Warrants under the Moderns until the middle of the century. There was a personal Constitution in London, and there are in existence some two or three authorisations in answer to petitions for Lodges in the Metropolis. For the Provinces and Overseas a Deputation was granted to some local Masonic authority to constitute the Lodge.

We may note among the Deputations one from Lord Weymouth to "noble Brother Richmond for holding a Lodge at his Castle d'Aubigny in France," and

¹ *id.*, pp. 36-7.

² *id.*, p. 37.

³ *Q.C.A.*, x., 254.

compare and contrast it with the account of another Lodge or Chapter mentioned in the present Duke of Richmond's *A Duke and His Friends*, as evidence of the Second Duke's Masonic activities.

It may be added that Grand Lodge was then as now rightfully insistent on the notification of the removals of Lodges, though not so formal in its requirements. For example, on 25th January, 1737/8¹ it was ordered that the Master or Warden of a Lodge changing its place of meeting should send notice thereof to the Grand Secretary, and on the 13th April, 1739,² that every Lodge removing should pay 2/6d., and every Lodge changing its times of meeting, 1/- to Brother Pine for his trouble and expense in making the necessary alterations in the Engraved List of Lodges.

As we have mentioned, Anderson at the end of this section indulges in a further historical rhapsody apropos of Masonry abroad. He mentions "the Old Lodge at York City, and the Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, France and Italy" as independent under their own Grand Masters, but with "the same Constitutions, Charges, Regulations etc. for substance, with their Brethren of England, and are equally zealous for the Augustan Style and the secrets of the . . . Fraternity." He singles out for praise the architectural monuments of the "antient nations of Eastern Asia," but forgetting, or probably ignorant of the glories of their architecture, laments "the horrid devastations made by the Mahometans," although perhaps we cannot in fairness expect him to be in advance of his time in artistic appreciation.

Many attempts have been made to derive Freemasonry from what were considered earlier societies or associations, such as the Rosicrucians, or the religious orders of chivalry. But Anderson, while suggesting a connection, reverses it, however; since, if Freemasonry is an institution dating from Adam, it follows that if there is any question of descent, the paternal position must be occupied by the Craft and not by the other associations. As he says, "in process of time, the Orders or Fraternities of the Warlike Knights (and some of the Religious too) borrow'd many solemn usages from our more antient Fraternity that has existed from the beginning: For each . . . have their Grand Master . . . and other Grand Officers, with their Constitutions, Charges, Regulations, their peculiar Jewels, Badges, and Clothings, their Forms of Entrance, Promotion and Assembling, of their Sessions and Processions, their Communications and Secrets . . ." (pp. 196-7.) He then goes on to demonstrate how Masonry has ever been encouraged by "the better sort of mankind," and how "the Masons thus countenanced by their Royal, Princely, noble and learned Brothers and Fellows, did ever separate themselves from the common Croud of Artisans and Mechanics in their well-form'd Lodges under their proper Officers" until now "their Secrets and Usages are wisely preserved and propagated, the Science and the Art are duly cultivated, and the Cement of the Lodge is made so firm, that the whole Body resembles a well-built Arch of the beautiful Augustan Style." I had at first taken this passage to be a slighting and ungrateful reference to the separation of the Speculatives from the Operatives, but I hasten with thanks to accept Bro. Rippon's view, kindly communicated, that what Anderson is referring to is the fact that while the Masons formed Lodges, the artisans and mechanics of other trades did not. If the words from "thus countenanced" to "Brothers and Fellows" are treated as a parenthesis, we clearly get the sense suggested by Bro. Rippon—correctly as I now think. The reference to the well-built arch is one of Anderson's architectural figures of speech and must not be taken to involve any allusion to the Royal Arch Degree.

¹ *Q.C.A.*, x., 293.

² *Q.C.A.*, x., 314.

XIII. THE APPROBATION.

¹ According to the Minutes of Grand Lodge, on the 24th of February, 1735, "Br. Doctor Anderson, formerly Grand Warden, presented a memorial setting forth that whereas the First Edition of the General Constitution of Masonry, compiled by himself, was all sold off, and a Second Edition very much wanted: And that he had spent some Thoughts upon Some Alterations and Additions that might fitly be made to the same, which was now ready to lay before the Grand Lodge for their approbation if they were pleased to receive them.

"It was resolved Nemine con that a Committee be appointed consisting of the present and former Grand Officers and such other Masters Masons as they should think proper to call on to revise and compare the same, that when finished they might lay the same before the Grand Lodge ensuing for their approbation.

"He further represented that one William Smith said to be a Mason, had without his privity or Consent pyrated a considerable part of the Constitutions of Masonry aforesaid to the prejudice of the said Br. Anderson it being his sole property.

"It was thereupon resolved and ordered that every Master and Warden present shall do all in their power to discountenance so unfair a practice and prevent the said Smith's Books being bought by any Members of their respective Lodges."

² On the 31st of March, 1735: "Then a Motion was made that Doctor James Anderson should be desired to print the Names (in his New Book of Constitutions) of all the Grand Masters that could be collected from the beginning of time, together with a List of the Names of all Deputy Grand Masters, Grand Wardens, and the Brethren that have served the Craft in Quality of Stewards, which was thought necessary Because it is Resolved: That for the future all Grand Officers (except the Grand Master) shall be selected out of that Body." On the 25th January, 1738, "Bro. Anderson informed the Lodge that he had sometime since prepared a New Edition of the Book of Constitutions with several additions and amendments which having been perused and (after some alterations made therein) approved of by several Grand officers was now ready for the Press and he therefore desired the Grand Masters Command and the approbation of this Lodge for printing the same Which request was granted him.

"Bro. Anderson likewise informed the Lodge that he had with the assistance of Bro. Payne L.G.M. prepared a Law or Regulation relating to the removal of Lodges which (in case the same should be approved of) he intended to insert in the said Book of Constitutions as one of the Laws or Regulations of the Craft When the same being delivered to the Grand Master in writing was read by the Secretary and is as follows" and then follows that which Anderson (with a few verbal variations) gives as No. ix. of the New Regulations.

Anderson's version of these proceedings (p. 133) 24th February, 1735, is that "Brother Anderson, Author of the Book of Constitutions representing that a new Edition was become necessary and that he had prepared materials for it, the Grand Master and the Lodge order'd him to lay the same before the present and former Grand Officers; that they may report their Opinion to the Grand Lodge. Also the Book called the *Free Mason's Vade Mecum* was condemn'd . . ." His account of the proceedings in March states that he was "order'd also to insert in the New Edition of the Constitutions, the Patrons of antient Masonry that could be collected from the beginning of Time, with the Grand Masters and Wardens" etc. He describes the approbation as follows (p. 138): "The Grand Lodge approved of this New Book of Constitutions and ordered the author, Brother Anderson, to print the same, with the addition of the New Regulation ix. See the Approbation below." And in the "Approbation"

¹ Q.C.A., x., pp. 244-5.

² Q.C.A., x., p. 251.

itself there is recited the "order" of February, 1735, and he then states that he submitted his MS. among others to the Duke of Richmond, Desaguliers, Cowper and Payne, "who after making some corrections, have signified their Approbation," and then to the present Grand Officers as directed, who also approved, and it goes on to say that the Grand Lodge then "agreed to order" the publication of the Book, and that it is hereby approved as the only Book of Constitutions. The Approbation is dated the 25th January, 1738, and is signed by Darnley, G.M., Ward, D.G.M., and Lawley and Graeme, Grand Wardens, although according to the Minutes (p. 290) on that date John Ward, the Deputy Grand Master, was absent and his place was taken by Sir Robert Lawley, the Senior Grand Warden. Now it is here apt to recall that the very fact that there are omissions in it indicates that the Approbation of 1723 was signed in open Lodge. Bro. Vibert considers that it was written by Anderson himself; it seems as clear that the 1738 Approbation was also of his drafting. But here Anderson has gone further. He clearly wishes to give the document the appearance of being signed in open Lodge in 1738, and that by the principal officers, so he gives the signatures of them all, forgetting the absence of the Deputy Grand Master. His cleverness this time has overreached itself.

The main difference between Anderson's account of the publication of the Second Edition and that given in the Minutes is that the former represents the work more or less as an official publication of Grand Lodge, from the very title-page itself where "the Constitutions" are stated to be collected and digested "By order" of the Grand Lodge, to the words of the Approbation, while the Minutes show clearly that the publication was a private venture of the author's. Anderson on 24th February, 1735, complained of Smith's infringement of his right in his "Sole Property," the first edition,¹ while the fact that after his death the remainder copies of the second edition were transferred to another publisher and re-issued with a new title-page, shows this also to be Anderson's "Sole Property." Moreover, while Anderson himself constantly uses the word "ordered," the Minutes say "desired," and show generally that the initiative came from the author as a request, not from the Grand Lodge as a command.

It is perhaps here the place to mention that according to Anderson he was ordered to print the names of the Patrons of ancient Masonry that could be collected from the beginning of Time, as well as those of lower office, but that the Minutes offered no Authority for the names of Patrons, only specifying Grand Masters and certain officers of lower rank, but Anderson took upon himself to enlarge his instructions, and if the result was the marvellous historical narrative of 1738, we may indeed say: "The little more; how much it is."

XIV. SOME OF THE USUAL FREE-MASONS SONGS.

Those given by Anderson are as follows:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (a) The Master's Song. | } By "the Author of this Book." |
| (b) The Wardens Song. | |
| (c) The Fellow Craft's Song, | by Brother Charles de la Fay. |
| (d) The Enter'd Prentice's Song, | by Brother Matthew Birkhead. |
| (e) The Deputy Grand Master's Song. | |
| (f) The Grand Warden's Song, | by Brother Oates. |
| (g) The Treasurer's Song. | |
| (h) The Secretary's Song. | |
| (i) The Sword Bearer's Song. | |
| (j) An Ode to the Free Masons. | |
| (k) An Ode on Masonry, | by Bro. J. Bancks. |

¹ *Q.C.A.*, x., p. 244 note (a).

The Master's Song in the 1738 edition is only one-third the length of that in the earlier, our author modestly saying that the full version was "too long"; for the same reason he now prints only two instead of the thirteen verses of the Warden's Song, at the head of which he omits his former reference to the Duke of Wharton, and in the last verse this name is replaced by that of "Great Carnarvon" (Grand Master, April 1738 to May 1739). The six verses of de la Fay's Song appear in both editions, but "from Adam to Carnarvon" is inserted in place of "from Jabal down to Burlington" in verse 6.¹ Birkhead's poem in this edition has the famous ladies' verse inserted. Smith had already printed it in the "Collection of the Songs of Masons" following his *Pocket Companion* and dated 1734.

Thanks to Bro. Chetwode Crawley² the authorship of this verse which Anderson includes without any explanation has been traced to Springett Penn, the first Deputy Grand Master of Munster. It may be added that Birkhead did not compose the music of the Entered Apprentice's Song, but fitted the words to an old Irish air.

Only the first four of these songs appeared in the first edition. The Deputy Grand Master's Song is printed with an "additional stanza" by Brother Gofton, of whom all that we know is that he is presumably the Mr. William Gofton who was one of the Encouragers of Anderson's Second Edition, and that, according to our author, Mr. William Gofton, Attorney-at-Law, was appointed as Senior Grand Warden at the Occasional Lodge of November, 1737, at which the Prince of Wales was initiated. It was written "at the time when the Prince was made a Mason, and while the Princess was pregnant":—

Again let it pass to the Royal lov'd Name,
Whose glorious Admission has crown'd all our Fame:
May a Lewis be born, whom the World shall admire,
Serene as his Mother, August as his Sire.

Chorus.

Now a Lewis is born, whom the World shall admire,
Serene as his Mother, August as his Sire.

To our Brother Frederick, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.
To our Brother, his Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany.
To the Lewis.

The Prince of Wales was initiated on the 5th November, 1737, and the Princess of Wales gave birth to a son, afterwards George III., on 4th June, 1738.

We cannot trace definitely Brother Oates of the Grand Warden's Song. There was a Mr. Oates, Senior Warden of the Lodge, which met at the Red Lion, Richmond, Surrey, and a Mr. James Oates of that at the Anchor and Baptist's Head in Chancery Lane, Senior Warden of that meeting at the Swan and Rummer, Finch Lane. Bro. Banck's Ode on Masonry appeared in Smith's *Pocket Companion* (2nd edition) 1738, and also in the Collected edition of his verse.

In the Secretary's Song, to the words "In vain would Danvers with his wit our slow resentment raise" is a marginal note "that those who hang'd Capt. Porteous at Edinburgh were all Free Masons, because they kept their own secrets. See Craftsman, 16th April 1736. No. 563." On the 16th April, 1737, not 1736, an article appeared in *The Craftsman*,³ the pen-name of the Editor of

¹ de la Fay was an Irish Member of Parliament, a member of the Lodge at the Horn, and his mother was Godmother to one of Desaguliers' children—this last in itself a small point, but one which illustrates the social and family connections of the Freemasons of the Revival.

² *Cementaria Hibernica: The Pocket Companion* (1734-5), p. 14.

³ *A.Q.C.*, xviii., 207 ff. The article also appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

which was Caleb d'Anvers (in fact Nicholas Amhurst), dealing with the Freemasons. This newspaper was the literary focus of the opposition to Walpole's administration, and among the names of its distinguished contributors were those of William Pulteney and Lord Bolingbroke. In the issue in question appeared an article suggesting that notwithstanding the many influential and well-affected persons who were numbered in the ranks of the Society, yet its manners, customs, and general behaviour strongly suggested that their aims and meetings were of a seditious character, and that in particular the recent lynching of Captain Porteous by the Edinburgh mob was in fact the work of the Freemasons. Although the article prompted a reply and defence by the Abbé Prévost,¹ the author of the *Histoire du Chevalier des Grieux et de Manon Lescant*, in his *Journal Le Pour et Contre*, yet the obvious intention of the writer was satire at the expense of Walpole, and not an attack on the Freemasons. The *Craftsman's* real argument was that the Government like all tyrannies was fearful of sedition and that in its eyes even what appeared to be the most harmless of societies should not be above suspicion. All ordinary persons considered the Freemasons to be a well-conducted and well-affected Society in spite of its secrets; therefore this was the very society for a consistent tyranny to fear and to attack. In effect, the article in d'Anvers' journal was a tribute to the peacefulness of the Craft and to the high standing of its members.

Dr. Crawley has pointed out that the Song and Note dropped out of the English *Book of Constitutions* after 1746, but through Spratt found their way into both the English and Irish *Ahiman Rezon*, the second and later editions of the former having the Note in an expanded form, stating that the Porteous Rioters "all wore white leather aprons, which (by the by) is a certain proof they were not Free-Masons."

XV. A DEFENCE OF MASONRY.

On pages 216 and the following pages, Anderson reprints this *Defence* written in reply to the notorious pamphlet *Masonry dissected* of Samuel Prichard. In October, 1730, one Samuel Prichard had published the latter work as an attack on the Freemasons; it immediately had a large sale and was subsequently many times reprinted.² The Minutes of Grand Lodge³ under date the 15th December, 1730, state the Deputy Grand Master "took notice of a pamphlet lately published by one Prichard who pretends to have been made a regular Mason: In violation of the obligations of a Mason which he swears he has broke in order to do hurt to Masonry; and expressing himself with the utmost indignation against both him (styling him an imposter) and his book as a foolish thing not to be regarded." Anderson, however, makes no mention of this condemnation in his account of the proceedings. Prichard's pamphlet was quite probably no mere bid for notoriety but the symptom of a considerable body of feeling against the now increasingly powerful and much altered institution. He may or may not have been, as he claimed, a member of "a Constituted Lodge." If he were not, he was free to attack the institution: and the substance of the attack demands examination; if he were, he was no doubt perjured, and his perjury may necessitate corroboration, but if no corroboration is forthcoming, his attack may need examination nevertheless. Briefly, his case is this. Masonry had been and should be an ancient institution with its Old Charges, confined in its membership to artificers, what we should call really operative craftsmen, with a simple ceremony of admission, at which "some few catechetical questions were necessary to declare a man sufficiently qualified for an Operative Mason," a body

¹ In recent times the article, curiously enough, seems also to have been treated as a serious attack by Bro. Tuckett.

² *A.Q.C.*, iv., 33 ff.

³ *Q.C.A.*, x., 135-6.

of simple men meeting together in simple fashion at small cost. But now all had been changed. The operatives were being overwhelmed by an influx of "Lords and Dukes, Lawyers and Shopkeepers, and other inferior tradesmen." An institution for craftsmen, for those who laboured worthily with their hands, was becoming fashionable and was being appropriated by the idlers of the Court, and by the men of the long robe and of the counter. The new-fangled term of Free and Accepted Masons had been devised, and an administration, not heard of, as Prichard says, before 1691, with Constituted Lodges and Quarterly Communications, foisted on the institution. Even its off-spring, the Gormogons, boasted a remoter origin, and if we admit the claims of one, we must admit those of both. Amid these false claims, surely there is to be preferred a Society like that of the Grand Kaihebar (*sic*) which has no high pretensions but consists of responsible people discoursing of trade and business and promoting mutual friendship. We may get an idea of how the case looked to Prichard if we can imagine the feelings of a working man trade-unionist who suddenly saw the ranks of his union swollen and its policy directed by some members of the House of Lords, a few millionaires, fashionable lawyers, and West End Tradesmen, under whose direction its meetings would be held at an expensive London restaurant, and whose assemblies would be prefaced by ceremonies based on High Church ritual infused with mediæval philosophy. At the risk of disproportion, it has been thought but justice thus to put Prichard's case, since as far as I know, perhaps in disgust at its advocate, few attempts have been made to re-state it. Prichard's book having been published there appeared in December, 1730, a pamphlet entitled *A Defence of Masonry; occasioned by a Pamphlet called "Masonry Dissected,"* published by J. Roberts, of the *Roberts Constitutions*. The work as a separate publication is very rare, the Library of Grand Lodge having a copy, however. The work was reproduced in the *Free Mason's Pocket Companion* for 1738, as well as in Anderson's second edition. It is to be noted that while both the pamphlet and the reprint in Smith have the Latin quotations in their original forms, Anderson's version in most cases gives only the English translations.

The researches of Bros. Gould and Dixon at one time led us to suspect that the author of the *Defence of Masonry* might be Martin Clare, but this theory has been seriously shaken by the considerations adduced by Bro. Wonnacott, so that the authorship is at the moment something of a mystery.

The reply to Prichard's strictures is to the following effect:—Where is the impiety, where the immorality, or folly for a number of men to form themselves into a Society, whose main end is to improve in commendable skill and knowledge, and to promote universal beneficence and the social virtues of human life, under the solemn obligation of an oath? And this in what form, under what secret restrictions, and with what innocent ceremonies they think proper. Every Society requires its Members to keep the secrets of that Society; many have oaths of secrecy, and their Masters and Wardens, Constitutions and Orders. Further, if a thing is not unlawful it is not wrong to take an oath to do it. As for the terror of the penalty, a solemn oath is of no more force than a simple oath—the invocation of the Deity is what renders it binding. Finally, any arguments about an oath come not well from the mouth of a self-confessed perjurer, since even if the subject-matter is trivial, an oath still has its obligations.

With regard to Masonry itself, true it is that its pristine purity may be dimmed, yet still much of the good old fabric remains, and its antiquity demands respect. What we should now term its speculative side finds its likeness in the old philosophies and mysteries of antiquity, and for its symbolism, for its legends, and even for the penalties of its obligations we can find parallels in sacred and profane history.

Has the author convincingly answered Prichard? Prepossessions have frequently inspired the answer. Might we attempt to draw an unbiassed conclusion? The author seems to have satisfactorily disposed of some objections,

but I think that one or two not unimportant ones remain. His justification of the objects of Masonry, of its requirement of an oath, of the antiquity and value of its forms and ceremonials, seems adequate. But he does not seem to have answered Prichard's objection that an institution formed for a practical purpose by one social class has been appropriated by another class and used in a different form and with a different object. The unknown author has justified Freemasonry by its spirit, but has not attempted to justify its historical development from Masonry.

XVI. BROTHER EUCLID'S LETTER TO THE AUTHOR.

The *Defence* is immediately followed by a letter with the signature of "Euclid" with at its foot the three squares on the sides of a right-angled triangle as in Proposition 47 of Book I. of that geometrician's work, and as given in the frontispiece of the *Constitutions*. The letter is dated the 9th November 1738 "in the vulgar year of Masonry." Bro. Rylands in a letter to the *Keystone* of Philadelphia, 30th August, 1884, referred to by Bro. Gould, points out that if the date of 4th November, 1738, at the end of "The Author to the Reader" may be relied upon, Anderson's second edition was published probably at the close of the year and that as "Bro. Euclid" in one passage (p. 228) almost quotes Anderson's words and in another refers to Part I., chap. vii. of the second edition in addition to thanking him "for printing the clever *Defence*," these facts can only be explained "by the supposition that the latter, *i.e.*, 'Bro. Euclid,' had the use of the manuscript or proof-sheets of the book, or that 'Brother Euclid' was no other than Anderson himself."

There are several phrases in it which lend colour to this latter suggestion, *e.g.*, "true Noachidae," "though without politics or party cause," and it purports to be written from the Lodge at The Horn of which Anderson was a member. The suggestion made in the *Letter* that the author of the *Defence* was not a Freemason, Gould considers as supporting the view which he deduces from the Minutes of the Lincoln Lodge at the Saracen's Head that an endeavour was made to give it greater force by making out that the *Defence* was not the work of a Member of the Craft, but of an unprejudiced outsider. Brother Euclid supplements the argument of the *Defence* by defending the order against the "unjust cavils" of those who accuse it of Satanism; of misogyny, of a false Equalitarianism, etc. He mentions the wild tales of the old woman and the ladder (*c.f.*, the notorious burlesque print) and of "the cook's red hot iron or salamander for making the indelible character on a new made Mason," an early appearance of an old friend, with which we may compare the still earlier reference in the Dublin Tripes of 1688.

XVII. "ENCOURAGERS."

XVIII. CORRIGENDA.

The list of some 66 names of those who "kindly encouraged" the author includes many of interest, about twelve of whom were also among the Encouragers of the *Royal Genealogies*, among these names being those of the Grand Master and other Officers, seven former Grand Masters, four former Deputy Grand Masters, four former Grand Wardens, and twelve former Grand Stewards. Among the Lodges in the list is that at The Chequers at Charing Cross, the date of whose Constitution has already been discussed. Anderson apparently recognised the possible incompleteness of his Corrigenda, as he has placed at the end of the observation "Accurate reader, pray correct these with your pen, or any others you find."

It would be an interesting task, but one of which the limits of this paper do not allow, to trace in detail the subsequent history of Anderson's Second Edition. Bro. Vibert says with reference to the first edition that it was taken "by the Grand Lodge of Ireland as the model for their Book of Constitutions in 1730. It was reprinted verbatim for use in America by Franklin in 1734. It was printed in London and later in Dublin by Smith in 1735. And its author's reputation was great enough to carry off the History he wrote for his second edition of 1738, and lead the Craft for a century and a half to accept it and reprint it as a serious contribution to the subject." Entick when the edition of 1756 was published dropped altogether the version of the older Charges which Anderson gave in 1738 and reverted to that of 1723, and this version has been reprinted ever since in the various editions as they were published. The last occasion on which the historical portion (with additions bringing it up to date) was given was in the 1784 edition. When after the Union the *Book of Constitutions* was again published, in 1815, the volume purported to be only "Part the Second" and contained the promise that "The First Part containing the History of Masonry, from the earliest period to the end of the year 1815 . . . will be printed with as little delay as possible." It would appear that preparations for the publication of the historical portion in 1815 were considerably advanced—for in fact the Library of Grand Lodge has a copy of the 1815 edition of Part II., to which is prefaced almost the whole of the historical portion of the 1784 edition but with a different pagination from that edition, and also a new frontispiece but no title-page—but it never seems to have been published. The 1815 edition was re-issued with corrected sheets in 1819 and when the 1827 edition appeared that also appeared as Part II., but from 1841 the book appeared as a whole and not as a second part.

