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# Quatuor Coronatorum

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



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# —\*— Ars —\*— Quatuor Coronatorum

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



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

VOLUME LVI PART 1

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W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.  
1945

## THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

### CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 2,000 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 meetings 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 so far as possible, recorded in the Transactions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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VOLUME LVI.

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FRIDAY, 1st JANUARY, 1943.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. *Wing Comdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Sussex, W.M.*; *Rev.* H. Peole, *B.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*, as *S.W.*; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *I.P.M.*, as *J.W.*; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*, *Chap.*; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, *P.G.S.B.*, *Secretary*; F. R. Radice, *I.G.*; B. Ivanoff, *P.M.*; and Wallace Heaton, *P.A.G.D.C.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. A. G. Harper, *P.G.St.B.*; C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D.*; S. H. Love; J. V. Jacklin; H. Bladon, *P.G.D.*; T. L. Found, *P.A.G.St.B.*; Gordon Jack; W. J. Mean; T. W. Marsh; F. J. Hextor; C. M. Giveen; F. J. Bryan, *P.A.G.D.C.*; H. C. Dixon; C. D. Melbourne, *P.A.G.R.*; L. G. Wearing; F. C. V. Lovell; J. F. H. Gilbard; F. M. Leslie; A. Simon; G. E. Elliott; H. B. Q. Evans; J. W. Hamilton-Jones; F. W. Harris; H. B. Healy; A. E. Evans; *Comdr.* S. N. Smith; P. E. Worth; F. C. Ruddle; W. Edwardson; E. Eyles; S. H. Muffett; H. Carr; J. J. Cooper; S. Hazeldine; H. C. Maile; and R. L. Carew.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. J. W. McHass, *P.M.* *Cantabrigia Lodge* No. 3532; E. H. Bourne, *P.M.* *Chipping Barnet Lodge* No. 5599; and H. G. Ellis, *P.M.* *Penge Lodge* No. 1815.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; R. H. Baxter, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *Treas.*; W. J. Williams, *P.M.*; D. Flather, *J.P.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; D. Knoop, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; F. W. Golby, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; S. J. Fenton, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Warwicks.*, *P.M.*; *Lt.-Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *Pr.G.Sec.*, *Armagh*; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Derbys.*; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, *S.W.*; H. C. Bristowe, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.W.*; G. Y. Johnson, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.D.*; R. E. Parkinson; G. S. Knocker, *P.A.G.Sup.Wks.*; and H. H. Hallett, *P.G.St.B.*

Sixteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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

#### PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, January 1st, 1943.

*Present*:—Bro. W. I. Grantham, W.M., in the Chair, with Bros. W. W. Covey-Crump, H. Poole, L. Edwards, F. M. Rickard.

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 1942.

BRETHREN,

During the year Bro. H. H. Hallett was admitted to full membership of the Lodge, which is now 25.

We have had to record a further large number of resignations from the Correspondence Circle resulting principally from the unfortunate influences of the War.

Volume liii (1940) has been issued, and the first part of Volume liv (1941) is nearing completion. Efforts will continue to be made to bring the publication of *A.Q.C.* up to date.

In the accounts now presented to the Lodge, approximately £1,200 remains in reserve for Volume liv. and £1,000 for Volume lv. Subscriptions amounting to over £620 have not yet been paid, £446 of which is considered good; and these arrears involve a serious handicap.

A brief statement of the activities of the Lodge during the year has again been drawn up, but owing to the exigencies of the time has not been generally circulated.

We desire to convey the thanks of the Lodge to the Brethren who continue to do much good work as Local Secretaries.

A few changes during the past year have occurred amongst Local Secretaries, but under present circumstances it has not been found possible to make definite re-arrangements.

For the Committee,

W. I. GRANTHAM,  
in the Chair.

## RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

for the year ending November 30th, 1942.

RECEIPTS			EXPENDITURE		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Cash in hand	317	7 5	Lodge ... ..	22	17 0
Lodge ...	...	51 9 0	Salaries, Rent, Rates, and		
Subscriptions ... ..	1310	5 9	Taxes ... ..	751	2 5
Cash in advance and un-			Lighting, Firing, Telephone,		
appropriated	96	16 6	Cleaning, Insurance, Car-		
Medals	11	16 0	riage and Sundries	172	7 6
Binding ...	44	9 4	Printing, Stationery ...	684	13 0
Sundry Publications ...	67	16 5	Medals	31	6 8
Interest and Discounts	32	10 2	Binding ... ..	22	17 2
Publication Fund	25	15 5	Sundry Publications	19	16 9
			Library	3	3 6
			Postages ...	120	9 4
			Local Expenses	3	6 11
			Cash at Bank ...	126	5 9
	£1958	6 0		£1958	6 0

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following .

## EXHIBITS

*Mahabone*, 2nd edition } These two bound  
*Jachin and Boaz*, 6th edition, 1766 } together

*Jachin and Boaz*, 1800

*Jachin and Boaz*, modern reproduction.

Photographs of title pages.

2 photographs of newspaper advertisements of first edition of *Three Distinct Knocks*

3 photographs of pages of *Jachin and Boaz*.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Bro. S. N. Smith, who lent the objects for exhibition.

Bro. S. N. SMITH read the following paper:—

## THE SO-CALLED "EXPOSURES" OF FREEMASONRY OF THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY BRO. COMMANDER S. N. SMITH, R.N.



THE "Exposures" of the eighteenth century may be divided into three groups. It will be remembered that, at about the time of the foundation of Grand Lodge in 1717, men of fashion and noblemen joined the Fraternity in increasing numbers. The curiosity of the public was excited by this, with the result that various "exposures" appeared which professed to reveal the secrets of Freemasonry. These—the first of the three groups—culminated in Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, which first appeared in 1730.

The various French "exposures" form a second group, which begins with *Reception d'un Franc-Maçon* in 1737, an English translation of which was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* early in 1738. Then came *Le Secret des Francs-Maçons* in 1742, *Catéchisme des Francs-Maçons* in 1744, *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons Trahi* in 1745, *Le Maçon Démasqué* in 1751, and others, all of which were frequently reprinted.

*Le Maçon Démasqué*, translated into English, was published in London in 1766 with the title *Solomon in all his Glory*; and this, too, was reprinted several times. An English version of the greater part of *L'Ordre de Francs-Maçons Trahi* had appeared six years earlier. This was called *A Master-Key to Free Masonry*, and was published by J. Burd; but both of these, although printed in London, really belong to the second group—the French "exposures".

Burd announced the publication of his *Master-Key* on 12th February, 1760, by an advertisement in the *London Chronicle: or Universal Evening Post*, which stated that "This Day was published, Price 1s. a Master-Key to FREEMASONRY", and this advertisement was repeated in the next issue of the paper on 19th February. A similar advertisement, inserted in the same paper on 8th March, perhaps refers to a re-issue of the book; a rather longer advertisement in the same paper on 8th April,\* and also in the *Whitehall Evening Post* of the same date, almost certainly does. A copy of the first edition of this book is in the library of the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester; another has recently<sup>1</sup> been acquired by Bro. Wallace Heaton and is now in the "Wallace Heaton Collection" in the Grand Lodge library. These are identical, except that the Leicester copy has a note on the title-page:—"N.B. The Public may depend upon this being a genuine / Account of their whole Secrets, by which a Person may / gain Admittance into a Lodge". This note, which appears in all these advertisements and also on the title-page of the Second edition,<sup>2</sup> is absent from Bro. Wallace Heaton's copy, which is thus

\* It was also advertised in York on 15th April, 1760—See comments by Bro. G. Y. Johnson.

<sup>1</sup> August, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum, Press-mark 1369. i. 25. This has the same imprint and date as the 1st edition, but it has an error in the numbering of the pages, page 33 being wrongly numbered 41, and so to the end of the book.

proved (I think) to be the first issue. Another edition, evidently for the Irish market,<sup>1</sup> "Price a British Sixpence", also appeared in 1760, a copy of which is in the library of Grand Lodge.

In this same year, 1760, appeared also *Three Distinct Knocks*, the first of the third group of these "exposures", the group with which this paper is chiefly concerned.

This group consists of *Three Distinct Knocks*, first issued in 1760; *Jachin and Boaz* in 1762; *Hiram* in 1764; *The Mystery of Freemasonry Explained* in 1765; *Shibboleth* in 1765; *Mahabone* in 1766; and *The Freemason Stripped Naked* about 1769. But the whole group was derived from *Three Distinct Knocks*; *Jachin and Boaz* reproduced it almost word for word, and the others copied *Jachin and Boaz*.

### THREE DISTINCT KNOCKS.

*Three Distinct Knocks* was apparently compiled early in 1760. In the Preface is a reference to Burd's *Master-Key* which, in the first edition, is said to have been "publish'd the other Day". This edition also has the date "February 26, 1760" at the end of the text.

Its Publication was announced on 3rd April, 1760,<sup>2</sup> by the following advertisement in the *London Evening Post*:—

*This Day was publish'd, Price 1s. 6d.*

THE Three Distinct KNOCKS. or, The DOOR  
of FREE MASONRY opened to all Men. Being an  
universal Description of all its Branches, from its first Rise to  
the present Time, as deliver'd in all Lodges; with the Author's  
Reasons for Opening the Door of Masonry to all the World.  
Printed for and sold by H. Serjeant, Bookseller, without  
Temple Bar; and may be had at all Booksellers and Pamph-  
let Shops.

This advertisement was repeated in the next issue of the *London Evening Post* on 5th April.

After the lapse of three months a rather longer advertisement appeared in the *Public Advertiser* of 7th July, 1760<sup>3</sup>:—

*This Day is published, Price 1s. 6d.*

THE THREE DISTINCT KNOCKS;  
or, The Door of the Most Ancient FREE-MASONRY opened  
to all MEN: Being an universal Description of all its Branches from  
its first Rise to the present Time, as it is delivered in all Lodges.  
Giving an exact Account of all their Proceedings in making a Brother,  
with all the Oaths and Obligations, and the Gripe and Word, and also a  
full Description of the Drawing upon the Floor of the Lodge, &c.  
Printed for, and sold by H. Serjeant, at the Star, without Temple-  
Bar; and G. Woodfall, at the King's Arms, Charing Cross.

G. Woodfall<sup>4</sup> was an agent for receiving advertisements to be printed in the *Public Advertiser*. That is no doubt the reason why the advertisement for this

<sup>1</sup> This has the same error in pagination as the second edition.

<sup>2</sup> The *London Evening Post* was not a daily paper, but was issued three times a week, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The Tuesday issue was dated "From Saturday to Tuesday", the Thursday issue "From Tuesday to Thursday" and that of Saturday "From Thursday to Saturday". The issue of 3rd April, 1760, was therefore dated as "From Tuesday April 1 to Thursday April 3, 1760". The same applies to the *London Chronicle* and to the *Whitehall Evening Post*, which were also issued three times a week.

<sup>3</sup> The *Public Advertiser* was a daily paper. It was also advertised at York on 10th June, 1760—see comments by Bro. G. Y. Johnson.

<sup>4</sup> His brother, H. S. Woodfall, soon afterwards took over the printing of the *Public Advertiser*.

second issue, and subsequent advertisements of *Three Distinct Knocks* appeared in this paper.

A third issue was advertised<sup>1</sup> six months later, on 12th December, and repeated the following day. A fourth issue followed in nine months, being advertised<sup>2</sup> on 17th September, 1761; and a fifth issue was advertised<sup>3</sup> five months later, on 20th March, 1762.

On 30th November, 1762, the first issue of the second edition was announced by a long advertisement<sup>4</sup> in *The Public Advertiser*, which reproduced *verbatim* the whole of the title-page. This advertisement was repeated<sup>5</sup> on 9th, 12th, and 22nd February, probably referring to the same issue. Another advertisement<sup>6</sup> in the same paper on 10th December, 1763, no doubt refers to a second issue of this edition. Yet another issue was announced by an advertisement<sup>6</sup> in *The Public Advertiser* on 11th April, 1764, which was repeated on the 17th; and a fourth issue was advertised<sup>6</sup> in the same paper on 1st January and again on 9th February, 1765. It will be seen, then, that, in the five years since *Three Distinct Knocks* was first published, there were no less than five issues of the first edition and four of the second edition. Both editions are now extremely rare, but our Grand Lodge library is rich in the possession of a copy of each. A second edition, 1763 issue, was presented in April, 1931, by Bro. W. Lascelles Southwell; and a first edition has recently been presented in the "Wallace Heaton Collection". This first edition (which is bound up with the first edition of Burd's *Master-Key* already noticed) has the date 1760 (in Roman numerals) on the title-page and has a misprint in the name of the publisher, which makes it practically certain that it is the first issue.

A comparison of the two editions shows that, except for the title-page, they are identical; they are, indeed, printed from the same type. Strictly speaking, therefore, the second edition is not a new *edition*, but only a further reissue. No doubt the reason for calling it an "edition" was the fact that a rival "exposure" had recently made its second appearance, in a "second edition" announced by a long advertisement. Not to be outdone, Serjeant called his next issue a second edition and gave it a longer advertisement.

The first edition of *Three Distinct Knocks*, and the second also, is a pamphlet<sup>7</sup> about 8½ x 5¼ inches, with a Half-Title, Title and 72 pages of text. As will be seen from the photographs it has a long title.

The Author, whose identity has not been discovered, calls himself W—O—V—n "Member of a Lodge in *England* at this Time". The imprint is:—"LONDON: / Printed for H. SRJEANT, [*sic*] without *Temple-Bar*. / MDCCLX."

The Preface (pages 1 to 8) begins with a Dedication "To the Right Worshipful Company of Faithful Irish Masters of Number 1", and some very uncomplimentary things are said about them. After this the author goes on to explain that he is a German, but, finding the pamphlet called *Masonry Dissected* in an English neighbour's house, became so familiar with it that he was able to gain admittance into a Lodge in Paris, when he went there soon afterwards. He became a Member of this Lodge, and when, a few years later,

<sup>1</sup> "Printed for and sold by H. Serjeant, Bookseller, at the Star without Temple-bar; and all other Booksellers in Town and Country".

<sup>2</sup> "Printed for and sold by H. Serjeant, without Temple-bar; G. Woodfall, Charing Cross; W. Herd, Piccadilly; and R. Richards, Holborn".

<sup>3</sup> Printed for, and published by Henry Serjeant, at the Star without Temple Bar; and R. Richards in Holborn".

<sup>4</sup> "Printed for H. Serjeant, without Temple Bar".

<sup>5</sup> "Printed for H. Serjeant, without Temple Bar, and sold by all stores."

<sup>6</sup> "Printed for H. Serjeant, at the Black Swan without Temple Bar".

<sup>7</sup> Octavo, A<sup>2</sup>, B-K<sup>4</sup>. Half-title, verso blank, Title, verso blank, pages 1 to 72.

he came to London brought from it a Certificate which gained him ready admission to a "Modern Lodge, as the Irish call them". He was then invited to an "Irish Lodge, that call'd themselves the most antient Masons", and they are the "Subject of this Book". He does not write about the "Moderns" because that has already been done in *Masonry Dissected*, which is the only book on Masonry of the many that he has read which is of any value. He adds, "There was one publish'd the other Day, call'd, *A Master Key to Free Masonry*, but it is not the Thing, tho' it is something about the matter, but so very little, that it is not worth speaking of; there is not one Thing right, only some of the Words, but not in their proper Places".

After the Preface comes the explanation of the Drawing on the floor of the Lodge (pages 9 to 14) with a folding Plate, a Plan of the Drawing, between pages 10 and 11.<sup>1</sup> In the plan is a curious mistake; the Senior Warden is shown in the Senior Deacon's place at the Master's right hand, and the Senior Deacon is shown in the West. Then, in the form of "Lectures" by Question and Answer, is a Description of the Opening of the Lodge, and the Ceremonies of the three Degrees (pages 15 to 64). Then follows a brief description of the Installation of the Master, and a section called "How to go through an Examination at the Door of a Free Mason's Lodge" which concludes thus:—"These are all the Signs, Gripes and Words, that are used amongst Masons at this Day, *February 26, 1760*" (pages 64 to 69). After this is a page and a half of quotations from the *Aeneid*, Ovid and Petronius Arbiter, said to be descriptive of a certain lodge in S—y and the Master of that lodge. On page 71 is a table giving the various Words, each with its Hebrew equivalent and signification. The book ends with a final note on page 72.

The fifth edition of *Three Distinct Knocks* was published early in 1768, but I do not know of the existence of a third or fourth edition, nor have I been able to find advertisements announcing their publication either in 1765, 1766 or 1767. Unfortunately, however, a good many numbers of the paper, *The Public Advertiser*, in which Serjeant was accustomed to advertise *Three Distinct Knocks*, are wanting for the year 1766 in the British Museum, and a few also for the year 1767. I have examined a number of other papers for these years, but without result. Although unable, therefore, to say for certain that no third or fourth edition was published, I think it is not unlikely that the impression made early in 1765 was such a large one that no further printing was required for some time, and that when Serjeant did reprint the book he chose to regard the last issue as a fourth edition and the third issue of the second edition as the third edition.

The publication of the fifth edition was announced on 15th April, 1768, by an advertisement<sup>2</sup> in *The Public Advertiser*. This advertisement, like that for the first issue of the second edition, reproduces the long title-page *verbatim*. There is a copy of this edition in the library of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and another in that of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire. It is a book of the same size as the first and second editions.<sup>3</sup> The imprint is:—

The FIFTH EDITION. / LONDON: / Printed for H.  
SERJEANT, without *Temple-Bar*.

It is not dated. The title-page of this, as of the earlier editions, has a list of the contents—not, however, in the order in which they come in the book. In this edition the various items are numbered, and it has a List of Lodges

<sup>1</sup> Pages 12 and 13 in the second edition.

<sup>2</sup> "Printed for H. Serjeant, without Temple Bar; and sold by all Booksellers in Town or Country".

<sup>3</sup> Octavo. a<sup>2</sup>, B—I<sup>4</sup>, K<sup>2</sup>, L—M<sup>4</sup>. Half-title, verso blank, title-page, verso blank, pages 1 to 76, and (77) to (84) incorrectly numbered 203 to 210.

"Brought down to the Year 1768" which could not very well have been included in any earlier edition. In other respects the fifth edition might have been a *reprint* of a third or fourth edition, but it is not printed from the same type as the first and second editions, and there are a few minor alterations in the text. The date "*February 26, 1760*" no longer appears near the end of the book, and the Latin quotations which followed it are omitted. A story of the shabby way in which one Brother treated another who owed him a small debt, which comes just before the "enter'd Apprentice's Reasons" in the first two editions, is omitted from the fifth. The positions of the Senior Warden and Senior Deacon are corrected in the Plan. In the Preface it is no longer said that the *Master Key* was "publish'd the other Day"; there is a misprint in the date of *Masonry Dissected*; and there is a reference to the attack on the author of *Three Distinct Knocks* which had been made by Laurence Dermott, Secretary of the "Antient" Masons, in the second edition of his *Ahiman Rezon* in 1764. In this attack Dermott said that the author was a bricklayer named Daniel Tadpole; but his story is both extremely coarse and quite unconvincing.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted that the List of Lodges is that of the "Moderns". This seems inappropriate in a book which pretends to expose "Antient" Freemasonry, and suggests that the original author no longer had an interest in the publication. A curious misprint should also be noted, by which the printer gave to page 77 the number 203 (which was the catch-word at the bottom of the previous page, referring to the number of the next Lodge) and carried this numeration to the end of the book, so that the last page is numbered 210 instead of 84.

The fifth was followed by a sixth, a seventh and an eighth edition which, although so called on the title-page, were not really new editions but actually *re-issues* of the fifth, being reprinted from the same type and maintaining the error in pagination.

The publication of one of these was announced on 11th January, 1775, by an advertisement<sup>2</sup> in *The Public Advertiser*, which was repeated on 16th January and 2nd and 3rd February, but unfortunately without stating which edition it was.

There is a copy of the sixth edition in the library of the Grand Lodge of Ireland; the late Bro. Dring possessed a copy of the seventh edition,<sup>3</sup> but I do not know its present whereabouts; and a copy of the eighth edition is in the "Wallace Heaton Collection" recently presented to Grand Lodge.

This eighth edition is, almost certainly, the last one published by Serjeant, and the last to be printed in England for more than 20 years until revived, about 1805, by A. Cleugh, T. Hughes and B. Crosby.<sup>4</sup>

Soon after its appearance in London the book was reprinted in Dublin. The first Irish edition was published there on 2nd July, 1760, and was announced in the following advertisement in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, in the

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Wolfstieg accepted this absurd story as he catalogued *Three Distinct Knocks* under *Tadpole*!

<sup>2</sup> "Printed for H. Serjeant without Temple-Bar; J. Smith No. 15 Paternoster Row; J. Bew No. 28 Paternoster Row; and G. Allen No. 59 Paternoster Row".

<sup>3</sup> *Misc. Lat.*, v., 121.

<sup>4</sup> Thorp, in his *Bibliography*, gives the date "1760" (?) for this edition and puts it first in his list of editions of *Three Distinct Knocks*. But *Holden's Triennial Directory* shows that it cannot be earlier than 1805. The name Alexander Cleugh appeared in the Directory for 1802-4 and had appeared in earlier issues, as had that of Crosby and Letterman, the predecessors of B. Crosby; but the name of T. Hughes does not occur until the 1805-7 issue, in which also occurs that of B. Crosby for the first time. There was probably more than one issue of this edition. In 1938 Messrs. Marks, in their Catalogue No. 36 listed one which was printed on paper which had the date 1809 in the watermark. It is Octavo, A<sup>2</sup>, B—F<sup>4</sup>.

issue dated "From Saturday June 28 to Tuesday July 1":—"Tomorrow will be published, at the Crown and Slipper opposite the Black Bull Inn in Capel-street, and to be sold by all the Booksellers and News Hawkers, Price a British Sixpence, THE THREE DISTINCT KNOCKS . ." and giving the whole of the title-page.

This advertisement was repeated in every issue of the paper until 15th July. It was again repeated, in the same words, from 22nd to 29th July, probably with reference to a second impression which was later treated as a second *edition*. In the same paper dated "From Tuesday August 5 to Saturday August 9" it was announced that the publisher had, for the past few days, been unable to supply the demand for the book, but that he had a third edition in the press which "will be published on Monday next" at the same address. This third edition was advertised in the next issue and in every subsequent issue until 11th October. Four other advertisements followed at intervals of about a week, the last being in the issue dated "From Saturday November 15 to Tuesday November 18, 1760". A copy of this third Irish edition is in the library of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. The imprint is:—

The THIRD EDITION. / LONDON: / Printed for H. Serjeant, without *Temple-Bar*: And / DUBLIN Re-printed and sold by Capt. BOBADIL, at / the *Crown and Slipper* opposite the *Black Bull Inn* in *Capel- / street*, and by all the Booksellers and News-Hawkers. / MDCCLX. / [Price a *British Six-pence*.]

Soon after this the publication seems to have been acquired by Dillon Chamberlaine, Printer, Bookseller and Publisher in Smock Alley, who issued an edition on 11th August, 1761. This was advertised in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* in the issue dated "From Saturday August 8 to Tuesday August 11, 1761". It was advertised also in the next issue and again a month later in the issue dated "From Saturday September 19 to Tuesday September 22, 1761". In all three advertisements this issue is still styled the "Third Edition", presumably because it was only a reprint of the third edition already noticed. But, as the next edition published by Dillon Chamberlaine was called the fifth edition, his so-called "Third Edition" evidently takes the place of a fourth.

In *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* dated "From Saturday January 9 to Tuesday January 12, 1762" an advertisement announced that "tomorrow [*i.e.*, on 13th January] at 12 o'clock will be published by Dillon Chamberlaine in Smock Alley . . . the FIFTH EDITION of THE THREE DISTINCT KNOCKS . . .". This edition was again advertised in the same paper in the issues dated 16-19 Jan., 19-23 Jan., 26-30 Jan., 2-6 Feb., 16-20 Feb., and 30 March-3 April, 1762. A copy of this edition is in the library of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. The imprint is:—

The FIFTH EDITION. / LONDON: / Printed for H. Serjeant, without *Temple Bar*; And / DUBLIN Reprinted and sold at the Publisher's Shop in *Smock / Alley*, and by the rest of the Booksellers. MDCCLXII. / [Price a *British Six-pence*.] /

These Irish editions follow the text of the first English edition exactly, including the error in the Plan.

The fifth edition was the last one published by Dillon Chamberlaine—who, as we shall see, took over the publication of a rival "exposure"—and the book probably did not appear again in Dublin<sup>1</sup> for some years, until it was

<sup>1</sup> An edition of *Three Distinct Knocks* was advertised on 21 June, 1782, in the *Belfast News Letter*, "sold by Hugh Warren, Bookseller, at his Circulating Library in High Street, Belfast". Possibly there were earlier editions there.

reprinted (without any alteration in the text or Plan) by Wilkinson of Wine-tavern street in or about the year 1777. Wilkinson did not date his edition, but the date can be deduced from the advertisements for other books "just published", with which Wilkinson always filled up spare places in the text. Two of these—*The Battle of Aughrim* and *Solomon in all his Glory*—have, on the title-page, the date 1777.

#### JACHIN and BOAZ.

*Jachin and Boaz*, the second of this group of so-called "exposures", was the most frequently reprinted. Indeed, so great was the demand for it that it may fairly be called a "best-seller", a new edition being called for almost every year until the time of the Union.

An advertisement in *The Public Advertiser* on Saturday, 20th March, 1762, announced "*In a few Days will be published*", and on Monday, 22nd March, "*This Day is published. Price 1s. 6d.*", "JACHIN and BOAZ; or An authentic Key to the Door of FREE-MASONRY . . ." Both were long advertisements in the same words, which reproduced nearly the whole of the very long title-page of the book. The advertisement was repeated on 23rd and 26th March with the addition "Printed for W. Nicoll in St. Paul's Churchyard", which had been omitted from the first two advertisements, and there was an advertisement similarly worded in Nicoll's own paper, *Lloyd's Evening Post & British Chronicle* in the issue dated "From Monday March 22 to Wednesday March 24".<sup>1</sup> A copy of this very rare first edition<sup>2</sup> is in the library of the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester. The imprint is:—

LONDON: / Printed for W. NICOLL, at the Paper-Mill,  
St. Paul's Church-yard. / MDCCLXII.

A second edition was soon called for, and was announced by an advertisement in *The Public Advertiser* on 20th October,<sup>3</sup> 1762, *This Day is published. Price 1s. 6d. / The Second Edition Corrected, of / JACHIN and BAOZ*<sup>4</sup>; or An Authentick / Key to the Door of FREE MASONRY, both ancient and mo- / dern . . ."; an even longer advertisement than before, which ends "The Corrections and Additions may be had gratis by the Purchasers / of the former Edition". The library of the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester possesses also a copy of this second edition.<sup>5</sup> The imprint is:—

The SECOND EDITION. / LONDON: / Printed for W.  
NICOLL, at the Paper-Mill, St. Paul's Church-Yard. / MDCCLXII.

It will be noticed that in this second edition the words "both ancient and modern" are added, and that it is described as "corrected". It is interesting, therefore, to compare the two editions with each other and with *Three Distinct Knocks*. The preface to the latter, with its dedication to the Irish Masters, is omitted. Instead *Jachin and Boaz* has a short introduction in which the author states that he is a frequent visitor at a number of Lodges in London—all of them "Modern"—and explains how he acquired his knowledge of Masonry. He begins his text with four pages, derived from Burd's *Master*

<sup>1</sup> It was also advertised at Newcastle on 24th April, 1762, and at York on 27th April, 1762—See comments by Bro. G. Y. Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> Octavo, A—H<sup>4</sup>. Half-title, verso blank, title-page, verso blank, (v.) to viii., i. to 8, two pp. not numbered, 9 to 56. Plan facing p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Repeated on 21st October and also advertised in *Lloyd's Evening Post* of "From Oct. 20 to Oct. 22" and "From Oct. 22 to Oct. 24".

<sup>4</sup> The misprint BAOZ appears also on the title-page of this edition.

<sup>5</sup> Octavo, A—H<sup>4</sup>. Half-title, verso blank, title-page, verso blank (v.) to viii., 1 to 56; pp. 9 and 10 not numbered. Plan on p. 9.

*Key*, on the origin of Masonry and the customs of Lodges. Some of this is a paraphrase of the original; much of it is reprinted unchanged, and it is curious to note that he even reproduces the French terms "assistants" (instead of Wardens) and "Rule and Compass" (instead of Square and Compass). He then has a section "How to Open a Lodge and set the Men to Work", which is reprinted almost *verbatim* from *Three Distinct Knocks*. After this are six pages describing the preparation of a Candidate and the ceremony of Initiation. Most of this comes from the *Master Key*, but the wording of the Oath is that given in the Entered Apprentice's Lecture of *Three Distinct Knocks*, from which book is taken also the plan and description of the Drawing on the floor of the Lodge. The plan is set up from type (instead of being engraved, as in *Three Distinct Knocks*) and the error in the positions of the Senior Warden and Senior Deacon is corrected. Then comes "the Entered Apprentice's Lecture", and this, and the whole of the remainder of the book, is reprinted, almost word for word, from *Three Distinct Knocks*. The book ends with the statement that the author is "ready to answer any Question . . . which must be . . . directed for R.S." and left with his Publisher, and an assertion that he will attend and visit at the Lodges mentioned in the Introduction "as he has done for some years past".

In the Third Degree the two books differ in one place. In both, the Candidate is made to advance by one step in the First Degree, and to take two steps in the Second Degree. But in the Third Degree, according to *Three Distinct Knocks* the Candidate takes one, two and *three* steps; whereas *Jachin and Boaz* makes him take one, two and *two* steps. I think this is a slip; but it occurs not only in the first edition, but also in the second and all subsequent editions of *Jachin and Boaz*.

It should be noted that in the first edition of *Jachin and Boaz* the Entered Apprentice's Word is the same as that in *Three Distinct Knocks*, and the Fellow Craft's Word is also the same in both books. In the third degree again the Word is the same in both books; but *Jachin and Boaz* gives, in a footnote, an alternative Word—the one that was given in Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* in 1730—with the information that this was the Word given "in the Modern Lodges".

In the second edition of *Jachin and Boaz* is an alteration, corresponding with the addition "both ancient and modern" on the title-pages; the Words of the Entered Apprentice and of the Fellow Craft are interchanged, so that they no longer agree with those given in *Three Distinct Knocks*, and in this reversed order they remain in every subsequent edition. These words are also interchanged in a footnote referring to the two Wardens' columns, which occurs in a brief description of how the Master proceeds to "call the Men off from Work". Oddly enough, although the *names* of the columns are altered, their *significations* are not—so that Jachin is made to signify "strength" and Boaz "to Establish in the Lord"—and thus they continue in all subsequent editions.

Except that in the preface one is omitted from the list of Lodges to which the author professes to be a frequent visitor, this reversal of the words of the first and second degrees is the only alteration made in the second edition.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after its publication in London this book also was reprinted in Dublin, where the publisher was Dillon Chamberlaine, who had brought out the fourth and fifth Irish editions of *Three Distinct Knocks*. He announced the publication by a long advertisement in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* in the

<sup>1</sup> In *Misc. Lat.*, xiv., 26, it is stated that in "*Jachin and Boaz*, in the earliest edition, that of 1762" the pass-words are differently arranged from those in *Three Distinct Knocks*. This is not correct; they are exactly the same in both books, and there is no change in this respect in the later editions of *Jachin and Boaz*.

issue dated "From Tuesday July 12 to Saturday July 16, 1763."<sup>1</sup> He ended his advertisement thus:—"\*\*\*N.B. This valuable Pamphlet contains the substance of the Three Distinct Knocks, and the Master Key to Masonry, together with such a Number of curious and interesting Particulars relative to the whole secrets of Masonry, as will render the purchasing or reading any other Books on the Subject entirely unnecessary". There is a copy of this Irish edition<sup>2</sup> in the library of Grand Lodge. The imprint is:—

LONDON: Printed for W. NICOLL. And, / DUBLIN:  
Re-printed, and sold by DILLON CHAMBERLAINE, / in Smock-Alley; and the rest of the Booksellers.

It is not dated.

It is noteworthy that this Irish edition was reprinted from the *first* English edition, so that the words "both ancient and modern" do not appear on the title-page, and the words of the Entered Apprentice and the Fellow Craft agree with those given in *Three Distinct Knocks*. The book was reprinted in Dublin by Wilkinson, in or about 1777, evidently from Dillon Chamberlaine's edition.

In London a third edition was published on 20th July, 1763, on which day it was announced by a long advertisement in *The Public Advertiser* which was repeated in the same paper on 28th July and in Nicoll's paper, *Lloyd's Evening Post*, in the issue dated "From July 22 to July 25". There is a copy of this edition<sup>3</sup> in the library of Grand Lodge. The imprint is:—

The THIRD EDITION / LONDON: / Printed for W.  
NICOLL, at the Paper-Mill, St. Paul's Church-Yard. MDCCLXIII.

This edition has, at the end of the book, a list of "Modern" Lodges which probably goes down to No. 297, constituted 4 May, 1763.<sup>4</sup> Except for this innovation it differs from the second edition only in having a Note of seven and a half lines after the Preface, in which the author thanks the public for "the uncommon Reception this Piece has been favoured with".

After an interval of five months Nicoll again advertised the *Third* edition in his paper *Lloyd's Evening Post*<sup>5</sup> in the issue dated "From December 26 to December 28, 1763". This no doubt refers to a second impression of this edition.

Thorp, in his *Bibliography*, lists a fourth edition with the date 1763; but Nicoll's advertisement in December shows that no edition bearing this number can have been issued in 1763, nor was a fourth edition advertised either in

<sup>1</sup> This advertisement was repeated in the next issue, in that of 23-26 July, of 30 July - 2 Aug: and in a shortened form in that of 13-16 Aug. Another advertisement in the issue of 3-6 Sept: had these words added:—"As a spurious Edition of this Work is hawked about the Town, the Publick are desired to take Notice that the genuine one is printed by D. CHAMBERLAINE in Smock-Alley, and has his Name to the Imprint." The advertisement was repeated in this form in the issues of 24-27 Sept:; 1-4 Oct:; 8-11 Oct:; and 10-13 Dec:; 1763. The book was not advertised in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* in 1764, nor again until the issue of 29 June - 2 July, 1765, when Dillon Chamberlaine's address had been changed from Smock Alley to Dame Street.

<sup>2</sup> Octavo, A<sup>4</sup>, B—C<sup>8</sup>, D<sup>4</sup>: A4 bound in at the end, after D4. Title page, verso blank, iii. to vi., 1 to 41, 1 page of advertisements.

<sup>3</sup> Octavo, A—I<sup>4</sup>. Half-title, verso blank, title-page, verso blank, (v.) to viii., 1 to 63 (?), verso blank or with page of advertisements (?), pp. 9 and 10 not numbered. Plan on p. 9. This copy lacks the half-title and the last leaf.

<sup>4</sup> The last leaf is missing from the only copy that I have been able to consult, but I think that the edition cited by Lane (*Handy Book*, n. 62) may really have been the third edition (and not the fourth, as he states). Lane does not include, in the words which he quotes from the imprint, the number of this edition, as he has done in the case of several others, nor does he cite the third edition. Perhaps the copy Lane consulted was a third edition with the title-page damaged.

<sup>5</sup> It was also advertised at York on 29th November, 1763—See comments by Bro. G. Y. Johnson.

Nicoll's own paper or *The Public Advertiser* in 1764. When, however, Nicoll did publish his next edition about ten months later he called it the *fifth*; so evidently he afterwards regarded this second impression as his fourth edition.

Nicoll announced the publication of the fifth edition by an advertisement in his paper *Lloyd's Evening Post* in the issue dated "From November 7 to November 9, 1764" and in the next issue, also in *The Public Advertiser* on the 10th and 15th November. Six weeks later he again advertised the fifth edition in *Lloyd's Evening Post* of "From December 21 to December 24" and *The Public Advertiser* of 26th December, 1764.<sup>1</sup> In these two, and subsequent, advertisements there is an addition to his usual form of wording (derived from that of the title-page of the book), viz.:—"Those Gentlemen who so often order this Book and desire it to be sealed up and directed may safely continue their Commissions, and the Publisher will punctually comply with their Orders".

There are two copies of this edition<sup>2</sup> in the library of Grand Lodge; the imprint now has "The FIFTH EDITION" and the date MDCCLXIV, but is otherwise unchanged. The list of Lodges has been brought down to No. 318, constituted 16 August, 1764, and, instead of the Note after the Preface, there is an "Advertisement" of a page and a half. In this the author says that, since the last edition was printed, he has received several anonymous letters of abuse, one of which he prints. He also refers to the attack made on him by Laurence Dermott in the second edition of *Ahiman Rezon*,<sup>3</sup> and he ends the "Advertisement" with an assurance, similar to that in the advertisement for the book, to those gentlemen who so often send for the book and "desire the Publisher to tie it up in Paper, and seal it carefully, that the Messenger may not be acquainted with the Contents of the Parcel".<sup>4</sup>

A year elapsed before a sixth edition was published. This was announced by an advertisement in Nicoll's paper, *Lloyd's Evening Post*, of "From December 27 to December 30, 1765" which was repeated in the next two issues of the same paper. It was also advertised in *The London Chronicle*,<sup>5</sup> *The London Evening Post*<sup>6</sup> and *The Public Advertiser*.<sup>7</sup> There is a copy<sup>8</sup> of this edition in the library of Grand Lodge, one in that of the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester, and another in that of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire. The imprint is as before, except that it is now, of course, "The SIXTH EDITION" with the date MDCCLXV. The list of Lodges has been brought down to No. 340, constituted 19 April, 1765; but, in other respects, this edition is the same as the fifth.

<sup>1</sup> It was also advertised at York on 8th January, 1765—See comments by Bro. G. V. Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> Octavo, A—I<sup>4</sup>. Half-title, verso blank, title-page, verso blank, (v.) to viii., 1 to 64, pp. 9 and 10 not numbered. Plan on p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> This was announced by the following advertisement in *The Public Advertiser* on 21st September, 1764, repeated on 22nd and 24th September:—"This Day is publish'd / Price Five Shillings. / with an engraved Frontispiece and Title Page, / The Second Edition, of / AHIMAN REZON. / Containing the Quintessence of all that has been / published on the subject of Free Masonry; also some / Account of the Authors of the Three Distinct Knocks, / Boaz and Jachin, &c. Solomon's Temple an Oratorio. / The greatest Collection of Mason's Songs that ever was / published. With many other Additions which render it / the most useful Book of Constitutions now extant. / By LAURENCE DERMOTE [sic], Secretary / Sold by Brother Robert Black, Bookbinder and Sta- / tioner in George-yard, Tower-hill, London".

<sup>4</sup> A second issue of the fifth edition is listed by Thorp. dated 1765; but I think this must be a mistake, as no such issue was advertised in 1765 either in Nicoll's paper or in *The Public Advertiser*.

<sup>5</sup> From Dec. 31 - Jan. 2, and Jan. 2-4.

<sup>6</sup> From Jan. 2-4, and Jan. 9-11.

<sup>7</sup> Jan. 22, 1766. It was also advertised at York on 24th December, 1765—See comments by Bro. G. V. Johnson.

<sup>8</sup> Octavo, A—I<sup>4</sup>. Half-title, verso blank, title-page, verso blank, (v.) to viii., 1 to 64, pp. 9 and 10 not numbered. Plan on p. 9.

Another issue of the sixth edition was announced a year later, in December, 1766, by numerous advertisements, the earliest of which were those in *The Public Advertiser* of 25th December, 1766, and in the *Gazeteer and New Daily Advertiser* of the same day. It was also advertised in Nicoll's paper *Lloyd's Evening Post* of "From December 24 to December 26", and in *St. James's Chronicle* and in *The London Chronicle*. In spite of all these advertisements I do not know of a copy of this issue. Presumably it had the same imprint as the first issue but with the date MDCCLXVI, and perhaps had a more up-to-date list of Lodges.

Yet another issue of the sixth edition was advertised ten months later in Nicoll's paper *Lloyd's Evening Post* of "From October 23 to October 26, 1767" and "From October 28 to October 30", also in *The Public Advertiser* of 30th October. There is a copy of this edition<sup>1</sup> in the library of the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester, and another in the library of Grand Lodge.<sup>2</sup> The imprint is as before, but with the year MDCCLXVII. The list of Lodges is said to be "Brought down to the Year 1768",<sup>3</sup> but the last Lodge included is No. 391, constituted in April or May, 1767.

After an interval of four months from the announcement of the 1767 issue of the sixth edition another and final advertisement for this edition appeared in *Lloyd's Evening Post* of "From February 17 to February 19, 1768" and in *The Public Advertiser* of 22nd February. This advertisement, instead of ending with the publisher's assurance that he would see that the book was sealed up in a parcel, concludes thus:—"The ingenious Foreigner, who corresponds with / the author under the Signature G. M—r, will find a letter / for him at the Publisher's, on sending the same / Messenger who delivered his three obliging Letters."

The sixth was the last edition to be given a number. Subsequent editions were called simply "A New Edition". The first to be so called was advertised in Nicoll's paper *Lloyd's Evening Post* of "From August 28 to August 30, 1769" and of "From September 1 to September 4" and of "From September 8 to September 11". There is a copy of this edition in the library of the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester; the imprint is unchanged except that—as before stated—it is now called "A New Edition" and is dated MDCCLXIX.

The next edition appeared in 1771. Thorp<sup>4</sup> lists this, and thirty later editions published in London before the Union, with a number subsequent to that event; but it is beyond the scope of this paper to investigate them further. In 1776 an engraved frontispiece was added, also some songs and a "Ceremonial at Funerals" taken from Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry*, but no alteration was made in the text. This frontispiece depicted masonic ornaments and jewels in an oval frame. The 1797 edition had a new frontispiece similar to the other, but in an octagonal frame.

*Jachin and Boaz* continues to be printed to this day, but the frontispiece, the list of Lodges and some of the songs are now omitted.

### HIRAM.

The publication of *HIRAM, or the Grand Master Key to the Door of both Ancient and Modern Free Masonry*, the third of this group of "exposures",

<sup>1</sup> Octavo, A—G<sup>4</sup>, H—K<sup>2</sup>, L<sup>4</sup>. Half-title, verso blank, title-page, verso blank, (v.) to viii., 1 to 65, 3 pp. advts., pp. 9 and 10 not numbered. Plan on p. 9. This collation is from my own copy, which is in perfect condition. In this edition F<sup>2</sup> is incorrectly signed as F<sup>3</sup>; evidently the figure 2 dropped out and was replaced in error by a 3.

<sup>2</sup> This has been incorrectly dated 1766 on the back, but the title-page is torn through the date and has obscured the last figure. It lacks the half-title and the last leaf.

<sup>3</sup> The same list was given in the fifth edition of *Three Distinct Knocks*.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*

was announced by an advertisement on the front page of *The Public Advertiser* on 14th November, 1764, and on the following day. It was again advertised in *St. James's Chronicle* on 22nd November. A copy of this first edition<sup>1</sup> is in the library of Grand Lodge, also in that of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and of the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester. The imprint is:—

LONDON: / Printed for W. GRIFFIN, in FETTER-LANE,  
and T. TOFT, / in CHELMSFORD. 1764.

A second edition was published in 1766.<sup>2</sup> This was announced on 27th June, 1766, by an advertisement in *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser*<sup>3</sup> and on 15th July, 1766, in the *Manchester Mercury*.<sup>4</sup> There are copies of this second edition in the British Museum,<sup>5</sup> in the library of Grand Lodge, of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire. The imprint is:—

LONDON: / Printed for W. GRIFFIN, in CATHERINE-  
STREET, in the STRAND, / MDCCLXVI.

In the first edition, on both half-title and title-page, the spelling is "Ancient"; but in the second edition it has been altered to "Antient", and the latter is the spelling, in both editions, throughout the text.<sup>6</sup>

This book does not imitate its predecessors in giving a plan of the Drawing on the floor of the Lodge. Instead there is a frontispiece, a folding plate, the engraved surface of which measures 11½ by 6¼ inches. This purports to depict the interior of a Lodge arranged for "The Ceremony of Making a Free-Mason", and differs from the plan of the two earlier books in showing the Brethren standing round a table, instead of round a Drawing on the floor. The table, which is much larger than can have been usual in a tavern of those days, is erected upon three solid steps which would have rendered the room quite useless for any other purpose; and, in general, the artist has relied on his imagination with little regard to the contents of the book.

In the first edition the words / "London, Sold by W. Griffin in Fetter Lane, and by T. Toft in Chelmsford——/ Price 6d /" are engraved at the bottom of the plate, but these words have been removed in the second edition. It is curious that in the first edition no Candidate is shown in the picture; in the second edition the same plate has been used, but it has been altered so as to include a Candidate.

The book itself is compiled from various sources. The author begins with the statement that the Science of Masonry is the most ancient in the world, that its basis is Virtue, and its Grand Principles are Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth to each other, the Universal Benevolence to Human Society in general. He goes on to say that the various attempts of late to describe this Noble Science have been unsatisfactory, and that he has therefore compiled his book from the best-received Testimonials and Authentic Records so that it will serve as a Pocket Companion to every Free-Mason. He then prints a version of the "Old Charges" copied from the 1762 *printed* edition of Coles' *Constitutions*,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Octavo, A<sup>2</sup>, B--N<sup>4</sup>. Frontispiece, Half-title, verso blank, title-page, verso blank (1) to 96.

<sup>2</sup> It was no doubt advertised in *The Public Advertiser*, but, unfortunately, this paper is incomplete for the year 1766 in the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Bro. C. H. Taunton, J.P., of Liverpool, for this information.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Bro. F. L. Pick, of Oldham, for this information.

<sup>5</sup> Press mark 4785, bbb. 49. Octavo, A<sup>2</sup>, B--K<sup>4</sup>, L<sup>2</sup>, unsigned. Frontispiece, Half-title, verso blank, title-page, verso blank, (1) to 73, verso blank, one blank leaf.

<sup>6</sup> Except once in the first edition on page 53.

<sup>7</sup> "The Antient / Constitutions and Charges / of the / FREE-MASONS / . . . / LONDON: / Printed for and Sold by Brother Benjamin Cole, / Engraver, near Fetter Lane, Holborn. MDCCLXII." It is evident that this is the edition that he used from the fact that he quotes from it not only part of a speech by Entick, but also from a speech by Edward Oakley, and that all his songs (except the last one and the Oratorio) are taken from this edition of Cole's book.

which is followed fairly closely but with the phraseology modernised here and there. To this he adds a history of the Craft in England, from the time of the Norman Conquest down to the Grand-Mastership of the Duke of Wharton in 1722. This was taken directly and with very little change from the third edition of Scott's *Pocket Companion*, which had recently been published on 16th April, 1764,<sup>1</sup> as was also the List of Lodges which concludes the book. This list, which was brought down to No. 307, Constituted 28th November, 1763, is arranged in Scott's *Pocket Companion* in an unusual manner, the Lodges being tabulated according to their days of meeting (without their numbers being given), instead of in their order of seniority on the List; and this peculiar arrangement is followed exactly in *Hiram*. After the history there is a list of the Grand Masters subsequent to the Duke of Wharton, which also may have been taken from Scott's *Pocket Companion* with the name of Lord Ferrers added, or perhaps from the Engraved List for that year.

There is then a reference to the enquiries that should be made into the character of every Candidate who desires to become a Member of this Honourable Fraternity, with a long quotation from a speech on this subject by Bro. Edward Oakley in 1728 and a shorter quotation from one by Rev. Bro. Entick, both of which are taken from Cole's *Constitutions*.<sup>2</sup>

Then comes "*The Ceremony of Opening a Lodge, and Setting the Men to Work*". This is taken directly from *Jachin and Boaz*, as are also the succeeding pages descriptive of the three degrees, but in these there is some rearrangement and one or two alterations. The names of the Wardens' columns (in the "Calling Off") are now as they were in *Three Distinct Knocks*, with their correct significations; and the Steps in the Third Degree are given as one, two and three—again as in *Three Distinct Knocks*. There is also a reference, after the Fellow-Craft's Lecture, to further questions being asked, particularly in the *Irish Lodges*, which quite clearly comes from *Three Distinct Knocks*; so that it is evident that the author consulted that book as well as *Jachin and Boaz*, although most of this part of his book is taken from the latter.

After the Third Degree comes "*The Manner of Constituting a Lodge, according to Ancient Custom*". This comes from Scott's *Pocket Companion* with little change, but into the ceremony is interpolated the new Master's Oath from the "Instalment of a Master" in *Jachin and Boaz*.<sup>3</sup> Then comes "*A Prayer frequently used at the making of a Member*", which is the second of two such prayers given in Scott's *Pocket Companion*. This is followed by a "*Description of the Claps belonging to each Degree of Masonry*" from *Jachin and Boaz*, and the "*Manner of Drinking among Masons in a Lodge*" partly from *Jachin and Boaz* and partly from *Three Distinct Knocks*. There is then a list of "*Toasts used by Masons*", all of which are taken from the second edition of *Ahiman Rezon*.<sup>4</sup> The Toasts are followed by "Songs used by Free-Masons in all good Lodges". All of these, except the last, are taken from the 1762 edition of Cole's *Constitutions*, and are printed exactly as given there. The Entered Apprentice's Song" has the "Ladies' verse" at the end, preceded by the note, "The following Verse is generally sung between the Fifth and Sixth Verses"; and, in the song "Let Masonry be now my Theme", the third verse begins "Let noble Crawford's Health go round"—the Earl of Crawford having been

<sup>1</sup> Advertised in *The Public Advertiser* of that date.

<sup>2</sup> The former was printed in all editions of Cole's book, the latter for the first time in the 1751 edition.

<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that in *Hiram* the grip and word of Installed Master is omitted.

<sup>4</sup> Published 21 September, 1764. In *Ahiman Rezon* there is a Toast printed after nearly every song; *Hiram* follows exactly the order in which they are given. The last Toast in *Hiram* is worded as in the second edition, not as in the first edition of *Ahiman Rezon*.

Grand Master in 1734.<sup>1</sup> The last song, "With Harmony and Flowing Wine", and "Solomon's Temple. An Oratorio" which follows it, are both taken from *Ahiman Rezon*. After the Oratorio comes the List of Lodges, which has already been noticed, and this concludes the book.

Very soon after its publication in London this book, like its two predecessors, was reprinted in Dublin, evidently by arrangement with the original publishers. It was advertised in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* in the issue dated "From May 18 to May 21, 1765". "This Day was published, Price Eightpence, HIRAM; or the Grand Master Key of Freemasonry . . . Printed for Messrs Griffin & Toft of London, and James Hoey, junior, in Parliament Street, Dublin". Unfortunately I have not been able to discover a copy of this edition,<sup>2</sup> but it is cited by Lane in his *Handy Book to the List of Lodges*, where the imprint is quoted as:—"Printed for Messrs Griffin & Toft in London, and Mr J. Hoey Jr. in Parliament street, Dublin. 1765". Lane says that this Irish edition has the same list of Lodges as the first London edition.

Hoey again advertised *Hiram* in the second number of his new paper, *The Dublin Mercury*,<sup>3</sup> dated "From March 18 to March 22, 1766". In this advertisement the price of the book is reduced from 8d. to 6½d., and, instead of the List of Lodges, there is ". . . an Appendix, disclosing the other Secrets of Freemasonry not divulged by the author. . . . Printed for Griffin and Toft, in London; and J. Hoey, Jun. in Dublin". From this advertisement it is evident that this was the second edition, though that is not stated. The advertisement did not appear again in Hoey's paper until the issue of "From July 29 to Aug. 2, 1766", but then it was repeated in almost every issue until the end of September, and five times subsequently to the middle of December. It was again repeated in April, 1767, and frequently during that year until December, and again in April, 1769, and in March, 1770.<sup>4</sup> The wording of all these advertisements is identical, and corresponds closely with that of the title-page of Hoey's third edition, of which there is a copy<sup>5</sup> in the library of Grand Lodge. The imprint of this edition is:—

[THIRD EDITION] / BY A MEMBER OF ROYAL  
ARCH / PRINTED / For Mess. GRIFFIN and TOFT in London;  
and Mr. / J. HOEY, junior, in Parliament-street, / Dublin. 1773./

The Appendix "disclosing the other Secrets of Free-Masonry not divulged by the author" is reprinted from a book called *The Freemason Examined*, by Alexander Slade, which had been published in 1754.<sup>6</sup>

*Hiram* was reprinted also in Belfast, where it was advertised<sup>7</sup> on 14th February, 1766, in the *Belfast News Letter* as "just published by the Printers hereof. Price 10d." It was again advertised on 28th November, 1766, and

<sup>1</sup> In the 1764 edition of Scott's *Pocket Companion* this is corrected to "noble Aberdour's health".

<sup>2</sup> In Thorp's *Bibliography* it is said to be a Duodecimo of 93 pages.

<sup>3</sup> The name of this paper was changed to *Hoey's Dublin Mercury*, beginning with No. 604 of "From September 4 to September 6, 1770".

<sup>4</sup> Probably also in 1768, but I have not examined that year.

<sup>5</sup> Duodecimo. A—C<sup>12</sup>. [Frontispiece?], Title-page, verso blank, pp. (3) to 72. Three engraved plates. The three plates are copied from those in "*L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons Trahi*". These same plates are to be found in Wilkinson's edition of *Solomon in all his Glory* (Dublin, 1777), which has in addition a fourth plate as frontispiece. It seems probable, therefore, that Hoey's third edition had a frontispiece which has been lost. There is also a copy of this edition in the library of the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester. This third edition was reprinted a few years later by Wilkinson, who called his the third edition also. Copies of Wilkinson's edition are in the library of Grand Lodge and that of the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester.

<sup>6</sup> This was evidently intended to discredit Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*. It was reproduced in facsimile as No. 10 of the "Leicester Masonic Reprints".

<sup>7</sup> I am indebted to Bro. Philip Crossle for this information. The printers of the *Belfast News Letter* were the brothers Henry and Robert Joy.

2nd January, 1767. It was reprinted also in 1768. There is a copy of the 1768 edition in the library of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. The imprint is:—

BELFAST: / Printed for HENRY and ROBERT JOY,  
Printers and / Booksellers. M.DCC.LXVIII.

It will be noticed that the name of the London publisher is not given in the imprint, which suggests that it was a "pirated" edition.

In the *Belfast News Letter* of 16th January, 1781, the printers advertised that they had then a few copies of *Hiram* for sale,<sup>1</sup> but I do not know of any edition later than this.

#### THE MYSTERY OF FREEMASONRY EXPLAINED.

"*The Mystery of FREEMASONRY Explained*", the fourth of these "exposures", is no more than a Chapter in a book called *Every Young Man's Companion*, by W. Gordon, Teacher of the Mathematicks—a book intended for those "promising geniuses who, through the narrowness of their circumstances, or the neglect of their friends", had not been sent to school, and desired to educate themselves.

The book, which gives instruction in a variety of subjects, had reached its third edition<sup>2</sup> without containing anything of Masonic interest. But the "Fourth Edition," corrected, with large Additions and great Improvements", which was advertised in *The Public Advertiser* on 15th July, 1765,<sup>4</sup> had as its twenty-first chapter "*The Mystery of FREEMASONRY Explained*", comprising pages 413 to 426 of the book. This is derived entirely from *Jachin and Boaz*. The first six pages describe the Opening of the Lodge and the ceremony of Initiation, and are taken from *Jachin and Boaz* with little abbreviation. The Plan of the Drawing on the floor (page 417) is reproduced exactly. A short description of the ceremony of the Second Degree, derived from the "Fellow Craft's Lecture", follows that of the First; but the Lectures themselves are omitted. Then comes a still shorter description of the Third Degree ceremony, followed by a long extract from the "Master's Part" describing the death of Hiram. Then are given the Sign, Grip and Word of each degree; and the chapter ends with a very brief description of the Installation of the Master.

Gordon cleverly contrived to compress the 56 pages of *Jachin and Boaz* into 11 pages of his book; but he made no comment whatever, either to encourage his Young Man to join the Craft or to dissuade him from doing so.

This chapter was reprinted unchanged, except for the name of the Grand Master, in the fifth edition<sup>5</sup> of 1769 and again in the sixth edition<sup>6</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Bro. Philip Crossle for this information. The printers of the *Belfast News Letter* were the brothers Henry and Robert Joy.

<sup>2</sup> There was evidently more than one issue of the third edition. There is one dated 1759 in the British Museum. Another was advertised in *The Public Advertiser* on 29th August, 1761.

<sup>3</sup> Duodecimo, A—Pp<sup>6</sup>. Frontispiece, Title-page, verso blank, 4 pp. unnumbered (Preface), 5 pages unnumbered (Contents), 1 page advertisements, pages (1) to 416, (417), (418), 419 to 433, (444). The imprint is:—LONDON: / Printed for J. RIVINGTON, H. WOODFALL J. NEWBURY, / R. BALDWIN, S. CROWDER, T. CASLON, B. LAW, / M. RICHARDSON, and B. COLLINS, in Salisbury. / MDCCLXV.

<sup>4</sup> Repeated on 29th July. It was also advertised in the *Manchester Mercury* on 1st and 8th April, 1766. I am indebted to Bro. F. L. Pick for this information. It was also advertised at York on 15th April, 1766—See comments by Bro. G. Y. Johnson.

<sup>5</sup> LONDON: / Printed for H. WOODFALL, J. RIVINGTON, R. BALDWIN, T. CASLON, S. CROWDER, G. ROBINSON and / J. ROBERTS, T. LOWNDES, F. NEWBURY and T. CAR- / NAN, and B. COLLINS, in Salisbury. MDCCLXIX. Duodecimo. A<sup>6</sup>, B—T<sup>12</sup>, U<sup>6</sup>. Pagination exactly as in the fourth edition.

<sup>6</sup> LONDON: / Printed for H. WOODFALL, J. RIVINGTON, R. BALDWIN, T. CAS- / LON, S. CROWDER, G. ROBINSON, T. LOWNDES, F. NEWBURY / and T. CARNAN, and B. COLLINS, in Salisbury. / M.DCC.LXVII. Duodecimo, A<sup>6</sup>, B—T<sup>12</sup>, U<sup>6</sup>. Pagination exactly as in fourth and fifth editions. [Has no frontispiece?]

1777. There are copies of the fourth, fifth and sixth editions in the library of Grand Lodge, and of the fourth and fifth editions in that of the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester.

# SHIBBOLETH.

The publication of *Shibboleth*, the fifth of this group of "exposures", was announced by a long advertisement in *The Public Advertiser* on 20th August, 1765,<sup>1</sup> which was repeated on 24th:—"This Day is published, Price only one Shilling, SHIBBOLETH: or, Every Man a FREE MASON . . . By a PASS'D MASTER. To which is added, A new and complete List of the Regular and Constituted Lodges &c. Printed for J. Cooke, at the Shakespear's Head in Pater-noster Row: and sold by most other Booksellers in England." This book is now extremely rare; I know of only one copy, which is in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> It is an octavo<sup>3</sup> about 7½ by 4¼ inches. The imprint is:—

LONDON, / Printed for J. COOKE, at the Shakespear's Head,  
in / Pater-noster-Row. 1765. / [Price one Shilling]

The book begins with a short introduction, which is followed by a history of the Craft derived from that given in *Hiram*,<sup>4</sup> but considerably abbreviated. Into this history is interpolated the statement that "Mannon Grecus, a pupil of Hiram, taught the art to one Carolus<sup>5</sup> Marcil, afterwards elected king of France, from whence it was brought into England in the time of king Athelstan . . ." This is taken from the historical introduction to Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*.

After his history the author, following *Hiram*, quotes from Oakley's speech, and then from the first four of Anderson's "Charges"—"Concerning God and Religion", "Of the Civil Magistrate", "Of Lodges" and "Of Masters, Wardens, Fellows and Apprentices". He then (p. 17) goes on:—"Having thus concisely described the state and condition of the Craft, . . . we proceed . . . to relate the chief forms and ceremonies used in opening a lodge, making of members" &c. His next eighteen pages are descriptive of the Opening of the Lodge and the ceremonies of the three degrees.<sup>6</sup> This part is taken directly from *Jachin and Boaz*, but is considerably abbreviated.

Then follow extracts selected and abbreviated from the "General Regulations" approved by Grand Lodge in 1754, which are probably taken from pages 175 to 217 of the third edition of Scott's *Pocket Companion*.<sup>7</sup> After this come the remainder of Anderson's "Charges", abbreviated and paraphrased; and the book itself concludes with an eulogy of the Craft. Then

<sup>1</sup> It was advertised at York on 13th August, 1765 (see comments by Bro. G. Y. Johnson), so it seems probable that there was an earlier advertisement than this in the London papers which I have missed.

<sup>2</sup> Press-Mark 4785, bb. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Octavo. B—G<sup>4</sup>, H<sup>2</sup>; preceded by unsigned title-page. Title-page, verso blank, pp. 1 to 52. There is no plan of the Drawing on the floor.

<sup>4</sup> That it comes from *Hiram*, and not directly from a *Spencer-family* MS, is proved by the fact that in *Shibboleth* it is stated that "Edwin's seat was a place now called Auldby". This does not occur in Cole's *Constitutions*, but was given as a footnote in *Hiram*. In *Shibboleth* it is embodied in the text.

<sup>5</sup> The spelling is Carolos in the first edition of *Masonry Dissected*: this is also the spelling in the second and third editions, and in the "Seventh Edition" which was published by T. Cooper in 1737. The earliest edition that I have been able to consult which has the spelling exactly as in *Shibboleth* is that published in Edinburgh by William Gray in 1752. The later London editions have Carolus Marcil.

<sup>6</sup> There is no mention of the Installation of the Master.

<sup>7</sup> Or perhaps from pages 157 to 215 of the second edition of Scott's *Pocket Companion* of 1759, or from Entick's 1756 edition of the *Book of Constitutions*.

follows (pp. 45 to 52) the List of Lodges, which is "Brought down to April 19, 1765", the last Lodge being No. 340.<sup>1</sup>

This book also was very soon reprinted in Dublin, where its publication was announced by a long advertisement in *Sleater's Gazetteer*, in the issue dated "From November 16 to 19, 1765":—"This Day is published by the Printer hereof [Price a British sixpence] SHIBBOLETH: Or, Every Man a Free-Mason . . . By a Pass'd Master."

There are copies of this Irish edition<sup>2</sup> in the libraries of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, of the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester and of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire. The imprint is:—

DUBLIN: / Printed by WILL. SLEATER at *Pope's-Head*  
on *Cork-Hill*. / MDCCLXV.

From this Irish edition the List of Lodges is omitted; but four pages<sup>3</sup> of Irish history, taken almost word for word from Flin's *Pocket Companion*, are interpolated into the historical part of the text, and a plan of the Drawing on the floor of the Lodge, taken from *Jachin and Boaz*, is also inserted.<sup>4</sup> Six songs, probably taken from Spratt's 1751 *Constitutions*, and "The Freemasons Anthem", taken from a book called "*The Freemasons Songs with chorus's in three and four Parts*", published in Edinburgh about 1760<sup>5</sup> by Bro. R. Bremner, are also added at the end of the book.

Another edition of *Shibboleth*—no doubt a reprint of Sleater's—was published by Wilkinson of Dublin in or about 1777<sup>6</sup>; but I do not know of any other edition of this book.

#### MAHHABONE.

*Mahhabone*, the sixth of this group of "exposures", was published in Liverpool, where it was announced by an advertisement in *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser*<sup>7</sup> on 31st January, 1766:—"This Day is published. Price 1s. MAHHABONE. . . . by J\*\*\* G\*\*\*\*\* A Regular Brother of Freemasonry who has mounted the Steps of One, Two and Three. Printed for the Author and sold by T. Cowburne in Liverpool." A second edition, published both in Liverpool and London,<sup>8</sup> appeared later in the same year.

There is a copy of the first edition in the "Wallace Heaton Collection" recently presented to Grand Lodge, and another copy is in the possession of Bro. O. E. L. France of Stalybridge. The imprint is:—

LIVERPOOL: / Printed by T. Cowburne, M,DCC,LXVI /  
[Price *One Shilling*.]

On the title-page of this edition the author is described as "J. G. Τυπογράφος."

The book begins with a list of "Contents" (pages 3 and 4), which is

<sup>1</sup> Lane, in his *Handy Book to the List of Lodges*, says that this has "numerous typographical errors".

<sup>2</sup> Octavo, A—F<sup>4</sup>, G<sup>2</sup>. Title-page, verso blank, pp. (3) to 52. Plan on p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Page 13, line 7, to page 17, line 7. Dublin, 1761. This is based upon the history given in Spratt's 1751 *Constitutions*, but is somewhat expanded.

<sup>4</sup> Page 23.

<sup>5</sup> Dated "1760?" in the British Museum catalogue.

<sup>6</sup> It was advertised in Wilkinson's edition of *Solomon in all his Glory*, which is dated 1777, and in several of Wilkinson's other Masonic reprints; but I do not know of any surviving copy.

<sup>7</sup> No. 506. *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser and Mercantile Chronicle* was a weekly paper which was published by Robert Williamson, printer and bookseller, and was the first Liverpool newspaper. I am indebted to Bro. C. H. Taunton, J.P., of Liverpool, for this information. It was also advertised at York on 15th April—See comments by Bro. G. Y. Johnson.

<sup>8</sup> Duodecimo, A—L<sup>6</sup>. Title-page, verso blank, pp. 3 to 132. Folding plate between pp. 38 and 39. The second edition was advertised at York on 6th October, 1767—See comments by Bro. G. Y. Johnson.

followed by an introduction (pages 5 to 7) called "The Authors' Vindication of himself". In this the author states that, "following his employ in the city of *Norwich*" in the year 1753, he came across the manuscript of a book of this kind which was intended to be published. From this he wrote "the most material Particulars, such as he thought sufficient to introduce him" into a Lodge. He tried this on some acquaintances, whom he knew to be members of a Lodge, with such success that they readily introduced him as a visitor to their lodge. Bro. Vibert said<sup>1</sup> that this book "is clearly Slade" (*i.e.*, *The Freemason Examined*); but, apart from the impossibility of gaining admission into a lodge by means of that book, the author expressly states that the manuscript was never printed. He says that the Lodge which he visited was "the *Chequer* Lodge, in *All-Saints* Parish", and adds that it was regularly Constituted in the following year and that he then became a member. This Lodge appears as No. 179 in the 1755 List and was, as the author says, Constituted on 4th May, 1754. The Lodge, which moved in 1763 and several times subsequently, lapsed in 1800; unfortunately its records do not survive, so that it is impossible to tell whether anyone with the initials J.G. was in fact a member of it.

The "Vindication" is followed by "The Author's Motives" for publishing the book (pages 8 to 10), which begins:—"The Author of this present undertaking has mounted the THREE REGULAR STEPS of Masonry several years past, in a constituted Lodge". This means, of course, that he was regularly Initiated, Passed and Raised, and is therefore hardly consistent with the story of the manuscript in his "Vindication". He goes on to say that his only inducement to publish the book is "His regard to the Society, and respect to the Publick" and to the fact that the "various Attempts of late to describe . . . this NOBLE SCIENCE . . . have come far short of the end proposed", which are exactly the same words as those used by the author of *Hiram* to explain why he published his book! About half of *Mahhabone* is, in fact, copied directly from *Hiram* and the remainder from *Jachin and Boaz*. Very little is original, except the introduction and some of the notes, and it is evident from these that J.G. consulted also Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*.

After the "Vindication" come five pages (pp. 11 to 15) with the heading "The Grand Lodge Door Opened . . ." These are taken almost word for word from the introductory pages of *Jachin and Boaz*.

Then follow twenty-three pages (pp. 16 to 38), headed "The History, and Ancient Constitutions . . .", derived from *Hiram*, the first nine pages of which (pp. 16 to 24) are copied with very little change, except that a heading, "First Arrival of Free Masons in England", is inserted on page 22. Page 25 is headed "A Curious Collection of Ancient and Modern Charges", but the Charges themselves are taken out of their proper context and put at the end, after Entick's speech, which is considerably shortened. The Charges (pp. 35 to 38), which are rearranged, have a heading of their own, "General Charges that Belong to every Mason to keep, both Masters and Fellows", and are followed by the two paragraphs which, in *Hiram*, come after Entick's speech and lead to the description of the opening of the Lodge.

Between pages 38 and 39 is inserted a folding plate, the plan of the Drawing on the floor of the Lodge, which is taken from *Jachin and Boaz*. After this comes "The Ceremony of Opening a Lodge and Setting the Men to Work" (pp. 39 to 47),<sup>2</sup> which is copied from *Hiram*, followed by the Lectures of the three degrees (pp. 48 to 82) which are taken from *Jachin and Boaz*. On

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Lat.*, xiv., 102.

<sup>2</sup> In the copy in the "Wallace Heaton Collection" five leaves, comprising pp. 39 to 48, are torn out.

page 53 is an interesting footnote referring to the Entered Apprentice's Word, which says of this word that "formerly it was the Fellow Craft's, till a pretended discovery of Free-Masonry came out, wrote by *Samuel Pritchard*, which was about three fourths fiction, and the other fourth real; however it made a great confusion amongst the Masons at that time, and in order to prevent being imposed upon by Cowans or Imposters, there was a general council held, and the Entered Apprentice and Fellow Craft's Words were exchanged, and private accounts transmitted to each Lodge, tho' there are some Lodges still retain the old custom." In the Third Degree the Steps are now given as One, Three and Three; but in the Second Degree the Candidate is said to take two steps. The names of the Wardens' Columns, in the "Calling Off", are as given in *Jachin and Boaz*, with their wrong meanings.

After the "Masters' Part" comes "The Form observed at the Instalment of a Master and Constituting a Lodge according to Ancient Custom" (pp. 83 to 87). This is copied from *Hiram*, but the grip and word are inserted from *Jachin and Boaz*. Then come the "Claps" (p. 88), the "Manner of Drinking" (pp. 89 and 90), the "Toasts", all of which are copied exactly from *Hiram*. They are followed by the Songs (pp. 93 to 108) and the Oratorio (pp. 109 to 115), also copied from *Hiram*.<sup>1</sup> The book ends with a List of Lodges (pp. 116 to 132) "Brought down to April 19, 1765."<sup>2</sup>

The publication of the second edition was announced by an advertisement in *Gore's Liverpool General Advertiser*<sup>3</sup> on 28th November, 1766:—"This Day is published. Price 2s. The *Second Edition* with Additions of MAHHABONE. . . . Printed for J. Gore, Bookseller, near the Exchange."<sup>4</sup>

There are copies of this edition<sup>5</sup> in the libraries of Grand Lodge, the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester and the Provincial Grand Lodge of Worcestershire. The imprint is:—

LONDON: / Printed for JOHNSON and DAVENPORT, in  
Pater-noster Row; / and J. GORE, in Liverpool. 1766. / [Price  
Two Shillings.]

At the beginning of the book is an "Advertisement" in which the author states that the first edition was such a success that he is encouraged to publish a second, and has increased the book from a *duodecimo* to an *octavo*; and, on the title-page, the book is described as "The SECOND EDITION, with ADDITIONS." Most of these additions are taken from *Solomon in all his Glory*,<sup>6</sup> which had appeared three months after his first edition,<sup>7</sup> but some are from *Prichard's Masonry Dissected*.

<sup>1</sup> But in the third verse of the song "Let Masonry be now my Theme" the name of Lord Blayney, then Grand Master, is substituted for that of Lord Crawford.

<sup>2</sup> The last Lodge is No. 340.

<sup>3</sup> *The Liverpool General Advertiser and Commercial Register* was a weekly paper started on 27th December, 1765, by John Gore, Bookseller, near the Exchange. The first edition of *Mahhabone* was not advertised in this paper.

<sup>4</sup> This advertisement was repeated every week for some months, and then at intervals until 1769. In some of the advertisements the wording was "This Day is published", and in others "Just published", which suggests that there were several issues of this second edition.

<sup>5</sup> Octavo, A—P<sup>4</sup>, Frontispiece, Title-page, verso blank, 2 pp. not numbered, (i.) to v., verso blank, (1) to 110; pages 1, 5, 12, 15, 26, 34, 47, 53, 62, 66, 68, 77, 86, 95, and 100 not numbered; pp. 101 and 102 are wrongly numbered 100 and 101 respectively.

<sup>6</sup> See page 4 above.

<sup>7</sup> It was advertised in *The Public Advertiser* on 31st March, 1766, and again on 3rd and 25th April; also in *St. James's Chronicle* of April 3-5. What was evidently a second issue was advertised in *Lloyd's Evening Post* of June 9-11, in *St. James's Chronicle* of June 10-12, the *London Evening Post* of June 10-12 and 19-21, and *The Public Advertiser* of 17th and 24th June, 1766. Apparently a third issue was advertised in *The Public Advertiser* on 16th January, 1767. The second edition was advertised in *Lloyd's Evening Post* of May 4-6, 11-13, and 18-20, 1768. Bro. F. L. Pick tells me that the first edition was advertised in the *Manchester Mercury* on 10th June and 8th July, 1766; it was sold by A. Clark in Manchester.

In this edition, instead of the plan of the Drawing on the floor of the Lodge taken from *Jachin and Boaz*, there is an engraved frontispiece not unlike one of the plates—"A Lodge for the Reception of a Fellow Craft"—in *Solomon in all his Glory*, but with symbols of all three degrees. On the first page (not numbered) is "The Description and Explanation of the Frontispiece", and on the verso of this page is the "Advertisement" already noticed.

The "Vindication" and the author's "Motives" are now combined into one section (pp. i. to v.). This is followed by the section called "The Grand Lodge Door Opened" (pp. i. to 4), to which, in this edition, the author adds something of his own, that "the *Apprentice's* Apron is tied round his Waist with the Flap on the Inside, . . . The *Fellow-Craft's* Flap is put up, and fixed to one of his Waistcoat Buttons . . . and the *Master's* Flap hangs down upon the Outside . . ."

The "History" follows (pp. 5 to 25). This is rewritten, so that the fact that it is taken from *Hiram* is not so obvious as it was in the first edition. Entick's speech is restored to the full length given in *Hiram*, and the "Charges", which followed it in the first edition, are now printed nearly<sup>1</sup> in their original position, but again slightly rearranged.

The Opening of the Lodge, the Lectures of the three degrees and the "Instalment of a Master" (pp. 26 to 65) are the same as in the first edition.<sup>2</sup> Then comes a section headed "The First Rise of Modern Masonry" (pp. 66 and 67). This is derived from the introduction to Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, but some of it is the author's own. Then follow twelve pages (pp. 68 to 79) which are headed "Modern Masonry" and profess to be the "Moderns'" version of the Entered Apprentice's, Fellow Craft's and Master's Lectures. This catechism is a curious mixture; some of it comes from *Masonry Dissected*, a few questions are from *Jachin and Boaz*, some are apparently the author's own, but the majority are from *Solomon in all his Glory*.

Page 81 is headed "The Whole of the following Particulars belong to both Orders of Masonry, ANCIENT and MODERN," and this page has a sub-heading, "The true Method of . . . finding out a real Brother in public Company". This page, and the first two paragraphs of the next, come from *Solomon in all his Glory*. The next paragraph—take a piece of stone and ask a mason what it smells of—comes from *Masonry Dissected*, and the remainder of this section from *Jachin and Boaz*.

Then comes "The Form of the different STEPS in Masonry" (middle of p. 81), which seems to be the author's own, and is not very easy to follow. The "Manner of Drinking", the "Toasts" and the "Claps", which come next (pp. 82 to 84), are all taken from *Hiram*. Then come "Reasons for a new-made Member going thro' the different Ceremonies of *Making* in a Lodge" (middle of p. 84) and "The Secret Way of WRITING in Masonry" (p. 85), both of which are taken from *Solomon in all his Glory*. Then follow the Songs (pp. 86 to 94) and the Oratorio (pp. 95 to 99) from the first edition, but the last song, "With Harmony and flowing Wine", is omitted. The book ends with a List of Lodges (pp. 100 to 110), the last one being No. 357 undated, its predecessor being No. 352, constituted 8th November, 1765.

No other edition of *Mahhabone* seems to have been issued, except one published by Wilkinson of Dublin sometime after 1777.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> They came after the paragraph beginning "A.D. 1070. The Norman Princes . . .", instead of before it.

<sup>2</sup> The note on the Entered Apprentice's Word (p. 38 in this edition) is rather longer.

<sup>3</sup> It is not advertised in his edition of *Solomon in all his Glory*, which is dated 1777, or in any of his other Masonic reprints.

## THE FREE-MASON STRIPPED NAKED.

*The Free-Mason Stripped Naked*, the last of this group of "exposures", was published shortly before August, 1769; its publication was announced, and it was briefly reviewed, under the head of "A Catalogue of New Books", in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that month.<sup>1</sup>

There is a copy of this book in the library of Grand Lodge, and another in that of the Freemasons' Hall at Leicester. It is a duodecimo<sup>2</sup> and cost 1s. 6d. The imprint is:—

LONDON: / Printed for ISAAC FELL, in Pater-noster  
Row: / And Sold by all Booksellers and News-Carriers / in Town  
and Country. /<sup>3</sup>

The author is said to be "Charles Warren, Esq; Late Grand Master of a regularly constituted Lodge in the City of Corke"; but the review of it in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says "This absurd performance is entirely taken from two pamphlets, published a few years ago; the one entitled *Jachin and Boaz*, and the other *Three Distinct Knocks*; in which a number of ridiculous customs are described as the Secrets of Free-Masonry". This is in fact the case, almost the whole of this book is a verbatim reprint of *Jachin and Boaz*. The Introduction to that book, in which the author explains how he acquired his knowledge and tells of the Lodges which he visits, is omitted from *The Free-Mason Stripped Naked*, which begins (p. 3) thus:—"The Author of the following sheets, from long Experience and nice Observance, hath great Reason to believe, that the sole Design of the Establishment of Masonry, was, to correct the Judgement, to inform the Mind, and to promote the Social Duties. Many persons have conjectured . . . that the Institution of this Society took its Rise from a Number of Persons having formed a Design to rebuild the Temple of Solomon." All of this is a paraphrase of page 1 of *Jachin and Boaz*, and the next thirteen pages are also derived from the first chapter of that book, slightly abbreviated. The Opening of the Lodge (p. 5) is given in full, and the Plan (p. 9) is reproduced exactly. The Entered Apprentice's Lecture begins at the bottom of page 15, and this and the remainder of the book is reprinted, practically *verbatim*, from *Jachin and Boaz*. The book even ends, as does *Jachin and Boaz*, with the statement that the author is ready "to answer any Question . . . which must be directed for R.S." and left with his publisher, and with the assertion that he will "visit at the Lodges mentioned in the Introduction", although he has omitted to reprint the Introduction in which these Lodges are named!

Of this book also there seems to have been no other edition except one published by Wilkinson of Dublin, in or about 1777.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 39, p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> Duodecimo, A—E<sup>6</sup>. Title-page, verso blank, pp. (3) to 8, (9), (10), 11 to 59, verso blank. Plan on page (9). Leaf C6 is wanting in the copy in the Grand Lodge library; this copy measures 6 $\frac{3}{8}$  by 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and is bound up with Wilkinson's edition of *Hiram* and three other masonic books.

<sup>3</sup> Isaac Fell was in partnership with J. Wilson until 1766. In 1766 they published an edition of Anstey's *New Bath Guide*.

<sup>4</sup> It is advertised in Wilkinson's edition of *Solomon in all his Glory*, which is dated 1777 on the title-page, where it is said to have been "just published".

THE  
Three distinct Knocks,  
Or the Door of the most  
ANTIEN'T FREE-MASONRY,  
Opening to all Men,  
Neither Naked nor Cloath'd,  
Bare-foot nor Shod, &c.  
Being an universal Description of all its Branches,  
FROM  
Its first Rise to this present Time,  
As it is deliver'd in all Lodges :

Giving an Exact Account of all their Proceedings in the making a Brother, with the Three Obligations or Oaths belonging to the First, Second, and Third Degrees of Masonry, viz. The Enter'd-Apprentice, and Fellow-Craft, and Master-Mason; with the Obligation belonging to the Chair, and The Gripe and Word. Also,

Full Descriptions of the drawing upon the Floor of the Lodge, with the Three Steps, and a Prayer used at the making of a Brother; with Songs to be sung after grave Business is done, and the Examination of a Brother, whereby he may get Admittance into a Lodge, without going through the Obligations. With,

The Author's Reasons for opening the Door of Masonry to all the World: Also the Character of some Masters of Lodges at this Time.

---

By W—— O—— V——n.  
Member of a Lodge in *England* at this Time.

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L O N D O N :  
Printed for H. SRJEANT, without *Temple-Bar*.  
M DCC LX.

*2 John Buser*  
THE  
Three distinct Knocks, *Libris*  
Or the Door of the most *Cjus*  
ANTIENT. FREE-MASONRY, *1791*  
Opening to all Men,  
Neither Naked nor Cloath'd,  
Bare-foot nor Shod, &c.

Being an universal Description of all its Branches,  
FROM  
In its first Rise to this present Time,  
As it is deliver'd in all Lodges:

Giving an exact Account of all their Proceedings in the making a Brother, with the Three Obligations or Oaths belonging to the First, Second, and Third Degrees of Masonry, viz The Enter'd Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master-Mason; with the Obligation belonging to the Chair, and The Gripe and Word. Also,

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The Author's Reasons for opening the Door of Masonry to all the World: Also the Character of some Masters of Lodges at this Time.

---

By *W— O— V— n*,  
Member of a Lodge in *England* at this Time.

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THE SECOND EDITION.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for H. SERJEANT, without *Temple Bar*. 1763.

[Price One Shilling and Six-pence.]

T H E  
Three distinct Knocks,  
Or the Door of the most  
ANTIEN T FREE-MASONRY,  
Opening to all Men,  
Neither Naked nor Cloath'd,  
Bare-foot nor shod, &c.  
Being an Universal Description of all its Branches,  
FROM  
Its first Rise to this present Time,  
As it is deliver'd in all Lodges :

C O N T A I N I N G,

- I. The Author's Reasons for opening the Door of Masonry to all the World.
- II. How to open a Lodge and set the Men to Work.
- III. Giving an exact Account of all their Proceedings in the making a Brother, with the Three Obligations or Oaths belonging to the First, Second, and Third Degrees of Masonry, viz. The Enter'd Apprentice, and Fellow-Craft, and Master-Mason; with the Obligation belonging to the Chair, and the Gripe and Word.
- IV. The Form of a Lodge; with a full Description of the drawing upon the Floor of a Lodge, with the Three Steps, and a Prayer used at the making of a Brother; with Songs to be sung after grave Business is done.
- V. The Examination of a Brother, whereby he may get Admittance into a Lodge, without going through the Obligations: With all the Words explained that belongs to the Gripe.
- VI. A new and accurate List of all the ENGLISH regular Lodges in the World, according to their Seniority, with the Dates of each Constitution and Days of Meeting.

---

By W—— O—— V—— n:  
Member of a Lodge in *England* at this Time.

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THE FIFTH EDITION.

---

L O N D O N:  
Printed for H. SERJEANT, without *Temple-Bar*.

ca 1768

T H E  
Three distinct Knocks,  
Or the Door of the most  
ANTIENT FREE-MASONRY,  
Opening to all Men,  
Neither Naked nor Cloath'd,  
Bare-foot nor shod, &c.  
Being an Universal Description of all its Branches,  
FROM  
Its first Rise to this present Time,  
As it is deliver'd in all Lodges :

C O N T A I N I N G,

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- IV. The Form of a Lodge; with a full Description of the drawing upon the Floor of a Lodge, with the Three Steps, and a Prayer used at the making of a Brother; with Songs to be sung after grave Business is done.
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- VI. A new and accurate List of all the ENGLISH regular Lodges in the World, according to their Seniority, with the Date of each Constitution and Days of Meeting.

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By W—— O—— V—— n:  
Member of a Lodge in *England* at this Time.

---

THE SIXTH EDITION.

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L O N D O N:  
Printed for H. SERJEANT, without *Temple-Bar*.

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T H E  
Three distinct Knocks,  
Or the Door of the most  
ANTIENT FREE-MASONRY,  
Opening to all Men,  
Neither Naked nor Cloath'd,  
Bare-foot nor shod, &c.  
Being an Universal Description of all its Branches,  
FROM  
Its first Rise to this present Time,  
As it is deliver'd in all Lodges :

CONTAINING,

- I. The Author's Reasons for opening the Door of Masonry to all the World.
- II. How to open a Lodge and set the Men to Work.
- III. Giving an exact Account of all their Proceedings in the making a Brother, with the Three Obligations or Oaths belonging to the First, Second, and Third Degrees of Masonry, viz. The Enter'd Apprentice, and Fellow-Craft, and Master-Mason; with the Obligation belonging to the Chair, and the Gripe and Word.
- IV. The Form of a Lodge; with a full Description of the drawing upon the Floor of a Lodge, with the Three Steps, and a Prayer used at the making of a Brother; with Songs to be sung after grave Business is done.
- V. The Examination of a Brother, whereby he may get Admittance into a Lodge, without going through the Obligations: With all the Words explained that belongs to the Gripe.
- VI. A new and accurate List of all the ENGLISH regular Lodges in the World, according to their Seniority, with the Dates of each Constitution and Days of Meeting.

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By *W* — *O* — *V* — *n* :  
Member of a Lodge in *England* at this Time.

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THE EIGHTH EDITION.

---

L O N D O N :  
Printed for H. SERJEANT, without *Temple-Bar*.

---

THE  
Three distinct Knocks,  
Or the Door of the most  
ANTIENT FREE-MASONRY,  
Opening to all Men,  
Neither Naked nor Cloath'd,  
Bare-foot nor Shod, &c.  
Being an universal Description of all its Branches,  
FROM  
Its first Rise to this present Time,  
As it is delivered in all Lodges:

Giving an exact Account of all their Proceedings in making a Brother, with the Three Obligations or Oaths belonging to the First, Second, and Third Degrees of Masonry, *viz.* The Enter'd-Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master-Mason; with the Obligation belonging to the Chair, and the Gripe and Word. Also,

Full Descriptions of the drawing upon the Floor of the Lodge, with the Three Steps, and a Prayer used at the making of a Brother; with Songs to be sung after grave Business is done, and the Examination of a Brother, whereby he may get Admittance into a Lodge, without going through the Obligations. With

The Author's Reasons for opening the Door of Masonry to all the World: Also the Character of some Masters of Lodges at this Time.

---

By *W—O—V—n.*  
Member of a Lodge in *England* at this Time.

---

THE THIRD EDITION.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for H. SERJEANT, without *Temple-Bar*: And  
DUBLIN Re-printed and sold by Capt. BOBADIL, at  
the *Crown* and *Slipper* opposite the *Black Bull Inn* in *Capel-*  
*street*, and by all the Booksellers and News-Hawkers.

• MDCCCLX.

[Price a *British* Six-pence.]

THE  
Three distinct Knocks,  
Or the DOOR of the most  
ANTIENT FREE-MASONRY,

OPENING to All Men,  
Neither Naked nor Cloathed,  
Bare-foot nor Shod, &c.  
Being an universal Description of All its BRANCHES,

FROM  
Its first Rise to this present Time,  
As it is delivered in all LODGES:

Giving an exact Account of all their Proceedings in making a Brother, with the Three Obligations or Oaths belonging to the First, Second, and Third Degrees of Masonry, viz. The Enter'd - Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master - Mason; with the Obligation belonging to the Chair, and the Gripe and Word. Also,

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By W—— O—— V——n.

Member of a Lodge in *England* at this Time.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

L O N D O N:

Printed for H. SERJEANT, without *Temple Bar*: And  
DUBLIN Reprinted and sold at the Publisher's Shop in *Smock  
Alley*, and by the rest of the Booksellers. MDCCCLXII.

[ Price a *British* Six-pence. ]

# JACHIN AND BOAZ;

OR, AN

## AUTHENTIC KEY

To the DOOR of

## FREE-MASONRY.

Calculated not only for the Instruction of every New-Made MASON; but also for the Information of all who intend to become BRETHREN.

### CONTAINING,

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>I. A circumstantial Account of all the Proceedings in making a Mason, with the several Obligations of an ENTERED APPRENTICE, FELLOW-CRAFT, and MASTER; and also the Sign, Grip, and Pass-Word of each Degree; with the Ceremony of the Mop and Pail.</p> <p>II. The Manner of opening a Lodge, and setting the Craft to Work.</p> <p>III. The Entered Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master's Lectures, verbatim, as delivered in all Lodges; with the Songs at the Conclusion of each Part.</p> <p>IV. The Origin of Masonry; Description of Solomon's Temple; History of the</p> | <p>Murder of the Grand Master Hiram by the three Fellow Crafts; the Manner of the Assassins being discovered, and their Punishment; the Burial of Hiram by King Solomon's Order; with the Five Points of Fellowship, &amp;c.</p> <p>V. The Ceremony of the Instalment of the Masters of different Lodges on St. John's Day.</p> <p>VI. A safe and easy Method proposed, by which a Man may obtain Admittance into any Lodge, without passing through the Form required, and thereby save a Guinea or two in his Pocket.</p> |
|--|---|

Illustrated with

An accurate Plan of the DRAWING on the Floor of a Lodge.

And Interspersed with Variety of

### NOTES and REMARKS,

Necessary to explain and render the Whole clear to the meanest Capacity.

By a GENTLEMAN belonging to the Jerusalem Lodge; a frequent Visitor at the Queen's Arms, St. Paul's Church-Yard; the Horn, in Fleet-street; Crown and Anchor, Strand; and the Salutation, New-gate-street.

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*Try me; prove me.*

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. NICOLL, at the Paper-Mill, St. Paul's Church-Yard.

MDCCLXII.

# JACHIN AND BAOZ;

OR, AN

AUTHENTIC KEY

To the DOOR of

## FREE-MASONRY,

Both ANTIENT and MODERN.

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The SECOND EDITION.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for W. NICOLL, at the Paper-Mill, St. Paul's Church-Yard.  
MDCCLXII.

JACHIN AND BOAZ;  
OR, AN  
AUTHENTIC KEY  
To the DOOR of  
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| II. The Manner of opening a Lodge, and setting the Craft to Work.  | V. The Ceremony of the Instalment of the Masters of different Lodges on St. <i>John's</i> Day.   |
| III. The Entered Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master's Lectures, verbatim, as delivered in all Lodges, with the Songs at the conclusion of each Part.   | VI. A safe and easy Method proposed, by which a Man may obtain Admission into any Lodge, without passing through the Form required, and thereby save a Guinea or two in his Pocket.  |
| IV. The Origin of Masonry; Description of <i>Solomon's</i> Temple; History of the  |  |

Illustrated with

An Accurate Plan of the DRAWING on the Floor of a Lodge,  
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Necessary to explain and render the Whole clear to the meanest Capacity.

To which is now added,

A New and Accurate LIST of all the English Regular Lodges in the World, according to their Seniority, with the Dates of each Constitution, and Days of Meeting.

By a GENTLEMAN belonging to the Jerusalem Lodge; a frequent Visitor at the Queen's Arms, St. Paul's Church-Yard; the Horn, in Fleet-street; Crown and Anchor, Strand; and the Salutation, Newgate-street.

---

*Try me; prove me.*

---

The THIRD EDITION.

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LONDON:

Printed for W. NICOLL, at the Paper-Mill, St. Paul's Church-Yard.  
MDCCLXIII.

1763

JACHIN AND BOAZ;  
OR, AN  
AUTHENTIC KEY  
To the DOOR, of  
FREE-MASONRY,  
Both ANTIENT and MODERN.

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CONTAINING,

- |   |   |
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---

THE FIFTH EDITION.

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LONDON:

Printed for W. NICOLL, at the Paper-Mill, St. Paul's Church Yard.  
MDCCLXIV.

JACHIN AND BOAZ;  
OR, AN  
AUTHENTIC KEY  
To the DOOR of  
FREE-MASONRY,  
Both ANTIENT and MODERN.

Calculated not only for the Instruction of every New-made MASON; but also for the Information of all who intend to become BRETHREN.

CONTAINING,

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>I. A circumstantial Account of all the Proceedings in making a Mason, with the several Obligations of an ENTERED APPRENTICE, FELLOW-CRAFT, and MASTER; and also the Sign, Grip, and Pass-Word of each Degree, with the Ceremony of the Mop and Pail.</p> <p>II. The Manner of opening a Lodge, and setting the Craft to Work.</p> <p>III. The Entered Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master's Lectures, verbatim, as delivered in all Lodges; with the Songs at the conclusion of each Part.</p> <p>IV. The Origin of Masonry; Description of Solomon's Temple; History of</p> | <p>the Murder of the Grand Master Hiram by the three Fellow-Crafts; the Manner of the Assassins being discovered, and their Punishment; the Burial of Hiram by King Solomon's Order; with the Five Points of Fellowship, &amp;c.</p> <p>V. The Ceremony of the Installation of the Masters of different Lodges on St. John's Day.</p> <p>VI. A safe and easy Method proposed, by which a Man may obtain Admission into any Lodge, without passing through the Form required, and thereby save a Guinea or two in his Pocket.</p> |
|--|--|

Illustrated with

An Accurate Plan of the DRAWING on the Floor of a Lodge,

And Interperied with Variety of

NOTES and REMARKS,

Necessary to explain and render the Whole clear to the meanest Capacity.

To which is now added,

A New and Accurate LIST of all the English Regular Lodges in the World, according to their Seniority, with the Dates of each Constitution, and Days of Meeting.

By a GENTLEMAN belonging to the Jerusalem Lodge; a frequent Visitor at the Queen's Arms, St. Paul's Church-Yard; the Horn, in Fleet-street; Crown and Anchor, Strand; and the Salutation, Newgate-street.

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*Try me; prove me.*

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The SIXTH EDITION.

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LONDON:

Printed for W. NICOLL, at the Paper-Mill, St. Paul's Church Yard.  
MDCCLXV.

JACHIN AND BOAZ;  
OR, AN  
AUTHENTIC KEY  
To the DOOR of  
FREE-MASONRY,  
Both ANTIENT and MODERN.

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- I. A circumstantial Account of all the Proceedings in making a Mason, with the several Obligations of an ENTERED APPRENTICE, FELLOW-CRAFT, and MASTER; and also the Sign, Grip, and Pass-Word of each Degree, with the Ceremony of the Mop and Pail.
- II. The Manner of opening a Lodge, and setting the Craft to Work.
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the Murder of the Grand Master Hiram by the three Fellow-Crafts; the Manner of the Assassins being discovered, and their Punishment; the Burial of Hiram by King Solomon's Order; with the Five Points of Fellowship, &c.

V. The Ceremony of the Installment of the Master of different Lodges on St. John's Day.

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THE SIXTH EDITION.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for W. NICOLL, at the Paper Mill, St. Paul's Church-Yard;  
MDCCLXVII.

# JACHIN *and* BOAZ;

OR, AN

## AUTHENTIC KEY

To the DOOR of

## FREE-MASONRY.

Calculated not only for the Instruction of every New-Made MASON, but also for the Information of all who intend to become BRETHREN.

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- |  |   |
|--|---|
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| II. The Manner of opening a Lodge, and setting the Craft to Work.  | V. The Ceremony of the Instalment of the Masters of different Lodges on <i>St. John's</i> Day.  |
| III. The <i>Entered Apprentice, Fellow-Craft</i> and <i>Master's Lectures</i> , verbatim, as delivered in all Lodges; with the Songs at the Conclusion of each Part.   | VI. A safe and easy Method proposed, by which a Man may obtain Admittance into any Lodge without passing thro' the Form required; and thereby save a Guinea or two in his Pocket.   |
| IV. The Origin of Masonry; De-   |   |

ILLUSTRATED WITH

An accurate Plan of the DRAWING on the Floor of a Lodge.  
And interspersed with Variety of NOTES and REMARKS, necessary to explain and render the Whole clear to the meanest Capacity.

By a GENTLEMAN belonging to the Jerusalem Lodge; a frequent Visitor at the Queen's Arms, St. Paul's Church Yard; the Horn, in Fleet-Street; Crown and Anchor, Strand; and the Salutation, Newgate-Street.

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*Try me; prove me.*

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LONDON: Printed for W. NICOLL. And,  
DUBLIN: Re-printed, and sold by DILLON CHAMBERLAIN,  
in Smock-Alley; and the rest of the Bookfellers.

1760-61.

H I R A M:  
OR THE  
GRAND MASTER-KEY  
To the Door of both  
ANCIENT and MODERN  
FREE-MASONRY:

Being an accurate Description of every Degree of the Brotherhood, as authorized and delivered in all good Lodges.

The whole comprehending (among an Entertaining Variety of others) the following Articles, *viz.*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. History of the Rise and Progress of Masonry.  | and Manner of Drinking with Three Times Three.                                       |
| 2. The antient Constitutions, Laws and Charges of the Order.   | 8. <i>Hiram's</i> Murder, Burial, and raising, with the punishment of the Assassins. |
| 3. The only true and regular Form used in making a Mason.  | 9. Account of the four solemn Penalties.   |
| 4. The Lectures, Oaths, Obligations, &c. of each Degree, <i>viz.</i> Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, Master, &c. verbatim. | 10. Manner of constituting a new Lodge.  |
| 5. Ceremony of the Mop and Pail.   | 11. All the Toasts used by Free Masons.  |
| 6. Word and Grip of each Degree.   | 12. A complete Collection of new Songs.  |
| 7. Description of the different Claps,   | 13. A new and correct List of Lodges.  |

Containing more than any Book on the Subject ever before published.

Illustrated with proper Remarks, &c. necessary to explain the Whole to the meanest Capacity, whether Brethren or not.

And embellished with a beautiful Copper-Plate of the Drawing on the Floor of a Lodge, at the Admission of a new Member.

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BY A MEMBER OF ROYAL ARCH.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for W. GRIFFIN, in FETTER-LANE, and T. TOFT,  
in CHELMSFORD. 1764.

# H I R A M :

OR, THE

## GRAND MASTER-KEY

To the Door of both

### ANTIEN and MODERN

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### THE SECOND EDITION.

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Illustrated with proper Remarks, &c. necessary to explain the Whole to the meanest Capacity, whether Brethren or not.

And embellished with a beautiful Copper-Plate of the Drawing on the Floor of a Lodge, at the Admission of a new Member.

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BY A MEMBER OF ROYAL ARCH.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. GRIFFIN, in CATHARINE-STREET, in the STRAND.  
M DCC LXVI.

# H I R A M

OR, THE  
GRAND MASTER-KEY  
To the Door of both  
ANTIEN and MODERN  
FREE-MASONRY.



Being an accurate Description of every Degree  
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taining Variety of others) the following Articles.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. History of the Rise and Pro-<br>gress of Masonry.   | 6. Word and Grip of each De-<br>gree.   |
| 2. The antient Constitutions,<br>Laws and Charges of the Or-<br>der.   | 7. Description of the different<br>Classes, and Manner of drink-<br>ing with Three Times Three. |
| 3. The only true and regular<br>Form used in making a Ma-<br>son.  | 8. Hiram's Murder, Burial, and<br>Raising, with the Punishment<br>of the Assassins.             |
| 4. The Lectures, Oaths, Obli-<br>gations, &c. of each Degree.<br>viz. Apprentice, Fellow-craft,<br>Master, &c. verbatim. | 9. Account of the four solemn<br>Penalties.   |
| 5. Ceremony of the Mop and<br>Pail.  | 10. Manner of constituting a<br>new Lodge.  |
|  | 11. All the Tools used by Free-<br>Masons.  |

With an APPENDIX,  
Disclosing the other Secrets of FREE-MASONRY, not  
divulged by the Author.

Illustrated with proper Remarks, necessary to explain the Whole  
to the meanest Capacity, whether Brethren or not.

And contains more on the Subject than any Book ever before  
published.

[THIRD EDITION]

BY A MEMBER OF ROYAL ARCH

PRINTED

For Mess. GRIFFIN and TOTT in London; and Mr.  
J. HOEY, junior, in Parliament-street.  
Dublin 1773.

# HIRAM;

OR,

## THE GRAND MASTER-KEY

TO THE DOOR OF BOTH

### ANCIENT AND MODERN

## FREE-MASONRY:

Being an accurate Description of every Degree of the Brotherhood, as authorized and delivered in all good Lodges.

The Whole comprehending (among an Entertaining Variety of others) the following Articles, viz.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. History of the Rise and Progress of Masonry.   | and Manner of Drinking with Three Times Three.                                |
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| 5. Ceremony of the Mop and Pail.  | 11. All the Toasts used by Free-Masons.                                       |
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| 7. Description of the different Claps.  |   |

Containing more than any Book on the Subject ever before published.

Illustrated with proper remarks, &c. necessary to explain the Whole to the meanest Capacity, whether Brethren or not.

And embellished with a beautiful Copper-plate of the Drawing on the Floor of a Lodge, at the admission of a new Member.

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BY A MEMBER OF ROYAL ARCH.

---

BELFAST.

Printed for HENRY and ROBERT JOY, Printers and Bookfellers. M.DCC.LXVIII.

# H I R A M:

OR THE  
GRAND MASTER-KEY

To the Door of both  
ANTIEN T AND MODERN  
FREE-MASONRY.

Being an accurate Description of every Degree of  
the Brotherhood, as authorized and  
delivered in all good Lodges.

The Whole comprehending (among an Enter-  
taining Variety of others) the following Articles

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| 3. The only true and regular Form used in making a Mason.  | 8. Hiram's Murder, Burial, and Raising, with the Punishment of the Assassins.         |
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thren or not. And contains more on the Subject  
than any Book ever before published.

[THIRD EDITION.]

By a MEMBER OF ROYAL ARCH.

D U B L I N:

Printed and sold by THOMAS WILKINSON, Book-  
seller and Stationer, (No. 40) *Wintetown-Street*

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CONTAINING

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- II. A familiar Treatise of Rhetoric, suited to the lowest Capacity.
- III. Instructions in the Art of Penmanship.
- IV. Of the Care of forming the Manners.
- V. Directions for writing Letters, Forms of Address, &c.
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- VII. Of the Creation of the World. Of the Books of the Old and New Testament.
- VIII. Of the Circles of the Globe, fixed Stars, Planets, and Comets.
- IX. Geography; containing the Divisions of the Earth. Of Climates; Explanation of the Terms; general Division of Earth and Sea; different Religions, Languages, and Colours of the Inhabitants. Account of Europe, Great Britain, and Ireland, &c.
- X. Births and Characters of the Monarchs of England, from William the Conqueror to his present Majesty.
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- XII. History of the four Great Monarchies.
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- XV. Dialling, Measuring, Surveying, and Gauging.
- XVI. Useful Receipts of various Kinds.
- XVII. Of artificial Fire-Works; how to prepare various Kinds.
- XVIII. Of painting Mezzotinto Prints, Window Blinds, colouring Prints and Maps, colouring in Oil and painting Timber Work.
- XIX. Forms of Business in Mercantile Way, and Forms in Law of general Use.
- XX. Concise and easy Method of writing Short-Hand.
- XXI. Mystery of Free Masonry explained.
- XXII. The common Notion of Spirits, Apparitions, and Witches; their Power and Feats exposed.
- XXIII. General and particular Directions for drawing with the Pencil, and shadowing with Indian Ink.
- XXIV. List of many Things necessary to be known, &c. &c.

TOGETHER WITH  
A great Variety of CUTS and TABLES.

By W. GORDON,  
Teacher of the MATHEMATICKS.

The FOURTH EDITION, corrected.  
With large Additions, and great Improvements.

LONDON:

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R. BALDWIN, S. CROWDER, T. CASLON, B. LAW,  
M. RICHARDSON, and B. COLLINS, in Salisbury.  
MDCCLXV.

Young Man's Companion.



4785-4657  
SHIBBOLETH;

OR,

Every Man a Free-Mason.

CONTAINING

A HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE,

OF THAT

ANCIENT AND NOBLE ORDER.

LIKEWISE

The true and Original Form  
used in making a FREE-  
MASON; with the Lectures,  
Oaths, and Obligations, of  
each Degree. ---- The Sign,  
Token, and Word, by the  
Observation of which a Per-

son may gain Admittance into  
any Lodge, and pass for a  
FREE and ACCEPTED MASON.  
With many curious Observa-  
tions and Remarks, worthy  
the Notice of Free Masons,  
and others.

---

By a PASS'D MASTER.

---

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A NEW and COMPLETE LIST of the Regular and  
Constituted Lodges, &c.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for J. COOKE, at the Shakespear's Head, in  
Pater-noster-Row. 1765.

[ Price One Shilling. ]

# SHIBBOLETH:

O R,

Every Man a Free-Mason.

CONTAINING

An HISTORY of the Rise, Progress and  
Present State of that Ancient and  
Noble Order.

The true and original FORM used in making a  
FREE-MASON; with the LECTURES, OATHS  
and OBLIGATIONS of each DEGREE.

The SIGN, TOKEN and ORDER, by the  
Observation of which a Person may gain  
Admittance into any LODGE, and pass for  
a Free and Accepted Mason.

With many curious OBSERVATIONS and  
REMARKS, worthy the Notice of Free-  
Masons, and others.

---

By a PASS'D MASTER.

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D U B L I N:

Printed by WILL. SLEATER at *Pope's-Head* on *Cork-Street*.

M DCC LXV.

# MAHHABO

OR, THE

## Grand *Lodge-Door* Opening

Wherein is discovered

The whole *Secrets* of *Free-Masonry*,  
Both ANCIENT and MODERN.

THE WHOLE

Being an accurate description of EVERY DEGREE of the Brotherhood, authorized and delivered in all good Lodges.

Illustrated with proper REMARKS, necessary to explain the whole to the meanest capacity, whether a Brother or not.

Embellish'd with a beautiful Plan of the DRAWING on the Floor of a Lodge; interspers'd with *Notes* and *Remarks*, explaining the whole.

---

By J. G. Τυρογράφος,

A regular Brother of FREE-MASONRY;  
Having mounted the STEPS of *one*, *two*, and *three*.

---

LIVERPOOL:

Printed by T. COWBURN, M,DCC,LX  
[Price One Shilling.]

# M A H H A B O N E :

O R,

## The GRAND LODGE DOOR Open'd.

Wherein is Discovered

### The Whole Secrets of Free-Masonry, Both ANCIENT and MODERN.

CONTAINING

An exact Account of all the Ceremonies and Myseries belonging to MASONRY, from an ENTERED APPRENTICE to a PASS'D MASTER, without any Omission of the smallest Particular; as authorized and delivered in all good Lodges. Illustrated with proper Remarks, necessary to explain the whole to the meanest Capacity, whether a Brother or not.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

The true Method of a Free-Mason finding out a Brother in public Company, with what Degree he belongs to, without being discovered by any but the said Brother.

ALSO,

A Specimen of the Secret Way of Writing in MASONRY, with an Explanation of the Characters: And several other curious Particulars, never before made public.

EMBELLISH'D

With a beautiful Copper-Plate Frontispiece, representing the DRAWING ON THE FLOOR of a Lodge with References explaining the whole.

To which is annex'd,

A Collection of Masons Songs: With Solomon, a grand Oratorio.

ALSO,

A compleat LIST of all the English regular Lodges in the World, according to their Seniority: With the Dates of each Constitution, and Days of Meeting.

The Whole being entirely authentic; and the grandest Performance of the Kind that has yet appeared in Print.

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THE SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

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By J\*\*\* G\*\*\*\*\*,

A regular Brother of FREE-MASONRY,  
Having mounted the STEPS of One, Two, and Three.

---

L O N D O N :

Printed for JOHNSON and DAVENPORT, in Pater-noster Row;  
and J. GORE, in LIVERPOOL. 1766.

[Price Two Shillings.]

THE  
FREE-MASON  
STRIPPED NAKED:  
OR, THE WHOLE  
ART and MYSTERY  
OF  
FREE-MASONRY,

Made Plain and Easy to all Capacities;

By a faithful Account of *every Secret*, from the  
first Making of a MASON, till he is com-  
pletely Master of every Branch of his Pro-  
fession.

---

By CHARLES WARREN, Esq;  
Late Grand Master of a regularly constituted Lodge  
in the City of CORKE.

---

L O N D O N:

Printed for ISAAC FELL, in Paternoster Row,  
And Sold by all Booksellers and News-Carriers  
in Town and Country.



## APPENDIX

*Three Distinct Knocks*

Edition	Issue	Date of Publication	Publisher	Remarks
First	First	3 Apr., 1760	H. Serjeant	
First	Second	7 July, 1760	Without Temple-Bar	
First	Third	12 Dec., 1760	London	
First	Fourth	17 Sept., 1761	ditto	
First	Fifth	20 Mar., 1762	ditto	
Second	First	30 Nov., 1762	ditto	{ But possibly the advertisements on 9th, 12th and 22nd Feb., 1763, refer to a second issue, in which case this would be the third issue Probably treated as being a third <i>Edition</i> Probably treated as being a fourth <i>Edition</i>
Second	Second	10 Dec., 1763	ditto	
Second	Third	11 Apr., 1764	ditto	
Second	Fourth	9 Feb., 1765	ditto	
Fifth	—	15 Apr., 1768	ditto	
Sixth	—	?	ditto	{ One of these editions was advertised on 11th Jan., 1775, but the advertisement did not state which The eighth was probably the last edition published in England—until revived about 1805
Seventh	—	?	ditto	
Eighth	—	?	ditto	
First Irish	First	2 July, 1760	H. Serjeant, London, & Captain Bobadil, Capel Street, Dublin	Treated as a second edition
First Irish	Second	22 July, 1760	ditto	
Third Irish	First	11 Aug., 1760	ditto	Called "Third Edition" in advertisements, but treated as the fourth edition
Third Irish	Second	11 Aug., 1761	H. Serjeant, London, & Dillon Chamberlaine, Smock Alley, Dublin	
Fifth Irish	—	13 Jan., 1762	ditto	Undated
Reprint	—	Probably 1777	Wilkinson, Wine-tavern Street, Dublin	

*Jackin and Boaz*

First	—	22 Mar., 1762	W. Nicholl, St. Paul's Churchyard, London	{ Evidently treated subsequently as the fourth edition
Second	—	20 Oct., 1762	ditto	
Third	First	20 July, 1763	ditto	
Third	Second	28 Dec., 1763	ditto	
Fifth	—	9 Nov., 1764	ditto	
Sixth	First	30 Dec., 1765	ditto	The last edition to be given a number Many subsequent editions not numbered (See Thorp's Bibliography)
Sixth	Second	25 Dec., 1766	ditto	
Sixth	Third	26 Oct., 1767	ditto	
New Edition	—	30 Oct., 1769	ditto	
First Irish	—	16 July, 1763	W. Nicholl, London, & Dillon Chamberlaine, Smock Alley, Dublin	
Reprint	—	Probably 1777	Wilkinson, Wine-tavern Street, Dublin	

## APPENDIX (Continued)

*Hiram*

Edition	Date of Publication	Publisher	Remarks
First	14 Nov., 1764	W. Griffin, London, and T. Toft, Chelmsford	
Second	[June ?] 1766	W. Griffin, London	
First Irish	21 May, 1765	Griffin & Toft, London, & J. Hoey Junior, Par- liament Street, Dublin	By arrangement with the English Publishers ?
Second Irish	22 March, 1766	ditto	
Third Irish	1773	ditto	
Belfast Reprint	1766, 1767 & 1768	Henry & Robert Joy, Belfast	A "Pirated" Edition ?
Dublin Reprint	Probably 1777	Wilkinson, Wine-tavern Street, Dublin	Reprinted from Hoey's third edition and called "Third Edition" by Wilkinson

*The Mystery of Freemasonry Explained*

First Publication	15 July, 1765	Being Chapter XXI of Gordon's <i>Every Young Man's Companion</i> (appearing for the first time) in the fourth edition
Second ditto	1769	ditto fifth edition
Third ditto	1777	ditto sixth edition

*Shibboleth*

London	August, 1765	J. Cooke, Pater-noster Row	
Dublin	19 Nov., 1765	Will. Sleater, Cork Hill	Revised for the Irish market
Dublin Reprint	About 1777	Wilkinson, Wine-tavern Street	Reprinted from Sleater's edition

*Mahhabone*

First	31 Jan., 1766	T. Cowburne, Liverpool	
Second	28 Nov., 1766	Johnson & Davenport, Pater-noster Row, Lon- don; and J. Gore, Liverpool	Enlarged
Dublin Reprint	About 1777	Wilkinson, Wine-tavern Street, Dublin	

*The Free-Mason Stripped Naked*

First	About Aug., 1769	Isaac Fell, Pater-noster Row, London	
Dublin Reprint	About 1777	Wilkinson, Wine-tavern Street, Dublin	

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Smith for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. Ivor Grantham, seconded by Bro. H. Poole; comments being offered by or on behalf of R. H. Baxter, D. Knoop, W. W. Covey-Crump, L. Edwards, W. E. Heaton, H. H. Hallett, G. W. Bullamore, H. Carr, and G. Y. Johnson.

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

I rise with pleasure to propose a hearty vote of thanks to our naval Brother for the paper to which we have just listened. In his treatment of the so-called "Exposures" of the mid-eighteenth century Bro. Smith has performed a useful service to the Lodge. From the text of the paper it is evident that the writer has devoted much time and industry to the task which he has undertaken, while from the footnotes it is equally clear that he has been fortunate in having received useful information from a number of Brethren to whom due acknowledgment is made.

The author has succeeded in tracing a large number of separate editions and issues of this particular group of so-called "Exposures", but has so far failed to find any copy of a third or fourth edition of *The Three Distinct Knocks*, or any Press announcement relating thereto, if such separate editions were in fact published before the self-styled fifth edition. Here then is scope for further research on the part of other Brethren interested in the subject-matter of this paper; while further information as to the identity of the authors or compilers of these publications would also be welcome.

It is somewhat surprising to learn that between 1760 and 1770, that is to say, during a period of only ten years, more than thirty separate editions or issues of these so-called "Exposures" were published in England alone, other editions emanating from Ireland during the same decade.

Having traced copies of these various publications, Bro. Smith has proceeded to collate them in a most painstaking manner; but no attempt has been made by him to quote *verbatim* in this paper those portions upon which some of us would have welcomed more detailed information. For obvious reasons such an attempt would have presented difficulties in the way of publication in our printed *Transactions*. Those present here to-day will have an opportunity at the end of this meeting of examining for themselves specimens of these so-called "Exposures", kindly lent for exhibition.

For what purpose were these books and pamphlets published? Was it in all cases merely to satisfy the idle curiosity of the uninitiated, or were these books and pamphlets, in spite of their unreliability, intended in some cases to furnish an *aide mémoire* to the initiated?

We learn from this paper that in *Every Young Man's Companion*, of which *The Mystery of Freemasonry Explained* forms a chapter, the editor made no comment either to encourage his readers to join the Craft or to dissuade them from doing so; on the other hand the author of *Hiram* announced that he published his volume to serve as a pocket companion to every Freemason, whereas the author of *The Three Distinct Knocks* announced as his object the opening of the door of Freemasonry to all the world. Some of these so-called "Exposures" purported to give the working of the Ancients, some that of the Moderns, and others that of both rival bodies.

If any credence can be placed upon the advertisement which appeared in certain editions of *Jachin and Boaz* regarding the frequent orders stated to have been received by the publishers requesting them to deliver copies of this volume to their customers in sealed packages, it would seem that many purchasers of this particular "Exposure" were genuine members of the Craft, for pretenders to initiation and the inquisitive public at large would not be likely to make such a request. Although these so-called "Exposures" may have been published in the first instance to satisfy the idle curiosity of the uninitiated, it is perhaps reasonable to infer that a very large number of copies would have been purchased by genuine members of the two rival Grand Lodges, who, in spite of the unreliable information contained in those publications, would soon discover the limited extent to which their rival workings differed. In this manner it is, I suggest, quite possible that the publication of large numbers of so-called "Exposures" towards the end of the eighteenth century, even though

designed to be to the detriment of the Craft, may in actual fact have contributed to some slight extent towards the ultimate union between the two rival bodies.

With these few observations I am happy to propose this vote of thanks and to pay a tribute to the industry of a brother in the senior service.

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Bro. H. POOLE said:—

I have great pleasure in seconding the motion proposed by the W.M. for a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Smith for a useful and interesting paper. I need not say much, for he has drawn attention to nearly all the points which I had in mind.

I, too, was struck by the very large number of issues or editions in England alone, amounting (excluding those of *Every Young Man's Companion*) to somewhere in the neighbourhood of 30 in 18 years. No doubt, as Bro. Smith seems to suggest, it was the "curiosity of the public" which led to their inception, though it is difficult to believe that this can account for more than a small portion of the output. And I have been trying to think of methods that could be used to establish what, I fancy, must be the opinion of most of us—that they actually served as *aides mémoire* to the Mason, and that this accounts for the very large numbers of issues. A record of annotations relating to ritual matters: of Lodge or private ownership of copies: of the nature of other matter bound up with copies of these "Exposures"—these, and perhaps other data, might well help to settle the question.

Then—and here is a subject for further research—we must discover to what extent these publications, besides "stabilising" the ritual of the eighteenth century, have actually influenced it: or whether they are merely a more or less faithful record of a state of affairs which existed at the middle of the century.

Bro. Smith has done a useful service in carrying on the bibliographical work relating to the "recurrent" Masonic literature of the eighteenth century, to which, especially, Bro. Adams has recently made such useful contributions, and which now needs little to complete it. I feel sure he will receive the hearty thanks of the Lodge for his paper.

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Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

I have read the paper by our Brother, Commander S. N. Smith, with interest and pleasure. I am not quite sure what object the author had in view, but he has certainly supplemented the labours of Bros. Thorp and Vibert.

My main object in writing this note is to call attention to an old volume, bound in sheepskin, now in my possession. It contains (1) *Solomon in all his Glory* (with four copper plates). London: Printed, and Dublin Reprinted for I. Wilkinson. 1777. (2) *Jachin and Boaz*. London; printed for W. Nicoll, and Dublin Re-printed and sold by T. Wilkinson. N.D. (3) *The Three Distinct Knocks*. Dublin: Printed and sold by T. Wilkinson. N.D. (4) *Tubal Cain: being the second part of Solomon in all his Glory*. London: Printed for W. Nicoll. And, Dublin: Re-printed for, and sold by Thomas Wilkinson. N.D. (5) *Shibboleth*. Dublin: Printed by Will. Sleater. MDCCLXV.; and (6) *A Discourse upon Masonry*. Dublin: Printed for the Author by Alex. M'Culloch. 1757.

The peculiarity of item (4) in the above is that the heading to each page, after the introductory passages, is "Masonry Dissected", and it is a word-for-word copy of the original. I do not think that it is a case of making up remainders with a new title page, as the verso of this has Prichard's sworn declaration.

All these so-called "Exposures" were catch-penny productions, and I have no doubt they proved profitable ventures. But, as they were nearly all mere pamphlets, only a comparatively small number have been preserved. Hence the extravagant prices asked for them by dealers. For my own part I do not think they add much to our knowledge so far as the tracing of the descent of our ritual is concerned.

I am quite sure, however, that Commander Smith deserves the whole-hearted thanks of the Lodge for his labours, which have required a painstaking amount of research.

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Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

I wish to add my grateful appreciation of Bro. Smith's valuable paper on a subject hitherto not fully dealt with in our *Transactions*. It provides a useful sequel to the articles by Bros. Baxter, Edwards and others on our *Constitutions* and that by Bro. Adams on *Pocket Companions* during the eighteenth century, as well as to Bro. Thorp's *Bibliography* in Lodge of Research *Reprints*.

Bro. Smith has followed the classification adopted by his predecessors, and has wisely confined himself to a critical examination of the "Exposures" in Group III, *i.e.*, those published in England during the period from 1760 to 1790. His only serious omission—*Solomon in all his glory*—is made up for by a welcome commentary on *The Mystery Explained* (1765) and the *Free-Mason Stripped Naked* (1769)—two items missing from Bro. Vibert's list of *Rare Books of Freemasonry*.

I am not a bibliographer—in the sense of being a collector of incunabula or an expert in rare editions; therefore perhaps I ought not to query Bro. Smith's assertion that *Jackin and Boaz* was reproduced from *Three Distinct Knocks* "almost word for word." But may I briefly add two notes? .

Whilst accepting as indubitable the sincerity of Dermott's castigation of *Three Distinct Knocks* as a mere catch-penny exploitation of the Craft by an outsider, I incline to attribute the publication of *Jackin and Boaz* to quite a different motive. The idea that in London in 1762 public curiosity concerning Masonic ritual was so strong as to tempt another publisher to share the spoils (at 1s. 6d. a copy) seems to me unconvincing. The fact of five issues in two years of *Three Distinct Knocks* (even though they may have comprised comparatively few copies) seems rather to suggest that many members of the "Antients" were finding it convenient as a *vade mecum*; and that others besides the anonymous "gentleman belonging to the Jerusalem Lodge" thought profit and pleasure would ensue from a similar production suitable for members of the other sodality. This is where the importance of my point comes in. What interests us about these "Exposures" is how far do they furnish evidence as to the ritual really worked at that time, and the variations among "Moderns" and "Antients" respectively? That they were unauthorised and proscribed goes without saying. So are Masonic manuals to-day. But we all know they are in demand and prove very useful. So, I think, they have been since the advent of *Jackin and Boaz*, even though Oliver said (I know not on what evidence) that its author was subsequently expelled from the fraternity. (*Discr. of Freem.*, 43).

My second point shall be very brief. It has reference to the booklet *Mahabone*. The original publisher in 1766 was T. Cowburne, of Liverpool, and the alleged initials of its author were J.G. But the second edition (likewise in 1766) bears the imprint J. GORE, who was the publisher of the *Liverpool Advertiser*. I would suggest that J. Gore was not only second publisher of *Mahabone* but also its original compiler; and this is confirmed by his description

of himself as a *Τυπογράφος*. It would therefore be interesting to ascertain if he was a member of either of the then existent Liverpool Lodges, and if so whether under "Antients" or "Moderns." I believe both the present senior Lodges there have "Antient" antecedents.

I must not trespass farther; but hope someone will raise a question about the source of "Jubela-o-um", who first appear in these "Exposures".

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Bro. D. KNOOP writes:—

It is very difficult for me, who am neither a collector nor a bibliophile, to comment upon Bro. Commander Smith's most interesting bibliographical paper. I shall therefore restrict my remarks to what is for him, on this occasion, a side issue, viz., the problem as to how far *Three Distinct Knocks* and *Jachin and Boaz* represent the working of the "Antients" and "Moderns" respectively. As he points out, there is practically no difference between the two catechisms apart from the reversal of the words of the First and Second Degrees. Was that the only difference between "Ancient" and "Modern" working in 1765? I am convinced that "Ancient" working, like "Modern" working, underwent various changes and modifications during the eighteenth century, and that it would be a mistake to think of "Ancient" working as something fixed or stereotyped. The "Ancients" may have retained the so-called "Landmarks" unchanged, but I am sure that they did not abide by all the old practices, or refrain from introducing new practices in the course of time. From independent sources we know something about the differences between "Ancients" and "Moderns" a generation before and a generation after the 1760s, and I doubt whether any Brother could maintain that the position had not undergone great changes in the interval of some 80 years between *circa* 1730 and *circa* 1810.

*The situation about 1730.* Laurence Dermott, writing of the "Modern" masons (*Ahiman-Reson*, p. xxvii) says "the innovation was made in the reign of George the First" [1714-1727], i.e., he speaks of "innovation" in the singular, and the date as prior to 1730. According to G.L. Minutes of 28th August, 1730, Dr. Desaguliers, taking notice of *The Mystery of Freemasonry*, recommended several things to the consideration of G.L., particularly the Resolution of the last Quarterly Communication [21st April, 1730] for preventing any false brethren being admitted into regular Lodges. Unfortunately, the Resolution is not mentioned in the Minutes of 21st April, 1730, nor set out in detail in those of 28th August, 1730. On 15th December, 1730, the Deputy G.M., speaking of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, proposed, in order to prevent Lodges being imposed upon by false brethren, that nobody should be admitted into a Lodge unless some member of the Lodge then present could vouch for such visiting Brother being a regular mason, a proposal which does not appear to imply any modification of landmarks. On 12th April, 1809, the premier G.L. resolved "that it is not necessary any longer to continue those measures which were resorted to in or about the year 1739 respecting Irregular Masons, and do therefore enjoin the several Lodges to revert to the ancient Land Marks of the Society". This resolution refers to "measures" in the plural, and to the date of their introduction as "about the year 1739".

These somewhat conflicting accounts as to what happened about 1730 rather suggest that one or two definite changes were introduced in order to detect false brethren. As masonic ritual and practices were still in a very fluid condition at that period, it seems to follow that the only practicable changes were in some way concerned with the esoteric knowledge imparted to candidates in the First or Second Degree. The working of the Third Degree was probably not sufficiently widely extended at that period for its secrets to serve as a test.

*The situation about 1810.* On 26th October, 1809, the "modern" G.L. warranted the Special Lodge of Promulgation "for the better carrying into effect

of the intention of . . . G.L. with reference to reverting to the ancient landmarks of the Society". The Lodge was to promulgate the ancient landmarks and to instruct the Craft accordingly.

From the minutes of the Lodge of Promulgation we learn that the following, among others, were matters upon which "Ancients" and "Moderns" apparently differed:—

The Methods of Opening and Closing in the First, Second and Third Degrees.

The mode of placing the Three Great Lights.

The seating of the Wardens.

The situation of the Past Masters.

The Employment of Deacons.

The Preparation of Candidates.

The mode of advancing to the Master.

Rehearsing the ancient charges at Opening and before Closing in the First Degree.

The use of pass-words from 1° to 2° and from 2° to 3°.

The methods of communicating and receiving the secrets in the several Degrees.

The Installation Ceremony.

I venture to suggest that most of these differences were not concerned with ancient landmarks, even if we admit that there are more than *two* landmarks, as suggested by the Lodge of Promulgation itself, which referred to the Ceremony of Installation of Masters of Lodges as one of the *two* landmarks of the Craft. Further, it seems to me that these differences do not, in general, represent changes deliberately made about 1730 in order to detect false brethren, but practices which had gradually grown up during the eighteenth century. Some of the matters of difference could not possibly date back to 1730, or even to 1760. Thus, according to the early masonic catechisms, there were no formal Opening and Closing in the several Degrees in the pre-1731 period; the catechisms of the 1760s suggest a separate Opening in the First Degree, but no separate Opening in the Second or Third Degree, and no formal Closing in any Degree. Yet the methods of Opening and Closing in the several degrees were amongst the principal matters on which "Ancients" and "Moderns" differed. They represented relatively new practices, and the same was probably true of some of the other matters in dispute.

Regarding the differences between "Ancients" and "Moderns" in the 1760s, the only safe assumption would appear to be that they were intermediate between those prevailing about 1730 and those prevailing about 1810. Perhaps Bro. Smith is in a position to be a little more concise.

There is one further aspect of the "Ancient" and "Modern" problem upon which I wish to touch. It is practically certain that the differences between "Ancients" and "Moderns", as defined by the Lodge of Promulgation in 1809-11, did not apply to all Lodges equally. The Lodge of Promulgation Minutes themselves suggest that the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1 on the Roll of the "Modern" G.L., was much more "Ancient" in its working than many "Modern" Lodges. I am more particularly interested in the two old Sheffield Lodges, Britannia No. 139 and Royal Brunswick No. 296. The former, founded as "Ancient" Lodge No. 85 in 1761, changed its allegiance to the "Moderns" in 1765 for some unknown reason, becoming the Rose and Crown Lodge No. 340. The latter was founded in 1793 by a number of seceders from "Ancient" Lodge No. 72, under a Warrant obtained from the "Modern" G.L., as Royal Brunswick Lodge No. 527. Thus both old Sheffield Lodges have "Ancient" roots, and may well have retained "Ancient" practices, though technically "Modern" Lodges.

I can speak definitely only of the Royal Brunswick Lodge, whose early Minute Books are at present temporarily in my possession. That Lodge from time to time admitted "Ancient" masons as joining members; these paid 5s. more admission fee than a "Modern" joining member, on the ground that they had to be "instituted into Modern Masonry", or "initiated into the Mysteries of Modern Masonry". There is nothing in the Minutes to indicate what that "institution" or "initiation" consisted of, but it may be noted that it always took place when the Lodge was open in the First Degree.

Among the differences between immediate pre-Union and post-Union practices in the Royal Brunswick Lodge (which sent a Deputation to the Lodge of Reconciliation in March, 1815), the following may be noted:—

(i) Prior to the Union, officers were appointed in the Third Degree, after the Union in the First Degree.

(ii) There were no Deacons and no Inner Guard before the Union. They were appointed at the first Lodge after the return of the Deputation from London.

(iii) The Minutes were never signed by the W.M. before the Union; whereas afterwards they generally were.

(iv) Before the Union, an E.A. or a F.C. wishing to be passed or raised, gave notice of his desire at one Lodge, and was generally advanced to the higher Degree at the following Lodge. After the Union an E.A. was examined "on the 11 Questions", and a F.C. "on the 9 Questions"; when a brother had proved his proficiency, it was formally proposed and seconded that he should be passed or raised, as the case might be, at the next Lodge.

(v) Before the Union, the Lodge was closed in a lower Degree before it was opened in a higher Degree; after the Union, the Lodge was successively opened in the First, Second and Third Degrees and subsequently successively closed in the Third, Second and First Degrees.

(vi) Before the Union, there is no reference in the Minutes to passwords from one Degree to another. The same is true for several years after the Union. The earliest reference to "the introductory Sign and Word to the 3<sup>d</sup>" occurs in the minutes of 4th August, 1830.

I am convinced that a careful study of the pre-Union and post-Union minutes of old Lodges, both "Ancient" and "Modern", would help in the elucidation and interpretation of the so-called "Exposures" of the mid-eighteenth century, by placing them in their proper setting. It would also probably demonstrate the great variations in the practices which prevailed, and the consequent difficulty of generalising.

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BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

It is a great pleasure to support the vote of thanks for so interesting a paper as that which we have just heard.

The obvious and ever interesting problem which it suggests is whether the "Exposures" were just catch-penny productions pandering to a vulgar taste for secrets betrayed, or were either meant to be or were in fact used as ritual books by *bona-fide* members of the Craft. I can imagine a pamphlet meant and used purely as an exposure making such a popular appeal as to run through several editions in, say, a year or two; but when once the so-called secret is out I cannot conceive of curiosity still continuing to such an extent as to justify a series of editions and impressions extending over generations and continuing for nearly two hundred years. Moreover, with the lack of lodges of instruction it would seem most probable that these pamphlets, with the necessary corrections, must have been found very useful by those genuine masons who wished to make themselves proficient in the ceremonies before being called upon to perform them

in open lodge. I do in fact remember without any details being told of a copy of an "Exposure" in Grand Lodge Library, with corrections made apparently by a genuine mason.

One wonders whether there is in existence any material, *e.g.*, publishers' accounts, which would give us some idea of the number of copies of the pamphlets circulated and how large was an impression and how large an edition.

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Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON writes:—

Bro. Commander S. N. Smith is to be congratulated on his paper, and must have spent a considerable amount of time in gathering his facts together. I have read it through with a great deal of interest.

The number of editions or issues of the various so-called "Exposures" shows that there was a large demand for these publications, and one is driven to the conclusion that this demand was not one of the idle curiosity, but that the "Exposures" were used by members of the Craft.

These "Exposures" were sold freely in the Provinces, as a number of Advertisements appeared in the local newspaper of those days. The following are some from the Newcastle and York Newspapers, but, strange to say, I have found none in the Leeds Papers.

*A Master-Key* was advertised in the *York Courant* of 15th April, 1760. "This day is published, Price 1s. Sold by . . . *A Master-Key to Free-Masonry*; by which all the Secrets of the Society are laid open, . . . London, printed for J. Burd, opposite St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street. . . ."

*Three Distinct Knocks* was advertised in the *York Courant* of 10th June, 1760. "No. IV. Universal Review for May 1760. . . . 22. The three distinct Knocks; or the Door of Free-Masonry open to all Men. . . ."

*Jachin and Boaz* was advertised in the *York Courant* of 27th April, 1762, and the *Newcastle Journal* of 17th/24th April, 1762. "Jachin and Boaz; or, An Authentic Key to the Door of Free-Masonry. . . . (very long description), London, printed for W. Nicoll, at the Paper Mill in St. Paul's Churchyard, and sold by the Booksellers and News Carriers in Town and Country."

A new edition, being the third, was advertised in the *York Courant* of 29th November, 1763, the fifth edition in the *York Courant* of 8th January, 1765, and the sixth edition in the *York Courant* of 24th December, 1765. The advertisements for the fifth and sixth editions have this additional note. "The Author of this Book takes this Opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of several Letters from the Brethren; and in this Edition has inserted a very remarkable one, that the Public may form some Judgment of the rest. He also begs those of the Brotherhood, who are so full of Wrath and Indignation against him, would be so kind as to pay the Postage of their abusive and scurrilous Epistles".

*Every Young Man's Companion* was advertised in the *York Courant* of 15th April, 1766, this being the fourth edition, and the advertisement for the fifth edition appeared in the *York Courant* of 17th July, 1770.

*Shibboleth* was only advertised once in the *York Courant* of 13th August, 1765.

*Mahabone* was advertised in the *York Courant* of 15th April, 1766. "This Day is published, Price 1s. Sold by . . . Mahabone; or the Grand Lodge-Door open'd. . . . Liverpool, printed by T. Cowburn, 1766", and again in the *York Courant* of 6th October, 1767. "This Day is published, Price 2s. Sold by . . . The Second Edition of Mahhabone: (*sic*) . . . London, printed for J. Johnson, in Pater-noster Row; and J. Gore, in Liverpool".

*Solomon in all his Glory* was advertised in the *York Courant* of 15th April, 1766. "This Day is published, Price 2s. Sold by . . . Solomon in all his Glory: Or, The Master Mason. . . . London, printed for G. Robinson and J. Roberts, at Addison's-Head in Pater-noster-Row", and again in the *York Courant* of 7th June, 1768. "This Day is published, Price 2s. bound, Sold by . . . The Second Edition, . . . Solomon in all his Glory; . . . Translated from the French Original published at Berlin, and burnt by Order of the King of Prussia, at the Intercession of the Free-Masons. London, printed for Robinson and Roberts, No. 25, in Pater-noster-Row".

The pamphlet *Jachin and Boaz* was mentioned at a trial that took place in 1768; this must have caused some comment at the time and was most likely reported in the London Papers. The *Newcastle Journal* of 20th/27th February, 1768, gives the following account:—

At the trial at Westminster-Hall on Tuesday last, when some of the mysteries of free-masonry were revealed to the court, it appeared, they were exactly the same with those contained in that curious and entertaining treatise, intitled *Jachin and Boaz*, or an authentic key to the door of free-masonry.

The *Leeds Intelligencer* of 23rd February, 1768, gives some further details:—

Yesterday a remarkable trial came on, before Lord Mansfield, at Westminster-hall, about a quarrel that happened on a stranger attempting to get into a Lodge of Free-masons, in which some very diverting descriptions of the proceedings of a Lodge in making a Brother, &c. were displayed, to the great entertainment of the Court and spectators.

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Bro. H. HIRAM HALLETT writes:—

I was delighted to read the advanced proof of Bro. Commander S. N. Smith's paper, for he has made a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of these old works, and especially for his enumeration of the various editions and the dates of their publication. I heartily congratulate him on this most interesting paper, for it is evident that he has taken an enormous amount of trouble over his investigations.

Bro. Smith has divided these old works into three groups, which I personally prefer to the classification made long ago by Gould, viz., 1717 to 1727; commencing 1730; commencing 1760. Students in the past have had chiefly to depend for their knowledge of the first two groups on the industrious and enthusiastic efforts of our late Bro. John T. Thorp, who edited and published some 14 reprints, and on his *Bibliography of Masonic Catechisms and Exposures*, published in 1929; in this work, however, he did not give any information as to their relative importance, nor did he indicate those of which the author was indebted to a preceding work. Bro. Smith, however, has helped to clarify our knowledge, and all students will be greatly in his debt.

There are several points, however, on which I should like to have further information. Has he any idea as to the numbers printed of the various editions? It would give one some indication as to the spread of masonry at different periods in this country.

Then as regards the "Moderns" and "Antients"; although in the second edition of *Jachin and Boaz* the words "both Ancient and Modern" were first inserted, does this work give approximately the working of the "Antients"? Also is it possible to say that the other works he has mentioned were peculiar to one or the other of these bodies?

As regards the French works, the first being published in 1737. Eugen Lennhoff, in his *Freemasons*, agrees with Gould that Masonry made its appearance in France in the year 1725; is there any record of the numbers printed of the various editions of these works?

In conclusion, I again heartily congratulate Bro. Smith on his very interesting and admirable paper.

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Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

Concerning the steps in the Third Degree, I think it unsafe to assume that one, two, two is a slip. The reversal of the names of the pillars differentiates the first two Degrees. The alteration of the steps would be a distinctive feature of the third.

Although the craft is now fairly uniform in the manner of taking steps on an oblong square there are traditional methods which have prevailed until recent times. An enquiry I made some years ago showed that in Grand Lodge Library there were records of varying numbers of steps and also sets of instructions which were looking-glass patterns of one another.

An interesting feature of exposures is sometimes the preface. In one of them is to be found the earliest known reference to Cromwell as the originator of Freemasonry.

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Bro. S. N. SMITH said, in reply:—

I have to thank a number of Brethren who assisted me when I was preparing this paper. First I must thank Bro. G. B. Ellwood for the cordial reception which he gave me on more than one occasion at Leicester, and for permission to photograph some of the treasures in the library of the Freemasons' Hall there. I must also thank the Librarian of Grand Lodge for permission to photograph books in the Grand Lodge Library, and the Assistant Librarian, Bro. Taylor, for his courtesy and frequent assistance. I have, of course, paid numerous visits to the library of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, where I received every assistance from Bro. Colonel Rickard. I have to thank Bro. Wallace Heaton for showing me his then recently-acquired first editions of Burd's *Master-Key* and *Three Distinct Knocks* (now amongst the most valuable of the books in the Grand Lodge Library) and for photographs of these and other books in his remarkable collection. To Bro. Philip Crossle I am indebted for information about books in the library of the Grand Lodge of Ireland and for photographs of some of them. Bro. F. L. Pick was good enough to examine Manchester newspapers; Bro. C. H. Taunton most kindly searched the Liverpool newspapers, and supplied me with information about the editions of *Mahhabone*, without which this paper would have been incomplete. I must also thank Mr. Plummer (of Messrs. Marks & Co., Booksellers) for much valuable information.

The paper (undertaken at the suggestion of our late Bro. Vibert) was begun some time before the War, and it was then my intention to follow it up with a Second Part—in which I had hoped to discuss the contents of these “Exposures”, and to consider to what extent they could be accepted as true pictures of contemporary Masonic procedure. But I felt that a solid bibliographical foundation should first be laid, before a satisfactory discussion of the contents of these pamphlets could be attempted. Unfortunately the War prevented this continuation, and it was only by chance that I was able to be present in Lodge to read the paper myself.

The way in which it was received gave me great pleasure, and I was much interested in the comments. Most of them, however, refer to that aspect of these pamphlets which I had intended to discuss in my Second Part.

It must be remembered that, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the principal business of a Lodge was “working the Lectures”. Although, quite possibly, these pamphlets may not very accurately portray the actual ceremonies, I think that it can hardly be doubted that they would have proved useful to Brethren for the purpose of the “Lectures”. So that, although originally intended as “Exposures”, they were in fact found useful by the Brethren themselves; and it was due to this that they were so frequently reprinted. I am glad to find, from the comments, that this view has such weighty support. I share the opinion of our Master that these “Exposures”—whatever their intention—must have done a lot to pave the way for the Union, and am in complete agreement with the views expressed by Bro. Knoop in his interesting comments.

Bro. Johnson has added some very useful information from the North, and I have made additions to my footnotes to refer to this. I hope, when the War is over, to follow up in the London papers his discovery of the references to the Trial of 1768, and look forward to sharing, in some measure, the “great entertainment of the Court and spectators”!

Bro. Covey-Crump’s suggestion as to the identity of “J.G.” had not escaped the notice of Bro. Taunton; and I hope that the latter will be stimulated to continue his researches. “Jubela-o-um”—yes, indeed; what is the origin of these names?

It would be very interesting if someone could follow up Bro. Lewis Edwards’ suggestion for discovering how many copies of these pamphlets were in circulation; but I expect that all the accounts of the publishers concerned will have perished.

I note with satisfaction that Bro. Hiram Hallett supports my (very slight) alteration to the usual classification of these “Exposures”—by which I relegate Burd’s *Master-Key* and *Solomon in all His Glory* to the French group of “Exposures”, thus leaving the third group as a homogeneous family. The French group is of very great interest—especially as regards Pass-words and Steps—but it needs a special knowledge, which I do not possess, to deal with it adequately.

With reference to Bro. Baxter’s comment, Wilkinson’s reprints seem to have been made in large numbers, as they are now comparatively common (I have nearly all of them in my collection, as well as Sleater’s edition of *Shibboleth*). Wilkinson, in accordance with his usual custom, advertised his edition of *Masonry Dissected* in his other reprints; but I do not know of a copy with that name on the Title-page. I suspect that he thought it would sell better if he put it out as a new exposure; so that he gave it a new Title-page with the name of *Tubal Cain*, calling it a “second part” of *Solomon in all His Glory*, which he had just reprinted.

I cannot agree with Bro. Bullamore about the steps. It may be noted that the drawing in *Jackin and Boaz* shows three steps. *Hiram* corrects the error in *Jackin and Boaz*, but there is a new one introduced in *Mahhabone*.

FRIDAY, 5th MARCH, 1943.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.30 p.m. Present:—Bros Wing-Commdr. W. Ivor Grantham, M.A., P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, W.M.; Lewis Edwards, M.A., P.A.G.R., I.P.M.; Fred. L. Pick, F.C.I.S., S.W.; B. Ivanoff, P.M., as J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., Treas.; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; F. R. Radice, I.G.; and Wallace Heaton, P.A.G.D.C.

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Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. Chown, P.A.G.St.B.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.; T. W. Croft; P. E. Worth; C. H. Duveen; Gordon Jack; F. C. Ruddle; W. J. Mean; J. J. Cooper; T. W. Marsh; H. Bladon, P.G.D.; J. Johnstone, P.A.G.D.C.; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C.; J. W. Hamilton-Jones; H. P. Healy; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; W. G. Ibberson; H. E. Elliott; A. F. Cross; S. H. Muffett; Edward Smith, P.A.G.D.C.; L. G. Wearing; E. Eyles; J. C. Vidler; M. Goldberg; F. W. Harris; A. F. Hatten; F. W. Belschner; H. B. Q. Evans; and B. Foskett.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Chap.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; D. Flather, J.P., P.G.D., P.M.; D. Knoop, M.A., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, P.M.; Lt.-Col. C. C. Adams, M.C., P.G.D., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson; G. S. Knocker, P.A.G.Sup.Wks.; and H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B.