It was not until 1829 that the Grand Lodge of Scotland, through a Committee, undertook the task of codifying its enactments, until then not only scattered through its records, but often of a contradictory character,¹ and the task was completed with the publication of its first *Book of Constitutions* in 1836, although Alexr. Lawrie in his *History* (1804) dedicated to the members of the Grand Lodge of Scotland had given in Appendix III. what appears to be its Laws and Regulations, and W. A. Lawrie states in his *History* (1839) at p. 167 that on 30.xi.1819 the draft of the First Edition of the Laws and Regulations was read and unanimously approved of. It seems fairly clear that at any rate in the earlier part of its history, Anderson's *Constitutions* was looked upon as authoritative. Bro. Murray Lyon in his *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh* (1900 edn.)² states that this work, i.e., Anderson's *Constitutions*, was in its earlier years regarded by the Grand Lodge of Scotland as an authority on the subjects treated of. Seven unbound copies of Smith's small edition of the *Constitutions* were in 1740 ordered for the use of Grand Lodge, and on page 204 he states that a short time before January, 1724, the Lodge of Dunblane was presented with *The Constitutions of the Freemasons* issued under the auspices of the Grand Lodge of England. D. Crawford Smith in his *History of the Lodge of Scoon and Perth* (p. 88) says that on the 2nd November, 1735, Collector Bethune borrowed a large quarto Book entitled "The Constitutions of the Free Masons, dedicated to the Duke of Montagu."

In view of the use apparently made in the years immediately preceding the formation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1736 of Anderson's *Constitutions*, it is interesting to notice how both in substance and in form the Scottish Regulations follow Anderson with the following as some variations and exceptions:—

- (1) Each Grand Master to pay towards the general fund "a sum not under" (amount apparently left blank).

¹ *Book of Constitutions* (1836 edn.), Introd., p. vii.

² P. 2 note.

In the English Grand Lodge each Grand Master pays 2/6d. at each Quarterly Communication (except at the Grand Feast) and the Grand Master also made a payment in respect of the Secretary.

(2) The Grand Wardens, Treasurer and Secretary to be "fellow craft or master masons."

(3) The Treasurer and Secretary not to speak or vote without permission. In England this disability applies only in the election of the Grand Officers.

(4) If the Grand Master names his Deputy and the other Grand Officers they are not to be members of his own Lodge.

We may contrast this with the preponderance of Members of the Lodge at The Horn in the Lists of English Grand Officers.

(5) The ribbons were to be green.

(6) The Stewards were to be appointed by the Grand Master out of a Committee consisting of one member of each Lodge.

(7) 2/6 to be paid for each entrance and a quarterly return of entrants to be made.

We cannot do more than mention Kuenen's French translation published at The Hague in 1736 and the German translation of this published at Frankfurt and Leipzig in 1741 and de la Tierce's French Editions of 1742 and 1746, all founded on one or both of Anderson's Editions. It is not without interest to notice that although even de la Tierce prints the 1723 version of the Old Charges, Spratt in his Irish Edition of 1751 seems to be the only one who adopted the 1738 version, even copying Anderson's inaccuracies in Irish Masonic history.

THE RE-ISSUE OF 1746.

In 1746, Anderson's Second Edition was re-issued with a new title-page. The author had been dead some years and Chandler and Ward had left the scene. According to Bro. Songhurst, "These enterprising brethren, with branches at York and Scarborough, were amongst the foremost publishers of their day, but it would seem that they allowed their ambition to outrun their prudence. In 1744 Chandler found himself unable to pay his debts, and he committed suicide, while in the following year, Ward was declared bankrupt." Presumably, Robinson bought up the remainder copies and published them with a new, and his own, title-page bearing the new date. It may be mentioned as a matter of interest that there is in existence one copy—and so far as is known only one copy—containing both the 1738 and the 1746 title-pages.¹ Dr. Chetwode Crawley after examining copies of the 1746 issue in the original bindings came to the conclusion that some had been originally issued with frontispieces and some had not. Apparently the remainder copies of the engraving were less numerous than those of the letter-press. Save for the title-page, the 1746 issue is the same as that of 1738, Robinson having kept the advertisements of his predecessors on the last page, possibly because it is the back of that containing Anderson's Corrigenda.

¹ This was exhibited at the meeting.

The new title-page is printed only in black, and is much longer and somewhat more grandiloquent than that of 1738. It begins: The | History and Constitutions | of the | Most ancient and honourable Fraternity | of | Free and Accepted MASONS: | containing | An Account of MASONRY.

The three historical sections are then summarised, and we have next: *To which are added*: and this is followed by eight paragraphs of the further contents. Then comes: By James Anderson, D.D. | London: Printed, and sold by J. Robinson, at | the Golden-Lion in Ludgate-street. | In the vulgar Year of Masonry 5746.

CONCLUSION.

At the beginning of this paper I tried briefly to place Anderson in his historical perspective, and if we wish only to consider him as a human antiquity, this is all that is necessary. But every author who is still read and every author who is still quoted demands further treatment, and for him a further trial is necessary. If after his death, he still remains a living influence, and if that influence still continues, it is necessary to examine its value, its basis, and its usefulness. Of Anderson's influence there can be no question. We have seen how his history of the Craft was so far treated as authoritative that it continued to form part of the (by now undoubtedly official) Book of Constitutions even as late as the currency of the 1784 edition. But though it no longer figured in the official publication, yet its influence still continued. Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* in the historical portion is based on Anderson, and what is more, some of Anderson's wildest and most unsupported statements are so decked out as to give them a new lease of life, if that were needed. Then Jones edits Preston, as afterwards does Oliver, and if we consider the popularity and the circulation of Preston and Oliver and how much in their time they represented the Craft, we see how great must have been the influence and how strong the authority of Anderson's history in effect up to the time of Hughan and Gould and the rise of that School of Masonic historians who took truth as found by research rather than tradition inspired by sentiment as their guide. And even now only too often the ordinary member of the Craft still gets his ideas of Masonic History from our author. And not only the Freemason. We have seen how in so authoritative a work as the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in a notice by so careful an historian as Sidney Lee, Anderson is quoted as an authority without any attempt at question, and to take another instance at random, Edgecombe Staley in his *Guilds of Florence* quotes the *Constitutions of the Free Masons* which he attributed to Desagulier (*sic*) as an authority in his argument; terming the author "quaint and sententious."

If Anderson's *Constitutions* are to be judged, in whose favour or against whom, as the case may be, is judgment to be entered? As between him and Grand Lodge it cannot be said that he alone is responsible. He wrote the *Constitutions*, no doubt, but it cannot be believed that their contents were printed without some sort of approval by the Craft. We have seen that formal approval was refused, or at least not given, to the first edition, but had that compilation been contrary to the views of the majority, he would not have been entrusted with the preparation of a second. It may be that the Committee of Examination was perfunctory in examining the material for the second edition, as Committees can be, but even so had there been anything seriously in conflict with their views or those of the general body of members, we cannot suppose that the work would have received approval. It has been mentioned before that Anderson was asked to compile a list of Grand Masters that could be collected from the beginning of time, and it must be again emphasized that this is the crucial test as to whether the work was to have a real historical foundation or

whether it was to be in the nature of propaganda; it was in fact an invitation to the author to exercise his imagination or at any rate to "collect" indiscriminately.

In the Preface to Scott's *Pocket Companion* of 1754, it is stated that the management of the 1738 edition at the time was left to Anderson "But from whatever cause it might arise, whether from his want of health, or trusting to the management of strangers, the work appeared in a very mangled condition, and the Regulations, which had been revised and corrected by Grand Master Payne, were in many places interpolated, and in others the sense left very obscure and uncertain. Besides its being loaded with long chronological tables, which in another place might have had their use, but here could answer no other end than to render the Book very difficult to read." This is not unfair criticism, but what is of interest is the attempt to assign a reason for the defects of the work; and from this has arisen a theory that Anderson was not in effect responsible, either from pathological causes or from his work having been done by assistants. But after all is there really much in this? The reasons assigned are alternatives and mere suggestions. We have no other grounds for supposing that his mind was affected at the time of the composition of his book. The assembling of materials for this began before February, 1735, the book was probably published by the end of 1738, and Anderson's death did not take place until five or six months later, and there is no mention of any mental weakness in any literary or newspaper accounts of his death. As for the suggestion of his being assisted by strangers, there is nothing to show that there was more than one mind at work on the book, and if he had had their assistance it seems reasonable to suppose that there would have been more freedom from obvious mistakes rather than less.

As to its general character. I have several times had occasion to point out the anachronistic character of many of the incidents. The object was rather to compile a work *ad maiorem gloriam latomorum* than to seek the historical origins of the Craft. Moreover, in Anderson's mind masonry was one with architecture; not that he was singular in this view because the latter in an architectural age played a part in the education of the gentlemen of the time, a copy of Vitruvius might be bought for the Lodge, and Batty Langley could advertise that he was ready to teach the art to the men of education and of fashion of the time; but although the identification of the two was quite common, yet it rather confuses us nowadays in our historical view. We look for the origins of masonry on its speculative side, and for the beginning of the present Masonic organization, and we find historical incidents dressed up in post-revival forms and given the post-revival terminology. If Lodges are said to be founded and opened by Scriptural or Classical characters, how are we to find out when the founding of Lodges did in effect begin, how distinguish fact from fiction, tradition from history?

In regard to details, I have pointed out confusion—whether accidental or deliberate—of dates and facts, omissions, distortions. There is a curiously slipshod character in his terminology, sometimes an equivocation, an attempt by giving a word two meanings to combine the past with the present, a kind of mental thimble-rigging. The instances where old texts have been garbled to bring them into line with the new conditions are almost innumerable, and many have been mentioned in their place.

An unfavourable criticism of Anderson is bound to cause some resentment. So many have been brought up from their earliest Masonic years on his work and that of his followers. He tells us so much of that of which otherwise we should know nothing, particularly with regard to the period between the revival and that of the earliest existing Minutes of Grand Lodge. He had so many opportunities; he lived and worked during the most interesting period of the Craft.

But if our attempt to check that which can be checked has shown anything, it has shown how much his version differed from other and more reliable accounts, and if that is so, how can we trust his unsupported testimony? What he tells us may be true, but in the absence of corroboration it is impossible by the ordinary rules of evidence to accept it without suspicion, in effect, to accept it at all. True he is the sole authority for much, true his opportunities were great; but can we on that account accept his word, any more than we can be called upon to admit the scholarship of a Schoolboy who wins a prize for constant attendance? Much of modern Masonic research has had to be carried on independently of Anderson, and we have seen what slender support it affords to his statements. Must we not regret that one with so great an opportunity of knowing so misused that opportunity, that so vast an influence in time and in extent on Masonic thought has been a bad influence, and that it is now perhaps too late to correct that false view of Masonic history so common in the Craft, so much of which is due to what one is tempted to call the fairy-tales of Bro. James Anderson.

APPENDIX I.

Variations in the *Old Regulations* in Anderson's two editions:—

1723.	1738.
I. "any true Lodge"	"Every Lodge"
"any other Brethren he pleaseth"	"any other Master-Masons"
II. "or in his absence the Junior Warden"	Omitted.
VII. "which Charity shall be lodged with the Master or Wardens, or the Cashier, if the member think fit to choose one."	"which Charity shall be kept by the Cashier"
VIII. "with the unanimous consent of that other Lodge to which they go (as above regulated)"	Omitted.
"in forming a new Lodge"	"in forming a new Lodge to be regularly constituted in good time."
IX. "and reform what gives them Offence."	Omitted.

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| XII. | “ all the regular particular
Lodges.” | “ all the particular Lodges ” |
| | “ A Quarterly Communica-
tion about Michaelmas,
Christmas, and Lady-
day.” | “ 3 Quarterly Communications
before the Grand Feast ” |
| XIII. | “ Apprentices must be ad-
mitted Masters and
Fellow-Craft only here.” | “ Apprentices must be admitted
Fellow-Crafts and Masters only
here.” |
| | “ Who must be a Brother
and Fellow Craft.” | “ who must be a Brother and
Master Mason.” |
| XV. | “ by two Fellow-Craft ” | “ two Fellow Crafts or Master
Masons.” |
| XVIII. | “ May choose any Fellow
Craft ” | “ may choose any Brother.” |
| | “ chosen Deputy of the
Grand Lodge.” | “ chosen Deputy at the Annual
Feast.” |
| XX. | “ The Grand Master, with
his Deputy and War-
dens.” | “ The Grand Master, with his
Deputy, G[rand] Wardens and
Secretary ” |
| XXV. | “ Fellow-Craft ” | “ Brother ” |
| XXVIII. | “ 4. To receive and con-
sider of any good motion,
or any momentous and
important affair that shall
be brought from the
particular Lodges, by
their representatives, the
several Master and War-
dens.” | Omitted. |
| XXXI. | “ and must not therefore
speak ” | “ and none of these that are not
must speak.” |
| XXXIV-V. | “ Proclaim'd, saluted and
congratulated ” | “ proclaim'd, saluted and con-
gratulated.” |
| | “ Declar'd, saluted and
congratulated ” | “ proclaim'd, saluted and con-
gratulated.” |
| XXXVII. | “ Apprentice ” | “ Enter'd Prentice.” |
- (It is to be noted that here Anderson leaves the words “ Fellow Craft or Enter'd Prentice ” without adding Master Mason.)
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|--------|----------------|----------------------|
| XXXIX. | “ Apprentice ” | “ Enter'd Prentice.” |
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APPENDIX II.

Andersonian phraseology in the present *Book of Constitutions*:—

<i>Anderson's Version.</i>	<i>Grand Lodge Minutes Version.</i>	<i>Book of Constitutions, 1926 Edn.</i>
Every Annual Grand Lodge has an inherent Power and Authority to make New Regulations, or to alter these . . . provided always that the Old Land Marks be carefully preserv'd xxxix., p. 175 (O.R.)		The Grand Lodge . . . alone has the inherent power of enacting laws and regulations . . . and of altering, repealing, and abrogating them, always taking care that the antient Landmarks of the order be preserved. 4. p. 17
If the G. Master should abuse his Power, and render himself unworthy of the Obedience and Subjection of the Lodges, he shall be treated in a Way and Manner to be agreed upon in a New Regulation: Because hitherto the antient Fraternity have had no Occasion for it. xix., p. 165 (O.R.)		If the Grand Master should abuse his power, and render himself unworthy of the obedience of the Lodges, he shall be subjected to some new regulation, to be dictated by the occasion; because, hitherto, the Antient Fraternity have had no reason to provide for an event which they have presumed would never happen. 17. p. 24
every Member shall keep in his Seat, xl., 4. p. 177 (N.R.)	each of the Members to keep his Seat 4. Q.C.A. x., p. 269	All members shall keep their seats. 67. p. 44
Every one that speaks shall rise and keep standing, addressing himself to the Chair: Nor shall any presume to interrupt him, under the foresaid Penalty; unless the G. MASTER, finding him wandering from the Point in Hand, shall think fit to reduce him to Order; for then the said Speaker shall sit down: But after he has been set right, he may again proceed, if he pleases. xl., 6. p. 177 (N.R.)	Every Member who has anything to offer which may require the Attention of the Assembly, shall rise and keep standing in his Place while he is speaking, always addressing himself to the Grand Master or his Deputy in the Chair Nor shall any person presume to interrupt his Discourse under the penalty before said Unless the Grand Master or his Deputy finding him wandering from the point then under publick Consideration shall think fitt to call him to order In which Case he is to sit down forthwith, and after he has been sett right he may proceed if he sees good. 5. Q.C.A. x., p. 269	Everyone who speaks shall rise and remain standing, addressing himself to the Grand Master, and he shall not be interrupted, unless any Brother shall address the Grand Master on a point of order, or the Grand Master shall himself think fit to call the speaker to order, but after he has been set right, he may proceed if he observe due order and decorum. 70. p. 44

If in the G. LODGE any Member is twice call'd to Order, at one Assembly, for transgressing these Rules, and is guilty of a 3d Offence of the same Nature, the Chair shall peremptorily command him to quit the Lodge-Room for that Night.

xl., 7. p. 177 (N.R.)

That whoever shall be so rude as to hiss at a Brother, or at what another says or has said, he shall be forthwith solemnly excluded the Communication, and declared incapable of ever being a Member of any Grand Lodge for the Future, till another Time he publickly owns his Fault and his Grace be granted.

xl., 8. p. 177 (N.R.)

The Antient Manner of Constituting a Lodge,

A New Lodge, for avoiding many Irregularities, should be solemnly Constituted by the Grand Master with his Deputy and Wardens; Or in the G. Master's Absence, the Deputy acts for his Worship, the Senior G. Warden as Deputy, the Junior G. Warden as the Senior, and a present Master of a Lodge as the Junior.
p. 149.

Should it happen that any Member of a Quarterly Communication shall be twice called to order in any one Night for offending against any of the Rules foregoing, and should be guilty of a third offence of the same Nature he shall at the peremptory Command of the Grand Master or his Deputy be obliged to quitt the Grand Lodge for that Night.

And that none might plead Ignorance herein it was Resolved that these Rules of Conference shall be audibly read by the publick Secretary at every Quarterly Communication after the opening of the Lodge.

6. *Q.C.A.* x., p. 269

It was also ordered that whatever Member should be so rude as to hiss at what another says he shall be excluded the Quarterly Communication in form and declared incapable of ever being admitted a Member in any Quarterly Communication succeeding.

7. *Q.C.A.* x., p. 270

If any member shall have been twice called to order for transgressing these rules, and shall nevertheless be guilty of a third offence at the same meeting, the Grand Master shall peremptorily command him to quit the Grand Lodge for that meeting.

71. p. 45

Whoever shall be so unmasonic as to hiss at a Brother, or at what he has said, shall forthwith be solemnly excluded, and declared incapable of being a member of the Grand Lodge, until, at another time, he publicly own his fault, and grace be granted.

72. p. 45

In order to avoid irregularities, every new Lodge shall be solemnly constituted according to antient usage, by the Grand Master with his Wardens; or, in the absence of the Grand Master, by his Deputy. If the Deputy be absent, the Grand Master may appoint some other Grand Officer or Master or Past Master of a Lodge to act as Deputy *pro tempore*.

120. p. 70

Anderson's Version.

When the Grand Master is present it is a Lodge in Ample Form; otherwise, only in Due Form, yet having the same Authority with Ample Form.

Marginal note p. 110.

The G. Master or Deputy has full Authority and Right, not only to be present, but also to preside in every Lodge, with the Master of the Lodge on his Left Hand; and to order his Grand Wardens to attend him, who are not to act as Wardens of particular Lodges but in his Presence and at his Command; For the G. Master, while in a particular Lodge, may command the Wardens of that Lodge, or any other Master-Masons, to act there as his Wardens pro tempore. O.R. I. pp. 152/3

That is, only when the G. Wardens are absent: For the G. Master cannot deprive 'em of their Office, without shewing Cause fairly appearing to the G. Lodge according to the Old Regulation XVIII. so that if they are present in a particular Lodge with the Grand Master, they must act as Wardens there. N.R. I. pp. 152/3

And also all the Transactions of their own Lodge that are proper to be written,

O.R. III. p. 154

That the Brothers attesting a Petition for Charity shall be able to certify, that the Petitioner has been formerly in reputable, at least, in tolerable Circumstances.

Resolution of Grand Lodge
of the 31st March 1735
2. p. 182

*Grand Lodge Minutes Version.**Book of Constitutions, 1926 Edn.*

The Grand Lodge is declared to be opened in *ample form* when the Grand Master or Pro Grand Master is present, in *due form* when a Past Grand Master or the Deputy presides, at all other times, only in *form*, yet with the same authority. 61. p. 42

The Grand Master has full authority to preside in any Lodge, and to order any of his Grand Officers to attend him. His Deputy is to be placed on his right, and the Master of the Lodge on his left hand. His Wardens, if present, are also to act as Wardens of the Lodge during the time he presides; but if the Grand Wardens be absent, then the Grand Master may command the Wardens of the Lodge, or any Master Masons to act as his Wardens *pro tempore*. 142. pp. 82/3

Unless the Grand Master be present, the Deputy Grand Master has full authority to preside in any Lodge, the Master of the Lodge being placed on his right hand. The Grand Wardens, if present, are to act as Wardens of the Lodge during the time he presides. 143. p. 83

Minutes of all such transactions of the Lodge as are proper to be written.

172. p. 94

. . . recommendation . . . by the Master, Wardens, and a majority of the members then present, . . . certifying that they know him or have good reasons for believing him to have been in reputable, or at least tolerable, circumstances, 243. p. 129

That it be a Resolution of the Grand Lodge that the Brethren subscribing any Petition of Charity should be able to certify that they have known the Petitioner in reputable or at least tollerable circumstances.

(Q.C.A. x., p. 251)

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Edwards for his interesting paper on the proposition of Bro. David Flather, seconded by Bro. W. K. Firminger; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. J. Williams, C. C. Adams, Geo. W. Bullamore, C. Walton Rippon, and the Secretary.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS writes:—

Perhaps the last recorded words penned by our Brother James Anderson were those at the very end of the Corrigenda to the 1738 Edition:—

Accurate Reader, pray correct these with your Pen, *or any others you find.*

That prayer has at long last been answered. The "Accurate Reader" has now been found and he has used his pen to some purpose and given a larger and fuller response to the petition than the petitioner could have anticipated or perhaps desired or as he might think deserved. Where Dr. Anderson anticipated "motes", Bro. Edwards has detected and exhibited "beams".

The paper prepared by our Brother is a striking example of judicial skill combined with the ministration of patience and assiduity. The work needed to be done, and no one could have done it better.

Although in the process of complying with the expressed wish of Dr. Anderson Bro. Edwards has been compelled to deliver a series of drastic judgments, he has occasionally shown his desire to extenuate the delinquencies of the Author so much, so necessarily, and so thoroughly criticised.

We all who are here present may possibly unite in the statement that no office existed entitled Grand Master of Masons or Freemasons prior to 1717, and yet we ourselves are constantly attributing that title to various dignitaries of past ages, such as Solomon and the two Hiram, and we and our successors will probably continue so to do until time shall be no more. Have we any excuse which would not have availed for Dr. Anderson? How many original Grand Lodges do *we* commemorate, and where were they holden?

We must remember that Dr. Anderson like ourselves was a member of an order which is veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols. That Society in its development or new creation dating from 1717 claimed an antiquity dating back to antediluvian times. But in so doing it only followed in the paths made by their predecessors who framed the Old Constitutions. It was on those lines, and on behalf of a Society making those claims, that Dr. Anderson prepared his 1723 Edition and expanded it in 1738. Once admit those premises and then carry them out to their logical issue and there was no escape from the kind of result which was attained in the 1738 Edition. As a rough version of architectural history through the ages and in many countries the narrative compiled by our Author does produce in broad outline a result which in the main creates a correct general impression, though marred by many inaccuracies in details and by insupportable allegations and encrusted with the unsound suggestions of the existence of Grand Masters and Lodges and certain paraphernalia associated therewith in the post 1717 era, much of which we now find crystallised in our current rituals. If we had attacked Dr. Anderson on that account he would probably have said that by whatever names they were called in the dialects of their respective countries, there must of necessity have been persons ultimately functioning in the same way as Grand Masters, Wardens, Master Masons, Fellowcrafts and Apprentices. Were our Brethren of the 1738 era so dense as to regard the record of matters of that kind as literally true? They were not entirely devoid of intelligence, and I do not think the members of the Craft who then or since have read the History have ever regarded it as

being more than a decorated, distorted and adapted version of plain facts dyed with Masonic tinctures.

Turning to another topic of discussion. It is clear that it frequently happens that the records in the minutes as to new or amended regulations differ from the version given in the 1738 book. It does not necessarily follow that the minutes are precisely correct when these differences occur. Minutes frequently give only what the Recorder considers to be the general effect of what is said or done, and the final form of amendments and new regulations is apt to differ from the minutes in words, though not in substance. The Grand Secretary is not likely to have approved the 1738 version without noticing such variations if they were really unauthorised. The idea that the Grand Secretary and other approvers were mere puppets in the hands of Dr. Anderson is one for which there is no warrant in the evidence.