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Twenty-three Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The following paper was read:—

## FREEMASONRY AND THE IDEA OF NATURAL RELIGION

BY DOUGLAS KNOOP AND G. P. JONES



OUR aim in this paper<sup>1</sup> is to examine the historical context of the First Charge of a Freemason (based on the First General Charge of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*), "Concerning God and Religion", as given in Anderson's *Constitutions*; for though much has been written on that topic by Vibert, Begemann and others, we believe that there is still something to learn about it; and we hope, in reopening the discussion, to make, or cause others to make, a contribution to the study of the relationship between modern freemasonry and the philosophical trends of its formative period. The Brethren will bear in mind that our concern is with freemasonry, and not with the Rev. James Anderson particularly; but we feel it necessary to make clear at the outset that we differ from our predecessors with regard to Anderson's responsibility for the Charge "Concerning God and Religion." They held that he introduced a striking innovation by basing freemasonry on deism instead of Christianity. For the moment we leave aside the question of innovation, admitting at any rate this much, that this Charge, formulated in 1722, is so far the earliest-known expression of a deistic point of view in a masonic document. But we find it impossible to believe that this Charge represents a deliberate and successful attempt on Anderson's part to impose upon speculative masonry a fundamental point in his own personal beliefs. There are two difficulties in the way of such a conclusion. In the first place, apart from this Charge, there would seem to be no evidence that Anderson favoured deism, though he might tolerate it in a fellow freemason. For all that is known to the contrary, he held the Calvinistic beliefs of the Presbyterian Church in which he was confirmed and ordained, and these could not very easily be reconciled with deism as presented by such writers as Toland. In the second place, the responsibility for the Charge lies on the shoulders not of Anderson alone, but on those also of the Committee of "14 learned Brothers" who read, amended and finally approved of the text in 1722 (*Constitutions* of 1738, p. 114). We take it that they, and the Craft in general, would have detected and prevented any attempt, had Anderson been personally disposed to make one, to change what were regarded as the fundamentals of freemasonry.

It follows that the Charge "Concerning God and Religion" must have seemed, in form and content, right and reasonable to at least the great majority of freemasons of Anderson's time; and the problem before us is, therefore, to explain how a society, whose origins and primary documents are medieval, could, while taking a pride in its antiquity and recognizing the authority of those documents, accept without question the deistic attitude of the First Charge. What we have to say on this problem can be set out under four main heads: first, we shall remind the Brethren of the form in which the religious duty of

<sup>1</sup> It was printed as a pamphlet for private circulation in 1942.

freemasons was stated before 1722; second, we shall invite their attention to certain respects in which the taste of Anderson's contemporaries differed from that of their medieval predecessors; third, we feel it necessary to lay stress on certain consequences of the religious and political turmoil of the seventeenth century; and fourth, we shall be occupied with some aspects of theology in the earlier part of the eighteenth century.

### THE RELIGIOUS DUTY OF FREEMASONS

The *Cooke* MS. of c. 1410 [ll. 833-6] says of the mason that

hit behoveth hym fyrst princypally to [loue] god and holy chyrche  
& alle halowis.

By the second half of the sixteenth century this statement had been modified, by expansion of the former part and by omission of reference to the saints (all hallows). Thus the First General Charge then laid it down:

That ye shall bee trewe men to god and holly Church and yeu vse  
no Errour nor heresy by yo<sup>r</sup> vnd<sup>r</sup>standing or discrea<sup>o</sup>n but be yee  
discreet men or wyse men in eache thing (*Grand Lodge No. 1* MS.).

It is not known when the Charge was first stated in these terms; possibly that was done some considerable time before the date of the MS., 1583; but the absence of reference to the saints was perhaps deliberate and may indicate Reformation influence. In any event, masons who read or heard this Charge presumably understood by holy church the Church of England; and when the *MS. Constitutions of Masoury* reached Scotland, masons in that country must in general have considered themselves charged to be faithful to the Kirk. Members of both churches could, moreover, accept without difficulty the Invocation occurring in the same MS.:

The mighte of the ffather of heaven and the wysedome of the glorioas  
soonne through the grace & the goodnes of the holly ghoste y<sup>t</sup> been  
three p[er]sons & one god be w<sup>th</sup> vs at o<sup>r</sup> beginning And give vs  
grace so to gou<sup>n</sup>e vs here in o<sup>r</sup> lyving that wee maye come to his  
blisse that neu<sup>r</sup> shall have ending . Amen.<sup>1</sup>

One hundred and forty years later, in the First Charge, as stated in Anderson's *Constitutions*, not only was there no mention of the saints, but there was no reference to the Trinity. Indeed, no specifically Christian belief was made obligatory by the Charge:

A *Mason* is oblig'd, 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 . . . 'tis now thought more  
expedient only to oblige them [masons] 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 what-  
ever Denominations or Persuasions they may be distinguish'd

We leave until later the implications of this description of the mason's attitude to religion, noting for the moment only the remarkable difference in temper between it and the statement of 1583. The one reveals the fears of watchful Elizabethan orthodoxy; the other manifests the tolerant spirit of the age of Walpole.

<sup>1</sup> This Invocation, too, may have been composed originally long before 1583. The form *been* suggests an earlier date; and the rhymes, *beginning, lyving, ending*, possibly indicate that the original was in verse.

## THE AUGUSTAN STYLE

It is important to bear in mind that Anderson, and the Committee of fourteen who considered his work, were concerned with the restatement, not only of this Charge, but of the *MS. Constitutions* as a whole. How widespread the dissatisfaction with the Old Charges may have been we do not know, nor can we be sure from exactly what quarter the demand for their revision came. Officially, at any rate, the pronouncement came from the Duke of Montagu, Grand Master in 1721, and from the Grand Lodge over which he presided in September of that year. The Duke certainly made the pronouncement in his official capacity as Grand Master, but whether he originated the idea, and what part he took in the deliberations, are unknown. In any event, the lodges of the period 1660-1730 contained, apart from members of the nobility, an undetermined but possibly considerable proportion of non-operative or of accepted masons of a kind to which there was little or no parallel in 1400 and 1583; these non-operative or accepted masons would, as is only natural, reflect the taste and opinions of their day. It is thus no wonder that the *MS. Constitutions* were referred to—probably in a half-derogatory fashion—as “the old Gothic Constitutions” (*Constitutions* of 1738, p. 113). By this time, when Wren’s great monument had not long been completed, medieval architecture had ceased to delight the fashionable eye. Anderson shared the contemporary view: “Even after the Devastations made by the Goths,” he wrote, “architecture appeared abroad, tho’ in the Gothick stile” (*ibid.*, p. 196), until “the happy Revival of the Augustan stile” (*ibid.*, p. 81). For him, and probably for his masonic contemporaries, the classical or Renaissance architecture of Inigo Jones and his successors was not merely an æsthetic improvement but a symbol; its symmetry and strength typified a revived and improved masonic organization: “and the Cement of the Lodge is made so firm, that the whole Body resembles a well-built Arch of the beautiful Augustan Stile” (*ibid.*, p. 197).

As Anderson and his contemporaries had no great æsthetic pleasure in medieval architecture, though doubtless having some antiquarian interest, so they had no overwhelming veneration for the Old Charges. It is, indeed, true that the version now known as the *Cooke MS.* was exhibited at the Annual Festival of Grand Lodge on 24 June, 1721, by the Grand Master, Bro. Geo. Payne; and that one subsequent Grand Master, Lord Colerane [1727-8], and one Deputy Grand Master, Wm. Cowper [1726-7], were sufficiently interested to have copies made of the document.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, it seemed natural and laudable to strip the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry* of their outworn garments, in order to dress them in the fashion of a more enlightened age. One of the widespread desires of the age was for “modernization” or “contemporization”; not only did they modernize Shakespeare, but also the classics of Rome, in many so-called “imitations”. This movement, probably, was also responsible for the modernization of the Old Charges. The intention was not to change the essentials of masonry, but to modernize the expression of them. To do that was, of course, to risk sacrificing something of tradition and romance; but the age was not romantic. When Anderson’s *Constitutions* appeared, the age of reason had long dawned, and not merely in politics and philosophy, but also in masonry—

Where scepter’d Reason from her Throne  
Surveys the Lodge and makes us one (*ibid.*, p. 209).

## RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

The “age of reason” is a description which in several respects fits the eighteenth century somewhat imperfectly. It may be doubted whether human nature in general was any more capable then than at other times of making

<sup>1</sup> The so-called *Woodford* and *Supreme Council MSS.*

rational consideration the guide of conduct and the ultimate basis of belief; and in the second half of the century great influence was exerted by an evangelical revival which went far towards asserting the supremacy of right feeling and simple faith over fallible human reason. Nevertheless, in the interval between the dying down of the old fires of seventeenth-century puritanism, and the revival of puritanism in its Methodist form, there came an age in which "enthusiasm" in religion and politics was suspect, and a greater value was set on calmness and common sense. That such a spirit should prevail in the lodges of Anderson's day is not strange. The majority of their members, no doubt, had lived through the Revolution of 1688, and many of them could remember something of the controversies and disturbances which preceded that event. After the persecutions of the sixteenth century and the convulsions of the seventeenth, men might well incline in religion, as Walpole did in political questions, to the practice of *quieta non movere*; and it is not improbable that a large proportion of those who joined the Craft in this period were influenced, as peaceable men, by the masonic rule that topics likely to provoke hot discussion should be barred from the lodges. Or, to use Anderson's own words (*ibid.*, p. 114):

Ingenious Men of all Faculties and Stations being convinced that the Cement of the Lodge was Love and Friendship, earnestly requested to be made Masons, affecting this amicable Fraternity more than other Societies then often disturbed by warm Disputes.

Freemasons, it may be noted, were probably not the first—and they were certainly not the last body—to recognize the danger arising from political and religious argument. The French *Confédération Générale du Travail*, for instance, in its "Amiens Charter" of 1906, laid down the rule that individual trade unionists were free to join associations in accord with their private political or philosophical opinions, but were prohibited from advancing these opinions within their trade unions.

Rules of this kind are no doubt in part explained psychologically, as arising from an emotional or æsthetic fear or dislike of conflict or disturbance; but even so there is an interest in the arguments by which men explain or justify their attitude rationally. Above all things, Anderson and his contemporaries hated discord, as an architect might hate a building in which the parts were at odds with each other. The opposite, harmony or unity, is justified partly, no doubt, as a pleasurable and laudable thing in itself, but also as a necessary condition for achieving the chief masonic end, perfection in the art, in a speculative sense. This essential harmony was not to be reached by identifying masonry with any one of the prevailing creeds, or by teaching that all or some of the creeds were false. It was rather to be sought by ignoring the creeds, or at least ignoring the points in which they differed, and by asserting at the same time that a freemason might have two distinct religious beliefs. As an individual, he might profess the creed, or one of the creeds, of his country, as a freemason, he must hold what in the Sixth Charge is called "the oldest Catholick Religion" (*ibid.*, p. 147).

## NATURAL RELIGION

Our purpose is not to examine the logical validity of this position, but simply to record it, and to discuss what was meant by "the oldest Catholick Religion". It may be presumed to be the same thing as "that Religion in which all Men agree" and very much the same as "the 3 great Articles of Noah" (*ibid.*, pp. 143-4). It is also identical with what the *Pocket Companion* of 1734-5 calls "the Religion of Nature", that is, in all probability, natural, as distinct from revealed, religion.

In the space at our disposal it would be impossible even to summarize adequately the deistic argument in its various forms,<sup>1</sup> and we shall remind the Brethren of only two points relating to it. In the first place, the deists conceived of God as, so to speak, a constitutional monarch of the universe, acting in accord with eternal, immutable law. Secondly, they denied, more or less completely, the necessity and justice of revelation, and asserted that from the beginning the human mind could form a sufficient, if necessarily imperfect, idea of God and of the duties binding upon mankind. These two—belief in God and understanding of a moral law—thus constituted a religion which was at the same time natural and universal (or in Anderson's phrase, "catholick") in the sense of being held by, or binding upon, all men, irrespective of time or country. To this natural religion human fancy or priestly vested interest had added many things unessential or harmful; but the wise men could neglect the accretions, retaining the pure and primitive essence underlying the multitudinous variety of forms of devotion.

This view of the essence of natural religion was, perhaps, most clearly put in a book which appeared in 1730: *Christianity as Old as the Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature*, by Matthew Tindal, a Fellow of All Souls'. In his second chapter, on the religion of nature, he holds that:

Our Reason, which gives us a demonstration of the divine Perfections, affords us the same concerning the Nature of those Duties God requires, not only with relation to himself, but to ourselves and one another. . . . If Religion consists in the Practice of those Duties that result from the Relation we stand in to God and Man, our Religion must always be the same. . . . We may define true Religion to consist in a constant disposition of Mind to do all the Good we can .<sup>2</sup>

This work, it is true, appeared after Anderson's first edition of the *Constitutions*; but many of its statements may be found in earlier deist or latitudinarian writers whom Tindal quotes as authorities, and his work is remarkable, not for its originality, but because it draws conclusions which his predecessors had left unstated.<sup>3</sup>

In order to show that in the early eighteenth century there was nothing very strange in making the cult of natural religion the basis of a society of peaceable people, we may be allowed to cite a writer who, though there is no conclusive evidence of a connection between him and the Craft, should be of more than passing interest to freemasons. This was John Toland (1670-1722),<sup>4</sup> the author of *Christianity not Mysterior* and several other works, of which the one most interesting to freemasons is his *Pantheisticon*, published in Latin in 1720. In this curious book, after a short account of ancient and modern societies of philosophers and artisans, he gives a statement of the beliefs of the Pantheists and describes the meetings of their Socratic Societies<sup>5</sup>:

Many of them are to be met with in Paris, in Venice also, in all the Cities of Holland, especially Amsterdam, and some (which is surprizing) in the very Court of Rome, but particularly and before all other Places, they abound in London . . . no Discord arises

<sup>1</sup> Readers may be referred to Sir Leslie Stephen, *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i, chaps. ii, iii, iv.

<sup>2</sup> Tindal, *op. cit.* (2nd ed. 1732), pp. 13-14, 17, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Leslie Stephen, *op. cit.*, i, 135.

<sup>4</sup> On his work, see Albert Lantoiné, *Un Précurseur de la Franc-Maçonnerie, John Toland*, Paris, 1927.

<sup>5</sup> The following quotations are from the first English edition of *Pantheisticon* (1751), pp. 57, 58, 60-1, 70, 85-6, 107-8.

among them if every one of the Brotherhood professes the Heresy he sucked in with his Milk (so it be not entirely false), or that, which has been anywhere established. They never enter into a Dispute upon Scholastic Baubles. . . . As to the Order that is observed in these Societies, they have a President. . . . At every Meeting the Brethren of every respective Place are present, unless some or other of them is detained by Sickness, or is upon a Journey, or can alledge a reasonable Excuse for absenting himself. . . . They have . . . A Form of celebrating the Socratic Society. . . . One Part is always read in every Meeting . . . the President solemnly reciting before, the rest answering and sometimes bearing Chorus with him. . . . The whole Form is also read at other Times, especially upon the Admission of a new Brother, which is never done but by the unanimous Consent of all. . . . The Presidents . . . follow the Order of their Admission into the Society, and in Meetings the late President speaks first, and the new One is the Steward of the Feast . . . [The Pantheist] shall meditate, regarding either the Nature of God or of the Soul; and he shall not make the Wicked, nor the Ignorant, nor any, except the Brethren alone, or other ingenious, upright, and learned Men, Partakers of Esoterics.

The ceremonies were to be conducted in secret:

PRES. Keep off the prophane People. RESP. The Coast is clear, the Doors are shut, all's safe.

For the Socratic Society, as for Freemasonry, the moral law was of the first importance:

Right Reason is the only true Law, a Law befitting Nature, extended to all, consistent with itself, and everlasting. . . . There shall be one, as it were, common Master and Ruler of All, that GOD, the Inventor, Umpire and Giver of this Law: He who obeys not this Law is his own Enemy. . . . We are willing to be brought up, and governed by this Law, Not by the lying and superstitious Fictions of Men.

The foregoing observations are offered, not as indicating any precise source for the First Charge, but to suggest that the ideas expressed in it were current at that time. It is, moreover, in no way remarkable that they should be widely held, for they agreed well enough, up to a point, with the dominant philosophy of the day, that of John Locke. There is, for instance, no great distance between Locke's conception of a state of nature in which man, before the establishment of civil society, lived by a natural law rationally apprehended, and the deistic notion of a natural religion. Moreover, like Locke, the deists made for toleration, since what would now be called "confessional" differences, being connected with matters inessential and outside natural religion, were too uncertain and unimportant to be given legal force. The tolerance was, for Locke's followers, limited by political prudence; Roman Catholics were excluded, as owing allegiance to a foreign power, and atheists, as men for whom the sanctity of an oath could not exist. It should be noted, also, that their opponents at times were apt to suspect deistic writers of unavowed atheism, and consequently of moral laxity. For this reason such writers took care to proclaim the contrary; Toland, for instance, was at pains to declare explicitly, if not perhaps quite ingenuously, that he preferred above all others the religion of Jesus Christ and His apostles.<sup>1</sup> For the same reason, the First Charge, lest freemasonry should be suspect, made it plain that atheists and libertines could not be members of the Craft.

<sup>1</sup> See *Tetradymus* (1720), p. 223.

## THE NOACHIAN PRECEPTS

Though the First Charge is not too clear on the point, it may be presumed that natural religion was regarded as the religion of masons not only in 1722 but at all times; it was the *oldest* Catholic religion. The conclusion is, in the 1738 edition of the *Constitutions*, expressed in another way by referring to masons as "Noachidae", bound to keep the three great articles of Noah. The term "Noachidae" occurs in a letter of 1735 sent from Grand Lodge to the Provincial Grand Master of East India in Calcutta. The original draft, subscribed "J[ohn] R[evis] Sec<sup>y</sup> to the G. Lodge" is preserved in the Bodleian Library,<sup>1</sup> and it is possible that Anderson borrowed the expression from the letter, as there is a slight similarity between a passage in that letter and one in the "historical" section of the *Constitutions* of 1738. We print the passages side by side:

Letter from G. L., 1735.<sup>2</sup>

Providence has fixed your Lodge near those learn'd Indians that affect to be called Noachidae, the strict observance of his Precepts taught in those 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.

*Constitutions* of 1738, p. 23.

In his [? Zerubbabel's] reign. Zoroastres flourished, the Archimagus or Grand Master of the Magians. . . . Yet a Remnant of 'em are scatter'd in those Parts to this Day, who retain many of the old Usages of the Free Masons, for which They are here mention'd . . . For we leave every Brother to Liberty of Conscience; but strictly charge him carefully to maintain the Cement of the Lodge, and the 3 Articles of Noah.

We feel, however, that it is not safe to assume either that Anderson borrowed the term "Noachidae" from the letter, or that the writer of the letter coined the word, more especially as the adjective "Noachian" has been traced as early as 1678 (*O.E.D.*), and the word "Noachidae" may be equally old.

The expression "3 great articles of Noah" presumably conveyed some definite meaning to Anderson's contemporaries, but modern masonic commentators offer very varying explanations. Woodford (*Kenning's Cyclopædia*, 515) suggests that the 3 articles were (i) to abstain from idolatry and to worship the one true God; (ii) to honour God's holy name and not to profane it or take it in vain; (iii) not to commit murder. He goes on to state that to these three precepts were subsequently added (iv) to avoid incest; (v) not to steal; (vi) to be just; (vii) not to eat flesh with the blood in it. According to Hawkins (*Concise Cyclopædia*, 164) the ancient Hebrews applied the name "Noachidae" to members of other nations who practised the great principles of religion and morality, without accepting Jewish doctrine and ceremony. Certain precepts were binding upon them, including (i) abstinence from blood, (ii) the prohibition of murder, and (iii) the recognition of civil authority, which were expressly enjoined upon Noah after the Flood (*Genesis*, ix, 1-7), and these probably constituted the three great articles of Noah. In all, he adds, there were seven Noachian Precepts, the other four being the prohibitions of idolatry, blasphemy, incest and theft. Begemann and Vibert have no use for these Biblical or Talmudic explanations, the former (*Freimaurerei in England*, ii, 216-20), by a rather laboured argument, reaches the conclusion that Anderson meant Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth; the latter (*Legislation of the Craft*, 11), was of opinion that the sentence "the mason is to be a good man and true

<sup>1</sup> *Rawl. MS.*, C. 136, No. 54, calendared in *A.Q.C.*, xi, 35.

<sup>2</sup> The text of this passage is as printed in *A.Q.C.*, xi, 35-6; we have been unable to consult the original.

and strictly to obey the moral law," which he suggests was based on *Genesis*, vi, 9 ("Noah was a just man and perfect and walked with God"), embodies the grand articles of Noah, an opinion with which Bro. Lewis Edwards (*A.Q.C.*, xlv, 395) is apparently in sympathy.

Hebrew scholars have also discussed the Noachian Precepts; the Chief Rabbi, the Rev. Dr. J. H. Hertz, in his comments on *Genesis*, ix, 1-7, in his edition of the *Pentateuch*, discusses what he describes as the seven commandments given to the descendants of Noah, viz., (i) the establishments of Courts of Justice, (ii) the prohibition of blasphemy, (iii) of idolatry, (iv) of incest, (v) of bloodshed, (vi) of robbery, (vii) of eating flesh cut from a living animal. He adds that "these constitute what might be called Natural Religion." He says nothing to suggest that any three of these commandments were more important than the remaining four. In any case, we feel that a Biblical or Talmudic explanation of the Articles of Noah best accords with the spirit of the times in which Anderson wrote and with the other parts of the Charge, as the Noachian Precepts were a sort of Talmudic version of natural religion or the moral law binding on the Gentiles as descendants of Noah. Nor can we see any reason for Anderson deliberately hiding his meaning in the way that Begemann and Vibert imply. Anderson's writings are frequently obscure, but that is unintentional on his part.

If we are right in taking the "religion in which all men agree" and the "three great articles of Noah" as equivalent to "natural religion," the First Charge was wide in scope, and cannot, as has elsewhere been suggested, be rightly interpreted as restricting membership of the Craft to entrants who were Christian, of whatever denomination, or to those who were either Trinitarians, Unitarians or Jews. The only persons explicitly excluded are the "stupid atheist" and the "irreligious libertine," and the two terms may have been intended to describe the same man, that is "the fool" who "hath said in his heart, There is no God" (*Psalms*, xiv, 1), and who, believing in no divine sanctions, was considered to have no motive to obey the moral law. Theoretically, that is, Moslems, Parsees and Hindus, for example, might be eligible. Anderson, and presumably his colleagues, believed that the Zoroastrians were freemasons and that in Eastern Asia in his day there was still a remnant of them "who retain many of the old usages of the Freemasons" (*Constitutions* of 1738, 23). It may, nevertheless, be questioned whether the London and Westminster lodges in Anderson's day would have admitted Orientals. Begemann (*op. cit.*, ii, 207) holds that the First Charge should be interpreted as excluding Jews, on the ground that Anderson wrote a pamphlet against modern Jews and Anti-trinitarians, but in our view Anderson's personal opinions and beliefs do not enter into the problem; he was endeavouring to set down in writing the tenets and principles prevailing among masons of his day, even if he was not very successful in doing so in a concise and lucid manner. It is known, as a matter of fact, that Jews were admitted to the Craft within a few years of the publication of Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, though whether it was the original intention of the Charge, or only a proceeding rendered possible by its somewhat obscure wording, we cannot say.

### THE TENETS OF FREEMASONRY

Though, as the preceding observations attempt to make clear, the First Charge shows deist influence, it should not be inferred that freemasons were members of a consciously or avowedly deist association. Indeed, the First Charge itself would prevent such a development, for it leaves every mason free, when out of the Lodge, to be a churchman, or a dissenter, or to worship in the synagogue, according to his conscience. The First Charge, we repeat, is not concerned with what is essential to salvation, but with what makes for

concord in the lodge; and many members who valued that harmony probably never troubled their heads with any controversy about miracles or revelation. Pennell, it may be noted, in his Irish edition of the *Constitutions* in 1730, though following closely Anderson's text of the First Charge, printed immediately after the Charge a definitely Christian prayer to be said at the opening of the Lodge, or at the making of a Brother.

The early eighteenth-century lodges were not societies of philosophers or doctrinaires. There were doubtless some "intellectuals" among the accepted masons, but the underlying tenets of freemasonry, such as the comparative freedom from tests, the exclusion of political and religious discussions from the Lodge, and the practice of charity, had grown up gradually among the operative masons, the results probably of empirical solutions of practical difficulties, rather than actions based on fundamental beliefs. In due course these tenets were adopted by the speculatives from the operatives. The name of not a single founder of Grand Lodge in 1717 is known; of the officers of Grand Lodge prior to the publication of Anderson's *Constitutions* in 1723, the only one who can be described as an "intellectual" is the Rev. Dr. J. T. Desaguliers, who was a lecturer in natural philosophy, a Fellow and Curator of the Royal Society, and Chaplain to the Duke of Chandos and to the Prince of Wales. He has been described by Murray Lyon as the co-fabricator and pioneer of English symbolical masonry (the Rev. James Anderson being presumably cast for the other leading part), but quite wrongly in our opinion, as we have endeavoured to show elsewhere. Masonic tenets, principles and ritual were a slow growth and not the sudden creation of any one or two men.

The early minutes of Grand Lodge throw no light upon the tenets of freemasonry, other than the practice of charity, to which many references occur. A mention of relief is found in the Sixth Section of Anderson's Sixth Charge ("Behaviour towards a strange Brother"), but it is not so strongly or so happily phrased as the reference to charity in the "Charge to new admitted Brethren" (printed in Smith's *Pocket Companion* of 1734-5) which is as follows:

He [a Mason] is to be a Man of Benevolence and Charity, not sitting down contented while his Fellow Creatures, but much more his Brethren, are in Want, when it is in his Power (without prejudicing himself or Family) to relieve them.

From non-masonic or anti-masonic writings of the period, very little is to be gathered concerning the tenets of freemasonry, which rather implies that there was nothing novel about them, and that they harmonized with contemporary thought in the matter of religion and politics. In the *Briscoe* pamphlet of 1724 (*The Secret History of the Free-Masons*) there is a section on Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, but the criticism is directed against Anderson's version of masonic history, and not against his Charges, and the same is true of *An Ode to the Grand Khaibar*, published in 1726, and of a letter of "A.Z.," which appeared in the *Daily Journal* of 5 September, 1730. The writer of *The Free-Masons Accusation and Defence* (1726) casts various aspersions upon the Fraternity without actually charging it with anything in particular. Incidentally, he comments upon Anderson's *Constitutions* in some detail. In referring to the Charges, however, he makes no mention of the first ("Concerning God and Religion"), or of the second ("Of the Civil Magistrate Supreme and Subordinate"), but quotes in full the fifth ("Of the Management of the Craft in Working"), and asks what that Particular Charge (where Anderson followed the Old Charges of the operative masons far more closely than in his first or second charge) has to do with gentlemen or men of a liberal education. In a letter of "Verus Commodus" concerning the Society of Free-Masons, appended to the second edition of the masonic catechism, *The Grand Mystery of the Free*

*Masons Discover'd* (1725), there is an attack, not so much upon the tenets of freemasonry, but upon the religious views of certain unnamed, and presumably prominent, masons, as can be judged from the following passages:

There are several amongst 'em, who write themselves *S.T.P.* [*Sacrae Theologiae Professor*] which some are apt to imagine, stands for *Sacro-sanctae Trinitatis Persecutores*; for it is observable, That the Creed of St. Athanasius is treated very scurvily and opprobriously amongst divers of their Principals; and the Divinity (nay, even the Divine Accomplishments of our Saviour) are handled by some of those Wretches, with a most shameful Buffoonery and Contempt. Remarkably eminent for this, is a certain *Renegado Papist*, who has formerly wrote a nonsensical Farrago about the Plague. . . .

My Belief is, That if they [the freemasons] fall under any Denomination at all, or belong to any Sect of Men, which has hitherto appear'd in the World, they may be rank'd among the Gnosticks. . . .

It is not possible from the various passages quoted, or from any other surviving evidence with which we are acquainted, to draw an exact picture of the tenets and principles of freemasonry in the early eighteenth century. The available evidence, such as it is, points to a Society, following on the lines of its operative predecessor, more or less interested in problems of geometry or architecture, mildly imbued with the spirit of Charity, imposing apparently few or no religious or political tests in what concerned its candidates, and certainly remarkably free from religious disputes and political dissensions. Above all, meetings of the Lodges, which one and all assembled in taverns or coffee houses, were probably convivial gatherings. This can be deduced not only from the observations of non-masons, but also from official or semi-official masonic publications. Thus George Payne's Regulations of 1721, printed in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, show that Grand Lodge itself centred round the Annual Feast, and both Anderson's Charges and the "Charge to new admitted Brethren" stress the need for avoiding intemperance and excess.

#### FRENCH AND BRITISH FREEMASONRY

For good or evil, the freemasonry of London and Westminster in the age of Walpole showed what are regarded as common British characteristics. First, there may be noted a reluctance or incapacity to follow an argument to its end, and a disposition to be satisfied with a somewhat illogical position. As speculatives, in a philosophic sense, Anderson's contemporaries were not thorough. Apparently they saw no clash between the deistic principle of the First Charge, which was valid on Lodge nights, and a sincere profession of revealed religion, which was valid on Sundays. Or, if they perceived the conflict, they sacrificed cold logical consistency to warm human fellowship. Secondly, they were practical. In the age when Mandeville acutely, if cynically, questioned the motives and consequences of charitable expenditure,<sup>1</sup> the lodges made it imperative as an obligation, and systematic in its administration. Thirdly, they were tolerant. This toleration may have been on the whole emotional rather than intellectual; that is, it sprang more out of a disinclination to hurt an opponent's feelings than an eagerness to understand his thought. But it was nevertheless real, and implied a respect for the individual right of judgment.

The conception of a natural religion, together with the toleration which was the outcome of English developments during the seventeenth century, lie at the root of the difference between the freemasonry of this country and that

<sup>1</sup> See the essay on Charity Schools appended to his *Fable of the Bees*.

of France. In the latter country, believers in a natural religion were not wanting: Voltaire was a distinguished and influential example. But they found arrayed against them the combined power of Church and State. The former refused utterly to recognize as true any religious belief or organization but itself; and the Government of Louis XIV in 1685, in revoking the Edict of Nantes, instituted a process of the kind which in modern Germany would be called *Gleichschaltung* [co-ordination]. Protagonists of freedom of thought, therefore, were far less likely than in England to stop short of a desire to *écraser l'infame* completely. In England, by abnegating a monopoly and by permitting a good deal of freedom of interpretation, the Established Church, however unpopular it might be at times, permitted compromises of various kinds, and did not arouse against its creed and organization a hostility comparable to that manifested in France against the alliance of the Roman Catholic Church and the Bourbons. The English lodges had no motive to be anti-clerical, since the private cults of members were permitted by the State, and open criticism of the Establishment was possible. French lodges, on the other hand, were likely to be gathering grounds of rebels, and their increasing anti-clericalism culminated in a rejection of the Great Architect of the Universe.

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A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Knoop and his collaborator, Mr. G. P. Jones, for this valuable paper, on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W.; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. I. Grantham, F. L. Pick, R. H. Baxter, J. H. Lepper, W. W. Covey-Crump, L. Edwards, F. R. Radice, H. H. Hallett, H. C. Booth, H. E. Elliott, W. J. Williams and J. W. Hamilton-Jones.

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BRO. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

On several occasions during the last few years it has been my privilege, either from one of the Wardens' chairs or else from the floor of the Lodge, to speak in support of a vote of thanks moved by the Worshipful Master in favour of our esteemed Past Master, Bro. Knoop. To-day I claim the Master's prerogative of proposing such a vote of thanks myself from this chair; and in doing so I would remind you that this is one of those occasions on which we are indebted not merely to Bro. Knoop himself, but also to one of his non-masonic colleagues, Mr. G. P. Jones. I am confident that we all regret our inability to welcome in open lodge Bro. Knoop's academic but non-masonic colleague. I feel, however, that the value of such a paper as this is actually enhanced by reason of the fact that the views expressed by a Freemason of learning are concurred in by an equally learned student who has not the advantage of that inside information which is enjoyed by a member of the Craft. It is therefore with very great pleasure that I move that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded not only to Bro. Knoop, but also to his collaborator, Mr. Jones, for the paper to which we have listened to-day with such interest and enjoyment.

Bro. Knoop, whose name will always be most closely linked with the study of the economic history of the Craft, has to-day given us the benefit of his researches into the association between the tenets of Freemasonry and those of natural religion. The authors of this paper, in reviewing the changes to be observed in the declared religious duties of Freemasons, have quoted from the *Cooke MS.* of about 1410, and then by way of contrast have quoted most, but not all, of the First Charge as published in the 1723 edition of Anderson's *Constitutions*. If I may make a suggestion to the joint authors of this paper

I would urge that the two versions of the First Charge as printed in the 1723 and 1738 editions of Anderson's *Constitutions* should be set out in full for the benefit of readers when this paper comes to be published in our *Transactions*. I put forward this suggestion because one of the expressions not quoted in this paper in its present form appears to me to support the authors' contention that the "holy chyrche" referred to in the *Cooke* MS. must be regarded as meaning to our medieval brethren in England the Church of England and to masons in Scotland the Kirk of those days. The passage not quoted in this paper, to which I refer, reads:—

"in ancient Times Masons were charg'd in every Country to be of the Religion of that Country or Nation, whatever it was".

The phrase "'t is *now* thought more expedient" in the sentence "'t is now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that Religion in which all Men agree" suggests to my mind a deliberate change at the time of Anderson, in the declared religious belief of Freemasons.

In the course of this paper the authors have recorded their view as to the meaning to be attributed to the expression "that Religion in which all Men agree". As a humble contributor towards the discussion which I hope this paper will provoke, I would advance the proposition that this expression means something simpler than that suggested by Bro. Knocp and his colleague. I would contend that "that Religion in which all Men agree" is the fundamental faith of those who accept all that is implied in the conception of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The subsequent references by Anderson in the 1738 edition of the *Constitutions* to the Articles of Noah appear to me to fall into place as yet one more example of Anderson's artificial elaboration of his earlier statements.

Brethren, this paper is concerned with the first of our Ancient Charges and deals with the idea of natural religion in relation to Freemasonry. The provisions of a later Charge, the sixth, are to-day echoed in the Charge after Initiation, in which the newly made brother is informed that all topics of political or religious discussion are forbidden in Lodge. As Master of this Lodge of Research it is hardly necessary for me to emphasise that our discussion upon this paper to-day will be limited to such channels of criticism as will not offend against that well-known injunction. With that caution in mind I will now invite the Senior Warden to second this vote of thanks, after which the subject matter of this paper will be open to friendly discussion amongst the brethren.

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Bro. FRED L. PICK said:—

It is with great pleasure that I second the vote of thanks to our authors for an interesting and provocative paper. Whatever the intentions of Anderson and/or his committee of fourteen, it is obvious that throughout the whole of the eighteenth century the Craft was predominantly Christian. References to the Birth of the Messiah in the pre-Union *Books of Constitutions*, passages in most of the "Exposures" and in the Irish *Constitutions*, from Pennell to the present day, provide ample evidence of the Christian basis of Freemasonry. On the other hand, the framing of the First Charge, though couched so vaguely, opened the door of the rapidly-expanding Freemasonry of the third and fourth decades of the century and resulted in a measure of success and an extension of Freemasonry to members of all creeds that could hardly have followed any other formula.

BRO. RODK. II. BAXTER *writes*:—

The paper by our Bro. Knoop and Dr. Jones leaves me in a little difficulty, as I am far from being sure that I appreciate precisely what the authors are driving at. They, surely, do not by any means desire to introduce a topic of religious discussion into the Lodge. I shall, therefore, endeavour to make my few comments non-controversial.

Our authors say that Anderson held the Calvinistic beliefs of the Presbyterian Church in which he was confirmed and ordained. Now so far as I am aware there is no confirmation in the Presbyterian Church, either Established or Free. But perhaps the word here used bears a different implication to that generally understood.

So far as the First Charge of a Freemason—"Concerning God and Religion"—is concerned, I am not sure that critics have read into it far more than Anderson or the Committee ever intended. Our MS. Old Charges required adherence to God and Holy Church. There can be no doubt about the meaning of that phrase; and, therefore, Anderson, in his *Book of Constitutions*, being himself a nonconformist, would be wishful to remove any possible ban on those of his and similar faith. Roman Catholics in early Grand Lodge days were not without prominence in the Craft. We even had men of that faith occupying the Grand Master's Chair, or, as it is now fashionable to call it, the Throne. I cannot think there was an intent to pave the way for the administration of Deists in the sense of Jews, Unitarians or sects of that kind, although the clause did undoubtedly lead to that later on.

Anderson's days were long before the time of the Disruption in the Church of Scotland, but even then there were simmerings of revolt against the shackles of privilege and patronage.

I do not wish to carry this point any further, but I shall, nevertheless, be glad if our authors will favour me with their views when they reply to the discussion.

It is superfluous to say I am wholeheartedly in favour of the vote of thanks that I know will be accorded to the writers of this ingenious and ingenuous essay.

BRO. HERON LEPPER *writes*:—

The subject of this paper is full of interest to every inquirer who has sought an answer to the question: at what period did our Society cease to demand a profession of the Christian religion as one of the tests for its initiates?

The matter under examination is a peculiarly delicate one for discussion in open Lodge. In the first place I should like to congratulate Bro. Knoop on the dexterity with which he has emulated the small Egyptian bird (I do not know its proper zoological name), which ventures inside the jaws of the crocodile in search of sustenance. With equal skill Bro. Knoop has gathered *pabulum* close to the very fangs of controversy, without, as it seems to me, arousing the hideous form of religious debate. Some of us will not be so daring; and for my own part any contribution I can add to the discussion will be concerned merely with details of little importance, for my desire is to avoid raising the much weightier issue involved in the psychological phenomenon of the abandonment of what was undoubtedly an Ancient Landmark.

That is as much as I care to say at the present time and in the present place on such a subject.

I have next to record my complete agreement with Bro. Knoop, that Dr. Anderson is not to be held responsible for the essential contents of the Charge "Concerning God and Religion". To suggest that he could have imposed such a fundamental change as the substitution of "Natural Religion" for

"Holy Church" is to attribute to him an influence in the early councils of our Grand Lodge more than he or any other single individual can have possessed. The new idea was so much at variance with that held by the medieval Masons that it can have become acceptable to a section of the Fraternity only by an assimilative process that must have taken long years to complete. Nor does the evidence lead us to believe that the new idea met general acceptance in the Grand Lodge in those early years, much less in the Craft universal. We can concede that Anderson was a protagonist of the new idea, but undoubtedly the Grand Lodge contained champions on the other side, forming a party which clung to such relics of antiquity as paying honour to particular saints and retaining Christian symbolism in the ceremonies of the ritual; and all through the eighteenth century a section of the Craft showed itself, if not hostile, at best lukewarm where "Natural Religion" was concerned.

Nevertheless the new idea had arrived before Anderson's time, I believe many years before he strutted his hour on the Masonic stage. May I recall to you that the "Grand Mistress" pamphlet states that the Bible used at initiations contained the Old Testament only; and whether this famous pamphlet be merely a skit, as is usually assumed, or was definitely inspired by malice towards the Order, as is my own belief, it contains in this particular passage what is either an actual fact known to initiates or a general belief held by the profane about the non-Christian character of Masonic rites: and in either case it is admissible evidence about the real or reputed practice of the Craft at that period. The pamphlet appeared in Dublin in 1725, and that was too soon after the publication of the first edition of the *Constitutions* in 1723 to permit of a new-fangled foible of Anderson's mintage to have passed current in a country where Freemasonry had become naturalized many years before.

I must confess myself to be sceptical about the committee of "14 learned Brothers" who, Anderson says, gave their help in drafting this Charge; and I look upon their deliberations and very existence as being in all probability as mythical as most of the other history recorded in Anderson's 2nd edition of the *Constitutions*.

A similar uncertainty veils what lies hidden in another of the crypts he built. Anderson may or may not have known what the "three great articles of Noah" were; but I cannot forget that no man ever rejoiced more heartily than he in the meaningless use of a turgid phrase which, like the blessed word "Mesopotamia" or his own "Augustan stile" might have a comfortable sound to some of the weaker Brethren, even if devoid of sense.

I should like most heartily to congratulate Bro. Knoop and his collaborator on an excellent paper, which has given us all matter for thought, if not for full discussion.

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Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

I am sorry to miss Bro. Knoop's paper; but he has kindly sent me an advance copy, so I can realize its value and the interest which it will arouse.

I fully agree with him that the intention of those who introduced the change in 1722 was not to alter essentials of Masonry, but rather to modernize the expression of them. I doubt whether either Anderson, or the "14 learned Brothers" who must share with him the responsibility, attached the importance of maintaining a deistic basis for Freemasonry which we attach to it to-day. In their minds the "Craft" had a very much smaller horizon. They were legislating for just a few Lodges in London and Westminster, without a conception of a future world-wide organization. They were legislating to strengthen the philosophic (I am inclined to say "Kabalistic") outlook of a new party which had recently taken up an almost moribund Craft Guild; and, by extending

its aims and influence, was giving it a fresh lease of life among men of much higher social position.

I have never regarded the alleged innovation of 1717 and of 1722 as representing at all Anderson's "own personal beliefs"; though what Bro. Knoop meant when he referred to Anderson being "confirmed" in the Presbyterian Church I do not understand, for (from the Church of England point of view) the "Presbyterians have no "Confirmation" rite. Perhaps they use the term "confirmed" in some other technical sense. I do not know it.

Just one other point. I question whether we shall really understand Anderson's attitude until we ascertain for certain the fact about his alleged expulsion from an Operative "Lodge" (?) in London, which was asserted by the late Bro. Stretton, of Leicester. There was a mystery about that which neither Bro. Thorp nor I could then solve. I believe I still have (somewhere) the dossier of correspondence which I had with Bro. Stretton at that time, though I cannot now lay hands upon it. I think it implied starting a rival organization, which subsequently developed into "Speculative Freemasonry", though (as I have already premised) Anderson and his *confrères* had never a notion that it would become so—and certainly no attempt to make it so.

Probably, however, Bro. Knoop may regard all this as irrelevant to his subject; so I will come to an abrupt conclusion by joining in the vote of thanks for his paper which I am sure will be unanimously passed.

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Pro. WILLIAMS writes:—

The thanks of the Lodge are due to the authors of the paper for the care and skill manifested in their Essay.

Their summary of the case and of the influences at work which resulted in the excision of certain clear statements of Christian Doctrine in the Old Charges is supported by the evidence they adduce. The Charge concerning God and Religion was a natural product of the sway towards Deism among some of the most prominent of the leaders of the Craft at that time. The Charge under consideration appears to have been drawn up without very much regard to the subject. Thus we have the most singular fact that in an article on God and Religion no mention is made of God, and, although stupid Atheists are excluded from entry, the qualifying adjective (which should have been unnecessary) might leave it open to the remark that only a certain class of atheists were intended. Literally polytheists are not excluded. The qualifications of being "Good men and True" and "Men of Honour and Honesty" were probably intended to refer only to the human standards by which men judge themselves and each other, and not to the Standards of conduct according to which the All-Seeing Eye judges.

It is necessary that any comments should be made so that they do not transgress the rule against discussion of Religious topics in the Lodge. Therefore in the following comments I have restricted myself to those matters which have been made public in the *Constitutions* themselves, and these have been left to speak for themselves.

It seems desirable that we should consider the First Charge not as an isolated paragraph, but as a statement made at the same time and in relation to the same topics. In other words the text should be considered in relation to its context. The fact that two Clergymen were concerned in the preparation and presentation of the first two *Books of Constitutions* indicates that they saw no real inconsistency in the statements made in the Charge in question and the clear statements embodied in the History preceding the same.

The 1723 edition of the *Constitutions* was, on the face of it, somewhat unsatisfactory, for, although the First Charge is headed "I. Concerning God and Religion", there is not a single mention of the Deity in it. The fluctuations of time resulted in the inclusion of "He of all men should best understand that God seeth not as man seeth, for man looketh at the outward appearance, but God looketh to the heart. A mason is, therefore, particularly bound never to act against the dictates of his conscience. Let a man's religion or mode of worship be what it may, he is not excluded from the order, provided he believe in the glorious architect of heaven and earth and practise the sacred duties of morality. Masons unite with the virtuous of every persuasion in the firm and pleasing bond of fraternal love; they are taught to view the errors of mankind with compassion, and to strive, by the purity of their own conduct, to demonstrate the superior excellence of the faith they may profess." The position brought about by the 1723 form of the First Charge could hardly fail to induce an urge to expand, if not to elucidate, the real meaning of the 1723 form.

In the 1738 edition (p. 143) the Old Charges, as therein printed, are stated to have been 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 ordered to be printed in the first Edition of the *Book of Constitutions* on 25th March, 1722.

A comparison between the 1723 and 1738 versions shows that what follows is *not* the form approved and ordered to be printed on 25th March, 1722. On the contrary the 1738 version of Charge I is much altered. It is 35 words longer than in 1723. The much-debated phrases "as a true Noachidae" and "nor against Conscience" are introduced in the first paragraph; and in the second paragraph the phrase "For they all agree in the 3 great Articles of Noah, enough to preserve the Cement of the Lodge" has been introduced.

Such innovations as "Christian Masons" and "Christian usages" also are inserted.

There is prefixed to each of the 1723 and 1738 editions an Historical section. How far the History is to be read into the subsequent Charges we need not attempt to decide. There are, however, certain assertions in this historical part which should be in our minds as we consider the Charges themselves.

It must be remembered that this History was to be read at the Admission of a New Brother. The first sentence begins thus:—

Adam, our first Parent, created after the Image of God, the Great Architect of the Universe, must have had the Liberal Sciences, particularly Geometry, written on his heart; for even since the Fall we find the principles of it in the Hearts of his offspring.

Page 7. Nay, that Holy Branch of Shem (of whom as concerning the Flesh Christ came) could not be unskilful in the learned Arts of Assyria.

Pages 8, 9, 13, 14, 17, 18 contain statements, mainly based on the Old Testament, as to the divine guidance of the Israelites in architecture, including references to the Tabernacle and the first and second Temples. Page 24. . . . after mentioning Augustus Cæsar proceeds thus ("in whose Reign was born God's Messiah, the great Architect of the Church").

The 1738 edition contains a longer version of the History.

It will suffice if passages on pages 41 and 42 are quoted here.

Page 41. "At length Augustus having shut up the Temple of Janus; for that all the world was at Peace. In the 26th year of his Empire, after the Conquest of Egypt,"

"The WORD was made FLESH, or the Lord Jesus Christ Immanuel was born, the Great Architect or Grand Master of the Christian Church."

Page 42. "In the 20th year after Augustus, or the Vulgar A.D. 34

"The Lord Jesus Christ, aged 36 years and about 6 months, was Crucified, without the walls of Jerusalem, by Pontius Pilate the Roman Governor of Judæa, and rose again from the Dead on the 3d day for the Justification of all that believe in him."

The passages cited by me were authorized to be read in the Lodge.

Furthermore, at p. 74 of 1723 *Constitutions*, that volume was approved "as the only Constitutions of Free and Accepted Masons amongst us to be read at the making of new Brethren, or when the Master shall think fit; and which the new Brethren should peruse before they are made".

This seems to me to be a laudable provision, for it should not have been left open to any initiate to say that he was not entitled to read such *Constitutions* before submitting to be bound by them.

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BRO. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

One must thank Bro. Knoop for having turned his attention to what has seemed to many of us one of the most interesting points in the history of the Craft.

When it is recalled that within the two generations preceding Anderson's *Constitutions* there had taken place the persecutions of the Scottish Covenanters and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it may be recognized how surprising seems the tolerant and unsectarian character of the First Charge. I think it would be easy to misrepresent the Charge, however, either by attributing to it too great a suddenness or too great a universality. However important the part Anderson played in the issue of the *Constitutions*, and in whatever degree the work of those who helped in or approved his labours was nominal only, the tolerant principles of the First Charge would never have been published had they been peculiar to him. There must have been in existence at the time a considerable body of opinion in favour of toleration which could not have been sudden in its formation, but which might here be traced as a reaction from the times of persecution.

If one looks at the records and the rituals of eighteenth century Freemasonry one may not see, nor could one expect to see, a perfect consistency in regard to its unsectarian character. There are parts, *e.g.*, the references to St. John, to suggest a Christian and sectarian character. There are points, *e.g.*, the admission of Jewish brethren, to suggest an unsectarian character, consistent with the First Charge. But on the whole I think it must be admitted that this Charge does in fact represent a main characteristic of the Craft in the eighteenth century and thereafter.

Finally, might one respectfully suggest, as a useful analogy to the idea of a natural religion containing the basic principles of all civilized religions, the idea of the law of nature, and the law of nations in which are contained the basic principles of justice common to all civilized societies?

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BRO. F. R. RADICE said:—

I also would like to thank the authors of this very interesting paper, which analyses the reason why the Craft came to abandon one of its most important Ancient landmarks. I think that we can all agree that the responsibility does not rest on Anderson alone.

Although this Charge eventually met with acquiescence, I doubt whether this acquiescence was as general as the authors appear to think. There is no doubt that among thinking men and the government circles of the time Toleration was the order of the day and "Reason" seems to dominate. Yet it is easy

to exaggerate this view. In 1722 Queen Anne had been dead 8 years only, and anyone acquainted with that reign cannot fail to remember Dr. Sacheverell and the famous affair in which he figured which led to the overthrow of a powerful government and party. The cry of the "Church in danger" was feared by all governments, and though the terror inspired by that bogey waned with the passing of years, it was still powerful in 1722. We may remember that years later, when Walpole was asked when he would repeal the laws against the Dissenters, which for years he had rendered nugatory by administrative action, he replied "Never", knowing well the dangers of that course. The worship of "Reason" was by no means universal, and there is evidence that, as Bro. Heron Lepper has just stated, there were many Freemasons who objected to the change.

Clearly the Freemasons who were the authors of that change belonged to that party which, tired of the religious disputes of the previous century and fearing a repetition of the turmoil they caused, did their best to avoid stirring men's passions and to let religious enthusiasm die down until it attained reasonable bounds. They must have been followers of the philosophy of the time, and we may note in Anderson's First Charge some of the philosophic jargon current in that period.

It may not be unreasonable to speculate whether this change was not introduced, partly at any rate, in order to attract new members from those social classes to whom the Speculative Freemasons of the time looked to recruit their ranks. It is possible that even then there were Brethren already enrolled in their ranks who could not wholly subscribe to the Ancient Charges; and to ease their consciences and to open the doors as widely as possible to new entrants the religious qualifications were whittied down to the lowest common denominator.

The decision once taken and challenged, a philosophical explanation had to be found. Just as the political philosophers, when challenged on the point of the Divine right of kings, had to invent the Social Contract and imagine a fictitious "State of Nature". The idea of a "State of nature" and "natural man" naturally led to that of a "natural religion". I understand, however, that this theory, as propounded by Bishop Butler in his *Analogy of Religion*, envisaged a universe set in motion by a Higher Power, which then, however, let it function according to its laws, without further interference from Itself. This had to be adapted to the needs of Anderson and his colleagues, and one of the most interesting parts of the paper is the authors' explanation of what "Natural" religion meant to the masonic innovators and how they used the concept to justify the course they pursued.

To trace the growth and history of thought is an extremely difficult task, and I wish to thank the authors warmly on the manner in which they have performed it.

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Bro. H. H. HALLETT writes:—

I have read the paper, *Freemasonry and the Idea of Natural Religion*, with very great interest. The authors have dealt with a difficult subject, but the evidence they have brought forward will, I think, modify whatever views Brethren generally may have held after perusing various copies of the Ancient Charges. It seems quite clear that Operative Masons were chiefly concerned with the skill displayed in craftsmanship and that the Speculative Masons were especially concerned in preserving harmony within the Lodges.

Grand Lodge formulated our Third Degree, based on the Hiramite element, about 1725, and such an innovation would never have gained immediate acceptance had not this element been embodied in our Masonic lore, so Anderson and the Committee "of 14 learned brothers", when they drafted our First Charge, would never have gained for it an equally ready acceptance had it not

been a fundamental part of Masonry in the past, so I think that the authors are right in their assumption that "Natural Religion was regarded as the Religion of Masons not only in 1722 but at all times." It would seem that this Committee decided to discard certain accretions which had been introduced when copies had been made of various Ancient Charges, and to revert to one of the old landmarks. Toleration always seems to have been the great watchword in the past, and brethren were left to supplement the fundamentals of masonry according to their own individual inclinations. I heartily congratulate the authors on their very interesting paper and for the lucid manner in which they have treated the subject.

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Bro. H. C. BOOTH said:—

As an old member of the Correspondence Circle and one of your local secretaries for some years, I should like to make a few remarks.

I have listened with interest to this paper by Bro. Knoop and Mr. G. P. Jones, and my only regret is that Bro. Knoop was unable to be present, due to ill health, to read it personally, as I have enjoyed so many of his former papers, which have always been so interesting.

The part which especially attracts me is the relation of the Charge "Concerning God and Religion" and what the authors term "Natural Religion". I should prefer to call it "The Universal Religion", as we find the theme of its teaching in many of the old books of the East, particularly the Bhagavad-Gita. It is also expressed in the saying attributed to Hermes Trismegistos, "If that which thou seekest, thou findest not within thee, thou wilt never find it without thee". Again it was expressed by the old Philosophers of Greece by "Know thyself".

This teaching was further expounded by the Great Master of nearly 2,000 years ago, whose instruction we quote in our Craft Ceremony when we say, "Ask and it shall be given you, Seek and ye shall find, Knock and it shall be opened unto you", and which is extended by the saying found on the back of a piece of papyrus discovered in the midden heaps of Oxyrhynchus, "Jesus saith: "Let him who seeks not cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished; astonished he shall reach the Kingdom, and having reached the Kingdom he shall rest".

This esoteric teaching has been entrusted to Masonry; we find it in the ascent of the winding staircase to the Middle Chamber, and what was therein. Again throughout the 3rd degree, and finally it culminates in the R.A.; where unfortunately it is more obscured, as, for instance, we have only two descents instead of the original three. The Scottish ceremony of to-day has three, but not quite in the original form.

On the question of "Deism or Christianity", both these terms require qualification.

A Deism certainly, but with esoteric revealed religion, and not as the dictionary defines this term.

Christianity. The pure teaching of the Great Master, and not man-made Christianity.

Then you will see that both are essential, otherwise how can you fulfil the instruction of the Master as to where and how you should pray? (*Matthew*, chap. vi, verse 6.)

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Bro. H. E. ELLIOTT said:—

I want to do little more than express my disappointment that the author of this paper, a distinguished teacher and worker in the city from which I come, could not be here in person to deliver the paper to-day. We must all hope that his health will take an early and definite turn for the better, and

that ere long he will be able to rejoin these interesting assemblies to whose *Transactions* he contributes so generously.

I am passing through a Senior Warden's chair, a stage at which many Masons, I believe, give maximum attention and thought to our beloved ritual. The paper to which I have listened to-day has done something to reconcile me to what may be called the religious policy of Freemasonry as we know it in this country. Undoubtedly our ritual owes something of its richness and sonority to the influence of the majestic liturgy of the Church of England. Some of us at times feel that the principles of morality expounded in Freemasonry might well be more closely adjusted to Christian teaching. It is to me delightful to come upon a direct transcription, as we sometimes do, from the Anglican liturgy, as in the prayer, taken direct from the Communion Service, with which one of our ceremonies commences—

“Almighty God, unto Whom all hearts be open, all desires known,  
and from Whom no secrets are hid, cleanse the thoughts of our  
hearts . . .”

Nevertheless I am satisfied that only on the basis of “natural” religion—a greatest common denominator, as it were—is it possible for Freemasonry to be universally spread over the earth's surface, and any gain from Christianising the ritual would be offset by defections and dissensions. Unhappily, the more closely we define and dogmatise the principles of religion, the more do we provoke the forces of discord which would destroy the peace, love, and harmony on which the Brotherhood is founded.

The author appeals to the philosophy of John Locke, whose principle of tolerance had its limits, as, for instance, the exclusion of the Roman Catholics owing to their allegiance to a foreign authority, and the exclusion of atheists as men for whom the sanctity of an oath could not exist. These considerations must have contributed to the framing of the picturesque phrase in the Emulation version of the presentation of W.T. in the second degree . . . “not to be an enthusiast, persecutor, or slanderer of religion . . .”, the first epithet a warning against zealotry and intolerance in religion, the last against total want of religious belief, and the middle term might well, on occasion, be appropriated to extremists on either hand.

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Bro. KNOOP, in reply, writes:—

On behalf of my colleague and myself I have to thank the various Brethren for their comments. As the paper had been printed and circulated as a pamphlet before the day of the actual meeting, we reprint it here without modification of any kind. I should add, however, that when we speak of Anderson being “confirmed” and ordained in the Presbyterian Church, we use the expression “confirmed” somewhat loosely to imply, not an ecclesiastical rite of laying on of hands by a bishop, but admission to full membership after a period of instruction. As a detailed reply might easily transform an historical study of Anderson's First Charge, as formulated in 1723, into a discussion of present-day religious or political problems, I propose in general to allow the comments to appear without any observations on my part. There is, however, one small point, not connected with religion or politics, on which an observation may be made. I feel that I must record my disagreement with a remark of Bro. Hallett's, viz., “Grand Lodge formulated our Third Degree, based on the Hiramite element, about 1725”. I regard that Degree as the result of a slow evolution, and not of a sudden revolution. Consequently, in my opinion, neither Grand Lodge, or any one or two individuals, can be regarded as responsible for its formulation; nor can its origin be dated, even approximately.

FRIDAY, 7th MAY, 1943.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. *W'g.-Cm'dr.* W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W.*, Sussex, *W.M.*; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., P.A.G.R., I.P.M.*; Fred. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, *S.W.*; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M.*, *Treas.*; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, *P.G.S.B., Sec.*; F. R. Radice, *I.G.*; Wallace E. Heaton, *P.A.G.D.C.*; and H. Hiram Hallett, *P.G.St.B.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. H. Chown, *P.A.G.St.B.*; A. G. Harper, *P.G.St.B.*; S. H. Love; C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D.*; J. O. Dewey; A. E. Evans; L. G. Wearing; J. W. M. Hawes; R. Card, *P.G.St.B.*; F. C. Ruddle; J. W. Hamilton-Jones; A. F. Hatten; G. Jack; H. Bladon, *P.G.D.*; C. D. Melbourne, *P.A.G.R.*; H. P. Healy; *Rev.* G. F. Irwin, *D.D.*, *P.G.Ch.*; H. E. Elliott; W. Smalley; A. F. Cross; M. Goldberg; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. B. Wilson, *P.G.D.*; E. V. Kayley; T. H. Carter, *P.G.St.B.*; A. W. Swan; J. J. Cooper; F. L. Edwards; H. A. Dowler; S. H. Muffett; F. W. Harris; S. J. Bradford, *P.G.St.B.*

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, *P.G.D.*, *Pr.G.M.*, Bristol, *P.M.*; R. H. Baxter, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*, Chap.; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*; W. J. Williams, *P.M.*; D. Flather, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; D. Knoop, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; F. W. Golby, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; S. J. Fenton, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Warwicks.*, *P.M.*; *Lt.-Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; B. Ivanoff, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *Pr.G.Sec.*, Armagh; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W.*, Derby; H. C. Bristowe, *M.D.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.W.*; G. Y. Johnson, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.D.*; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; and G. S. Knocker, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*

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One District Grand Lodge, one Lodge of Instruction and Sixteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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

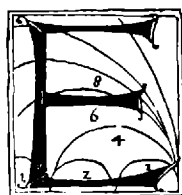
Bros. F. Lace, W. Cooper Bailey, John Wm. Thompson, and Geo. Tryon, Past Grand Deacons; *Rev.* W. E. Wibby, Past Assistant Grand Chaplain; H. C. Booth, A. W. Rayner, S. W. Redclift and Guy D. Robinson, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; John A. Blatchford, S. J. Bradford, A. E. Madgwick, and A. E. Collins Nice, Past Grand Standard Bearers; J. D. K. Beardmore, W. H. E. Davies, and C. Littler Smith, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearers.

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Bro. C. D. Rotch read the following paper:—

## THOMAS DUNCKERLEY AND THE LODGE OF FRIENDSHIP.

BY BRO. C. D. ROTCH.



EARLY in 1767 Thomas Dunckerley and a few influential masons obtained control of Lodge No. 3, which met at the Sun and Punch Bowl Inn in Holborn.

The story of this extremely interesting episode has been related, but not in its entirety, by Bro. Sadler in his *Life of Thomas Dunckerley*,<sup>1</sup> published in 1891. Other masonic historians have commented on it, but only to the effect that Dunckerley wanted to start a fashionable Lodge with a low number of seniority. The object of this paper is an attempt to prove that the control of this old Lodge was only a part, though I may add, a highly important part, in the machinery set up by this group of men to secure the complete re-organization of English Masonry.

Without going so far as to say definitely that masonry was in a decline at this date, it may be that it was stagnant, and there were certainly matters which required immediate attention if the importance of masonry was to be maintained and the future progress and prosperity of the Society assured. For example—several Grand Masters in the past had proved themselves mere figure-heads, and, moreover, figure-heads who were frequently absent when their presence was needed; the only address of masonic headquarters was that of the private house or business premises of the Grand Secretary, whose only remuneration was an annual *ex gratia* payment by the Grand Master of the year; most of the London Lodges met in the undignified and uncomfortable environment of an ale house; and, lastly, the bitter rivalry of the “Antients” and “Moderns” was utterly inimical to the Craft.

This re-organization of Masonry Dunckerley and the reformers effected by the following means:—

- <sup>2</sup>(1) They secured the appointment of a Grand Master, the Duke of Beaufort, who was of high rank, who had wealth and great social position, and who was, moreover, able to give his time and attention to masonry.

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Thomas Dunckerley his Life Labours and Letters* was written in 1891 by Bro. Henry Sadler. It is the standard work on Dunckerley. Quotations from it are marked H.S. In the 50 years that have elapsed since its publication little or no fresh information has come to light. When the Public Records Office papers are once more available for research it is possible that something more definite may be learned about Dunckerley senior.

<sup>2</sup> To these three objects may be added a fourth, the building of a Hall which was to be the Headquarters of the Society of English Freemasons. In October, 1768, the minutes of the Committee of Charity, the equivalent in those days of our present Board of General Purposes, run as follows:—“The Deputy Grand Master [Dillon] informed the Committee that the Duke of Beaufort was resolved to have the Society Incorporated and proposed the Brethren present should take into serious consideration the most effectual means to raise a fund for the expense of building a Hall.” The foundation stone of the new Hall was laid 1st May, 1775, and the building opened 23rd March, 1776.

- (2) They selected Grand Lodge officers, more particularly the semi-permanent ones such as Grand Secretary and Grand Treasurer, who were men of good education and standing.
- (3) They reanimated a Lodge, the Lodge of Friendship No. 3, which was to become the focal point of masonry, in securing the continued appointment of distinguished masons to the principal offices in Grand Lodge.

The venue of this Lodge was to be a complete break-away from the squalid masonic meeting places of the day, the ale houses, for it was to be held at the most fashionable tavern in St. James's Street, "The Thatched House".

The entrance fee of 5 Gns. and subscription of 4 Gns. were on a scale hitherto unknown. Other Lodges soon afterwards followed this lead, among others the Royal No. 313 met there in 1767, St. Albans No. 29 in 1773, and Nine Muses No. 235 in 1777. The comfort, dignity and accessibility of such headquarters were additional attractions for men of good position to interest themselves in Masonry. They may also have intended to bring about a union between the Antients and Moderns and end the highly un-masonic rivalry between the two bodies. If this was so we have no evidence to support it, and we must admit that in this respect the Reformers failed.

Each of these reforms will be dealt with in due course, but first must be set out all we know about Thomas Dunckerley.

Thomas Dunckerley was born on October 23rd, 1724. He was reputed to be the natural son of George Augustus, Prince of Wales, afterwards George II. He served in the Navy from 1734 until he retired in 1764; and he served Freemasonry with great distinction from 1754 until his death in 1795.

Most of our knowledge of his romantic birth is derived from three articles in the public Press. The first of these is from the *Freemason's Magazine*, October, 1793, entitled "Sketch of the Life of Thomas Dunckerley, Esq., P.G.M. (Essex)". It was written by Bro. White, Provincial Junior Grand Warden of Essex, and, as Dunckerley was at that date Provincial Grand Master of that County, we may reasonably infer that it was approved of by him. For the most part it is an eulogy of his many sterling qualities, but gives the following account of his parentage:—

"In the year 1760 upon Mr. Dunckerley's return from the siege of Quebec, an event happened which could not but fill him with astonishment; as it placed him in a new and most extraordinary point of view.—A Lady, receiving the Sacrament on her death-bed, made a declaration in all the awful solemnity of the occasion, by which it appeared that Mr. Dunckerley owed his birth to the first Personage in the Kingdom, and Nature was determined that it never should be questioned, for those who recollect the high Personage alluded to, will require no further proof when they see the subject of these Memoirs; but as this is a matter of much delicacy our readers must excuse us from entering into a further particulars and permit us to draw a veil over this part of the life we propose to record, which, were we at liberty to illustrate, would prove a most interesting part of the history."

Of his early days and service in the Navy the article gives the following account:—

"Honestas et Fortitudo was a motto he took at ten years of age, when a thirst for glory and a desire to engage in the bustle of the world induced him to leave school abruptly and enter the Royal Navy, where during 26 years constant service, he had the honour and satisfaction to obtain the commendations and friendship of the

following gallant commanders under whom he served, Admirals Sir John Norris,<sup>1</sup> Matthews<sup>2</sup> and Martin,<sup>3</sup> Captains Cornish,<sup>4</sup> Russell,<sup>5</sup> Berkeley,<sup>6</sup> Coates,<sup>7</sup> Jekyll,<sup>8</sup> Legge,<sup>9</sup> Marshall,<sup>10</sup> Byron,<sup>11</sup> Swanton,<sup>12</sup> Peyton<sup>13</sup> and Marlow,<sup>14</sup> but having no parliamentary interest, nor any friend in power that he then knew of, to assist him, his own modest merit was insufficient to procure him a commission".

It is difficult to understand why the distinguished and influential men, with whom Dunckerley was acquainted long before his retirement, did not procure him a commission. His meritorious service afloat must surely have merited promotion to commissioned rank. "Out of sight out of mind" is the only explanation I can offer.

The following list of his influential friends and patrons is given by Bro. White. It is valuable as it gives the clue to some of the names mentioned in Dunckerley's Autobiography, referred to presently.

"In 1766 he was befriended by Lord William Gordon, Captain Charles Meadows (now Mr. Pierpoint), and Captain Edward Meadows of the Royal Navy. In 1767 by the Dukes of Beaufort and Buccleugh, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Harcourt,\* Lord Valentia,<sup>15</sup> Sir Edward Walpole,\* Sir Edward Hawke and Mr. Worsley.\* In 1768 by the Duke of Grafton,<sup>16</sup> the Marquis of Granby\* and Lord Townshend\* and afterwards by Lord Bruce<sup>17</sup> (now Earl of Aylesbury), Lord North,<sup>18</sup> Mr. Robinson, Mr. Brummel, Mr. Richard Burke, Mr. Blackburn a merchant in the city and Mr. Heseltine our worthy Grand Treasurer; and though last not least by General Hotham and and Colonel Hulse, to whom he expresses himself highly obliged by their kindness and personal attention."

The same article refers to his marriage.

"He married early in life being now in the 69th year of his age, nearly forty nine of which have been spent in wedlock; his

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Sir John Norris. C. in C. Downs, 1733-34. Admiral of the Fleet, 1739. H.M.S. *Namur* was his flagship, 1739-1740.

<sup>2</sup> Admiral Sir Thomas Matthews. C. in C. as Vice of the Red Mediterranean, 1741-42.

<sup>3</sup> Admiral William Martin. Mediterranean, 1745. North Sea, 1746-47.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Cornish. Capt. H.M.S. *Namur*, 1741-42. Vice-Admiral of Red, 1759.

<sup>5</sup> John Russell. Capt. H.M.S. *Namur*, 1742. d. 1743.

<sup>6</sup> George Berkeley. Capt. H.M.S. *Namur*, 1744.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Cotes. Capt. H.M.S. *Edinburgh*, 1744-47. Dunckerley was school-master on this ship from 1744-46.

<sup>8</sup> Edward Jekyll. Capt. H.M.S. *Fortune*, 1746-47. Dunckerley's first appointment as gunner, he served in this ship until 1747.

<sup>9</sup> Hon. Edward Legge. Capt. H.M.S. *Pluto*, 1746-47.

<sup>10</sup> Samuel Marshall. Capt. H.M.S. *Namur*, 1747-49. Capt. H.M.S. *Tyger*, 1753-54. Dunckerley was gunner on the latter ship.

<sup>11</sup> Hon. J. Byron. Capt. H.M.S. *Vanguard*, 1753-57.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Swanton. Capt. H.M.S. *Vanguard*, 1757-63. Dunckerley, gunner and schoolmaster.

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Peyton. Capt. H.M.S. *Prince*, 1758-62. Dunckerley, gunner, 1761-63.

<sup>14</sup> Benjamin Marlow. Capt. H.M.S. *Prince*, 1762-63.

Dunckerley's ships in order of his service were: H.M.S. *Edinburgh*, *Fortune*, *Crown*, *Nonsuch*, *Tyger*, *Eagle*, *Vanguard* and *Prince*. His letters to Lord Chesterfield were written from H.M.S. *Crown*, Capt. John Coburn.

Those marked \* are mentioned later.

<sup>15</sup> Arthur Annesley, 8th Lord Valentia, b. 1744, cr. Earl of Mountnorris, 1793. W.M. Somerset House Lodge, 1804-1812.

<sup>16</sup> Augustus Henry, 3rd Duke of Grafton, b. 1735. A Lord of the Bedchamber to Frederick Prince of Wales, 1756-58. 1st Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister, 1766-1770. K.G., 1769. d. 1811.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas Bruce, in 1767 Brudenell Bruce, Baron Bruce of Tottenham, Wilts., cr. Earl of Ailesbury, 1776. Lord of the Bedchamber to George III. B. 1739, d. 1814.

<sup>18</sup> Frederick Lord North, b. 1732, succeeded as 4th Earl of Guildford 1790. P.C. and Joint Paymaster-General 1766. Chancellor of the Exchequer 1767. 1st Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister 1770-1782. K.G. 1772. d. 1792.

lady who is in every way worthy of such a valuable husband, is some few years older than he is and enjoys a good share of health and spirits."

We have to thank Bro. White for this the only information we have about Mrs. Dunckerley.

The *second article* in his obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1795, p. 973.

"At Portsmouth, in his 71st year, Thomas Dunckerley Esqr. Provincial Grand Master of Masonry and pretty generally supposed to have been a natural son of George II."

On page 1052 of the next monthly part, under the heading of "Additions to, and Corrections in, former obituaries", is the following:—

"The late Mr. Dunckerley was the son of a servant maid in the family of Sir Robert Walpole, at Houghton, whence his father married her, and got the place of porter at Somerset House.

His mother died when he was very young, and his grandmother took care of him till he was put apprentice to a barber. From this place he ran away, and got on board the ship of Sir John Norris, who was then going abroad, Sir Edward Walpole, informed of this circumstance, wrote to Sir John (we do not know whether he had been knighted at that time), requesting that the boy might have such instruction given him as the ship would afford. He seems to have continued in the sea service, as the next we have heard of him was his being at the siege of Quebec by Wolfe, where he behaved so well as to have had a recommendation to fill some employment in the Naval Academy at Portsmouth, which he did with credit. About twenty years ago he availed himself of the remarkable likeness he bore to the Royal Family, to get it represented to his Majesty that the late King was in truth his father, and that he owed his existence to a visit which that King, when Prince, had paid to Houghton, and he ventured to refer to Sir Edward Walpole for his knowledge of the circumstances. His Majesty, ever attentive to charitable application, directed inquiry to be made of Sir Edward. Mr. D. had apprised this gentleman of what he had done; Sir Edward expressed his astonishment that he should refer to him to support such a tale; then for the first time suggested to him who had known him all his life, and then brought forward when his father, mother and grandmother were all dead."

"Sir Edward added that he had at all times been his friend, that he believed him meritorious in the capacity in which he served, but he could never be made an instrument of imposing this story as true. He, however, got a pension and apartments at Hampton Court, and was afterwards entered at some inn of court, and called to the bar, but not succeeding, soon quitted that profession."

The writer of this article, in what was a magazine which recorded matters of social interest, must have obtained his material from a number of rumours of Dunckerley's parentage which would have been current for many years before his death. It is pure journalism and some of it is certainly inaccurate.

"Son of a servant maid in the family of Sir Robert Walpole at Houghton". The germ of truth is here; I will deal with this presently.

"His mother died when young" is untrue; she died in 1760. "Got on board the ship of Sir John Norris" is probably true. Bro. Sadler, who searched the Admiralty records thoroughly for Dunckerley's Naval service, says

that Sir John Norris sailed in command of a fleet for the Mediterranean in May, 1735, when Dunckerley was 10½ years of age. He also states that he could find no record of his name in the ship lists of that fleet because owing to his extreme youth it is probable that he was a supernumerary and only drew rations.

"The Naval Academy employment" statement is also untrue.

The remarks alleged to have been made by Sir Edward Walpole, to whom is not stated, must be dismissed as unworthy of credence. Sir Edward died in 1784. Why the writer should have made a vicious attack on the probity of a man so universally respected as Dunckerley is hard to understand.

An earlier mention of his birth is from *York Courant*, Aug. 8th, 1769.

"London Aug. 3. While his R.H. the D[uke] of C[umberland] was at Portsmouth he was visited by another natural relation of his, no less a Person than the Son of his late M(ajesty). The Duke received him not only with Politeness but with every possible Mark of Respect and Affection. The story of this Gentleman's birth had been unknown for many years until the Beginning of the present Reign, when to the honour of a great personage, as soon as he was convinced of its authenticity, he settled an annuity on him of £500."

*History of Lodge of Harmony* No. 255, by Bro. James Johnstone.

The third article to which I have referred is the following, which I quote in full. It is from the *Freemason's Magazine*, Feb., 1796:—

"Further Particulars Of The Late THOMAS DUNCKERLEY, ESQ. Communicated In His Own Hand-Writing By His Executors Which Fully Contradict The Many Idle Stories That Have Been In Circulation Respecting Him.

"Jan. 9, 1760, soon after my return from the siege of Quebec, I received an account of my mother's death<sup>1</sup>; and having obtained permission from my captain to be absent from duty, I went to London and attended her funeral. Among the very few that I invited to this ceremony was Mrs. Pinkney,<sup>2</sup> who had been many years a neighbour to my mother in Somerset House.<sup>3</sup> On our return from the burial she desired I would call on her the next day (and not bring my wife with me) having something of consequence to tell me. I waited on her accordingly; and the following is the substance of what she related to me, as I took it in writing:—

"Mary Dunckerley being dangerously ill with the gout in her stomach (Jan. 2, 1760), and believing it will be her death, is desirous,

<sup>1</sup> Mary Dunckerley received an annual bounty from the Privy Purse of £20, payable at Christmas from 1735-1757. (P.P. Records.) She was interred in the burial ground of the Chapel Royal of the Savoy on 11th January, 1766. No monument to her or tombstone is extant.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Pinkney was appointed under porter and lamplighter at Somerset House in February, 1716/17. He died in 1723. Several persons of this name held minor Court appointments at this period. Anne Pinkney was probably his widow. She was buried in the Chapel Royal of the Savoy 15th April, 1761. It was not at all unusual for the widows of Court employees to be allowed to continue the use of the apartments they occupied during their husbands' lifetime.

<sup>3</sup> Somerset House was part of the jointure of the Consorts of the Kings of England. Henrietta, widow of Charles I, lived there for some years, and Catherine of Braganza, widow of Charles II, resided there until she left for Portugal in 1692, never to return. At about this date the building came to be used as a residence for minor Court officials as well as a Royal almshouse for their widows and other recipients of Royal bounty. It remained a Royal jointure until 1775, when George III exchanged it for Buckingham House. It was pulled down in that year, and the present building, designed by Sir William Chambers, was erected on the site. Thomas Dunckerley at about that time was given in lieu rooms at Hampton Court, according to Law, *History of Hampton Court*, in suite 30, Clerk of the Spiceries Lodgings.

at the request of her friend, Mrs. Pinkney, that the following account may be made known to her son in the most secret manner, and to none but him.

"At the latter end of November, 1723, Mr. Dunckerley went to Chatsworth, in Derbyshire, on some business for the Duke of Devonshire,<sup>1</sup> and did not return till the May following. At Christmas I went to see Mrs. Meekin<sup>2</sup> at Lady Ranelagh's.<sup>3</sup> Mr. L[umly]<sup>4</sup> happened to come there, and paid me the greatest respect; and hinted that I stood in my own light, or I might be the happiest woman in England. I knew his meaning, but made no reply, and went back to Somerset House the next day. A fortnight after, I had an invitation to Lady Ranelagh's and her coach was sent for me. I was surprised to find Mr. L——y there again. He handed me from the coach to the parlour; where to my future unhappiness, I found the Prince of Wales,<sup>5</sup> whom I had too well known before my unhappy marriage. At his request (for I could deny him nothing) I stayed several days, during which time he made me five visits, and on Candlemas day I went home.

"Soon after I found myself sick and breeding, and was resolved to make an end of my life. I was taken very ill; Lady Stanley<sup>6</sup> came to see me; but I could not let her know my disorder. Mrs. Meeking came to see me; and I told her the consequence of what had happened. The next day she came again, and brought me bank bills for £50 inclosed in a cover from Mr. Lumley acquainting me that it was by the Prince's command. She said Lady Ranelagh was coming to see me; and in less than an hour her ladyship came; they advised me to go in the country, and said a house was taken for me at Richmond; but I was obstinate, and said I would not go out of the house until I was brought to bed. I desired that they would never let the Prince of Wales or Mr. L[umley] know that I was with child; and I never found they did. Dr. Mead attended me. He ordered me to be bled, and in two days I could sit up.

"Mr. Dunckerley came from Chatsworth in May, and seemed not displeased to find me with child. I disdained to deceive him; and told him what had happened. He commended my conduct with so much joy, that I could not help despising his meanness; and his barbarous behaviour to me in the last month of my time was what

<sup>1</sup> Second Duke of Devonshire, b. 1673, d. 1729. Capt. Yeoman of the Guard, 1702-07. Lord Steward of the Household, 1707-10, from 1714-16 and from 1725-1729.

<sup>2</sup> John Meakins succeeded Adam Dunckerley as Porter of the main gate at Somerset House in 1728. He was first employed there as Night Porter and Lamplighter in 1715. He died in 1734.

<sup>3</sup> Margaret Baroness Stawell, Lady Ranelagh, was the daughter of James, 3rd Earl of Salisbury. She married the Earl of Ranelagh, who died in 1711, when the Earldom became extinct.

"If his beautiful widow had the wherewithal to live comfortably after, that was the most." (Earl of Ailesbury's Memoirs.) She may have augmented her moderate resources by rendering this kind of service to the Prince of Wales and others.

<sup>4</sup> The Hon. Charles Lumley, a brother of the Earl of Scarborough, in 1727 was Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales. He died in 1728 and was succeeded in this appointment by his brother John. He is shown as a member of the Horn Lodge in the G.L. Minute list of 1723.

<sup>5</sup> George Augustus, Prince of Wales, b. 1683. Came to England in 1714, declared Prince of Wales Sept. 22nd, 1714.

<sup>6</sup> Anne, d. of Bernard Granville, of Stowe, Cornwall, was the wife of Sir John Stanley, of Grangegorman, Co. Dublin. He was secretary to a succession of Lords Chamberlain from 1689-99 and from 1700-1714. He lived in North End Road, Fulham. Lady Stanley was therefore a neighbour of Lady Ranelagh.

I always resented, when he threw a cat in my face, and swore that he would mark the bastard. Our separation soon followed after my delivery; and he kept the secret on his own account; for he had two places and considerable advantages as the price of my folly.

"My son might have been known to his royal father, and I might have lived in as elegant a manner as Mrs. H.<sup>1</sup> or Miss B; but my dear mother reclaimed me from so criminal a passion; and dread of public shame prevented my making it known.

"This is what Mrs. Pinkney assured me was my mother's declaration on her death bed; for she departed this life five days after. She also told me that my grandmother Bolnest,<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Cannon<sup>3</sup> a midwife, and herself, were present at my birth, Oct. 23, 1724; and that my mother then declared the Prince of Wales was my father; and that my grandmother and mother requested it might be kept a secret.

"Mrs. Pinkney also informed me that my mother was a physician's daughter, and lived with Mrs. W[alpole]<sup>4</sup> when the Prince of Wales debauched her; but that Mrs. W. discovered what had happened, and had her married to Mr. Dunckerley, who was then attending the Duke of Devonshire, on a visit to Sir R.W.<sup>5</sup> at Houghton.

"This information gave me great surprise and much uneasiness, and as I was obliged to return immediately to my duty on board the *Vanguard*, I made it known to no person at that time but Captain Swanton.<sup>6</sup> He said that those who did not know me would look on it to be nothing more than a gossip's story.

"We were then bound a second time to Quebec, and Captain Swanton did promise me that on our return to England he would endeavour to get me introduced to the King, and that he would give me a character; but, when we came back to England, the King was dead.

"I had flattered myself that my case would be laid before the King, and that I should have the honour and happiness to be presented to my royal master and father; and that his Majesty, on recollecting the several circumstances, would have granted me an appointment equal to my birth; but, by the demise of my most gracious sovereign, my expectations were frustrated, and all my hopes subsided.

"In January, 1761, I waited on Sir E.W. and asked his opinion if I was like the late King? But, as he was pleased to say that he

<sup>1</sup> Probably Mrs. Howard, afterwards Lady Suffolk, and the beautiful Mary Bellenden, maids of honour to the Princess of Wales. (H.S.)

<sup>2</sup> Bro. Sadler spells this name Boldness; in the article he quotes it reads Bolness.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Cannon, midwife to the Royal family. Died 11th December, 1754. (H.S.)

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Walpole, wife of Robert Walpole of Houghton.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Robert Walpole, b. 1676, d. 1745, was Prime Minister, 1st Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer 1715-17, and again held these offices 1721-42. He was created Earl of Orford 1742. He was Mr. Walpole until 1725, when he was made K.B.

<sup>6</sup> Captain Robert Swanton, Commodore in the Fleet that sailed to West Indies in 1761, where he served with distinction under Admiral Rodney. In 1762, while serving in the same fleet, he was promoted Admiral of the Blue. General Murray, who was in command of the operations at Quebec in 1760, when the siege was relieved, wrote to Sir G. Amherst on May 19th, 1760: "I have no words to express the alacrity and bravery of Swanton, Deane, and Schomberg. The honour they have acquired on this occasion should render their names immortal". This refers to the action on 17th May, 1760, when the French Fleet was defeated at Quebec, at which of course, Dunckerley was present.

saw no resemblance, I did not, at that time, acquaint him with my reason for asking such a question.

"Soon after I was appointed by Lord Anson<sup>1</sup> to be gunner<sup>2</sup> of the *Prince* (a ship of second rate); but being too well convinced that the late King was my father, I could not suppress a pride that rose superior to my station in the Navy, yet I remained in that sphere till the war was ended, and, in 1764, I was superannuated by the interest of Lord Digby.<sup>3</sup>

"At the siege of Louisburg (1758), Admiral Boscawen granted me a warrant as teacher of the mathematics on board the *Vanguard*, in addition to my being gunner of the same ship; and, though I discharged both duties for three years to the satisfaction of my captain, yet, when I expected to have received my pay, £130, as teacher of the mathematics on board the *Vanguard*, it could not be obtained, because Lord Anson had not confirmed the warrant which I received from Admiral Boscawen. This unexpected loss, in addition to sickness in my family, and the expense of having my daughter's<sup>4</sup> right leg cut off above the knee (which was occasioned by a fall), brought me in debt £300.

"Mrs. Pinkney being dead, I knew of no person living who could authenticate the story she had told me; and, as I was unskilled in the ways of court, I saw no probability of gaining access to the Royal ear, or his Majesty's belief of what I had been told concerning my birth. Fearful of being arrested, I left the Kingdom in August, 1764; and, having ordered the principal part of my superannuation pension for the support of my wife and family during my absence, I sailed with Captain Ruthven<sup>5</sup> in the *Guadaloupe* for the Mediterranean; and here it was that I had the happiness to be known to Lord William Gordon,<sup>6</sup> who was going to join his regiment at Minorca.

"In June, 1765, I was put on shore at Marseilles, being seized with the scurvy to a violent degree; but by the blessing of God, and the benefit of that fine climate, I was perfectly restored to health in less than six weeks, when I received a letter from Captain Ruthven, inclosing a recommendation of me to his Excellency Colonel T. at Minorca.

"I took an opportunity of sailing for that island, and waited on Colonel Townsend, who received me with great friendship. I remained there six weeks, during which time I was constantly at his

<sup>1</sup> First Lord of the Admiralty 1751-56 and from 1757-62. He died 1762. (C.P.)

<sup>2</sup> The rank of *Gunner* in the Royal Navy in the eighteenth century was an important one. In a large ship there were four *Wardroom* Warrant officers. The Master, who was responsible for navigation, the Chaplain, the Surgeon and the Purser. There were also three Lower Deck Warrant officers. The *Gunner*, who was senior, was responsible for all warlike stores, ammunition and the maintenance of the fighting equipment; the *Boatswain* was responsible for rigging, and the *Carpenter* for spars and hull. In a small ship such as a sloop, in several of which Dunckerley served, there would have been but one commissioned officer, the Captain, and if he were a man who held the rank by influence and not for his professional ability, he would have had to depend largely on the loyalty and efficiency of his warrant officers. [Admiralty information.]

<sup>3</sup> Henry, Baron Digby of Geashill. Lord of the Admiralty 1763-65. M.P., Wilts., 1761-65. (C.P.)

<sup>4</sup> Warrants were issued in 1776 "for the payment of pensions to persons formerly provided with apartments at Somerset House." One of these, T64/291, dated 9th Oct., 1776, nominates Miss Mary Ann Dunkerley to receive a pension of £45.

<sup>5</sup> The Hon. John Ruthven, brother to James, 6th Lord Ruthven, b. 1743, d. 1771. (CP.) He was made a Mason at the Royal Navy Lodge, Deal, in 1762. (H.S.)

<sup>6</sup> A younger brother of Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon. He died in 1823. (H.S.)

Excellency's table; but no employment offered that was in his power to dispose of.

"I had (in the confidence of friendship) acquainted several officers in the army and navy with the account I had received from Mrs. Pinkney, and they were all of opinion I should endeavour to get it represented to some of the Royal Family.

"Some gentlemen of the Lodge of Gibraltar, knowing my distress, sent me £20 to Minorca; and on the same day I received a letter from Mr. Edward M—— at Marseilles, with an order to draw on him for £10. Thus being enabled to undertake a journey through France, I resolved to return to England, and try to get my case laid before the Duke of Cumberland.

"I sailed from Minorca on the first of October, and landed two days after at Toulon, whence I went through Marseilles to Nismes, in Languedoc, to wait on Captain Ruthven and my good friend Mr. M——. Captain R. gave me a letter to Admiral Keppel (then Lord of the Admiralty), requesting his assistance for my obtaining £130 due to me for having taught the mathematics on board the Vanguard, and after staying three days at Nismes I set out for Paris.

"When I entered the capital of France I had only two louis d'ors left, and a small bill which Mr. M. insisted on my taking.

"Soon after I came to Paris I had the honour of an invitation to breakfast with Lord William G[ordon] at l'Hotel Deltragnes. His Lordship knowing how much I was distressed, begged (with the greatest politeness) that I would give him leave to present me with £200, assuring me that he should receive as much pleasure in bestowing it as it was possible for me to enjoy in the possession.

"My surprise at this instant could only be exceeded by my gratitude to this generous young nobleman.

"After staying five days at Paris I went by the route of Lisle to Dunkirk, and thence to Calais, where I arrived on the 5th of November, and was informed (to my great grief and disappointment) that the Duke of Cumberland was dead.

"I embarked the next day for Dover; on the 7th got to London, and had the happiness to discharge £150 of my debt. I removed my family from Plymouth to the apartment in Somerset-House, where my mother had resided near forty years; and at her decease it was continued to me by an order from the late Duke of Devonshire.

"The next year (1766) I was honoured with the notice and friendship of several persons of distinction, who endeavoured to convey the knowledge of my misfortune to the Princess Dowager of Wales and Princess Amelia, but it did not meet with success. In April, 1767, General O[ughton]<sup>1</sup> (who had known me for several years) acquainted Lord H[arcourt] with my situation, and that nobleman, with the assistance of Mr. W[orsley] laid my mother's declaration before the King. His Majesty read it, seemed much concerned, and commanded that an inquiry should be made of my

<sup>1</sup> James Adolphus Oughton, K.B. in 1773; Colonel 55th Foot, Lieutenant-General 1770, died 1780. He was the illegitimate son of Sir Adolphus Oughton of Tachbrook, Co. Warwick. M.P. for Coventry. Created Bt. 1718. He was twice married, but died childless in 1736. *Q.E.C. Baronetage*. Lieutenant-Colonel Oughton was appointed Provincial Grand Master for Minorca in 1749 by Grand Master Lord Byron. He was Grand Master Mason of Scotland 1769-1771. (H.S.) His father's name appears in the list of members of the Horn Lodge in Grand Lodge minute MSS. list, 1723.

Character from Lord C[hesterfield],<sup>1</sup> and Sir E. W. W[alpole],<sup>2</sup> who had known me from infancy. The account they gave of me was so satisfactory to the King, that he was graciously pleased to order me a pension of £100 a year from his Privy Purse, May 7, 1767.

"The next morning I received the following letter from Lord H[arcourt]<sup>3</sup>:—

"Sir,

"I saw General O[ughton] last night, and am happy to find that we have not been unsuccessful in our attempt to serve you, and hope it will be an earnest to something better. My friend Mr. W[orsley]<sup>4</sup> had the happiness to lay your case before a King, possessed of every virtue that can adorn a crown. Don't call on me tomorrow, for I am going to Chatham with the Duke of Gloucester; any other time I shall be happy to see a man possessed of so fair a character, which I value above everything in this life.

"Your friend and humble servant,

"H[arcourt].

"I had also congratulatory letters from the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Viscount Townshend, General Oughton, and many of my friends."

We have but two accounts of Dunckerley's birth to consider, that in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and that in the *Freemasons' Magazine*, both of which I have given in full. They have in common one statement, that Mrs. Dunckerley had an affair with the Prince of Wales at Houghton, and was married to a Mr. Dunckerley. Unfortunately his Christian name is not mentioned. In his own narrative Dunckerley stated that Mrs. Dunckerley had resided at Somerset House for "near forty years"; as she died in January, 1760, she would have probably been married and gone there with Mr. Dunckerley, senior, in 1720 or 1721. No child apparently resulted from this marriage. Thomas Dunckerley was born as the result of the liaison with the Prince of Wales which took place early in 1724 at Ranelagh.

In 1720 the owner of Houghton was Robert Walpole, born 1676, who was plain Mr. Walpole until 1725, when he was made K.B. He married

<sup>1</sup> Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, b. 1694. Author of the Chesterfield letters, written to his illegitimate son; was Lord of the Bedchamber to George, Prince of Wales, from 1715-27, and to him, when Geo. II, from 1727-1730. Geo. II dubbed him "A little gossiping tea-table Scoundrel". He married in 1733 Melusina de Schulenberg, *Suo jure* Countess of Walsingham, the illegitimate daughter of Geo. I, apparently his only child by his favourite mistress, Ermengarde Melusina, *Suo jure* Countess of Kendall. (C.P.) Thomas Dunckerley was therefore natural step-nephew to this lady. As Lord of the Bedchamber to George, Prince of Wales, Chesterfield was probably perfectly aware of his relationship to Dunckerley; he corresponded with him and, when the opportunity occurred, assisted in bringing his case before Geo. III. He died in 1773.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Edward Walpole was the second son of the great Sir Robert Walpole; he was born 1706 and died unmarried in 1784; made K.B. in 1753. His brother Robert was given the office of Auditor of the Exchequer at £7,000 p.a. in 1739, and then relinquished his former office of Clerk of the Pells to his brother Edward. Sir Edward was Secretary to the 3rd Duke of Devonshire when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1768.

<sup>3</sup> Second Viscount Harcourt, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen Consort, 1763-68.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Worsley succeeded to Baronetcy in 1768 on the death of his father, Sir Thomas Worsley. He was M.P. for Newport, I. of W., 1744-84, and of Newtown, I. of W., 1790-1802. P.C. and Governor of that Island 1780. Controller of the Royal Household. Gibbon wrote of him, "He speaks in short sentences, quotes Montaigne, seldom smiles, never laughs, drinks only water." (*Private letters of Gibbon*, ed. by Prothero). Sir Thomas Worsley joined the *Lodge of Friendship* on 23rd December, 1767, the same day on which his intimate friend Gibbon was initiated.

Catherine Shorter<sup>1</sup> in 1700, and was created 1st Earl of Orford in 1742. He was Prime Minister 1715-17 and from 1721-42. His eldest son, Robert, succeeded him as 2nd Earl of Orford in 1744. Robert Walpole, junr., married in 1727, so the Mrs. W. mentioned in Dunckerley's statement was not *his* wife.

Edward Walpole, the second son, was born in 1706 and died unmarried in 1784. Mrs. W. therefore could not have been *his* wife.

We may reasonably infer then that the Mrs. W. referred to was the wife of Robert Walpole, senr.,<sup>2 and 3</sup> and mistress of Houghton. It was an immense house, and it is extremely likely that Miss Mary Bolnest was employed there in some responsible capacity. We can picture her as a good looking and capable young woman who had earned the affection of her mistress. She had already captivated the Prince of Wales and she may also have attracted the roving eye of the master of Houghton himself. Her mistress was taking no chances—she must be married, of course, and removed from the vicinity. This was a problem solved by the arrival of the convenient and acquiescent Mr. Dunckerley, "then attending the Duke of Devonshire on a visit to Sir R. W. at Houghton". This gentleman we have every reason to believe resided at Somerset House, so both objects of Mrs. Walpole were satisfactorily dealt with—marriage and removal.

This was a licentious age. *The Beggar's Opera* gives us a glimpse of contemporary morality. A young girl getting into trouble was nothing of note; had she been employed in a menial capacity, she would have been discharged, and there would have been an end of the matter.

To identify the husband is not easy. The Privy Purse Records mention three Dunckerley's, Thomas, Adam and Richard, spelt variously—Donkly, Dunkley and Dunkerley. The first Thomas Dunckerley was "Keeper of the Closet"—the equivalent to-day of Verger of Somerset House Chapel. He held also the appointment "Marshall of the Hall", the duty of which officer was to preserve order on occasions when the King ate in public.

He died in 1688, so he must be dismissed as the possible father. Adam Dunkerley was a Yeoman of the Guard, 1694-1718, and first Porter of the gate in 1720. John Meakins succeeded "A. Dunkerley deceased" as Porter of the main gate on 11th January, 1728. Mary Dunckerley is mentioned in the records of the Privy Purse office as having received a bounty of £20 per annum, payable at Christmas from 1735-1757. The latter date must not be considered as a final one; it was the date of the last record of entry. If the former date was correct one might suppose that that was the date of the death of her husband, but Adam died before 11th January, 1728. Adam Dunckerley in 1720 or 1721 could not have been a young man. As Yeoman of the Guard in 1694, he would then have been about 20 years of age, so that in 1720 he would have been about 50. However, he must be regarded as a possible but not probable husband of Mary Dunckerley.

<sup>1</sup> Lady Montague speaks of her "As an empty coquettish-affected woman, anything rather than correct in her own conduct or spotless in her fame". She died 1757. (C.P.)

<sup>2</sup> "From Norfolk they write that Sir Robert Walpole keeps open house at Houghton. So numerous are his attendants and dependants that it is thought that his household expenses cannot be less than £1,500 a week". *Craftsman*, of Nov. 7th, 1730. An opposition paper, and too much credence must not be placed on any statement to the detriment of Walpole's character.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Robert Walpole when in office "had usually two annual meetings at Houghton. The one in the Spring, to which were invited only the most select friends, and the leading members of the Cabinet, continued about three weeks. The second was in autumn, towards the commencement of the shooting season. It continued six weeks or two months, and was called the Congress. At this time Houghton was filled with company from all parts. He kept a public table, to which all gentlemen in the county found a ready admission. The expenses of these meetings have been computed at £3,000 a year." *Coxe's Life of Walpole* (1816), vol. iv, p. 370. This is probably a saner estimate of the expenditure, though Coxe wrote as a Whig and apologist for Sir Robert.

Lastly, we come to the third person of that name in the Privy Purse Records—Richard Dunckerley, who was sworn "Page of the Presence" on 15th October, 1691, in succession to John Dawson. Probably at that date he was a lad of 14, which would have made him 43 in 1720. He held the office until 28th September, 1696; the note in the Lord Chamberlain's record reads: "Arnold Walwyn in Dunkley's place, Dunkley surrendered." Until a careful examination of the records of the Lord Chamberlain's office can be made, Richard Dunckerley must for the moment be labelled the most probable nominal father of Thomas Dunckerley.

I think there is some excuse therefore for the statement in the *Gentleman's Magazine* that Dunckerley, senior, "married her and got the place of porter at Somerset House".

Dunckerley's narrative twice mentions the name of the Duke of Devonshire; firstly of his putative father having gone to Chatsworth in Derbyshire on some business for the Duke of Devonshire from November, 1723-May, 1724; and, secondly, when Mrs. W. discovered what had happened to his mother and had her married to Mr. Dunckerley, who was then attending the Duke of Devonshire on a visit to Sir R. W. at Houghton. This we may presume to have been about 1720 or 1721.

The Duke of Devonshire was Lord Steward of the Household from 1707-10 and from 1714-16. Had he required a personal attendant of any kind he would quite conceivably have made his selection from among the minor officials, or servants of the Court; by reason of his position he could readily have allowed him to retain his nominal office, at the same time making use of him in his personal service.

Thomas Dunckerley's own narrative must be regarded as a veracious one. He states for example:—

"In January, 1761, I waited on Sir E. W. and asked his opinion, if I was like the late King? But, as he was pleased to say that he saw no resemblance, I did not at that time acquaint him with my reason for asking such a question."

It was to his disadvantage that he made this frank admission.

As to the "secret" of his birth I venture to doubt whether it was a secret at all. Lady Ranelagh, Lady Stanley and Mr. Charles Lumley were cognisant of the affair, and probably also Lord Chesterfield, Lumley's superior officer, who was Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales. Such a racy story must have been common gossip in Court circles. At his birth Mrs. Bolnest, his grandmother, Mrs. Pinkney and Mrs. Cannon, the Royal midwife, knew all about it; and lastly the nominal father, who threw a cat at his wife and swore he would mark the bastard. Doubtless he acted in a moment of not unnatural exacerbation, but a coarse-grained fellow, such as he appears to have been, would have told the tale in his cups to others.

So we should probably be correct in assuming that the secret was widely known, but not necessarily to Thomas Dunckerley, who was almost continuously at sea on active service from 1734 until his retirement in 1764.

Thomas Dunckerley's Masonic career began at his initiation at the Three Tonns Lodge at Portsmouth on January 10th, 1754<sup>1</sup>; he was also exalted into the Royal Arch<sup>2</sup> in that year. It will be remembered that he was in London in January, 1760, for the purpose of attending his mother's funeral. His ship, *H.M.S. Vanguard*, had been ordered to take in stores and return

<sup>1</sup> For date *vide* list of members of Lodge of Harmony No. 255 at Hampton Court. Dunckerley applied for the Warrant and was first W.M. in 1785. (H.S., p. 125.)

<sup>2</sup> Dunckerley's letter to Sir Benjamin Craven, January 14th, 1792. (H.S., p. 248.)

as soon as possible to Quebec. It is possible that she took in her stores at Deptford, in which case he would have been enabled to make more than one visit to London; in fact, he must have done so, for he obtained from Grand Lodge two concessions; firstly, an itinerant warrant for a Lodge to be held aboard *H.M.S. Vanguard*, and secondly an appointment "to inspect into the state of the Craft whereverso he may go". By virtue of this authority he installed Col. Simon Fraser as Provincial Grand Master of Quebec on June 24th, 1760. Dunckerley must have been well known to the authorities of Grand Lodge, otherwise they would hardly have entrusted a warrant officer with so important a responsibility. It is possible that he had previously been in communication with Spencer, the Grand Secretary, in connection with Freemasonry in the Northern Provinces of America and had impressed him with his capability and personality. His *Light and Truth of Masonry explained*, published by Davy and Law in 1757, may also have been favourably considered.

There was a Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge on 24th January, 1760, when no doubt the necessary formalities were confirmed, the Warrant No. 254 for H.M.S. Vanguard Lodge being dated 16th January, 1760. In 1761 Dunckerley was appointed to *H.M.S. Prince*, and obtained a Warrant No. 279 for a Lodge to be held on that ship, dated May 22nd, 1762. The *Vanguard* meantime had sailed to the West Indies, taking her Warrant with her.

*H.M.S. Vanguard* would have been paid off after the peace in 1763. Dunckerley made good use of the Warrant No. 254, and with it founded the London Lodge on May 1st, 1768, of which he was first W.M. This Lodge is to-day No. 108.

*H.M.S. Prince* was paid off prior to June, 1764, when Dunckerley retired from the service. He was in debt, and took the opportunity of going to sea, nominally as A.B., actually as passenger, with Hon. John Ruthven of *H.M.S. Guadeloupe*, a 6th rater, and took with him on this trip the Warrant of *H.M.S. Prince*, No. 279, the Lodge then becoming the *Guadeloupe Lodge* No. 279.

Dunckerley returned to England in November, 1765, and settled down with his wife and family at Somerset House.

He was at that time a man of 41 years of age in the prime of life, who had served continuously in a highly responsible position for 20 years in various ships, during much of which period the country was at war. His income was £40 a year, which for a married man was a bare subsistence. He wrote a rather pathetic letter to Viscount Townshend<sup>1</sup> on November 20th, 1766 (*A.Q.C.*, xlv, p. 104), from which I extract the following:—

"Permit me to acquaint your Lordship that I waited on Mrs. Poyntz (Lady Spencer's mother), who said she could almost swear I was the late King's son and assured me she would communicate the affair to Lady Suffolk<sup>2</sup> and do all she could to serve me".

He then expresses a desire—

"For employment in any department that is equal to my poor abilities and which would not depress me beneath the character of a gentleman ——— If the salary was small, it would be an addition to my present income £40 per annum".

<sup>1</sup> Viscount Townshend of Rainham, Co. Norfolk, was born in 1723. Cr. Marquess 1787. Was officer in charge of Military operations at the taking of Quebec on the death of Wolfe. Rk. Field Marshal 1795. Lieutenant-General of Ordnance 1753-67. Master-General of Ordnance 1772-83.

<sup>2</sup> Maria Constantia, b. 1743, d. 1767, was the only daughter of Robert, 1st Viscount Hampden. A Lady in Waiting to the Queen.

and he continues with a request,

“to recommend an unfortunate man to the notice of your brother or the Marquess of Granby<sup>1</sup> that I may obtain some little employment either in the Treasury or Ordnance”.

This proves that for a year after his arrival, mid November, 1766, at Somerset House, he had been compelled to exist on a mere pittance. His financial circumstances were not relieved until May 7th, 1767, when he was given a Privy Purse pension of £100 a year by George III.

He had two consolations during this long period of uncertainty; firstly, his unbounded enthusiasm for Masonry, which never flagged during his long and influential masonic career, as is clearly shown in his correspondence with Grand Secretaries, preserved in the Library at Freemason's Hall; secondly, during his naval service he had the good fortune to obtain the friendship of many men of high social rank, in some cases I have but little doubt by reason of his romantic birth, which would have been well known by some of them. Ultimately they did him good service in securing the recognition by the Crown of his birth and a pension. The facts indicated show that he took immediate steps to get into touch again with London Masonry; he was known at Grand Lodge since 1760 or even before that date, and it is probable, from what we know of his subsequent conduct, that he maintained a contact with Samuel Spencer after their first meeting whenever his duties afloat permitted. In a letter dated November 24th, 1786, he thanks William White, the Grand Secretary, for his Past Grand Warden rank, and states: “I have served the Society 21 years as a Grand Officer.” I can account for this only by assuming that Dunckerley's Inspectorship of 1760 was not made official until 1765.

On his return to England at the end of 1760 from his second voyage to Quebec on *H.M.S. Vanguard* he no doubt rendered an account of his Masonic activities as “Inspector”. It will be remembered that he installed Col. Fraser as Provincial Grand Master at Quebec on 24th June, 1760. He transferred the Warrant of the *H.M.S. Prince Lodge* No. 279 to *H.M.S. Guadeloupe* in August, 1764, on sailing, according to his own statement, in that ship. This would have occasioned a previous visit to the Grand Secretary, or at all events some communication with him. He was a member of the *Old Dundee Lodge* No. 18 from January 19th, 1761, until he “declared off” in 1768. This Lodge met at Wapping, which is not far from H.M. Victualling Yard at Deptford, and it is possible that Dunckerley had opportunities of attending this Lodge, when *H.M.S. Prince* was taking in stores on various occasions during this commission. He probably had an opportunity of visiting other Lodges, as no privilege was more greatly enjoyed by the eighteenth century Mason than his “right of visit”. He could attend at any Lodge whether known to members or not, and on proving himself a Mason had the right to be admitted to the meeting. He paid his own shot at the refreshment board, usually 1/-, and so was under an obligation to nobody.

On 6th May, 1734, the *Old King's Arms Lodge* minutes contain the following:—“The consideration of the 2/- to be demanded from visitors on their admission was brought on the carpet and at large considered, on which it appeared that several societies in this Fraternity took great umbrage at this seeming breaking off the communication which ought to exist among Masons”. This seems to show that 1/- was the conventional fee for visitors at this date.

At the end of 1765 there were about 113 “Modern” Lodges and 34 “Antient” Lodges working in the London area. Lodges in London at this period were mostly held in ale-houses and taverns, many of which were situated in the

<sup>1</sup> John Manners, Marquess of Granby, son of the 3rd Duke of Rutland, b. 1720. Commander in Chief Land Forces, 1766-70. Master-General of Ordnance, 1763-1770.

labyrinth of mean streets lying between the river and what we now know as Oxford Street and Holborn. The Lodge rooms would have been small. For example, the Lodge room of the Goose and Gridiron, where No. 1 met, was only 22ft. by 18ft. At some of the coaching inns accommodation may have been better. The refreshments, either in food or drink, would have been on a very humble scale. Ale<sup>1</sup> was usually drunk, but occasionally, when the Lodge became possessed of unwonted funds by reason of two or three "makings", punch was provided. Spirits were cheap, and a citizen in those days could become more or less inebriated by the expenditure of 1/-. Lodge expenditure on refreshment and tobacco was usually confined to a maximum of this sum. In the Old Rules of the *Grand Lodge at York*, 1725 [Gould, ii, 407], number four reads "The Bowl shall be filled at monthly Lodges with Punch once. Ale, Bread, Cheese and Tobacco in common."

The members of these primitive Lodges were to a very great extent of the lower middle-class, small tradesmen, artisans and workmen of all kinds. At that time there was but little amusement for this class after working hours—no theatres, no music halls; and by many of them the decency and decorum of Masonic life and its comradeship and perhaps even its ethics must have been highly appreciated.<sup>2</sup> There were, of course, Lodges where many of the members were educated men. Perhaps the Legal profession held Lodges in the various Inns of Court, but I am certain these were few in number and must be regarded as exceptional. This ale-house Masonry could hardly have made a favourable impression on Dunckerley, who in the Navy must have been accustomed to scrupulous cleanliness. Evil smells too would waft in from the narrow, dirty, ill-kept street, for sanitary arrangements were primitive in the extreme. In Hogarth's masonic picture "Night" an arm is seen at an upper window emptying a certain homely utensil into the street, quite unheeding of the passers by. Sand or sawdust lay on the floor, and there must have been an incessant din from boisterous revellers in the bar or street. Smoking and drinking went on during the actual ceremony, and as the evening drew on the conversation in that rough age would not become more elevating; there would rarely have been present anyone of education or refinement.<sup>3</sup>

The ritual, too, must have been surprising in its variation, each Lodge using any form of words which happened to be known by the master of the evening, who would be entirely indifferent whether it was "Antient" or "Modern". Masonry may definitely be said to have been unfashionable at this period, and to many masons the terms "Antient" and "Modern" would have been meaningless, except as terms of abuse. As to the ritual used we can only conjecture. This much we know, that candidates were usually made and passed on the same evening, and that a third degree was not considered obligatory, though Masters' Lodges, however, were occasionally held for the purpose of conferring it. I suggest that in some cases the ceremony might have been very perfunctory—an obligation, a recital of the charges, and little else.

<sup>1</sup> Besant, in *London in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 298, states that in 1750 of the 7,066 houses in the Parish of Holburn 1,350 were devoted to the sale of wine, beer and spirituous liquors, and that beer then cost 2d. the quart of the brewers and 3d. at the tavern.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that *Grand Stewards Lodge*, from the date of its warrant in 1735, included all the most celebrated masons of the day, because in accordance with privilege No. 2 of June 11, 1735, "all the Grand Officers are for the future to be chosen out of their number." The *Royal Lodge*, No. 313, constituted 1764, is also exceptional. See later and in earlier days the *Old Horn Lodge* and the *University and Bear and Harrow Lodges*.

<sup>3</sup> Limitations of caste were much more apparent than is the case to-day. A Nobleman or man of county family would not readily sit at table and drink with men who were far below him in social rank. Occasionally, however, one of this class either out of curiosity or for some other reason would seek initiation. He would pay the fee for his making and passing, which varied from 13/- to £1.10.0d., and after the ceremony would be seen no more.

The ritual to which Dunckerley was accustomed up to this date was that of the service Lodges, whether held aboard ship or abroad, and this was in the vast majority of cases almost certainly that of the "Antients".

This rite is an elaborate one, more so than those in present use; such as Emulation, Taylors and Stability, which do not vary greatly. I can hardly believe that Dunckerley would have been favourably impressed with London ritual.

If Dunckerley at this time made a critical survey of Grand Lodge, he would hardly have been very impressed either by its dignity or authority. The Grand Secretary alone received any remuneration, and this, by a resolution of Q.C., 24th February, 1735, was limited to 30 Gns. The Grand Masters of this decade were very irregular in their attendance. Lodges occasionally were erased for irregular makings, for not being represented at Quarterly Communications, or for their failure to make an annual contribution to Grand Charity; but this did not worry the recalcitrant ones; they merely shifted their quarters or not, as they felt inclined, and carried on exactly as before. There was but a small number of Grand Lodge officers—The Grand Master, the Deputy Grand Master, Senior and Junior Grand Wardens, Grand Treasurer, Grand Secretary and Grand Sword Bearer, and a few of past rank; it was not until June 24th, 1741, that the Treasurer, Secretary and Sword Bearer were accorded Grand rank.

The Official Visiting of Lodges, of which there were at the end of 1765 about 113 "Moderns" in London, must have been almost non-existent. From 1751 to 1767, when the Lodge No. 3 met at the *Sun and Punch Bowl*, not one Grand Lodge officer visited it.

The spiritual or esoteric light of masonry at this time was not burning brightly; the Lodges must be regarded as a slightly more civilised and organized form of the bar parlour; they drank their fill in comfort and privacy and perhaps appreciated the mystical and ceremonial part of the evening. But we must defend them to this extent—Minutes of the period show that drunkenness in the Lodge was strongly discouraged, and that the Brethren were always ready to assist any member of their own Lodge who fell on evil times.

As to the general charity, administered by the Committee of Charity, the Brethren, I think, were not sufficiently educated or enlightened at this era to appreciate the need to support wholeheartedly this function of the Society. If there were any enthusiastic masons among the Grand Lodge officers, Samuel Spencer, who occupied the position of Grand Secretary from 1757 until his death in 1768, might have informally consulted them in a doubtful case, but most of the practical administration would have been almost entirely in his hands. His private premises were the only headquarters address of Masonry. I can find no record of Dunckerley's appointment as Inspector in 1760, so we do not know whether or not this was a permanent appointment or whether it was given to others. I have mentioned that he states in a letter to the G.S. in 1786 that he had been a Grand Lodge officer for 21 years, so it is possible that when Dunckerley sailed with the Hon. J. Ruthven in the *Guadeloupe* in August, 1764, this nebulous appointment was renewed to enable him to report on Masonry in the Mediterranean. This would agree roughly with the period he mentions.

There were Lodges functioning at various ports in that sea garrisoned by our forces, which would give scope for his masonic activities.

Whether, as I have surmised, Dunckerley visited numerous Lodges after his retirement from the Navy cannot be proved, but it is a definite fact that he made one visit which was subsequently to become of the greatest importance to Dunckerley himself and Masonry in general.

On 8th January, 1766, he visited a Royal Arch Chapter at the *Turk's Head Tavern*, Gerrard Street, Soho.<sup>1</sup> He was introduced by James Galloway,

<sup>1</sup> Dunckerley was exalted at Portsmouth in 1754. His own statement in a letter to Sir Benjamin Craven Sadler, p. 248.

of whom we shall hear later. It happened to be the Election Night and Dunckerley was elected to the "J" Chair, a remarkable honour to be afforded to a member elected only on that night, but this may have been arranged beforehand. Galloway<sup>1</sup> was elected "Z" and Maclean "H". During the year 1766 a group of men of high rank and Masonic importance joined the Chapter—Lord Blayney, the Grand Master of English Masonry, 1764-67, was exalted on June 11th, and James Heseltine<sup>2</sup> on July 2nd, Rowland Berkeley<sup>3</sup> and Samuel Spencer<sup>4</sup> were elected on July 30th, and the Hon. Charles Dillon<sup>5</sup> was exalted on December 24th. Rowland Holt<sup>6</sup> was exalted on February 11th, 1767, and the Duke of Beaufort<sup>7</sup> was proposed for exaltation on March 11th, 1767. All these men presently came to the forefront of Craft Masonry and, with the exception of Spencer, all became members of the *Somerset House Lodge*.

I have little doubt that membership of this Chapter gave Dunckerley the opportunity of bringing his forceful personality and constructive criticism to the notice of the group of men who afterwards co-operated with him, firstly to form the *Somerset House Lodge*, and later, at the beginning of the year 1767, to rejuvenate the *Lodge of Friendship*.

At the next election meeting of the *Turk's Head Chapter* in January, 1767, Lord Blayney was elected Grand "Z" of Royal Arch Masonry and Dunckerley was given the remarkable honour of being elected Deputy Grand First Principal of the Order. The Charter of compact creating Grand Chapter was signed on July 22nd, 1767, by Lord Blayney, Galloway, Maclean, Dunckerley and twenty-four others, including Rowland Holt, Rowland Berkeley and James Heseltine.

I regret that the minutes book of Grand Chapter are not at present available for research, so I have had to rely on Bro. Hughan<sup>8</sup> for most of this information.

If Dunckerley was determined to obtain such masonic status as would enable him to become of influence in the Society, he had to join some Lodge. This he could no doubt easily have done. In point of fact he was a member of the *Old Dundee Lodge* until 1768; but Wapping was not easy of access from Somerset House, nor was it, I think, a Lodge which was of very much importance then, either socially or masonically; indeed, he probably was well aware that few Lodges answering that description existed, and moreover, he would in any case have had to wait some years before attaining to any position in the Lodge he joined. His active and ingenious mind soon grappled with this problem—he would start a new Lodge or revive an old one to meet at Somerset House, and of this body he would be the first Master, select not only his own officers, but also take the leading part in selecting the members who would be invited to join; and he was fortunately in a position to bring into being this desirable Lodge.

Early in 1766 Dunckerley, who, as we know, was in possession of the *H.M.S. Guadeloupe* ex *H.M.S. Prince Warrant* No. 279, revived this Lodge at a private room in Somerset House, where he resided. It is unfortunate that no early minutes of this Lodge are extant, as they would be highly interesting.

<sup>1</sup> James Galloway. Prov.G.M. Cumberland, 1796, and of Hampshire, 1782 and 1786. J.G.W. in 1781. Secretary, Lodge of Friendship, 1767-1802.

<sup>2</sup> James Heseltine, Grand Secretary, 1769-1804. S.G.W., 1785.

<sup>3</sup> Rowland Berkeley, Grand Treasurer, 1766-1785.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Spencer, Grand Secretary, 1757-1768.

<sup>5</sup> Hon. Charles Dillon, S.G.W., 1767. Deputy Grand Master, 1768-74.

<sup>6</sup> Rowland Holt, S.G.W., 1768. Deputy Grand Master, 1775-86.

<sup>7</sup> Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master, 1767-72. In vol. ii, 114, Letter-book, Grand Lodge, a letter from Grand Secretary James Heseltine to John Peter Gogel, P.G.M. of Upper and Lower Rhine of Franceseia, dated 18th January, 1774, "I also assure you that our present G.M. [Lord Petre] is not a member of the Royal Arch, nor was the Duke of Beaufort, our late Grand Master, a member thereof." From this it would appear that Beaufort was elected, but not exalted.

<sup>8</sup> *Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry.* W. J. Hughan.

Returns of names of masons by Lodges were not called for by Grand Lodge until 1768. In that year the *Somerset House Lodge* made a most impressive return of some 70 names shown as *members before 1768*. Among these are mentioned Hon. Charles Dillon, James Galloway, Rowland Holt, Henry Errington, Duke of Beaufort, Duke of Buccleugh, Lord Wenman, Viscount Gormanston, Rowland Berkeley and James Heseltine, and, with the exception of the last two, all of these and many others were founder members of the Lodge of Friendship early in 1767.

We do not know when in 1766 these distinguished men joined the Somerset House Lodge, nor do we know whether any of them were initiated in it.

The Somerset House Lodge minutes are extant only from 1783 to the present day, so even the W.Ms. previous to that date are unknown. I think many of these early members, when the *Lodge of Friendship* was formed, resigned their membership of the Somerset House Lodge, with the exception of Heseltine, who was W.M. from 1783-91 and again in 1793, and Galloway W.M. in 1794. I cannot find any other names in the minutes of the *Somerset House Lodge*. We have the record of a number of them in the list of members given in Vol. iv of the minutes of the *Lodge of Friendship*. Henry Errington "withdrawn" 1768. John Errington "excluded" 1780. Thomas Foley and Thomas Harvey "expelled" 1768. Charles Townley "withdrawn" 1771. John Merrick "excluded" 1767. Duke of Buccleugh "expelled" 1772; and many others had but a brief sojourn. I think many of these were probably personal friends of Charles Dillon, who joined the *Somerset House Lodge* only to oblige him and to act nominally as window-dressing for the "New Plan" which was undoubtedly first mooted in this Lodge. When this New Plan was fairly launched, their enthusiasm, if they had any, quickly evaporated, and, being found useless, they were allowed to vanish away and their arrears of subscription written off. In the early days of the *Somerset House Lodge* I suggest that it was merely a convenient meeting place for Dunckerley and his active associates. These were probably few, and it is unlikely that furniture or refreshments were available for any considerable number of members.

It is remarkable that Lord Blayney did not become a member, either of the *Somerset House Lodge* or the *Lodge of Friendship*. We have seen that by joining the *Turk's Head* Royal Arch Chapter and accepting the office of "Z" when Dunckerley was "J" he must have come into close personal contact with Dunckerley. I can offer two explanations—firstly, he was an "Antient" in all his convictions, as is shown later in the account of his visit to the Old Dundee Lodge, and would not have enjoyed sitting in a "Modern" Lodge, although he seems not to have minded being Grand Master of the "Moderns"! and secondly, he was by birth and property a citizen of Ireland, where he would have found Lodge ritual more congenial.

An engraving of Lord Blayney reveals him as a good-looking man, certainly no weakling, but Dunckerley too could lead and had occupied for more than 20 years in the Navy a position of considerable authority and responsibility; moreover, was he not fully conscious that he was the son of the late King of England, and Uncle by the left hand to his Majesty the present King? His powerful personality, a persuasive tongue and always that almost fanatical devotion to Masonry would have been difficult for this amiable Irish Peer to withstand, even if he had wanted to do so. In a letter to Grand Secretary White, dated November 15th, 1786, Dunckerley writes: "Entre nous—I am not only loved but feared". He knew his power in 1766 as he knew it twenty years later. Blayney was Grand Master from 1765-1767, and would probably have had much to do with the appointment of his successor in 1767. I will go so far as to suggest that Dunckerley was the power behind the throne of Grand Lodge at this epoch.

At a very early date the Somerset House group must have realized that the New Order would have a much better chance of succeeding in its objects if it could ensure the appointment of a Grand Master who would be one of themselves; he must be young, of high rank and social position, with time and inclination to give freely to the cause. Wealth did not matter much, but if he were wealthy it would be all to the good. Doubtless many names of the aristocracy were scrutinized before the choice fell on the Duke of Beaufort, who filled all these qualifications—he had just left Oxford, he was a mason made in an “Antient” Lodge, he was of eminent respectability, of high rank and possessed great wealth; he would be susceptible to influence tactfully exercised in a just cause—their cause. The very man—and so he proved to be. Whether he was but a willing tool in the hands of older and cleverer schemers will never be known, but I like to think he was infected with the enthusiasm of his associates and collaborated with them to the utmost of his power.

The Grand Lodge officers in 1766 who would have had to arrange for the appointment of Lord Blayney’s successor were probably Lord Blayney himself, Samuel Spencer, the Grand Secretary, and Rowland Berkeley, the Grand Treasurer; members by mid 1766 of the *Turk’s Head* Chapter. It is not surprising to find that the Duke of Beaufort was chosen; the matter was probably decided before the close of 1766, though his formal election in Grand Lodge did not take place until April 15th, 1767.

It is impossible to say exactly when began the influx to the Somerset House Lodge of so many men of good social position.

I am inclined to think that some of the earliest members were not of any great social importance. Dunckerley would hardly at that time have been able to come into contact with many men of rank, and that it must have been towards the end of the year 1766 that the Lodge membership had attained to such eminence. There must have been a great discussion by the principal wire-pullers as to the formation of a Lodge which would be highly exclusive and so influential that it would be able to control the appointment of Grand Lodge officers and the continuation of that control. The moving spirits of the Lodge then were almost certainly Dunckerley, the Hon. Charles Dillon, Rowland Holt, James Galloway and Thomas French. In the early negotiations for the absorption of the Lodge at the *Sun and Punch Bowl* No. 3 these are the names which recur. By this time they were probably aware that the Duke of Beaufort’s appointment as Grand Master was settled, a very comforting piece of knowledge.

Everything seemed in order at this time for the Reformers to put their plans into execution. The Lodge consisted of some 50 members (I shall presently attempt to justify this figure). It had been fortified by the acquisition of a number of fashionable men about town and it was ready to move into the luxurious “Thatched House” Tavern, but at some date which I conjecture was towards the end of 1766 or the very beginning of 1767 their plans were abruptly halted. If this were the beginning of a chapter, it might be headed “The absorption or peaceful penetration of the Lodge No. 3 at the *Sun and Punch Bowl* and the elimination of its existing members”. Before I continue the narrative we must consider the state of the *Somerset House Lodge* No. 279 at this hypothetical date.

It met at Somerset House, as is definitely known. Somerset House was part of the jointure of the Queens Consort of England. Since 1692, when Catherine of Braganza left this country for good, it had ceased to be a Royal residence, and must have been a constant drain on the purse of George III. It was a vast obsolescent building rapidly falling into disrepair. A few years later, in 1774, George III exchanged it with the Government for Buckingham House; it was then demolished and the present building erected by Sir Wm. Chambers for the purpose of government offices. At various periods previously to 1766 it had been used as barracks, and the habitable and more moderate-

sized rooms served as suites for persons who had some claim on the Royal bounty. It would not have been difficult for Thomas Dunckerley, who was this kind of resident, to obtain the use of some unoccupied room for the purpose of Lodge meetings. In winter, no doubt with a little judicious graft, he could have arranged for the heating of it; liquid refreshments, which were in those days the main creature comforts enjoyed by Lodges, would have been supplied by one of the numerous ale-houses in the immediate vicinity.

There are no minutes of the *Somerset House Lodge* extant before 8th December, 1783, so we do not know what the subscription was; a normal amount at that time was in the neighbourhood of 3/- or 4/- a quarter. We are not entirely without knowledge of the membership of the Lodge, for in the Grand Lodge Register there is a list of the members. It will be remembered that a return of names of members to Grand Lodge became obligatory in 1768. On this list seventy-two names are noted as having "joined previous to 1768". I see no reason for supposing this list to be other than chronological. The following is a list of the first fifty; of these twenty-three were subsequently elected members of the Lodge of Friendship No. 3. To this number must be added the name of Hon. John Damer, who was elected to the *Lodge of Friendship* on 18th March, 1767. The minute reads:—

"Sir Richard Philipps Bt., Br. John Allen and the Honble Mr. John Damer, all of them Masons of the Somerset House Lodge to be admitted Members of this Lodge".

It is noteworthy that the name of Thomas French is absent. Of the remaining twenty-two only four joined the Lodge of Friendship, namely, John Trent, 10th February, 1768; Hon. Boyle Walsingham, 8th February, 1769; Eleazer Davy, 24th February, 1768; and John Williams, 26th May, 1768. I therefore suggest that fifty or fifty-one members represented the strength of the *Somerset House Lodge* at the time when a move to the "Thatched House" Tavern was being considered, the remaining twenty-two having joined the Somerset House Lodge after the formation of the Lodge of Friendship.

	Date of election to L. of Friendship No. 3		Date of election to L. of Friendship No. 3
1. Thomas Dunckerley Esq.	22 Feb., 1767	26. John Butler Esq.	10 Mar., 1767
2. James Galloway Esq.	22 Feb., 1767	27. Richard Wynn Esq.	
3. John Allen Esq.	18 Mar., 1767	28. John Broadhurst Esq.	
4. James Heseltine, Esq.		29. John Errington Esq.	22 Feb., 1767
5. Rowland Berkeley Esq.		30. Carter Pollard Esq.	
6. John Derwas, Architect		31. Ascough Esq.	
7. Rowland Holt Esq.	22 Feb., 1767	32. Col. Hodges	
8. Hon. Charles Dillon	22 Feb., 1767	33. Sir Alex. McDonald Bt.	
9. John Hatch Esq.		34. John Vesey Reynolds	
10. Wm. Wybrow, Gent.		35. Geo. Brown, Gent.	
11. Henry John Maskell, Apothecary		36. John Carey Esq.	
12. Wm. Atkinson, ditto		37. Wilmer Willett Esq.	
13. Ferdinando Gillio, Surgeon		38. John Francis Meyrick	10 Mar., 1767
14. George Gillio, Gent.		39. Geo. Barrowdale Esq.	
15. John Day Esq.	10 Feb., 1768	40. Richard Cox Esq.	10 Mar., 1767
16. Duke of Beaufort	10 Mar., 1767	41. Lord Gormanstone	25 Mar., 1767
17. Duke of Buccleugh	10 Mar., 1767	42. Wm. Allen Esq.	
18. Visct. Wenman	10 Mar., 1767	43. Chas. Amcotts Esq.	18 Mar., 1767
19. Sir Richard Philips	18 Mar., 1767	44. Hon. Wm. Hanger	
20. Thos. Foley Esq.	10 Mar., 1767	45. John Gunning Esq.	
21. Thos. Skipwith Esq.	10 Mar., 1767	46. Henry Errington Esq.	22 Feb., 1767
22. Thos. Harvey Esq.	10 Mar., 1767	47. Samuel Hayes Esq.	
23. Lucey Knightley Esq.	10 Mar., 1767	48. Anthony Belches Esq.	
24. Chas. Townley Esq.	10 Mar., 1767	49. Charles Gedon	
25. Wm. Craven Esq.	10 Mar., 1767	50. Joseph Banks Esq.	

The vertical columns of G.L. Register, provided to show residence, profession, date of joining or initiation and resignation or death, are left blank except in two or three instances.

In G.L. Register of Lodges "before 1768" there is another list sent in from Somerset House Lodge 279 at the Kings Arms, Bond Street. This is equally un-informative. It gives a list of eighty-six names, including Thomas French and Hon.

John Damer, but, like the list 1768-1810, which I have quoted, no details are given. I very much doubt if any of the Reformers retained their membership of the Somerset House Lodge after the migration to the Lodge of Friendship.

Among the names are those of Rowland Holt, John Damer and Lord Wenman, who were members of the *Roman Club*, which was a select convivial society of about twenty members. The qualifications of membership were firstly to have travelled and secondly a capacity for the enjoyment of much good liquor. It met weekly at the "Thatched House" Tavern in St. James's Street. Besides the three names mentioned above, Sir John Aubrey, who joined the Lodge 22nd April, 1767, Hon. Peregrine Bertie on 10th March, 1767, Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Bt., on 13th May, 1767, were also members of it, as was Edward Gibbon, the Historian, who was initiated 23rd December, 1767. Of the others, Dillon, Beaufort, Buccleugh and Philipps were quite young men of 21 and 22, and Skipwith and Foley were about 25 years of age. All of these might be described as smart young men about town who would be familiar with the amenities to be enjoyed at the "Thatched House" Tavern. It is probable that some of them became members of the *Somerset House Lodge* only to oblige Dunckerley and on the understanding that that venue was to be regarded only as temporary until arrangements had been completed for a move to the "Thatched House" Tavern. The subscription was to be four guineas a year, with a joining fee of five guineas. These figures would have been a shock to many of the members who were accustomed to the rates prevailing at that time of 3/- or so a quarter. Some of them, moreover, may not have been able to afford this heavily increased and unprecedented subscription, and perhaps, too, some may have considered so fashionable a meeting place to be slightly unsuitable to their habit of life. At this stage, which took place probably at the end of 1766, there would have been a general discussion in the Lodge. The matter must have been keenly debated; the reformers were in a minority of about twenty-four to twenty-seven, and had the matter been put to the vote in Lodge the difference might well have been greater if, as is probable, some of the young bloods would have been too indifferent to attend the meeting and record their votes. It may have been that the prudent Dunckerley pointed out that the new venture at the "Thatched House" was not absolutely certain of success, and that although many of them were willing to take the risk, the continuation of the *Somerset House Lodge* must be preserved so that there would be a haven of refuge if the more ambitious plan went wrong.

However it may have been settled, it was, I think, a perfectly amicable arrangement. Those who were out for safety moved before January 28th, 1767, to the *King's Arms* in Bond Street (a receipt in Grand Lodge minutes of that date, quoted by Sadler, is for "3 guineas from the *Somerset House Lodge* at the *King's Arms*"); the shabbiness and discomort of old Somerset House was evidently too much for the members.

Heseltine, Grand Secretary in 1768, remained on most friendly terms with Dunckerley until the death of the latter in 1795, as is shown in the correspondence which is to be found in the library of Freemasons' Hall. Under the ægis of Heseltine and Rowland Berkeley the *Somerset House Lodge* prospered, and, had the *Lodge of Friendship* waned, would have been a pillar of strength for the Reformers to fall back on. On January 10th, 1774, it absorbed the *Old Horn Lodge*, No. 2,<sup>1</sup> a time immemorial Lodge in much the same state of senility

<sup>1</sup> The old Horn Lodge No. 2 apparently made no return of its members to Grand Lodge from 1768 onwards until its absorption. Above the list of names of the Somerset House Lodge No. 2 in Grand Lodge Register there is a group of 15 names placed chronologically, which may have been copied from the records of the old Horn Lodge. The first, Arthur Wood, was made 14th September, 1769, the last, Whalley, joined 14th May, 1772. We do not know whether or not they resigned at the amalgamation in the manner of the original members of the Lodge of Friendship. William White, one of the names on the list, was made 8th March, 1770. He became Joint Grand Secretary with James Heseltine in 1780 and sole Grand Secretary in 1784. It may well have been that the arrangements for this amalgamation were effected by him.

as the Sun and Punch Bowl, and thereby changed its number from 279 to 2. In 1828 it united with the *Royal Inverness Lodge*, No. 648, a lodge which started with rather grandiose ideas. Its name was derived from the second title of the Duke of Sussex, who was Earl of Inverness, and who performed the consecration ceremony on February 2nd, 1815. Small attendances, arrears of subscription, which was five guineas, and prodigal expenditure brought the Lodge, which had been started under such brilliant auspices, into a state of utter insolvency. Sadler states that in 1827 "the proprietor of the Argyle Rooms sent in a claim for £360 for banquets and the hire of rooms, etc., the latter being charged at the rate of ten guineas for each Lodge meeting. To meet this bill there was about £300 of arrears and £100 owing by the late Treasurer." The amalgamation was effected on November 25th, 1828, and so the old Ship's Lodge on the *H.M.S. Prince*, No. 279, became, secondly, the *H.M.S. Guadeloupe Lodge*, No. 279, thirdly the Somerset House Lodge of the same number, fourthly the Somerset House Lodge No. 2, and lastly as it remains to-day, the *Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge* No. 4.

Dunckerley and his set had now to consider the best means of establishing themselves at the "Thatched House" Tavern. By this course they would be able to obtain the support of members of rank and education who would lead masonry out of the rut into which it had fallen and initiate a Renaissance of the Craft. The simple course for them to have pursued was to start a new Lodge, but had they applied for a warrant the number would have been in the neighbourhood of three hundred and eighty.<sup>1</sup>

I suggest that another reason may have influenced the decision to break away from the Somerset House Lodge. Lord Blayney,<sup>2</sup> who was wholly an "Antient" in sympathy and leanings, although he happened to be Grand Master of the "Moderns", as will be seen in the account of the Old Dundee Lodge given as a footnote, must have had the last word in the appointment of his successor, and he may have felt strongly that in view of the extreme youth, 22 years, of the Duke of Beaufort he should be an installed master before he became Grand Master. He may even have stipulated that this omission should be rectified before giving his assent and nomination. We have no record, unfortunately, of those who held office in the *Somerset House Lodge* at the end of 1766, which I venture to think was the period of these stirring events, nor do we know whether the W.M. and his officers held office for one year or six months; in either case the office would have been filled and the occupant may have demurred at being asked to vacate it in favour of the Duke of Beaufort. He may well have pointed out that it would be contrary to the Constitutions of Masonry for him to do so.

Someone had an inspiration. Why not find some very ancient and decrepit Lodge with a low number of seniority, amalgamate with it and, if possible,

<sup>1</sup> The Lodge of Peace was warranted No. 382 on December 19th, 1766. (Lane.)

<sup>2</sup> On 22nd May, 1766, Lord Blayney, Grand Master, after having given due notice to the Lodge, paid a State Visit to the Old Dundee Lodge No. 18. He was accompanied by Col. Salter, Deputy Grand Master, Thomas Dyne as S.G.W. vice Peter Edwards, Rowland Berkeley Grand Treasurer, Samuel Spencer Grand Secretary, Francis Johnstone Grand Sword Bearer and a Grand Steward. Sixty-seven members were present, as well as thirteen members "using the sea". There was a making, and Blayney noticed that the candidate was not H——w. He thereupon, speaking *ex cathedra*, rebuked the Lodge for this departure from ancient tradition, and, when the Lodge proved obdurate, he enforced obedience by the authority of Grand Lodge. (C.C., 28th August, 1766.) "Likewise the Grand Master ordered Bro. Edwards the S.G.W. to desire that upon making a Mason he may be b. d. f. d. agreeable to the method practised in most other Lodges." And again C.C., 11th September, 1766: "The Minute of last meeting relative to making b. f—— was put up this night and carried by a majority. That it should continue according to our Antient Custom." The sequel is in C.C., 22nd January, 1767, when the Old Dundee Lodge apologised and agreed "to promise all due obedience for the future." Can there be any doubt that Lord Blayney was a stalwart of the "Antients"?

arrange for the existing members to resign? Suitable compensation of course to be provided.

This course was adopted, and Thomas French was the emissary selected to explore the possibility of finding such a Lodge. The obvious Lodges to be approached would have been Nos. 1, 2 or 3. He already would have known that No. 1, then called the "*West Indian and American Lodge*", and the Senior Lodge in English Masonry, was and always had been conscious of its premier position, and of all Lodges at this date was the least likely to assist in any amalgamation which would prejudice the rights of its members. No. 2, the *Old Horn Lodge*, had suffered a chequered career. It had actually been erased (and was therefore extinct) from the official list of Lodges from 1747-1751. It was restored to its former position in 1751 by the efforts of George Payne, Grand Master in 1718 and 1720. Lord Ferrers became W.M. of it in 1762, and, as in the same year he was elected Grand Master, this cannot have failed to give the old Lodge a lift in the masonic world; and so French would have reported to the Reformers that an approach in this direction was, for the time being, inopportune. French then directed his attention to the Lodge No. 3,<sup>1</sup> which met at the *Sun and Punch Bowl* in Holborn, and soon found that here was his opportunity. The Lodge was more or less in a decline. During 1766 the average attendance was slightly less than nine; in 1765 it was 13½. The average cash in hand at the end of the twenty-four meetings held in 1766 was £1. 6. 2d. It was also in debt to the extent of a few pounds to a Mrs. Salwan or Sullivan.

#### SUN AND PUNCH BOWL LODGE

Of the last twelve meetings from July 3rd to the end of the year 1766, Bro. Grinnard, who was W.M. for the entire year, having been elected for four successive quarters, attended eleven of them, as did Bro. Steel and Bro. Gibbons, I.P.M.; Bros. Farmer and Burn attended eight; Bros. Porte and Smith seven; Bros. Lambert and Shand four; the rest of the members only occasionally. The Lodge, therefore, at the time when French came on the scene, was dependent almost entirely on the attendance of some seven members, and had evidently fallen into one of those unaccountable declines with which every student of Masonic history is familiar. French felt confident that if this Lodge was properly and tactfully approached he would succeed in his quest. No doubt several meetings took place, and many drinks were consumed by French, Grinnard, W.M., Gibbons, I.P.M., and the Wardens Burn and Smith before the treaty was finally agreed to, subject of course to formal ratification by the Lodge. French's diplomacy was successful, and it was arranged that the Constitution was, in the euphemistic phrase of the negotiators, to be "exchanged for another", that the sum of thirty guineas was to be paid as consideration, that the W.M. and his officers should resign and nominees of the purchasers be elected in their stead, and, finally,<sup>2</sup> that all the members of the Vendor Lodge No. 3 should resign their membership. As we shall see in the minutes, all these conditions were agreed to and in due course discharged.

Before setting out the minutes of the *Lodge of Friendship* from 5th February to 9th December, 1767, which cover the period of the regeneration of the Lodge, some description must be given of the men who, for the ten years or so previous to the appointment of the Duke of Beaufort as Grand Master, held the principal offices in Grand Lodge.

John Revis was Grand Secretary from 1734-1757. During his tenure as Grand Secretary Lord Byron was installed Grand Master by Lord Cranstoun

<sup>1</sup> The Lodge at the Sun and Punch Bowl No. 3 was the senior constituted Lodge, dating from 17th January, 1721.

<sup>2</sup> Although this condition was not mentioned in the minutes, of March 25th, 1767, the thirteen members of the old Lodge resigned en bloc.

on 30th April, 1747. Byron was present on that occasion at the Grand Feast. The next Grand Feast was held on 20th March, 1753, nearly six years later, when Lord Byron was again present to instal his successor, Lord Carysfort. Between these dates he did not attend one meeting of Grand Lodge, nor was there held a Grand Feast. Grand Secretary Revis was the principal executive officer of the Craft. Would a keen mason have tolerated this state of affairs? Why re-elect Lord Byron year after year? One can only assume that Revis was either entirely indifferent to the duties of his office or that he was completely out of touch with men who could have suggested another and better Grand Master. In 1757 he was promoted to the very responsible office of Deputy Grand Master, which he held until 1763. Very little is known of him save that he was a linen draper who died in 1765, his age not stated; this is from the *London Magazine* of that year (p. 598). His name appears in G.L.M.'s list of 1723 as J.W. of the Crown and Anchor, nr. St. Clement's Church, and he was W.M. of the *Lodge of Antiquity* in 1729, 1731 and 1733. It is unlikely that he was a highly educated man.

Colonel John Salter succeeded Revis as Deputy Grand Master in 1763. His obituary notice in *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lvii, p. 743, 1787, reads:—

"1st Aug., 1787—at Turnham Green, in his 78th year, John Salter Esqr., a Major-General of his Majesty's forces and Lt.-Col. of the first regiment of foot. He was originally a private in the Guards and was taken from the ranks by the Duke of Cumberland. His Highness caused him to be made a sergeant, and soon after was so pleased with his voice and manner of giving the word of command that he gave him a commission in the same regiment. This promotion gave great offence to the other officers, who refused Mr. Salter their countenance. Thus circumstanced he waited upon the Royal Duke and stated the awkwardness of the situation.

'Well, well,' said the Duke. 'Meet me to-morrow on the parade.'

The Duke came down earlier than usual, and going up to the colour stand, his Highness saluted Lord Ligonier and the officers of the Regiment who were all in conversation together, but directing his eyes around as if by accident he noticed poor Salter alone.

'What,' said his Highness, 'has that officer done that he is drummed out of your councils?'—and going up to him took him by the arm and walked up and down the parade with him in the presence of the different battalions and their officers.

Lord Ligonier at this time accosting the Duke, entreated his Highness's company to dinner. 'With all my heart,' said the Duke, 'and remember Salter comes with me.'

His Lordship bowing, said 'I hope so.'

After this ordeal Salter was well received by all the brethren of the blade and by his merit raised himself to the rank he held at his death.

About 14 years since he retired from public service, somewhat displeased and certainly ill-treated."