Dr. Anderson and his co-adjutors must have been at some pains to collect much of the information recorded in the History, even though they paraphrased it on the lines before indicated or mis-copied it. Due credit should be given them for this. Among these items may be mentioned (1) the Register of William Molart in the Bodleian, dated 1429. This refers to Thomas Stupylton as Master whose name should have been recorded as Mapylton. I do not know whether it has previously been noticed that this Thomas Mapylton is almost certainly the same person as the Thomas Mapylton of London who was King's Master Mason at that time as appears by my paper on the King's Master Masons. He is described as late Master Mason of the Works in a Patent granted to Robert Westerley dated 6th January, 1439. Thomas Mapylton's own Patent was issued when the King was at Canterbury.

(2) The reference to Stow as to the Company of Masons. It is noteworthy that Dr. Anderson says so very little about that Company. Its continued existence and operations could hardly have escaped his attention, and the omission seems to have been deliberate.

(3) The new Articles which Anderson incorrectly dates 27th December, 1663, and which ought to be capable of being traced in some City Records unless they were burned in the Great Fire.

(4) The two references to Ashmole's Diary.

(5) The very brief and probably accurate account of the meetings leading to the creation of the 1717 Grand Lodge.

(6) The concise (if occasionally biassed) abstract of the meetings of Grand Lodge up to 1738. This abstract must have been a very important help indeed to the whole Fraternity. No really vital errors have been detected in that narration even when passed through the crucible of our severest tests.

(7) and (8) The statements as to the initiation, passing and raising of Frederick Prince of Wales and as to the initiation, passing and raising of the Duke of Lorraine.

The position occupied by these two items seems to indicate that they were inserted in the MS. at a late stage, and it is not at all improbable that they were so inserted at the suggestion of Dr. Desaguliers, who was one of the principal actors in the events referred to. Desaguliers is mentioned in the Approbation as one of those who after making some corrections had signified approbation.

Bro. Daynes in his paper as to the visit of the Duke of Lorraine produced no evidence whatever to shake the statements of Anderson.

Occasionally Bro. Edwards has adopted a somewhat overstressed method of criticism. For instance, he takes exception to Anderson's phrase that Grand Lodge "ordered" him to print the book, whereas what took place was that on his desiring the Grand Master's commands and the approbation of Grand Lodge this request was granted him.

Thus it appears that he was commanded, but must not call it ordered.

Too little weight is given by our critics to the part taken by such men as Desaguliers, Payne and Cowper in the oversight of the 1738 Edition. It was a matter in which they were greatly interested and all three of them were men of ability.

The fact cannot be gainsaid that Dr. Anderson, with all his faults, was the Father of the authentic school in this sense that he regarded the 1717 Grand Lodge as an off-shoot and development of the old operative Lodges and their non-operative associates.

BRO. WALTER K. FIRMINER said:—

I rise to propose a vote of thanks to Bro. Lewis Edwards for his admirable paper, which, though too lengthy to admit of it being thoroughly discussed at more meetings than one, has this advantage that when it appears in *Ars.Q.C.* it will present to the reader nearly all the available evidence, together with judgments, which, if not in every case acceptable, are characterised by close insight and matured reflection. In regard to one point, Anderson's account of the meetings of Grand Lodge on 24th June, 1721, and 1722, Bro. Edwards has overlooked the evidence supplied by Bro. Harry Rylands in his *Records of the Lodge Original No. 1, now the Lodge of Antiquity No. 2*. Bro. Rylands describes a volume known as "the E. Book". Some of the contents of this volume he says are of no historical value, and in saying this he is referring to "notes purporting to be either the original minutes or extracts from an older minute book" which appear from p. 125 onwards. I am tempted to believe that this depreciatory estimate has in effect led the reader to suppose that the other documents of the E. Book are of little or no importance. Bro. Ryland most certainly did not wish to make that impression. The following on page 11 of the E. Book he believed to be of early date:—

At

A Generall Assembly of a Great Number of
Freemasons Held at Stationers Hall; London
On the 24th June 1721. The Most Noble

John Duke of Montague=

Was then chosen Grand Master

Dr. John Beale Sub^t. Master

Mr. Josias Villeneau } Grand Wardens.
Mr. Thomas Morris }

The Most Noble Philip Duke of Wharton

The Right Hon^{ble}. Ld. Herbert

The Right Hon^{ble}. Ld. Hitchinbrook

The Right Hon^{ble}. Ld. Hillsborough

S^r. Will^m. Leman Bar^{tt}.

S^r. George Oxenden Bar^{tt}.

S^r. Richard Rich Bar^{tt}.

S^r. Andrew Fountaine, K^{nt}.

John Holt Esq^r.

Sackville Tufton Esq^r.

Will^m. Young Esq^r.

Will^m. Stanhope Esq^r.

Coll. John Cope

Coll. Campbell

P[hilip Lord] Stanhope

Christopher Wren Esq^r.
 Rich^d. Boulton. Gent.
 Thos. Sayer.
 W. Weston Esq^r.
 James Bateman. Gent.
 Charles Hedges
 Jos. Bullock

Dr. Stukeley tells us that "L^d. Herbert" and "S^r. Andrew Fountaine" were present at the Dinner at Stationers' Hall, and this seems to show that the E. Book is here not based on Anderson. Sir Andrew, by the way, was one of the founders of the Spalding Lodge. The E. Book also provides a list of Grand Lodge Feasts from June 24th, 1717, to February 26th, 1724, and this list, as Bro. Rylands believed, was drawn up about 1724. I extract the following:—

In y^e year 1721 June y^e 24th at Stationers' Hal
 was a Generall Assembly held by His Grace
 Grand the Duke of Montague Master
 Dup^t. Mas^t. D^r. Beal.
 Wards. { Josaias Villenav } Chosen for the Year
 { Thos. Morris. S^t. Gileses } insuing
 In y^e year 1722. June y^e 24th at Merchant Taylors
 Hall was General Assembly by His
 Grace the Duke of Wharton the
 Grand Master
 Dupt. D^r. Desauclear
 Wards. { John Timson } Chosen for the Year
 { W^m. Hawkin } insuing

You observe that this document contradicts Anderson in two very essential parts:—(1) It assigns the place of meeting at the Merchant Taylor's Hall, and (2) is contrary to Anderson's statement "his Grace appointed no deputy". The *Daily Post* of June 27th announced: "On Monday last was kept at the Stationers' Hall the usual Annual Grand Meeting of the Most Noble and Ancient Fraternity of Free-Masons (where there was a noble Appearance of Persons of Distinction), at which Meeting they are oblig'd by the Orders to elect a Grand and Deputy Master, in persuance whereof they have accordingly chosen his Grace the Duke of Wharton for their Grand Master in the room of his Grace the Duke of Montagu, and Dr. Desaguliers Deputy Master, in the room of Dr. Beal, for the year coming".

It is remarkable that Anderson should have been so negligent of Grand Master Payne's regulation of 1721, "Here also the Master or the Wardens of each particular Lodge shall bring and produce a List of such Members as have been made, or even admitted in their particular Lodges since the last Communication of the Grand Lodge". In what is for convenience called the 1723 Grand Lodge List of Members, Anderson appears as a Member of the Lodge at the Horn. What has become within quite a short time of the Lodge on whose behalf he, as its Master, signed the Approval of his 1723 *Book of Constitutions*? Only as the present Master or Warden of a Lodge could he have attended a Communication of Grand Lodge in 1723.

Bro. Lewis Edwards has not mentioned a curious fact recorded by our Bro. W. J. Hughan in his preface to our Lodge's Edition of the *Constitutions* of 1738. Bro. Rylands discovered attached to the cover of his copy of the 1738 *Constitutions* a cancelled leaf in which appeared a number of errors such as "Stephen" instead of "Francis, Duke of Lorraine".

I would like to add that some caution requires to be exercised in dealing with Dr. Stukeley's statements, and I would hesitate to say with Bro. Edwards that if such or such an event occurred "Stukeley would have mentioned the facts". The so-called "Diary" was put together by Stukeley at the close of his life. He died in 1765. No doubt he made use of memoranda recorded about the dates given, but he makes reflection on events long after they had taken place. It was quite possible for a brother attending the Annual Feast not to be aware of what had taken place at the earlier Communication of Grand Lodge beforehand. And as for the procession escaping the attention of the Press, the distance between St. Paul's Churchyard and Stationers' Hall is not very great.

The London Library possesses a copy of

The | Generous Free-Mason | or, the | Constant Lady | with the |
Humours | of Squire Noodle and his Man Doodle | a | Tragi-Comi
Farcical Ballad | Opera | in Three Acts. | With the Music prefix'd
to each Song. | By the Author of the Lovers' Opera. | London. |
Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick Lane and Sold | by the Booksellers
of London and Westminster. | MDCCXXXI | [Price One Shilling]. |

The printer is he who printed the Old *Constitutions* in 1722. The Opera is inscribed to the Rt. Wor. the Grand Master, Deputy Grand-Master, Grand Wardens and the rest of the Brethren of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons by "Your most Obedient, and Devoted Servant, the Author, a Free-Mason". The title-page of the *Lovers' Opera* (1729) reveals the name "Mr. Chetwood, Prompter of the Theatre", and the Catalogue of the London Library supplies his Christian names, "William Rufus". From the advertisements at the end of the *Generous Free-Mason* I extract:—

Proposals | By Printing by Subscription | the Life, Memoirs,
Voyages, Travels and Adventures of | William Owen Gwinn
Vaughan Esq. - - - - - [Subscriptions are taken by the Compiler,
at the Thea | tre Royal in Drury Lane.] |

It will be remembered that the XVIIth Lodge, which gave its approval to Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, remains unidentified, but that its Officers at the end of 1722 were:—

James Anderson A.M. }
The Author of this Book. } Master.

Gwinn Vaughan Esq. }
Walter Greenwood Esq. } Wardens.

Bro. DAVID FLATHER writes:—

Our sincere congratulations and our grateful thanks are due to Bro. Edwards for his masterly paper.

Frankly, I find it beyond my power to offer any criticism or to add anything of value to it.

Bro. Edwards while confirming the generally accepted opinion as to James Anderson's want of historical truth, throws much light upon his methods and the sources of much of his matter.

I think that Bro. Edwards is perhaps right in suggesting that Anderson's main object was to produce what to-day we should call a "write up" of the

Craft. I venture to suggest that the origin of this idea may have been a definite instruction to produce a book which would assist in widening the scope of organised masonry. The 1723 *Constitutions* throughout convey the impression that they were applicable to a society limited in its range (as in fact it was), to the Cities of London and Westminster.

The 1738 *Constitutions* give me the impression of being an attempt to claim the world-wide and age-long existence of Freemasonry, and to promote the extension of its borders.

With regard to the power of the Grand Master to preside at any private Lodge he may visit, this reminds me of a regular custom which exists in West Yorkshire and probably in other Provinces. It is perhaps hardly a matter which has bearing upon this paper, though it is of interest particularly as the practice might be considered irregular.

The meetings of our Provincial Lodge in West Yorkshire are always held "under the Banner of a Lodge or group of Lodges", and the following is the procedure:—(1) The Lodge under whose banner the Provincial Lodge is meeting, having obtained the requisite Dispensation, is opened by the Master in form. (2) The Provincial Grand Master, etc., etc., demands admission and enters in procession with his Officers, Grand Officers, etc. (3) The Master or the Lodge presents his Gavel to the Prov. Gd. Master, who accepts and takes the Chair—in like manner the Provincial Officers displace the corresponding Lodge Officers. (4) When Provincial Grand Lodge is closed, the P.G.M. returns the Gavel to the Master, the Lodge Officers resume their stations, and the procession retires. (5) The Master of the Lodge then closes his Lodge in the usual form. There has, in effect, been a short adjournment of the private Lodge, and the Provincial Lodge meeting held during that adjournment. It works perfectly well and, indeed, adds to the solemnity of the meeting—but I doubt if it is strictly regular.

"Foundation Stones" are an interesting subject which I am trying to work up.

While accepting Bros. Lepper and Crosslé's conclusion that Anderson's record is a fiction, it does show that in Anderson's mind and probably in general opinion, the idea of a Masonic stone laying was definitely a suitable ceremony. I would like here to call attention to the use in the same entry of the two words "Foundation Stone" and "Footstone", which, I think, will be found to be descriptive of two separate and distinct stones.

With regard to Anderson's initiation, unless the Lodge of which his father was a "prominent member" was exclusively operative, and as he was a glazier, and therefore not an operative mason, it is reasonable to suppose that when James was about to leave Aberdeen his father may, realising the advantages of the Craft, have arranged for his becoming a member of it.

BRO. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

One of my youthful memories is of a Dutch tile which was painted to represent Abraham in the act of offering up his son Isaac. The patriarch brandishes a Turkish scimitar and wears knee breeches and a hat like a Quaker Oat advertisement. As Bro. Edwards suggests, such pictures may be aptly compared with Anderson's writings. There is no desire to misrepresent, but the truth can only be regarded as approximate and must be selected according to our knowledge of the subject.

But when we use negative evidence it is very easy to throw doubt on statements that could have been very easily dealt with at the time by Bro. Anderson. His right to the use of D.D. is an instance of this. And some of the points made by Bro. Edwards against Anderson I should be inclined to regard as unfounded. For instance, on Regulation xiii. "Anderson implied that previously the making not only of Masters but also of Fellow craft was confined to Grand Lodge, which is absurd". But I believe these Regulations to have a basis in the customs of the Livery Companies of the City of London and to have been perfectly sound with an historical basis.

A Livery Company of the City of London was a Gild or Fellowship which governed a body of yeomen or freemen, and where these freemen were a fraternity the Company furnished them with Ordinances, insisted that the master should be of the livery or Fellowship, and collected quarterage without giving them any voice in the government. There was nothing democratic about them, and the master of the Company itself was not elected by the general body but usually by the reigning master and the past masters. The Worshipful Company of Freemasons of the City of London governed the yeomen or journeymen masons, and I think it very unlikely that they allowed these journeymen to appoint to the Livery or Fellowship which governed them. A revival of the system during the rebuilding of London led to a number of honorary masons becoming masterless men after the rebuilding was finished, and it was an attempt to bring these masterless men into an obedience that led to the formation of Grand Lodge. Fellow craft lodges applied to be "Constituted" and led to the repeal of this Regulation for them, but there is no instance of a lodge of modern or first degree masons making fellows or masters. We do know, however, that the Bury Lodge of modern masons evaded the regulation that the master must be among the fellows, for as late as 1768 their master and two past-masters were fellow crafted and raised by the Bolton Lodge.

Then, again, I fail to find that Aubrey is in opposition to Anderson as regards Sir Christopher Wren's connection with Freemasonry. Aubrey having written that Sir Christopher Wren was to be adopted a Free mason in 1691, afterwards corrects it to read the Fraternity of Accepted Masons. The accepted mason appears to have been a journeyman who having been trained in one place was accepted as a mason at another lodge. London must have been full of them at this time. They were workmen, not masters. Aubrey's manuscript does not show that Free mason and accepted mason are interchangeable terms, but that there was a difference which he did not properly understand. If Wren had been, like Ashmole, a member of the Freemasons for many years, it would not prevent his fraternising with the operative masons who were rebuilding St. Paul's Cathedral. Aubrey does not even say that he was to be initiated. He was to be "adopted", which is a term quite appreciable to his joining them although already in possession of their secrets.

Anderson is said to be two years out where he records the appointment of Bro. Moody as sword-bearer on 27th March, 1731. Bros. Edwards and Begemann, relying on the Minutes of Grand Lodge, state that Moody was not appointed until 1733 so Anderson must be wrong. But the copy of the St. Paul's Head Lodge memorial in the *Rawlinson MSS.* shows that these memorialists used the words: "Ever since a Sword of State has been carried before the R.W. the Grand Master at the annual Feast, this Lodge (St. Paul's Head) has carried the same except when Bro. Moody carried it in 1732". If we regard this year as commencing on April 1st we get an exact agreement with Anderson.

To my mind, the wording of the memorial suggests that the St. Paul's Head Lodge had carried the sword for several years, long enough, in fact, to

regard it as a right. But this could not be the case if the first procession was in 1730. It would only give them two occasions to the once of Moody. The names of several of their members as given by Rawlinson occur also in the early list of the Queen's Head, Hollis Street, and I therefore identify them with this lodge which was constituted personally by the Duke of Richmond in 1724. They may have carried the sword from 1725 to 1731.

It is fortunate for the Craft that Bro. Anderson was its early historian, but it is probable that many of his absurdities are due to our lack of knowledge and his own lack of clearness. In passing from the accepted Masons of his first *Book of Constitutions* and identifying them with the Freemasons that governed them he has hopelessly muddled and confused the search for our pedigree.

BRO. CECIL ADAMS said:—

It has always appeared to me that, although a commentary on Anderson's second *Book of Constitutions* has been badly needed, only a brave man would face the task. The book is a troublesome one; Jonathan Scott wrote truly when he stated that it appeared "in a very mangled condition", but there is no doubt that it is of great importance to the Masonic bibliographer. We must remember that this 1738 edition was taken to Ireland and copied by Spratt in 1751, whose book in turn came back to this country in the guise of *Ahiman Rezon* in 1756, and the later editions of Dermott's work take it on to the end of the eighteenth century.

James Anderson could have nothing good to say for the work of William Smith, and for this reason he could hardly appropriate in his second edition that useful address, first published in the *Pocket Companion*, which is now known as the E.A. Charge. But what about the Songs? It seems likely that Anderson borrowed a few of them from Smith, even as Smith, in his turn, had taken other songs from Anderson's 1723 edition. Of the eleven which are printed, certainly two seem to come direct from the *Pocket Companion* and three others are probably from the same source, although they were first printed elsewhere.

The 1738 *Constitutions* has a very modest supply of songs, and one feels that the author regarded that part of his work as of minor importance. Or was it that he did not wish his own songs, now cut to reasonable dimensions, to be lost in a maze of others? Let us give him the benefit of the doubt, and assume that he considered that the "history" and law of Freemasonry should not be confused with things more frivolous.

We must congratulate Bro. Lewis Edwards on his assiduity in giving us a thorough examination of this book, and, at the same time, thank him for his most useful work.

BRO. EDWARDS writes, in reply:—

I do feel most truly grateful to the Brethren who have assisted me with their criticisms and with the additional information they have supplied, no less than for the kindness with which the paper has been received. I have felt all along that one who deals with the many points arising in a commentary on the 1738 *Book of Constitutions*, even if possessed of a learning and a quality of carefulness to which I lay no claim, must, so to speak, from the large extent of territory he occupies and the dissemination of his forces, expose himself to many attacks, and I feel most gratified that my main positions are still held at the end of the discussion. I have tried to put the relevant and so often seemingly

contradictory facts before the Brethren, and I do not propose to deal in detail with the additional ones brought out in the course of the debate, contenting myself by asking the reader to weigh those brought forward by me with those advanced by my critics, and if he finds in the light of them all that some of my conclusions seems on balance to be erroneous, boldy so to consider them, and I, without any feeling of personal chagrin, will applaud his decision.

With regard to Bro. Firminger's observations I do admit that his points regarding "the E. Book" and also Dr. Stukeley are important factors in considering Anderson's reliability, but how all the various facts are to be reconciled I cannot see. Once again it is a question of the credibility of the witnesses whose evidence is advanced, and as to that each must form his own conclusions. Bro. Flather's remarks are full of interest, and I note with respectful pleasure that he does not appear to disagree with my main conclusions.

I appreciate that Bro. Williams has realised that although I have been compelled to deliver "drastic judgments", I have occasionally shown a "desire to extenuate the delinquencies of the Author". If I set about my task with any object or any prejudice beyond a desire to seek the truth, it was to rehabilitate Anderson and to gratify my patriotism by showing Begemann's strictures to be unfounded, but quite early I found to my regret that save in those cases which I have been careful to point out, Anderson, though his attitude could in many cases be explained, could not be rehabilitated and patriotism had to make way for truth. If in Bro. Williams' words Anderson was "the Father of the Authentic School", how is the adjective to be reconciled with our Brother's view of the *History* as a "decorated, distorted and adapted version of plain facts dyed with Masonic tinctures"?

With regard to Bro. Bullamore's observation, I note his ingenious theory as to that perplexing period before 1717, when there seem to have been both the operative masons of a lower service order and the speculative or (shall we say?) gentlemen masons. I do not think, however, that if Wren had been already a speculative or honorary mason he would have later become, so to speak, an honorary member of the operative craft, and then why so late as 1691? The question of Bro. Moody and the Sword of State, taking into account Bro. Bullamore's objections, seems to be as follows. The Minutes of 29th January, 1781, state that Moody had finished the Sword by that date and had his health drunk for his services, but do not mention his appointment as Sword-Bearer. From this fact and from the memorial regarding St. Paul's Head Lodge not being presented until 29th May, 1733, it would appear that Moody did not receive his appointment in 1731, but at the meeting on 7th June, 1733, as recorded in the Minutes of that date. The Deputy Grand Master in his observations of 29th May, 1733, does not deny that the St. Paul's Head Sword had been carried in previous years, but says that as the new Sword is the Grand Master's it must be carried by the Grand Master's nominee. The position is not, I admit, free from difficulty. On the one hand, if Moody was appointed in 1731, why did not the Minutes say so, and why did the memorialists delay until 1733? On the other, if the Sword was "finished" in 1731, why was not Moody then or soon thereafter appointed, and who carried the Sword (and which Sword?) between 1731 and 1733?

That the subject of the 1738 Edition of *Anderson's Constitutions* required detailed treatment in our *Transactions* I feel confident, and it is as much a pleasure as a duty for me to acknowledge that the paper would never have been written by me, or if written would have shown even more inadequacy had it not been for the inspiration, encouragement and assistance I have had from Bros. Hills, Songhurst and Vibert. Further, Bro. Vibert has eked out my very insufficient knowledge of German by placing at my disposal his unfortunately as yet unpublished translation of *Begemann*.

Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

WEDNESDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1933.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. David Flather, P.A.G.D.C., W.M.; W. J. Williams, I.P.M.; *Rev.* Walter K. Firminger, *D.D.*, P.G.Ch., S.W.; B. Telepneff, J.W.; *Rev.* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., Chap.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Treasurer; Lionel Vibert, P.A.G.D.C., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., D.C.; Douglas Knoop, *M.A.*, S.D.; George Elkington, P.A.G.Sup.W., J.D.; Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, I.G.; H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., P.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.G.D., Ireland, P.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., Stew.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., Stew.; *Major* Cecil C. Adams, *M.C.*, P.G.D.; and G. Hook, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. P. Hunter, R. A. Wall, Ed. M. Phillips, C. F. Sykes, H. C. Towers, H. B. Isaacs, H. C. Knowles, P.A.G.Reg., Geo. F. Pallett, Lewis Edwards, S. A. V. Wood, Hy. Wilson, Albert E. Barlow, K. D. Flather, Chas. H. Taunton, A. F. Cross, Wilfred J. Harrald, Henry G. Gold, Harry Bladon, A.G.D.C., L. G. Wearing, J. Johnstone, A. Thompson, C. K. James, R. M. Strickland, A. H. Wolfenden, H. S. Bell, F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C., R. Girdlestone Cooper, Alfred G. T. Smith, H. A. Horsnell, F. Welland, F. J. Bryan, Albert Mond, Regd. F. Baker, H. W. Chetwin, G. T. Harley Thomas, P.A.G.S.B., Geo. C. Williams, R. Wheatley, J. C. Harvey, J. F. H. Gilbard, and Wallace Heaton, P.G.St.B.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. G. A. Ogilvie, Pr.G.D., Surrey; P. H. Crozier, P.Dis.G.Chap., Bengal; W. R. Cory, Bolingbroke Lodge No. 2417; G. Mumford, W.M., Old Felstedian Lodge No. 3662; R. G. Kerr, P.M., Marble Craft Lodge No. 3522; H. Dalgarno Robinson, P.M., Lodge of Harmony No. 255; R. R. Newitt, Royal Gloucester Lodge No. 130; Comte Geza Szapary, Semper Fidelis Lodge No. 20 (G.L.Nat., France); and Georges Baninger, Doric Lodge No. 5019.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; G. Norman, P.G.D., P.M.; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.Pr.G.Ch., Westmorland and Cumberland; B. Ivanoff; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; and *Rev.* A. W. Oxford, *M.D.*, P.G.Ch., Almoner.