The story narrated is very creditable to the Duke, showing a kindly and generous action. Col. Salter's connection with Grand Lodge dates from 1762, when he was Senior Grand Warden and Grand Steward. He was Deputy Grand Master 1763-68 and acted as Grand Master on seven occasions between 1763 and 1768. On April 29th at Grand Lodge the Grand Master the Duke of Beaufort proposed Lord Petre as his successor. "Bro. Edwards, Past Senior Grand Warden, proposed Major-General Salter. Both these propositions being seconded the question was put, when there appeared a great majority in favour of Lord

Petre, who was accordingly declared Grand Master elect." Salter opposed Dillon's Bill of Incorporation in 1772. He served with his regiment in the Low Countries at Dettingen and Fontenoy. In 1770 he was promoted Major-General and was head of the list of that rank in 1778. He resigned from the army in 1785, having been superseded in promotion by many officers who had been junior to him. This explains the last paragraph of the notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

Geo. Clarke was Grand Treasurer from 1753 to 1766. He was initiated at the King's Arms Lodge (now No. 28) in 1736. He is described in the minutes of that Lodge as an Apothecary. His duties would have been merely nominal.

Samuel Spencer was Grand Secretary from 1757 to 1768. Calvert, in *Author's Lodge Transactions*, vol. iii, p. 30, states that he is supposed to have been a Sadler in Fenchurch Street, and considers him to have been a nonentity. In the 1778 edition of *Ahiman Rezon* and in subsequent editions the following letter from Samuel Spencer as Grand Secretary, dated 16th December, 1759, is quoted. It is written in reply to an Irish Mason named Carroll who had applied for relief—and had probably mentioned that he was a Royal Arch companion:—

"Your being and Antient mason, you are not entitled to any of our Charity. The Antient Masons have a Lodge at the Five Bells in the Strand and their secretary's name is Dermott. Our Society is neither Arch, Royal Arch or Antient, so that you have no right to partake of our charity."

This intolerant and provocative letter was used by Dermott for propaganda purposes. We know nothing about Spencer personally except that he was a native of Halifax.

As to the three Grand Masters who held office from 1757 to 1767, they were Lord Aberdour, Earl Ferrers and Lord Blayney.

Lord Aberdour held office from 1757 until 1762. He was only 25 years of age at the time of his appointment, and attended but four meetings of the fourteen held during his term of office. There was no Grand Feast in the years 1759 and 1761. His full name was Sholto Charles Douglas, Lord Aberdour. He was born in 1732 and educated at Glasgow University and Leyden; was F.R.S. in 1754; succeeded to the title of 16th Earl of Morton in 1768; was Lord of Police, Scotland, 1754-1774, and Grand Master Mason of Scotland 1755-56. His public duties in Scotland may have prevented his regular appearance at the Grand Lodge of England. Little is known of him personally. He died in 1774.

Earl Ferrers, born in 1722, followed as Grand Master in 1762. He was the 5th Earl, having succeeded in 1760 his brother Laurence, who was executed at Tyburn for the murder of his land steward, an old man named Johnson. Beyond this somewhat irrelevant detail, little is known of him personally. He served in the Navy with distinction as Capt. Washington Shirley on *H.M.S. Temple* at the Quiberon Bay operations. On 14th December, 1761, he was made F.R.S. as a compliment for a series of very accurate observations he made on the transit of Venus over the Sun . . . together with many other useful and interesting discoveries tending to the improvement of mathematical and nautical knowledge. (*D.N.B.*) He was promoted Vice-Admiral of the White 31st March, 1775, and Vice-Admiral of the Blue on 3rd February, 1776. He retired from the Navy on succeeding to the title Earl Ferrers in 1760. He married Miss Anne Elliot of Plymouth. He died on 1st October, 1778. He attended four meetings of Grand Lodge out of the nine held during his term of office, 1762 and 1763. He was W.M. of the *Horn Lodge* in 1762.

Cadwallader 9th Lord Blayney of Monaghan came next, from 1764-1767. He was born in 1720. He served in the army, was Major-General in 1765, Lt.-General and later Commander in Chief of the forces in Munster in 1772. In the *Complete Peerage* it is stated that he distinguished himself at the taking of Cape Breton, but I am unable to verify this. War Office Archives have provided the information that he was Capt. and Lt.-Col. 2nd Foot Guards, 8th June, 1753, Lt.-Col. commanding 91st Regiment, Ireland, 1st December, 1760, Col., ditto, 3rd February, 1761, and that this regiment was not in the Army list in 1763 nor before 1760. Lord Blayney attended but three meetings of Grand Lodge out of the twelve held during his three years of office, and it is possible that his military duties or the management of his Irish property compelled him to reside in Ireland, and that he came to London only occasionally. When, however, he was able to attend to English Freemasonry he showed himself active in the interests of the Craft. It has already been noted in this paper that he took a leading part in founding Grand Chapter in 1767, and, in the enigmatic episode of the "*Old Dundee Lodge*", he showed the strength of his convictions; moreover, the sequel of this highly controversial affair proves that he must have had considerable force of character to have carried Grand Lodge with him. He appears to have had little to do with English Masonry after the middle of 1766, but if, as I suppose to have been the case, he had much to do with the appointment of his successor, the Duke of Beaufort, he deserved well of English Freemasonry, and may be considered to have been indirectly one of the pioneers of a movement which regenerated Freemasonry in this country. On May 6th, 1768, he was elected Grand Master of Freemasons in Ireland, but resigned June 24th of that year. Irish Freemasonry was essentially that of the "Antients". It is possible, therefore, that when it became generally known in Ireland that he had presided over the Grand Lodge of England, the citadel of the "Moderns", influence may have been brought to bear to cause his retirement. He died 1775.

The semi-permanent Grand Lodge officers from 1757-1767, Revis, Salter, Clarke and Spencer, were probably men who lacked sufficient drive and personality to revive Masonry in those bad times. They were not, however, assisted by the Grand Masters, who were seldom present even at Quarterly Communications, and who, with the exception of Blayney, must be regarded only as figure heads. Ferrers was in the Navy, Aberdour had public duties in Scotland and lived there. Blayney was an Irish Peer who lived in Ireland and who almost certainly preferred the Irish Masonry of the "Antients".

So much for the men who supported Grand Lodge when Dunckerley set to work as a Reformer. His earliest associates were Galloway, French, Holt, Heseltine and Dillon, and a little later the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master in 1767 and first W.M. of the reconstructed *Lodge of Friendship*.

I will give a brief account of them in the above-mentioned order. Dunckerley and his life has already been amply dealt with.

#### DUNCKERLEY'S SET

James Galloway was Steward to the late Duke of Cumberland (*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxvi, p. 1075). He died in 1806. He was Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Cumberland in 1796 and of Hampshire in 1782 and 1796, J.G.W. in 1781, Grand Superintendent of the Royal Arch, Cumberland and Scotland, 1796, and Hampshire 1782 and 1796. In the minutes his name is either Bro. Galloway or Galloway; even the modest prefix Mr. is not always his due. He was like Thomas French, I think, of lower social position than the others of the set and possibly made use of for his secretarial ability. He was secretary of the Lodge of Friendship from 1767-1802.

Thomas French was a Linendraper in Bond Street, and was, like Galloway, an early masonic friend of Dunckerley—it will be remembered that Galloway

introduced Dunckerley to the *Turk's Head Chapter*, of which French was also a member. Later on we shall see in the Minutes that he was made a scapegoat for the acquisition of the Lodge at the Sun and Punch Bowl. There is little doubt that he was made Grand Secretary in 1768 in succession to Spencer, who opportunely died in that year, as a reward for his services in connection with this acquisition. A minute of the Committee of Charity, 20th October, 1769, reads:—

“It appeared that Five pounds had been allowed to Bro. Bartlett, and by the Grand Treasurer's accounts it had been paid into the hands of Bro. French, who, there was the greatest reason to believe, had never accounted for the same.”

There is no minute in the C. of C. referring to his resignation or discharge; some leaves appear to have been removed. French went bankrupt at the end of 1769, and in the list of members at the end of volume v of the Lodge of Friendship minutes he is noted, “Gone abroad and struck off”—a sorry epitaph.

Rowland Holt<sup>1</sup> of Redgrave Hall, Suffolk, was born in 1723 and educated at Magdalen College, Oxford; M.A. in 1744. He was M.P. for Suffolk 1759-68 and from 1771-80; Prov.G.M. of Suffolk from 1771 until his death on 12th July, 1786. One of his daughters, Mary Lloyd, married for the second time Thomas Hamilton, 7th Earl of Haddington. He was an intimate friend of Gibbon, the Historian, and was clearly a man of position in his county. As a mason he was S.G.W. in 1768, Deputy Grand Master 1775-86, Provincial Grand Master of Suffolk 1771 until his death. He was W.M. of the Lodge of Friendship in 1770 and Treasurer of it from 1767-86.

James Heseltine, a Proctor in Doctors Commons, a member of the *Somerset House Lodge*, but not, as has been noted, of the *Lodge of Friendship*. Of him Calvert writes:—

“His was a manly, forcible personality, powerful in debate, a good friend, a good enemy, a good servant of the Craft.”

Sadler, too, eulogizes him:—

“During the whole of his forty years of Masonic life he was deservedly respected by the Craft in general.”

He served the office of Grand Secretary from 1769 until 1804, when “he died on June 5th of an apoplexy; he is said to have died possessed of a fortune of £200,000. He was interred under Islington Church.” (*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxiv, p. 600.) He was initiated in the *Philanthropic Lodge* No. 90 on 15th July, 1765. He was Senior Grand Warden in 1785, was W.M. of the *Somerset House Lodge* from 1783-91 and again in 1793. He joined the *Lodge of Antiquity* in 1768, became Secretary of it in 1769 and W.M. in 1770. He was Grand Superintendent, Royal Arch, of Yorkshire, in 1793.

Hon. Charles Dillon was the eldest son of the 11th Viscount Dillon, and was born in 1745. In 1776 he assumed the name and arms of Lee; and succeeded to the title of 1788, when he became 12th Viscount Dillon of Castello-Gallen. He was M.P. for Westbury 1770-1774; F.R.S. in 1767; Privy Councillor in 1774; Governor of County Mayo 1778-1813; K.P. in 1798. In 1799 his Irish estates were said to be worth £20,000 a year. In sketches of *Irish Political Characters*, 1799, he is described as “possessing considerable

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon writes in his journal on 24th November, 1762, “I dined at the Cocoa Tree with Holt, who, under an appearance of Oddity, conceals more real humour, good sense and even knowledge than half those who laugh at him”.

property, power and influence", born a Roman Catholic; he became a member of the Established Church in 1769.<sup>1</sup>

"Lord Dillon lived in a handsome house in Portman Square with his second wife, two of her daughters and a young son 8 or 9 years of age. Lady D. had been a Mlle. Rogier of Belgian origin. She had all the appearance of what she was in reality, a former actress. She had been the mistress of my uncle before his marriage to Miss Phipps, daughter of Lord Mulgrove. . . . Lord Charles Dillon was a gambler and spendthrift and was loaded with debt. He adjured the religion of his fathers to become a Protestant at the instigation of his grand-uncle, Robert Lee, 4th and last Earl of Litchfield, who had demanded this as the price of his inheritance, an income of £15,000 sterling and the beautiful castle of Ditchley. Assured of this handsome fortune and wishing to have an heir, he married a Protestant, Miss Phipps, and made her so unhappy that she died at the age of 25, leaving him a son, Henry Augustus, who later became Viscount Dillon, and a daughter who married Sir Thos. Webb. My uncle then lived openly with Mlle. Rogier, by whom he had two daughters during the lifetime of his wife. After his wife's death he publicly married her."

He declined an Earldom, "Being head of the Viscounts, Lord Gormanston not then restored, he should only take precedence of himself, and be the last of many whom he had seen before they were even reputed gentlemen". (C.P.) He died in 1813, but there is nothing of his personality to record. It is not known when and where he was made a Mason. At the time of the Dunckerley cabal he was only 22 years of age, but undoubtedly he threw himself heart and soul into Masonry. From the first meeting of the *Lodge of Friendship* on 10th March, 1767, and until 12th January, 1774, inclusive, Dillon attended 39 out of 67 meetings of the Lodge, in 1772 he attended all 8 meetings. After this latter date he did not attend again until 10th March, 1785, when he was elected W.M. He took his seat as W.M. for the first time on 9th June, 1785, as the Hon. Charles Dillon-Lee, and was present in that year in January, February and June, 1786, and this date is the last time his name appears in the minutes. Dillon, the ardent young mason of 1767, seems to have lost all his enthusiasm for the Craft by the end of 1773. When Grand Lodge minutes of this period can be examined, I shall be surprised if he attended after that date. It must be remembered that in 1767 he was but 22 years of age; later the other and less worthy interests mentioned by his niece absorbed his energies. Morally he must have declined. I have been unsuccessful in my attempts to get any idea of his personality, his obituary notices furnished nothing. In Grand Lodge he was S.G.W. in 1767 and Deputy Grand Master from 1768-74. Dillon is perhaps best known for his ill-fated *Bill of Incorporation* of 1772. Beaufort in 1768 had attempted Incorporation by Royal Warrant, but this, for some not very apparent reason, had been abandoned, although the Referendum to Lodges sent out by Grand Lodge resulted in 168 in favour of Incorporation and 43 against. On 18th February, 1772, Dillon, Beaufort, Brickdale, Holt, Wynn and others petitioned to introduce a Bill of Incorporation for Masonry, the reasons put forward in support being mainly to place the Society in a more convenient position for the investment and administration of its funds. The Bill was opposed by Col. Salter, P.D.G.M., Richard Ripley,<sup>2</sup> S.G.W. 1765, and Fleming

<sup>1</sup> This concise account is written by his niece, La Marquise de la Tour du Pin, daughter of his brother, Colonel Arthur Dillon, in her book of reminiscences, *Journal D'Une Femme de Cinquante Ans*. I am indebted for this to Dr. Richard Hayes, Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Ripley, of the Exchequer Office, a member of *Shakespeare Lodge*, d. in Princes Court, Westminster, 30th December, 1798. [G.M. 68, 1086] and

Pinkston,<sup>1</sup> S.G.W. 1754, and others, on the grounds "That the Bill was not for the good of the Society, but would be oppressive to themselves and others of the Society, as well as of no good consequences to the public."

Col. Salter, it has been noted, had not been re-appointed Deputy Grand Master in 1768 by G.M. the Duke of Beaufort. There was some opposition to this expressed in Grand Lodge at the time, but the G.M. stood firm. Delendus est Salter! and probably very good riddance. Was his resentment at being superseded expressed by his opposition to the Bill?

In the *Newcastle Journal*, November 26th, 1768, appears the following:—

"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 call themselves Antient Freemasons on account of the disgrace they have brought on Freemasonry by indiscriminately admitting everyone into it who can pay their fees, let their character be ever so infamous."

This is, of course, mere gossip, but it reflects a current opinion of the time. Had the Bill become law, no other body would have had the legal right to call themselves Freemasons, and the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" would have become paramount; if at the same time a complete reversion to the "Antient" ritual had taken place, there would then have been no occasion for any other Grand Lodge. The Lodges of the "Antients" would have applied for new Warrants and the Union of 1813 anticipated by 41 years.

The Bill was finally abandoned on 1st April, 1772.

One is tempted to suggest that Dillon, when faced with opposition, the nature of which has not been recorded, lost interest and abandoned the project.

The minutes of the Committee of Charity, 22nd April, 1772, record "that Matthew Brickdale of the *Lodge of Friendship* be thanked for his zeal in promoting in Parliament the Bill for Incorporating this Society, passed in the affirmative one Bro. dissenting."

Three distinct attempts had been made for some form of Incorporation, that of Earl Ferrers<sup>2</sup> in 1763, the Duke of Beaufort's in 1768, and finally Dillon's in 1772. All were abortive. Unless some hitherto undiscovered facts are forthcoming, the reasons will remain a mystery. Grand Lodge, judging by the proceedings of the Committee of Charity, the equivalent of our modern Board of General Purposes, was in favour of incorporation, at any rate in 1768 and 1772. The opposition does not seem on the evidence to have been overwhelming, and yet there must have been some powerful influence at work to defeat the Bill. The documentary evidence about the subject is exhaustively set forth in Bro. Ivor Grantham's paper in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xiviii.

Henry, 5th Duke of Beaufort, was born on 16th October, 1744; he matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1760; was D.C.L. in 1763. He was Master of Horse to Queen Charlotte 1768-70; Lord-Lieutenant for the County of Monmouth 1771-1803, of Brecknock 1787-1803 and Leicester 1787-1799; K.G. in 1786; and a Tory in politics. He died of gout of the stomach in 1803. (C.P.) On 2nd April, 1766, at the age of 22, he married Elizabeth, the second and youngest daughter of Admiral Hon. Edward Boscawen<sup>3</sup>; by her

<sup>1</sup> Fleming Pinkston, member of St. Albans Lodge No. 29. In Commission of Peace, Co. Middlesex. One of a committee of examiners of the Corporation of Surgeons in London. . . . With respect to his professional abilities, few equalled, none surpassed him, and the poor always reaped the benefit of his knowledge. d. 27th November, 1792. [G.M. 62. 1153].

<sup>2</sup> Earl Ferrers' effort was tentative and conditional on the building of a Hall. It was not pursued.

<sup>3</sup> *Admiral's Widow*. Letters of Lady Frances Boscawen, wife of Admiral Sir Ed. Boscawen, by Brig.-Genl. C. Aspinall-Oglander, a descendant of Lady Frances.

he had a numerous family. His obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1803, p. 994, tells us a little more.

"He maintained the dignity of his station rather by the noble simplicity of his manners and his provincial hospitality than by attentions to exterior splendour and display of fashion. It was not to his taste nor did it suit his fancy to solicit notice by any of those attractions at which the public gaze with temporary admiration. In Politics he supported a tranquil dignified independence."

Probably the most charming and certainly the most eligible young man in London when her [Lady Boscawen's] daughter was first presented at Court, was the young Duke of Beaufort, head of an old Jacobite family who traced its descent from John of Gaunt and who had long cut themselves adrift from politics. Then in his 20th year, Henry, fifth Duke of Beaufort, seventh Marquess and eleventh Earl of Worcester, was well over 6ft. tall, very good looking and straight as a die. He had succeeded to his father's titles at the age of 12, and his long minority had largely increased his fortune. Devoted to hunting and every form of sport, he was the owner of vast estates and a vast amount of charm, and as his position in Gloucestershire and on the Welsh border was almost that of a prince, he was generally looked upon as the greatest *parti* of his day.

This marriage proved ideally happy. His wife was a beautiful and gracious woman who bore him fourteen children, the youngest of whom became Field-Marshal Lord Raglan of Crimean fame. It was however clouded by a serious carriage accident in 1769, as a result of which the Duchess was permanently lamed. Beaufort's devotion to her must have been partly the cause of his infrequent visits to London and Grand Lodge; moreover military duties (he was Colonel of the Monmouth Fusiliers), which he took very seriously, must have kept him fully occupied in the West Country from 1778 onwards.

He attended nine Grand Lodge meetings out of twenty-one held during his Grand Mastership. It is highly probable he came to London as seldom as possible, and was only too pleased to leave Masonic affairs in the hands of his friends Dunckerley, Dillon and Holt. One may confidently state that his views as to Masonic ritual were those of the "Antients". The Earl of Antrim, who as Lord Dunluce was Grand Master of Ireland in 1772 and 1773 and again as Earl of Antrim from 1778-1781, became Grand Master of the "Antients" in 1783, and held that office until 1791. In a letter dated 15th December, 1790, written to the Grand Lodge of England, he said, "I was made in the Duke of Beaufort's Lodge at Oxford when a student there, according to the forms of Ancient Masons from which I never did and never will swerve." Beaufort's Oxford Lodge cannot be identified nor do we know when or where he was initiated.

Beaufort and Charles Dillon sponsored the ill-fated Bill of Incorporation in 1772. The Duke resigned from the *Lodge of Friendship* in 1792.

The minutes of the *Lodge of Friendship* relating to the reconstruction of the Lodge are here given in full. They were written up in the minute book of the Sun and Punch Bowl Lodge and copied from this into the minute book of the Lodge of Friendship. It is fortunate that both accounts have survived in their entirety and are set out so clearly.

*Lodge No. 3. Sun and Punch Bowl. Feb. 5th, 1767.*

Present—Brs. Grinard, R.W.M.; Smith, S.W.; Burn, J.W.; Gibbons, P.M.; Roe, Scy.; Ports, Steel. Visitors—French; Levie; Levie—French Steward's Lodge, Levee, Angel & Porter, Golden Lane.

Balance £1. 5. 0½.

"Lodge open'd. Lectures gone through. Minutes of last Lodge night read and confirm'd—is clos'd in due time.

N.B. Br. Grinnard proposed exchanging this Constitution for another, on a Convention night to be summoned ye 8th instant to consider the same. Agreed to n.c."

This is the first occasion when Bro. French, Dunckerley's emissary, is mentioned. He was a Grand Steward in 1767, but would not have been elected as such until March of that year. I can find no record that he was a Grand Steward previously, so it is difficult to understand how he came to be described as of the Stewards Lodge.

Levy of the "Angel and Porter" was a guest who had nothing whatever to do with the momentous proceedings initiated on this night.

Bro. Grinnard's name is spelt variously not only in this minute but whenever his name occurs—Grenard, Grinnard, Greenarde, Grinarde are examples. He joined the Lodge on 1st August, 1765, was made S.W. on 19th September of that year, and became Master on 20th March, 1766. Grenard was, I think, the correct spelling. It is probable that he was a man of considerable personality, as he occupied the Master's Chair during the whole of 1766. Normally, the W.M. at this date was elected half-yearly.

*Lodge No. 3. Sun and Punch Bowl, Holborn, Feb. 8th, 1767.*

*Convention Night.*

Present—Brs. Grinnard, R.W.M.; Farmer, S.W.; Smith, J.W.; Gibbons, P.M.; Roe, Secy.; Burras, Palmer, Burn, Smith, Shand, Steel, Higgins, Ports. Visitors—French, Steward's Lodge; Galloway, Somerset House Lodge; West, King's Head Lodge, Holborn; Austin, Ship, James St., Covt. Garden.

Balance £1. 4. 9½

"Lodge open'd. The members, after little *altercation* unanimously agreed to exchange this Constitution for a new one in Favour of some Honourable Gentlemen newly made & past nem. con."

The first item on the Agenda is safely negotiated—Galloway comes on the scene.

*Lodge No. 3, Sun and Punch Bowl, Holborn, Feby ye 22nd, 1767.*

Present—Brs. Grinnard, R.W.M.; Smith, S.W.; Burns, J.W.; Steel, P.M.; Portes, Secy.; Burras, Farmer, Gibbons, Roe, West, Higgins.

Balance £1. 8. 10

"Br. Gibbons, the R.W.P.M., moved that the following Brethren be admitted members of this Lodge, viz.,

Br. the Honble. Charles Dillon, James Galloway, Rowland Holt Esqr., Robt. Brown Esqr., Thos. Dunckerley Esqr., John Errington Esqr.,<sup>1</sup> Thos. French, Henry Errington Esqr.,<sup>2</sup> Captn. Barnard<sup>3</sup>;

which proposition being properly seconded, the Question was put in usual manner, and they were admitted with unanimous consent.

Br. Oldenbruch became a member of this Lodge, paid ye due accordingly.

All business being over the Lodge was clos'd in due form."

Confirm'd.

<sup>1</sup> John Errington, Prov.G.M. Northumberland, 1771-1807.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Errington, uncle of Mrs. Fitzherbert, a witness of her marriage to the Prince of Wales in 1785.

<sup>3</sup> Capt. John Barnard, Horse Guards, m. widow of Henry Herbert, 5th Earl of Pembroke.

The nine invaders are duly elected, and so the second step is accomplished. None of them were present.

The scheme was now assured; even had a "few determined and atrocious brethren" recanted there was a comfortable majority in its favour.

*Sun and Punch Bowl Lodge No. 3*, held by adjournment at the King's Head, High Holborn, 4 March, 1767.

Present—Brs. Grinnard, R.W.M.; Farmer, S.W.; Smith, J.W.; Gibbins, P.M.; French, S.; Williamson, Steel, Shand, Portes, Lang, Weston, Pitt, Dillon, Galloway.

Paid House Bill & Tyler £4. 2. 4

"The Lodge was open'd in due form and the Minutes of last Lodge were read and confirmed.

Br. French moved that this Lodge be removed to the Thatched House in St. James's Street, and that a consideration be paid for the Regalia of the Lodge, which Question being put was unanimously approved of. And accordingly Thirty Guineas were paid into the hands of Bro. Grinnard on that Acct. to such members as do not choose to remove with the Lodge. The R.W. Master signified his inclination to resign his office, which having received the assent of the other officers and Brethren, Br. Galloway proposed the Honble Br. Dillon as a proper Candidate for that Office, which being properly seconded he was chosen unanimously: and immediately the Master resigned the Ensign of his office, and invested the Master Elect therewith. The other Officers resigned their offices and the R.W. Master appointed Br. French S. Warden, and Br. Galloway Jr. Warden. All business being over the Lodge was closed in due form; and adjourned during the Master's pleasure—And then to meet at the Thatched House, St. James's Street."

This meeting was held at the *King's Head*, Holborn—the reason for this is not apparent. Lane states that the members who retired from the old Lodge took a new Constitution on 17th June, 1767, and that this Lodge remained at the "*Sun and Punch Bowl*" until 1770, when it removed to the "*Crown and Cushion*". Its first number was 328. In the year 1863, when there was a re-numbering of all Lodges, it became No. 165, which it holds to-day. It was named the Lodge of *Honour and Generosity* in 1789. On 13th January, 1768, the following entry occurs in the *Lodge of Friendship* minutes:—"To the Members who lately withdrew from the Lodge a Donation to enable them to take out a new Constitution. The sum of £5. 15. 6d." I think this was an act of grace and had no relation to the date of the constitution. The House Bill was a record one; the rebirth of the old Lodge was evidently celebrated with much cordiality. There could have been no ill-feeling about the transaction, as the account, £4. 2. 4., was settled by the new members on 18th March, 1767.

The minute as regards the agreed-on 30 guineas is discreetly worded—being "consideration for the Regalia of the Lodge", not as money paid in settlement of an agreed-on figure. It is doubtful whether this equipment was taken, though it may have been used until the sumptuous furnishings, ordered on 20th March, were ready, when I hope it was returned to the Brethren at the *Sun and Punch Bowl*.

Yet another move in this cleverly devised scheme is safely achieved. Grinnard receives the 30 guineas and resigns his office. Dillon is unanimously elected W.M. and chooses French and Galloway as his Wardens, after which everyone went home full of punch, goodwill and fraternal affection.

*Lodge No. 3. March 10th, 1767.* The Lodge met at the Thatched House, St. James's Street in pursuance of Resolution and Adjournment of last Lodge night.

Present—Brs. The Honble. Br. Dillon, R.W.M.; Thos. Dunckerley Esqr., P.M.; French, S.W.; Galloway, J.W.; Rowland Holt Esqr.; The Duke of Beaufort.

“A Lodge of the Third or Master's Degree was open'd in due form; and the Minutes of the last Lodge were read and confirmed.

The R.W. Master proposed the *Duke of Beaufort* to be admitted a Member of this Lodge, which being properly seconded His Grace was ballotted for, and admitted unanimously.

Resolved that this Lodge shall be called, for the future, *The Lodge of Friendship*. And that notice be given thereof to the Grand Secretary, as also of the removal of the Lodge to this House.

The Master and Brethren took into consideration the present situation of this Lodge, and the purposes and intentions of the Members thereof: and also made a retrospect to the Bye Laws and Usages of the Lodge; which appear'd very defective, with respect to the Government & Conducting of the Lodge, agreeable to the views of its present members.

Therefore they proceeded to frame and compile such Regulations as seem'd most expedient, which were order'd to be laid before the Brethren next Lodge Night.”

The R.W.M. Proposed the following Brethren to be admitted members of this Lodge, viz., Thos. Foley, Esqr.,<sup>1</sup> Thos. Hervey Esqr.,<sup>2</sup> Peregrine Bertie Esqr.,<sup>3</sup> Charles Townly Esqr.,<sup>4</sup> John F. Meyrick Esqr.,<sup>5</sup> Lucy Knightly Esqr.,<sup>6</sup> Richard Cox,<sup>7</sup> Robert Pigott Esqr.,<sup>8</sup> Lord Wenman,<sup>9</sup> The Duke of Buccleugh,<sup>10</sup> Wm. Craven Esqr.,<sup>11</sup> Thos. Skipwith Esqr.,<sup>12</sup> and John Butler Esqr.<sup>13</sup> And Bro. Holt proposed Br. Thos. Cholmondeley Esqr.<sup>14</sup>

The above Propositions were severally seconded in regular form: and the Ballot being taken they were admitted unanimously.

The R.W. Master signify'd his intentions of resigning his office, which the Brethren consenting to, he recommended to them to proceed forthwith to Elect a proper person to succeed him therein: When

<sup>1</sup> Hon. Thomas Foley. Succ. as 4th Lord Foley in 1777. D. 1793.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Hervey, b. 1698. Equerry to Caroline, Queen of Geo. II. A friend of Dr. Johnson, who said, “If you call a dog Hervey I shall love it.”

<sup>3</sup> Hon. Peregrine Bertie, M.P. Oxford 1774-90. Nephew of the 3rd Earl of Abingdon. D. 1790.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Townley. Noted antiquary. B. 1737. His collection of Marbles was purchased after his death for the British Museum. D. 1805.

<sup>5</sup> John Francis Meyrick, of Busby, Co. Pembroke. D. 1790.

<sup>6</sup> Lucy Knightley, M.P. Northants, of Fawnsley, Co. Northants. B. 1741, d. 1791.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Hipposly Cox, M.P. Somerset 1768-86, of Stone-Easton, Co. Somerset. B. 1741, d. 1786.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Piggott, of Chetwynd Park, Co. Salop. B. 1738. Food and dress reformer, a friend of Voltaire, Franklin and Brissot.

<sup>9</sup> Philip, 7th Viscount Wenman, M.P. Oxford 1768-96. B. 1742, d. 1800.

<sup>10</sup> Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleugh. B. 2nd September, 1746. Ed. Eton, succeeded in 1751. Installed K.G. 1801, first President of the Royal Society of Scotland 1783 until his death in 1812. He was a friend and patron of Sir Walter Scott. His record in the Lodge of Friendship is not a distinguished one. He did not attend one meeting during the year of his office as W.M. in 1768. He was expelled for non-payment of his subscription in 1772.

<sup>11</sup> William Lord Craven, b. 1705. M.P. Warwick 1746-64. D. 1769.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas George Skipwith, M.P. of Newbold Hall, Co. Warwick. Succ. as 4th Baronet in 1778. D. 1790.

<sup>13</sup> J. Butler, M.P. B. 1740. Succ. in 1791 as 18th Earl of Ormonde. D. 1795.

<sup>14</sup> Thomas Cholmondeley. M.P. Chester. His eldest son, b. 1767, was elevated to Peerage as Baron Delamere of Vale Royal, Chester.

Bro. Dunckerley proposed His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, which being properly seconded His Grace was chosen unanimously And being properly Invested was pleased to appoint viz., The Honble. Br. Dillon Sr.W., Br. Thos. French J.W., Br. Thos. Dunckerley Esqr. P.M., Br. Rowland Holt Esqr. T., Br. Jas. Galloway S.

All business being over the Lodge was closed in due form and adjourned to Wednesday, the 18th instant.

Paid House Bill and Tyler's attendance £1. 12. 6

And so, on March 18th, Dunckerley brings his carefully matured plan to a successful conclusion.

The Lodge at the *Sun and Punch Bowl* now becomes the *Lodge of Friendship* No. 3. The venue is at the fashionable "Thatched House" Tavern, the Duke of Beaufort is elected a member, Dillon resigns the office of Worshipful Master, and Beaufort is unanimously elected in his place, a Brother entitled by rank and fortune to become a leader, and such as Dunckerley desired.

Dunckerley carefully avoided the danger of purchasing a constitution; that would definitely have been illegal, but the resignations of Grinard and Dillon in succession, in each case followed by the immediate appointment of another Master, were irregular; and, as was to be expected, produced the following repercussion:—

*Grand Lodge Committee of Charity, Ap. 8th, 1767.*

"Bro. Paterson reported to this Committee that he had been informed that the Constitution of the Lodge No. 3 held at the *Sun and Punch Bowl* in High Holborn had been sold or otherwise illegally disposed of, and that the same was purchased by a Number (of) Masons who now meet by Virtue thereof under the name of the *Lodge of Friendship* at the Thatched House in St. James Street. And that Bro. French was the person principally concerned together with the Brethren of the Lodge formerly held at the *Sun and Punch Bowl* in negotiating such Illegal Transactions. Resolv'd that the consideration of this affair be postponed to the next CC and that Bro. Paterson to deliver into the Grand Secretary the Articles Alleged against the Brethren of the said Lodge and Brother French, that he may send copies of them to the respective party's with notice for them severally to attend at the next Committee of Charity and Answer to the charge exhibited Against them.

At the same time in pursuance of the recommendation of the Grand Master 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 shall remain with them even though it should appear upon future inquiry that this affair hath been transacted contrary to the Constitutions but at the same time resolved that this shall not be looked upon as a Precedent for the future on any account whatever.

The Duke of Beaufort and Charles Dillon were about 22 years of age, so this was made a convenient excuse for white-washing the whole affair. Dunckerley, Galloway and Holt were much older men.

French alone was formally censured.

It is generally considered that the rank of Grand Secretary was given him in 1768 in consideration of his services and what he had had to put up with.

*The Report of the Q.C., G.L.M., April 15, 1767, reads:—*

"The minutes of the last Committee of Charity were Read and Confirmed, except that part of them which related to the Brother French,

which were not read for Confirmation as he declared in open Q.C. that he found he had been Concerned in a Transaction relative to the removing of a Lodge, by which he had given Offence to the Grand Officers and the other Members of the Grand Lodge."

"He was sorry he had done so."

So everyone is forgiven. Sadler in his *Life of Thomas Dunckerley* writes amusingly on the episode, that Bro. Paterson, representing the *Royal Lodge*, one of importance at that time, was completely routed, as by the wording of the G.L. Resolution, "That this shall not be looked upon as a Precedent for the future on any account whatever", his own Lodge was prevented from attempting any similar scheme.

*No. 3. Lodge of Friendship. Thatched House, St. James's Street, Wednesday, March 18th, 1767.*

The Lodge opened in due form. Here follows a list of twelve members present. The Duke of Beaufort in the Chair. Confirmation of previous meeting. John Tempest, Thomas Masters, Charles Townley, Sir Frank Standish, Charles Amcotts,<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Philipps, Bt.,<sup>2</sup> John Allen,<sup>3</sup> John Damer,<sup>4</sup> were proposed, ballotted for, and duly elected.

The entrance fee was called a voluntary subscription, though every joining member paid the same amount, 5 gns. An initiate paid 7 gns. The subscription was 4 gns. A list of ten members follows who had paid up their 9 gns.

"Some Jewells were presented to the Brethren as Patterns as also Drawings for new Jewells for this Lodge.

Resolved that One Hundred Guineas be appropriated for that purpose.

Resolved that Three magnificent Brass Candlesticks (as described by one of the Brethren) be provided forthwith.

Resolved that a Pedestal &c. be provided for the use of the Lodge.

And a Committee of all the Officers of the Lodge, together with Brothers Hervey, Townley and Browne, was appointed to receive Proposals, and give directions touching these matters.

Resolved that said Committee do meet at this House on Friday next, the 20th inst., at 7 in the Evening. And that they adjourn themselves from time to time as they shall find meet.

The Regulations of Bye Laws, that were prepar'd last Lodge Night, were publickly read, and unanimously approved.

All business being over the Lodge was closed in due Form, and adjourned to Wednesday, the 25th inst."

*No. 3. The Lodge of Friendship. Thatched House, St. James's Street, Friday, March 20th, 1767.*

"The following Members of the Committee appointed last Lodge Night attended, viz., Brothers Dunckerley, French, Allen, Galloway, Hervey, Townley, and Browne.

Mr. Bent, Brass-founder, attended and engaged to make Three Brass Candlesticks to Pattern with Masonic Emblems. The Candlesticks to be lacquered, the Emblems Silver, for a Sum not to exceed Forty Six Guineas. He engages to finish them in Three Months at latest, as much sooner as possible. Ordered him to proceed in making them immediately.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Amcotts. M.P. Boston, Lincs., of Harrington, Co. Lincs. B. 1730, d. 1777.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Richard Philips, 7th Bt., of Picton Castle, Co. Pembroke. B. 1744 Ed. Pembroke Coll., Oxford. Cr. Baron Milford 1776 D. 1823.

<sup>3</sup> John Allen. Prov.G.M., Lincs., 1769-1807. J.G.W. 1777. One of the Solicitors employed to draw up Dillon's Bill of Incorporation in 1772.

<sup>4</sup> Hon. John Damer. M.P. Eldest son of Joseph, 1st Earl of Dorchester.

Brother Simpkinson, Goldsmith and Jeweler, attended with Drawings for Jewells. Order'd him to make forthwith agreeable to the Drawings produced and amendments pointed out by the present Company, as follows, viz., Jewells for the Master, the Senior and Junior Wardens, the Past Master, Treasurer, and Secretary, and a pr. Silver Compasses five inches in length. And that he shall make them to the value of One Hundred Guineas. He engaged to finish them in a workmanlike manner, to be submitted to Judgment, to the above value. The Master's to be delivered by or before the 7th, the Two Warden's by the 17th, and the remainder before the 27th of April next.

Brother Williams attended with Drawings for Chairs, Pedestal &c. Ordered him to make a Pedestal 2 ft. 4 inches high, with the No. and Name of this Lodge on the Front; A Tracing Board, Perfect and Rough Ashlars, Three Ivory Hiram's, and Three Crimson Velvet Cushions.

Business being over the Committee adjourned Sine Die."

The Lodge evidently determined that its "Masonic equipment" was to be of the very best. The Jewels of Paste are in regular Lodge use to-day and are perhaps the most beautiful set of eighteenth century Lodge Jewels in existence. Their actual cost was £115. 10. 0.—no inconsiderable sum in those days.

£30 was paid on account to Bro. Williams on June 3rd, 1767. The balance of his account, £100, was paid on March 9th, 1768.

The candlesticks, chairs, pedestal and tracing board are no longer in the possession of the Lodge, nor do we know how or when they disappeared—they would be highly appreciated to-day.

*No. 3. The Lodge of Friendship. Thatched House, St. James's Street. March 25th, 1767, being stated Lodge Night.*

"Present—His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, R.W.M.; 2. The Honble. Mr. Dillon, S.W.; 3. Br. Thos. French, J.W.; 4. Thos. Dunckerley Esqr., P.M.; 5. Rowland Holt Esqr., T.; 6. Br. Js. Galloway, S.; 7. Br. Jno. Allen; 8. John Butler Esqr.; 9. Charles Townley Esqr.; 10. Lucy Knightley Esqr.; 11. Lord Wenman; 12. R. Browne Esqr.; 13. T. Hervey Esqr.; 14. The Honble. Capt. Bertie.

The following Thirteen Brethren named, desired permission to withdraw themselves from the Lodge, as the places of their abode are too far distant from this House, &c.—15. Bros. Grinarde; 16. Gibbons; 17. Burrows; 18. Clarke; 19. Farmer; 20. Lang; 21. Portes; 22. Steel; 23. Higgins; 24. Burn; 25. Pitt; 26. Palmer; 27. Shand.

Visitor—Br. Henry Aston Esqr.

The Lodge was open'd in *due form*, and the proceedings of last Lodge and of the Committee of 20th inst., were severally read and confirmed.

Brs. Charles Townley and John Butler Esqrs. were *Passed* from the Entered Apprentice's Degree, to that of Fellowcrafts.

Sir Frank Standish, Bart.,<sup>1</sup> who had been regularly proposed and balloted for last Lodge Night, was *Initiated* into the *Sacred Mysteries* and *Accepted as an Entered Apprentice*.

James Barton Esqr. was proposed by Br. Dillon, to be made a Mason this Night, which being properly seconded: The Presiding Officers and Brethren were pleas'd to dispense with the Bye Laws of

<sup>1</sup> Sir Frank Standish, M.P. for Preston. 4th Baronet of Daxbury, Co. Lancs. B. 1746. d. 1812.

this Lodge, in that respect And the Ballot being in his favour, he was *Initiated* and *Accepted* as an Enter'd Apprentice.

The R.W.M. proposed that Brothers Lord Wenman, Lucy Knightley, Charles Townley, and John Butler Esqr., be Raised to the Third Degree.

Order'd that a Master's Lodge be held for that purpose on Tuesday, the 31st inst., between six and seven in the Evening.

To Caton the Tyler his Bill in full	£1. 7. 0.
	Balance    £133. 0. 0.

All business being over the Lodge was closed in due Form, and adjourned to Thursday, the 9th of April ensuing."

The resignation of the 13 Brethren of the *Sun and Punch Bowl* is now effected with the utmost propriety. It is satisfactory to know that ten out of the number, thanks to the liberality of Dunckerley and his allies, continued at that Tavern in a new Lodge, *Honor and Generosity* No. 394,<sup>1</sup> constituted on 17th June, 1767. The Grand Lodge Register records them as follows:—

Thomas Grenard, Watchmaker; David Gibbons, Taylor; William Burrows, Carpenter; John Clarke, Watchmaker; Thomas Farmer, Painter; William Lang, Cyder Merchant; Robert Ports, Cabinet maker; Hugh Higgins, Victualler; John Shand, Tallow Chandler and Soapmaker; Burn, Baker. But several others of the old members returned to the fold—Emanuel Grigson, Brewer; William Roe, Whalebone Merchant; George Hall, Tobacconist; and Adam Stowers, Coal Merchant.

I may mention that it is only through an inspection of G.L. Register that we know their Christian names and vocations. The minutes gave neither.

In the account, the Tyler's name, Caton,<sup>2</sup> is mentioned in the minutes for the first and only time. He was Grand Tyler in 1769, perhaps earlier. Aprons cost 10/6 each instead of the humble 1/- of the past; no doubt they were better ones.

No. 3. *The Lodge of Friendship, at the Thatch'd House, St. James's Street, March 31st, 1767.*

"In consequence of an order of last Lodge Night. The Brethren following mett, and the Lodge was open'd in due form, viz., Brothers His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, R.W.M.; The Honble Mr. Dillon, S.W.; T. French, J.W.; T. Dunckerley Esqr., P.M.; Rowland Holt Esqr., T.; J. Galloway, S.; Lucy Knightly Esqr.; Charles Townley Esqr.; His Grace the Duke of Buccleugh; John Errington Esqr.; James Barton Esqr.

At the particular request of Brother Barton, and for obvious good reasons, the Brethren thought fitt to Pass him from an Enter'd Apprentice to a Fellow Craft, And Brothers Lucy Knightly, Charles Townley, John Errington, and James Barton Esqr. were Raised to the Sublime and Honourable Degree of Master Masons.

All Business being over the Lodge was closed in due form and adjourned during the R.W.M.'s pleasure."

Eleven master masons were present on this Masters' night, and it is quite possible that these were the only members eligible. In those days the first two degrees were usually taken together; the third seems to have been entirely optional and the ceremony at this period was usually confined to Emergency meetings specially convened for the purpose of Raising. We have no record of any statutory time to elapse between passing and raising, but it seems as if some exception was made for the benefit of Bro. Barton.

<sup>1</sup> So named in 1789 and now No. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Caton was pensioned by the Royal Lodge 7th January, 1781, on account of age.

We do not know what manner of ritual was used, whether the "ancient" or "modern" form, nor do we find any clue to this point in any of the subsequent minutes.

*No. 3. The Lodge of Friendship, at the Thatched House, St. James's Street, London, April 9th, 1767.*

Members present—20.

"The Lodge was opened in due form And the Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Jas. Scawen Esqr.<sup>1</sup> (Proposed last Meeting) was this night balloted for and admitted to be made a Mason in this Lodge. Brothers Lord Gormanston,<sup>2</sup> Ogilvie,<sup>3</sup> Hen. Aston,<sup>4</sup> and Edward Yeo Esqrs.,<sup>5</sup> proposed last Meeting to become Members of this Lodge, were balloted for, and admitted.

Thos. Masters<sup>6</sup> and John Tempest Esqrs. were Initiated into the Sacred Mysteries, and Accepted as Enter'd Apprentices.

The R.W.M. proposed Sr. Robert Bernard, Bart.,† Alexr. Bennett,† and Robert Shuttleworth† Esqrs., And Bro. Holt proposed Sr. Peter Leicester Bart.,<sup>7</sup> John P. Pryce Esqr.,<sup>8</sup> and John Aubrey Esqr.,<sup>9</sup> to be made Masons in this Lodge. These propositions were duly seconded and referr'd to Ballot on next meeting.

Br. Dillon moved that the Secretary of this Lodge, on account of his extra trouble, shall be exempted from all Lodge expenses.

It was determined in the affirmative unanimously.

The R.W.M. acquainted such Brethren as have served as Enter'd Apprentices, that he will Pass them Fellow Crafts next Meeting, or the first stated Meeting that they can attend.

Resolved That Five Guineas be given to the general Fund of Charity, at the Communication on the 15th Inst."

All business being over the Lodge was closed in due Form, and adjourned to Wednesday, the 22 Inst.

The Balance in hand at the end of the evening was £206. 10. 4."

In the account, which I do not give in full, there is an item of interest—"Paid Expences of several old Members attending the Committee of Charity". This refers to the meeting held on April 8th to consider Bro. Paterson's complaint concerning the illegal formation of the Lodge.

*No. 3. The Lodge of Friendship, at the Thatched House, St. James's Street, London, 22nd April, 1767.*

"Present—Brs. His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, R.W.M.; Sir Richard Phillipps, Bart., S.W. (Pro Tem); Thos. French, J.W.; Thos. Dunckerley Esqr., P.M.; Jno Allen, Tr. and Secy (Pro Tem); Lord Gormanston; J. Barton Esqr.; Captn. Barnard; Robt. Browne Esqr.; Hen. Errington Esqr.; Chas. Ogilvie Esq.

<sup>1</sup> James Scawen, M.P. for Surrey in 1774.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Gormanston, 11th Viscount. B. 1736, d. 1786.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Ogilvie, M.P. West Loos.

<sup>4</sup> Hon. Henry Harvey Aston, of Aston, Co. Cheshire, son of Rev. Lord Henry Harvey Aston, D.D.; died at Madras in 1798 in consequence of a wound received in a duel with a Major Allen.

<sup>5</sup> Edward Rouse Yeo, M.P., of Huish, Co. Devon. B. 1743. M.P. for Coventry d. 1823.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas Masters, M.P., of the Abbey, Cirencester. M.P. for Glos. B. 1774, d. 1823.

<sup>7</sup> Sir Peter Leicester, Bt. M.P. Preston 1767-68. 4th Bt., of Timogue, Queens Co. and of Tabley, Co. Chester. B. 1723. Assumed in 1744 the name of Leicester in lieu of Byrne. D. 1770.

<sup>8</sup> John Pughe Pryse. M.P. Cardiganshire, only son of Thomas Pryse, of Gogarth, and Maria Carlotta, heiress of Rowland Pughe, of Rug and Mathafarm, Montgomery.

<sup>9</sup> John Aubrey M.P. Wallingford. B. 1739. Afterwards 6th Bt., of Llan-

tryshryd, Co. Glamorgan. D. 1829.

Those marked † did not become members.

The Lodge was opened in due form in the Third Degree; and Br. Sir Richard Philipps was raised to the Degree of a Master Mason. This Lodge was then closed in due form And a Lodge of the First Degree being open'd The Minutes of last meeting were read and confirmed. And Sir Robert Bernard, Bart., Alexr. Bennett Esqr., Robert Shuttleworth Junr. Esqr., Sir Peter Leicester, Bart., Jno. Pugh Pryce Esqr. and John Aubrey Esqr. were balloted for, and unanimously accepted to be made Masons in this Lodge.

John Pugh Pryce and John Aubrey Esqrs., attended and were Initiated and Accepted as Enter'd Apprentices.

Br. Beaufort the R.W.M. being elected *Grand Master* of Masons to be install'd into that high office on the 27th of this month, declared that by that means the office of Master of this Lodge would be vacated; And proposed The Honble. Mr. Dillon, the S.W. of the Lodge, to take on him that office and he was thereupon unanimously elected to be Install'd next Lodge Night.

The following Brethren visited the Lodge this evening—John Salter Esqr., D.G.M.; Peter Edwards Esqr., S.G.W.; Horatio Ripley Esqr., J.G.W.; Sam Spencer, G.S.; Thos. Dyne, G.S.B.; and Arthur Beardmore Esqr., P.G.W. (in 1754 J.G.W.)

Br. Dunckerley, on behalf of Br. Dillon, proposed Br. Theobald Bourke Esqr., to be admitted a member of this Lodge which was duly seconded and referr'd to the Ballot next meeting.

All business being over, the Lodge was closed in due form and adjourned to Wednesday, the 13th May next.

Balance £249. 8. 0."

On this night all three degrees were worked. Sir Richard Philipps no doubt acted as S.W. for the first degree which followed the ceremony of raising.

Perhaps the whitewashing of the irregularities we have noticed was confirmed by the visit of all the Grand Lodge officers of the year, with the exception of Lord Blayney, the Grand Master, and the Grand Treasurer, Berkeley.

No. 3. *The Lodge of Friendship, at the Thatched House, St. James's Street, London, 13th May, 1767.*

Fifteen Members present— . . . . .

"The Lodge was opened in due form And the Minutes of last meeting were read and confirmed.

Br. Theobald Bourke who stands proposed to be admitted a member was Balloted for and admitted unanimously.

Br. Errington proposed Br. Sir Thos. Gascoyne to become a member, and the Rt. Honble. Lord Molineux to be made a Mason in this Lodge.

Br. Townley proposed Br. Robert Cotton Esqr. to become a member of this Lodge; these propositions were severally seconded, and referr'd to Ballot next meeting.

Br. Dunckerley in the absence and at the request of Br. Dillon, R.W.M. Elect, nominated Sr. Richard Philipps Bart., and John Errington Esqr. to be Wardens of this Lodge, which was unanimously approved of. The other Officers were continued. All business being over the Lodge was closed in due form, and adjourned to Wednesday, the 27th inst."

The account of Br. Simpkinson for the jewels, £115. 10. 0., was paid, leaving a balance in hand of £123. 7. 0.

*No. 3. The Lodge of Friendship, at the Thatched House, St. James's Street, London, 27th May, 5767.*

Present—Twelve Members— . . . . .

“The Lodge was open'd in due form and the Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Lord Molineux<sup>1</sup> was Balloted for to be made a Mason, and accepted.

Brothers Sir Thos. Gascoyne<sup>2</sup> and Robt. Cotton Esqr. were Balloted for to be Members of this Lodge, and admitted.

James Scawen Esqr. attended and was Initiated into our Mysteries, and accepted as an Enter'd Apprentice.

Order'd that a Silver Square of five inches be provided for the use of the Lodge.

Her Grace the Duchess of Beaufort having been nominated last Meeting a *Lady Patroness of this Lodge*, was now unanimously Elected as such, Order'd that the same be notified to Her Grace, and that she be requested to do the Lodge the Honor of her Patronage, and that a pair of Gloves be presented to Her Grace.

Whereas Brothers John Francis Meyrick and Chas. Amcotts Esq., who at their own voluntary requests have been admitted members of this Lodge, have not thought fit to join the same; nor have obey'd the Master's summons general nor special, but have in private conversation out of doors said that they did not intend to join the same They are hereby excluded the Privilege of Membership, and as their conduct cannot but be considered as disrespectful to this Lodge, it is Resolved that they shall not be received as Visitors, untill they have made their Peace, and their Grace is granted.

All business being over the Lodge was closed in due form, and adjourned to Wednesday, the 3rd June next.”

Balance £137. 5. 0.

The Minute relating to the Duchess of Beaufort is curious. There is no mention of her in the minutes of the previous meeting. The office of Lady Patroness, surely in Masonry an unique one, is not referred to again. It was a gracious compliment to a charming Lady and to the Grand Master. She was a Daughter of Admiral Boscawen.

The account for the gloves appears in the minutes of November 25th. “Paid Jaffray's bill for an elegant pair of gloves for the Duchess of Beaufort as Lady Patroness of the Lodge 5 gns.” The gloves must have been remarkable specimens of their kind; to-day's equivalent would be at least double this figure.

*No. 3. The Lodge of Friendship, at the Thatched House, St. James's Street, London, 3rd June, 5767.*

“Present—Brothers The Duke of Beaufort, M.W.G.M.; The Honble. Mr. Dillon, R.W.M.; T. French, S.W., Pro Tem; J. Allen, J.W., Pro Tem; Thos. Dunckerley Esqr., P.M.; Rowland Holt Esqr., T.; J. Galloway, S.; Charles Ogilvy Esqr.; James Scawen Esqr.; Thos. Cholmondeley Esqr.; Theobald Bourke Esqr.

A Lodge of the Second Degree of Masonry was open'd in due Form, and the Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Brother Ogilvy and Scawen were Pass'd from Enter'd Apprentices to Fellowcrafts. Which done, a Lodge of the Third Degree was open'd, and the said Brothers were Raised Master Masons.

<sup>1</sup> Rt. Hon. Charles William, Viscount Molyneux, P.C. B. 1748. M.P. for Lancashire. Cr. Earl of Sefton in 1771. D. 1794.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Gascoigne, 8th Bart., of Parlington, Co. Yorks. B. 1743. Succ. 1762. D. 1810.

Br. Cholmondeley proposed Sr. Watkin Williams Winn Bart.<sup>1</sup> to be made a Mason in this Lodge; said proposition being duly seconded, and Br. Cholmondeley being desirous that his Candidate should be Balloted for immediately, he requested the Grand Master to dispense with the Bye Laws of this Lodge in that respect Which His Grace being pleas'd to do, he was Balloted for and accepted.

Order'd that if this Lodge does not meet again before next Quarterly Communication, Five Guineas be sent to the General Fund of Charity.

All businesss being over the Lodge was closed in due form, and adjourned to the Fourth Wednesday in October next.

Re-paid to Br. Dillon the money deposited by him for the Regalia on removal from Holborn £31. 10. 0."

*Lodge Minutes, Dec. 9th, 1767.*

"The Lodge requested the Grand Master to indulge the Members of this Lodge with the Privilege of *wearing their swords in Lodge Hours.* Which His Grace was pleased to comply with."

This privilege was evidently resented and reported to Grand Lodge, and in the proceedings of the G.L. Committee of Charity, April 22nd, 1768, we find the following minuted:—

"Bro. Edwards the S.G.W. informed the G.M. (Col. Salter D.G.M.) in the chair that he had sufficient Reasons to believe that some Lodges under the constitution of the G.M. of England permitted the Brethren thereof to appear armed during Lodge Hours which he was in his own mind convinced was an Innovation in & contrary to the ancient usages & Customs of the Society but begged leave to take the opinion of his Worship and the Committee on that Occasion.

After some Debates had thereon, & the question being put whether such a Practice was or was not an Innovation in and contrary to the ancient usages and Customs of the Society. It passed in the affirmation by a very large majority. And it was at the same time, Resolved that the D.G.M. be desired by the Committee to wait on the Rt. Worshipfull the G.M. his Grace the Duke of Beaufort and acquaint him with these their sentiments and humbly to request his Grace to forbid the practice of the Brethren's appearing armed in Lodge during Lodge Hours for the future."

The sequel to this incident is recorded in our minutes of May 12th, 1768, which read:—

"A letter was received from the Grand Secretary intimating the pleasure of the M.W.G. Master to withdraw his Dispensation lately granted to the Brethren of this Lodge for wearing their swords in Lodge Hours."

On 29th April, 1768, the Duke of Beaufort was elected for his second year of office, and installed therein on May 2nd, so this meeting of the Committee of Charity was the last one to be presided over by Colonel Salter. As I have noted, he was a dissatisfied individual, and probably knew that he was not going to be appointed Deputy Grand Master on 2nd May. This was his last opportunity of scoring off the men whom he considered to have slighted him. Later, in 1772, he opposed Br. Dillon's Bill of Incorporation, although it had the almost unanimous approval of Grand Lodge. Personal pique must have influenced him on both these occasions.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Watkin William Wynne, 4th Bt., of Wynnstay, Co. Denbigh. B. 1749. S.G.W. 1771. D. 1789. Married sister of G.M. the Duke of Beaufort.

The episode of the swords inclines one to the belief that the Duke of Beaufort, aged only 23 at this time, was under the influence of the older members of the Lodge, who should have known that this practice was irregular, to say the least of it, and, as it turned out, caused the Grand Master a certain loss of dignity in having to rescind his permission. It also seems to show that Grand Lodge was at last beginning to be conscious of its power as a ruling body. It decreed that no Lodge, even so distinguished a one as the *Lodge of Friendship*, presided over by the Grand Master himself, could be a law unto self.

Several Masonic historians in the past have published extracts from the minutes of the *Lodge of Friendship*. In every case they appear to have regarded the "peaceful penetration" of the Lodge at the *Sun and Punch Bowl* No. 3 solely as a means for Dunckerley and his set to secure control of a Lodge of high numerical seniority. A well-known writer in recent years expresses his views thus:—"They wanted a number on the list higher than 279, so in 1767 they made an illegal purchase of No. 3 Lodge and gave it the name of the *Lodge of Friendship*. The story as read in the minutes of the Committee of Charity is disgraceful." The proceedings were of course irregular, but even if the above implication of a not very lofty motive be conceded, and if that were the only motive, Dunckerley certainly saved an old Lodge from lapsing into obscurity and erasure, and as to the members of it, what did they gain? A relief from all financial embarrassment, and 30 guineas with which to start a new Lodge, No. 394, "*Honor and Generosity*", which flourishes as No. 165 at the present day. I hope what I have written may dispel for good such a hasty and fallacious generalization as is quoted above.

As we have seen in the minutes, on March 10th, 1767, the Duke of Beaufort was installed, somewhat irregularly, as first Worshipful Master of the *Lodge of Friendship*. After his installation, some six weeks later, on April 27th, as Grand Master, he made no changes in the principal offices, but he appointed Dillon as S.G.W. On his appointment to his second year of office on April 29th, 1768, the Grand Lodge personnel was drastically revised—Col. Salter, the Deputy Grand Master, was replaced by Hon. Charles Dillon, Rowland Holt became S.G.W. Jaffray,<sup>1</sup> a protégé (he supplied the gloves for the Duchess of Beaufort), became J.G.W. and Thomas French succeeded Spencer, who had opportunely died. French resigned or, as is more probable, was discharged towards the end of 1768, and James Heseltine, a much better nominee, was appointed in his place. He was one of the pioneers of Dunckerley's movement, a member of the Somerset House Lodge. So at the end of 1768 Grand Lodge was ruled by the following:—Grand Master, the Duke of Beaufort; Deputy Grand Master, Hon. C. Dillon; Senior Grand Warden, Rowland Holt; Junior Grand Warden, Henry Jaffray; Grand Treasurer, Rowland Berkeley; Grand Secretary, James Heseltine; Grand Sword Bearer, Thomas Dyne.

One hundred years ago at Rome there was a Theological College for priests, the *Accademia Ecclesiastica*, so exclusive and influential that it was called the Nursery of Cardinals. It would appear that Dunckerley must have had something similar in view when he re-created the *Lodge of Friendship*.<sup>2</sup> It was to be a Nursery of Grand Lodge Officers who would be worthy of their office and assist in the renaissance of English Craft Masonry. He left nothing

<sup>1</sup> Henry Jaffray, glover in the Strand, was initiated in the O.K.A. Lodge 7th February, 1758. W.M. 1761-63. Resigned 17th December, 1765. He was W.M. *Lodge of Emulation* No. 21 1761-66. Joined *Somerset House Lodge* in 1775.

<sup>2</sup> The first idea of such a Lodge originated in Ireland, where in January, 1750, the Grand Master's Lodge was formed. It was given great privileges, many of which have been retained, such as taking precedence (without a number) over all other Irish Lodges, while its members have the right to wear Grand Lodge clothing and claim the salute given to a Grand Officer, though they do not hold such a rank.—J.H.L.

to chance. The *Somerset House Lodge* was also to be strongly maintained in case the more luxurious and ambitious Lodge did not prove a success; it was to be the rearguard of the movement under the able direction of Heseltine and Berkeley, neither of whom joined the *Lodge of Friendship*, as it may have been considered by all concerned that it should be an independent unit. The following table definitely proves that these two Lodges, organised by Thomas Dunckerley, were of outstanding importance in the hundred years following their establishment, that is from 1767-1866. Until the Union in 1813 Grand Lodge Officers consisted of the Grand Master, a Deputy Grand Master, two Grand Wardens, Treasurer, Secretary and Sword Bearer. After the Union the offices of Grand Senior and Junior Deacons, Grand Registrar and Grand Chaplain were added. The office of President of the Board of General Purposes, an important one created in 1816, only became *ex officio* entitled to grand rank in 1862, though until that date with but two exceptions, Agar in 1816 and Lewis in 1827, every President had high rank.

The *Lodge of Friendship* numbered in its membership during the period 1767-1866 three Grand Masters, the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Petre,<sup>6</sup> initiated in the Lodge, and H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex. All three occupied the W.M.'s Chair in the Lodge. The Hon. C. Dillon was Deputy Grand Master from 1768-1774, when he was succeeded by Rowland Holt, who held the office until 1786. Sir Peter Parker followed him until 1812, so for 44 years the office of Deputy Grand Master was held by a member of the *Lodge of Friendship*. Rowland Berkeley was Grand Treasurer from 1766 until his death in 1785. He was succeeded in that office by James Heseltine, of the *Somerset House Lodge* and the *Lodge of Antiquity*, who held it until 1804, the year of his death. Heseltine was Grand Secretary 1768-1784, in which latter year he was S.G.W., and then, as I have mentioned, became Grand Treasurer. These two members of the *Somerset House Lodge* therefore held these highly important semi-permanent appointments for thirty-eight years. William Henry White was Secretary of the *Lodge of Friendship* from 1806-1857. He was Grand Secretary from 1813-1866. Appended is a full list of Grand Wardens during the period; those in ordinary type are of the *Lodge of Friendship*, those of other Lodges in italics; of these, members of the *Somerset House Lodge* are marked S.H. No doubt many belonged to several Lodges, but it is not easy to identify all of them. Of the 200 Grand Wardens exactly 100 were members of the *Lodge of Friendship* and 41 of the *Somerset House Lodge*. In all cases the Lodge enumeration of the present day is adopted. From 1840-1866 the *Royal Alpha* No. 16 is clearly a Lodge of great influence. It is the private Lodge of the Grand Master in office, and membership is by invitation from him.

Throughout this paper I have consistently referred to Dunckerley as the leader of the Reformers. This requires justification. We have seen that Dunckerley held a highly responsible position in the Navy for the last 20 years or so of his service therein. He acquitted himself with great credit, e.g., his appointment as school master on *H.M.S. Vanguard*, supplementary to his post as gunner on that ship, was a rather exceptional one, and it is said was given as a reward for his good service in the Cape Breton operations. In 1760 he was given an appointment from Grand Lodge "to inspect into the state of the Craft wheresoever he might go." We know that he made use of this authority in installing Colonel Frasier as Provincial Grand Master of Quebec on June 24th, 1760. At the end of 1766 he was 42 years of age and a mason of 12 years standing. The *Somerset House Lodge* was undeniably revived by him with the *H.M.S. Prince-Guadeloupe* Warrant, and he could claim the King of England as his nephew. With these qualifications it is inconceivable that he was anything but the leader of his set. Of this set, Beaufort was born in 1744, Dillon in 1745. At the end of 1766 they were, therefore, very young men and very young masons, though we do not know when or where they were

made masons. It is incredible that Dunckerley would take orders from either of them. Heseltine, according to Calvert, was made in the *Philanthropic Lodge* on 15th July, 1765. It is unlikely that Dunckerley would be under the sway of a mason of some 18 months standing. Galloway was, as has been noted, steward to the Duke of Cumberland and was probably responsible for the clerical side of the *Somerset House Lodge*; he was Secretary to the *Lodge of Friendship* from 1767-1802. French was a knowledgeable mason, made use of for his general acquaintance with London Masonry. There remains only Rowland Holt, a man of Dunckerley's age, a member of Parliament, a country gentleman, traveller, bon viveur and wit. He must frequently have been absent from town, and I see no reason to suppose that he was other than an upholder of Dunckerley's enthusiasm.

Dunckerley's Masonic life, as revealed in his letters, show him to have been reasonable but by no means pliable, always a ruler, at times rather autocratic.

Having founded two Lodges which were ultimately to steer the barque of Masonry to a harbour of serene security,<sup>1</sup> he resigned from the *Lodge of Friendship* on 10th January, 1770, and from that date preferred to devote himself almost entirely to Provincial Masonry,<sup>2</sup> of which he was Provincial Grand Master in the Craft of 9 counties and Grand Superintendent of the Royal Arch of 18. In the former capacity he was answerable only to the Grand Secretary and in the latter probably only to himself. Besides these activities he was Grand Master of the Knights Templar<sup>3</sup> in 1791. In London he was evidently satisfied to leave Craft Masonry to others. There it was well established, so he devoted his life from 1770 until his death in 1795 in promulgating Provincial Masonry. Even if he organized but one Provincial Grand Meeting a year in each Province it was a considerable undertaking to be administered from Hampton Court, or, as is more probable, from a residence in Salisbury. There were but few Lodges in each county when he took over and in every case he increased the number. Sadler refers to various letters of Dunckerley in private hands, and if at some future time these be collected it will be possible to estimate more exactly the enormous amount of Masonic work he accomplished. His zeal and enthusiasm in his life-work never flagged; the last letter recorded by Sadler, dictated by Ed. Robinson on 3rd November, 1795, refers to sums of money collected by him for forwarding to Heseltine, the Grand Secretary.

The establishment of the *Lodge of Friendship* and the *Somerset House Lodge* alone was an achievement of outstanding importance; if his Provincial work is also considered, then surely Thomas Dunckerley must be regarded as the greatest Masonic builder of modern times, perhaps of all time.

<sup>1</sup> The minute of 13th March, 1771, reads: "The Duke of Beaufort proposed the Rt. Hon. Lord Petre to be made a Mason in this Lodge and was pleased to give a Dispensation for an immediate ballott. Which being taken his Lordship was aproved of. . . . Lord Petre attended and was initiated into the mysteries and received an entered apprentice." Lord Petre was passed and raised on 11th March, 1772; he was elected W.M. of the Lodge on the same evening. He became Grand Master on 4th May, 1772. The guiding hands of Beaufort and the *Lodge of Friendship* was seen in this predetermined appointment.

<sup>2</sup> Dunckerley was Prov. Grand Master of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight in 1767, and his duties in this province would have entailed frequent absence from London; it is not certain where he was residing in 1770. The minute 10th January, 1770, relating to his resignation, is as follows:—"A letter was afterwards received from Bro. Dunckerley, desiring leave to decline being any longer a member on account of his residence in the country but that he may be an honorary member which was agreed to."

<sup>3</sup> In this capacity he was G.M. and G. Commander of the United Order of Royal Ark and Mariners [*Freemasons' Magazine*, August, 1794].

APPENDIX I

List of Provincial Grand Masters who were members of the *Lodge of Friendship* and *Somerset House Lodge* from 1767-1866.

John Allen	Lancs.	1769—1807
<i>Rev. John Austin</i>	Surrey	1811—1847
Rowland Alston	Essex	1836—1854
Col. Hon. G. Anson	Staffs.	1837—1853
<i>Richard Barker</i>	Rutland	1798—1813
John Bayford	Cheshire	1810
John Bowes	Durham	1837—1853
Benjamin Bond Cabell	Norfolk	1854—1875
Lord H. J. Spencer Churchill	Oxford	1837—1844
Rev. S. S. Colman	Norfolk	1810—1813
John Dent, M.P.	Worcs.	1792—1850
Lord de Tabley	Cheshire	1865—1886
Alexander Dobie	Surrey	1847—1871
<i>George Durant</i>	N. Wales	1774—1791
Earl of Durham	Northumberland	1837—1845
Viscount Ebrington	Devon	1820—1866
John Errington	Northumberland	1771—1807
John Fawcett	Durham	1847—1880
Hon. W. T. Fiennes	Kent	1829—1847
<i>Hon. John Forbes</i>	Oxford	1810—1836
<i>Sir F. G. Fowke, Bt.</i>	Leics.	1851—1856
Capt. C. Frederick	Kent	1774—1777
<i>Col. William Gill</i>	Beds.	1799—1812
*Sir A. S. Gordon, Bt.	Hereford	1801—1814
Sir J. J. Guest, Bt.	S. Wales	1836—1848
Sir J. M. Hayes, Bt.	Oxford	1795—1810
Rowland Holt, M.P.	Suffolk	1771—1788
E. J. Hutchins	Wales, S.E.	1848—1856
<i>Rev. John Huyshe</i>	Devon	1866—1879
Earl of Limerick	Bristol	1866—1889
<i>Sir H. Mackworth</i>	Wales, S.	1783—1790
*James Meyrick	Surrey	1795—1836
<i>Earl of Mountnorris</i>	Hunts.	1800—1825
Duke of Norfolk	Hereford	1789—1790
*Thomas Parker	Surrey	1772—1795
[Lord Rancliffe] T. B. Parkins	Derby, and Notts	1783-1802
Sir R. B. Phillips, Bt.	Wales, S.W.	1848—1857
Viscount Pollington	Yorks., W. Riding	1829—1861
Earl of Pomfret	Northants.	1798
John Ramsbottom	Berks. and Bucks.	1833—1847
*Sir John St. Aubyn, Bt.	Cornwall	1758—1843
Marquess of Salisbury	Herts.	1833—1844
Hon. W. Shirley	Warwick.	1810—1843
Col. Sherborn Stewart	Hampshire	1795—1819
Lord Suffield	Norfolk	1845—1854
Sir Thomas Tancred, Bt.	Yorks.	1771—1780
<i>T. Thomson</i>	Warwick.	1792—1810
Hon. R. B. Walsingham	Kent	1770—1774
Col. T. Wildman	Notts.	1823—1860
<i>R. H. Willett</i>	Dorset	1854—1859
William Williams	Dorset	1812—1839

William Wix	Essex	1801—1824
Sir W. W. Wynne, Bt.	Wales, North	1852—1885
Yarborough, Earl of	Lincoln	1849—1862

Of these 54 names, 41 were members of the *Lodge of Friendship*, 13 of the *Somerset House Lodge*; 4 marked with an asterisk belonged to both Lodges. The names in italics are the members of the *Somerset House Lodge*.

## APPENDIX II

## Grand Wardens

S. G. W.		J. G. W.	
1767	Hon. Charles Dillon	<i>Capt. A. Campbell</i>	
68	Rowland Holt	<i>H. Jaffray</i>	SH
69	Rowland Holt	<i>Chas. Taylor</i>	SH
70	Rowland Holt	Sir W. W. Wynne, Bt.	
71	*Sir W. W. Wynne, Bt.	<i>Wm. Hodgson</i>	SH
72	*Adl. Sir Peter Parker, Bt.	<i>Wm. Atkinson</i>	SH
73	*Sir John Croft, Bt.	<i>J. F. Gillio</i>	SH
74	Hon. T. Noel	<i>John Hatch</i>	SH
75	*Thomas Parker	<i>John Hull</i>	SH
76	<i>Col. John Deaken</i>	<i>Geo. Harrison</i>	SH
77	<i>Capt. H. Pascal</i>	[GS] John Allen	
78	<i>Henry Dagge</i>	SH *Chas. Marsh	
79	<i>Visct. Tamworth</i>	235 *Geo. Hesse	
1780	<i>J. P. Hungerford</i>	SH <i>T. T. Tutt</i>	SH
81	*Sir J. St. Aubyn, Bt.	*J. Galloway	
82	<i>Sir H. Mackworth</i>	<i>P. Crespigny</i>	SH
83	Hon. W. Shirley	<i>G. W. Carrington</i>	SH
84	<i>Hon. W. Ward</i>	235 *Jas. Meyrick	
85	<i>J. Heseltine</i>	SH {	
	<i>M. J. Levy</i>	SH { *Sir Lionel Darell	
86	*Sir N. Nugent, Bt.	Sir N. Newnham, Bt.	
87	<i>Lord Alexr. Macdonald</i>	<i>James Curtis</i>	SH
88	T. Fitzherbert	<i>Geo. Atkinson</i>	SH
89	Geo. Shum	<i>Wm. Tyler</i>	SH
1790	*H. Crathorne	<i>Jas. Neild</i>	SH
91	Col. Thomas Swauston	John Warre	
92	<i>T. Thomson</i>	SH <i>B. Lancaster</i>	SH
93	J. Dent	E. Armstrong	
94	John Dawes	<i>A. Tegart</i>	SH
95	*John Meyrick	<i>G. Corry</i>	SH
96	Geo. Porter	<i>R. Brettingham</i>	SH
97	*Arthur Gore	*John Hunter	
98	Sir J. Eamer	<i>N. Gosling</i>	SH
99	Hon. T. W. Fermor	<i>G. Blackmore</i>	SH
1800	<i>E. D. Batson</i>	SH *J. Bayford	(2)
01	<i>S. Q. Barter</i>	SH Hon. T. Brand	
02	Wm. Rawlins	<i>R. Wilkinson</i>	[33]
03	<i>Earl of Kingston</i>	SH <i>Wm. Forsteen</i>	(99)
04	*Sherborne Stewart	<i>John Cooke</i>	[33]
05	Sir Thomas D. Hesketh, Bt.	Sir A. S. Gordon	
06	John Elliot	<i>C. Lambert</i>	SH
07	John Cobb	<i>R. H. Croft</i>	
08	*A. A. Powell	<i>Wm. Camac</i>	
09	<i>H. Compton</i>	SH Sir T. H. Farquhar, Bt.	
1810	<i>Wm. Bolland</i>	(99) <i>J. B. Richards</i>	
11	Emmanuel Agar	<i>Sir C S Hunter</i>	(21)

S. G. W.			J. G. W.		
12	<i>Rev. J. Austin</i>	SH	<i>H. C. Selby</i>	SH	
13	<i>J. Aldridge</i>	SH	<i>S. McGillivray</i>	SH	
14	<i>Rev. S. Hemming</i>	SH	<i>Isaac Lindo</i>	(1)	
15	<i>Isaac Lindo</i>	(1)	Hon. A. Macdonald		
16	Hon. A. Macdonald		John Skinner		
17	W. W. Prescott		<i>Yeats Brown</i>	(2)	
18	<i>Visct. Torrington</i>	(1)	L. H. Petit		
19	<i>Sir G. Leeds, Bt.</i>		<i>W. P. Honeywood</i>	[357]	
1820	J. Ramsbottom, M.P.		<i>P. T. Gardner</i>		
21	<i>Sir F. G. Fowke</i>	SH	V. Jones		
22	W. J. Symons		Hon. W. E. Twistleton		
23	S. Marjoribanks		<i>R. H. Willett</i>	SH	
24	F. H. Brandram		G. Warre		
25	<i>Col. Hugh Baillie</i>	[2]	C. M. Williams		
26	Hon. E. Petre		<i>Sir Hedworth Williamson</i>	(2)	
27	<i>Richard Percival</i>	(2)	J. Pattison		
28	<i>Sir J. Easthope, Bt.</i>		B. Bond Cabbell, M.P.		
29	<i>Earl Howe</i>		Joshua Walker, M.P.		
1830	Marquess of Salisbury		<i>C. Kemyss-Tynte</i>	[2]	
31	<i>Lord G. Lennox</i>		Lord H. J. S. Churchill		
32	Lord H. J. S. Churchill		<i>Hon. T. Dundas</i>	(259)	
33	Wm. Stuart		R. Mee Raikes		
34	<i>Sir David Pollock</i>	(1)	Geo. Stone		
35	Rowland Alston		<i>E. A. Sanford</i>	(2)	
36	<i>Earl of Scarborough</i>	(2)	Lord Suffield		
37	Hon. Fox Maule		H. J. Prescott		
38	<i>Lord Worsley</i>	(16)	R. Steuart, M.P.		
39	Hon. A. Moreton		Adl. Sir J. Dundas		
1840	E. T. Bainbridge		<i>J. J. Bodkin</i>	[33]	
41	<i>Hon. H. Fitzroy</i>	(16)	Robt. Holland		
42	<i>Visct. Ingestre</i>	[33]	<i>Mark Milbank</i>	(259)	
43	Archd. Hastie		<i>Sir G. B. Matthew</i>	SH	
44	<i>Hon. W. N. Colborne</i>	(16)	<i>W. H. Smith</i>	(2)	
45	<i>Sir R. B. Philipps, Bt.</i>		R. G. Alston		
46	*Henry A. Hoare		<i>L. C. Humphrey</i>	(259)	
47	A. C. Morris		Hon. G. O'Callaghan		
48	<i>H. C. Vernon</i>		A. E. Campbell		
49	<i>F. Dundas</i>	(16)	<i>W. F. Beadon</i>	(16)	
1850	<i>Sir F. B. Alston</i>		F. Pattison		
51	<i>W. Cubitt</i>	(259)	<i>R. Davies</i>	(16)	
52	<i>Lord D. C. Stuart [Kilw.]</i>		T. A. Mitchell, M.P.		
53	<i>Lord Londesborough</i>	(16)	<i>H. Stuart</i>	(2)	
54	Bonamy Dobree		<i>E. Baldwin</i>	(1)	
55	<i>Col. W. Stuart</i>	(2)	Lord Cheylesmere		
56	<i>Visct. Goderich</i>		Thos. Tooke		
57	<i>Earl of Durham</i>		<i>H. Fenwick</i>	(16)	
58	Gen. J. S. Brownrigg		<i>Sir W. S. Portal</i>	(16)	
59	Lord de Tabley	(16)	<i>Sir T. G. Hesketh, Bt.</i>	(5)	
1860	<i>Lord Londesborough</i>	(16)	<i>A. Perkins</i>	(16)	
61	<i>Lord R. Grosvenor</i>	(88)	A. H. Novelli		
62	<i>Sir H. Williamson</i>	(357)	<i>John Havers</i>	(16)	
63	<i>Lord Skelmersdale</i>	(16)	<i>G. C. Legh</i>	(16)	
64	<i>Col. A. L. Cole</i>		<i>Sir J. Ratcliffe</i>		
65	<i>Sir M. Hicks Beach</i>	(10)	R. Cunliffe		
66	<i>Sir G. Greenall, Bt.</i>		<i>Maxwell Close</i>	(16)	

Of the 200 appointments of Grand Wardens from 1767-1866, 100 were members of the Lodge of Friendship and 41 of the Somerset House Lodge, 141 in all. Of the members of the Lodge of Friendship, those marked with an asterisk, 19 in number, were also members of the Somerset House Lodge; members of other Lodges than that of Friendship are in italics.

B. Bond Cabell was closely connected with the Lodge of Antiquity, of which he was W.M. in 1828-9, and Lionel Darell, the great grandfather of our Assistant Grand Master, was more associated with the Somerset House Lodge, of which he was W.M. from 1795-1804.

1, Grand Masters Lodge; 2, Lodge of Antiquity; 4, Royal Somerset House and Inverness; 5, St. George's and Corner Stone Lodge; 10, Westminster and Keystone; 16, Royal Alpha; 21, Lodge of Emulation; 33, Britannic Lodge; 88, Scientific Lodge, Camb.; 99, Shakespear Lodge; 235, Nine Muses; 259, Prince of Wales Lodge; 357, Apollo Lodge, Oxford. Lodge numbers are those of to-day.

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A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Rotch for his interesting paper; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. I. Grantham, F. L. Pick, R. H. Baxter, J. Heron Lepper, H. H. Hallett, and G. W. Bullamore.

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Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

The thanks of the Lodge are certainly due to Bro. Rotch for the interesting paper to which we have just listened, and I am confident that the vote of thanks which I now propose will meet with unanimous approval.

In the preparation of this paper considerable difficulty must have been experienced by reason of the fact that certain records normally available to students cannot be consulted at the present time. But in spite of this handicap a well documented paper has been produced dealing with an interesting episode in the history of the Craft. From various sources details have been collected concerning the birth and life of that remarkable personality, Thomas Dunckerley. The writer has then proceeded to illustrate the manner in which a comparatively insignificant Lodge became transformed in a very short space of time into another "Grand Master's Lodge".

In the course of this paper we have been given an unpleasant picture of the conditions in which Lodges were accustomed to meet in London in the middle of the eighteenth century. Stress has been laid upon the fact that Lodges foregathered in taverns and ale-houses. But where else was it possible for Lodges to meet in those days? Even the reformed Lodge of Friendship decided to meet in a house which called itself a tavern. It is, surely, only a question of degree; and I am loath to think that conditions were generally quite so bad as those portrayed by Bro. Rotch.

At the commencement of this paper the writer suggests five principal purposes underlying the attempted re-organisation of the "Moderns", and promises to deal with each in turn. The fifth purpose suggested by Bro. Rotch is that the reformers intended to combine the "Ancients" and the "Moderns". But I have searched the paper in vain for evidence to justify that conclusion; and in the absence of such evidence I feel disposed to doubt the existence of any general desire to combine as early as 1767. To my mind it is more likely that the reformers desired to attain an ascendancy over their rivals. The attempt by the "Moderns" to incorporate their own Society appears to me to be more consistent with a desire to get the better of their opponents than with a desire to amalgamate with them.

While on the subject of incorporation I would venture to suggest that it is not quite accurate to state that three distinct attempts were made to effect

incorporation. It is true that schemes for incorporation were set on foot in 1768 and in 1772, both of which proved to be abortive. In 1763, the earliest of the three dates mentioned by Bro. Rotch, Earl Ferrers, the then Grand Master of the "Moderns", promised to do his best to obtain a charter for the Society at his own expense as soon as it became possible to establish headquarters in a suitable building; but there is, as far as I am aware, no evidence that any concrete step was taken towards incorporation before the year 1768.

In the course of this paper reference is made to the lack of official visitation of Lodges in London in the mid-eighteenth century. It will be remembered, however, that an attempt to remedy this state of affairs was actually made by the Duke of Beaufort by the appointment of a number of Provincial Grand Masters for the metropolitan Lodges. But this experiment was short lived on account of the opposition which the innovation aroused. If in the course of his researches Bro. Rotch has discovered references to this matter other than those recorded in *A.Q.C.*, volume xlv, at pages 31 and 32, it is to be hoped that he will mention them in his reply to our comments upon this paper.

We look forward with interest to further papers from the pen of Bro. Rotch. Is it too much to hope that Bro. Rotch will one day undertake to compile a history worthy of the Lodge of Friendship, of which he is himself so distinguished a member? In the meantime let us express to him our gratitude for the paper which he has kindly given us to-day.

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Bro. FRED L. PICK said:—

It is with great pleasure that I second the vote of thanks to Bro. Rotch for an interesting and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the development of English Freemasonry in the mid-eighteenth century. The theory of the attempted domination of the "Moderns" and eventually the entire craft by a small party is ingenious, but I would like a little more evidence in support.

The author suggests that any form of ritual known to the Master would be used in any Lodge, and adds that it was a matter of indifference whether the "Antient" or "Modern" form was used. I have been under the impression that this state of affairs was to be found in the Provinces rather than in London. The Royal Gloucester Lodge, Southampton, met under two Warrants and kept two Minute books, and, thirty years after the events chronicled in Bro. Rotch's paper, the Lodge of Friendship, Oldham, obtained a Warrant from the "Moderns", but it is obvious from the Minute Book that the early members, who comprised English, Irish and Scottish Freemasons, worked the "Antient" ritual and adopted the "Antient" model By-Laws.

I find some difficulty in accepting the statements that Lord Blayney and the Duke of Beaufort were "Antients" at heart. The Minute of the Old Dundee Lodge is set forth a little more fully in Bro. Heiron's History of the Lodge. Surely our Grand Master was referring to the *ancient traditions* of the Craft rather than the customs of the rival Grand Lodge. Nor do I see anything in the incident of his election to the Grand Mastership of Ireland and his failure to assume that Office to justify any assumption of traffic with the "Antients".

The Earl of Antrim's statement is more definite, but, whatever Lodge the Duke of Beaufort was connected with at Oxford, we must remember that he was then a very young man and a very inexperienced Freemason.

Bro. French appears to have been, by arrangement, the scapegoat for any trouble in connection with the traffic in Warrants. At a later period, especially after the passing of the Unlawful Societies Act, this became much more rampant, but I am inclined to the belief that Dunckerley, though one of the greatest Freemasons of all time, was obsessed with thoughts of his alleged royal parentage and was concerned rather with a dream of associating with the great and influential than of setting up an oligarchy within the craft.

I would close with a brief note on two of the members of the Lodge of Friendship, both described in Bro. Rotch's footnotes as Members of Parliament for Preston. Sir Peter Leicester filled a death vacancy in 1767, shortly before the dissolution of Parliament. At the election of 1768 the two baronets, Sir Peter Leicester and Sir Ralph Standish, contested Preston as Tory candidates, supported by the Mayor and Corporation, while the Whig candidates, Col. (later General) Burgoyne and Sir Henry Hoghton, were supported by the Earl of Derby, a violent opponent of the Corporation. Both parties imported gangs of bludgeon men and much damage was caused during the months preceding the election, the Mayor himself being put under the pump and at least one person killed. The Corporation claimed that only burgesses on the gild roll were entitled to vote, and attempted to enforce this by a process of selection, but the Whigs claimed that all adult male residents in the town were entitled to the franchise. The two baronets were declared elected, but three petitions were promptly presented and were considered by the entire House of Commons, who admitted as valid the hundreds of votes rejected by the Mayor, almost all of which were in favour of Hoghton and Burgoyne, so the parliamentary career of these two members of the Lodge of Friendship was of brief duration. They were both included in the list of important persons present at the Gild of 1762 and Sir Frank Standish appears in the Lists of Burgesses of 1782 and 1802.

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BRO. RODK. H. BAXTER *writes*:—

Our Bro. C. D. Rotch has favoured us with an interesting paper on the celebrated Thomas Dunckerley and the more or less famous Lodge of Friendship. The biographical details of Dunckerley are rather like a twice told tale. There is no disadvantage in that, but I must express my regret that our author has not carried the matter to its full conclusion. The Christian name of Dunckerley's Mother's Husband has not been defined, nor has the precise date of her marriage. A search among Parish Registers might clear up these points.

Thomas Dunckerley does appear to have been born in wedlock. One point, therefore, cannot be too strongly stressed. Whatever may be the *facts* as to his origin, *in law* he was the son of Mary (Boldnest) Dunckerley and her husband.

I am not at all sure that Bro. Rotch has quite established his point about the analogy between the *Academia Ecclesiastica* and the Lodge of Friendship, and so shall be anxious to read—in due course—the trend of the discussion on the point. The John Allen, who was admitted to the Lodge of Friendship on 18th March, 1767, was in all probability the Brother who afterwards became Provincial Grand Master of Lancashire from 1769 till 1807. He was a London lawyer with connections in the town of Bury, but despite the long distance between the two places he seems to have been active in the affairs of his Province.

One great merit of the paper now before us is that the story is well told and is not above the heads of the members of our C.C. I shall, therefore, be glad to be associated with the vote of thanks, which I am sure will be accorded to the writer of the essay.

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BRO. J. HERON LEPPER *said*:—

First of all I should like to thank Bro. Rotch for the extreme pleasure his paper has given me, then to congratulate him on the thoroughness with which he has consulted every original document now available to the student, and finally to felicitate him on the success, very considerable success, that has attended his hunt after fresh material. This essay is a memorial of immense patience, assiduity, and industry, carried out in great difficulties, for every worker in the field of Masonic research at the present epoch finds himself at

every turn debarred from examining not merely original documents but also nearly every printed book that happens to be at all rare; and Bro. Rotch has, in my opinion, done a great feat in adding to our knowledge of the men and movements in the period reviewed in his essay. He is entitled to the gratitude and thanks of all who are interested in such matters.

The paper we have just heard shoots at two targets, Thomas Dunckerley and the Lodge of Friendship, and the two are combined into one mark when Bro. Rotch indulges in a little touch of theorising about the reason that lay behind the revival of that famous Lodge in 1766. I should like to say a word about each of his three objectives.

As regards Dunckerley: his romantic story, quite apart from his services to Masonry, has been the scrutiny of so many scholars for the last fifty years that it would be no small feather in one's cap to add a single fact about his life to our existing knowledge; but those who have read the proofs of this paper will, I think, confess that Bro. Rotch's researches have increased not only our knowledge but our interest in and understanding of one of the greatest Masons of all time. I would in particular draw the attention of the Lodge to the very full biographical notes that are devoted to Dunckerley's friends and associates. They form an annotation to Sadler's famous book which was badly needed and should be gratefully welcomed.

Coming to the portion of the paper which deals with the Lodge of Friendship, the whole crux of the matter is this: was the revival of the Lodge by the Duke of Beaufort and his friends legally done or not? Here the Lodge historian has to my mind understated his case. I can see in the whole transaction nothing at variance with the Masonic laws then existent, with the one very trifling exception of the Lodge having changed its place of meeting without first having obtained the permission of the Grand Master. If such a proceeding is to be magnified into a Masonic felony, then I am afraid there are very few of our old Lodges which will escape whipping. Consider the event even in the light of our laws as they stand to-day, and goodness knows, the code is much more strictly administered now than then: I can see nothing unmasonic in a Lodge that chooses to elect a number of joining members in order to keep going; nor yet in its election of a new Master to succeed one who has resigned; nor yet in the fact of its being generous with a grant of money to a section of the Brethren who wish to retire from it and found a new Lodge; nor even in its changing its place of meeting without having received proper permission. That is the sum total of the charges made against the Lodge of Friendship; and I am glad to think that the common sense of our Grand Lodge at that time was strong enough to see the matter as a mere technical error capable of being amended by an apology.

We have reason to be grateful for the sound common sense that preserved to us the Lodge of Friendship, which since that date has given more Grand Officers to the Craft than any other Lodge in the English jurisdiction.

The mention of this last fact brings me a brief consideration of Bro. Rotch's suggestion, that the Lodge was revived in order to become a training centre for the rulers of the Craft. Whether that idea underlay the proceedings of Dunckerley and his associates does not matter so very much to us to-day, for the Lodge did in fact become such a centre, and for the past 170 years has been an example of what a Lodge can be in upholding the dignity of the Craft and preserving the old traditions of good fellowship and willing service. I am sure that every Brother who reads this fragment of its past history will be delighted that one of its members is to give us the complete record of its proceedings since 1721, and offer him thanks for the present sample in avid expectation of further favours to come.

In closing I reiterate my personal thanks to Bro. Rotch and express our acknowledgments to the Lodge of Friendship for allowing its records to become

on this occasion subject matter for our *Transactions*. I sincerely trust its example will be followed by other old English Lodges, particularly those situated in London. Once again Lodge of Friendship has set a good example to the Craft.

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BRO. H. HIRAM HALLETT *writes*:—

I should like to express my appreciation and thanks to Bro. Rotch on his admirable paper on Thomas Dunckerley. He must have devoted a vast amount of time in research for its preparation, but his labours have been richly rewarded, as he has been enabled to throw a great deal of additional light on the life and activities of this remarkable Brother, who, with Laurence Dermott, were two of the outstanding masonic personalities of the last half of the eighteenth century. We are indebted to the latter, by forming a rival Grand Lodge in 1751, for the preservation of many of the old landmarks and traditions of the Craft, but Bro. Rotch has now sprung a great surprise upon us all by his suggestion that Thomas Dunckerley was also a disgruntled brother, his theory being that Dunckerley was so disgusted with the Rulers of the Craft—the Grand Masters and their executive Grand Officers, that he, too, assumed the role of a Great Reformer, and then endeavoured to gather around him those in an influential position who might possibly be induced to collaborate with him in the reorganisation of Masonry. It is an ingenious idea, but the writer, unfortunately, has not produced any documentary evidence in support of it—only adduced plausible surmises. I also think that he should have stated his “justification” for his opinions at the beginning of his paper, instead of at the end.

Bro. Rotch has mentioned that one of the special reforms that Dunckerley desired to bring about was the Union of the two rival Grand Lodges; unfortunately he has omitted to give the slightest evidence that any attempt was ever made by him to heal the breach. He has asserted that Dunckerley was well acquainted with their respective rituals, and favoured that of the “Ancients”, so it seems very strange to me that whatever his influence might have been it was powerless to prevent Grand Lodge on April 10th, 1777, from enacting a law forbidding any intercourse of its members with those belonging to the rival body—the “Antients”.

Then as regards founding the Somerset House Lodge as a stepping-stone towards “rejuvenating”, quite unconstitutionally, the Friendship Lodge, and the election of the young Duke of Beaufort as Grand Master in 1767, and that of the Hon. Chas. Dillon as the Deputy Grand Master in 1768. It does not seem compatible that Dunckerley, in his supposed role as a Great Reformer, after overcoming so many great difficulties for the accomplishment of his designs, should have resigned his membership of the latter Lodge within three years, and in 1770, that the Duke of Beaufort should have relinquished his high office after serving for only five years, and the Hon. Chas. Dillon after only seven years! Most ardent reformers, in whatever sphere, generally possess the great characteristics of tenacity of purpose and an enthusiasm that lasts to their dying days. One would have supposed that Dunckerley himself would have retained his membership and thus continued to exercise his influence in London Masonry. It was, however, very fortunate for the Provinces that he did not do so, for by his unbounded enthusiasm and energy they all were greatly benefited by his leadership.

Then as regards official visiting, and that Masonry was in a moribund state owing to the laxity of some of the permanent officers of Grand Lodge, Revis and Salter being two of the culprits. I cannot say anything about the London Lodges, but the following information will show that John Revis was not so neglectful as regards those in the West of England.

St. George's Lodge, No. 315, Taunton, was warranted on July 13th, 1764, and in the Minute Book the entry, dated August 1st, 1764, is as follows:—"A visit from the R. Wcr. John Revis, Deputy Grand Master of England, on his return from visiting the Lodges in the West, when his Worship, after proper inquiry into our Bye-laws, the method of working, etc., was pleased to express his perfect approbation of the same". Besides having been the Grand Secretary from 1734 to 1757, and the Deputy Grand Master from 1757 to 1763, William Preston has recorded that Lord Ferrers, who was the Grand Master for 1762 and 1763, on hearing that Lord Blayney, his successor, would be in Ireland for some time to come, he "invested John Revis, Esq., late Deputy Grand Master, as proxy for his lordship, who continued in office two years", that is to 1765.

That Bro. John Revis should have been accorded this high distinction, and that he should have undertaken the then arduous journey, at his age, of visiting Lodges in the West of England, besides Taunton, probably those further afield at Exeter, Plymouth, Falmouth, and other places, is hardly compatible with the writer's condemnatory remarks, nor is it with Preston's recorded opinion, that up to 1760 "this period seems to have been the golden era of Masonry in England"; he, however, admitted that when Earl Ferrers was the Grand Master, 1762-63, "the Society seems at this time to have lost much of its consequences, the general assemblies and communications not having been honoured with the presence of the nobility as formerly". Perhaps the real reason was that his brother, whom he succeeded to the Earldom in 1760, had been executed at Tyburn for murder, and consequently the reputation of the whole family had somewhat suffered in public esteem. But to continue the quotation: "By the diligence and attention, however, of the late general, John Salter, the Deputy Grand Master, the business of the Society was carried on with regularity." He was the Deputy from 1763 to 1767.

Another interesting matter in connection with Thomas Dunckerley is to be found in Kenning's *Masonic Cyclopædia*, edited by the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, and published in 1878: "In 1767 King George III made a provision for him by granting him first £100, and then £800 pension per annum, and rooms first at Somerset House and afterwards at Hampton Court Palace. He then assumed the Royal Arms with the Bar Sinister, and the additional appellation of Fitz-George. We have in our own possession a copy of Anderson's Constitutions of 1769 in which his book-plate is to be found, with the Regal Shield, the Bar Sinister, 'Fato non merito', and 'Thomas Dunckerley Fitz-George'."

I now give, without comment, an extract from the Inaugural Address, entitled "Thomas Dunckerley", of the late Bro. Egbert Lewis, P.A.G.D.C., published in the *Transactions* of the Somerset Masters' Lodge, 1932: "Since Sadler wrote a certificate has come to light, issued by Dunckerley and all in his own handwriting, which recites that he has been given authority by the Grand Secretary to make, pass and raise masons on board any ship under the sanction of No. 254, the 'Vanguard' number, and that he has so made a brother on board the 'Prince' in April, 1762, before the warrant was issued. This implies that the 'Vanguard' warrant was in fact an authority personal to Dunckerley. The latter document issued for the 'Prince' Lodge may have been of a similar character, and the circumstances rather suggest that it was. Certainly he treated both the one and the other as though they were his personal property. Not only so, but he took them as authority to form Lodges in London, although the statement he makes in the certificate is that he has been empowered to make masons on board any ship, a very different matter. But Dunckerley seems on occasion to have done very much what he liked in matters masonic."

Thomas Dunckerley was the Grand Superintendent of Somerset from 1782 and the P.G.M. from 1784, and that is why the Bath Brethren possessed two oil paintings of him. The Somerset Masters' *Transactions*, 1932, contains an

illustration of the portrait painted by Philip Van Dyke, now hanging in the Masonic Hall, Bath, and in those for 1916-1917 an illustration of the other, painted by Beach, but now in the Masonic Hall, Barnstaple, acquired by the Devonshire Brethren in 1843, with the very beautiful furniture of the Bath Lodges, owing to their then financial difficulties.

In endeavouring to form a true conception of Thomas Dunckerley it is as well to remember what Gould has written about him: "He was a very worthy member of the Craft; but the loose statements of Dr. Oliver, that 'he was the oracle of Grand Lodge, and the accredited interpreter of its Constitutions'; also that 'his decision was final on all points, both of doctrine and discipline', are simply untrue."

Before concluding I would refer to a few minor details. As Dunckerley ran away to sea when he was 10½ years of age and ultimately became a school-master, it would be interesting if Bro. Rotch were to give us a little information as to the type of education provided for boys in the Navy at this period; the list giving the names of the ships on which he served. Note 14, on p. 61, is apparently not complete, and if dates were appended it would be all the better; and, as a Gunner was a very important rank, surely his interesting explanation should be embodied in his paper, instead of being relegated to the footnote, No. 2, on p. 66.

Although I am, for the present, unable to acquiesce in several of the suggestions that Bro. Rotch has made, yet I must again express my sincere appreciation of his paper; he has given us an appealing outline of the life of a very great Mason, and I cordially tender to him my grateful thanks.

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Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

Bro. Dunckerley was an influence at an important stage of our evolution, and it is to be regretted that the material is not available to give us a fuller insight into his difficulties.

Bro. Rotch suggests that had the "Moderns" obtained a charter and then reverted to the "Antient" ritual, the Union would have been an accomplished fact in 1768. But was not the reversion to the "Antient" ritual the difficulty? The old Dundee Lodge was prepared to defend its departure from genuine masonry against the Grand Master himself, and it is probable that other "Modern" lodges were equally prejudiced. Their scanty ritual and the substitution of "civil duties" for loyalty to the King was perhaps a legacy from the accepted masons of Puritan times. As I see it the first degree was the acceptance at the age of 25 of the apprentice who had completed his training. He became a mason. At the second step he was admitted as *fellow to a Freemason*, and at the third, which has all the characteristics of an initiation, he became a *Freemason*. As the "Moderns" Grand Lodge was a Lodge of Fellows, masons of a higher degree might well object to the control of Freemasonry becoming invested in such a body.

Bro. Dunckerley's severance of his London connections, his devotion to the provinces, and his interest in the higher degrees suggest that he was an "Antient" mason at heart, but retained his loyalty to the London "Moderns" by escaping from them.

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Bro. C. D. ROTCH *writes* in reply:—

Bro. Grantham remarks about the meeting places of the Craft in taverns and ale-houses, "Where else was it possible for Lodges to meet in those days?" I agree there was no alternative until Dunckerley found one at the Thatched House Tavern, where men of social position could enjoy the privileges of Masonry under agreeable conditions. In those days it could hardly have been safe for

a well dressed man to wander in the poor streets of Holborn; within living memory the neighbourhood of Seven Dials had an evil reputation.

The fifth purpose referred to by him I had previously altered. I agree with Bro. Grantham the efforts of the "Moderns" were prompted by a desire to defeat them by any means. I regret I cannot trace his *A.Q.C.*, xlv, pp. 31-32, reference.

This paper is a chapter from the History of the Lodge of Friendship, which is almost completed, and I welcome any information which I can add to the main body of this work.

Bro. Baxter regrets I have not searched Parish Registers for details of Dunckerley *père's* marriage. I have done so, but entirely without result. Thomas Dunckerley may have been born in one of the Royal residences of which there were several at Kew. The Parish records of this Church were destroyed by fire about 100 years ago. Further information will be very acceptable.

Bro. Pick. A detailed list of Grand Wardens and Provincial Grand Masters who were members of the Lodge of Friendship and the Somerset House Lodge is given in this issue, but was not included in the proof. I hope this will provide the evidence which Bro. Pick requires. The Leicester Standish incident is most interesting. I hope I shall have space to quote it in the biographical notes on the members of the Lodge of Friendship, but there are 920 odd names. The Whigs must have been desperate fellows!

Bro. Bullamore. I quite agree with the last paragraph. "Antient" at heart, he preferred to retain his loyalty to the London "Moderns" by devoting himself to Provincial masonry and thus escaping from the ever recurring squabbles. He had by 1770, when he resigned from the Lodge of Friendship, accomplished all he set out to do, to make masonry accessible to and appreciated by men of higher social position than had previously been possible and to secure their services for the direction and governing of Grand Lodge.

Bro. Hallett quotes Preston, "This period [up to 1760] seems to have been the golden era of masonry in England". I admit I cannot understand what that great Freemason, whose name is worthy to be considered with those of Dermott and Dunckerley, as outstanding in the history of the Craft, could have had in mind in making this statement. The pension awarded to Dunckerley in 1767 of £100 per annum is I think authenticated. I have come across allusions to a pension of £800 having been granted at a later date, but until the documents of the Lord Chamberlain's Office are available for research, I would prefer to think this figure is non-proven. I hope Bro. Hallett will assist me in furthering my desire to examine the documentary evidence about the H.M.S. "Vanguard" warrant. It should prove of great interest and I would like to include it in my History of the Lodge of Friendship.

Lastly I must express my gratitude for the assistance and encouragement given me by my friend Bro. Lepper. His patience in answering my endless queries about the "Antients" and "Moderns" proved inexhaustible. I wish I could have been able to say straight out that Dunckerley's aim was to combine the two Grand Lodges and in the final coalition restore the "Antient" ritual. To a great extent the union of 1813 was a triumph ritually for the "Antients", the old landmarks were restored, but the actual ritual agreed on was hardly comparable to that of the Irish and Bristol workings. A better 2nd degree should have been forthcoming. I hope I have proved my point about the creation of a Lodge to influence Grand Lodge itself, but it seems to me Dunckerley's even greater service to Masonry was in providing a safe and eminently respectable *venue* in which Brethren of a certain class in life could conveniently meet. This lead was quickly followed by other Lodges, and once this movement was started masonry never looked back. The irregularities committed at the peaceful penetration were in their day of no unusual occurrence, and I am glad Bro. Lepper has emphasized this point.

## THE CARPENTERS' COMPANY OF THE CITY OF CANTERBURY

BY BRO. SYDNEY POPE



WHEN looking into the history of the Carpenters' Company of our ancient City, at times one comes across details of Masonic interest, and the following suggests that the study of local history—in places where Freemasonry has been active in the past—will sometimes reveal hitherto unrecorded items of Masonic history.

From the *Booke of Accounts* of the Carpenters' Company we learn that the Mayor of the City who issued a Proclamation against the first Canterbury Lodge in 1732 had been a prominent member of the Company, and although this Lodge was erased in 1754, during a period of inactivity on the part of Grand Lodge during which a large number of erasures took place, we also note that not only does that date mark the commencement of the local political unrest—caused by the prosecution of Thomas Roch by the Carpenters' Company—but also that the formation of the second Lodge (also "Moderns") in 1760 took place when that period of unrest was over. A Church Procession of Masons from Lord Anchran's Dragoons in 1753 may have been held at Sandwich in preference to Canterbury on account of the anti-Masonic activity in the City suggested by the edition of the "Moll" print produced there that same year.<sup>1</sup>

"The Carpenters' Company was composed of a number of Trades connected with the building industry; among the records of the City there is a large bundle containing the original deeds of incorporation by which the Mayor and Aldermen, by virtue of royal letters patent, constituted the several trading guilds of the City. The traders were not numerous enough to enable each separate trade to form a separate gild; therefore, several trades which dealt in similar wares were associated to form the *Union*. The shoemakers were joined to the tanners, the leather-sellers and the pouchmakers; while the apothecaries were united with grocers and chandlers—their deeds of incorporation are mostly dated in the first half of the sixteenth century," that appertaining to the Carpenters' Company is dated 1544 and it reads as follows<sup>2</sup>:—

CITY OF CANT. MSS. BUNDLE 52: No. 10 (See Woodruffe's  
Inventory).

### CHARTER TO THE CARPENTERS' JOINERS' COMPANY

Be yt knowen vnto all men by this presentes that we John Alkoke  
Mayre of the Citie of Cantorbury and the Aldermen of the seyde  
Citie be vertue of the lettres pattendes of the progenytours of our

<sup>1</sup> 9th Report of Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Part 1.

<sup>2</sup> The transcription of the Deed of Incorporation was made by Lieut. W. C. Urry, B.A., Member of the Canterbury Archaeological Society.

Soueregne lorde the Kynge to vs graunted and of an estatute made concernyng lybertyes and pryueleges of the seyde Cytie doo ordeyn in maner forme folowyng that ys to say ffyrst we orden that all Carpenteres joyners bowyeres [erased] ffletchers Carvers Glasieres pewteres plommeres pauyares payneteres Bricklayeres & Tylers that now doo inhabite hereafter shall inhabite in the seyde Cytie or the Subberbis of the same Citie shalbe one ffeloship and callyd be name of the ffelowschyp of the craft & mistery of Carpenteres & Joyneres and so shall contynue from hensforthe for euer Also we orden that yf any persone will desyre to be fre of the seyde Mistere that then yt shalbe tryed be the master & the Wardenes of the same Misterey whether he be a gode workeman or not & if he shalbe founde a good workeman then yf he be an Englisheman and wyll pay xl<sup>s</sup> to his ffelowschyp and if he be a stranger and wyll pay iij<sup>l</sup> to hys ffelowschyp or els so moche as he or they shall agree for that then he shalbe admitted to be a freeman of the seyde Craft & Misterey that he ys of And that no persone onles he were borne yn the seyde Citie or was apprentise in the same Cytie shall exercise any misterie or Craft in the sayde Cytie but onely of a Seruaunt onles he be a freeman of the seyde Citie vppon payne to forfeit for euery day that he dothe occupie any misterie in the seyde Cytie not being free xij<sup>d</sup> The one halfe to the mystery that he ys of And other halfe to the Comen Chamber Also we orden that if any man of the Craftes & Misterys aforseyd be warned be the Bedyll & Wardens to appere before the Seide Masteres and Wardens if he make default w<sup>t</sup> out resonable excuse to lose for eury such default vj<sup>d</sup> the moyt to the Comen Chamber<sup>1</sup> Also we orden that no man of the seide Mistery shall take any apprentise for no less tyme than seuen yeres vppon payn to forfeit for euery yere lackyng of vij yeres xx<sup>s</sup> And that every Master takyng any apprentise w<sup>t</sup> in the Cytie shall w<sup>t</sup> in xij moneths and a day next after the takyng of the apprentise Inrolle the Indenture concernyng his apprentishode in the Comen Chamber vppon payne of forfetyng vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Also we orden from hensforthe that any persone of the forsayde Mistery shall not take any Jurnyman into his huyre but he to be of the age of xvij yeres vppon payne of forfettor for euery suche default vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Also we orden that yf any that have ben apprentyse in theseyde Cytie for the term of vij yeres or more be disposed to Abide in theseyd Cytie and occupye wyll pay to the seid ffelowschyp at the end of his apprentyshod xij<sup>d</sup> that then he shalbe admittyd to be free of the seyde ffelowschyp and if the misterie that he was apprentyse of Also we orden that yf any of the seyde Craft & Misterie from hencforthe do intyce any other manes seruant jorniman or apprentise being of theseyd Cytie from his Master that he so doing shal forfeit for euery default xx<sup>s</sup> Also we orden that all suche sumes of mony that shalbe forfeit by any meayns or occasion aboueseyd shalbe levied by the Comon Seriant of the seid Cytie for the tyme beyng And by suche person as for the tyme beyng shalbe callyd the Bedyll of the seide Misterie or occupacions of Capenteres (*sic*) Joyneres And the seide Comon Seriant shall have for his labor of every shilling ld And so vpward after the rate/ Also we orden that if any maner of persone or persones of the seyde Citie that shall fortune to forfeit any of the somes of mony aboueseyd shall vppon a request to him made by the seyde Comon Seriant & Bedyll for the tyme being refuse or denie to pay the same mony & do not pay the same to the seyde Comon Seriant & Bedyll w<sup>t</sup> in too days then next ensuyng that them

<sup>1</sup> & the moyte to the Craft or something such omitted.

(*sic* for then) eury person so refusing or denieing shall in name of apayn for the seyde refusing or denyeing forfeit as moche more money as was be him forfeited be fore be meanes & occasion of the premissis And we orden that euery of the seyde somes of money as ys forfeited may at the plesure & eleccion of suche persones as then shalbe accepted or takyn as Master & Wardens of the occupation or Mistery of Carpenteres Joineres be leuyed by way of dystresse to be takyn for the same as by way of accion of dett to be persued in the name of the Cha(m)belayne of the seyde Cytie for the tyme beyng And we orden that yf any person or persones of the seyde Cytie that be any meanes or occasion aforeseyd shall forfeit any maner of some of money & do no pay the same w<sup>t</sup> in two dayes after he shalbe attachyd be hys body in an accion of dett to be browght agaynst him for the same or that shalbe dystreyned for the levying of any suche sume of money doo not pay al the money be hym forfeited as ys aforeseyd that then eny suche persone yf he be free of the seyde Cytie shall lose forfeit yn the name of a fyne iiij<sup>s</sup> iiiij<sup>d</sup> And we orden that yf any persone that shalbe dystreyned for the leuying of any money by hym forfeited shall not pay the same money w<sup>t</sup> in sixe dayes next after the dystresse taken that then yt shalbe lafull for the comen seriant of the seyde Cytie & for the Bedyll of the seyde occupacion to sell the dystresse so takyn and to reteyne yn there handes as moche money as by any meanes or occasion aforeseyd shalbe forfeited by him so dystreyned and the residue of the money comyng of the seyde dystress to be delyurd to the partye so dystreyned And we orden that yf any accion of dett shalbe comenced or sued for any mony forfeited as ys aforeseyd that then leke (like) process & execucion shalbe don therein as in other acc(i)ons of dett heretofore sued in the said Cytie hath byn usyd wayer of lawe by the partye defendaunt onely exeptyd Also we orden that the seyde Craft shall cause a Masse yn the worship of god to be sayd ones [once] eury yere on the Sunday nex folwyng the day of the fest of [Crispin & Crispianus erased] And that day make a dyner for all the felowship of the seyde Craft & Mistery & euery one of the seyde Mistery beyng a householder to pay for ther dyner vj<sup>d</sup> and if any of the seyde Craft & Mistery doo lake & wyll not cum ther when they be warnyd then they to forfeit vj<sup>d</sup> Also we orden that all the hole company & felowship of the seyde mystery shall the same day chose them a Master to be a [ \* ] w<sup>t</sup> them of the same Craft & Mistery And he so chosen then w<sup>t</sup> iiij<sup>or</sup> (four) of the most discreet persones of the Craft & Mistery to be a consell all wayes w<sup>t</sup> the seyde Master in all thinges apparteynyng to the Craft & Mystery Also we orden that yf [yt] shall fortune any of the seyde Craft or Mystery to decesse that then all the felowship of the seyde Craft & Mystery shall go w<sup>t</sup> the seyde person se decessed to his buryng at suche tyme as they shalbe warynd be the seyde Bedyll of the Craft or Mystery w<sup>t</sup> oute a resonable excuse vpon payne to forfeit for euery one that shall not cum there vj<sup>d</sup> to be lyveyd by the seyde Bedyll of the seyde Craft or Mystery And if any person so offendyng shall refuse to paye the some of monye as ys above sayd forfeited that euery suche persone so refucyng shall forfeit duple as muche the one halfe to the Comen Chamber & other haulfe to the seyde Craft & Mystery Also we orden that yf yt shall happen any of the seyde mystery or Craft beyng of honest behayor to decay be any meanes that then the seyde Warden and Mastres of the Craft & Mystery that he ys of shall weakely repress the party so decayed

\* MS. not clear.

w<sup>t</sup> the sune of iiij<sup>d</sup> be the weke And we orden thay yf ony parson or parsones of the seyde craft & Mistery doo make or worke any maner of worke appartaynyng to the seyde Craft or Mystery of Carpenters or Joyneres in ony house or openly onless he be free of the seyde Cytie & of the seyde mystery or apprentise or a Journeyman onless he be reteyned be the yere w<sup>t</sup> a freeman of the seyde Citie upon payne that euery persone that dothe make any suche worke to forfeit for euery suche default iiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> Also that his oste [host] or other persone that meynetenythe ony suche person in his house to lose for every suche default iiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> Also we orden that no forener onle he be reteyned as ys before expressed from hensforthe shall fetch any maner of worke belonging to the sayd Craft or mystery of Carpenters & Joyneres out of same Cytie to thentent [the intent] to worke the same vpon payne of forfeit for every tyme that he or they shalbe so taken vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> Also we orden that no mysteri or craft Master Wardene or felowship shall take vpon them to make any man free but of ther owne mystery Craft or Craftes to them apoynted or belongyng vpon payne for euery tyme so doying the offenders to forfeit v<sup>t</sup> [£5] the myte ther of [to the] Comon Chamber the other haulfe therof to [the] Craft or misteri that he or they wold medyll w<sup>t</sup> all Also we orden that yt shalbe lawfull to the inhabitants of the seyde Cytie after that warnyng gevyn to the seyde Master & Wardens of the sayde Mystery of Carpenters & Joyneres to take any foriner myte (meet) or able to do ony worke apperteynyng to the seyde mystery if the seyde Masters & Wardens of the seyde Craft & Mystery do not provyde suche person & persones of the inhabitantes of the seyde Cytie w<sup>ch</sup> be of the aforesayd Craft or Mistery of Carpenters and Joyneres and that so good chepe as ony forener shall bue [be] Also we orden that any person being an Inglissemán that at any tyme hereafter shall ever ( \* ) & work as a Jorneyman of any of the seyde Craftes or Mysterys w<sup>t</sup> in the sayd Citie be the space of xiiij days shall pay to the Wardens of the seyde Craft iiij<sup>d</sup> and from that tyme forthe to pay euery quarter of the yere during suche tyme as he shall contynue a Journeyman in the seyde Cytie j<sup>d</sup> this to be levied by the Bedyll of the same Craft and that yt shalbe lawfull for his Master to stopp it in his handes to remayne to the vse of the sayd Craft & Mistery/ And yf such persone be ab allen [alien] then he shall pay duple as muche as an Englishman to be levied next above mencionyd Also we orden that [yf] any maner of some of money be any meanes or occasion above mencionyd shalbe forfeit that then the one halfe thereof shalbe to thuse (the use) of the Mayor and Comynalty of the seyde Cytie for and toward the comen charges of the seyde Cytie and the other halfe ther [of] to the vse of the felowship of the seyde Craft or mistery Also that the Wardenes the seyde Craft or mistery shall w<sup>t</sup> in xv dayes next after any some of money forfeit be any meanes or occasion aboueseyd make Certifycate therof to the Mayer & Chamberleine of the seyde Citie for the time being Provydyd always that [yf] y<sup>t</sup> shall happen any Master Wardens or any other persone or persones beyng in thys felowship or in any other liberties geuyn by the kyng to the Mayre & Aldermen of the seyde Cytie that wyll take apon him to add or Subtract either to enythyng [ ? ] yn this boke conteyned then the partie or parties so doing shall forfeit to the Chambre xl<sup>s</sup> and thes contentes to stand in as moche power & effect as they dyd before for euer Provydyd also that this boke or anythyng conteyned shall not be at anytyme

\* MS. not clear.

hereafter anythyng prejudiciall or hurtfull to the Mayer & other his brethren & ther successores nor a genst the comon welthe in any act or graunt heretofore made & grauntyd by the kyng our souereigne lord And hys progenytoures

1544

[Two seals]

We are told that "the extensive use of tiling belongs to the seventeenth century,"<sup>1</sup> but this branch of the building trade appears to have been very active in the City towards the middle of the sixteenth century. In Cowper's *Freemen of the City of Canterbury* there are no records of tilers having served an apprenticeship; prior to 1544 there are recorded four only who purchased their freedom, in 1499, 1500, 1505 and 1533 respectively. During 1544, the year the Carpenters' Company was incorporated, no less than ten tilers purchased their freedom of the city and one obtained his by marriage, thus qualifying themselves to become members of the new company formed that year.

One of the hills leading down to the City from the coast is to this day called "Tyler Hill"; at the top of this hill in the woods tiles have been found, showing that they had been made there, and in 1541-2 "Hammond of Tyler Hill sold 3000 tiles to the City".<sup>2</sup>

It will be noted that among the trades mentioned as comprising the Company in the "Deed of Incorporation" of the Carpenters' Company was that of "Whytetawer", afterwards erased; it will also be noted that the day appointed for the "Masse" was the Sunday following the feast of "Crispin & Crispianus", also erased. By a decree of Burghmote, A.D. 1518, the fraternity of Shoemakers and Cobblers were ordered to "come to Saint Augustine on the Feast of the Assumption of Crispin & Crispinus and there make their solemn offering at the Masse . . .".<sup>3</sup> From this it would appear that the 1544 "Deed of Incorporation" of the Carpenters' Company was copied from that of the Shoemakers and Cobblers of 1518, both of which are now in the same "bundle".

The Carpenters' Company does not appear to have had a very successful beginning for three years after its incorporation. We learn from the Burghmote Book that in 1547—

"27 July, 38 H 8. agreed that Tylers Carpenters & Bricklayers from henceforth shall not be taken to be of any corporation or Mistery in this City".

"28 May, 25 Eliz. [1583] It is granted that the Incorporation of the Goldsmiths Smiths Carpenters Braziers Pewterers Glaziers Plummers Painters and Cutlers shalbe engrossed".

"9th July 25 Eliz. It is granted that the last men<sup>d</sup> Company shal be divided into two corporations vizt. The Goldsmiths Smiths Braziers Pewterers Plommers and Cutlers in the one and the Joiners Carpenters Tylers Bricklayers Masons Painters Glaziers in the other. The deeds of Incorporation are sealed".<sup>4</sup>

We are told that in the gilds "the qualification for office varied from place to place: the gilds of Norwich expressly excluded the civic authorities",<sup>5</sup> but at Canterbury about 1490 "it was enacted that 'two maistres of every craft or mystery', who shall be Aldermen shall be chosen, one by the Mayor and the other by the craft to maintain 'dewe order in the same and for the wele encrease of the same, provided always that eny such maisters so elected shall be

<sup>1</sup> *Georgian England* (Richardson).

<sup>2</sup> *City Treas. Book*.

<sup>3</sup> *Canterbury in the olden time* (Brent).

<sup>4</sup> *Bunce's Extracts from City Records*.

<sup>5</sup> *Economic History of England* (Lipson).

none of the same craftis or mysteries whereof they shalbe so elected'''.<sup>1</sup> This proviso has been described as a "curious" one "which seems to annul the efficacy of an otherwise promising bye-law", but the reason for it appears to have been political.

A necessary qualification for membership of the gilds was the freedom of the City, one of the privileges of which was that of voting at municipal and parliamentary elections. In this respect the member of the gild differed from the itinerant operative mason, at whose assemblies the *Cooke MSS.* of *circa* 1400 informs us—

"if nede be ye Schereffe of ye countre or ye mayer of ye Cyte or alderman of ye towne in whyche the congregacion ys holde schalle be felaw and sociat to ye master of the congregacion in helpe of hym aye(n)st rebelles and vpberyng e ryzt of ye reme".

Here also we note the inclusion of the civic authorities to maintain "dewe order in the same". It would seem that the Assembly was similarly placed in this matter as were the gilds, although in some cases the gilds possessed a court of their own to enforce their regulations. London Carpenters inflicted fines or imprisonment for disobedience to its regulations and for disorderly conduct. But the crafts must have often found difficulty in coercing recalcitrant members, and their weakness served to increase their dependence upon the municipal body.<sup>2</sup> Later on it will be seen that this is what happened in the case of the Canterbury Carpenters' Company in the middle of the eighteenth century.

"In the latter Middle Ages . . . economic life was organized on the basis of the town and the village, and the town, not the state, represented the vital principle of medieval economy; a municipal rather than a national policy constituted the mainspring of social development".<sup>3</sup> This was carried out by means of charters the municipal body had been able to obtain from the King or other lords, and the liberality of the charters depended upon the price that the burghers were ready to pay, for municipal privileges were to be obtained only for valuable consideration. At the restoration the revival of opposition to the crown was counteracted "by excluding its opponents from municipal corporations which returned four-fifths of the members of the House of Commons".<sup>4</sup>

The City of Canterbury showed considerable opposition to the Crown, for on "Jan 22, 1660, Henry Knight and other Aldermen were 'Deemed Disaffected persons to his Majesty's government' and dismissed from their office", despite which Henry Knight retained his position as Master of the Carpenters' Company for another four years.

"1661. The Corporation receive a letter from King Charles 2nd dated 16th Sept., 1661, recommending Wm. Turner, the then Mayor, to be continued in that office for the year ensuing, but the citizens do not think it proper to re-elect Mr. Turner".<sup>5</sup>

The Corporations Act of 1661 set up commissioners who, during the following three years, cleared up the uncertainties regarding the validity of the charters under which the municipal corporations were acting. The House of Commons did not allow the crown to make as thorough a revision of municipal liberties as

<sup>1</sup> 9th Report Royal Comm. Hist. MSS., Part 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Econ. Hist. of Eng.* (Lipson).

<sup>3</sup> Lipson.

<sup>4</sup> *The Latter Stuarts* (C. N. Clark).

<sup>5</sup> Bunce's *Extracts from City Records*.

it had hoped, but the general tendency was to restrict parliamentary elections to Anglican common councils. . . .<sup>1</sup>

It was not until four years had passed, in 1665, that the Corporation Act was applied by the municipality to the City Companies in Canterbury, for from the Burghmote Book we learn—

“1665. No person is to continue Master, Warden, Assistant or Officer in any of the companies or society of Tradesmen and Handicraftsmen within the City above one month longer unless he shall be allowed by the Court of Burghmote, and here in council shall take the oaths. And no person for the future shall be chose into any such place and office or employment unless within a year before such election he shall receive the sacrament and at the next Burghmote after as shall be appointed by the Court, and then take the oaths”.

“In 1682 King Charles 2nd issued his proclamation signifying his intention of resuming all Chartered Immunities throughout the Kingdom”.<sup>2</sup> The Citizens of Canterbury were served with a *quo warranto* on 13th December, 1683, and in August, 1684, the Charter of James the First was surrendered; and in the charter of King Charles 2nd, by which it was replaced, was reserved a clause reserving to the King in Council power to displace . . . any member of the Corporation he might think fit. No official business is said to have been transacted between May and October, 1684, when the charter of Charles 2nd was brought to the City by Col. Rock and Capt. Joseph Roberts; the latter was made an Alderman by Royal Commission and became Master of the Carpenters' Company 1685-1690.

King Charles 2nd died in 1685, and in January, 1688, James 2nd seized the charter granted by his predecessor, modelled it anew, replaced the Mayor and several of the Aldermen in whom he could confide “to promote his designs of taking away the Test. . . .”; but on certain information being received of the Prince of Orange having set sail for England, the King issued his proclamation the latter end of October following, to revoke the charter of Charles 2nd and restore the charter of James the 1st, and the citizens then elected Mr. Henry Gibbs Mayor for the remainder of the year.<sup>3</sup>

Nor did any king ever again attempt to override the local liberties of England. Indeed the central government in the eighteenth century became only too subservient to the Justices of Peace, and only too tolerant of abuse in any Chartered Corporation or vested interest. The victory of law over arbitrary power was upon the whole an immense gain for humanity, but for the next hundred years and more the victory of law and vested interests produced an undue admiration of things as they were in the days of Blackstone, Burke and Eldon, all of whom appealed to the great conservative Revolution as the final standard in human affairs. Because James 2nd had attempted to destroy the institutions of the country, it too long remained impossible for anyone else to attempt their reform.<sup>4</sup>

Consideration of these matters shows that the writer of the following letter<sup>5</sup> in 1732 knew his subject, and suggests that the fears of the Mayor of the City—there expressed in his proclamation and in the burlesque thereof—were more real than might appear on the surface. This is also confirmed by the fight of Thomas Roch against these conditions, still existing, from 1745-1758.

<sup>1</sup> *The Latter Stuarts* (C. N. Clark).

<sup>2</sup> *Translation of Charters to Citizens of Cant.* (C. R. Bunce).

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. of Eng.* (C. M. Trevelyan).

<sup>5</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xxxiii., p. 186.

[Rawl. MS., c. 136]  
[folio 147]

No. CLXXXIX

The *Universal Spectator*, / and / Weekly Journal.  
By Henry Stonecastle of *Northumberland*, Esq;

*To the Editor of the Universal Spectator.*

*Sir,*

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 idle invectives against what they are Strangers to, and some uncommon incidents have appear'd in Parts distant from *London*, in which the /

[fol. 147 verso]

*Royal Craft* has suffer'd by Slander, and been misrepresented, not only as Unnatural but Seditious, nay Traiterous and Magical in their Practices, Destructive of (what their highest Ambition is to improve, and in which they have most frequently succeeded) the Peace and Welfare of their Fraternity in particular, as well as mankind in general: But alas! how unsuccessful have they prov'd in the Metropolitan City of this Kingdom (where is one of the earliest and noblest Specimens of *Gothick* Masonry and Architecture), so inhospitably receiv'd by one of its chief Magistrates, a Person of great Sagacity and deep Penetration, who endeavour'd *totis viribus*, *Quixote* like to encounter a formidable Lodge, lately erected there; wherein he suspected Practices against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity, as well as Breaches on Morality: Mysteries he smelt out like those of the *Bona Dea* of old *Rome*; into which not being able, as *Clodius* did, to enter, and satisfy his Longing, he thought fit *per se & per alium*, to proclaim in the public Streets such an *arret* against that innocent and useful Society, as has no Parallel for its nervous Stile and most exact Orthography, and, as such deserves well to be communicated to the World, as a singular Instance of that warm Magistrate's Genius, Industry, and Zeal for the Security of that Part of the Commonwealth committed to his Care; and the rather, as it was thought absolutely necessary to be publish'd several Market Days, by his Lordship's Deputy, the Cryer.

*Whereas a Report runs through Cyte, Town and Country, of an unlawful Assembly of a Number of Men that met together at a Tavern<sup>1</sup> 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-Lanterns may be brought to Light.*

This notable Proclamation, notwithstanding the indefatigable Diligence of Ecclesiasticks as well as Laricks, to propagate a false Report, injurious to the Honour of several Gentlemen of all Professions in the neighbourhood of this City, 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 Cite;  
It's govern'd by the Scarlet Gown,  
Come listen to my Ditty.

<sup>1</sup> Red Lion, Canterbury.

The Mayor by his Cryer maketh Proclamation,  
And thus 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.

O! *Canterbury*, &c.

They say the're 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.

O! *Canterbury*, &c.

Now, I having at Heart a super Veneration,  
For this our rich and ancient Corporation,  
Resolv'd like *Old Foresight*, our Ruin to prevent,  
And Thus to bring them all to condign Punishment.

O! *Canterbury*, &c.

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.

O! *Canterbury*, &c.

Their Magic 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 these Dark-Lanthorns may be brought to Light.

O! *Canterbury*, &c."

Thomas Bullock, Carpenter, was Mayor of the City 1731-2; this was his second period, as he had served the same office 1724-5, having been made an Alderman 20th August, 1723.<sup>1</sup> He was admitted a member of the Carpenters' Company in 1687, served as Warden in 1706, and his name occurs among those who signed the accounts for several years; it will be noted that he was not at that date an Alderman and that he did not become Master of the Company.

Thomas Roch gives us an account of the proceedings of the Carpenters' Company on their feast day,<sup>2</sup> and he tells us that after dinner the members were obliged to stand to hear the Master descant on the utility of laws: "If there was no law there would be no living, if the statute laws which were made for the general use of the nation must be obeyed, so must likewise all bye-laws which are made by the Master and his counsellors for the good of this our body Politic".

We have noted that the gilds in the City had always been controlled by the municipal body, and the application of the Corporation Act to the Companies of Societies of Tradesmen and Handicraftsmen shows that they still were so controlled at that date (1665). The above statement by Roch suggests that no alteration in this matter had taken place up to 1753-8; the social work of the early gilds had been dropped—in the 1632 bye-laws there is no mention of assistance to members who had had the misfortune "to decay be any meanes", which occurs in the deed of incorporation of 1544—and, as Roch points out, the City Companies were chiefly occupied with matters concerning their trade and in protecting their members against "foreigners", as all tradesmen and handicraftsmen living outside the City were called.

From the Minute Books of Grand Lodge, 29th January, 1731, we learn that the Lodge "held at the Red Lyon, sent a donation as a token of their

<sup>1</sup> Bunce's *Extracts*.

<sup>2</sup> *Proceedings of the City of C—y*.

regard for the Grand Lodge and their desire to promote the Grand Charity, proposing to send something every quarter, notwithstanding their private charity at Canterbury; "extracts from early Grand Lodge Minute Books emphasise by their entries even of the earliest Lodges, of payments and receipts pointing to a mere benefit basis".<sup>1</sup> It is not surprising that the Lodge formed in the City in 1730, the aim and object of which he would be in ignorance, engendered suspicion in the mind of the Mayor.

#### THOMAS ROCH

In 1760 Thomas Roch published his book *Proceedings of the Corporation of C—y: Showing the Abuse of Corporation Government*. This has been summarised and commented upon by William Brent in his *Canterbury in the Olden Time* as follows:—

"Thomas Roch, A.D. 1745, a Cabinet maker, native of Wales, but born in Dublin, having purchased his freedom, was immediately called upon by the 'builders'<sup>2</sup> to which fraternity he was considered as bound to attach himself, to pay to the Master and wardens the sum of £4 for dues and fees. Roch at first resisted, but after a time paid the demand, objecting, however, to the manner in which this sum and other monies similarly obtained were spent, and having likewise a strong suspicion that the demands made were not only unjust but illegal, pressing as they did with peculiar severity upon young tradesmen just entering into business—and other exactions having been made upon him, such as a payment per head for each workman employed—he determined to resist the impost. Upon his refusal to pay, a process, followed by a declaration extended to 192 sheets, for a sum of £1—4s. was served upon him. His request to inspect the charter and bye-laws not being complied with, he had to move the Court of King's Bench to obtain a sight of the same. Herein was found no authority for the exactions that had been oppressively levied for a long series of years. Several of the Aldermen being Masters of the fraternities, the Corporation lent them their utmost authority to the prosecution of the demands against Roch. Failing in their attempt to adjudicate in their own local court, the prosecutors carried the case to the assizes at Rochester, then before Lord Mansfield at Maidstone, here, A.D. 1758, the plaintiffs, who declined to produce their sham charter, were summarily non-suited. The decision caused the general break up of the gilds and fraternities, although some of them lingered on a few years longer. The principle, however, was established by the courageous resistance of one man, that compulsory contributions to them were illegal, and that for a long series of years the great mass of the freemen had been most unjustly taxed for the benefit of a few interested officials."

The first we hear of Roch is February 19th, 1744, when the Court of Burghmote ordered that "Thomas Roach of this City, Cabinet-Maker, be sued for using his trade unless he purchase his freedom of this City". This would be soon after his arrival in Canterbury, as Roch claimed to be the first Cabinet-maker to work at his trade in the City, and therefore he could not have worked as a journeyman.

In 1753, about a year before the erasure of the Red Lion Lodge, the prosecution of Roch commenced before the Mayor's Court; the publication of Roch's book in 1760, by which time the prosecution by the Carpenters' Company

<sup>1</sup> A.Q.C., vol. xxviii., p. 5 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Carpenters' Company.

had ended, coincided with the formation of a second Lodge (also "Modern") in the City.

Anti-Masonic activity in the City suggested by the appearance in London of the earlier "Moll" print may have accounted for the following public appearance of Freemasons in 1753 at Sandwich instead of at Canterbury, for it will be noted that the procession "gain'd great applause from the spectators etc." which might not have been so had it taken place at Canterbury.

"Canterbury Dec. 29th, 1753.<sup>1</sup>

Thursday last, being St. John's Day was celebrated by a Body of the Ancient Fraternity of Free Masons, belonging to the Earl of Anchran's Dragoons in Sandwich, who assembled there, and walked in procession thro' the Town, with an agreeable Sett of Music attending them, which gain'd great applause from the spectators etc."

An account of the celebration of the King's birthday at Canterbury six weeks earlier gives amongst those present "The Officers of Lord Anchran's Regiment, who are quartered here".<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately no information is yet available as to when the Regiment left the City. The report of the celebration at Sandwich would be of interest only to Lord Anchran's Dragoons and their friends and to Freemasons; as the latter would be by no means numerous, for the only Canterbury Lodge was erased the following year, the insertion of the account in the Canterbury newspaper suggests that Lord Anchran's Regiment was still quartered there.

In 1755 there was considerable political unrest in Canterbury; for, during that year—the prosecution of Roch was then proceeding—no less than twelve Common Councilmen and three Aldermen were "fined off", *i.e.*, paid fines of £20 and £30 each respectively to "excuse" themselves from serving these offices.

#### WAS THOMAS ROCH A MASON?

There are several passages in Roch's Book<sup>3</sup> which suggest that he had some knowledge of, or that he had in some way interested himself in, Masonic affairs.

Roch maintained that, as the first Cabinet-maker to exercise his trade in the City, he should not have been compelled to join the Carpenters' Company, composed as they were of builders, and he shows his resentment in the following manner when describing the procedure on the annual feast day:—

"On the feast day they met at the Master's house, where they were entertained with bread and cheese and strong beer, which frequently had such an effect on their limbs, as interfered with that nice order, which should have been observed in ranks, when the Grand Master marched them to hear a sermon on that solemn occasion".<sup>4</sup>

The following passage also occurs during the description of the events of the day:—

"Towards evening, when they were all *properly prepared* for business, the Master, Wardens and Counsellors withdrew to a grand apartment in the tavern provided for that purpose: there were they all seated in regular order according to their offices and seniority, and being grand festival and all robed in their best, made a most splendid appearance".<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Kentish Post or Canterbury News Letter*, Dec. 26th, 1753.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Proceedings of the City of C—y.*

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*

The following might refer to the "Moll" print:—

"This request could by no means be complied with, for as there were several Masters and Counsellors in the Corporation, an examination of this kind might make a grand discovery, and prove a destructive precedent to all companies".<sup>1</sup>

The terms "Excellent" and "Most Excellent" were used by the "Antients" in connection with the Royal Arch, and the following reminiscential passage occurs in Roch's book<sup>2</sup>:—

"As the election of these gentlemen came to so nice a point, the recorder was sent for; who produced a *Latin* charter, and read and construed it: but it appeared that he was not the most excellent master of that language; for though a City charter, he was convinced of errors by a gentleman, a citizen who stood by". (The charter it appears was in old English).

#### "THE BOOKE OF ACCOUNTS."

This book, eleven inches by nine, has a vellum or parchment cover upon which is written in ink "The Booke of Accounts". It was not originally used for that purpose, as the Accounts do not begin until 1650, whereas the book opens with a modernised and revised Deed of Incorporation and bye-laws dated 1632. In 1760 a still more modern and further revised copy was drawn up, as a result of the Company's Action against Thomas Roch, which is to be found in the Burghmote Book. There is no later Deed of Incorporation of the Carpenters' Company than that of 1544 in the "Bundle" of such deeds among the City records, as there is of the Company of Shoemakers and Cobblers; and, as the book was used for keeping the accounts of the Carpenters' Company between 1650 and 1714, it would appear that it was also used for dealing with "rebelles", resource to the City Charters—the production of which was attended with a certain amount of expense—being used only when the Company's Deed of Incorporation had failed.

"April 14, 1760: Spent at ye Bull when we read ye charter —1—1

"Oct. 16, 1760: Spent at ye pied Bull when we delivered  
ye charter first.

"In 1651 one of the Wardens of the Company was Thomas Ludd, who, as a Common Councillor of the City in 1648, made it known that it was his 'dearest desire and determined resolution' to bestow upon the Mayor and Corporation yearly for ever one sermon to be preached on Holy Cross Day immediately before the election of the new mayor. at any church the Mayor, for the time being, might think fit".<sup>3</sup>

There is a charge of eleven shillings per annum upon a certain house in the city and ten shillings is still being paid for the preaching of this sermon and one shilling to the clerk for the ringing of the sermon bell.

#### JOHN BURK.

John Burk, Carpenter, was admitted into the Company "as a prentis" in 1650; he became a freeman of the City by apprenticeship in 1650 and in 1658 he served as a Warden of the Company. He was also the Town Crier, for we learn that in 1651 the City "paid to John Burk in lieu of his coate 1-00-00".<sup>4</sup> Burk appears to have served as *liaison* officer, for which his position

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the City of C—y.*

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Deans of Canterbury* (Cowper).

<sup>4</sup> *City Treas. Book.*

as an active member of the Carpenters' Company and an official of the City Corporation would render him suitable.

- "1663: It. for the Cittie Seale &c. to Mr. Burk 00—07—0.  
 "1663: It. pd to Goodwife Burke six shillings & fower pence  
 in set. (settlement) of a greater somme due to her  
 decesed husband John Burke".<sup>1</sup>

Most of the items under the heading of "Disbursements" are connected with the annual feast, and there appears to be only one item of a social nature which occurred in 1669, when 5s. was "pd to John Wickham sen when he was sick . . . by ye order of ye Mr. Wardens and Assistants". This bears out the statements of Thomas Roch that the money obtained from the members of the Company was expended upon a few interested officials.

Among the "Receipts" we find:—

"Feb. ye 8th, 1664: Rec. of Mr. Henry Gibbs, limbuer, for his admittance into this fellowship 1-00-00", which event was duly celebrated, for among the accounts submitted at the next meeting was "It. spent when we received Mr. Gibbs his money - - 06". Henry Gibbs was a portrait artist who, as we have seen, was made Mayor in 1688 after the Charter of James I had been restored to the City. It will be remembered that the Deed of Incorporation includes among those who are to form the Company, all "Paynters".

The following is a list of Masters of the Carpenters' Company from information recorded in the "Booke of Accounts":—

	Common Council- man	Alder- man	Mayor	Master of Carpenters' Company	
John Terrye			1673	1632	Freedom of City by gift "for which he paid his fine in working & allowing stuff for making Riding Gate
John Pollen	1640	1641	1644	1650-52	
Henry Knight	1648	1650	1654	1655-64	
Leonard Brown		1662	1666	1660-70	Notary
Avery Hills	1659	1660	1664	1671-80	Apothecary
John Lott			1675	1680-82	
Squier Beverton (Sen.)	1655	1657	1659	1682-84	1667: "Ald. Beverton is to continue the Trade of mak [Maker of] Thread in the City on his own acct. for employ of the poor". [Bun. E]
Joseph Roberts		1684		1685-90	
Squier Beverton (Jun.)	1667	1681	1683	1692- 1707	
Edward Fendall	1694	1705	1709	1708-13	Carpenter
Edward Jacob		1724	1727	1736-54	City Chamberlain, 1730-52

It will be noted that in most cases the Master of the Company had already served as Mayor; it is obvious that these prominent citizens were not appointed Master of the Carpenters' Company for the purpose of regulating the conditions of labour of the various tradesmen of whom the Company was composed; this was done by the Wardens, and at times there are recorded series of meetings at which no Master was present.

<sup>1</sup> Booke of Accounts.

Of the eleven Masters mentioned two only were "builders"; of these two Edward Fendall did not owe his mastership to any zeal he had displayed in the concerns of the Company, as the first time his name is mentioned, after his admission as an apprentice, is in 1700 at a meeting of the Company "holden at the widdow Webs, commonly known by the Sign of the Compass"; two members were elected Assistants in the place of Edwd. Fendall and another "on acompt of a misdemenioar for not appearing at quarter & private meetings according to the Tennor of this Sosiety". It will be noted that this occurred in 1700; in 1705 Edward Fendall was made an Alderman and three years after Master of the Carpenters' Company.

Among the freemen of the City listed by Cowper the number of masons, some of whom are designated freemasons, is not large. Masons are not included in the 1544 Deed of Incorporation, but they are mentioned in the bye-laws of 1632 and 1760 among the trades comprising the company. The freemen mentioned by Cowper are:—

#### FREEMASONS

	Freedom of City by	14th Century	15th Century	16th Century	17th Century	18th Century	
Pepper, William	Marriage			1508			
Broxup, John	Redemption				1691		
Scott, Edward	Redemption				1632		
Baker, William	Apprentice					1711	
Blighton, Thomas	Gift			1589			(1)

#### MASONS

	Freedom of City by	14th Century	15th Century	16th Century	17th Century	18th Century	
Frend, John	Apprentice					1704	
Glasyare, Thomas	Marriage		1466				
Lynsted, Robert	Marriage			1522			
Peny, John	Marriage		1431				
Tutch, William	Marriage				1613		
Wardon, Robert	Marriage		1449				
Barbour, John	Redemption	1393					
Beardford, William	Redemption		1430				
Davidson, Alexander	Redemption					1704	(2)
Denys, John	Redemption		1407				
Derby, John	Redemption		1410				
Doraunt, Benjamin	Redemption		1425				
Harte, Thomas	Redemption		1455				
Hogge, William	Redemption		1438				
Hert, Thomas	Redemption		1451				
Holwey, John	Redemption		1490				
Hunt, William	Redemption			1523			
Kebble, John	Redemption				1606		
Stanle, Thomas	Redemption		1445				
Swelton, Nicholas	Redemption		1475				
Swift, Stephen	Redemption		1415				
Tenham, William	Redemption		1483				
Cadbury, William	Birth		1473				
Lynsted, Thomas Francis	Birth			1544			
Samson, William	Birth		1468				
Loy, William			1425				(3)

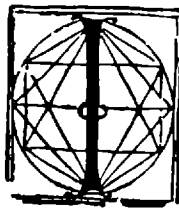
<sup>1</sup> "Who is to work repairing the City Walls to the extent of 10s."