One Lodge and Twenty-one Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

W.Bro. *Rev.* Walter K. Firminger, *D.D.*, *P.G.Ch.*, the Master-Elect, was presented for Installation and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by Bro. D. Flather, assisted by Bros. H. C. de Lafontaine, J. Heron Lepper, and G. P. G. Hills.

The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. B. Telepneff	S.W.
„ D. Knoop	J.W.
„ W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
„ W. J. Songhurst	Treasurer
„ Lionel Vibert	Secretary
„ G. P. G. Hills	D.C.
„ G. Elkington	S.D.
„ W. Ivor Grantham	J.D.
„ A. W. Oxford	Almoner
„ F. W. Golby	I.G.
„ S. J. Fenton	Stew.
„ C. C. Adams	Stew.
„ B. Ivanoff	Stew.
„ G. Hook	Tyler

The W.M. proposed and it was duly seconded and carried:—“That W.Bro. David Flather, having completed his year of office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge, and that this Resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him ”.

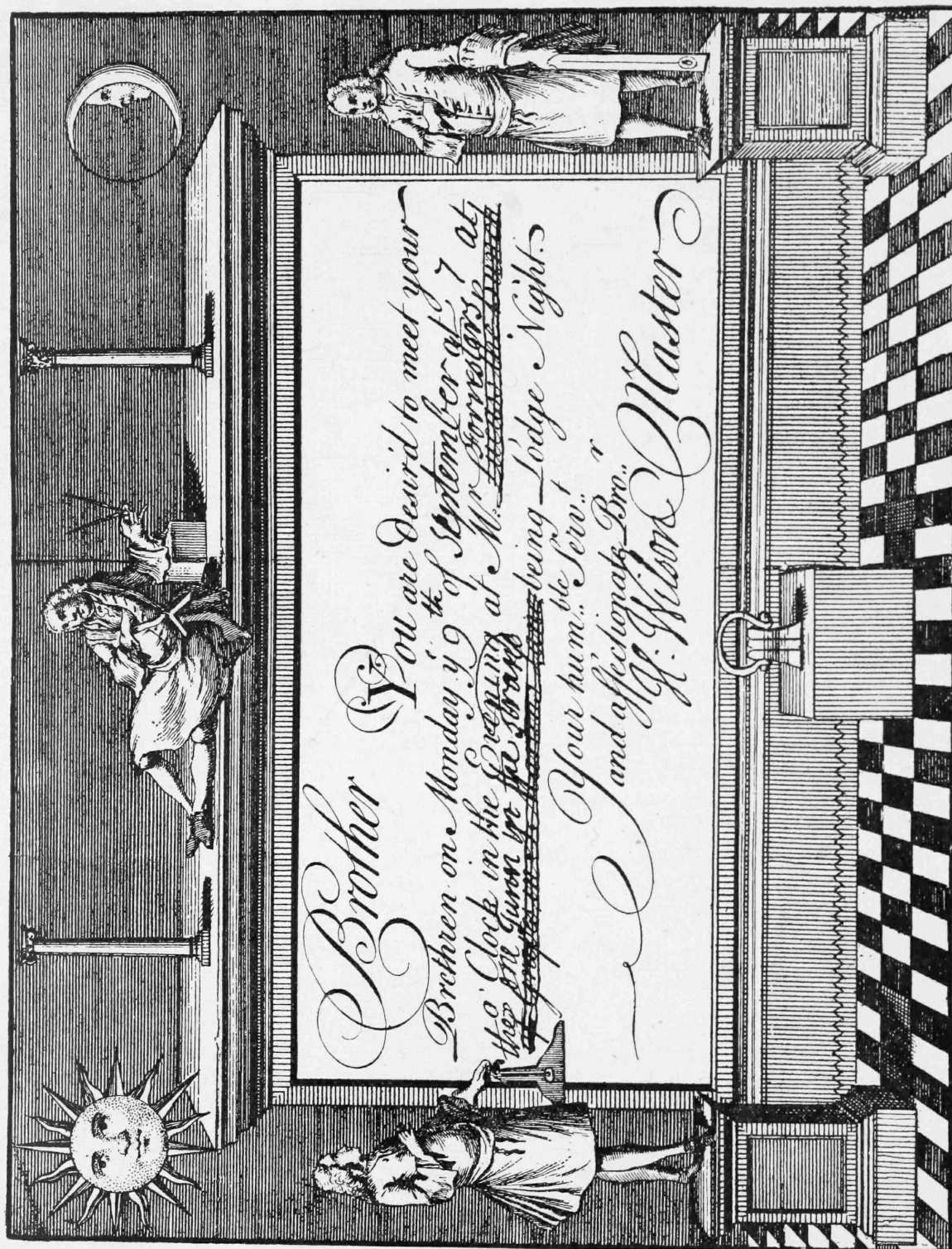
The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS.

Engraved Summons of the Lodge meeting at Mr Forresters at the One Tun in the Strand, altered from Mr. Lucas's, the Bunch of Grapes, in St Martin's Lane. Engraved by R. Cole. (*Vide* illustration.)

This was the Lodge of Peace and Plenty (Lane, 1895, p. 83). It made no returns after 1813. It was meeting at the One Tun from 1751 to 1754. Its previous meeting place, Lucas's Wine Vaults, the Bunch of Grapes, is not in Lane but can be recovered from the Grand Lodge Minutes. This particular copy is endorsed “MR Livingstone”, which gives us the name of a member of the Lodge. The three figures are identical with three on the trade card of the Chelsea Bun House, a specimen of which is in the Q.C. Library.



Summons of Lodge of Peace and Plenty (No. 188 of 1739).
It met at the Bunch of Grapes in 1753.

Engraved Summons. Three figures standing on three altars on a tessellated pavement. Venus (probably) as Beauty; Minerva as Wisdom; Hercules as Strength. On sides an oak and what appears to be a palm. Above, the irradiated eye. On label twined round the trees the words: "Brother The Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Somerset. No ——— Desire your Attendance on ——— by Order of the Master ——— Secretary.

Not masonic, but I have been unable to trace the body or Society which issued it.

Engraving, French, in honour of the Queen of Naples. (*Of. Misc. Lat.*, xviii., 45.) Date April, 1777.

Apron. White skin, oval, with dark blue borders. A flap of two curves, and four tassels of silk thread, attached direct to the apron, three above and one below. There were at one time two ornaments attached below the flap, but they are now missing. Not masonic.

By Bro. RAY SHUTE, N. Carolina.

Commemorative Jewel; Grand Chapter, R.A.M., and Grand Council, R. & S.M., Washington, 1933 Triennial Meeting. *Presented to the Lodge.*

By Bro. R. T. HALLIDAY.

Laws of Robertson's Lodge, Cromarty, of 1832. Copy given to Robert Ross on his admission on 16 December 1839.

Robertson's Lodge was constituted in 1774, and worked as an ordinary Lodge until in 1832 it was constituted a Friendly Society and these Laws were drawn up. They still required a masonic qualification for membership. That is to say, they made members by making them masons, and conferred on them the three degrees. They retained the name Robertson's Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Cromarty. But these laws refer purely to the concerns of a Friendly Society. In 1868 owing to mismanagement the Society was dissolved; the Lodge seems to have continued on the registers till 1878 when it was closed. It remained in abeyance till 1891 when it was reopened and is now the Robertson Lodge, No. 134. This is the original number of the Lodge, after the re-numbering at the beginning of last century.

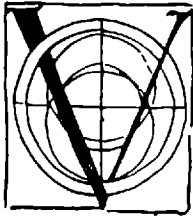
By the Library and Museum Committee, Provincial Grand Lodge of West Riding.

Apron of the Order of Old Friends. White silk with printed design.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to those Brethren who had made presentations to the Lodge and lent objects for exhibition.

The W.M. delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.



ERY many years have passed since Bro. Speth said in this Lodge: "In the earlier years of this Lodge it was considered that, although our inclinations might tend in the direction of placing before our colleagues difficult points for discussion, a new thesis, or the results of minute investigation of specialised questions—all conducive to the intense enjoyment of the more learned among us, yet our duty requires us also to instruct the less advanced, or at least afford them the means of laying a solid foundation on which to raise a superstructure of self-teaching. Many papers broadly historical in treatment, which for want of a better name were styled 'elementary' were read before the Lodge in pursuance of this policy, but in late years we seem to have only dimly recognised our duty to our co-members in this respect".

You, Brethren, have conferred on me an overwhelmingly great distinction by placing me in a chair that has been occupied by many illustrious scholars in Masonry, and were I to claim to be "one of the more learned among us", it would be only because your too kindly consideration can well perhaps extenuate some lack of modesty on my part. The address I am about to deliver is not intended to convey information to "the more learned", although I trust that the repetition of so much with which they are already familiar will not overstrain their patience. At the same time I cannot claim that this address will satisfy an almost impossibly high ideal Bro. Speth required in the case of an "elementary" paper. The choice I have made of a subject for review has been motivated by the consideration that even the existence of Bro. W. J. Songhurst's edition of the *Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons in England 1723-1739* is but little known to our Brethren dispersed over the face of land and water, and if anything that can be said from the Chair can have the result of impressing the importance of this indispensable volume of Masonic instruction on those who do not wish to miss an opportunity of extending and enriching their knowledge of the practice and the principles of the Craft, it will indeed have been my duty to say it. Members of Quatuor Coronati would be the first to recognise the courtesy and assistance they have received at the hands of the Custodians of the Grand Lodge Archives. It may, however, be pointed out that printed copies of Minute Books, especially when scientifically indexed and edited with such scholarly care as our Bro. Songhurst is so well qualified to bestow, are not only of untold advantage to research students, but obviate the wear and tear of original papers and would by their dispersion provide against the unenviable disaster of destruction of the originals by fire. It would be scarcely an exaggeration to affirm that research in many important directions for those who are unable to get to London to study will remain at a standstill until the happy day arrives when a second instalment of Bro. Songhurst's work is in their hands. My choice of this subject is further justified by the circumstance that since the *Minutes of Grand Lodge 1723-1739* were published as No. x. of the *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha* Bro. Songhurst, by the courtesy of the Prov. G. Lodge of Warwickshire, has been able to reproduce in *facsimile* in *A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., the Engraved List of Lodges for 1728. While this comparatively recent discovery of an Engraved List affords a tribute to the accuracy of our Brother's conjectures in

matters in regard to which conjecture was all that was open to him in 1913, this Engraved List of 1728 does enable us to trace more clearly the continuity or the disappearance of certain old London lodges.

For the benefit of the Brethren for whom the study of *Antigrapha*, x., is a pleasure yet to come, I will say a few words about the three lists of lodges with their members which the volume contains. These Brethren will remember that, whereas the "Four Old Lodges" (*Multa Paucis* has it that there were six) and "some old Brothers" met in 1717 at the Apple Tree . . . and "constituted themselves a Grand Lodge *pro tempore* in due form", it was not till 24th June, 1723, a Secretary was formally appointed by Grand Lodge. We have to make an effort to realise the circumstances in which the Grand Lodge, at first scarcely prepared to ostracise lodges not constituted by its authority or claim jurisdiction "beyond the bills of mortality", organised itself. Masons foregathered at favoured taverns, and if a little body of friends in masonry met one season at the Bull and Butcher, the next season might find them removed to the Lamb and the Care-taker. Although we often hear it said that "from time immemorial, it has been an established custom amongst Free Masons for each Lodge, once in a year, at a stated period to select, etc.", yet the brethren in those times, felt under no obligation to abide by a stated time, and if they had one their custom frequently if not generally was to hold an election every half-year. On February 19th, 1724, Grand Lodge assented to the Grand Master's order: "Every Master or Warden bring with them the list of every member belonging to his Lodge at the next Quarterly Meeting". The resolution of November 21st of the same year which required each Lodge to contribute to the Charity Joint Stock "according to the Quality and Number of the said Lodge" incidentally provided Grand Lodge with a means of discovering whether the private lodges were at work or in abeyance. On December 27th it stands on record that the several Masters and Wardens "took their place according to seniority on each side of the Chair".

It will be of interest to recall to memory that at a meeting of our Lodge, June 24th, 1891, Bro. Wonnacott exhibited a photograph of an engraved Summons to attend a Communication of G. Lodge which was to be held on June 24th, 1726. No Minutes of this Communication, if it was held, have come down to us, but I mention the matter because at the foot of the Summons there is the following reminder:—"P.S. Bring with you a list of members of your Lodge". How such an injunction was attended to may be judged by the fact that of the fifty-two Lodges on the 1723 MS. List sixteen made no returns; of the seventy-seven of the 1725 List four failed; of the 102 of the 1730 List forty-six failed; but twenty-nine of these Lodges were either in the provinces or on the Continent. Bro. Anderson, as we shall see, did not set a good example in regard to the thirteenth of his "General Regulations": "Here [G. Lodge] also the Master or the Wardens of each particular Lodge shall bring and produce a List of such Members as have been made, or even admitted in their particular Lodges since the last Communication of the Grand Lodge". (*Cons.*, 1723, p. 62.)

The first of the earliest written lists contained in the Minute Book is headed: "This Manuscript was begun the 25th November, 1723". It is only for convenience sake that this can be called the "MS. List of 1723", for it contains the names of Lodges constituted in 1724 and 1725. Whether or no the Compiler followed the principle of seniority I cannot say. If he did, he gave the Lodge at the Cheshire Cheese in Arundel Street precedence over the Lodge at the Horne Tavern (now the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge, No. 4).

With this first Grand Lodge List it is interesting to compare the list of the twenty Lodges whose Masters and Wardens gave their approval to Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723. Anderson does not give the names of the Taverns, so the identity of the Lodges can only be determined by comparing the names of the persons with the names in the MS. List of 1723. When we do this, we find that the Horne Lodge is fourth and the Cheshire Cheese is fifth in Anderson's list. The name of the Wor. Master of the latter is Matthew Birkhead, the author of the Entered Apprentice Song. As he died on December 28th, 1722, we may be sure that Anderson gives a list of lodge officers in the year before the commencement of the first Grand Lodge MS. List, and he gives the first four Lodges in an order different from that of the Grand Lodge MS. List, but in an order which is carried out by the subsequent Engraved Lists:—

1. The Lodge at the Goose and Gridiron. To-day Antiquity, No. 2.
2. The Lodge at the Queen's Head, Turnstile Holborn, Holborn, removed from the Crown, Parker's Lane. No. 2 on the Engraved List of 1728, when meeting at the Rose and Rummer, Furnival's Inn.
3. The Lodge at the Queen's Head, Knaves Acre. No. 3 on the Engraved List of 1728. This Lodge having accepted a 'Constitution' in 1723, descended on the Engraved List of 1729 to No. 11. To-day Fortitude and Cumberland, No. 12.
4. The Lodge at the Horne, Westminster, removed from the Rummer and Grapes, Westminster. No. 4 on the Engraved List, 1728: No. 3 on do. in 1729. To-day Royal Somerset House and Inverness, No. 4.

As I have mentioned Matthew Birkhead's Lodge at the Cheshire Cheese, I may say that when we come to the second MS. List we will find its place on the roll taken by a Lodge at the King's Head, Ivy Lane, constituted in January, 1722, No. 5 in 1728, and to-day the Lodge of Friendship, No. 6. This Lodge appeared on the MS. List of 1723, but no list of members is given. Of the twenty Lodges consenting to Anderson's *Constitutions*, five remain unidentified, and among the five is Anderson's own Lodge. He presents us with:—

XVII. James Anderson. A.M.	}	Master.
The AUTHOR of this BOOK		
Gwinn Vaughan Esq.	}	Wardens.
Walter Greenwood. Esq.		

In the MS. list of 1723 James Anderson appears on the roll of the Horne Lodge as an ordinary member: the names of his wardens in the unidentified No. XVII. do not appear in any of the three MS. Lists.

The second MS. List is headed "A list of the Regular Constituted Lodges | together with the Names of the Masters | and Wardens and Members of Each Lodge | as by Account deliver'd at a Quarterly | Communication held 27th November 1725". Again the Lodge at the Queen's Head, Knaves Acre, is placed before the Lodge which is usually regarded as the second of the "Four Old Lodges". Having started the List, the Compiler added to it Lodges of later constitution.

The third MS. List is headed: "List of the Names of the Members | of all the regular Lodges as they were | returned in the Year 1730. The R^t. Hon^{ble}. | Thomas Lord Lovell being then | Grand Master". Lord Lovell became G. Master on March 27th, 1731, and he made over his office to Viscount Montague on April 19th, 1732. The list contains Lodges constituted at least as late as September, 1732. So a writer of a Lodge history may have to exercise some caution before he writes that So-and-So was a member of his Lodge in 1730 because the name is found in the Grand Lodge MS. List of 1730.

The assigning of numbers to Lodges commences with the Engraved List of 1729. The designation of the Goose and Gridiron clung to the Lodge which is now Antiquity, even after it had removed from that tavern. The circumstance that the Lodges might work at one and the same tavern introduces a good deal of difficulty when we are attempting to discover the continuity of the Lodges in which we are particularly interested. Here is an instance. In my own case I have found it very difficult to keep a clear look-out for the Rose, Marylebone, and I observe that even Bro. Songhurst himself (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., p. 144) has observed "a confusion between two different Lodges meeting at the Rose", but it has not been observed that in the Engraved List of 1728 the Tavern sign set against No. 67, Grafton St., 7 Dials, is as a matter of fact not a Rose, but a Swan.¹ A valuable correction to the difficulty.

Not having the advantage, which we now have, of being able constantly to refer to printed Minutes, Bro. Lane may have inadvertently passed over the following interesting entry of date June 21st, 1731 (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 209), which shows that the Lodge at the Three Kings was not constituted till after that date:—

A Petition was presented and signed by several Brethren praying that they may be admitted into the Grand Lodge, and Constituted into a regular Lodge at the Three Kings in Crispian Street Spittle Fields, after some debate, Several Brethren present vouching that they were regular Masons, they were admitted, and the Grand Master declared, that he or his Deputy, would Constitute them accordingly, and signed their Petition for that purpose.

In his edition of the Minutes Bro. Songhurst had expressed scepticism as to Bro. Lane's (*Records*, p. 47) identification of the Lodge at the Three Kings with the Lodge originally constituted at the Rummer, Henrietta Street.² The recovery of the 1728 Engraved List justified this scepticism, for in that list was found as No. 37 the Nag's Head in Prince's Street, Drury Lane, constituted August 4th, 1723. That Lodge in 1729 became No. 21, and was erased in 1782. In the 1729 Engraved List, No. 37 is assigned to the Three Kings, constituted July, 1724. The Cross Keys may, as Lane says, have removed to the Three Tuns, Wood St., but it was only to become extinct. "The Three Kings in Spittle Fields removed to the Sash and Cocoe Tree in Upper Moorfields" in the MS. List of 1730 (*Q.C.A.*, p. 164) is in fact one of the new Lodges brought into existence by Bro. Dr. Rawlinson and his associates. To it was assigned the number 37 given in 1729 to the Three Kings, and the date (July, 1724) of the constitution of the older but extinct Lodge was attached to the new one.

In these MS. Lists no numbers are given to the Lodges, and the Lodges do not bear distinctive names of their own, but are designated by the name of the tavern in which they met. Some of the Lodges were considerable wanderers, and consequently their designation changes with each removal from tavern to tavern. Then, again, two or even three Lodges might be meeting on different nights at the same tavern. The name "The Goose and the Gridiron" seems

¹ The Swan in Grafton St., Soho, has been identified with the Lodge constituted at the Golden Lyon in Dean St. in September, 1725. Lane (*Records*, p. 56) finds it at the Swan in Long Acre in 1730. The Swan in Grafton St., 7 Dials, is No. 67 on the Engraved List of 1728, and No. 44 in that of 1729. A comparison of the list of members had already led me to suspect that the Lodge in Dean St., Soho, and the Swan in Grafton St. or in Long Acre were not connected in the way supposed. The recovery of the 1728 list justifies my suspicion. On that list the Golden Lyon, according to Lane, met in 1740 at the Mitre, King's St., Westminster, and was erased, April, 1744. Anderson: *Constitutions*, 1738 (p. 186), "30. Swan Tavern in Long Acre, an English Lodge. Sept. 1725". Above: "18. Swan Tavern in Long Acre, a French Lodge, 12 June, 1723".

² The Three Tuns, Wood St., was represented in G. Lodge on December 15th, 1730. (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 132.)

to have clung to the Lodge which is now Antiquity even after it had ceased to meet in St. Paul's Churchyard. In the Engraved Lists the Signs, but not the names of the taverns, are given, and not till 1729 were the dates of Constitution indicated. When a place on the list fell vacant, the compiler did not fill it up by promoting the next Lodge in seniority. A quite recently formed Lodge could be assigned the vacated space and obtain the date of the Constitution of the Lodge whose place on the list it filled. Bro. Songhurst writes: "I look upon this 'filling up', not as a deliberate action on the part of Grand Lodge, but rather as a natural result of the system adopted of issuing lists printed from *Engraved* plates. When a Lodge went out of existence, the sign of the House at which it had met would be rubbed off the plates, and another sign would be engraved representing a Lodge which had just come on the List. In all cases the Engraver would not even take the trouble to alter the date of Constitution, and so these Lodges not only received numbers to which they were not entitled, but their ages appeared as those of the Lodges which they replaced. This system of filling up gaps in the List by later creations was adopted by the Grand Lodge of the Antients, and is still practised by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, but it was abandoned by the Moderns in favour of a periodical 'closing up' of the entire List". (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. xxii.)

From this it might be conjectured that as historical materials the Engraved Lists would be of very doubtful value. This, however, is far from being the case. The Minutes of Grand Lodge and the names of members given in the MS. Lists enable the researcher to make a plentiful use of the numbers assigned to Lodges by the Engraved Lists: but there is, as an examination of Bro. Songhurst's notes on the Engraved Lists will show, a number of cases in which an attempt to recover the past unrecorded history of Lodges still in existence is thwarted by contradictions due to the way of filling up of gaps in the Lists adopted by the compilers of the Engraved List. Let us take, for example, that fine Lodge, Old King's Arms, now No. 28. Its earliest existing Minute Book commences with the following note, dated August 6th, 1733, at the King's Arms in the Strand:—

The Lodge constituted by authority in May 1725 No. 43 being removed last from the Cross Keys in Henrietta Street Covent Garden by the General Suffrages of the members of the Lo: attending adjournment to this place where B. Bentley the Master of the House invited and kindly received them.

The list of members of this Lodge, containing the well-known names of Sir Cecil Wray (Master), Martin Clare (S. Warden), and Sir Robert Lawley, is given in the Grand Lodge MS. List of 1730, where the Lodge is stated to be at the Cross Keys in Henrietta Street. Now the number 43 is the number assigned in the Engraved List of 1729 to a Lodge working at the Rose "Mary le Bone", constituted May 25th, 1725, and working the 1st and 3rd Monday in the summer, and last Monday in the winter. Bro. Lane in his *Records*—a work which is a triumph of courageous industry and skill—finds the earliest trace of Old King's Arms Lodge at Free Mason's Coffee House, New Belton Street. We now turn to the Engraved List of 1728, and we find there neither Free Mason's Coffee House nor the Rose in Marylebone. Had the 1728 List given the dates of Constitution we would be in a happier position, but it does not. It, however, has as No. 67 a Lodge in Grafton Street, Seven Dials. Bro. Songhurst comments: "No. 67 at the Rose, Grafton Street, Seven Dials, is apparently the Lodge constituted in May, 1725, at Freemason's Coffee Street, Long Acre". But the Tavern Sign of No. 67 is not a Rose: it is a Swan. I will quote the rest of Bro. Songhurst's note: "It became No. 43 in 1729, and is now Old King's Arms, No. 28. Lane does not note this place of meeting, but gives the Rose,

Marylebone from 1728 to 1731. This seems to me unlikely, and although it so appears in the 1729 List, I am inclined to think that there has been a confusion between two different Lodges meeting at the 'Rose' ". (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., p. 144.)