<sup>2</sup> "Bricklayer or Mason."

<sup>3</sup> "S. of John Loy Mason."

## THE UNION OF THE GRAND LODGES OF ENGLAND IN 1813

AS DESCRIBED BY A SWEDISH VISITOR



IN the year 1813 Count Jacob Pontusson de la Gardie was appointed Swedish ambassador to the Spanish Government then in revolt against Napoleon, and in order to reach his post had to travel *via* England. He kept a journal of his travels during the years 1813-15, from which I am able to offer a translation of some excerpts, provided by the fraternal kindness of Bro. K. R. Lagerfelt, Secretary of the Swedish Legation in London.

1st December 1813

The Duke of Sussex had been to see me yesterday. To-day he sent me Mr. Blacker<sup>1</sup> to say that he wanted to see me. I immediately drove to Kensington where he lives, but he had by then left home. His Royal Highness had, however, ordered his servant to ask me to visit the Freemasons' Lodge. I thereupon departed, took my decorations and my valet, and told the coachman to drive to the Freemasons' Tavern. It was very near to where I lived. When I arrived I presented myself as a St John's Master, wearing the decorations of this Degree. I had no Swedish decorations, and presented my Freemason's passport.<sup>2</sup> They did not know me, and put several questions, and as I spoke English none too well my answers were probably bad. I was introduced and placed myself rather near the door. The Master of Ceremonies sat at my side. He knew a little French. After a while I looked round and did not see the Duke of Sussex. I then asked my neighbour if he, the Duke, would be present, as I wanted to meet him. He told me that the Duke would be among the members of the highest rank, and that I should probably not be able to speak with him to-day. However, since I was of a different opinion, my neighbour, though he doubted my success, was kind enough to take me there in his coach. It was quite a way, far off in the city. To-day there was a ceremony, the reception of the Duke of Kent, who had been elected general Grand Master of all the Lodges of the new system,<sup>3</sup> with the intention, as they hoped, of bringing about a Union of the two systems. I was received with extreme courtesy, respect, and friendship. The Duke of Sussex then introduced me to the Duke of Kent, who said he wished to introduce me to all the Officers of Grand Lodge. I had to take my seat above the Duke of Sussex and between him and the Grand Master.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Blacker, who appears in the narrative as acting as kind of Masonic equerry to the Duke of Sussex, may have been that William Blacker "Gent." of Henrietta St., Cavendish Sq., who was initiated in Somerset House Lodge on 25th January, 1813.

<sup>2</sup> What we should term a Certificate, no doubt.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning the "Antients."

<sup>4</sup> The Duke of Kent.

The ceremonies having ended, we dined, each Degree by itself, until the moment when toasts began. After the toasts for the King of England, the Regent and the Royal Family had been drunk, a toast for the King of Sweden was drunk, and shortly afterwards a toast for me. On both occasions Mr Perry, the well-known editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, made short but rather flattering speeches. I was extremely embarrassed when the Duke of Sussex told me that, according to custom, I had to make a reply. Although very little versed in the English language, which I studied as a child but never since, I thought it best, however, to go on with it. The Brethren were very indulgent to my shortcomings, which showed their good will. The few words I was able to utter were received with the greatest kindness, and they drank my health once again in order, as they said, to thank me for having spoken in their language. After dinner had been eaten and toasts drunk, it was announced that all the Masters of the Lodges under the old system had gathered in the outer room, and asked to be received to hand in their Warrants. Permission was granted. Thereupon they entered in perfect order, bowed to the Duke of Sussex, and each Master handed in his patent. Amongst the arrivals was the very Master who that same day had received me in his Lodge. His embarrassment can easily be understood at seeing a person whom he had thought merely to be a St John's Master and consequently rather low in rank now occupying the place of honour between the two Royal Princes. After having made his bow he turned deathly pale, and was scarcely able to produce his Warrant. He beckoned to Blacker who was standing behind the chair of the Duke of Sussex, and when he, Blacker, returned a little later, he told me that he had been asked to tender the most humble apologies and to say that the Master had asked to be allowed to present himself together with his whole Lodge to-morrow to ask my pardon. I was extremely embarrassed by these apologies, to which I had very little to answer. I said my main desire was that the visit should not be paid; but the only ease I could obtain was that none but the Master and his officers should pay me a visit; and as Blacker was kind enough to promise also to be present and act as interpreter, I hoped that I had come off fairly well in this difficult affair.

The same evening, *i.e.* after half-past nine, I went with the Duke of Sussex to the Grand Lodge of the older system,<sup>1</sup> where to-day also was a great congregation of all the Lodges' Masters and Wardens. They numbered almost 300. The Duke was seated on an elevated throne in the East, in front of a great table around which 35 persons were seated. Here all cases concerning Freemasonry were decided. I also had a seat at the table to the right of the Duke. The Masters and Wardens were seated below around long tables, the senior facing the Duke and the junior on his left rather in the middle of the hall but up at the wall.

The hall is quite beautiful. Larger than the large new one in Stockholm. The opening of the Lodge was very much the same as with us, but much shorter. The laws were read, and then the Secretary read out a number of cases. At each of them the Chairman said: "A motion is made and seconded. Who approves will raise the right hand." In most cases all present shouted "All", but one question took quite a long time: it concerned a Master who had been drunk several times in Lodge and behaved in a disorderly way, and whom the Duke wished removed. But there were persons

<sup>1</sup> Meaning the "Moderns."

who defended him, and also others of opinion not only that he ought to be removed, but also deprived of the dignity of Brother. There was an awful row. They spoke with a certain amount of heat, but many quite well, and the Duke had to put the proposition 11 times before it was accepted by the majority. The main question of the proceedings was a discussion regarding the Union of the new and old systems.<sup>1</sup> The proposal was read out and received much applause. The number of Lodges in London alone will be over 400.<sup>2</sup> The Duke told me that one Lodge exists here composed of Jews only. From this one can draw inferences about the broadmindedness existing in Freemasonry. One Brother sent as a deputation from the Lodges under the new system was announced and received with a lot of ceremonial. He told us that the project had been accepted by them *nemo contradicente*, and the 27th December had been fixed as the date for the great ceremony of Union between the two systems.

I did not get home till 1.30 in the morning, rather tired.

The 2nd<sup>3</sup>

It was scarcely 11 o'clock when the Master whom I wrote about yesterday arrived with all his Officers and Mr. Blacker. Many complimentary speeches were made, and I was really in great embarrassment what to say. At last I had to accept a certificate drawn up by the Lodge, in which they in the most flattering terms requested me to receive the highest decoration the Lodge could bestow and to be their first honorary member. It cost me the trouble later of going to their Lodge several times.

This account speaks for itself, but a few explanatory notes may be of use.

In the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England ("Antients") of the meeting held on Wednesday, 17th December, 1813, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand I find recorded among those present "R.W. His Ex. The Count La Gardje G.M. of the first Lodge of the North." I take his narrative to mean that by some inadvertence he first of all attended a private Lodge, who failed to recognise his Masonic or social rank, and then went on to attend the historic meetings of two Grand Lodges, first the "Antients", then the "Moderns", nor was he clear in his mind about which was the old and which the new system.

When he speaks of a St. John's Master, I fancy he must mean a Master Mason.

I have alluded to Bro. Blacker in a footnote, but much more could be told of Bro. Perry, who made the witty speeches. James Perry (1756-1821) was a literary man who edited in turn the *European Magazine* and the *Morning Chronicle*. He was initiated in Mount Lebanon Lodge, now No. 73, in 1786, and signed the Articles of Union as one of the Commissioners and a Past Deputy Grand Master of the "Antients". Many references to his Masonic activities will be found in the pages of Sadler, Bywater, and Gould, and he attended Grand Lodge for the last time in 1818.

I am sure we shall all be grateful to Bro. Lagerfelt for drawing attention to this most interesting account of a great Masonic event, which is also a reminder of the warm Fraternal Communication that exists between the Grand Lodge of Sweden and our own.

JOHN HERON LEPPER.

<sup>1</sup> "Antient" and "Modern".

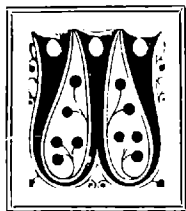
<sup>2</sup> Our Brother La Gardie had been misinformed on this point.

<sup>3</sup> December, 1813.

## LOUGH DERG.

BY BRO. R. E. PARKINSON.

When *Christianity* reach'd this Island *Ma-*  
*Anno Dom* *sonry* began to be much in request;  
 432 for when *St. Patrick* was sent to  
*Ireland*, he converted the Natives  
 to the Christian Faith, and founded the Cath-  
 edral of *St. Patrick* at *Ardmagh*, which was  
 rebuilt by *Patrick Scanlain*, Archbishop of  
*Ardmagh*, *Anno Domini* 1262: And the Pri-  
 ory of *St. Dabheoc* or *Avog*, in *Lough Derg*, was  
 founded by *St. Patrick* and *St. Dabheoc*, nigh  
 the famous Cave, commonly call'd *St. Pa-*  
*trick's Purgatory*.



WHEN John Pennell set himself to prepare an edition of *The Constitutions of the Free Masons* for the use of the Brethren in Ireland, he found ready to his hand Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, a cheap, perhaps pirated, edition of which was on sale in Dublin as early as 1725, when first the Grand Lodge of Ireland under Lord Ross comes into public notice. Whether Pennell was the first critic to find Anderson's style deplorable, or to adapt the work for the meridian of Dublin, he re-wrote it entirely, and to his condensed version of the "History" he added a version of Irish affairs from which the above paragraph is quoted. Why he should have chosen to link with the Cathedral of Armagh the Priory of Lough Derg as the first of Ireland's buildings to be mentioned is not very clear at the present day, unless *St. Patrick's Purgatory* should have connoted to the mason of 1730 more than it would to-day. Although it was in his day a place of pilgrimage frequented by thousands of the devout, its buildings had long been in ruins, and appear never to have been of any architectural pretensions. This slender link, then, must serve as the excuse for a note on the history and legends of Lough Derg.

The lake lies in the extreme south of the county of Donegal, close to the Tyrone border, and about four miles north of the village of Pettigo, in Fermanagh. It has an area of 2,200 acres, and is about thirteen miles in circumference, and is studded with forty or more islands, and is surrounded on all sides by mountains. The scenery is stern, even gloomy, yet here is a spot which for over seven centuries has drawn pilgrims, not merely from Ireland, but from all over Europe and the civilised world, anxious to do penance, and make atonement for their sins.

The name, Lough Derg, may be translated the Red Lake, and to account for it is the legend of the slaying by Finn MacCumhaill of a monster whose blood dyed the waters; later, a Christianised version of the legend makes the monster a gigantic serpent, and the hero of the slaying *St. Patrick* himself.

Of *St. Dabheoc*, the traditional founder of the Celtic monastery here, little is known. One account makes him a Welshman, son of a King Breacan, who ruled over a district now represented by Brecknock: another makes him a

member of the family of Dichu, St. Patrick's first convert in Ireland. He seems to have been a contemporary of St. Patrick or only a generation later, and three festivals were held annually in his honour, January 1st, July 24th, and December 16th. His memory is still perpetrated in the townland-name<sup>1</sup> Seeavoc, on the southern extremity of the lake, meaning "St. Dabheoc's Seat."

The Celtic monastery early sank into oblivion, but sufficient remains of "beehive" oratories, carved stones, inscribed monuments and fragments of crosses survive to show it was of considerable importance. About 1130 the site was again tenanted by Canons Regular of St. Augustine, dependent on the Abbey of SS. Peter and Paul in Armagh, and by the end of the century it had sprung into European fame.

One David "Scottus", of Wurzburg, is said to have written, *circa* 1120, a book called *De Purgatorio Patritii*, of which the contents are unknown.

Joscelin, a monk of Furness Abbey in Lancashire, who wrote a *Life of St. Patrick* about 1180-85, mentions the Purgatory, but associates it with Croagh Patrick in Mayo.

Giraldus Cambrensis (*Topographia Hibernica*, Dis. II, Cap V) describes a lake in Uister, in which was an island containing pits; if any were bold enough to spend a night in one of these pits, he was tortured by malignant spirits, and anyone submitting to these torments would not afterwards undergo the pains of Hell, unless he committed some sin of a deep dye. The lake is undoubtedly Lough Derg.

But the fullest account is due to Henry, a Cistercian monk of Saltrey, in Huntingdonshire, who, probably between the years 1186 and 1190, committed to writing the earliest known account of a descent of the Purgatory, by a knight Owen, in the year 1153, and what befel him there. Henry asserts that his authority was a monk named Gilbert, abbot of Basingwerk *circa* 1157, who had it from Owen's own lips.

He relates that when St. Patrick endeavoured to convert the Irish by preaching to them the happiness of heaven and the misery of hell, they refused to believe unless one of their number should see, with his own eyes, the torments of the damned and the bliss of the saved. Patrick was in despair, whereupon Our Lord appeared to him, and, leading him into a desert place, showed him a certain dark pit, in which whoever, being truly penitent and of a lively faith should spend a day and a night, he should be purged of his sins, and should see not only the torments of the lost, but the joy of the blessed. Owen, for fifteen days, fasted and performed devotional exercises, and then, fortified by Holy Communion, he was led in procession to the door of the Purgatory, which was unlocked by the Prior, and on his entry locked again.

Henry's account at once became popular; it was used by chroniclers such as Roger of Wendover and Higden, and was versified about the end of the thirteenth century; versions have been printed by the Early English Text Society (No. 87, London, 1887). It was translated into French by Marie de France early in the thirteenth century. Those competent to judge are tolerably satisfied that Dante himself was familiar with the story, as well as other Irish accounts of the after-world.

At any rate, the Purgatory sprang into European celebrity; it may be prosaically accounted for by its position in a remote part of Ireland, then verily *Ultima Thule*, aided by the interest aroused by the solemn translation of the relics of SS. Patrick, Bridget, and Columcille to de Courcy's new abbey of St. Patrick in Downpatrick.

There is some doubt whether Owen was an historical personage or not, but from the early thirteenth century till the destruction of the Purgatory by

<sup>1</sup> The townland is a division of land in Ireland, corresponding in some respects with the "hundred".

order of Pope Alexander VI in 1497 many notables visited it, and some left accounts of their experiences.

George Crissaphan, son of Count Crissaphan, a Hungarian noble, served in the army of King Louis I of Hungary against Queen Joan of Naples, and in his early twenties had risen to a command of importance. In this position he conducted himself with great cruelty, and is said to have been guilty of two hundred and fifty murders before he was twenty-four. Struck with remorse, he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella, where he spent six months as a solitary; there he heard of St. Patrick's Purgatory for the first time and resolved to visit it, which he did towards the end of 1353. Four manuscripts of Crissaphan's vision are known, including one in Czech. It was printed in the Czech language, and ran through several editions. The Latin version has been printed by Professor L. L. Hammerich (Copenhagen, A. F. Høst and Son, 1931).

Raymond, Viscount de Perelhos, made his descent in 1397, and the account of his vision is one of the best known, owing to its incorporation in his *Catholic History* by Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare. Thence it passed into Spanish literature, *Vida y Purgatorio de S. Patricio* by Juan Perez de Montalvan, published first in 1627, and the drama *El Purgatorio de San Patricio* by Calderon being the forerunners of many versions.

William of Stranton, a monk of Stranton in Durham, made his descent on Easter Sunday, 1406; two fifteenth century manuscripts are in the British Museum, *Royal 17 B. XLIII* and *Addit. 34193*.

Antonio Mannini, a merchant of Florence, made his descent on Saturday, 7th November, 1411. He sent an account of his experiences in a letter to a friend and compatriot in London, one Corso di Giovanni Rustichi. The original letter is presumably lost, but it was sent to Florence by Rustichi, where it was copied by Salvestro Mannini, Antonio's brother, who amplified it from the verbal account of his brother on his return to his native city. It is almost free from the supernatural and miraculous, and is a most circumstantial account of a pilgrimage early in the fifteenth century.

Laurence Rathold de Pasztho, a member of a noble Hungarian family, visited Lough Derg about the same time as Mannini. The account of his adventures was set down early in the year 1412 by James Yonge, a notary of Dublin; his original manuscript appears to be lost, but it is included in a manuscript in the British Museum, *Royal 10 B. IX*, which was completed in 1461 by a monk named Henry Cranebrook.

These all tell a fairly consistent story, though William of Stranton uses his experiences to attack several evils of his day. Every difficulty was placed in the way of the pilgrim; he had first to obtain the sanction of the Archbishop of Armagh, who sought to dissuade him from the enterprise; sanction obtained, he had further to obtain the permission of the Bishop of Clogher, in which diocese the Cave was situate, and also of the Prior of Lough Derg; if he persevered, in spite of all dissuasions, he had first to perform a fast of fifteen days, with a daily meal of bread and water only. Before entering the Cave, for the last time the Prior endeavours to dissuade the pilgrim, but if he persevere, his outer clothing is removed and he is dressed in a white robe; barefoot and bare-headed the Mass for the Dead is sung, and the pilgrim conducted in procession to the entrance; he is warned that he may be exposed to temptations, and told that by uttering the prayer "Domine Jesu Christe, fili Dei vivi, misere mihi peccatori" he will escape all danger. He is locked in the Cave, and expected to remain twenty-four hours, though in some cases, owing to the rigour of the weather, a less period suffices.

The Cave itself was a crude artificial structure, partly below ground level, but the visionaries speak of travelling some distance to an open plain, where they are tempted, first to deny Christ, and then to sins of the flesh; by

uttering the prescribed prayer they are saved from falling. They are met by an angelic guide, usually St. Michael, though William of Stranton patriotically meets St. John of Bridlington and St. Hilda of Whitby. Laurence Rathold is greeted by a beautiful youth, clad in a green robe, with a red stole over his shoulders, who salutes him with the words "Laurence, shalom alecha." Laurence, fearing this to be another temptation, asks the youth who he is, and is told that he is Michael the Archangel, his patron saint; the knight professed his disbelief, whereupon the youth declares his belief in the Incarnate Son of God. Laurence asks to be shown the souls of his deceased relatives, whether they be in hell, purgatory or heaven. His guide tells him to follow in the name of "Jehovah, Hakkodesh, Adonai, Alpha and Omega, the Ever-present, Ab, Ben, Ruach Kodesh."

The pilgrims are shown the place of torment, which, however, is not the uttermost depths of hell, as the name of Christ redeems from utter despair, but the passage from the place of torment to the abode of bliss, which is either the razor sharp bridge, a frail ladder, or a narrow path on the side of a precipitous cliff.

In 1497 Lough Derg was visited by an unnamed monk of Eymstadt, who, on his return, complained to the Pope that not only the Diocesan, but also the Prior of Lough Derg had demanded of him money before they would grant his request; not only did he not have any money, but he would not give it if he had it, lest he commit the sin of simony. Yielding to his importunity, the Prior caused him to be lowered to the bottom of a pit, where he spent the night in fear and trembling, fortified by prayer. Morning came, and no vision was vouchsafed to him, and he came to the conclusion that the whole thing was a fraud. He caused his experience to be reported to the Pope, who ordered the Purgatory to be demolished. Nevertheless, Lough Derg continued a place of pilgrimage; another cave was constructed, and later two more. Nothing more is heard of visions, and the place is one of severe penance. So it remains to this day; the fifteen days' fast is now a station of three days, though the more devout may make a station of six or even nine. For the vigil in the cave is substituted a vigil in the Basilica, and emphasis is now laid on the penitential exercises and austerities of the devotion.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the story is that no native of Ireland ever seems to have had a vision at Lough Derg. All the native literature that has survived dealing with Lough Derg tells of the austerities and religious exercises and consolations which the pilgrimage yields to the devout.

The vision of Tundal is a well-known Irish account of a vision of the other world; that wicked Knight beheld his vision in the year 1149, only four years before the alleged descent of the Knight Owen; yet the author, Bro. Marcus, sends his hero to expiate his crimes, not in the body at Lough Derg, but in the spirit in Cork. If Marcus was aware of the efficacy of the pilgrimage to Lough Derg, he must have ignored it in favour of a spot nearer home.

The accounts of the visions contain much that is reminiscent of initiation into the Ancient Mysteries. Is it possible that they describe some sort of ceremonial? At any rate, the legends contain much that could have inspired details of certain degrees, or at least they awaken chords of memory in the present writer.

The literature relating to Lough Derg is extensive, but the foregoing information is mainly derived from a scholarly little booklet, *Saint Patrick's Purgatory*, by Ven. St. John D. Seymour, Archdeacon of Cashel (Tempest, Dundalk, 1918).

## OBITUARY.

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

**Laurence Checkley Barker**, of Taunton, on 21st December, 1942. Bro. Barker was a P.M. of Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality No. 187, and a member of Charity Chapter No. 187. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1918.

**Selby Clare**, of Cardigan, on 4th November, 1942. Bro. Clare was a member of St. Peter's Lodge No. 476 and Merlin Chapter No. 476. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1919.

**Robert Alexander Dix**, of Singapore, on 8th February, 1942, by enemy action. Bro. Dix held the rank of P.Dis.G.W., and was a member of George Chapter No. 1152. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in November, 1927, and for many years acted as our Local Secretary in Malaya.

**George Leonard Elkington**, *F.R.I.B.A.*, of London, S.W., on 30th March, 1943, aged 63 years. Bro. Elkington held the rank of Past Asst. Grand Superintendent of Works and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1932.

**Charles Godfrey Greenhill**, of London, S.W., on 2nd December, 1942. Bro. Greenhill was a P.M. of Richmond Lodge No. 2032. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1912.

**Ernest Edward Hines**, *M.B.E.*, of Norwich, on 18th February, 1943. Bro. Hines held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1918.

**John Allingham Johnston**, of Belfast, on 7th March, 1943. Bro. Johnston was Rep. of Grd. Lo., New Hampshire, at the G.L. Ireland, and P.G.C. of H. (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1916.

**Thomas Farquharson Jolly**, of Melbourne, Australia, on 14th September, 1942. Bro. Jolly had held office as Pro. Grand Master, and Grand Z., Western Australia. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1911.

*Lieut.-Col.* **Patrick Dalmahoy McCandlish**, of Bo'ness, West Lothian, on 22nd December, 1942. Bro. McCandlish was a P.M. of Lodge Orion in the West No. 415 (E.C.), and had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1908.

**Alexander Lawrence Miller**, of Aberdeen, on 7th October, 1942. Bro. Miller held the rank of Provincial Grand Master, and was P.Z. of Chapter No. 309. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in January, 1912.

**Henry Harold Paynter**, of Cottesloe, W. Australia, on 18th December, 1942. Bro. Paynter was a P.M. of Lodge No. 900 (S.C.), and P.Z. of Chapter No. 287 (S.C.). He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1902.

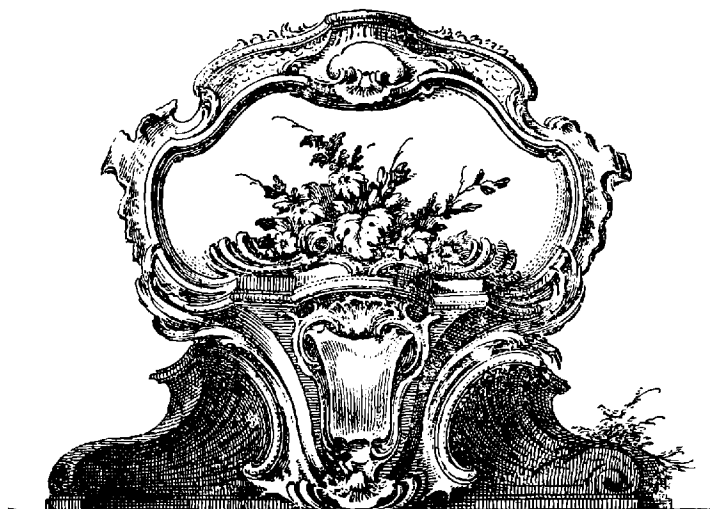
**Thomas J. Perry**, of Burton on Trent, on 29th March, 1943. Bro. Burton was a P.M. of St. Modwen's Lodge No. 4850. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1929, and for a number of years acted as our Local Secretary for Staffordshire.

**John William Percy Scott**, of Glasgow, on 12th March, 1942. Bro. Scott was a member of Lodge No. 772, and P.Z. of Chapter No. 311. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1930.

**Louis Seeligson**, of Perth, W. Australia, on 24th May, 1942. Bro. Seeligson held the rank of Past Grand Treasurer and Deputy Grand Z. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1903, and became a Life Member in 1922.

**Alfred Edward Sumner**, of Birmingham, on 1st October, 1942. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1926.

**John Herbert Wright**, of Grange over Sands, in April, 1943. Bro. Wright was a member of Arthur John Brogden Lodge No. 1715, and of Furness Chapter No. 995. He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1928.



# Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

## PUBLICATIONS.

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### BINDING.

Members returning their parts of the *Transactions* to the Secretary, can have them bound in dark blue Canvas, lettered gold, for 6/9 per volume. Cases can be supplied at 3/6 per volume, date or number of volume should be specified.

### MEMBERSHIP MEDAL.

Brethren of the Correspondence Circle are entitled to wear a membership Medal, to be procured of the Secretary only. Gilt, with bar, pin and ribbon, as a breast jewel, one guinea each.

# Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

No. 2076. LONDON.



*SECRETARY :*

Colonel F. M. RICKARD, P.G.Swd.B.

*OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM :*

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON, W.C.2.

# →‡ Ars ‡← Quatuor Coronatorum

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



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

## VOLUME LVI. PART 2.

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W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate.  
1946

## THE QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE No. 2076, LONDON,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To the Lodge is attached an outer or

### CORRESPONDENCE CIRCLE.

This was inaugurated in January, 1887, and now numbers about 2,000 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 meetings 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 so far as possible, recorded in the Transactions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## St. John's Day in Harvest

THURSDAY, 24th JUNE, 1943.



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4.15 p.m. Present:—Bros. *Wg.-Comdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W.*, Sussex, W.M.; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., P.A.G.R., I.P.M.*; Fred L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, S.W.; F. R. Radice, *as J.W.*; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Chap.*; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A., B.L., P.A.G.R., P.M., Treas.*; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, *P.G.S.B.* Sec.; W. J. Williams, *P.M.*; Wallace E. Heaton, *P.A.G.D.C.*; and H. Hiram Hallett, *P.G.St.B.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. L. G. Wearing, A. I. Sharp, W. Edwardson, C. H. Duveen, C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D.*, J. C. Vidler, C. F. Sykes, *P.A.G.St.B.*, F. A. Greene, *P.A.G.Supt.W.*, *Rev.* G. F. Irwin, *D.D.*, *P.G.Ch.*, S. J. Bradford, *P.G.St.B.*, F. E. Gould, H. Chown, *P.A.G.St.B.*, S. H. Love, E. V. Kayley, S. Hazeldine, H. Bladon, *P.G.D.*, F. W. Belschner, F. C. Taylor, F. W. Le Tall, C. D. Melbourne, *P.A.G.R.*, M. Goldberg, J. W. M. Hawes, A. F. Cross, E. Eyles, H. P. Healy, J. F. H. Gilbard, W. J. Mean, Stanley Palmer, *P.A.G.D.C.*, F. W. Harris, B. Foskett, Jas. J. Cooper, H. A. Dowler, and A. E. Evans.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Joseph Smith, *M.B.E.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*; H. W. Langdon, *L.G.R.*, Holborn Borough Council Lodge No. 3272; and E. R. Moore, Lodge of Sincerity No. 189.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, *P.G.D.*, *Pr.G.M.*, Bristol, *P.M.*; R. H. Baxter, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*, D. Flather, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; D. Knoop, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; F. W. Golby, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; S. J. Fenton, *P.Pr.G.W.*, Warwick, *P.M.*; *Lt.-Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; B. Ivanoff, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *Pr.G.Sec.*, Armagh; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W.*, Derby; H. C. Bristowe, *M.D.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, J.W.; G. Y. Johnson, *P.A.G.D.C.*, J.D.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; and G. S. Knockner, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*

Six Brethren were admitted 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 Special Festival of Grand Lodge and Installation of Grand Master:—

Bros. Edward Smith and Sir Wm. H. Crosthwaite, Past Grand Deacons; H. Westron, Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies; Chas. E. Craddock and W. Jepson, Past Grand Standard Bearers.

Bro. J. H. LEPPER read the following paper:—

## THE TRADITIONERS.

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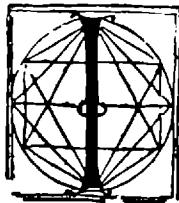
### A STUDY OF MASONIC RITUAL IN ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

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BY BRO. JOHN HERON LEPPER.

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#### INTRODUCTION.



IN the seventeen-sixties the Craft in England found itself split into two opposing factions, differing from each other in Discipline and Doctrine; in Discipline, as giving allegiance to one or other of the two antagonistic Grand Lodges; in Doctrine, nominally at all events, as practising two separate forms of ritual. These twain had come to be known as the "Antients" and the "Moderns", and the adherents of the original Grand Lodge of England (for both sides claimed that proud title) had been ill-advised enough to accept the latter appellation as their own, and it became a badge symbolic of the changes in ritual ordained by their leaders in the year 1730.

It is not my cue on the present occasion to discuss why this error was committed, but since many historians of the old romantic school denied that any such changes ever were recommended by the Grand Lodge of England, it may be as well to requote what two of its apologists wrote while the battle was still raging.

Here, then, is the first version of the excuse offered for changing the ritual, put forward in the 2nd edition of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* in 1775 (p. 258 *n.*).

"Several persons disgusted at the proceedings of the Grand Lodge at this time (1739), renounced their allegiance to the Grand Master, and in opposition to the original laws of the Society, and their solemn ties, held meetings, made Masons, and falsely assuming the appellation of a Grand Lodge, even presumed to constitute Lodges. The regular Masons, finding it necessary to check their progress, adopted some new measures. Piqued by this proceeding, they endeavoured to propagate an opinion, that the ancient practices of the Society were retained by them, and totally abolished by the regular Lodges, on whom they conferred the appellation of *Modern Masons*. By this artifice they continued to impose on the public, and introduced several gentlemen into their assemblies; but of late years, the fallacy being detected, they have not been so successful."

And here is the revised version from Noorthouck's *Constitutions* (1784. P. 240 *n.*).

"This illegal and unconstitutional claim obliged the regular Masons to adopt new measures to detect these imposters, and debar them

and their abettors from the countenance and protection of the regular Lodges. To accomplish this purpose more effectually, some variations were made in the established forms; which afforded a subterfuge, at which the refractory Brethren readily grasped. They now assumed the appellation of Ancient Masons, proclaimed themselves enemies to all innovation, insisted that they preserved the ancient usages of the Order, and that the regular Lodges, on whom they conferred the title of Modern Masons,<sup>1</sup> had adopted new measures illegal and unconstitutional."

The meat to be digested in these extracts is, of course, the acknowledgment that the original Grand Lodge of England had, for its own purposes, decided to change the ritual practised from time immemorial.

### THE TRADITIONERS.

It is one thing to decree alterations in an established ritual, and quite another to give effect to them. Beyond a doubt, many English Lodges, mainly, I believe, in the metropolis and places within easy reach of it, did loyally accept the recommendations of their Grand Lodge and change the old working; but the great bulk of them had no opportunity of learning the new ritual, and therefore continued to work as they had always been accustomed to work; while even in London there were not a few recalcitrant bodies which, while retaining their allegiance to the Grand Lodge and supporting it, by attending the quarterly communications, contributing to the Charity Fund, and occasionally providing it with officers, still clung to the Old tradition, the Old ways of working, the Old methods of recognition; and amongst these recalcitrants were two Time-Immemorial Lodges, Antiquity the present No. 2, and Fortitude and Old Cumberland the present No. 12. When we find Lodges such as these among the dissatisfied, our wonder is lessened at the phenomenon of Lodges in the provinces that remade Masons from other Modern Lodges according to the ancient forms before accepting them as joining members.

We need a convenient term to describe such Freemasons as these, who on the one hand were inflexibly loyal to the original Grand Lodge of England, and on the other as loyal to the old ways from which they never varied. Quite apart from a reluctance to change anything that might be a landmark, they, in the aggregate, had found by experience that the rite they practised was similar in all essentials to that followed by Freemasons in the sister Constitutions of Ireland and Scotland, "as exactly as face answers face in a glass", in the happy phrase employed by one of them; and the old forms had also already taken root on the continent of America, where Freemasonry had found a soil to suit it, and was growing with a vigour that promised a rich harvest. Nothing then was to be gained by change, and much might be lost; so they continued along the way they knew.

Such Freemasons as these, while "Modern" in their allegiance, were "Antient" in their working. Therefore it is misleading and confusing to have to allude to them as "Modern" Masons *tout court*, and to employ such a designation as "Antient-ritual-practising-Modern" Masons would be a calamity to any author aspiring to write in English, and that Bren gun of an adjective may be left as treasure trove for some future Teutonic historian of the Craft.

<sup>1</sup> *Modern* as applied to Masonry to indicate innovation had been used as early as 1726. In that year a skit appeared entitled "Antediluvian Masonry", which is worth attention because of its use of ritual clichés made familiar to us by other documents of later dates. Desaguliers is shot at in a passage "showing what Innovations have lately been introduced by the Doctor and some other of the Moderns, etc." (*Ibid.* A.Q.C., xxiii, 325). For the term "MODERN FREE-MASONS" in 1748 see A.Q.C., xxvii, 36. So as an epithet to describe a particular brand of Freemasonry *Modern* was no novelty in 1751, when the Grand Lodge of the Antients was coming to the birth.

Greatly daring, I suggest an old English word to describe such Craftsmen: TRADITIONER is the one I have chosen, as uncommon enough to allow of its being used Masonically in this sense, just as ANTIENT or ATHOLL has now a special connotation with Masonic students.

I suggest the term as an honourable designation for the Brethren who upheld two great traditions, loyalty to their Grand Lodge, the senior governing body in the world, and loyalty to the ancient forms of Freemasonry, matters, as we are still taught, that admit of no innovation. These Traditioners rendered to their Cæsar allegiance, tribute money, and service, but not a jot more of compliance than suited their consciences; and, above all, were careful to turn a deaf ear to the voice of the charmer who said he knew a ritual better and more refined than they had learnt in youth.

My task in this essay shall be to indicate how these Traditioners, having found the right kind of leader, set themselves to healing the division in England caused by the changes made in the ritual.

#### THE CHANGES IN RITUAL AND CUSTOMS.

What were the changes that had been made in the masonic ceremonies as generally practised in Great Britain in the year 1730?

In my opinion the most important of them can be stated with certainty to be as follows:—

(a) A general neglect or curtailment of the Lectures, or, as we should say now, the Catechism attached to each Degree.

An inference might be drawn from this fact that much in these Catechisms was looked upon as out of date as early as the seventeen-thirties, and this consideration inclines me to believe that the general spread of Speculative Freemasonry through these islands must have begun at a period more remote than we can warrant by any document yet discovered. At all events the archaisms in the text had acquired such sacrosanctity by long usage that their omission seemed sacrilege to a Mason of the old school.

(b) In extreme cases, an omission to prepare the Candidate in the way customary among Masons.

(c) A transposition of the words in the E.A. and F.C. Degrees.

(d) Different Passwords for the F.C. and M.M. Degrees, and a different way of making use of them.

Note, however, that Passwords, if we can trust one of the exposures, were first introduced at a later date than 1730, and therefore the variations also demand a later date.

(e) Omission of the esoteric part of the ceremony of installing in the Chair of a Lodge.

It should, however, be borne in mind that the missing knowledge would be supplied in the ceremony of Royal Arch; for installation as a P.M. was a preliminary to Exaltation with most of the Modern as with all the Antient Lodges. Thus the same secrets might be gained in one of two ways: by serving as W.M. of a Lodge which observed the Old Tradition, or by Exaltation to the Degree of Royal Arch.

The esoteric knowledge involved was very exiguous for the greater part of the eighteenth century, but, such as it was, no innovation, and had been known to the Craft before 1717.

(f) A refusal to accept the Degree of Royal Arch as a part of Freemasonry. So far as our present knowledge goes, this difference must be attributed to a date later than 1730.

(g) Neglect of the Days of St. John as special Masonic festivals; this, a triviality to our ideas now, was in the eighteenth century a veritable shibboleth.

(h) The two schools certainly had different words for one of the substituted secrets of a Master Mason, and consequently we now have two

alternatives. The date at which this variation became established may, however, have well been prior to 1730, and have arisen from a cause more natural than deliberate change.

(i) Another subject of dispute, I have little doubt, was the de-Christianization of Freemasonry; but that had begun long prior to 1730.<sup>1</sup>

Of course there were other minor differences in practice that occasioned a great deal of fuss and talk in the Lodge of Promulgation years afterwards, such as the positions of the Three Great Lights and the Wardens, the steps in each Degree, and so on; but such insignificant variations need not detain us.<sup>2</sup>

### THE BADGES OF A TRADITIONER.

Since one of my chief ends in this essay is to suggest to other students of Masonry lines of inquiry that would increase our knowledge, the next question to which some sort of an answer must be given is this: how are we to tell from the documents of the epoch whether an English Lodge was Modern or Traditioner in its working?

Too often we are left guessing.

Sometimes, however, the words of a Minute Book remove all doubt, as in the case of Anchor and Hope Lodge, Bolton, now No. 37, which in 1768 remade, when necessary, its joining members according to the Antient forms.

Sometimes the affiliation of a well-known Antient Mason to a Lodge will indicate, or at any rate be strong evidence in favour of Traditioner working.

Sometimes the attendance of a visitor from a Modern to an Antient Lodge, or vice versa, will point to a similar conclusion.<sup>3</sup>

Sometimes, as is often the case in Minutes from Bristol, no doubt exists that the Lodge had an esoteric ceremony of Installation.

Sometimes, as in the case of Thomas Dunckerley's Mother Lodge at Portsmouth, the Royal Arch was conferred in addition to the usual Craft ceremonies.

Sometimes evidence from an external source will show a line of action taken by a Lodge that leaves us in no doubt on which side its sympathies lay; such action was taken in the year 1755 by Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, now No. 12, when it dared to stand alone in the minority in favour of the Lodge at *Ben Jonson's Head*, which was expelled from the Craft for practising the Antient ritual.

The appointment of Deacons as Lodge Officers may be cited as an additional indication that a Traditioner or Antient influence was making itself felt there.

Lastly, as a good test of a Lodge's sentiments in ritual, let me recall the considered opinion of my dear friend and teacher, the late Bro. W. J. Songhurst, who held that the spread of Additional Degrees in the eighteenth century was mainly due to Antient (including Traditioner) Masons. With this opinion of his I fully concur, and see in every early British Knight Templar or Chevalier Rose Croix, to mention but two of the more beautiful of these Degrees, a probable scion of Antient Craft Masonry, whatever the allegiance of his Mother Lodge may have been. Does not the very name of the Antient and Accepted Rite, late though this name came into being, contain a claim concerning its origin?

Just a word of warning in conclusion: it is hardly to be expected that every Traditioner Lodge retained all the distinguishing badges of the tribe; I dare say that the possession of one, several, or all may have varied according to district and other circumstances.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide Freemasonry and the idea of Natural Religion*, by D. Knoop and G. P. Jones.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide A.Q.C.*, xxiii, 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide Appendix A* for examples of such evidence.

## SAINT JOHN'S DAY, &amp;c.

I shall now offer a few remarks about some of the differences in Masonic practices which can be treated most conveniently at this place. Others will be found scattered throughout the essay where they best fit into the context.

Touching the neglect of St. John's Days by the Moderns, Bro. Sadler says:<sup>1</sup>

"Our first Grand Master (Anthony Sayer) was elected and installed on St. John Baptist's Day, 1717, and this day was adhered to by the Grand Lodge for the installation of his successors until 1725, when 'being unprovided with a new noble Grand Master, the officers were continued six months longer'. Lord Paisley was, however, installed on the 27th December following; Lord Inchiquin on the 27th February, 1727; Lord Coleraine on the 27th December in the same year; and Lord Kingston on the 27th December, 1728. . . . The eighteen installations between 1730 and 1753 appear to have taken place on a day best suited to the convenience of the noble personage most concerned, and not one on either of the popular Saints' Days.<sup>2</sup> . . . The Antients from the very first seem to have been most scrupulous in selecting one or other of these days for their Grand ceremonials."

So were some of those Modern Masons whom I have christened Traditioners.

Turning to the invaluable book written by our senior member, Bro. A. C. Powell, in collaboration with Bro. Littleton, we find that Bristol, though not the only Abdiel among the English provinces, showed great fidelity to the old Saints' Days.

- 1756 By-laws of Lodge No. 123. Master, Wardens, Treasurer, and Secretary to be chosen annually on festivals of St. John.
- 1750 { Lodge 184 held a dinner on both St. John's Days. Lodge at the
- to { Crown, No. 220, elected Master at both festivals. In 1758 the Crown
- 1760 { Lodge appointed Deacons as Officers of the Lodge.
- 1768 { By-laws of Sun Lodge No. 421 provide for election of Master, Wardens, Treasurer, and Secretary biennially.
- Lodge of Jehosaphat No. 451 elected Master on St. John's Days for the term of six months.
- 1772 In, this and succeeding years Lodge of Hospitality installed the Master on the 24th June.
- 1784 On the 27th December this year six Lodges from Bristol travelled to Bath, met at the Bear Inn under their Provincial Grand Master, Thomas Dunckerley, went to church, and then dined to celebrate the Festival.<sup>3</sup>

Thus Bristol is an example of how hard old customs die, if ever they do die.

Deacons as Lodge Officers are first found, so far as my knowledge goes, in 1727 in the First Lodge of Ireland in Cork, though, strangely enough, not in the contemporaneous Grand Lodge of Munster, nor in the Grand Lodge of Ireland until 1811. We may fairly assume from this curious divergence that while Freemasonry was already "naturalized" in the Ireland of 1726, the Constitution of a Grand Lodge was a novelty, as in fact it was. Deacons I consider to belong to that older Freemasonry that settled in Ireland long prior to 1717; how long? that is a question I cannot answer.

In England Deacons became, of course, a regular feature in the Antient Lodges. In Modern Lodges they are found in Swallowell, Durham, in 1734; in Royal Oak Lodge, Chester, in 1743; in the Crown Lodge, Bristol, in 1758;

<sup>1</sup> *Masonic Facts and Fictions*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> It might be argued that this supports the view that 1730 was the year in which this old custom was jettisoned.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Freemasonry in Bristol*, pp. 33, 39, 49, 50, 64, 77, 121.

in Lodge of Probity, Halifax, in 1763; in Darlington 1770; and in Barnard Castle 1772.

Of course certain implications might be drawn from the geographical situations of these Lodges.

It was not until 1809 that the Grand Lodge of England accepted Deacons as officers in its private Lodges; up till then their work seems to have been done by Stewards. I look upon their appearance in a Modern Lodge as indicating that Antient or Traditioner influence was at work there.

Much could be written about the Chair Degree or Installed Master as an esoteric ceremony. The evidence has been reviewed so fully and so many times by so many Masonic scholars that I may be excused for passing it with the briefest possible mention.

Lodge of Antiquity claims to have administered an obligation and imparted secrets to the Installed Master from as early as 1726; and in 1739 the Past Master was regarded as an important rank in that old Lodge. Such an instance of Traditioner working is quite enough for me to offer on this particular point.<sup>1</sup>

#### REBUILDING BABEL.

The gravamen of the mistake made by our forefathers in 1730 was that, as a result of the innovations, Freemasonry ceased to merit the title of Universal.

The altered ritual led to disputes, not only at home, but at times on the continent of Europe, according to the particular British source from which the Freemasonry of the foreign Lodge had been imported.

A few instances will show what was bound to happen.

In Germany, according to Findel,<sup>2</sup> as early as the 30th November, 1744, the members of the Lodge of the Three Globes in Berlin were agitated by doubts about the ritual, and debated a proposal for altering the methods of recognition.

At Vienna in 1754 the Lodge Aux Trois Coeurs witnessed a quarrel about whether two distinguished English visitors were true Freemasons or not. The Master, Baron Spörcke, who had been made a Mason in Hanover, recognised them as such, but his ruling was disputed by some other visitors present, who were members of the old Lodge Aux Trois Cannons, which had been founded in Vienna in 1744 by a Mother Lodge in Prague, claiming existence from 1726 and a constitution by the Grand Lodge of England.<sup>3</sup>

Our late Bro. Major N. H. S. Sitwell has quoted a case from Angoulême during the Seven Years' War, when some British prisoners interned there were unable to prove themselves Masons to the local Brethren. Since most French Masonry was of the Modern type, having been introduced after 1730, and most military Masonry of the Antient, the failure to reach an understanding is not so strange.

Then at Namur in 1775-6 in the Scottish Lodge 'La Parfaite Union, warranted 1770 by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, disagreements arose about the transposition of words and the station of the Junior Warden. The ritual taught by Bro. Captain John Cunningham, the Lodge's founder, was discovered to be much at variance with the system followed in the neighbouring Lodges, which had had their instruction from Modern sources in England. After a royal row the party in favour of "No change" resigned, and the Lodge conformed to the Modern ritual.<sup>5</sup>

To conclude this tale of woe and misunderstanding, in the Grand Stewards Lodge of the Antients in April, 1805, a Bro. Schultz from the Union Lodge

<sup>1</sup> *Vide A.Q.C.*, xxv, 185.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Freemasonry*, 1866, p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide A.Q.C.*, v, 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Nota bene*, a Scots Lodge, not Loge Écossaise, which was something quite different.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide A.Q.C.*, xx, 76.

Elbing, under the Grand Lodge at Berlin, was "not able to make himself known as an Antient Mason", and consequently received nothing from the Charity Fund.

In cases such as the last the situation was understood by everyone, except the unlucky petitioner, but in places abroad where was the authority to decide who was the true Amphitryon? No wonder that in many of the French rituals compiled at the end of the eighteenth century we find the differences between the Antient and Modern schools of Freemasonry explained at length.

I incline to the belief that in some English-speaking Lodges it early became a custom to explain to the initiate, as soon as secrecy permitted, the differences between the two systems.<sup>1</sup>

### MODERN RITUAL IN ENGLAND.

Whatever efforts the Grand Lodge of England may have made to impose the new ritual on the private Lodges, they can only have been spasmodic, not sustained. Exponents and approvers of the Modern forms would undoubtedly have tried to enforce them in their own Lodges in the metropolis; but we can predicate that those Masters who did not wish for change would display a masterly inability to master the new wording, and against stupidity, real or assumed, the gods themselves, we are told, fight in vain; and as for coercing a Lodge situated at any distance from London, there was just no chance at all. Even in the popular watering places, such as Bristol and Bath, which might have been expected to ape the London fashions in Masonry as in so much else, the new mode was ignored; and, taking the country as a whole, I think the seed of Modern Masonry more often than not fell on stony ground.

If this laxity of control in a matter so important as the means of recognition appears at variance with all our ideas of a strong and efficient government, we must not forget that for, at least, the first forty years of its existence the governing body of the English Craft showed neither strength in organization nor efficiency in management.

In those days the Grand Lodge had no central offices to which a Mason from the provinces could go to get his instructions by word of mouth. If, during a visit to town, he was in search of more Masonic light, his only course was to pay a call at the Grand Secretary's house in the hopes of finding him at home and at leisure and in a good temper; and even if these conditions were fulfilled, the Grand Secretary might prove to be no ritualist, or the visitor might have a short memory, or credence might not be lent to that memory by doubting Brethren when he reached home; . . . in short, a score of accidents might arise, and must often have arisen to prevent exact knowledge of the new working from reaching the remoter parts of England, even when the knowledge was desired.

What has just been suggested raises the question of ritual zones.

There is no necessity to go into minutiae to prove that Masonry in Yorkshire was Traditioner. The very name of York became a slogan on the Antient side of the fence. I think that a similar claim might be made for most of the Lodges in the north of England, certainly for those in Lancashire.<sup>2</sup>

On this matter of ritual zones I will do no more than give indications here and there throughout this essay, and leave further elucidation to local Brethren well acquainted with the documents that may provide more evidence in each particular case.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix .E for an instance at Madras in 1786.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide A.Q.C.*, xviii, 171; x, 39; and Bro. Pick's paper on *Freemasonry in Oldham* for the founders of Lodge of Friendship in 1789, several of whom came from Irish Lodges and were certainly Antient in ritual.

<sup>3</sup> For the case of Bristol, however, see Appendix B.

## THE SOLDIERS' RITUAL.

Having indicated some of the hindrances in the path of Modern Masonry that were static, we must now consider one that was dynamic and, perhaps, the most active of all in opposing its advance.

For fully twenty years before the Grand Lodge of the Antients emerged from its cocoon of non-attached Masons and non-regular Lodges, England had been permeated by whole-hearted exponents of the Antient ritual, the itinerant military Lodges.

From the year 1732 the Grand Lodge of Ireland had been constituting such Lodges, taking advantage of the custom that kept British regiments on the Irish Establishment and used Ireland as a recruiting ground; and wherever these Lodges went, at home or abroad, they fraternised with the local Masons, and became for the time being an active element in their place of sojourn.

Undoubtedly it was because Ireland was first in this field and had most of it to herself<sup>1</sup> for twenty-three years before a Grand Lodge in England granted an ambulatory Warrant, that the predominant, I might almost say the only ritual known to the British soldier was that of the Antients. Few facts in Masonic history are more certain than this one.

A military Lodge, even if holding its Warrant from the Grand Lodge of the Moderns, as many did later on, was Antient in its working, and was bound to be so or become so, for the vast majority of similar Lodges with whom it lay in garrison at home or abroad knew but one ritual, and would admit of none other.

This fact must be borne in mind when we come to examine the conduct of some of the rulers of the English Craft in the seventeen-sixties.

## ONE SUPREME GRAND LODGE?

Let us now look at the relations that existed between the Grand Lodge of England and the sister Grand Lodges after the year of fate 1730.

Up till that time the peerage of Ireland had provided several Grand Masters for England, including one of the best who had ever ruled the Craft, Lord Kingston in 1729; but after his departure thirty-five long years were to pass before another Irishman had the honour of becoming Grand Master of England. My opinion is that this was less of a ban on the one side than a boycott on the other; for during the same period Scots noblemen were gathered for the Masonic throne of England with the plenitude of blackberries in autumn, and I do not think that the Scots were generally more beloved than the Irish in the England of that day.

Indeed the following lines from a poem entitled "The Plaid" expose the sentiments of the Southron for the Scot, who had given him such a scare in 1745, and in them the poetaster has employed a trope of special interest to us.

"What do I see! ridiculously clad  
Our *English* Beaus and Belles in *Highland* plaid!  
The dress of rebels by our laws forbid!  
No matter . . . why should friends or foes be hid?  
By this distinctive badge are traytors shown,  
Sure as Free Masons by their signals known."<sup>2</sup>

However, be this phenomenon due to ban by the English or boycott by the Irish Freemasons, I think the cause must be sought in something more than mere ritual differences, for Scottish Masonry was Antient too. Of the Scots nobles who were Grand Masters of England during the period of storm

<sup>1</sup> Scotland followed her example in 1743.

<sup>2</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1748, p. 39.

and stress about to be described, we can assert that all were orthodox in the Traditioner sense.<sup>1</sup> Yet things went from bad to worse here under their rule. Evidently something more than Masonic orthodoxy was required in that high office at that period of depression.

A curious incident which took place in 1732 is worth recalling in this connection. At a quarterly communication held in the Devil Tavern on the 21st November, Lord Southwell, "late Grand Master of Ireland", was noted in the contemporary Press as being present. However, in the original Minute of Grand Lodge he appears as "Provincial Grand Master". While it still remains to be discovered in what year Lord Southwell was Grand Master of Ireland, he certainly never was a "Provincial Grand Master" there under the Grand Lodge of England; though Secretary William Reid had to write up the minutes according to instructions, the newspapers were under no such compulsion to "bear like the Turk no brother near the throne."<sup>2</sup>

Some light is afforded us by a significant passage in Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1738, an addition to the text of 1723, where the author, himself a Scot be it remembered, and apparently forgetting that he had recorded the establishment of the Grand Lodge of Ireland (with the wrong date) in his fabulous chronicle of Masonic events, after an enumeration of Provincial Grand Masters speaks of the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland as "affecting independency."<sup>3</sup>

The inference to be drawn from this sneer in ambush, the mine hidden among the bombastic verbiage, is that Anderson and his clique, the men of 1730, did not attach any validity to any such "Independency."

That sound Masonic scholar H. J. Whymper held this view, and considered that the great schism was due to Masons from the sister Constitutions, who, of course, stood up for the rights and dignities of their Mother Grand Lodges; his words are:

"A study of the records . . . I think will convince most Brethren that the great schism started from what is termed the 'irregular Makings' of Masons, and that this in all probability came about from the assumption of the Grand Lodge (of London and Westminster) that with its foundation all Lodges of Freemasons, who could be got at, owed allegiance to it. We have certain records that this assumption was resented, or ignored, and other records point to the same conclusion."<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, there is a strong possibility, I fear, that during this period the eldest of the Grand Lodges was showing herself more than a trifle arrogant towards her sisters.

Thomas Manningham, M.D., Deputy Grand Master 1752-57, stated the case for Supremacy to the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Netherlands in a letter written 3rd December, 1756, in these terms:—

"In your Letter you ask for a Grand Master over your Provinces, we allow but one Grand Master, who is generally call'd Grand Master of Masons, yet have several under the Denomination of Provincial Grand Masters, who are Brethren of Fortune and Character, and are appointed to act under the Grand Master as his Deputy, and to govern their respective Provinces with the

<sup>1</sup> According to J. T. Thorp (*A.Q.C.*, xviii, 11), the Earl of Kintore was an initiate of Mary Chapel, Edinburgh, and had previously served as Grand Master of Scotland; as also did Lords Morton, Strathmore, and Aberdour before being summoned to the throne in the Grand Lodge of England.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Chetwode Crawley in *A.Q.C.*, xi, 30-31.

<sup>3</sup> "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, etc.*, for Substance, with their Brethren of England, and are equally zealous for the *Augustan Style*, and the *Secrets* of the antient and honourable *Fraternity*." (Page 196.)

<sup>4</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vi, 18.

Grand Master's authority, such an officer I presume is what you mean by your Request of a Grand Master."

However, that was not what the Dutch Brethren meant at all, and they said so, with the result that in his next letter, dated 12th July, 1757, Manningham had to execute what is now called a "strategical withdrawal", in blunt English, a retreat:—

"You mention your design of electing a noble Grand Master amongst yourselves. I have communicated that part of your letter to our Grand Lodge, they have no objection to such Election but seem pleas'd with your Intention, neither will they claim more than brotherly Love and friendly Correspondence from your Grand Master, and will use their utmost Endeavours to settle everything on a proper Basis and be cautious how they interfere with or grant Constitutions for Holland."<sup>1</sup>

From these letters we may deduce that the idea of a Grand Master of Masons was still alive in 1756, but not meeting with much support from the aggregate wisdom of the Grand Lodge of England. I think the proposed Charter of Incorporation was its last sign of vigorous life.

Sadler's account of the Grand Lodge of the Antients ascribed its formation to the efforts of Irish, Scottish, and Yorkshire Masons who did not like the new-fangled Modern ritual; in this view he was supported, naturally enough, by Chetwode Crawley—*et ego in Arcadia visi!*—and to a very great extent their thesis is incontrovertible. However, it seems to me now, as a result of a revision of all the evidence available to me, that neither of those two great Masonic scholars gave a proper share of the responsibility to the Masons of purely English origin who threw in their lot with the sojourners from other parts in order to combat innovation. Judging from the nomenclature of the early lists of the Antients, not all of them hailed from North of the Tees or West of St. George's Channel, and the residue, no mean one, consisting of Masons made in England in either irregular or non-regular Lodges might by a stretch of malice have been termed seceders. The Irish and Scots must in all fairness be put in another category, for they were, in a sense, upholding the dignity of their respective Mother Constitutions by refusing to come in under the established Grand Lodge of England with its assumption of power to dictate orthodoxy to the whole world of Masons.

Such rifts, however, were below the surface. No open breach between the jurisdictions became visible until 1758.

#### INTERNECINE WARFARE.

We can date the hardening of the Modern hearts to the later seventeenth-thirties. From that time on it became the custom to remake Masons from the Irish or any other foreign Constitution prior to electing them to membership of an English Lodge, even if that Lodge was Traditioner in its ritual. Thus Lodge of Antiquity in the year 1737 fixed the reduced fee for which such a remaking should be done.

The other side retaliated.

The following rare instance of an English Mason's remaking in an Irish Lodge I owe to the fraternal kindness of Bro. W. Jenkinson, who found it in the Minute Book of Lodge No. 678, Markethill, Co. Armagh. It is dated 3rd July, 1801:—

"Lodge Met in due form the Mast<sup>r</sup> in the Chair 12 Members present when M<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> Chapman Coming to visit the Lodge in Conversation it appeared he was and pass<sup>d</sup> him selfe to be a Modern Mason belonging to the Tyrian Lodge No. 379 England<sup>2</sup> and he proving

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid* A.Q.C., v, 110.

<sup>2</sup> Derby, now No. 253.

so agreeable he pay<sup>d</sup> the admittance as being no Mason and Received the Different degrees to a Mast<sup>r</sup> Mason."

Compare, however, with this case that of Shakespeare Lodge in the Warwickshire Militia, which visited Dublin in 1800 and had a fraternal welcome, though a Modern Lodge. W. T. Graham, later the famous Deputy Grand Secretary of Ireland, visited the Lodge at its first meeting on Irish soil, from which visit much may be deduced about its ritual. The Lodge in addition to being military came originally from Norwich, and that neighbourhood may have been, I think it was, one of the Traditioner centres.<sup>1</sup>

A curious case of remaking in England happened in the Lodge of Unity, Longnor, Staffordshire. This Lodge had as one of its founders in 1811 a Bro. John Milward, Senior. After the Union the Master and Senior Warden were sent to attend the Lodge of Reconciliation in London to learn the agreed ritual; and on their return Bro. Milward was re-initiated by his own son. This is an instance of an old Modern Mason who had to be re-obligated under the compromise, and is worth quoting in this inquiry, because it shows that some of the Lodges in remote districts of England must have followed the strict Modern forms.

However, quite the most amazing record of such *crambe bis cocta* that has come to my notice happened at Bath in the year 1764, when Bro. Milbourne West, an Irish or Antient Mason, was remade "gratis" in the Bear Lodge, now Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 41. West had been Provincial Grand Master of Quebec from December, 1761, till June, 1763, elected to that office by a Provincial Grand Lodge which functioned by virtue of a power from the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns), conveyed to Canada by no less a celebrity than Thomas Dunckerley. No more exquisite example could be offered of Discipline's taking a headlong leap into the vortex of absurdity: the Mason who was orthodox enough to govern an English province abroad was not orthodox enough to belong to an English Lodge at home.

Such absurdities can have pleased few who had to take a part in them. For extremists they provided splendid propaganda against opponents; but those of the better sort must have deplored that such quilllets and quiddities should make the boast of "Freemasonry Universal" a mockery. The objectors did not remain silent or inactive, for at the beginning of the sixth decade of the century the policy of the Grand Lodge of England began to be modified.

Harsh measures had been tried, and had failed. The dissidents had in too many cases refused to conform, and had transferred their allegiance to the Grand Lodge of the Antients; and the latest secession had been that of a considerable body of Freemasons in Philadelphia, where a Provincial Grand Master with less common sense than misdirected determination had endeavoured to impose the Modern ritual on a newly warranted Lodge of Traditioners that included in its membership English, Irish, and Scots, and, as fuse to this explosive mixture, for Master an artizan of great skill, a worker in metals and zealot for the Antient ritual, whose birth, infant nurture, and Mother Lodge all were drawn from Belfast, a city whose children abhor compromise as Nature doth a vacuum; the sum of which factors combined to form a resistance too stubborn for the authority of Provincial Grand Master Allen to daunt. This secession, for it was definite secession, was a sign of the times, and of coming events in America.<sup>2</sup>

At home in England the opposition Grand Lodge was growing in numbers and influence all over the country, and in 1758 had begun negotiations for an alliance with the Grand Lodge of Ireland, finally ratified in 1762, by which

<sup>1</sup> For Shakespeare Lodge *vide* Hamon le Strange, *History of Freemasonry in Norfolk*, p. 171 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Appendix C.

the original Grand Lodge of England ceased to be regarded in Ireland as the legitimate governing body in this country. A similar pact between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the Antients was ratified in 1773.

No wonder that wiser heads among the Moderns began to reconsider the position.

There were die-hards, of course. Samuel Spencer, Grand Secretary in 1759, was to utter the famous *gaffe*: "We are neither Arch, Royal Arch, nor Antient"; but those who thought for themselves found cold comfort in such negations.

### THE LEAN YEARS.

In 1762, for thirty long years past, a human generation, it had been deemed enough honour for the English Craft, if its elected head bore a great name, irrespective of his Masonic knowledge or zeal.

What had been the results?

Some we have already seen; others have now to be described.

Deplorable as were the changes in the ritual, both in themselves and for the divisions they caused later, they probably were not so harmful to the prestige of the Grand Lodge as was its neglect of the Craft during the seventeen-forties. At this epoch dry-rot had certainly attacked the governing body.<sup>1</sup>

The decline seems to have set in before the 3rd May, 1739, when Lord Raymond<sup>2</sup> was installed Grand Master. "Irregular makings of Masons" were on the increase, as was noted at a meeting of the Grand Lodge on the 12th June, 1739, and that pointed to dissatisfaction with a governing body that was failing to fulfil its functions as a natural magnet to the private Lodges. Worse news was soon to come. At a Communication on the 23rd July, 1740, three of the late Grand Stewards, Esquire Carey, Mansell Bransby, and James Bernard were reported for "being present and assisting at Irregular Makings". The notorious Esquire Carey was to sink to lower infamies later on and parade his shame in public, but the pageants of buffoonery he then staged were still incubating in the dunghill of his imagination.<sup>3</sup>

The Moderns, speaking by the mouth of William Preston a generation later, asserted that 1739 was the year in which changes were made in the ritual to render easier the exclusion of such irregular Masons from the regular Lodges; and though this statement is not correct, the year 1739 may indeed, in another way, have been a fateful one for the Craft in England as witnessing the formation of the Grand Committee of the Antients which preceded their Grand Lodge. This much only is certain, that a Minute of that Committee, dated 6th May, 1752, contains the assertion that this gathering "had been long held under the title of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the old Institution."

The supposition that 1739 was the year of its formation is not important enough for argument, even were matter of argument known to me, though if it were established as true, we might have to modify yet further some of Sadler's conclusions about the nationality of the forebears of the Grand Lodge of the Antients; the chief features we have to recognize about this epoch of depression are the shocking way in which the Grand Masters neglected their duties, and the equally shocking way in which the Grand Lodge neglected the Craft.

Despite the initiation of Frederick Prince of Wales in 1737, Freemasonry had become unfashionable.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gould II, 393 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Lord Raymond, only son of the Chief Justice of that title, was no more than 22 when installed Grand Master of England. A happy discovery enables me to state that he was a member and eventually W.M. of the English Lodge founded at Florence by the Earl of Middlesex, which Lodge was dissolved during his Mastership. The circumstances of this event were so peculiar that I hope to communicate to the Lodge the whole story at some future date. It has never so far been told in English.

<sup>3</sup> For Esquire Carey *vide* A.Q.C., xviii, 133, *et seq.*

Horace Walpole, himself a member of the Craft, wrote on the 4th May, 1743: "The Free Masons are in so low repute now in England, that one has scarce heard the proceedings at Vienna against them mentioned. I believe nothing but a persecution could bring them into vogue again here."<sup>1</sup>

This was the period of processions of Mock Masonry to cast ridicule on the Order. The witty thermometer of fashion has recorded the consequent fall in enthusiasm for the Craft among his own set, but proved a bad prophet about its future popularity in England.

It was left to the private Lodges to carry on as best they might, for neither Grand Master nor Grand Lodge was to do much to ensure a revival in twenty years yet to come.

Lord Raymond was succeeded in April, 1740, by the Earl of Kintore, who was followed in 1741 by the Earl of Morton, who was followed by Lord Ward in 1742, and he by the Earl of Strathmore, who was followed by Lord Cranstoun.

None of these Scottish chiefs distinguished himself as an inspiring leader, to say the least of it; but the nadir of the Grand Lodge was probably reached in the time of Lord Byron, who was elected Grand Master on the 30th April, 1747, and continued in office till the 20th March, 1752, when he handed over to Lord Carysfort.

Lord Byron attended only three meetings of Grand Lodge during his reign of five years; but this was not a bad average, for during the same period there were no more than nine assemblies of the governing body: the Grand Feast, 30th April, 1747; 16th December, 1747; 7th March, 1748; 22nd December, 1748; 26th May, 1749; 25th June, 1750; 4th September, 1751; 24th October, 1751; and 16th March, 1752. Lord Byron had an additional excuse for non-attendance, for during most of the time he had been out of England.<sup>2</sup>

Fotherly Baker, the Deputy Grand Master, was present at and presided over all the meetings except one in Lord Byron's absence; on that one occasion Lord Ward, a former Grand Master, presided. This earned him praise from Preston, who, referring to Lord Byron, wrote:

"When business required his presence in the country<sup>3</sup> Fotherly Baker Esq., the Deputy Grand Master, and Secretary Revis were particularly attentive to the Society in his absence. The first gentleman was distinguished for his knowledge of the laws and regulations; the latter for his long and faithful services.<sup>4</sup> Under the direction of these gentlemen the Society continued till the year 1752, when Lord Carysfort accepted the office of Grand Master."

—*Illustrations of Freemasonry*, 1775.

What Preston does not tell us is that "under the direction of these gentlemen" the rank and file of Masons grew so restive that they summoned

<sup>1</sup> Walpole's Letters (Lord Dover's edit., 1833, I, 312). For the persecution of Freemasons by Maria Theresa in 1743, *vide* A.Q.C., iv, 190.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* A.Q.C., vi, 48. William, 5th Lord Byron, was born 1722. He joined the Navy young, for he had the sea in his blood like his famous brother, Admiral John Byron, and still more famous great-nephew, "the pilgrim of eternity." Even after succeeding to the title at a time when England was at peace, he continued to follow a dangerous, comfortless, and stern profession, and was gazetted second lieutenant aboard H.M.S. *Falkland* in June, 1738. In 1747 he married Miss Elizabeth Shaw, and had a son and heir born in 1748. During the Jacobite rebellion he served as a captain in the Duke of Kingston's regiment of horse. In December, 1763, he was appointed Master of the Buckhounds. He died in May, 1798, and was succeeded by the grandson of Admiral John Byron. I do not consider it any part of my duty to record in this note any of those events in the later life of Lord Byron that became notorious. Those in search of such information can be referred to Thomas Moore's life of the poet. As a Grand Master, William Lord Byron was no worse a leader than the general run of his predecessors; as a man, no doubt he had his failings, to which let an act of oblivion be extended by those who greet him as a Brother.

<sup>3</sup> He is stated to have been abroad most of his term of office.

<sup>4</sup> Grand Secretary 1734-56; Deputy Grand Master 1757-61.

by advertisement a meeting of the Craft to elect a new Grand Master. This came to the notice of Thomas Manningham, M.D., a past Grand Steward, who attended the meeting, and persuaded the Brethren to be patient. Unhappily the reporter of this occurrence has not given the date on which it took place.<sup>1</sup>

I think the English Craft had just cause for discontent. Freemasons would doubtless have excused their Grand Master's absence, but for Grand Lodge to be summoned to meet so seldom and at such long intervals was a real grievance. The Communications were intended for discussion, legislation, consultation, and as a source of general information. It is hard to see how the Craft could be well governed when Lodge representatives were not given more opportunities of taking counsel together. Situations must often have arisen where a private Lodge had an appeal to the Grand from the decision of the Deputy or Secretary Revis, or needed advice, or had a motion to bring forward, and if that Lodge had to wait for over a year before making its voice heard, it would tend to become a Lodge of malcontents, human nature being what it is. Moreover, Freemasons in those days, as in these, liked to assemble with their Brethren and take part, if only by silent acquiescence, in the general decisions. By failing to assemble more regularly the Grand Lodge of England was abrogating its functions, neglecting its duty, and sowing unrest.

The crop of what had been sown appeared in due time like tares among the standing corn.

Let us now return to the list of Grand Masters.

Having appointed as his Deputy Thomas Manningham, who was to prove himself a man of energy as he had already proved himself a peacemaker, Lord Carysfort did nothing else in particular, and was succeeded in 1754 by James Marquess of Carnarvon,<sup>2</sup> who also did nothing in particular, and was succeeded by Lord Aberdour on the 18th May, 1757. Of this last I shall have something to say later on, and his story will fit into a single sentence: truly, our history in those days when dealing with the Grand Masters is as little inspiring as an out-of-date almanac.

The outward and visible signs of ten years of misrule, from 1742 till 1752, were these: no less than 45 Lodges in the Metropolitan area, amounting to about one-third of the total number, were struck off the roll during this period. Though in 1755 there were nominally 271 Lodges in existence, only 199 were carried forward at the closing up and alteration of the numbers in 1756; thus, if statistics are to be trusted, more than a quarter of the private Lodges had become extinct or, for the alternative is possible, changed their allegiance.

Grand Lodge met oftener and more regularly after Lord Byron's time. Ten meetings were held between June, 1752, and 29th November, 1754. This improvement can be put to the credit of Dr. Manningham.

In fairness to our by-gone rulers I must draw attention to constructive legislation during what I call the Period of Depression.

On the 24th February, 1735, various recommendations of the Committee of Charity were approved by Grand Lodge. Some of these were aimed at tightening discipline, to wit:

- (1) That no Lodge more than twelve months in arrear with its Charity subscription should be represented on the Committee of Charity, which in those days corresponded to our Board of General Purposes.
- (2) That any metropolitan Lodge which had failed to meet regularly for a year should be erased.

<sup>1</sup> *Multa Paucis for Lovers of Secrets*, 1764, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> I must give James Marquis of Carnarvon a good mark for having frequently attended Grand Lodge in later years as a Past Grand Master. On 21st May, 1765, he presided over the Grand Assembly and Feast in the absence of Lord Blayney, as is noted by Bro. Hextall (*A.Q.C.*, xxi, 230).

On the 3rd April, 1743, it was decided to discontinue Masonic processions in public.

In November, 1753, Lodges were ordered to inquire into the characters of candidates; never to make and raise on one evening, except by dispensation<sup>1</sup>; and not to make a Mason for a less sum than one guinea. This provision was a commendable move towards raising the social status of the private Lodges. The Grand Lodge of the Antients adopted the same principle, and in September, 1762, went further by ordering that in future all candidates should pay not less than two guineas for initiation.

Returning to the Modern legislation, on 14th June, 1753, the Grand Treasurer, by virtue of his post, became a Grand Officer.

In November, 1759, it was decreed that no Lodge was to be deemed regularly removed unless by permission of the Grand Master or his Deputy.

It must be evident, however, that none of these reforms, salutary though they were, would have appealed to the humbler class of Freemason, from which, as I believe, the bulk of the opposition to the Grand Lodge sprang.