I must abstain here from making an attempt to work out the problem of the history of the Old King's Arms prior to the evidence supplied by the entry in the Minute Book, and be content with saying that the Lodge at the Cross Keys which appears as No. 59 in the Engraved List of 1728 is not that Lodge. The working out of the problem would also be of interest to historically-minded members of the Tuscan Lodge, for the threads of the two Lodges at one point get entangled. Without the printed volume of Grand Lodge Minutes before him it would be perilous for a writer of a Lodge history to attempt to trace the history of his Lodge in times before the commencement of the earliest records of his own Lodge.

The Minutes of Grand Lodge will show him the dates at which such or such a Lodge was last represented at a Communication under the designation of the tavern at which it had been working. What may be called the biographical method—the tracing of the individual masons from one list of members to another and attempt to recover personal details—is often rich in affording clues. Take, for instance, the names of two of the Stewards appointed on November 26th, 1728:—

Mr. Caesar Collys of the Lodge in Mary la Bone

Mr. H. Smart of the Cross Key's in Henreatta St.

You will not find the name of Bro. H. Smart in either the 1725 MS. List of the Lodge at Free Masons' Coffee House or in the 1730 MS. List of the Lodge at the Cross Keys (*i.e.*, Old King's Arms Lodge), and when you further compare those two lists you will observe that none of the names in the earlier list in 1725 appear among the names in the latter. So far as personnel goes, the latter Lodge is a replacement. Then as to Bro. Caesar Collys. A Lodge which met at the Rose, Marylebone, in 1729 is, as we have seen, No. 43, constituted May 25th, 1725. Shall we say, then, that Bro. Collys was a member of the Lodge now Old King's Arms? Let us apply the biographical method. The 1725 List of the Lodge at the Lyon in Brewer Street is headed:—

Caesar Collys Ma^r.

Jam. King	} Wardens
Christ. Wise	
Edm. Davall	

The Minutes of the *Philo Musica et Architectura Societas* for August 5th, 1725, show (*Q.C.A.*, ix., p. 60):—

From the Red Lyon in Brewer Street as

Visitor to this Right Worshipfull & Highly Esteemed Society

Caesar Collys Master.

Turning to the 1730 MS. List we find (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 153):—

King's Arms in New Bond Street

Mr. Edm^d. Duvall. Ma^r.

Mr. Christopher Wise	} Wardens
Mr. Robert Crane	

And towards the close of a list of 42 members, thirteen of whom appear as members of the Brewer St. Lodge, we come across the name "Mr. Caesar Collys". One of the brethren we note is Mr. William Inesley, a Sedan-Chairmaker in Marylebone Street. The Lodge is to-day the Tuscan Lodge, No. 14. It is thus clear that in 1728-29 that Lodge did for at least a time work at the Rose, Marylebone, and that Lodge which Old King's Arms represents did so also. Bro. Smart's Cross Key's Lodge, however, was erased in 1745.

The Lodge at the Cheshire Cheese, of which we have noted that Bro. Matthew Birkhead was Master in 1722, according to the MS. List of 1723 had but a dozen members. Now our late Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins culled from *Applebee's Weekly Journal*, September 9th, 1721:—

The following gentlemen were made and created Free and Accepted Masons at a Lodge held at the Cheshire Cheese in Arundel Street by Dr. Bealing, Deputy to his Grace John Duke of Montague, Grand Master of that Fraternity, viz John Kirk, mercer; Thomas Harbin, gent; George Gibson, mercer; Stephen Evans, gent; and Thomas Buckley, distiller, all which Gentlemen went home in their white aprons very well satisfyd and according to the ancient institution of that noble and advantageous Brotherhood. (*A.Q.C.*, xxii., 68).

Dr. John Beal, not Bealing, was the name of the Duke of Montague's Deputy, and according to the same list he was also Master of the Lodge that met at "the Crown and Anchor near St. Clement's Church". None of the names of these initiates appear in the 1723 MS. List of members of the Cheshire Cheese, but sixth and seventh respectively, John Kirk and Stephen *Ewens*, and lower down George Gibson appear on the 1725 List of the Lodge at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand—the Lodge, constituted May, 1722, of which Bro. Stukeley was the first Master. Thomas Harbin, the manufacturer of a black ink of fame, appears in the 1725 List of the Rose and Crown, King St., Westminster, and also in that of the Queen's Head in Hollis Street, and, like others in that Lodge, he was a Director of the *Philo Musicæ et Architecture Societas*. In the 1730 List Bro. Allen Senhouse, Master of the Cheshire Cheese, is at the Queen's Arms in Newgate Street, and Nicholas Abraham appears in the Golden Lyon, Dean St., in the 1725 List. From the 1723 List of the Cheshire Cheese we miss the name of Francis Baily, one of the Wardens who had signed approval to Anderson's *Constitutions*, and who is probably the brother who with Bro. Josiah Villeneau had undertaken to prepare the Feast on 24th June, 1721. We find his name on the 1723 List of a Lodge of which our late Brother Heiron has given us so delightful a history—the Ship in Bartholomew's Lane, the present-day Old Dundee, No. 18. Bro. Heiron was convinced that his Lodge had a pre-Grand-Lodge existence: possibly the Cheshire Cheese had the same also. The secession of members together with the death of a popular Master may well account for the lapse of the latter Lodge before 1725.

To students of Pepys' *Diary* the Dolphin Tavern in Tower Street—to be more exact, at the bottom of Seething Lane—is familiar. It was close to the Diarist's own place of abode and the old Admiralty Building in which he served the nation so well. Bro. Percy Simpson, in his sumptuously illustrated paper on *Old City Taverns and Masonry* writes that the Lodge which met at the Dolphin "appears in the Engraved List of Lodges of 1723 and the French Lodge met there in that year". (*A.Q.C.*, xix., p. 12.) Bro. Lane in the Index to his *Masonic Records* (p. 496) appears to have wandered from Tower Street in the neighbourhood of the river to Tower Street in the neighbourhood of Seven Dials. The Dolphin Lodge, "constituted 12 June, 1723", is the 37th Lodge on the MS. List of 1723. On the 1728 Engraved List it is No. 31, and on the 1729 Engraved List No. 20. The French Lodge, Solomon's Temple, Hemmings Row, appears in the 1725 MS. List, but Bro. Songhurst (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 42) notes that it is not to be found in the 1729 Engraved List. On the 1728 Engraved List as No. 60 we have a French Lodge meeting at the King's Arms in the Strand. The 1729 Engraved List has a Lodge, No. 26, constituted March 25th, 1724, meeting at that tavern on the 4th Tuesday in y^e

Month, the same day as No. 60 in the Engraved List of 1728, and so we may be inclined to suppose that the Lodge No. 26 of 1729 is the same Lodge as No. 60 of 1728. Now Anderson in the List of London Lodges in his *Constitutions* of 1738 gives as constituted 12th June, 1723: "18. Swan Tavern in Long Acre a French Lodge" meeting 1st and 3rd Monday. The date, you observe, is the date of the Dolphin Lodge.

This Lodge appears in the 1730 List. (*Q.C.A.*, x., 159). Lower down Anderson gives: "30. Swan Tavern in Long Acre, an English Lodge." This is also in the 1730 List (*Q.C.A.*, x., 170), but it appears there simply as "Swan in Long Acre".

Bro. Lane traced the removals of this "English Lodge" thus:—

Golden Lion, Dean St., Soho	1725
Swan, Grafton St., do.	1728
Swan, Long Acre	1730
Mitre, King's St., Westminster	1740
Erased, Apr. 4, 1744	

This statement needs correction, for the 1728 Engraved List gives us both a Lodge, No. 67, meeting at the Swan, Grafton St., Seven Dials, and the Lodge at Dean Street, Soho, No. 69. The 1729 Engraved List has the Swan, "Grafton St., St. Ann's Soho. 2nd and Last Wednesday. Sep^r. 1725". Now it is this "Swan" in Grafton Street which has been mistaken for a "Rose". It seems clear that the Golden Lion Lodge is not the Swan Grafton Street Lodge, for both appear separately on the 1728 Lists.

The MS. List of 1723 shows thirty-six members of the Lodge at the Dolphin; that of 1725 also thirty-six. In 1725 it appears as a normal English Lodge, but in 1730, when it has become "The French Lodge at the Swan in Long Acre", the names of the members are, with only a few exceptions, French. No members pass over from the 1725 to the 1730 List. What we do find is an English and a French Lodge working at the same tavern, but this tavern is not the Dolphin in Tower Street. It is tempting to associate the Dolphin Lodge with the Swan Lodge in East Street, Greenwich. Edward Smith, a Custom House officer and two other members of the Dolphin belong to the Swan. Associations of the river and building operations at Greenwich are suggested by the names of members. In the Swan Lodge there is Sir James Thornhill, with whose work at Greenwich you are familiar; John James, the architect of St. George's, Hanover Square, and the spire of St. Alphege, Greenwich, a church designed by Bro. Hawkenson, and Edward Strong, doubtless one of the great family of building contractors. Sir John Thornhill was appointed Senior Grand Warden on December 27th, 1728, but by proxy. In 1729 he signed the deputations for constituting Provincial Grand Lodges at Bengal and Gibraltar. Our Bro. Percy Simpson (*A.Q.C.*, xxi., p. 40) writes: "It is fairly certain that the Lodge [the Swan] had been working for some years prior to that date [the alleged constitution December 24th, 1723] in Greenwich. Its original Founders would appear to have been operative masons engaged in the building of Greenwich Hospital, the erection of which was commenced in 1696".

This suggestion on the part of our late Brother may or may not commend itself to your approval. It would be tempting to trace the origin of the Lodge at the Chandos Arms to the building operations set on foot at Canons by the princely Duke of Chandos. You have perhaps visited the little Church of St. Lawrence at Whitworth, which the Duke rebuilt, and reverentially examined the Organ played on by Handel when he was the Duke's Organist and Composer.

Perhaps you have inspected that unique Vestry Book¹ in which from the time Bro. Desaguliers was Vicar of that Church to this year of grace the Vestry Minutes are recorded. Imagine Desaguliers and Handel together as colleagues. The Lodge at "the Duke of Chandos Arms at Edgworth" [Edgware] was constituted April 25th, 1722. It is the 38th Lodge on the 1723 MS. List, and there it is credited with thirteen members: it appears on the Engraved List of 1728 as 32, and on that of 1729 as No. 8. In its place on the MS. List of 1730 stands a Lodge at the Devil Tavern within Temple Bar. Bro. Songhurst notes: "Removed from Edgware; or more probably a new Lodge formed in 1729". In his introduction he gives his reasons for believing the Lodge at the Devil Tavern to have been neither a Lodge removed from Edgware nor a revival of a Lodge formerly held at the Devil Tavern. With considerable and due deference I venture to suggest a different view.

The Minutes of Grand Lodge, November 25th, 1729, show that three representatives of the Lodge at the Devil Tavern were present at the Communication of that date, but on December 27th we read: "The Lodge at the Devil Tavern within Temple Bar, being lately assembled by leave of the Grand Master, delivered to the Deputy Grand Master a List of their names and the days of meeting". Now a Lodge, constituted March 25th, 1724, had been meeting at that most historic tavern. It appears in the 1723 MS. List (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 20) and in the 1725 MS. List (*ibid*, p. 35), but not in the 1728 Engraved List, and in the 1729 it is doubtful whether No. 26 at the King's Arms in the Strand is the Lodge at the Devil Tavern or the French Lodge. The lists of members of this Lodge were persons of more than average importance, but, so far as the Minutes of Grand Lodge enable us to judge, they do not seem to have been anxious to be represented at the Communications of Grand Lodge, and this is the more strange because it was at the Devil Tavern the Grand Lodge itself usually held its meeting.

To those who combine with a taste for the recovering objective facts of history the desire of finding explanations and so arriving at a philosophy, these Lists of Lodges cannot but offer great attractions as a field for observation. Some of us older Masons in our own days have known of Lodges which after a few years of brilliant success have dwindled away and before long disappeared. Observe in the two earliest MS. Lists the Lodge at Rummer Tavern, 47 members in 1725, all seemingly persons of considerable social importance and among whom is the Earl of Dalkeith (Duke of Buccleuch in 1728), Grand Master in year 1723. The smile of the Cheshire cat from the trees beamed on Alice in Wonderland after the cat itself had departed. In 1735 a sum of £27:10:0 voted to the Grand Lodge for the General Charity still remained unapplied in the Charity box of the Lodge which had lapsed before 1728. The Lodge was very largely composed of military men, and the exigences of that service, or, as Bro. Songhurst has suggested, changes at Court on the death of King George I., may have brought about the circumstances which led to a once strong Lodge falling into abeyance and then final removal. In some cases Lodges which were either in abeyance or in a parlous state seemed to have been used for the purpose of providing an important brother with a Master's Chair. In such cases a Lodge so revived would enjoy a period during which it would flourish for the time being. "So nigh is grandeur to our dust". In one Lodge a nobleman was somewhat hastily made a mason and shortly afterwards elected Master of the Lodge. He,

¹ Bro. Harry Helby Wyatt has most kindly presented me with a photograph of a page of the Vestry Book on which there is an entry signed by Desaguliers. Another signature is that of Thomas Tims, a member of the "Edgworth" Lodge (1723 List). It has occurred to me that the Lodge may have owed its existence to the workmen brought to Canons to build the Duke's great palace. An examination of the Church Register might lead to the discovery of the occupations of some of its members.

however, was elected Grand Master, and as he was held by his election to the higher office to have vacated the lower, the Lodge at once proceeded to elect another brother to preside over it. One cause of the lapsing of so many Lodges in the earliest days of Grand Lodge, I think, must have been the inconveniences which the brethren experienced when their places of meeting were so frequently changed. The majority of Lodges had not as yet a Lodge history behind them, and therefore seniority on the roll would not have been a matter of great pride in the degree to which it is to members of historical Lodges at the present time. A group consciousness in a "private" or "particular" Lodge had in most cases yet to be developed. The amenities which a particular place of assembly could offer would in at least the subconscious minds of the members influence their decision whether to abide in a present Lodge or transfer themselves to another.

In close proximity to the Inns of Court, the Devil Tavern had obviously great advantages for Masons of the legal profession. When one examines the lists of the members in 1723 and 1725, it is hard to see why their Lodge should have gone into abeyance. The conjecture I have formed is that what took place in 1729 was a return of the Lodge constituted at the Devil Tavern, March 25th, 1724, to the allegiance of Grand Lodge, and that this re-union was brought about on the understanding that the Lodge should be assigned the place on the Roll of Lodges formerly occupied by the Edgware Lodge. Let us review the happenings.

The third place on this Engraved List of 1728 had been occupied by one of the "Four Old Lodges", the Queen's Head in Knaves Acre, which, for its having accepted a constitution, had been ruled to have lost its claim to be what we call "time immemorial". In 1729 the Engraver, therefore, against No. 3 rubbed out the sign of the Queen's Head and inserted the sign of the Horne. No. 8 being a blank space in the 1728 List, he brought the Edgware Lodge up from No. 32 to fill it, being justified in so doing by the date of that Lodge's constitution—April 25th, 1722. The Edgware Lodge having fallen out, the space No. 8 became available in the Engraved and the MS. Lists, and into it was placed the reconciled Lodge of the Devil Tavern, the entry in the column for the date of constitution being left unchanged.

We find in the "1730" List of the Devil Tavern:—

Bro. George Moody, the sword-bearer in Grand Lodge, whose armourers' shop was in the neighbourhood. He is on the 1723 List.

„ John Wyat [Wyatt], who is on the 1723 List.

„ William Deards, the Toy-maker, who is on both last and earlier Lists.

„ Benjamin Tassell do. 1725 „

„ Tho^s. Bigg do. 1723 „

„ Jonas Sedgley do. 1725 „

„ William Goostrey do. „ „

Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, in his book *The Marygold by Temple Bar*, writes (p. 109): "In 1734 the Devil Tavern was in the occupation of John Goostrey, and I may add that I have a silver rat-tailed spoon in my possession with the date-letter for 1724 inscribed on the bowl 'John Goostrey, Old Devil, Temple Bar'". John Goostrey was a member of the Lodge in 1730. William Goostrey had been a member of the Fleece in Fleet St. in 1725.¹ Burn, in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Tokens* (p. 80), states that Richard Taylor in 1734 purchased the

¹ *Q.C.A.*, x., p. 41. Bro. Lane identifies this Lodge with the Lodge at the Swan and Rummer (*ibid.*, p. 166) in Finch [Fink] Lane, constituted February 2nd, 1726. The personnel of the two Lists is against this identification. But the names, J. Mead, Edw. Metcalfe, Tho. Bigg, W. Deards, Edw. Cotton, W. Sayer, C. Townsend, and Wm. Goostrey of the Fleece, all at one time belonged to the Lodge at the Devil Tavern. The Fleece is not on the Engraved List of 1728. The Warrant of the Swan and Rummer was transferred to Stockton on Tees in 1756. *Vide* Bro. Songhurst's note, p. xiii.

Devil Tavern, it at the time being in the occupation of John Goostrey. Possibly Richard Taylor was a member of a family already, as we shall see, connected with the historical tavern.¹ The sale of the tavern was followed by the removal of the Lodge, in December, 1735, to Daniel's Coffee House within Temple Bar.

Let me once again remind the less learned of our members when I speak of 1723, 1725, and 1730 MS. List I am using those dates mainly for the convenience of denoting the Lists in the Minute Book of Grand Lodge. To discover the exact date of the several lists of members is a work of some complexity. In what for convenience may be called the "1730" List of the Lodge at the Devil Tavern, "Mr. Claude Crespigny" is shown as Master. The Minutes of the Castle Lodge, quoted by our Bro. Sadler in his *Dunckerley* (p. 108), show that Bro. Claude Crespigny was Master of the Lodge at the Devil Tavern on April 22nd, 1732. The name of Bro. Daniel Delander,² whose clock still strikes the hours in the bank which has replaced the tavern, is not on the "1730" List, but *The Daily Journal*, Friday, August 23rd, 1732, records:—

"The Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, held on Monday night last, at the Devil Tavern in Fleet Street, Mr. Daniel Delander, of the same street, was admitted a member of that Antient and Honourable Body with the usual ceremonies, and in a few days . . . which is to be read before the Grand Officers a lecture on the drum of the ear".

By sedulously hunting up such scraps as the last newspaper cutting the would-be Lodge-historian may perhaps be in a position to ascertain the date of an important document. In passing, let us note that on the 1730 List we find the name of a Provincial Grand Master of North America, Bro. "Daniel Coxe".

An instance of what at one time promised to be a strong Lodge but which proved to be short-lived is the Lodge at the King's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard. *Applebee's Original Daily Journal*, August 5th, 1721, records: "Last week his Grace the Duke of Wharton was admitted into the Society of Free-Masons, the Ceremonies being perform'd at the King's Arms in St. Paul's Church Yard, and his Grace came home to his house in the Pall Mall in a white leather-apron". It was at this tavern, on June 24th, Grand Lodge itself, so Bro. Anderson records, "made some new Brothers, particularly the noble Philip Lord Stanhope, now Earl of Chesterfield". From *Applebee's Original Journal*, August 21st, 1721, we learn that early in that month, Lord Hinchinbrook, Sir George Oxenden, Sir Robert Rich, and Mr. Rushdale were made Masons at the King's Arms. The 1725 MS. List names its officers:—

His Grace the Duke of Wharton, Master	
Sir Thomas Mackworth	} Wardens
Hon. J ^{no} . Trevor	

His Grace left England for ever in that year. The rank and file of the Lodge at the King's Arms was largely composed of members of the Goose and Gridiron (Antiquity No. 2). For the latter Lodge the three lists in Bro. Songhurst's volume of Grand Lodge Minutes show 22 in 1723, 13 in 1725, 16 in 1730. Lodge Antiquity possesses a collection of documents known as its E Book: some of these our Bro. Harry Rylands, the historian of that Lodge, has declared to be of

¹ A Bro. Richard Taylor belonged in 1730 to the Three Tuns and Bull's Head in Cheapside and to the Rose within Temple Bar. *Q.C.A.*, x., p. 165 and p. 179. Towards the end of the eighteenth century a famous club to which Pitt and Wilberforce belonged, was known as "Goosetrey's".

² Daniel and Nathaniel Delander were noted clock-makers. The name of Daniel does not appear on the Lists of Grand Lodge. Nathaniel appears on the 1730 List of the King's Head in Fleet Street. The 1730 List of the Lodge at the Devil Tavern should be compared also with that of the Fleece in Fleet Street. Our Bro. Lane (*Records*, p. 30) assigns to the Lodge at the Fleece No. 39 on the 1729 List. The Rummer and Swan actually holds that position.

"little historical value", but I do not think that characterisation would apply to the list of 51 members dated September, 1725. The list is suggestive of a very close connection between the Lodge at the Goose and the Gridiron and the Lodge at the King's Head.

The *London Gazette* of Saturday, February 17th, 1722, records: "Some persons of note were last week enter'd into the Society of Freemasons at Truby's in St. Paul's Churchyard". Where was Truby's? Cunningham, in his *Hand-book for London* (i., 637) cites a letter written on June 2nd, 1743, by Aaron Hill: "On Tuesday I will wait on you at one o'clock at St. Paul's Coffee House, by Common's Gate from which we come to the Tavern Door". Which was Truby's, Cunningham explains. In November in 1735 the Lodge Antiquity removed from the King's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard to the St. Paul's Head, Ludgate,¹ and the change of houses was so much resented by Bros. Truby and Branson that they retained the Sword, Lodge Board and other properties of the Lodge in their possession. The matter came before Grand Lodge on March 31st, 1735, and you can read about it on page 251 of *Q.C.A.*, x. Commander Tuffet, the Clerk of the Vintner's Company, has courteously informed me that a Richard Truby was made free of the Company on March 4th, 1695, and another Richard Truby, presumably the son of the former, was made free by patrimony on December 6th, 1721. On the 1730 MS. Richard Truby and Henry Branson are the Wardens of the Goose and Gridiron²; Richard Truby, Junior, and Henry Branson had belonged to the King's Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard Lodge, in 1728.

The spectacle of St. Paul's in erection cannot but have attracted to the spot persons with scientific interests, and the taverns in St. Paul's Churchyard were favourite resorts of the persons who originated some of the most venerable of our learned Societies. Stukeley, nearly eleven years before he became a Freemason, entertained "Dr. Mead and the Surgeons" at the King's Arms Tavern, in that vicinity, and it is in this connection he writes in his "Commentarys": "I had always a great fancy for Architecture, & getting acquainted at that time [1709-10] with some of the builders of St. Paul's I came to get some knowledge of the Rules of that Art". On the south side of St. Paul's, probably in a back court, stood the Sun Tavern, at which in 1725 the Fellows of the Royal Society held a Club. John Byrom, a newly-elected Fellow, and, by the way, the writer of "Christians awake, salute the Happy Morn", tells us how one evening he went to the Club in company with Graham, Sloan,³ Glover, Montague, and had "a scollop shell and Welsh rabbit". "There was", he says, "a Lodge of the Freemasons in the room above us, where Mr. Foulkes, who is deputy-grand-master was till he came to us. Mr. Sloan was for taking me up-stairs if I would go: I said that I would, and come back if there was anything I did not like,

¹ The Lodge at Paul's Head in Ludgate Street was one of the first five to contribute to the Charity Fund. (*Q.C.A.*, x., 109.) This Lodge appears in the 1725 List as at the Mitre Tavern. It is No. 40 of the 1729 List, and No. 68 of the 1728 List is probably the same Lodge. It became the Lodge of Cordiality, No. 32, after the Union, but was erased in 1830. No. 23 of the 1728 List also met at the Paul's Head, and Bro. Songhurst (*A.Q.C.*, xxxvi., 142) identifies it provisionally with the Lodge at the Three Tuns of the 1725 List, originally constituted at the Swan in Ludgate Street. This Lodge does not appear in the 1729 List. All the eighteen members of the Swan in 1723, with two exceptions, are found on the 1725 List of the Three Tuns.

² Our Bro. W. J. Williams contributed to *A.Q.C.*, xxxvii. a characteristically thorough history of the Goose and Gridiron Tavern. The Clerk of the Vintner's Company has informed me that Thomas Morris was made free of that Company on 1st July, 1694.

³ *Vide Remains of John Byrom*. Chetham Society's Publications, vol. xxxii., p. 109.

and then he bid me sit down''.¹ Byrom's visits to the Club took place on Tuesdays, and it was on the first and third Tuesdays that in 1725 a Lodge assembled at the Sun. The Lodge at the King's Arms met on the first Friday of each month, while that at the Goose and Gridiron met on alternate Mondays. The Sun Lodge is at the present day the Globe, No. 23. It had removed from the Half Moon in Cheapside. If one day when you have the leisure you will turn out of Cheapside into Gutter Lane you will find on Nos. 44 and 44A the emblems of the Stationers' Company. These two houses approximately mark the site of the former entrance to the Half-Moon, a tavern which after the Great Fire replaced a tavern which in the days of Queen Bess bore the name of the Mermaid. It was at the Half-Moon, on March 11th, 1682, Elias Ashmole enjoyed the hospitality of some recently initiated brethren.

Whereas the Lodge at the Bedford Arms in 1725 could boast of having at least five Fellows of the Royal Society on the Roll, the Lodge at the Ship behind the Royal Exchange, as Bro. Crosslé has shown, could boast of a large majority of members who were either Irish or possessed landed estates in Ireland. Bro. Crosslé's paper on this subject in the *Transactions* of the Lodge of Research, No. 200, Irish Constitution, demonstrates the great value Bro. Songhurst's volume possesses as a basis for further research. To this Lodge belonged Bro. Springett Penn, Deputy Grand Master of Munster 1726-27. The Lodge is not on the Engraved List of 1728, nor does it appear in the MS. List of 1725. Bro. Songhurst, on p. 15 of his volume, identifies it with No. 18 on the Engraved List of 1729, in which case the Lodge would have met in that year at St. Paul's Head in Ludgate Street. But No. 18 on the MS. List of 1730 is the Crown on Ludgate Hill. Is the latter the Crown on Snow Hill—the Snow Hill of which Gay wrote "When from Snow Hill black sleepy torrents run"? No list of members for 1730 is given, but from Bro. Sadler's *Dunckerley* several names of members in 1731 can be obtained.

Bro. J. Percy Simpson, in his paper on the *Old London Taverns and Free Masonry*, said very little about the most interesting of all these places of refreshment. As to the name of that tavern, the Devil has taken a full revenge for having his nose so roughly treated. The records of the Vintner's Company, August, 1608 show: "This day Simon Wadlow was required to reform his sign of St. Dunstan and the Devell and put the Devell out of y^t and to leave St. Dunstan aloane, and he hath promised so to reforme y^t as in the Discretion of two of the Assistants of this Court shall be thought within 14 days". The Devell defeated the good intentions of the Vintners! What memories dear to English literature hung round that tavern from the times of Ben Jonson to Steele and Swift and indeed on to that shameless but entertaining Hickey.

I have placed on the table a copy of Bro. Bernard Garside's *History of Hampton Grammar School*. The Frontispiece is a reproduction of an engraving "The Battle of Temple Bar", depicting a riot outside Nander's Coffee

¹ William Sloan, a member of the Lodge at the Dolphin. Martin Folkes was Deputy Grand Master in 1725. His London Lodge was the Bedford Head, Covent Garden, to which in 1725 belonged at least three other Fellows of the Royal Society:—

John Machin, Secretary of the Royal Society 1718-47, Prof. of Astronomy at the Gresham College from 1715 to his death in 1751.

William Rutt, M.D. Ch. Ch. College, Cantab, F.R.S. and F.C.R., Sec. Royal Soc. Died June 10th, 1730.

Brook Taylor, LL.D. St. John's, Cantab, F.R.S. Died 1731. To these should be added John Georges, Master of the Lodge in 1722, as we learn from the Approbation to the 1723 *Constitutions*, where this Lodge is No. XVI. His name does not appear, however, in the list of members in 1725.

Bro. Martin Folkes went to Italy in 1733 and remained abroad for over two years. Cf. *A.Q.C.*, xiv. The Lodge appears for the last time in the MS. List of 1725. The Lodge No. 24 on the 1729 List, that was then meeting at the Bedford's Head, had been constituted at the Crown, Cripplegate, in October 1723, and was meeting there again in 1730.

House in 1769. You will observe next to Wren's portico of the Middle Temple the Devil leaning down from his sign to bid the grandees whom the Wilkites are assailing, "Fly to me, my brother", while outside Nander's a lady is offering her hand to an injured gallant and saying, "Sir, no Ceremony". Bro. Garside was interested in Nander's, since Dr. Hemming, about whom Bro. J. Johnston has read a paper to this Lodge, was Headmaster of Hampton Grammar School, and when Bro. Hemming came into a misunderstanding with the Governors of the School they deprived him of the power of drawing a portion of the rent of Nander's which formed part of his salary. The plan of No. 14, Fleet Street, given opposite p. 166 shows how closely huddled together are Nander's and the Rainbow Tavern. In like manner in the eighteenth century were almost muddled together the Devil Tavern, the Green Lattice and the Sugar Loaf. I have also placed on the table a photograph which Mr. Yates very kindly took for me of a view which professes to show the Devil Tavern, but which in fact cannot show more than its sign, for, as you are aware, Fleet Street in the eighteenth century was a kind of double street: The houses had houses behind them, and in the case of the Devil the approach would be by a narrow alley. In close proximity to all these places of refreshment stood the Marygold, which had become the place of business of Sir Francis Child, Goldsmith, Jeweller, and the founder of the historical Bank that is now merged in Messrs. Glyn and Mills. In June, 1784, Child and Co. purchased the Devil Tavern, and thus disappeared a resort made famous by a succession of famous literary men from Ben Jonson to Dean Swift. The outstanding advantage the tavern offered to the Craft was its spacious Apollo Chamber in which Ben Jonson had held his Club. It was in that Chamber our Grand Master, John Duke of Montague, played, in the presence of the King, a colossal practical joke on Bro. Heidegger. A few months ago, Messrs. Glyn and Mills courteously allowed me to see the relics they possess of the Old Devil Tavern—the bust of Apollo, the board on which Bro. Jonson's rules for his Club are painted, and the sign of the Marygold.

Whenever that staunch Free Mason, the non-juror bishop, Dr. Richard Rawlinson, entered the Devil Tavern he would have found himself in a place which had, for family reasons, sacred associations for him. His mother, May Taylor, was by birth a daughter of Richard Taylor, keeper of the Devil Tavern from 1668 to 1681. She married a flourishing Vintner, Thomas Rawlinson, who was Lord Mayor in 1706. Bro. Rawlinson was born on January 3rd, 1690, eleven years before the death of his Grandfather Daniel, Warden of the Vintner's Company and keeper of the Mitre Tavern in Fenchurch Street. In Bro. Rawlinson's vast collection at the Bodleian there are many of Pepys' MSS. It is therefore of interest to recall that it was at "Mr. Rawlinson's" on August 12th, 1660, Pepys' Uncle Wright was exceeding angry because being a "little fuddled" his nephew saw him in that condition. It was at Dan Rawlinson's the Diarist on November 4th, 1661, devoured "a most brave chine of beef and a dish of marrow bones". In the Diary there are many amusing references to Dan and the Mitre and Mr. John Battersby, the apothecary next door, Pepys' and his Uncle Wright's potations, but on August 10th, 1666, there is a sad one:—

"So homeward, and hear in Fenchurch Street that now the mayd also is dead at Mr. Rawlinson's, so that there are three dead in all, the wife, a man-servant, and a mayde servant".

In this address I have by no means exhausted the subjects which are of special interest to me in Bro. Songhurst's volume of Grand Lodge Minutes, and, in conclusion, I feel that I ought not to leave with any of those who have so patiently listened to me the idea that the matters I have discussed are all that is of interest in the volume. That would indeed be a very wrong impression. The book is of importance to the student of Masonic jurisprudence and ceremonial.

A study of it is calculated to enlighten the minds of those who so frequently are called on to hear the law laid down as to practices said to be immemorial and ritual claimed to be exclusively correct. If the study of the past be dull at times, it is after all the corrective to the *à priori* dogmatism of enthusiasm, and, be it remembered, the alternative to history is often—not no-history, but falsehood. For the biographical methods I have endeavoured to employ this at least may be said: The lives of Masons are their “Masonry”. From the past, despite all its imperfection and unrealised ideals, we may proceed inspired by good work nobly done, and labour for those who are to follow:—

So let us do our work as well,
Both the unseen and the seen,
Make the house where gods may dwell,
Beautiful, entire, clean,
Else our lives are incomplete,
Standing in these walls of time,
Broken stairways where the feet
Stumble as they seek to climb.

At the subsequent Banquet, W.Bro. DAVID FLATHER, I.P.M., proposed “The Toast of the Worshipful Master” in the following terms:—

BRETHREN,

Having now relinquished the Office of Master it is my happy privilege to welcome my successor—who, by the way, is several years my junior—and I am ensured that the Toast which I have the happiness to propose will be received with enthusiasm by you all. It is that of our newly-installed Master, Very Worshipful Brother the Rev. Walter Kelly Firminger, whom we acclaim as one worthy in every way of the highest honour the Quatuor Coronati Lodge can bestow upon any of its members.

Our Worshipful Master has won and received distinction in Ecclesiastical, Literary and Masonic circles, and we congratulate him on reaching what most of us look upon as the Pinnacle of Freemasonry.

Bro. Firminger was the youngest child of the late Rev. Thomas Augustus Firminger, M.A., of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company, and author of the well-known “Manual of Gardening in India”.

Our Brother was born at Edmonton, 28th September, 1870. He was educated at Lancing College, King Edward VI. School, Bury St. Edmunds, and Merton College, Oxford. He matriculated 1889, graduated B.A. 1893, Master of Arts 1896, Doctor of Divinity 1920, and B.Litt., Honour School of Modern History.

Our Master was ordained Deacon at Hereford 1893; he served in the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa 1893-1897; was Junior Chaplain, Calcutta Cathedral, 1899-1900. He occupied the important and responsible position of Archdeacon of Calcutta 1914 to 1923. From 1923 to 1926 he was the Vicar of Padbury, and in the year 1926 His Majesty the King appointed Bro. Firminger Chaplain to the Chapel Royal, Hampton Court Palace, which office he still happily holds.

As a member of the Government of India Historical Record Committee, Bro. Firminger edited several of the volumes of Records published by this Commission.

As Vice-President of the Calcutta Historical Society, he edited for several years their journal “Bengal Past and Present”.

The list of publications by which our Master has earned a prominent place in the world of letters is a very long and impressive one. Amongst these I may mention:—

- “ Zanzibar and Kashmir in the British Empire Series ”
- “ Guide to Calcutta ”
- “ The Genuine Letters of Asiaticus ”
- “ Original Letters of Mrs. Fay from India ”
- “ Diaries of the three Surgeons of Patna ”

and many treatises of Theological subjects and contributions on Liturgical worship.

Bro. Firminger has travelled widely, to tropical East Africa, South Africa, India, Egypt, Ceylon, Burma, Japan, Straits Settlements, Canada and most of the countries of Europe, and in these countries he has secured an intimate knowledge of peoples, customs and religions, an experience that has given him a broad view of life and fitted him in every way to lead us in our own researches.

In Freemasonry our Master has an equally wide experience and one which he has put to good use in the cause of Masonic Research.

He was initiated, passed and raised in the year 1898 in Yeatman-Biggs Lodge No. 2672; was Installed Master of Lodge Humility with Fortitude No. 229, Calcutta, in 1903. In 1903 Bro. Firminger was appointed District Grand Chaplain, Bengal, and District Grand Junior Warden 1905. He is an Honorary Member of Lodges 109, 229, 232, 3102 and 3456—a striking evidence of the high value placed upon our Brother's Masonic life and work.

Bro. Firminger was appointed Grand Chaplain in 1931.

In the Royal Arch, Bro. Firminger was exalted in New Union Chapter No. 234, Calcutta, and was installed as First Principal in Chapter Fortitude No. 229, and served the office of District Grand Registrar.

In the Mark Degree he was advanced in Capestone Lodge No. 80, Calcutta; is Past Deputy District Grand Master of Bengal; Grand Chaplain and Prov. Gd. Chaplain of the Province of Buckinghamshire. He is the present Junior Warden of Hampton Court Lodge No. 448. He is a member of St. Barnabas Lodge of Ark Mariners No. 97.

In the Ancient and Accepted Rite, Bro. Firminger is P.M.W.S. and has attained the 30° in Adoniram Chapter No. 101.

As a Knight Templar our Worshipful Master is the Preceptor of Alfred Preceptory, Cambridge, and holds the rank of Past Grand Prelate. He is also a member of the Royal Order of Scotland with the rank of Past Provincial Deputy Grand Master, Southern Scotland.

The Red Cross of Rome and Constantine, the Allied Degrees and the Cryptic Degrees and the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia are all included in his activities.

In essentially Masonic, Literary and Archæological work, the following are some of those valuable contributions he has made to our knowledge:—

- (1) A short History of Lodge Humility with Fortitude No. 229.
- (2) A History of Freemasonry in Bengal.
- (3) The early days of Lodge Industry with Perseverance.
- (4) Some fresh Light on Bengal Lodges, a paper contributed to *A.Q.C.*, vol. xviii.
- (5) Studies in Continental Masonry, *A.Q.C.*, xix.

I would especially remind you of the many valuable contributions which Bro. Firminger has made towards the discussion of papers read before the Lodge, so that we are already assured, not only that his rule over us will be wise and kindly, but that the high reputation of the Lodge will be secure in his charge and that we may look forward with confidence to a happy and successful year.

NOTES.



SPANISH MASON'S GILD.—The treasure of the week October 26-31, 1936, at the Victoria and Albert Museum was a silver-gilt Spanish reliquary, dating probably from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and made in Majorca. It shows the influence of the contemporary elaborate Gothic of Flanders. There is let into the base an enamelled plaque which consists of a gavel or some similar implement between a square and a pair of compasses, and it is this that has enabled the museum authorities to identify the reliquary as having been made for a gild of masons. The saints whose relics it contained are shown by the inscriptions on it to have been SS. Germanus, Justus, Paulinus and Ticius. That there should be four of them may possibly be significant. There are several saints bearing one or another of the first three names. There was a St. Germanus, a Spanish martyr at Cadiz under Diocletian, a favourite Spanish saint. Justus was Bishop of Urgel in Catalonia in the sixth century. No St. Paulinus appears to have lived in Spain, but, in the ninth century, Paulinus of Aquileia distinguished himself by his attacks on Spanish heretics. But none of them seem to have had any association with masons or with the building trade. I have so far failed to identify St. Ticius, who has no day allotted to him in the calendar, and he is not mentioned in the *Book of Saints*. (A. & C. Black, 1921.) L.V.

The Admission of Lord Hinchinbroke.—The following paragraph occurs in Applebee's *Original Weekly Journal* for August 12, 1721, and has, I think, hitherto escaped notice. It is not among the extracts from the contemporary Press given by Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins in his paper in *A.Q.C.*, xxii.:—

Yesterday was Sev'nnight the Lord Hinchinbrook, Sir George Oxenden, Sir Robert Rich and Mr. Rushall were admitted into the Ancient Fraternity of Accepted Masons, at the King's Arms Tavern in St. Paul's Church Yard, where they afterwards went home in their Leathern Aprons.

Of these only Sir Robert Rich's name is to be found in the Lodge Lists. He is shown as a member of the Lodge at the Horn, both in 1723 (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 5), and in 1725 (*Q.C.A.*, x., p. 23). The King's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard appears in the 1723 List, but without any names of members. (*Q.C.A.*, x., 14.) It reappears in 1725 (*id.*, p. 31), and there is now a list of 29 members, with the Duke of Wharton as Master. But none of the names given by Applebee are included. This Lodge passes out of sight after 1725.

Stukeley, in his Diary, under date 23 May, 1722, has the entry: "Met Duke of Queensboro, Lord Dunbarton, Hinchinbroke, &c., at Fount. Tav. Lodg. to consider of Feast on St. Johns". Bro. Firminger tells me that the Lord Hinchinbroke was Edward Richard Montagu, eldest son of Edward, 3rd Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchinbroke, and Baron Montagu, and that he died in 1722.

Three of the names in the newspaper extract occur, however, in another connection. The records of the Lodge of Antiquity, in what is known as the "E Book", contain a notice of the meeting of Grand Lodge on June 24, 1721, the full text of which is printed at p. 424, *ante*. As there pointed out, by Bro. Firminger, the entry seems to be an independent record, and not based on Anderson.

Whereas Stukeley and Anderson agree that Desaguliers was present and pronounced an oration, the Antiquity list omits his name altogether. It also omits Payne, the outgoing Grand Master, who is described by Anderson, probably with complete accuracy, as being present with his Wardens, and as proclaiming the new Grand Master. (1738 *Constitutions*, p. 113.) The Antiquity list is therefore clearly open to criticism. But this newspaper extract now shows it to be inaccurate in other respects, as it names as present, Hinchinbroke, Oxenden and Rich, who were in fact not accepted till some weeks after the meeting of Grand Lodge.

Whatever the source, therefore, from which it was derived, and whatever the date when the record was made, it is an unreliable statement, both in respect of its omissions and of its inclusions.

Rylands points out that the list omits the names given by Anderson, but makes no other comment. L.V.

The Ralph Poole MS., 1665 (C.5).—(Missing).—Bro. W. J. Williams is to be congratulated on having recently picked up the trail of a hitherto unknown copy of the Old Charges, the details and description of which will be found in the extract below from a Volume of the Publications of the Historical Manuscript Commission.

Correspondence elicited the fact that a large number of the MSS. calendered in this Report had been destroyed a few years after the property passed out of the hands of the Lowndes family; but that some were still preserved in the Vestry of the Church at Hatfield Broadoak. There has been some delay in having a search made; but I was able, last September, to visit the Church; and, after a very careful scrutiny of the contents of the chest and locker which hold the surviving documents, I am able to say definitely that the *Ralph Poole* MS. is not among them. It seems, on the whole, unlikely that this roll has escaped the fate of the remainder; but the case is not a hopeless one, and the publication of the following extract may yet suggest further steps which may lead to its recovery:—

Hist. MSS. Commission, Second Report, Part I. (1879).

MSS. of Geo. Alan Lowndes, Esq., of Barrington Hall, Co. Essex.
p. 587.

A. D. 1665. A paper roll 6 feet long and nearly 1 foot wide. (The left-hand side of the top of the roll is torn away: consequently the first 8 lines are imperfect.) The contents purport to be a history of Freemasonry. *Begins* (imperfectly), and framer of heaven and earth, and of all things in them is that he would . . .

The author notices the 7 liberal sciences, of which geometry is the chief: says that "of all the manual crafts masonry hath the most notability, and the most part of this science geometrie, as it is noted and said as well in the histories and in the Bible, in the matter of stories and in Plicorinond, that is, a story proved and allowed in doctors of stories, Beda and others it may well be said" .

Then he tells of Jubal and Thubal, and how, doubtful whether God would avenge himself by fire or by water, Jubal got two stones, one that would not burn called marble, and the other that would not sink called laterins, and thereon wrote all sciences; these were afterwards found, one by Pythagoras, and the other by Itermes, who taught forth the sciences they found there. Euclid also taught masonry, so did David and Solomon, and Charles the 2nd, King of France, and King Edwin of England; the chronicles of St. Albans are cited as an authority; and certain charges (rules) made by King Edwin are mentioned and partly given. These charges the author says "have been seene and perused by our late soveraigne lord King Henry the 6th, and the lords of his honourable counsell, and they have allowed them well". The last 37 lines are headed, More other charges singular for masters and fellows, *beginning* first, that noe master take upon him noe lordes work . . . *Ending*, and teach him honestly, so that your lord's worke bee not spilt.—At the foot, "Anno Domini 1665, Ralph Poole".

The MS. falls easily into the same class as the *Watson* and *Heade* MSS. and the *Crane No. 2* fragment, and is accordingly numbered C.5. At first sight it might appear more proper to class it among the 'missing' MSS. as X.14; but in the past the principle has been adopted of classifying according to its text any MS. concerning which we have sufficient evidence to do so. Thus, though the *Dowland* MS. is known only from its text published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1815, it is not only classified at its proper place in the Grand Lodge Family, but has actually given its name to one of the Branches; while both the *Crane No. 2* MS., of which little more has been preserved than of the *Ralph Poole*, and the *Plot* MS., of which practically no textual details remain, have always had their places in the Plot Family, and the *Spencer* MS., which also gave its name to a group, was missing for many years until it turned up in America a few years ago.

The *Ralph Poole*, to judge from the few fragments which have been recorded by H.M. Commissioners, was textually slightly less accurate than the *Watson* and *Heade* MSS., on which practically all our knowledge of the group depends. In twelve places (always in very small details) it departs from the text established by the other two; while it agrees with each in turn against the other three times.

On the other hand, it is not impossible that, in two of the cases where it differs from the other two MSS., it may not unlikely preserve more correctly the reading of the original. Where it reads:—

"and in the Bible in the matter of stories and in [Polychronicon]",

the *Watson* and *Heade* MSS. both read:—

"and in the Bible and in the mass stories ."

But the *Cooke* reading:—

" . and in the master of stories ."

suggests that possibly the *Ralph Poole* reading may be nearer the original.

Again, in the phrase:—

"a story proved and allowed in doctors of stories",

where *Watson* and *Heade* agree on:—

"a story proved and also in doctors of stories",

we may be tempted to believe that *Ralph Poole* may perhaps have given the correct reading; the *Cooke* MS. gives no help here.

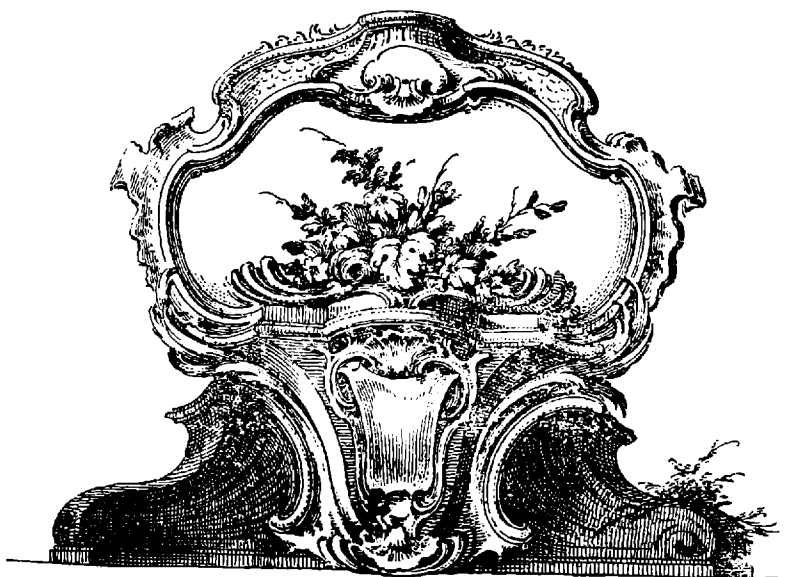
The fact that each MS. at some point fails to give the text of the other two might at first sight be taken to indicate that all three were from a single original; and this seems by no means unlikely. But the lapses are in every case so trivial that they may be regarded as of no significance; and cannot be held to rule out the possibility that a separate sub-original may have served, for example, for the *Watson* and *Heade* MSS. There appears to have been no similarity in the 'make-up' of the three documents, which are on vellum roll, paper book and paper roll; but the *Ralph Poole* MS. appears, from the extract preserved, to have omitted the final clause common to the other two:—

“These charges that we have declared and recommended unto you you shall well and truly keep .”

although in all three cases the writer has added his name and the date—a feature, by the way, by no means peculiar to this small group.

On critical grounds, we must naturally regret the loss of this document, though there are no strong grounds for supposing that it would have served materially to amend the text of the original. It would, however, have been the 'senior' of the three in date, the *Heade* MS. bearing the date 1675 and the *Watson* being of so late as 1687; although the very slight ante-dating of the group—a mere ten years—does little to bridge the gap of approximately two centuries which must have elapsed between the original of the group and the few survivors of which we have any trace.

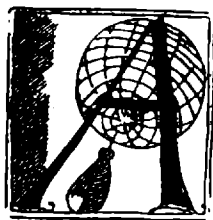
H.P.



REVIEWS.

THE HISTORY OF ST. JOHN'S LODGE, No. 167 (1767-1935).

By Edward Eyles, P.M., L.R. 12/6.



WELCOME has to be given to Bro. Edward Eyles' History of St. John's Lodge No. 167 (1767-1935) and is always gladly accorded when there is found the combination of an old Lodge, ample or even adequate material for its annals, a competent historian, and sufficiently enlightened opinion within the Lodge to encourage the historian in his task.

Founded in 1767 and warranted as the King's Head Lodge meeting where now stands the William IV. public-house at the corner of Church Lane and High Street, Hampstead, the Lodge has from that date until its removal to Freemasons' Hall in 1919 always been associated with the Northern Heights of London, and this fact has given to it a unity of its own, and while there is nothing spectacular in the chronicle of its history—save perhaps the discovery in 1935 by the united efforts of Bro. Eyles and of the Assistant Librarian of Grand Lodge of "One Minute Book handsomely bound in Russian leather commencing 1767 to 1828"—yet there is much in its periodically recorded working to make one grateful that its history has at last been written. It is curious how in the course of their existence so many Lodges have at one time or another been threatened with extinction, and the critical period for St. John's came in 1809, for we find that from 9th March, 1809, until 26th September, 1816, the recorded minutes give no account of any meetings, although there is evidence that at any rate the surviving members did not concede that its existence had ceased, and a Centenary Warrant was in fact obtained following a Petition in 1868.

Of the many interesting points mentioned by Bro. Eyles, a few may be singled out almost at random. On a Sunday evening in August, 1791, a Convention was held for the purpose of paying a tribute of respect to the late Bro. John Tean, the pedestals and regalia were draped with mourning, the Lodge opened and suitable prayers said. In April, 1789, the same Bro. Tean, a carpenter, "was ordered to make a new Trestling Board". Bro. Eyles suggests that this was either a trestle table for refreshments or a Tracing Board—it must obviously have been the latter. Can "Desk and Board" on page 35 possibly be a misreading of Trestle or Trestling Board? In 1801 "It was unanimously agreed . . . to relieve Br. John Strong an Attorney-at-Law now confined in Durham Goal with the sum of 10^s/6^d"; if reference had been made to Logan's History of the Marquis of Granby Lodge, Durham, a fuller account could have been given of the troubles and ultimate deliverance of Bro. John Strong. Constitutional Masons will be shocked to learn that as late as 1908, "a curious innovation was made by the passing of a resolution empowering the W. Master to elect the Treasurer".

In 1822, St. John's Chapter attached to the Lodge was founded. After 1832 it had a separate meeting-place, and though, of course, it changed its number when the Lodge did, there was apparently no further communication between the two bodies until 1872, when the older agreed to the separation of the Chapter

and to the latter's attachment to the Old Union Lodge as the Old Union Chapter. In 1920 a new St. John's Chapter, No. 167, was consecrated. It is an ungrateful but necessary duty to call attention to a few mistakes, fortunately neither very serious nor very numerous. In page 2 "Joseph Elliott, Stonecutter", is given instead of the "Capt. Joseph Elliot" of Anderson, and "1739" for "1738" as the date of publication of the second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*. On page 14, "two first degrees" should obviously be "first two degrees". Bro. Eyles is to be thanked not only by members of his Mother Lodge for the work of piety he has successfully accomplished, but by Masonic students in general for finding that which was worth doing and for doing it well.

November, 1936.

LEWIS EDWARDS.

THE HISTORY OF ST. GEORGE'S CHAPTER, No. 140.

By G. B. Fluke, P.Z., P.A.G.D.C.

London, 1936. 5/-.

In 1893 the late Comp. G. W. Taylor published a forty-paged pamphlet giving a short history of this old Chapter. Comp. G. B. Fluke, who handsomely acknowledges his indebtedness to this sketch and to material digested by the late Comp. D. B. James, has now compiled a larger, well-illustrated, and serviceable volume giving the history with greater amplitude. Having its first recorded meeting in October, 1786, and now being thirteenth in order of seniority—though not, of course, in precedence—St. George's Chapter, originally the Chapter of Hope, No. 49, decided in 1817 to become attached to the Lodge of Friendship, but still retained its old number until 1825, when it was styled the Chapter of Hope, No. 354, and then in 1872 became attached to the St. George's Lodge, No. 140. It is fortunate in the fact that all its minute books still survive, and remarkable in having two interesting manuscripts, one in two volumes of the Royal Arch Lecture, etc. (now in the Library of Grand Lodge), and another recently re-discovered in a solicitors' office giving the ritual of the M.E. Order of Geometrical Masons. (*A.Q.C.*, xii., 205.) During its long existence it has had nearly twenty meeting-places either in or near Deptford, until in 1913 it moved up-river to the Cannon Street Hotel, and then last year to Great Queen Street.

A few matters of interest may be singled out from Comp. Fluke's chronicle. The first Z., soon after the foundation, seems to have got into trouble for misappropriating the fees for the Warrant of Constitution and was expelled from the Order, the Companions being put to some expense for coach-hire to attend the enquiry at Grand Chapter into the defalcations. Both in 1801 and 1817 there was correspondence with headquarters about the apparently slipshod financial arrangements of Grand Chapter. In 1818 it was reported to the Masonic authorities that Companions had been exalted in the Chapter illegally and without proper regalia being worn, and though the Committee of Grand Chapter was at length satisfied that the irregularities "originated in a mistake on the part of the officers, and not from any intention of acting contrary to the Laws", a Charter of Constitution was granted, the matter, however, apparently leading to a somewhat costly expenditure in more fully furnishing the Chapter. In 1800, "the Rev. J. Inwood, B.A., P.G. Chaplain for the County of Kent", the author of the well-known sermons, was proposed for membership. On two

occasions, in 1824 and 1826 it is noted that Lectures were delivered. In 1834 Comp. Fluke puts on record that the Treasurer, Comp. W. O. Leigh, who was for many years a prominent and active member of the Chapter, was selected as their nominee to attend the Special Chapter of Promulgation, to receive instruction in the ritual as now approved. He attended on seven occasions. By a remarkable coincidence I have just recently come across a copy of the R.A. Laws and Regulations for 1823 formerly belonging to this Companion, in which he has written his name and added: "P.P.Z. Chapter of Hope 248 under the Warrant of the Lodge". This was the number of the Lodge of Friendship at the enumeration of 1832. In 1838 we have the first record of an Installation ceremony in the Chapter, "the Companions, not qualified, withdrew during the Installation of the Principals in their respective offices". In 1840 an additional charge was made for Comp. Riddall's "Segars"—a social touch. In 1841 the Principals and Past Principals met an hour before the others for the purpose of Installation, and this practice continued for some years. On one occasion they met two hours earlier and the Minutes were confirmed before the arrival of the other Companions! In 1867 a second election of the Principal Sojourner having been held on account of the illness and absence of one previously elected but without his having resigned, was declared void.

On 10th November, 1892, the Chapter held what purported to be its 600th meeting and celebrated the occasion with an ode. It was subsequently discovered that the Convocations had been wrongly numbered by an erroneous increase, but it being decided that another alteration would create confusion, the numbering was left unchanged. So interesting a volume well deserved an index, but this Comp. Fluke does not give us, although he has been able to furnish very complete lists of officers and members.

November, 1936.

LEWIS EDWARDS.

GOULD'S HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

Revised by Dudley Wright. Volumes covering the United States, Canada and Latin America prepared under editorial supervision of Melvin M. Johnson, P.G.M., and J. Edward Allen.

Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Six volumes.

To review adequately a work as important as this appears to be requires more space than is available. It is the latest form of the standard Gould *History of Freemasonry* originally projected by Jack of Edinburgh, which was undertaken by Gould after Hughan "felt himself obliged to decline from considerations of health" to quote Gould, who pays deserved tribute to his colleague for assistance rendered, and for furnishing fuel when the light of Masonic learning nearly went out. (*Freemason*, London, May 27th, 1911.) The Gould work was completed by 1887, when authorized editions appeared in Edinburgh, London and New York; an American four volume edition also appeared in Philadelphia in 1889, and a five volume at a later period. Some question exists as to the ethics involved in the publication of the last two.

The editorial revision of the original Gould was undertaken in 1924 by Dudley Wright, then editor of *Masonic News*, in London, and a five volume Gould's *History of Freemasonry* resulted, published in 1933 by The Caxton Publishing Co., Ltd., of London. Attempts to interest American publishers in the work were unsuccessful until Charles Scribner's Sons gave the weight and dignity of their name to the project. This was a forward step, as Masonic book publishing had come upon troublous days in the United States. Scribner's imprint on the new work assures an ethical undertaking throughout; it is hoped that it marks the entrance of the firm into the American Masonic publishing field, for with three million Masons as potential book-buyers, there should be a place for a publisher with high standards and wide experience.

A comparison of the new work with the old—and it must be borne in mind that these remarks do not apply to the texts prepared under the supervision of Johnson and Allen, upon whose work separate comment will be made—reveals some very apparent defects. It is impossible to say if the fault lies with the reviser or with the publisher—either may be responsible. Wright's own contributions to the literature of the Fraternity betoken a familiarity with contemporaneous works which is not at all apparent in the work under discussion; many excellent books of the last three decades, which should have been utilized in the revision, were apparently ignored. Above all, many of the able papers in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* and other research journals are not mentioned; the omission of modern titles in the bibliographies and footnotes is most glaringly apparent to even a casual reader of Masonic books. It may be that the reviser was restricted by limitations placed upon him by the publishers, for a revision such as should have been made would have involved much painstaking and costly labour. In my opinion, the London producers of the revised Gould not only missed an excellent opportunity to contribute something worth while to our Craft literature, but they have foisted upon the inexperienced and uncritical reader a work which is not what it should be.

Space forbids an itemized list of noticeable defects, but a few of them may be pointed out. In vol. i., chapter vi., "Medieval Operative Masonry", we find no mention on pages 139-41, the addenda to the original Gould, of writers such as Coulton, Knoop and Jones, to mention but a few whose works should have been consulted. Chapter ii., on the Old Charges, page 25-26, has no revision of text, and gives the reader to understand that approximately *twenty* "Old Charges" have been brought to light; but on page 63 (pages 61-63 are an addendum by Wright) we come upon more modern text and learn that "over eighty different copies" have been discovered.

The date of the Scribner work, 1936, naturally leads one to believe that it has been revised up to that time, for lack of any declaration to the contrary. A review of the chapters on Continental Masonry reveals that nothing has been done after 1930. This means that the very important developments of the period 1930-35 are not recorded.

Volume iv., page 277, "Sea and Field Lodges", carries on the nonsense that "all American Generals of the Revolution, with the exception of Benedict Arnold, were Freemasons". The facts are that many were not Masons, and that Arnold, the cited exception, *was* a Mason. For authority, the work quotes "the late C. W. Moore". He died in 1873. Other uncertain statements in this chapter could have been verified by means of modern publications. The "authorities" quoted on page 282 have been succeeded by writers who have had additional advantages, and these should have been consulted instead.

Very little change, if any, has been made in succeeding chapters of vol. iv. It is obvious that the sections on Capitular and Scottish Rite Masonry could have been improved upon, and elaborated. It is easy to believe that these sections have been untouched. Chapter xv. does show new work—the text on the Societas

Rosicruciana has been sparingly touched by a competent reviser; pages 319-363 have not been altered, but are credited to the reviser of pages 316-319. The volume closes with an excellent section on "Negro Masonry in the United States", a subject which has only a half-page in the old Gould.

So much for the first three volumes and sections of volume iv., which were embodied into the Scribner work without any attempt, aside from a few minor sections, to make any changes such as should have been incorporated. The American publishers and their editors had the foresight to augment radically the text relating to the United States, Canada and Latin America, and were conscientious in their efforts to secure the best writers. Each American state, each Canadian province and each Latin-American country has a chapter to itself. The array of contributors reveals that many of the giants of former days have passed to their reward. Some made history themselves, and they are mentioned in the chapters written by their successors. Some of the well-known modern scholars are not in the list; whether to the detriment of the *History* is something for others to decide. On the other hand, able contributions by the lesser-known writers show they have won their spurs and will be among those upon whom the mantles of the present grand seignors must descend as the wheel of time turns in its ceaseless round.

For the first time in American Masonic history, we have a work which presents an extended account of Freemasonry in each state and province of the United States and Canada, respectively. No one reviewer can pass upon these chapters; only critics within the Jurisdictions involved can properly appraise them. Details are presented that have lain buried in musty record books, old periodicals and almost forgotten files of correspondence. Much original and pioneer work was done to bring the facts together. I have nothing but high commendation for this part of the work as a whole; the only criticism I can offer is the omission of bibliographical notes. These would have served two purposes; first, to give credit to the brethren whose work was drawn upon, where original records were not consulted; second, to offer an opportunity to the discriminating and critical reader to verify the conclusions presented by the author. Doubtless some of the authors had access to original records, rare pamphlets and local publications unknown to students at a distance; had such been listed, they would have been put on record for future historians and could have been re-examined from time to time, as is usually advisable when new discoveries in related fields are announced. Yet it should be said in fairness to the American work that serious consideration was given to the publication of bibliographies; but space limitations and other weighty considerations made it impracticable to add these to the various chapters.

The state histories in volume v. run to and include New Hampshire; the volume breaks the continuity with volume vi. by the introduction of chapters on Royal Arch Masonry, the Order of the Temple, the Cryptic Rite and the Scottish Rite. An article on the Mystic Shrine commendably opens with the sentence, "At the outset, let it be stated that the Shrine is not a Masonic Body. It is an organization composed of Masons". The constructive work of the Shrine in children's hospital work, which is a redeeming feature of the organization, is graphically related and will do much in a work of this nature to show an aspect of Shrine activity not thought of when lesser features come to the fore in public appearances.

Volume vi. carries the story of American Freemasonry from New Jersey to Wyoming; Alaska, Hawaii and the Philippines are included. (Porto Rico's Masonic history is given in volume iv., credited to an article published in London in 1922.) The concluding sections present the start of the Washington Masonic Memorial Temple of which a handsome print in colours of the building graces

vol. vi. as a frontispiece; the American Military Lodges; the Order of the Eastern Star; and the biographical sketches of the special contributors. These are of interest as showing the wide fields of activity occupied by the contributors to whom Freemasonry is a principal avocation.

One is deeply impressed, as the pages of the actually revised volumes are turned, with the remarkable story of American Freemasonry. Its humble beginnings are related in the chapters dealing with Freemasonry in the Thirteen Colonies, notably Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Georgia. One is somewhat amused by the assertions of the various contributors in supporting priority claims for their states; those who have no real leg to stand upon (I hasten to add that I have in mind a writer not resident in any of the five states specifically mentioned) make inferences in place of direct assertions. Some statements are readily punctured, but to name all points of disagreement would involve too lengthy an account. The license permitted to writers by the editors reflects their tolerant spirit.

The spread of Freemasonry over the Appalachian range into the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys is the second phase of United States Masonic history; the third phase is the development of the Far West. What the westerners lack in antiquity is compensated for in the romance of pioneer life. On the Atlantic seaboard with the exception of Georgia, one can say that Freemasonry followed a century after the settlement of the lands; in the ultramontane valleys and the Far West, the flag, Freemasonry and the schoolhouse advanced abreast. This is no idle statement, for not only did Freemasons establish schools, but they founded colleges and supported them until the state or private interests took over the function. This is one of the obscure chapters now being studied by the American Lodge of Research of New York, though others also have made extensive contributions to the subject.

The military service played its part in the advancement of Freemasonry. The article in vol. vi. on "American Military Lodges" bears evidence of having been written hurriedly. There are sections of the chapter which could have been amplified in the light of information in the possession of specialists. Yet it is the best and most recent account available in a work of large circulation, and doubtless later editions of the present *History* will contain needed revisions and additions. This section, as well as others, show the limitations placed upon contributors, for it has been difficult to tell the story desired in the space available.

From the viewpoint of bookmaking the volumes are excellent, as befits the house which produced them. Also, the price—\$29.00, \$39.00 and \$49.00, depending in what style of binding the sets of six volumes are purchased—is highly consistent with their worth. The illustrations are modern, generally speaking; the only ones I would criticize are the fanciful atrocities taken from Rebold's *Histoire Pittoresque*. An American interpretation is put upon a Continental jewel (vol. iii., page 234). A serious offence is the presentation of a two-page graph, "American Freemasonry Upon the Western Trail", prepared by the John Lane of America, George B. Clark, of Denver, after many years of laborious research, but without any credit to him in this work. In fairness to the publishers, it should be said that they were not aware of the omission of proper credit in the periodical from which they reproduced the plate; but as credit, even if given later, will not offset the slight, I take the liberty of stating the facts in this review as a matter of record. This is one of the many things which I could cite as arguments in favour of a central Masonic service agency in the United States, such as the defunct National Masonic Research Society once had promise of being, through which publishers of such commendable undertakings as this history could reach the most competent historians and obtain reliable information.

I have purposely withheld to the last a commendation of the foreword which graces volume i. Here, in a deft sweep of direct but eloquent expression, we have as fine a statement of what Freemasonry is and will be as has ever been presented to a reader. It is a declaration of Masonic principles which every Mason should read, including the many who wear the purple of the Fraternity. If these words could be read and accepted in Continental Europe to-day, there would be no persecution of Freemasonry, and the world would be vastly nearer the elusive goal of universal peace. The writer of this magnificent foreword is Melvin Maynard Johnson, Grand Master of Masons in Massachusetts, 1914-16, and the present Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council 33°, Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Northern Masonic Jurisdiction of the United States.

The new *History of Freemasonry Throughout the World* is, of course, a necessary reference work for every institutional and private Masonic library. The concept of the latest undertaking deserves commendation, but the lack of co-ordination between the sections prepared overseas and those prepared in the United States is immediately evident to anyone who has a panoramic knowledge of Freemasonry and its activities throughout the world. The defect can be remedied by the publication of a seventh volume a few years hence, in which obvious errors in the first six should be corrected, and wherein the developments in Europe from 1930 onward will be presented, with such connecting matter between the old history and the new as each section may require. The courage of the publishers in producing such a costly and attractive set of Masonic books as this warrants support from the individual brethren able to purchase the set. Only a house as well equipped as Scribner's is able to furnish the Masonic Fraternity with the compendious reference works required by meticulous students.

November, 1936.

J. HUGO TATSCH.

FREEMASONRY IN VIRGINIA.

*By Major William Moseley Brown, M.A., Ph.D.,
Past Grand Master of Masons in Virginia.*

Octavo, illus., index, 329 pp.

Readers of my reviews in *The Builder* during the last years of that estimable periodical's existence will remember my criticism of many Masonic works as being the output of an ordinary job printer's shop. The book before me is a happy exception to the general run in this respect, for it is excellently printed and is a mechanical production which reflects credit upon the Masonic Home Press of the Grand Lodge of Virginia.

The author modestly omits his Masonic rank as a Past Grand Master of Virginia from the title-page, and further conceals his scholastic attainments by dropping the designation of degrees which have been conferred upon him. (*Who's Who in America* lists the author's many other achievements.) I mention these points to emphasize the fact that M. W. Bro. Brown is qualified both Masonically and academically to undertake a work such as he has produced. While scholarly, it is not pedantic; it was designed to be read by "Bro. Average Mason", and the author has succeeded admirably in carrying out his mission.

A history almost invariably presents major events in chronological order. *Freemasonry in Virginia* is no exception. Chapter i. presents "The Background", which is more or less traditional in character, but serves to distinguish between tradition on one hand, and definite history on the other. Chapter ii. is devoted entirely to the Lodge at the Royal Exchange at Norfolk, in which Bro. Brown presents convincing evidences of the authenticity of the 1733 date attributed to Virginia's first lodge. Brethren familiar with my chapter on the subject in *Freemasonry in the Thirteen Colonies* will recall the analysis made of the possibilities of 1733 being an error for 1753, and that 1741 was entitled to consideration because it had been assigned to the Lodge at Norfolk by a Grand Lodge Committee of 1786 when determining priorities. The Virginia response to that chapter in my book was instrumental in demonstrating the courteous qualities of the Virginia Craft, for though I attacked a pet belief, my sincerity was not questioned. I came into contact with many estimable Virginia Brethren, in due course affiliated with Army and Navy Lodge No. 306 at Fort Monroe, Virginia, and was appointed Chairman of the Committee of History of the Grand Lodge of Virginia by the very Grand Master who wrote the book under review. Access to Virginia archives, not known to me when I produced my book from secondary sources in the Iowa Masonic Library, and conversations with R. W. James M. Clift, Grand Secretary, the Nestor of Virginia Freemasonry, as well as with Norfolk Brethren, have produced new data, so that my views on Virginia have been changed, and will be so expressed when a new edition of my book appears. This is also an opportune time to say that chapters on Massachusetts and Pennsylvania will be revised, as a result of first hand examination of original records in other seaboard Jurisdictions since 1926.

Virginia has original records which present a phase of Colonial Masonic development reflected nowhere else in America. The early Minutes of Port Royal Kilwinning Crosse Lodge, beginning April 12, 1754, reveal the story of a Lodge assembling in "time immemorial custom", and not asking for a charter (applied for to Kilwinning Lodge, but granted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland) until a year later. It is my hope to publish these Minutes in the near future, under the aegis of the Committee on History.

Chapter iv. is entitled "America's First Independent Grand Lodge". It treats of the conventions which were called in 1777 for the formation of the Grand Lodge of Virginia, which was not formally consummated, however, until October 13, 1778. Without going into details, I suspect Massachusetts will contest the claim by presenting the account of action taken by the "Massachusetts" Grand Lodge as distinguished from the "St. John's" Grand Lodge, for the "Massachusetts" Grand Lodge declared its independence March 8, 1777.¹ Priorities in American Freemasonry are subjects of fraternal disagreement, as is revealed by the protagonists of the various claims possible. The subject is now being presented through American Craft journals in a paper prepared in recent months.

The author did not neglect biographical aspects in his history. Biography is history, and all too brief sketches of "Giants in the Land" are presented, including Washington, Lafayette, John Blair, jun., James Mercer, Edmund Randolph, John Marshall, Robert Brooke, and so on down to the more recent names of John Dove, his associates, and their successors.

The volume concludes with chapters on Military Masonry, and the history of the various Rites which have wrought so constructively in Virginia. The Old Dominion's contributions to the story of the Apron and the Sword still remain to be told. An interesting fact related by M. W. Bro. Brown is the discovery of evidence of records of a Military Lodge at Camp Holly in 1814, for though

¹ The two Grand Lodges united in 1792, forming the present "Grand Lodge of Ancient and Accepted Freemasons of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts".

the petition for a charter was denied, nevertheless a dispensation issued later. The entire records are now being studied for a special paper. Virginia Freemasonry was also at work in the Mexican War of 1846-48. There are many Civil War records—I should say records of Military Lodges in the War between the States—as this internecine conflict is known south of the Mason and Dixon Line.

The Capitular and Cryptic Rites have a Virginia history out of the ordinary, for in Virginia we find the cradle of the Royal Arch in America, and the relationships of the Cryptic Rite to it and American Freemasonry in general form subjects for volumes, rather than chapters.¹ Knights Templar and Scottish Rite history have also been made in Virginia, with facts convincingly presented in this book.

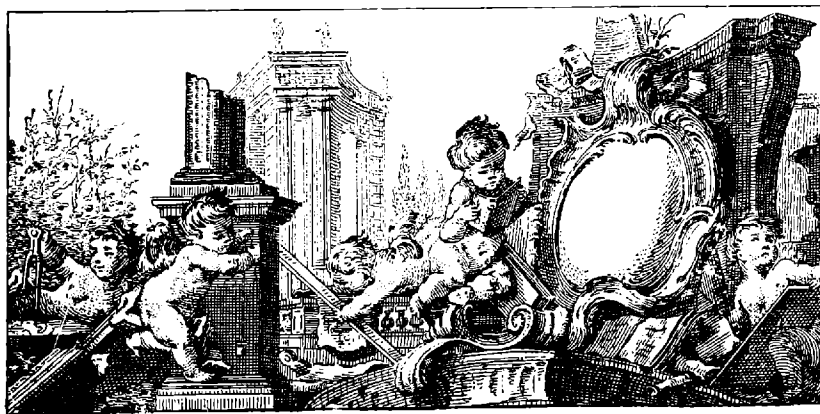
All in all, *Freemasonry in Virginia* is a most commendable production. It is scholarly in its literary preparation, and is attractive in format and binding. The work has fifty-six full page illustrations, discriminately selected to enhance the text. And best of all—speaking now from the student's viewpoint—there is an index divided into two parts, subjects and proper names. This is a feature which will be appreciated by historical and genealogical research organizations, and gives a permanency to *Freemasonry in Virginia* as a reference work.

The book has been published in two styles. There is a numbered and signed de luxe edition, two-colour title-page, large paper, half-morocco binding, for \$5.25; and an ordinary edition, cloth binding, for \$3.15. Proceeds from the sale of the books go to the Virginia Masonic Home. Masonic Home Press, Highland Springs Va., publishers.

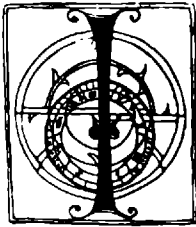
November, 1936.

J. HUGO TATSCH.

¹ *A History of The Cryptic Rite*, by Himman, Denslow and Hunt, 1931, 2 vols. Obtainable through C. C. Hunt, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, \$7.50.



OBITUARY.



It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Johannes Christian Brunnich, F.I.C., J.P., of Taringa, Queensland, in 1933. Bro. Brunnich held the rank of P.Dis.G.Sup.W. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1893.

Major **Edward Willyams Carus-Wilson**, of Newquay, Cornwall, on 26th September, 1933. Our Brother was a P.M. of Phœnix Lodge of Honour and Prudence No. 331. He was one of the senior members of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in March, 1889.

Col. **Charles le Gendre Justice**, of London, S.W., in 1933. Bro. Justice was a P.M. of Rohilla Star Lodge No. 1843, and a member of Ramsay Chapter No. 552. He was elected to the membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1902.

Francis Stoker King, of Cheynne, Wyoming, U.S.A., on 18th September, 1933. Bro. King held the rank of Past Grand Master, and was P.K. of Chapter No. 1. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1927.

Paul Lange, of Senekal, O.F.S., in July, 1933. Our Brother was a member of Unity Lodge (D.C.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1893.

John Henry Aitken McIntyre, M.I.Mech.E., of Glasgow, on 26th August, 1933. Bro. McIntyre was R.W.M. of Lodge No. 571, and P.P. of Chapter No. 99. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1929.

William Thomas Page, of Worcester, on 5th November, 1933, at the age of 84 years. Bro. Page had attained the rank of Past Grand Deacon, and Past Grand Superintendent (R.A.), and was Dep.Pr.G.M. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1896.

Harry Lorimer Riseley, of Gosforth, Northumberland, in 1933. Our Brother was a member of Carville Lodge No. 2497, and of Ridley Chapter No. 2260. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1911.

Alexander Duncan Sinclair, of Sanderstead, Surrey, on 27th November, 1933. Bro. Sinclair was a P.M. of Lodge of Unions No. 256, and a member of British Chapter No. 8. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1907.

Frederick George Smith, of Sao Paulo, Brazil, on 20th June, 1933. Our Brother was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, which he joined in June, 1926.

Duncan Stalker, of Glasgow, on 2nd September, 1933. Bro. Stalker was a member of Lodge 0, and of Chapter 189. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1930.

The Rev. Canon **Henry B. Swanzy**, *M.A.*, of Newry, Co. Down, in 1933. Our Brother held the rank of Pro.G.Ch., and was *H.P.* of Chapter No. 77. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1933.

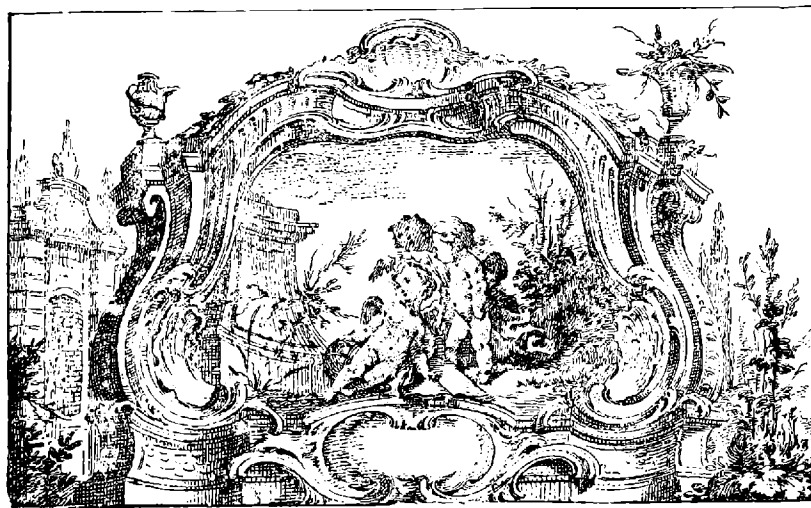
Arthur Taylor, of London, N., on 2nd June, 1933. Bro. Taylor held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., Bucks., and was a member of Canada Chapter No. 3527. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1930.

Charles J. Tazewell, of Neath, S. Wales, in 1933. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1913.

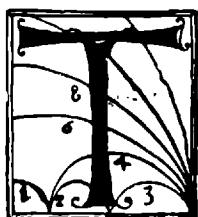
Cornelius C. J. van der Klaauw, of Harbin, Manchuria, in 1933. Bro. van der Klaauw was a member of Sinim Lodge (Mass.C.), and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1924.

William Wallace, of West Hartlepool, on 12th June, 1933. Our Brother had attained the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1920.

Frederick Wolstenholme, of Sheffield, on 18th September, 1933. Bro. Wolstenholme was a P.M. of Furnival Lodge No. 2558, and a member of White Rose of York Chapter No. 2491. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1917.



ST. JOHN'S CARD.



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1933:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.—Lodge of Three Grand Principles No. 208, Dewsbury; Thornhill Lodge No. 1514, Lindley, Yorks.; Dorset Masters Lodge No. 3366, Dorchester; Mufulira Lodge No. 5326, Northern Rhodesia; Run Lodge (Dan.C.) Akureyri, Iceland; Lodge Leeton No. 611, New South Wales; Darwin Lodge No. 41, Port Darwin, S. Australia; Tumby Bay Lodge No. 65, S. Australia; Henley Lodge No. 79, Henley Beach, S. Australia; Berri Lodge No. 90, S. Australia; Lake Bonney Lodge No. 106, Barmera, S. Australia; De la Pole Lodge of Instruction No. 1181, Seaton, Devon; Hastings & St. Leonards Masonic Library, St. Leonards-on-Sea; Pudsey Masonic Hall Co., Ltd., Pudsey, Yorks.; The Masonic Reading Club, The Hague, Holland.

BRETHREN:—*Dr.* Bertram Sage Adams, of Hibbing, Minn., U.S.A., Dep.G.M.; Walter William Lancelot Almond, of Ramsgate, Kent. J.W. 1209, 429; Ernest Richard Anderson, of Strangnas, Sweden. Linköping; Thomas Angus, of Coldstream, Scotland. P.M. 280; Arthur Atkinson, of Folkestone. Pr.G.D.C., P.Z. 2587; Reginald Victor Awdry, of Minehead, Somerset. P.Pr.G.W., P.Pr.G.H.; Joseph Ernest Bagnall, of Birmingham. S.D. 3850; Allan Watson Baird, of Glasgow. S.M. 772; *Lieut.-Col.* Frank Baker, O.B.E., of Northampton. P.Pr.G.S.B., P.So. 1764; William Bamford, of Littleborough, Lancs. P.M. 226, P.Z. 226; William Barr, of Market Harborough, Leics. 893 (S.C.); John William Barton, of Kew Gardens, Surrey. L.R., P.M. 2722, P.Z. 3064; Allan Ernest Bax, of Tumbarumba, N.S.W. J.W. 553; Frederick James Baxter, of Skouriotissa, Cyprus. 458; Raymond Oswald Baylis, of Birmingham. 4436, 1246; *Dr.* Andrew Muir Begg, of Dunedin. I.G. 237, VII.; Henry Soady Bell, of London, S.W. P.M. 3549, 2233; Sydney George Best, of Salisbury. P.Pr.G.St.B., P.Pr.A.G.So.; George Henry Biscoe, of Worcester. J.W. 3378, P.So. 3378; William John Blythe, of Southwold. 388; George Alfred Bocock, of Gateshead-on-Tyne. P.M. 4519, H. 424; Henry Stephen Bond, of Birmingham. Pr.G.Treas., P.Z. 587; Thomas Henry Boyle, of Glasgow. Sec. 772, 311; Wilfred Thomas Julian Bray, of Abadan, Iran. P.G.Ch. (A.S.F.I.); Walter Beldon Brayshay, of Leeds. 3047, 306; Reginald Spencer Broadley, of Kidderminster. 3638; Christopher Bridge, of Sheffield. W.M. 2558; Ernest Brook, of Huddersfield. P.Pr.G.W., P.Pr.G.J.; Cecil Henry Martin Brooke, of Folkestone. W.M. 2587, Sc.N. 2587; William Brown, of Paisley. S.Pr.G.M., 76; *Major* Claude Melville Browne, of Jos, Nigeria. A.Dis.G.M.; *Dr.* Archibald Nadauld Brushfield, of London, N. P.Pr.G.D., West Yorks., P.Z. 61; J. D. Buckalew, of Fort Worth, Texas. 908; Arthur Baron Burn, of Barking. 1818; Henry Saunders Burrell, of Hythe. P.M. 125, 125; Hugh Tikford Campkin, of London, W. A.G.D.C., 28; Clement Foreman Carr, of Sheffield. W.M. 139, 139; Hubert Gerald Chapman, of Hornchurch. P.M. 2508, 2508; Malcolm Chapman, of Glasgow. I.P.M. 1221; H. A. R. Cheeseman, of Singapore; D. Rufus Cheney, of Portland, Oregon. G.Sec. (Craft and R.A.); George Leslie Christie, of Glasgow. 103; George Roome Clachrie, of Batley, Yorks.

Pr.G.Purst., *Z.* 264; Frederick Sidney Clark, of Wolverhampton, W.M. 5028, 352; Frederick William George Clark, *M.I.Mech.E.*, of Tientsin, N. China. P.M. 2931, *Sc.N.* 2931; Joseph Clark, of London, S.E. J.D. 1608; Milbourne Edward Clark, of Doncaster. P.M., 3890, *H.* 3890; Harry Clayton, of Mosborough. 1257; William John Townsend Collins, of Newport, Mon. P.Pr.G.D.C., *P.So.* 471; Arthur Harold Cook, of Birsay, Sask. P.M. 148; Arthur Firman Cross, of Surbiton, Surrey. I.G. 5026; Thomas Morley Cunningham, of London, N.W. S.W. 4234, 2721; Harry M. Davies, of Masjid-i-Suliman, S. Iran. 1637, 1324 (S.C.); James John Picton Davies, of Kedah. P.M. 3830, 408 (S.C.); Samuel George Ernest Davis, of Bristol. J.D. 3108, 3108; Hamish Frank Dempster, of Birpara, India. S.W. 2439, 2439; Christian Hattingh de Wet, of Bloemfontein, 47 (N.C.), 241 (S.C.); W. R. Duff, *M.B.*, *Ch.B.*, of Taiping, F.M.S.; William Roderick Dunbar, *M.D.C.M.*, of Truro, Nova Scotia. P.M. 43, *G.K.* 4; Capt. Arthur Winterbottom Elliott, of Peshawar, India. W.M. 4459; Ernest Frederick Finch, of Sheffield. P.M. 3911, 3911; Matthew Frier Findlay, J.P., of Glasgow. Past Sub.P.G.M. *P.Z.* 311; Robert Owen Fox, of Adelaide, S. Australia. P.G.D.C., A.G.Sec. 8; Walter McKinnon Fraser, of Whitecraigs, Renfrewshire. P.M. 571, *P.Z.* 524; Capt. Frederick Gardiner, *M.C.*, of Banbury, Oxon. W.M. 284, *Sc.N.* 599; Wilfred Herbert Gardner, of Dunedin, N.Z. 192, 171; Lathom Sydney Victor Gedge, of London, W.C. 176; William Kendrick Gill, of Duluth, Minn. P.G.M., 20; Fritz Ginsberg, of King Williams Town, S. Africa. P.M. 853, *J.* 853; Lieut.-Colonel Gerald Hamilton Goddard, *D.S.O.*, of Worcester. P.G.D., *P.G.So.*; Richard Munro Gordon, of Bournemouth. S.W. 3180; Herbert Garside Gradwell, of Leeds. 2491, 2491; Robert Wilkinson Greator, of Halifax. P.M. 3922, 448; Francis Addington Hall, of London, N.1. J.W. 1950; Arthur Victor Hancock, of Royston Park, S. Australia. J.W. 66; Archibald Charles Harris, of Monkseaton. 3619; Lord Harris, of Faversham. P.G.W., *P.G.Sc.N.*; Guy Stanley Hattersley, of Carlton, Notts. 3570; Col. Frederick George Hayward, of Saltwood. P.A.G.S.B.; Capt. Frank James Raymond Heath, *R.E.*, of London, S.W. J.D. 370, 370; Archibald Henderson, of South Shields. J.W. 4345, 2418; Thomas Robert Henderson, of Edinburgh. 316 (E.C.), 305; George Alfred Heyworth, of Cambridge. W.M. 88, *A.So.* 88; Melville Hocken, *M.B.*, *B.Sc.*, of Halesworth, Suffolk. S.W. 388, *Sc.N.* 388; Benjamin Cecil Hodgson, of London. 142 (S.A.C.); Benjamin Herbert Hodgson, of Hythe. Pr.G.D., 125; Henry James Hoile, of Folkestone. 558; Leonard Harry Holliday, *F.A.I.*, of London, W.C. 3861; Jens Axel Bonne Nielsen Holm, of Bangkok. I.P.M. 1072 (S.C.), *I.P.Z.* 357 (S.C.); Edward Robert Hooton, of London, N. P.G.St.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; Frederick John Horner, of Sheffield. Sec. 4288, 1239; John Howarth, of Ashton-under-Lyne. 226, 226; Thomas Frederick Hurley, of London, S.E. I.P.M. 1524; Frederick Forrest Innes, of Sydney, N.S.W. W.M. 57; Joseph Jackson, *M.B.*, *B.Sc.*, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 3635, 3635; John Jardine, of Carlisle. P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.G.J.*; Rev. Thomas Henry Jarman, of London, S.E. Pr.A.G.Ch., Kent; Dr. Arthur Carveth Johnson, of Newport, Mon. Pr.A.G.D.C., *P.Z.* 7; Ishmael R. Jones, of Cleveland, Ohio. P.M. 379, *P.H.P.* 139; Nanabhoy Zemulji Jungalwala, of Bombay. Dis.G.R. (Craft and R.A.); James Key, of Hong Kong. 2724; Henry Charles John Shuttleworth King, of Worcester. W.M. 280, 280; Harry Albert Klein, of Folkestone. P.Pr.G.R. (Craft and R.A.); Edward Sharland Ladds, of Kuala Lumpur, F.M.S. 2337, 2337; Lee Lain Swe, of Rangoon. 832, 832; Wilfred Lawson, of Pateley Bridge. P.M. 4984; Thomas Lax, of Ilkley, Yorks. 2069, *P.Z.* 2069; Arthur Laurence Lightowler, of Halifax. 4066, 1302; Francis John Charles Lilley, of Glasgow. P.M. 103, 67; John McGregor, of Renfrew. P.Pr.G.M.Dep.; Alexander McIsaacs, of Glasgow. W.M. 1241, 189; Rev. Gavin Kerr McKay, *M.A.*, *C.F.*, of Glasgow. W.M. 242, *J.* 109;

James Middleton Mackley, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. J.D. 541, 3390; William Colin MacLagan, of N'Kana, Rhodesia. 1378 (S.C.); William Gibb Macnab, of Helensburgh. P.M. 571, 69; James McNair, of Hull. 294; John McVey, of Glasgow. P.M., Sec. 103, 67; Harold Charles Mamlock, *M.D.*, *M.R.C.S.*, *L.R.C.P.*, of Paris. P.M. 30; Alexander Martin, *C.A.*, of Glasgow. 0; William Henry Marcham, of London, N.W. 2470, 189; John Henry Charles Meyer, of Birmingham. I.P.M. 5050; 3484; John Duncan Metters, of Little Shelford, Cambs. P.Pr.G.Sup.W., *P.Z.* 3532; *Rev.* Charles Buchanan Mirrlees, of London, E.C. P.Pr.G.Ch., *P.Pr.G.Soc.*, Glos.; Robert King Mitchell, of Buenos Aires. Dis.G.Sec., *Z.* 617; Otto Edw. Mizera, of Prague. Sibi et Posteris; James Mobbs, of Lowestoft. I.P.M. 71, 71; Albert Mond, *D.Sc.*, London, W.C. W.M. 238, 2060; George James Moss, of Buckhurst Hill. P.M. 2504; Stanley George Edmund Nash, of Norwood Hill, Surrey. P.M. 2661, *J.* 1426; Thomas Francis Nash, of Henley-on-Thames. P.M. 1895, *P.Z.* 1895; John Francis Nichols, *M.C.*, *M.A.*, *Ph.D.*, of Isleworth. 32, 32; William Frank Harwood Nicholls, of Sheffield. 1239; Harry Courtenay Carey Nisbet, of London, W.C. W.M. 1494; *Dr.* John Smith McLaren Ord, of Glasgow. 976; Andrew Abijah Parker, of Easton, Sask. P.D.D.G.M.; John Parker, of Canterbury. P.M. 972, 31; Wilfred Pate, of Masjid-i-Sulieman, Iran. 1324 (S.C.); Thomas R. Patterson, of Glasgow. 976; Augustus Percival Pellatt, of Hythe. I.G. 558, 558; Fitzallan Phillips, of Toronto. 630, 4; Francis Arthur Pinfold, of London, S.W. S.W. 2201; John Julian Pique, of Cambridge. 162; A. C. W. Pooley, of Singapore; Francis Henry Pooley, *A.M.I.M.E.*, of London, N.W. 3092; Harry Potts, of Leeds. 1211; William Henry Power, of Bulawayo. 2566; Harold W. T. Purnell, of George Town, Delaware. Dep.G.M., *P.G.H.P.*; John Frederick Reinhardt, of Kansas City, Mo. 446, 28; Alfred George Rigby, of Whitley Bay. 4623, 424; Ben. Riley, of Leeds. 4171, 306; Arthur Robacki, of Bucharest. Sec. Die Arbeit; *Capt.* David William Roberts, of Montevideo. 3389, 876; James William Robertshaw, of Bradford. 1522; Alfred William Milligan Robertson, of Khanaqin, Iraq. 1324 (S.C.), 3820; Ernest Alan Rogers, of Sheffield. 3575; William Oriel Pelly Rosedale, of London, S.W. 3051, 3051; Ernest Harold Rubery, of Newcastle, Staffs. P.M. 4269; Robert Howard Russel, of Worthing. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.G.R.*; James Francis Sanderson, of Port Augusta, S. Australia. 25, 18; Leon Schwarz, of Prague. G.Sec. for Foreign Relations; Walter James Scotcher, of Shameen, China. 2013; *Rev.* David Langlands Seath, of Eaglesham, Renfrew. Pr.J.G.Ch.; J. V. Sedmik, of Prague. Veritas Vincit; Thomas Harold Senior, of Menston in Wharfedale. S.W. 2035, 3255; L. Hubbard Shattuck, of Chicago. 317 (Pa.C.); George Francis Shaw, of London, N. P.M. 3476; James Wilson Shaw, *J.P.*, of Rutherglen. P.M. 976; Charles Sheatt, *J.P.*, of Folkestone. P.G.D., *P.A.G.Soc.*; William Herbert Shillam, of Bristol. P.M. 329, 329; Leonard Douglas Sinclair, of London, N. P.M. 4306, 4156; Clarence John Charles Small, of Grange-over-Sands. 1715, 1715; Ralph Edward Smith, of Leeds. 1211; Alfred Smith-Goode, of Leeds. P.M. 2608; William Coles Spooner, of Barnsley. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.A.G.D.C.*; Edward Francis Stammers, of London, S.E. 4659; Arthur Bruce Starling, of London, N. W.M. 2945, 2945; William Story, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.G.R.*; William Snall Marshall Strachan, of Dundee. Sec. 1308; Elijah Sudworth, *F.C.A.*, of Huddersfield. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Z.* 290; Walter James Terry, of Birmingham. P.M. 3845; Edward William Thomas, of Worcester. P.M., Sec. 529, 529; Griffith James Thomas, of Letterston, Pem. P.Pr.G.D.; Charles Harold Travis, of Prestwich. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.Dep.R.*; *Major* Francis Harrison Trent, of Southsea. P.Dis.G.S.B., Bengal, *P.Z.* 257; *Dr.* Norman S. Turnbull, of Ibadan, Nigeria; Alfred Henry Harris Turner, of Folkestone. W.M. 558, *P.Soc.* 558; Hendrik Jan van Aller, of Bilthoven, Holland. Ultrijectina;

Alfred Alan van Lingen, of Steynsburg, S. Africa. 102 (N.C.); George Veitch, of Edinburgh. 2; Henry Edward Vincent, of Salisbury. P.Pr.G.R., *Sc.N.* 586; Adolf Gustav Vollenweider, of Gablenberg. 3; Charles Henry Walker, of Leeds. P.M. 4353, *P.Z.* 306; Reginald Anlaby Wall, of Bournemouth. L.R., *P.Pr.G.Sc.N.*, Middlesex; William Jermy Walters, of Esher, Surrey. P.M. 4552, *H.* 4552; C. M. Warren, of Gwelo, S. Rhodesia. Sec. 876 (S.C.); Gerald William Watson, of Ramsgate. P.M. 3350, *Z.* 429; *V. Rev. Dean* William Haye Weekes, of Bloemfontein. Dis.G.M., *P.Dis.G.H.*; Frank Welland, of Teddington. P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.G.St.B.*; Thomas Henry Wheen, of Birmingham. 2241, 1260; Richard White, of Folkestone. P.M. 2587, *P.Z.* 2587; John Willis, of Fortyfoot Bride, Hunts. P.Pr.G.St.B., 373; Thomas Muir Wilson, of Glasgow. W.M. 553; Alfred Henry Wolfenden, of London, S.W. P.M. 1694, *Z.* 2663; Leslie Hebden Thomas Wood, of St. Kilda, Vic. I.P.M. 337, 8; Sydney Albert Victor Wood, of London, S.W. W.M. 3122, 3994; William Percy Woodward, of Worcester. 529; David Wright, jun., of Baltimore, Md., U.S.A. S.D. 184, 28; Maurice Owen Wyatt, of Bruton, Somerset. 976, 285; John Wylie, of Glasgow. P.M. 87.

Note.—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.