Processions were dear to the hearts of many Craftsmen; to fix a fairly high fee for initiation was to reduce the recruiting grounds of the poorer Lodges, and the great majority of them were poor; while to enjoin an interval between the conferring of Degrees was interfering with custom, and customs are like wartime gin best left alone.

So these regulations, even if tending to a better discipline and higher standard of social rank in the private Lodges, must have raised up more malcontents among the rank and file of the Craft.

The Deputy Grand Masters during those bad days were: Martin Clare (1741-2); Sir R. Lawley (1743); W. Vaughan (1744); E. Hody (1745-6); Fotherly Baker (1747-52); Thomas Manningham (1752-57); and John Revis (1757-61). With the honourable exceptions of Manningham and Clare, none of these Deputies, amiable and distinguished as they were in private life, seems to have exerted himself to any notable extent in serving and directing the Brotherhood.

#### A BREAK IN THE CLOUDS.

Admiral John Byron, brother of the 5th Baron and grandfather of the poet, had been known afloat by the name of "Foul-weather Jack", and the Grand Lodge while under the command of his noble relative might well have thought the nickname applicable to more than one of the family. Even when William Lord Byron left the Masonic quarterdeck, the storm, as we have seen, continued to blow. The weather, however, began to improve with the election as Grand Master of another sailor, the 5th Earl Ferrers, in the year 1762.

A younger son of the 3rd Earl Ferrers, Washington Shirley had had to seek his fortune, and in the British Navy had risen to the rank of admiral. His taste for the sciences and agreeable character in private life do not concern me so much as the fact that he had followed the profession of arms from his youth up. As a sailor he could not have failed to be well acquainted with Lodges whose membership consisted largely or exclusively of Brethren from the services, and consequently he must have been familiar with the ritual they favoured; whatever his own personal predilections may have been in the choice of words does not matter; for all I can tell, he may have preferred the Modern truncated forms, though that I doubt; the essential difference between him and his immediate predecessors on the throne of Grand Lodge lay in the circumstances of his travels; for the winds had carried him into many ports, he had seen Masonry at work on foreign soil, and had learnt that the English branch of the

<sup>1</sup> Note that "making" included two Degrees. It is possible that the conferring of the E.A. and F.C. Degrees on one evening, according to ancient custom, was in some cases yet another badge of the Traditioners. Such a practice would have removed most of the poison from one of the Modern innovations.

the Craft was but one of many; he must have learnt, too, that the tree was growing with such vigour that it could never be clipped into a standardized pattern by the shears of ritual.

Earl Ferrers held his high office for two years, and presided over four of the nine Communications held during that period. His predecessor, Lord Aberdour, had attended once in a reign of four years.

In May, 1764, Ferrers was succeeded by Cadwallader 9th Lord Blayney. The latter's estates lay in the County Monaghan, where a younger branch of the Shirley family had been settled since the beginning of the eighteenth century; so the first meeting of the two future Grand Masters may well have been in boyhood; but whether or not there was old acquaintance, one certain tie existed between the two men, that of the sword.

#### THE BLAYNEYS OF MONAGHAN.

When Jonathan Swift returned to Ireland in 1714 to take up his Deanery of St. Patrick's, he came as a disappointed, if distinguished man, and came unwillingly, parted from his friends and ambitions left behind him in England. The Tories were out of office again, the Whigs in, party feeling in Dublin was exploding in rockets of insult and violence to express the victors' jubilation or the losers' resentment; nor was the Dean popular, to say the least of it, with the Whigs, whom for so long he had been spraying with vitriol from his terrible pen. Indeed on one occasion disgust with Swift and all his works seems to have been carried to the pitch of assault, in the legal sense of the term, by a young Peer whose family history made anything that smelt like Toryism intolerable to him. According to Swift's own account, while one day in mid-winter he was riding on the Howth road, as was his custom of an afternoon, for appetite or digestion or exercise, at all events upon his lawful occasions, two reckless young gentlemen coming up behind at a gallop almost rode over him and forced him into the ditch. When he remonstrated, politely as he says, one of the unmannerly riders turned to his servant who was following and ordered the man to hand him a horse-pistol, a fearsome weapon, the size of a small cannon, and, brandishing this firearm fully charged with sudden death, therewith threatened to rob not only the Established Church of a high dignitary but also English literature of *Drapier's Letters* and *Gulliver's Travels*. Fortunately for posterity, that gesture proved to be no more than a threat; but Swift pretended that he was going in fear of his life, and petitioned the Irish House of Lords for protection, stating:

"Your petitioner is informed that the person who spoke the words above-mentioned is of your Lordships' House, under the style and title of Lord Blayney; whom your petitioner remembers to have introduced to Mr Secretary Addison, in the Earl of Wharton's government, and to have done him other good offices, because he was represented as a young man of some hopes, and a broken fortune."

This was Cadwallader 7th Lord Blayney of Monaghan.

The first of the Blayneys had gone to Ireland during one of the eruptions of trouble there in the time of Elizabeth, received a grant of confiscated lands and a title, and founded a family at whose side war and bloodshed, a grim pair of familiar sprits, stalked for well over a century, taking toll of the men of the house. In that family, as with so many more of the Anglo-Irish, the menfolk died as often in their boots as in their beds, and wherever the shouting of the captains was to be heard, a Blayney was never out of earshot.

A brave, quick-tempered, reckless and feckless family, but at the same time generous and warm-hearted, that is the breed as shown in the fragments of personal history I have been able to collect concerning the men of the name.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix D for a condensed pedigree of the Blayneys.

At least three of the Barons Blayney, the 7th, 9th, and 11th, were Freemasons of note in their respective days, but it is Cadwallader the 9th Baron with whom we shall be concerned in this essay. I hope to demonstrate that he is worth more attention than has hitherto been given him by Masonic historians.

#### SERVICE IN THE ARMY.

Born in 1720, Cadwallader Blayney was the younger son of the 7th Baron, "Blunderbuss" Blayney, and following the tradition of the family adopted the army as his profession. The usual story, copied by one scribe after another, is that he served with distinction in America, and was promoted to be captain for bravery at Cape Breton.<sup>1</sup> He must, if this tradition be true, have taken part in the first capture of Louisbourg in June, 1745, an expedition organized by Sir William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, and carried to its successful conclusion by levies from New England under Sir William Pepperell. No regular troops shared in the campaign. Blayney must have been on the spot to march with the New Englanders, but I have not discovered when and why he went to America, and in no contemporary account of that campaign have I found confirmation of his presence or of any outstanding piece of gallantry on his part. Cape Breton was handed back to the French by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, much to the annoyance of America; and it was not till ten years later that the whole French colony fell again into our hands, and stayed there.

The only document I have found to suggest Blayney's presence in the first campaign against Cape Breton is his being gazetted Major in Pepperell's regiment of foot in March, 1748. Sir William Pepperell was the general commanding the American troops in 1745, and his regiment was later in the same year raised out of the men who had served with him. I doubt neither the zeal nor the bravery of Blayney, and trust that further research will find some firm basis for the persistent tradition that he exhibited both qualities in the field. Incidentally, the Cape Breton expedition was hard going. Here is a bit of Governor Shirley's report to the English Prime Minister:—

"Our Troops within the Compass of 23 days from the time of their first landing erected five fascine Batteries against the Town consisting of Cannon . . . all which were transported by hand with incredible Labour and Difficulty, and most of 'em above two Miles; all the Ground over which they were drawn, except small Patches or Hills of Rocks, being a deep Morass, in which while the Cannon were upon Wheels they several times sunk so deep as not only to bury the Carriages but the whole body of the Cannon likewise.

"Horses and Oxen could not be employed in this Service, but all must be drawn by Men, themselves up to the Knees in Mud at the same time; the Nights in which the Work was to be done cold and foggy; their Tents bad, there being no proper Materials for Tents to be had in New England at the Outsett of the Expedition: but notwithstanding these Difficulties and many of the peoples being barefooted and almost without Cloaths by means of this Service (in which they had worn 'em out) and their being taken down with fluxes, so that at one time there was 1500 Men incapable of Duty, occasioned by their fatigue, they went on chearfully without being discouraged or murmuring, and by the help of Sledges transported the Cannon and Mortars over these Ways, which the French had

<sup>1</sup> Information from Ulster King at Arms to C. D. Rotch, to whom I am indebted for this and other references.

always thought unpassable for such heavy Weights, and was indeed impracticable by any People of less Resolution and Perseverance, or less Experienced in removing heavy Bodies; and besides this they had all their Provisions and heavy Ammunition which they daily made Use of to bring from the Camp over the same Way upon their backs."—William Shirley to the Duke of Newcastle, from Louisbourg, 28th October, 1745.

—*Correspondence of William Shirley*, New York, 1912, vol. i, page 275.

To resume the record of Blayney's promotions: in 1753 he was given a company in the Coldstream Guards, ranking as lieutenant-colonel. In 1761 he became colonel of the 91st Regiment on the Irish Establishment. In 1762 with the rank of Brigadier he sailed for Portugal with the expedition under James Lord Tyrawley. In 1765 he was promoted Major-General, in 1772 Lieutenant-General, was on the staff in Ireland, and served as C.-in-C. of Munster. He died in Cork, 13th November, 1775, while still holding that appointment. Thus he was a professional soldier for most of his life. His military duties kept him out of England for most of the three years he was Grand Master here.

In September, 1761, Blayney succeeded to the title by the death of his elder brother, who, to the amazement of those who knew the family and remembered its record, had gone into the Church and received preferment as Dean of Killaloe. It is doubtful if Blayney's fortunes were improved to any great extent by coming into the title, but in 1767 he married an heiress, Miss Elizabeth Tipping, of Beaulieu, Co. Louth. Her dowry must have been welcome.

The fact that he died still in harness in November, 1775, need not be ascribed to poverty, but there is no doubt that the Blayneys had been greatly impoverished by the wars in Ireland during the seventeenth century, and the 9th Baron, who had been left an orphan before he entered his teens, can have had little to depend on beyond his pay in the army for the greater part of his life, and seems to have died still poor, for the administration of his estate was granted to a creditor by the Prerogative Court in Ireland on the 13th September, 1777.<sup>1</sup> The circumstance of his comparative poverty is of weight when we come to estimate the kind of company he is likely to have mixed with in youth. Freemasonry was in those times a cheap and popular way of beguiling tedium with impecunious subalterns, as witnesses Lieutenant John Knox from the "beautiful City of Sligo", who wrote in his diary on the 12th July, 1758, at Annapolis, Nova Scotia:—

"The detachment here is daily at exercise, nevertheless our time passes very heavily; and, when the calendar does not furnish us with a loyal excuse for assembling in the evening, we have recourse to a Free-Mason Lodge, where we work so hard, that it is inconceivable to think what a quantity of business, of great importance, is transacted in a very short space of time."<sup>2</sup>

#### BLAYNEY AS A FREEMASON.

I am unable to tell you when, where, in what Lodge, and under which Constitution Lord Blayney was made a Mason, but two alternative probabilities suggest themselves: (a) that he was initiated while still young, in a garrison town, in a Military Lodge warranted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland; or (b) that while in America prior to the campaign of 1745 he was brought to light

<sup>1</sup> Information from Ulster King at Arms.

<sup>2</sup> *Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America*, 1762. Does this passage mean that Knox and his Brethren worked additional Degrees? The dissemination of such Degrees by the Military Lodges is common knowledge. It is a pity that Knox has not given us more information about the Masonic Lodge in Annapolis Royal, where Freemasonry was first established, it is said, in 1738. The 43rd Regiment, to which Knox belonged, did not have a Military Warrant, so far as we know.

in Royal Exchange Lodge, Boston, now St. John's No. 1 on the Registry of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts; though I need hardly point out that I am going to base no argument on probabilities that might vanish at the cockcrow of some contemporary record so far to me unknown. This much is certain where so much is nebulous: his Lordship's policy while Grand Master of England leaves me, for one, in no doubt that, though he was then at the head of the Moderns, his sympathies were all with the Antient forms, and he could have become acquainted with the latter in either of the ways suggested above.

There is no need for any conjecture, however, about much of his Masonic career in England.<sup>1</sup>

We find him installed as the first W.M. of the New Lodge, Horn Tavern, Westminster, No. 313, on the 4th April, 1764.<sup>2</sup> On the 8th May following he was elected Grand Master on the recommendation of Earl Ferrers, also a Military Mason, to whom is the honour of having been the first Grand Master in England for some considerable time to set an example of personal service to the Craft.

Blayney continued to be Grand Master until the 27th April, 1767, when he was succeeded by the young Duke of Beaufort; and during those three years his behaviour enables us to draw, with some certainty, inferences about his sentiments and motives: he seems to have aimed at two objects, good repute and extended power for the Body of which he was Grand Master, and the restoration of the Antient forms of ritual in those Lodges that had discarded them.

As regards the first of these aims, while Blayney undoubtedly strove for reconciliation and the consequent re-establishment of the original Grand Lodge as the sole Masonic authority in this country, he may also have owned the higher ambition of erecting it as the supreme Masonic authority in the world; if so, he was entitled to his dream.

That Blayney did not wholly succeed in his aims is beside the point. While it is easy for us to see now, with the added wisdom of nearly two centuries behind us, that the two matters of ritual and supreme authority in England were so interdependent as to be inseparable, to have held such a point of view in the seventeen-sixties postulates so much vision and intellectual power that I find it hard to give Blayney all the credit for the idea. Without the slightest wish to disparage my countryman, my suggestion is that he was inspired by brains much more astute than his own; but in any case no small *kudos* is due to a man in high place who accepts and acts on good advice with tact, dignity, and firmness, all of which qualities distinguished Blayney during his term of office.

The first hint of his leanings in ritual matters comes with his re-appointment of Colonel John Salter as Deputy Grand Master; for Salter was also a Military Mason, who rose from the ranks to die a Major-General, and, as I have already stated, it can be taken as axiomatic that all Military Masons were Antient in the matter of ritual, whatever their Constitution.<sup>3</sup> According to

<sup>1</sup> Many, though not all, of the following references to Blayney's Masonic activities are taken from Bro. Wonnacott's MS. in the Library of Grand Lodge. For putting this MS. at my disposal I wish to express my thanks to Bro. F. A. M. Taylor for his fraternal kindness shown to me on this and many another occasion.

<sup>2</sup> Renamed the Royal Lodge in 1767, and amalgamated with the Royal Alpha Lodge, No. 16, in 1824.

<sup>3</sup> Salter had been appointed D.G.M. by Earl Ferrers in 1763, and was continued in that office till 1768, when the Duke of Beaufort appointed the Hon. Charles Dillon as D.G.M., an act which gave offence to some of the Brethren. Salter began military life as a private in the Guards, fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and was given a commission by the Duke of Cumberland for bravery. He was promoted Major-General in 1770, and became head of the list in 1778. He is said to have resigned in 1785 because juniors were passed over his head. He was born in 1710, and died in 1787. Salter opposed the Charter of Incorporation by every means in his power. In May, 1772, he was one of the unsuccessful candidates when Lord Petre was elected Grand Master by a very large majority.

Noorthouck,<sup>1</sup> Blayney was out of England for the whole of 1764 and most of 1765, so Salter's office was no sinecure.

In the following catalogue of Blayney's doings please notice the amount of personal service that was squeezed into the years 1766-67. He was no *Roi fainéant* when within the length of his cable-tow.

Blayney's first year as Grand Master was not to pass without bringing a reinforcement to the ranks of the Moderns that was to prove of great value in the future. Lodge No. 111 of the Antients seceded, and was re-constituted on the 15th November, 1764, by Colonel Salter as the Caledonian Lodge No. 325 at the Half Moon Tavern, Cheapside. This Lodge still exists as No. 134. Among its members then was a very young Freemason named William Preston, who was later to become the chief apologist and polemist for his new Constitution. Here is his account of how his Mother Lodge changed its allegiance:

"Lord Blayney, at that time Grand Master, readily acquiesced with the desire of the Brethren, and the Lodge was soon after constituted a second time in *ample form*,<sup>2</sup> by the name of the 'Caledonian Lodge', the ceremonies observed, and the numerous assembly of respectable Brethren who attended the Grand Officers on this occasion must long be remembered to the honour of that Lodge."

Nothing was involved here but a change of allegiance, not of ritual.

Another notable event in Blayney's first year as Grand Master was the constitution of the Great Lodge at Swaffham, Norfolk, the moving spirit in which was Captain Richard Gardiner, one of "His Majesty's jollies, soldier and sailor too", who was an old comrade in arms and devoted to Blayney, who himself became a member of the Lodge in the following year, 1765. From this Lodge we get a clue to the ritual used by Blayney's associates. One of its joining members was Anthony Rellhan, M.D., who had been Grand Secretary of Ireland in 1742. While holding that office he had appointed as his Deputy Grand Secretary Edward Spratt, a famous exponent of the Irish or Antient or Traditioner ritual, who had Laurence Dermott himself as one of his pupils, a tuition of which the latter boasted later on when he had become Grand Secretary of the Antients. We may therefore apprehend that Rellhan found no unorthodoxy in Captain Gardiner's ritual at Swaffham; but then, of course, Gardiner was yet another military mason.<sup>3</sup>

In 1765 Blayney granted the first Deputation for a Provincial Grand Master at Stockholm to Charles Fullman, secretary to the British Ambassador in that capital.<sup>4</sup> This is an example of the Grand Master's determination to extend the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England.

After Sweden came Germany.

On the 20th August, 1766, Lord Blayney appointed J. P. Gogel Provincial Grand Master for the Upper and Lower Rhine and Franconia. Gogel was a Past Master of Union Lodge, Frankfort, No. 192, which had been constituted irregularly in 1742, and had its Constitution confirmed by the Grand Lodge of England in 1743.<sup>5</sup> This Lodge, in true Continental fashion, had assumed the rights of a Mother Lodge, and constituted Daughter Lodges. The oldest of these, the Lodge of the Three Lions at Marburg, established in 1745, was not registered in England till Blayney's time, and appears in the engraved list

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, page 283.

<sup>2</sup> Signifying here that the Deputy Grand Master was present in person.

<sup>3</sup> Another member of the Great Lodge, Swaffham, the Rev. Charles Chadwick, subsequently became headmaster of Sheffield Grammar School, and acted as chaplain not only to the Modern but also the Antient Lodges in that city, though, so far as is known, he became a member of none. He was evidently at home in either jurisdiction in Yorkshire, because the only difference between them in that part of the world was one of allegiance. *Ibid.* A.Q.C., xxi, 183.

<sup>4</sup> Gould, III, 197.

<sup>5</sup> Gould, III, 231.

for 1767 as No. 393. Germany at this period was seething with competition between rival Masonic bodies, the early hissings of the witch's cauldron full of a mixture of rites that was to boil over there later on; and Bro. Gogel could have told the authorities in London something about the evils that attend divided Masonic jurisdictions as constantly as the ravens shadow Woden in the myth; perhaps he did tell them; perhaps the lesson was taken to heart.

On the 16th February, 1766, Blayney presided over "an occasional Lodge" held at the Horn Tavern, Westminster, when H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester was made a Mason in the presence of his brother the Duke of York, who had been made in Germany. This was the first initiation of a royal prince on English soil since the making of Frederick Prince of Wales in 1737.<sup>1</sup> At another "Occasional Lodge" held in the Thatched House Tavern on the 9th February, 1767, H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland was made a Mason in his turn; and the three Princes subsequently became members of the New Horn Lodge, No. 313, which in consequence took the name of "Royal" in 1767. Blayney had every reason to congratulate himself on having secured such recruits for Freemasonry in general and his own Lodge in particular, to say nothing of the prestige accruing to the Grand Lodge of England.

Most of the year 1766 Blayney must have spent in England, for he presided over Communications of the Grand Lodge on the 29th January, 9th April, and 14th May. Moreover, he was also active outside London. On the 3rd April, 1766, he visited the Three Swans Lodge, No. 56, Salisbury; and shortly before that had visited the Lodge at Swaffham.

On the 17th May, 1766, he constituted the Lodge of Operative Masons, No. 364, now Bedford Lodge, London, No. 157, "which had not hitherto conformed to the Grand Lodge of England", though it had been in existence as an operative or non-regular Lodge of good repute from as early as 1739 at least.<sup>2</sup> More matter for satisfaction to a Grand Master whose heart was in his work.

#### BLAYNEY VERSUS DERMOTT.

In the very year when Blayney was installed Grand Master for the first time, Laurence Dermott published the 2nd edition of his *Ahiman Rezon*. This edition was the first to contain his famous attack on the Modern ritual, explaining in language which, though veiled, was plain enough to be understood by the initiated exactly what changes the innovators had made in the Masonic ritual. Dermott of course would have based his charges on extreme cases; it is unlikely that all of the Modern Lodges had discarded so many of the landmarks. However, the attack was amusing as well as bitter, and must have caused a good deal of laughter at the expense of the Moderns. It turned their "improvements" into a brand of disgrace; denied them full knowledge of the mysteries of Freemasonry because of their rejection of the Royal Arch; and held them up as a pattern of ignorance and arrogance. This indictment was a serious matter. Something had to be done to answer it. Grub Street did its best; but its best was little more than abuse of the Antients for a pack of alien sojourners united in iniquity.

"Some brethren of Ireland, who affect singularity"—as they did *Independency*!—"being refused the countenance of their own Grand Master, and for other reasons too well known, were glad to assume the title of *Antient York Masons*, and under that character have influenced some noble brethren to preside over them. . . . Though there are several persons of character and ability among the Antient masons, the greater part of them are a set of illiterate and mean persons, such as chairmen, porters, walking poulterers, and

<sup>1</sup> Gould, II, 344.

<sup>2</sup> *Rosicrucian*, January, 1875.

the like, chiefly natives of Ireland, who, finding it not convenient to stay in their own country, have fled hither to get an honest livelihood . . . they have with the assistance of some honest Yorkshiremen, who have come to London on the same account, trump up what they call Antient or York Masoury."<sup>1</sup>

We can hardly call it merely a coincidence that on the 22nd May, 1766, we find Blayney exercising his authority, and kindly but firmly laying down the law about a ritual matter. On that day he went to Wapping to visit Old Dundee Lodge, then No. 9, witnessed an initiation ceremony and, observing that Old Dundee had abandoned (in accordance with the newer and more "up-to-date" working) some of the Antient forms to which he was accustomed, said nothing at the time, but later on sent the Lodge a message through the Senior Grand Warden, Bro. Edwards, and requested the members to alter their ritual in one particular for the future. This the Lodge did, not without some considerable demur. The whole story is told at length in the delightful history of that fine old Lodge written by my dear friend our late Bro. Arthur Heiron,<sup>2</sup> and the details can be omitted; but not the conclusion to be drawn from the whole incident, which is that Blayney was determined to restore Masonic ritual to its primitive form *in some particulars*. To what lengths he was prepared to go to accomplish this end we can only conjecture, but assuredly never so far as to start a general proscription of the Modern forms. A resumption of much that had been abandoned could be carried out without fuss. Persuasion, not compulsion, was the watchword.

#### BLAYNEY CARRIES ON.

In April, 1766, it was decided to print a new edition of the *Constitutions*. The Grand Lodge referred the matter to a committee, and the alterations suggested by this body were approved early in 1767. The book itself did not appear till after Blayney's term as Grand Master.<sup>3</sup>

On the 24th June, 1766, St. John's Day in Summer, the Anniversary Feast of the Grand Lodge was held at the Grey Hound in Greenwich, Lord Blayney presiding in person. This was the first time for many years that the Grand Lodge of England had met on St. John's Day. I have already referred to the importance attached to this festival by the Antients. Nowadays we should be inclined to say with a shrug: What's in a date? But other times other customs, and this was one esteemed by our Antient Brethren. Undoubtedly it had originally a religious basis. The Grand Lodge of Ireland still installs its officers for the year on St. John's Day in Winter. Blayney's choice of date for the Grand Feast of 1766 was, I think, suggested by more than mere sentiment. Captain Richard Gardiner travelled all the way from Norfolk to attend this gathering, so St. John evidently had some sort of appeal to him too. His reward was to have the health of his Lodge given by the Grand Master and drunk by the Grand Lodge with full Masonic honours.

It was in this same year of 1766, as we read in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, that the Grand Master provided material for a widely circulated paragraph in the Press:

"The Right Honourable Lord Blayney, Grand Master of Masons, confirmed an order of the Grand Lodge for payment of £200 to such of the sufferers by fire in Barbados as are of that ancient and honourable order, their constitutions not permitting their public charity to be more general."

<sup>1</sup> *A Defence of Freemasonry as practised in the Regular Lodges*, London, 1765.

<sup>2</sup> *Antient Freemasonry and Old Dundee*, p. 184 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> The 1767 edition of the *Constitutions* is usually alluded to as Entick's 2nd edition, though that Brother had no hand in its compilation. *Vide A.Q.C.*, xxi, 80.

Note the title made use of "Grand Master of Masons".<sup>1</sup>

Exactitude in insisting on the utmost care before disbursing the moneys of Grand Lodge on any extraordinary occasion was characteristic of Blayney. It so happened that this same year saw him become one of the obligees of a bond for holding in trust some of the funds of the Order. When in 1769 Grand Lodge wished to realize this money to pay the expenses of the proposed incorporation of Freemasons, Blayney's signature was needed, and a request for it was sent to him in Ireland where he was then living. His reply was a polite refusal to sign the necessary documents, lest the Charity Fund should be raided for the benefit of the Incorporation Scheme, and the Fraternity be thereby split into factions. Later on he was induced to change his mind, and signed; but his foresight was justified; for, even if the attempt at Incorporation did not "split the Fraternity", it caused controversy and ill-will that lived on after the scheme itself had gone to the limbo of futilities.

For example, Sarum Lodge, Salisbury, No. 37, on the 19th March, 1777, wrote a letter to the Grand Secretary to explain why it had withheld payment of dues since the year 1768, denounced "the late attempt of the Grand Lodge to impose a tax on the brethren at large", and ended by declaring that "the decency of submission, which is produced by an equitable government, has been changed into an extensive, and we apprehend, a justifiable resistance to the endeavours of the Grand Lodge".<sup>2</sup>

These hard words show the swell of unrest that continued after the squall caused by the Incorporation Scheme had blown itself out. The failure of the scheme too gave cause for rejoicing and triumphant jeers in the camp of the Antients, and none of these things helped the progress towards Masonic unity in England.<sup>3</sup>

#### ENTER THOMAS DUNCKERLEY.

One of Lord Blayney's last acts as Grand Master, one full of important consequences, was his appointment of Thomas Dunckerley as Provincial Grand Master of Hampshire on the 28th February, 1767. This was the first time such an officer had been appointed for Hampshire.

Sadler remarks about Provincial Grand Masters in general in this era:

"The office was virtually dormant in England, as were also most of those who held it. At the outside there were not more than a dozen, some of whom had not been heard of by the Grand Secretary for several years; this, however, was not of much consequence, as in the early days the appointments were generally made without the slightest regard to either expediency or efficiency, social standing and local influence being the chief considerations. The advent of Dunckerley, and the earnest and methodical enthusiasm which he immediately brought to bear upon his new duties, with the most satisfactory results, doubtless awakened the authorities to the knowledge that it was possible for a Provincial Grand Master to be a real help to the Society, instead of merely an ornamental addition to it."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I take this to connote a claim to Masonic supremacy for the Grand Lodge of England. Cf. a curious lampoon on the Craft printed in 1764-65, which refers to "Lord B(layney) . . . who governs all the Lodges in Great Britain." Such an error on the part of the profane vulgar must have been based on some claim put forward by the initiated. *Vide A.Q.C.*, x, 194. Laurence Dermott borrowed or stole or conveyed the title Grand Master of Masons to designate the Earl of Kellie, G.M. of the Antients, in Warrant No. 87 issued in 1761 to the Leicestershire Militia. In this case it cannot have connoted any claim to world-wide supremacy by its holder; but the mere fact of its having been so conveyed by such a man seems to me to argue that it was looked upon as a phrase of power, a kind of Masonic incantation.

<sup>2</sup> F. H. Goldney, *History of Freemasonry in Wilts*, pp. 109-19.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* the important paper on the Incorporation of Freemasons by Bro. Ivor Grantham in *A.Q.C.*, xlvi, particularly passages at pp. 154 and 165.

<sup>4</sup> *Life of Dunckerley*, pp. 6, 10, 11.

It should be added that Dunckerley owed this high promotion solely to his skill and keenness in Freemasonry, for it was not till May, 1767, that King George acknowledged his royal blood.

Blayney had had every opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the quality of Dunckerley owing to the part the latter had played in a Masonic *cause célèbre* to which I will now briefly refer. This was the resuscitation of Lodge of Friendship No. 6. Our Brother C. D. Rotch has recently given us the whole story so fully that its details do not call for repetition here. I would insist, however, that the favour and encouragement given then to that time-honoured Lodge in a crisis of its history by the Grand Master were in accordance with the policy animating all Lord Blayney's conduct as head of the Order. He approved of the Lodge's members and their motives, and found an excuse for both when a busybody in Grand Lodge howled scandal. He could not foresee that the future history of that Lodge was amply to justify his confidence; nevertheless that confidence was so complete that he chose its ruling Master, the young Duke of Beaufort, to be recommended as his own successor in the Grand Mastership of England.

#### THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT AND RITUAL.

We shall not go far wrong in suspecting that ritual had an influence in forming his decision.

The Duke was young, keen, bearer of a great name, and leader of a coterie of enthusiastic Masons whose positions in society would reflect honour on the Order and supply a list of names suitable for the highest offices; but the Duke was also a devoted supporter of the Antient ritual; and I wonder whether this last qualification may not have weighed as heavily in the balance as the others when Blayney was summing up Beaufort's eligibility for the highest Masonic honour.

As I have said, Beaufort was a Traditioner, a matter for which proof will be offered later on, and his accession to the throne of Grand Lodge was followed by the appearance of a tendency to restore a part of what had been demolished. It will be remembered that while a great many of the English Lodges had abandoned the esoteric part of the ceremony of Installation after 1730; some of those which I have christened "Traditioner" continued to observe the old custom.

Under the Duke of Beaufort we find that the Grand Lodge reverted to the esoteric Chair Degree as part of the working of the Craft. That is not to say that the practice was enjoined on the Lodges in the aggregate, but nevertheless it was enjoined when a suitable opportunity offered.

Such an occasion came in the year 1770, when the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Netherlands was constituted with the Marquis de Gages as Provincial Grand Master. The by-laws for governing the new body were supplied in French from London. One of these rules, referring to Installation, runs:

"Tous les frères qui ne sont pas ou qui n'ont pas été Maîtres de Loge doivent se retirer pour donner à l'Élu les caractères de sa nouvelle dignité".

Every Brother who is not or has not been Master of a Lodge must retire, while the Master elect is given the tokens of his new office.

The rules go on to state that in the absence of the W.M. the Senior Warden can preside, but if the Lodge had a Brother who had already served as Master, then the Warden was to fix the days of meeting, but the Past Master was to occupy the Chair.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vide *A.Q.C.*, xxv, pp. 64 and 66.

This piece of direct evidence can leave us in no doubt that an influential party in the Grand Lodge of England had thus early reverted to one of the ancient landmarks, a landmark that was officially restored only in the year 1809.

#### STATISTICS OF LODGES.

The figures recording the issue of Constitutions for the ten years ending in May, 1767, are striking, though I shall not claim for them all that they would go to show as mere figures; for the Seven Years' War fell within the period, and affected Freemasonry as it did so many other pursuits of humanity. That does not lessen my gratitude to my friend Bro. C. D. Rotch, whose idea it was that argument might be found in the number of Lodges warranted by different Grand Masters. Here are the cut and dried statistics.

Lord Aberdour was Grand Master from 18th May, 1757, to 3rd May, 1762. During his five years the Grand Lodge of England constituted 44 Lodges: 7 in London, 30 in England and the Channel Isles, and 7 abroad. Of these Lodges seven still survive.

During the same period the Grand Lodge of the Antients warranted 35 Lodges.

Earl Ferrers was Grand Master from May, 1762, to May, 1764. During those two years the Grand Lodge constituted 35 Lodges: 3 of them in London, 25 in England, and 7 abroad. Of these Lodges four are still in existence.

During the same period the Grand Lodge of the Antients warranted 24 Lodges.

Those who like doing sums can work out averages for themselves, but a mere glance at the figures shows that things had begun to improve under Lord Ferrers.

A greater improvement was to come.

During the three years of his Grand Mastership Lord Blayney constituted 74 Lodges: 26 of them in the London area, 36 in England and Wales, and the remainder in various parts of the globe: Alost, Amsterdam, Havre, Grenoble, St. Heliers C.I.,<sup>1</sup> Bordeaux, and Stockholm in Europe; Joppa (Maryland), and the Virgin Isles B.W.I. in the Americas; and to complete the list, three Lodges were erected in Madras, and one in Sumatra.

During this same period the Grand Lodge of the Antients warranted 20 Lodges.

Of the Lodges constituted by Lord Blayney 19 are still current, of good repute, and within measurable distance of celebrating their bicentenaries. Their names and present numbers deserve to be put on record as a memorial to a notable Grand Master, so here they are:

Union Lodge, Kendal, No. 129  
 Lodge of Unity, Lymington, No. 132  
 Lodge of Harmony, Faversham, No. 133  
 Caledonian Lodge, London, No. 134  
 Lodge of Perpetual Friendship, Bridgwater, No. 135  
 Lodge of Good Report, London, No. 136  
 Lodge of Amity, Poole, No. 137  
 Britannia Lodge, Sheffield, No. 139  
 St. George's Lodge, London, No. 140  
 St. Luke's Lodge, London, No. 144  
 Lodge of Lights, Warrington, No. 148  
 Lodge of Unanimity, Wakefield, No. 154  
 Bedford Lodge, London, No. 157

<sup>1</sup> The first W.M. and leading light in this Jersey Lodge was Major Charles Shirreff, who for thirty years to come continued to be an ardent exponent of the Traditioner ritual under both Grand Lodges of England indifferently.

Lodge of True Friendship, London, No. 160  
 Cadogan Lodge, London, No. 162  
 Lodge of Integrity, Manchester, No. 163  
 Old Concord Lodge, London, No. 172  
 Union Lodge, Norwich, No. 52 (This Lodge dates from 1736. In 1817 it amalgamated with Union Lodge, No. 236, a Blayney warrant, and took its name.)  
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Lodge, No. 24 (This Lodge works under an Antient Warrant dated 1805. In 1814 it amalgamated with St. Nicholas's Lodge, a Blayney Constitution.)

These facts and figures show that the Grand Lodge increased its influence under Blayney's direction, both at home and abroad. No military Lodge was constituted by him during his reign; but No. 323, dated 7th November, 1764, is stated to have met at "Hilsey Barracks", *i.e.*, Hilsea near Portsmouth, and we know that other Lodges of his at home and abroad did not lack members from the services.

#### BLAYNEY, THE ROYAL ARCH, AND OTHER DEGREES.

Great as were Blayney's services to Craft Masonry, they were even greater in another demesne of Freemasonry. He was the first Grand Master of the Moderns to foster the Arch Degree, claimed by Laurence Dermott as an appanage belonging solely to the Antients, and his name will be connected for ever with the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of England, which he founded by the Charter of Compact in 1767.

At the time of this foundation he was not a Royal Arch Mason of any long standing, for he was not Exalted until the 11th June, 1766, in the Caledonian Chapter, a private assembly with members drawn from different Lodges who met to work the Degree of Royal Arch and no more than that.<sup>1</sup> It was in this Chapter that Blayney, in the phrase current at the time, "passed the Arch".

The only previous instance known to me of the Exaltation of a Grand Master took place in Dublin in Lodge No. 2 in 1750, when the Honourable Brinsley Butler, later Earl of Lanesborough, and Grand Master of Ireland in 1757, was Exalted at the same time with one Bro. John Stordy, a miniature painter, who related the event fifty-two years later to Brethren in England of the Modern persuasion for inscription in their records.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after his Exaltation Lord Blayney was elected presiding officer of the Chapter, and on the 26th December, 1766, was "recommended to be continued Grand Master of the G. E. C. or Fourth Degree for the year 5771" (*i.e.*, 1767), and was re-elected unanimously.<sup>3</sup>

On the 22nd July, 1767, Blayney lent the authority of his name to constitute the Caledonian Chapter into the "Grand and Royal Chapter of Royal Arch of Jerusalem by Charter of Compact"; and thus it was that our Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter came into being.

On the 27th December, 1768, Blayney was "continued Grand Master of the Most Excellent Chapter or Fourth Degree", though by that time he had once again left England for Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> According to Gould, II, 460, it was a body of Royal Arch Masons working without any Warrant or connection with a particular Lodge. This shows a difference from the Antient practice of conferring the Royal Arch Degree by virtue of a Craft Warrant.

<sup>2</sup> From information given me by the late Bro. W. Wonnacott.

<sup>3</sup> The subject is fully treated in Hughan's *English Rite*.

Note the dates on which the Grand Chapter held its elections, St. John's Day in Winter, or thereabouts.

In 1769 the Grand Chapter began to issue Warrants. Blayney seems to have remained in Ireland this year, for on the 12th January, 1770, it was reported to the Grand Chapter that he "was still abroad", and the Honourable Charles Dillon was elected to succeed him as Grand Master in the Chapter.

Blayney, it would seem, had sought more Masonic light in yet other directions. In the Minute Book of the Rite of Seven Degrees conducted by Lambert de Lintot in London his name appears as Grand Master of that Order in 1772. Whether his consent had been obtained before that dignity was conferred on him is a matter for speculation.

### BLAYNEY AND THE GRAND LODGE OF IRELAND.

There is also matter for speculation in Lord Blayney's single recorded appearance in Irish Freemasonry. On the 6th May, 1768, at a meeting of the Grand Lodge in Dublin he was elected Grand Master of Ireland; but he resigned before the 24th June, 1768, when the Earl of Cavan was re-elected for another year of office. The information about this curious event is given us in a pamphlet, only one copy of which is known to exist, in the possession of our Bro. W. Jenkinson of Armagh.<sup>1</sup> We should like to know, but probably never shall know, the cause of his declining to serve as Grand Master in his native country.

It should, however, be borne in mind that the Grand Lodge of Ireland had acknowledged the Grand Lodge of the Antients in England as the sole competent Masonic authority for this country as early as 1758<sup>2</sup>; so there would have been difficulties about admitting a Past Grand Master of the Moderns as head of the Craft in Ireland; while Blayney, for his part, may have had scruples arising from a similar cause; or perhaps he claimed more authority for the Grand Lodge of England than her Irish sister was willing to accept; but whatever the disagreement may have been, it was treated with the decency of privacy, and no coats were trailed or trodden on in print. Therefore we remain in the dark about why Blayney never became Grand Master of his native country, and failed to follow the precedent set up by his great predecessor on both Thrones, Lord Kingston; yet while his record of service to the Craft is confined to England, and almost to one single year, and Ireland did not directly share in the benefits he conferred on the Order, where is the Irishman who will not feel pride in a compatriot who earned the gratitude of the sister Constitution as "Grand Master of Masons", the arrogant and all-embracing title still to be read beneath the print that reproduces the features of a Mason, who deserves whatever honour our remembrance can bestow upon his name.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Facsimile at p. 195 of the *Bicentenary History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland*.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England (Antients).

1st March, 1758. "Heard a letter from Mr John Calder (G.S.) in Dublin wherein he Assured the Grand Lodge of Antient Masons in London that the Grand Lodge of Ireland did mutually concur in a strict Union with the Antient Grand Lodge in London and promised to keep a constant Correspondence with them."

2nd June, 1762. "Heard a letter from Grand Secretary Calder in Ireland in answer to a former letter written by Secretary Dermott to the Grand Lodge of Ireland proposing a Continual Correspondence, etc. Ordered that a Constant Correspondence shall be kept with the Grand Lodge of Ireland."

The Minute goes on to tell of an agreement whereby each Grand Lodge promises to demand a certificate from the other as a stamp of Masonic regularity in the case of sojourners.

<sup>3</sup> The print of Lord Blayney in Masonic dress has been reproduced in *A.Q.C.* xiv (St. John's Card, 1901).

## THE MASTER TRADITIONER.

As was said earlier in this essay, I do not find myself able to give Lord Blayney all the credit for the change in policy which I believe began in the Grand Lodge about this period. That he took his position seriously and worked hard in it, that he favoured the Antient ritual and recommended a successor of similar tastes, and that by so doing he set the course towards reconciliation, in these respects there will be no dispute about awarding him praise and thanks: but in 1768 he went out of English Freemasonry almost completely, so far as personal influence was concerned, and the battle for nearly thirty years to come was to be directed by one of his lieutenants. The fame of the tactician has dimmed that of the strategist.

Here I must state my faith: that the Master mind which continued the policy initiated by Lord Blayney or his far-sighted counsellors was that of Thomas Dunckerley; and further, that the latter Freemason followed the "Traditioner" working, in plain English, the ritual he taught was Antient in all that really mattered.

Without delaying to discuss what seems at first sight a paradox, that one of the doughtiest champions of the Modern Grand Lodge should practise that ritual which Dermott had declared to be the great barrier between the two Grand Lodges in England, I prefer to proffer the evidence that has led me to the foregoing conclusions.

I am assuming that all my hearers and readers are perfectly acquainted with the main facts of Thomas Dunckerley's life, and so need not waste time in rehearsing yet once again all the romance of his birth and career in the British Navy. The incidents in his story that I shall allude to have a bearing only on Masonic matters.

## DUNCKERLEY IN QUEBEC.

On the 15th May, 1760, Dunckerley arrived at Quebec in H.M.S. *Vanguard*, having in his possession a document from the Grand Lodge of England that gave him authority to regulate the affairs of Masonry in the newly conquered Canadian provinces, or in any other part of the globe he might visit where no provincial Grand Master had been as yet appointed.<sup>1</sup> He found that a Provincial Grand Lodge had already been established in Quebec by a mass meeting of several military Lodges, who had assembled on St. John's Day in Winter, 1759, and elected Lieutenant John Guinnett, of Lodge No. 192 I.C.,<sup>2</sup> Provincial Grand Master for the ensuing six months. The Lodges represented on that occasion were five from the Irish Constitution and one from the English, warranted by the Provincial Grand Master in Boston, Mass., to which some authorities add a seventh Lodge, an Antient Warrant held in the 40th Regiment, while Scottish Freemasonry was represented by Colonel Simon Fraser of the 78th Regiment. Whatever their numbers and whatever their Constitutions, this miscellany of soldier Masons welcomed Dunckerley as "One of Ours", accepted the document he had brought with him as conferring regularity upon their proceedings, and thenceforth all the Masons in Quebec, both military and civilian, worked under this authorization, electing their Provincial Grand Masters half-yearly on the Days of St. John until, several years later and much to their annoyance, that officer was nominated and appointed by the Grand Master at home.

According to the account given by one who was present at the meeting on the 24th June, 1760: "Brother Simon Fraser, Colonel of the Highland Regiment, was elected to preside over the Lodges, and Brother Dunckerley, of

<sup>1</sup> Sadler's *Life of Dunckerley*, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Held in the 47th Regiment (1749-1823).

His Majesty's Ship the Vanguard, who was possessed with a power from the Grand of England to inspect into the state of the Craft wheresoever he might go, honoured them with his approbation of their conduct and installed Brother Fraser in his high office.<sup>1</sup>

No argument is needed here to make us realise that these Masons from different Constitutions would not have assembled together, nor Dunckerley have associated with them in peace, love, and harmony, had any serious disagreement in customs or ritual presented itself. Let me reiterate: the vast majority of the Regimental Lodges were Antient or Traditioner in their working. It could not have been otherwise. Ireland had the army to herself from 1732 to 1743, when Scotland first began to issue ambulatory Warrants, and it was not until 1755 that first the Moderns and then the Antients followed the lead given by the sister Constitution across St. George's Channel. Whenever it is possible to trace any predilection for ritual in a military Mason of Modern allegiance, he is invariably found to have been a Traditioner; and the military Lodges generally can be regarded as the great propagators of the old tradition, not only in the Americas, but all over the world.<sup>2</sup>

It is almost a corollary that the same rule should apply to those Lodges in ports and garrison towns where Freemasons from the services were wont to foregather. Dunckerley's own Mother Lodge, The Three Tuns at Portsmouth, later known as Antiquity, must have had the old working. At any rate, it conferred the Royal Arch Degree. We have the statement from his own pen: "I was exalted at Portsmouth in the year 1754".<sup>3</sup> He was initiated on the 10th January in that year, and to have Exaltation following so rapidly on the heels of the Craft Degrees was quite in the style of Antient Masons in general, *pace* Dermott who disapproved, and of Antient Military Masons in particular. The Three Tuns Lodge dated from 1725, and, according to Sadler, was the pioneer of Freemasonry in Hampshire. "Most of the members seem to have been either naval or military officers of a superior grade, or the higher class of tradesmen."<sup>4</sup> Such a membership would help to account for the conferring of the Royal Arch in 1754. The bulk of the members would have been accustomed to the ritual used in the military Lodges, in plain words, to the Antient or Traditioner ritual.

#### THE SUBLIME DEGREE.

Dunckerley's voyage to Quebec in 1760 offers us yet another clue to his taste in ritual. The phrase "Sublime Degree of a Master Mason" first occurs in the year 1754<sup>5</sup> in a form of certificate drawn up by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, perhaps several years previously. The same phrase is used in a certificate issued by Lodge No. 11 I.C. in the First Royal Scots Regiment in 1762.<sup>6</sup> While in Ireland the term became generally, though not exclusively, for mistakes can happen in writing Minutes, an appanage of the Third Degree. the first instance I know of its occurrence in an English Minute Book is in Lodge of Friendship No. 6 of date 31st March, 1767, and there is a good reason for its occurring there and at that particular time. While it appears in Bristol Minutes in 1768, it is used there indifferently to describe either the M.M. or Royal Arch Degree,<sup>7</sup> and can be said not to have come into general use in Modern Lodges till approaching the end of the eighteenth century. Any instance of it before that period I regard as a sign of Antient ritual's having passed that way.

<sup>1</sup> Sadler; *op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> For some references see Appendix E.

<sup>3</sup> Sadler; *Life of Dunckerley*, p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>5</sup> Facsimile in the *Bicentenary History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland*, p. 233.

<sup>6</sup> Facsimile in *Cementaria Hibernica*.

<sup>7</sup> Powell and Littleton, pp. 66, 67.

Very well then: on the 16th October, 1760, Dunckerley as W.M. of the Lodge No. 254 held aboard the *Vanguard* signed a certificate, stating that Brother Edward Grey "was received and Enter'd Apprentice the Second day of October 1760, and Fellow Craft in this Lodge on the Ninth day of the same Month and Year, and that after having sustain'd with Strength, Firmness, and Courage, the most Painfull Works, and Severest Tryalls, we gave unto him the most Sublime Degree of Master."<sup>1</sup>

We can hold Dunckerley responsible for the phrasing, if not the orthography of this document.

#### DUNCKERLEY IN LONDON.

Dunckerley returned to England from his last voyage in November, 1765. On the 2nd January, 1766, he attended the Committee of Charity as Master of the *Guadaloupe* Lodge. Shortly afterwards he made use of this naval Warrant to found the famous Somerset House Lodge, which appears with the same number, *i.e.*, 279, in the 1766 list. This development of an itinerant into a fixed Warrant was in the tradition, though not the best tradition of the military Lodges, and instances of its occurrence in the eighteenth century are not uncommon.

Dunckerley was active in many Lodges at this period, but the only one demanding a special mention here is the Lodge of Friendship, and in its case the recent labours of Bro. Rotch would have allowed me to omit it too, but for the fact that in Dunckerley's connection with this Lodge we get the most unequivocal evidence of his ability to work the Antient Craft ritual. For several years from 1767 on he attended nearly every meeting of the Lodge, and often presided in the absence of the Duke of Beaufort or his successor in the Chair, the Honourable Charles Dillon. The chances are that this old Lodge had always been Traditioner in its working, but be that as it may, there is no doubt that in Beaufort and Dillon's time it followed the Antient forms. The clinching bit of evidence is found in a statement made by the Earl of Antrim. In a letter dated the 15th December, 1790, and addressed to the Grand Lodge of the Antients, he wrote: "I was made in the Duke of Beaufort's Lodge at Oxford<sup>2</sup> when a student there according to the forms of the Antient Masons from whom I never did and never will swerve."

This coming from a Brother who in addition to having served several years as Grand Master of Ireland was at the time he wrote Grand Master of the Antients in England should be conclusive about the ritual practised in the Lodge of Friendship; but, quite apart from Lord Antrim's testimony, there are other indications that the Lodge liked to take its own line.

Perhaps there may even have been a ritual significance in the request made by the members to Beaufort, as Grand Master, to permit them to wear swords while at labour. This permission having been granted, was withdrawn almost at once, in deference to a protest from the Committee of Charity, who no doubt showed cause; all the same, swords are still part of the furniture of a Lodge during the initiation ceremony in Bristol as well as in Ireland, and

<sup>1</sup> The original of this certificate is in Quebec. A photograph of it is in the Grand Lodge Library.

<sup>2</sup> About the year 1768. There is evidence to suggest that Masonic working in Oxford was usually Traditioner. For example, one of the grantees of the Warrant of Lodge of Alfred in 1769 was a Scots Mason, and two others from the same Constitution, members of the Royal Arch Lodge in Glasgow, were present at the dedication ceremony. The by-laws of this Lodge laid down that the installation was to take place on St. John's Day in Summer, and that the new Master was to take the Chair "in proper form". Visitors from Ireland, Scotland, and Jersey to this Lodge, and a joining member from Ireland, show that Antient Masons were quite at home in Oxford. *Vide A.Q.C.*, xxii, 139 *et seq.*

are considered in both places as "of time immemorial usage", and I dare say the members of Lodge of Friendship thought so too.<sup>1</sup>

### DUNCKERLEY'S CAMPAIGN.

I need allude only in the briefest terms to the zest with which Dunckerley threw himself into the sport of baiting Laurence Dermott, his great antagonist, by inducing Antient Lodges to change their allegiance (and he induced many so to do), or seducing leading Antient Masons (and he seduced not a few), or of robbing him of whole provinces (as he did in the case of Newfoundland), for all these matters have been admirably put on record in Pro. Sadler's *Life of Dunckerley*.<sup>2</sup> On one occasion the champion of the Moderns overstepped the limits of what was fair, even in a Masonic war, and the bitterness between the two rival Grand Lodges, which I think had been gradually dying out for a matter of ten years, suddenly became as wormwood once again. This resumption of hostilities happened in the year 1777, a date worth bearing in mind.

To understand the campaign we must first understand the man who conducted it, so let us for a moment glance at his personality.

Dunckerley must have possessed personal charm and pleasant manners to make him welcome in the social circles much higher than his own to which he was admitted from an early age. The friends he made in the higher classes of society were, as we know, of service to him when it came to establishing his true parentage; but we can only surmise what gifts of his had led them to take such an interest in his fortunes. Had he been a painter or a writer, we could have termed them his patrons; but he had no immortality of the pen or brush to bestow on men such as the Earl of Chesterfield, Lord William Gordon, General Oughton,<sup>3</sup> and so on; thus we are led to conclude that they liked the man for himself. How did their acquaintance begin? Inside the walls of a Lodge?

One thing cannot be disputed: Dunckerley became immensely popular wherever he went. That popularity became a weapon of attack used in behalf of his Grand Lodge. One instance will show it in action. In 1792 Dunckerley obtained a new Modern Warrant for an Antient Lodge in Southampton, which had already been in existence for twenty years. It retained its new allegiance until Dunckerley's death, and then reverted to the Antients. The circumstances of this case suggest, among other things, that there cannot have been any essential difference between this Lodge's original working and Dunckerley's, and that affection for him as Provincial Grand Master led to this shifting of loyalties.

Now a pertinent question arises: if Dunckerley was an exponent of the Antient or Traditioner ritual, why did he labour in the mills of the Moderns?

Any answer given must be largely a matter of speculation. Mine would be this: loyalty to his Mother Constitution.

<sup>1</sup> Those of us who have been accustomed to see swords used in the ritual will have mixed feelings at finding their appearance in Lodge defended in Alexander Slade's *Freemason examin'd*, where that chastiser of Prichard asserts: "Masons always swear by the sword, because they were always dutiful subjects, conforming cheerfully to the Government under which they lived, and were ever ready (as they now are) to defend it (when Necessity required it) sword in hand." (5th edit., 1752).

<sup>2</sup> *I*vide in particular pp. 127, 142, 147, 155, 226, 229, 238.

<sup>3</sup> Whether or not Chesterfield was an Antient Mason, as Dermott asserted, Dunckerley's other friend General Sir James Adolphus Oughton must have been a Traditioner. In 1752 this distinguished soldier was appointed Provincial Grand Master of Minorca by the Moderns. In 1769-70 he became Grand Master of Scotland. On the 25th February, 1775, he attended the Installation of the Duke of Athole as Grand Master of the Antients, and was accompanied on that occasion by the Duke of Leinster, who had been Grand Master of Ireland in 1771, and was to fill the post again in 1778. What a blending of Masonic colours!

Experience had taught him that loyalty to the Antient landmarks in ritual was not incompatible with loyalty to that Grand Lodge which had mistakenly attempted to remove them. That error of judgment would be more than outweighed, in Dunckerley's mind, by the efforts the same authority had made and was making, not unsuccessfully, to raise the status of the Craft by enforcing a stricter discipline on the Private Lodges, decreeing a minimum fee for Initiation,<sup>1</sup> and achieving the erection of a noble hall to be the headquarters of Freemasonry in England.

Forms of ritual, after all, were a matter of choice, chance, or locality. The bulk of the English-speaking Lodges preferred, as Dunckerley was well aware, the old forms, and would not change them; they practised them freely and without interference inside their own walls, for heresy-hunting was becoming as extinct as witch-finding. To permit, nay more, to extend the practice of the Traditioner ritual in the Modern Lodges would be an effective counter-attack on the arch-enemy, that witty and pestilent fellow (for so Dunckerley would have described Laurence Dermott), who was never done bawling that the true forms were to be found only in the Antient Lodges. Why not try a finesse then, and make the best card in his hand, the card of ritual, ineffective? Who would pay any heed to his other protestations when his statement in this vital particular could be demonstrated as false?

Above all, let brotherly love prevail, particularly towards an Antient Mason. Build a wide and easy bridge over which Brethren of that persuasion might come with a welcome into the camp of their antagonists; and let them come with drums beating and colours flying and never a hint of a white flag or a white sheet.

Whether or not Dunckerley reasoned along lines such as these, these were the lines on which he proceeded to act, to the very great advantage of the Grand Lodge he served and of the Craft in general, for they led in the long run to peace and reconciliation, in a word, to our United Grand Lodge of England.

Dunckerley's aim, of course, was to destroy the Grand Lodge of the Antients, but not its adherents, and he baited his traps for them with kindness. There is no hint that he ever demanded more from his proselytes than a declaration of loyalty to the Grand Lodge of the Moderns. There was no remaking, and, so far as we know, no changes made on his initiative in their ritual. After his death, as has already been pointed out, some of his "converted" Lodges "relapsed"; a sign to make us attribute much of his success to his personal popularity and energy.

Dunckerley, just as we should expect from a Mason who had travelled far and wide, held no fantastic theories about the supremacy of the Grand Lodge of England over Freemasonry wheresoever dispersed round the globe. In a charge given to a newly constituted Lodge at Marlborough on the 11th September, 1769, he said: "Charity is the basis of our Order; it is for this purpose we have a Grand Lodge at London, another at Edinburgh, and a third at Dublin." Such a statement coming from such a man shows how opinion had changed in the Grand Lodge of England, whose spokesman he was on that occasion.

Nevertheless as upholding the undivided authority of his Grand Lodge on English soil Dunckerley was a fanatic. His purposed end was to make that Grand Lodge supreme by wasting its rival to death. His strategy, as I read it, was to remove all cause of complaint about ritual changes by allowing recruits from the Antients to go on working as they had always worked; and as a special attraction to offer them a better organization of the Degree of Royal Arch than had been known in their original Constitution.

<sup>1</sup> Instances are reported of low taverns that displayed the placard: MASONS MADE HERE FOR HALF A CROWN.

If a bridge could be built by acquiescence or compromise across the gulf of divergent ritual, Dunckerley might well hope that in time the rebels (for so he regarded them) would cross it, and return to that original Grand Lodge of England whose prestige had been greatly enhanced by the presence of the Royal Princes among its supporters.

### DUNCKERLEY AND THE ROYAL ARCH.

In attributing such a plan as this to Dunckerley we find an explanation for the energy with which he devoted himself to making the Royal Arch a flourishing branch of Masonry.

The Antients had been having trouble with their private Lodges over the Royal Arch from an early period. The Degree seems at first to have been confined to such Masons as had gained certain esoteric information by Passing the Chair; and Dermott would have had none but Past Masters share in it. In 1771 a nominal Grand Chapter for the Antients had come into existence, probably as a counterblast to Blayney's Grand Chapter; but it cannot have functioned very well, for no Minutes of the Body are extant before 1783. The Antient Lodges right up to the Union of the two Grand Chapters in 1817 conferred the Degree at will, and often were at variance with Dermott's ideas about it, which I dare say had with the passing of the years begun to appear somewhat old-fashioned to those who did not remember the seventeen-fifties.<sup>1</sup>

In Dunckerley the Royal Arch found a new and indefatigable exponent. He exalted the first Grand Master of England ever exalted, so far as we know; and it is most probable that by his instigation our Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter came into being by the Charter of Compact. What a blow it must have been to Dermott to hear of its establishment, and to find a Brother Irishman as its Grand Master. Henceforward the Royal Arch would be no sure test to distinguish Antient from Modern.

"The emerald gem of the western world  
Was set in the crown of the stranger!"

That Dunckerley made a practice of conferring the Royal Arch Degree in private Lodges is proved by a certificate issued to him in February, 1768, by a Lodge in Plymouth Dock (Devonport).<sup>2</sup> It states that Dunckerley has presided as Master for two years "during which time his Masonic skill, knowledge and experience hath been manifested in the care he hath taken in Governing, Instructing and Improving said Lodge in the several degrees of E.P. . . ., F.C. . . ., M.M. . . ., & R.A. . . .".

Note that this certificate is of a period prior to when the Grand Chapter began to issue warrants for private Chapters.

The official attitude of the Grand Lodge of the Moderns to the Royal Arch Degree throughout this period can be shown by a sequence of pronouncements.

12th July 1757 *Dr. Manningham Deputy Grand Master to Brother Sauer at the Hague.*

"The only Orders that we know are Three, Masters, Fellow-Crafts and Apprentices, and none of them ever arrive at the Honour of Knighthood by Masonry."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gould, II, 445.

<sup>2</sup> Constituted 26th January, 1735, at the Masons' Arms, Plymouth Dock, No. 129, subsequently 113 (1740), 67 (1755), 56 (1770), erased 1777. *Vide A.Q.C.*, xxxv, 115. The . . . used in the certificate are an early example of this symbol. The numbers are significant.

December 1759 *Samuel Spencer, Grand Secretary, to the needy Brother William Carroll from Ireland.*

"Your being an Antient Mason you are not entitled to any of our Charity. The Antient Masons have a Lodge at the Five Bells in the Strand, and their secretary's name is Dermott. Our society is neither Arch, Royal Arch, or Antient, so that you have no right to partake of our Charity."

Perhaps Spencer knew of the compact of 1758 between the Grand Lodge of Ireland and the Grand Lodge of the Antients. If he did, though the fact is by no means certain, then he had a right to look on Bro. Carroll as coming from a jurisdiction not in fraternal communication with his own Grand Lodge. His repudiation of the Royal Arch as an unclean thing is, however, unequivocal.

July 1767 *Spencer to J. P. Gogel, Provincial Grand Master in Frankfort, Germany.*

"The Royal Arch is a society which we do not acknowledge, and which we hold to be an invention to introduce innovations and to seduce the Brethren."

This statement is disingenuous; for Spencer was himself a Royal Arch Mason, and had become a joining member of the Caledonian Royal Arch Chapter in London in 1766.

7th December 1768 *Thomas French, Grand Secretary, to the W.M. of the Sun Lodge, Bristol.*

"There is only one circumstance in your minutes which you are requested to correct, and that concerns Royal Arch Masonry, which comes not under your inspection. You are desired never to insert the transactions in your regular Lodge Books, nor to carry on the business of that Degree on your stated Lodge nights."

Note that the Royal Arch is now referred to as a Degree, which does not come "under the inspection" of the Master of a Craft Lodge; and that if a Lodge chooses to hold meetings in that Degree, a date not falling on stated communications must be chosen. Not a word about innovations or seductions!

18th January 1774 *James Heseltine, Grand Secretary, to J. P. Gogel, P.G.M., in Frankfort, who has evidently heard something from England, and has begun to have some doubts about the accuracy of what Secretary Spencer said in '67.*

"It is true that many of the Fraternity belong to a Degree in Masonry which is said to be higher than the other, and is called Royal Arch . . . I have the honour to belong to this Degree . . . but it is not acknowledged in Grand Lodge, and all its emblems and jewels are forbidden to be worn there . . . You will thus see that the Royal Arch is a private and distinct society. It is part of Masonry, but has no connexion with Grand Lodge, and this is the only further Degree known to us in England."

So in 1774 it has become an honour to belong to the Royal Arch, which is looked on as a "part of Masonry". By "further Degree" Heseltine must have meant one connected in some way with the Craft legend; for he had taken many of the additional Degrees which were beginning to be widely conferred in England at this period.

Before passing from this subject it will be as well to recall that, as Grand Superintendent of Royal Arch Masonry, Dunckerley proceeded to spread knowledge of the Degree in Bristol, Devonshire, Durham, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Kent, Somerset, Surrey, Warwickshire, Cornwall, Dorsetshire, Essex, Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, Nottinghamshire, Suffolk, Sussex, and Wiltshire.

#### DUNCKERLEY AND OTHER DEGREES.

It is needless, I think, on the present occasion to refer in detail to Dunckerley's manifold activities in those additional Degrees which are not comprised, as the declaration says, in Ancient Craft Masonry; however, in practising these ceremonies he forgathered with many stalwarts from the opposition camp, including Prince Edward, who later became Grand Master of the Antients at the time of the Union.

The only conclusion I am inclined to draw from such a fraternization of nominal opponents is this: that I cannot imagine its ever having occurred, if either nominal Antient or nominal Modern had viewed the other's practices in Craft ritual with abhorrence.<sup>1</sup>

My case for believing that Dunckerley fought the Antients by making use of their own weapons of ritual has now been stated.

It remains for the jury, my auditors and readers, to decide whether that case has been proved.

#### THE LAST YEARS OF DIVISION.

I can hardly end my survey without giving a bird's-eye view of the last years of the two rival Grand Lodges as separate entities.

The tree that was to bear fruit of peace and reconciliation had been of slow growth, and by the end of the century it was being tended by another generation of Freemasons than that which had planted the sapling.

To revert to the beginnings: round about the seventeen-sixties an amicable fraternization became noticeable between Modern and Antient Lodges in London, and Gould quotes three instances which may be regarded as leading cases.<sup>2</sup>

In December, 1758, Brother Glover, "being an Antient Meason having taken his obligation of this Lodg paid the ujual fine of two shillings and became a member" of Moira Lodge No. 92. Note that he had not been the first to do so, if there be any virtue in that "ujual".

In October, 1764, the Antient Lodge, now Union Waterloo No. 13, welcomed as a visitor "Brother Jackson of No. 115 of the Modern Construtation."

In March, 1766, William Dickey, junior, a stalwart of the Antients, was made a Modern Mason in the Lebeck's Head Lodge No. 246, without in consequence relinquishing his activities in behalf of the Antients.

Gould remarks on these three instances of fraternal communication that the admission of Brethren from the rival camp as visitors indicates that the re-making, if they became members, was a protest more against the *regularity* than the *validity* of the Degrees to which they had been admitted elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> For a sample of the prevailing tolerance the Society of Antient Masons of the Diluvian Order or Royal Ark and Mark Mariners is worth attention. As Grand Noah of this Order Dunckerley chose for his Deputy Ebenezer Sibley, M.D. This latter worthy was an out-and-out Antient Mason. Initiated in Lodge No. 79, Portsmouth, in 1784, he was the first W.M. of No. 253, London, in 1789. Exalted in No. 240 of the Antients in 1793, he joined the Caledonian Chapter No. 2 of the Moderns in 1799. I have been thus prolix about Sibley's Masonic career, because his catholic taste in Royal Arch Masonry, comprising both Antient and Modern vintages, goes to show that there can have been no essential difference between the Degree claimed as special knowledge by Dermott and the Degree as promoted by Dunckerley. The one ceremony was conferred in a Lodge, the other in a Chapter. Possibly the legends differed. The Royal Arch has sheltered many variants of legend during its existence. For Sibley *vide* the paper by J. C. Brookhouse in *A.Q.C.*, xxiv, p. 81 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Gould, II, 461.

If I may translate his conclusion into homelier language: both sides were prepared to turn the blind eye on a visitor's idiosyncrasies in ritual, particularly when those differences were trivial, as they must have been in the cases quoted, but not to bate a breath of the aspiration in a shibboleth, where the honour of their respective Grand Lodges was concerned, which honour demanded a recantation of heresy, even were the heresy of a tenuity of substance defying comprehension or definition by the human intellect or the human tongue.

It was not in the nature of things, however, that the rival Grand Lodges should view such an unofficial armistice with approval while war continued as fiercely as ever in those parts of the line held by the die-hards on either side.

The prospects of a speedy reconciliation seemed brighter when Beaufort's, to say nothing of Blayney's, attachment to the Traditioner ritual began to make itself felt; but Charles Dillon was too impetuous, and his attempt to obtain a Charter of Incorporation for his Grand Lodge was taken badly by the Antients, who, rightly or wrongly, imagined that the success of this project would mean their own annihilation as a Grand Lodge in England. The scheme failed, as we know, but in vanishing from human ken, like the fiend of folklore, left behind it a nauseous stench to remind men that something unholy had passed that way; and men's nerves and tempers reacted to this stimulus.

The next milestone was, that on the 1st June, 1774, the Grand Lodge of the Antients, on receiving a report that many of those Masons whom I term Traditioners were working under Modern Warrants, resolved:

"That all Antient Masons (of repute) under the Sanction of the Moderns, that may be inclined to obtain an Authority from this R. W. G. Lodge, Shall, by applying any time before the 24th June, 1776, be Warranted, and the Expence of Such Warrant to be charged only as a Renewal."

So far so good; but then this olive branch was sprayed with gall by a further resolution, which ordered the cessation of all fraternal communication with such Traditioner Lodges as continued to work under their Modern Warrants.

The Grand Lodge of the Moderns, for its part, in April, 1777, held a special Communication to "devise means for discouraging the irregular assemblies of persons calling themselves *ancient masons*", and forbade its flock to countenance such persons in any way. It was careful, however, to exclude from the censure some of those Masons who had formerly been considered unorthodox and irregular:

"That this censure shall not extend to any Lodge or Mason made in Scotland or Ireland under the Constitution of either of these Kingdoms; or to any Lodge or Mason made abroad under the Patronage of any Grand Lodge in alliance with the Grand Lodge of England, but that such Lodges and Masons shall be deemed regular and constitutional."<sup>1</sup>

Here was a change indeed from the days when the Grand Lodge "of London and Westminster" (to borrow Whymper's phrase merely for the purpose of emphasis) had arrogated to itself the supreme Masonic authority all over the world.

I suggest that the Eldest of the Sister Grand Lodges had come to a mood of sweeter reasonableness during the period of Ferrers, Blayney and Beaufort.

<sup>1</sup> This instruction of 1777 was not observed by all of the English Lodges. For example, in Somerset House Lodge on the 8th April, 1793, "John Tubbs Esq. of Stephen's Green, Dublin, (an Ancient Mason), was proposed and duly seconded to be initiated into the mysteries of Masoury". It may well be that we have here an instance of stern devotion to Modern forms. Compare with what happened in Shrewsbury, to be related later.

The date, April, 1777, at which this resolution was adopted, is suggestive of other events of more world-wide importance. In America the Declaration of Independence had been signed, and the battles of Trenton and Princeton fought. The day of autocracy was drawing to a close for more things than Freemasonry.

In spite of all regulations, however, fraternization between the two schools continued, and gave rise to some ridiculous situations, as when in 1778 a Brother who belonged to both Constitutions had, in the course of his duty, to read aloud in his Modern Lodge a circular attacking Laurence Dermott, and for so doing was tried by the Grand Lodge of the Antients, censured, and warned to be more careful in future—a counsel of perfection to one thus placed between the devil and the deep sea.

Incidents such as this made it obvious to every thinking Freemason that a Union of the Craft in England was the only way to put an end to such farces.

At times in the later years of the century the two roads which had been gradually converging towards a junction once again began to diverge. The prejudices of individuals were always a difficulty; ritual also seems to have often been the glowing coal that kept the fires of wrath smouldering.

For example, on the 20th March, 1786, the Grand Secretary of England had to inform the Grand Master "that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Andalusia, which had been under the government of the Moderns for upwards of twenty years" had applied for a Warrant under the Antients, and refused to act any longer under the authority of the Moderns. Since that Provincial Grand Lodge consisted almost completely of Military Masons, we can infer that in this case scruples about ritual were involved.

Harmony was destroyed in some of the Traditioner Lodges for the same reason. A sad example of what might happen is recorded in the Minutes of Salopian Lodge, Shrewsbury, No. 262.<sup>1</sup>

This Lodge was warranted on the 3rd July, 1788, under the ægis of the Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Major Charles Shirreff, a Traditioner of the old school.<sup>2</sup> Though an adherent of the original Grand Lodge of England, whose warrants he had established in various places abroad, he worked the Antient ritual whole-heartedly and fanatically. His preferences in this way were recorded by himself in letters still extant, and can also be discovered in the early Minutes of the Salopian Lodge.

3rd July 1788, Brother E. T. Smith was raised to the Sublime Degree of a Master Mason.

The by-laws make provision for the *election* of Wardens and Deacons on the Lodge night preceding the Festival of St John the Evangelist. The Worshipful Master was regularly installed.

Both the Days of St John were observed.

27th December 1790, Brother Loxdale resigned the Chair; Brother Barkley unanimously elected to it and *duly installed*; he then immediately resigned office, and Brother Loxdale was unanimously re-elected and "installed in proper form". This performance was known as "Passing the Chair", as a preliminary to conferring the Degree of Royal Arch.

Then a row about ritual took place in the Lodge, the result of some intriguing which later, in 1794, ousted Shirreff from his position as D.P.G.M. The Lodge changed its working. Deacons were abolished in 1791, and Stewards appointed in their stead; and the Lodge was formed with the Wardens in the West. In September, 1792, an Antient Mason, who had previously been made

<sup>1</sup> Vide A. Graham's *History of Freemasonry in Shropshire*.

<sup>2</sup> For some account of Bro. Charles Shirreff see Appendix E.

welcome as a visitor, became a joining member, and was remade, all three Degrees being given in one evening. In 1793 the ceremony of Installation ceased to be observed.

Intransigence such as this did not help towards reconciliation.

Happily, however, those of the better sort who desired unity continued to make their influence felt. On the return of Prince Edward, later Duke of Kent,<sup>1</sup> from Canada, a Masonic address was presented to him in January, 1794.

"At the foot are two signatures"—those of the Deputy Grand Masters of the Antient and Modern Grand Lodges. "A paragraph in the address runs: 'We have confident hope that under the conciliating influence of your Royal Highness, the Fraternity in general of Freemasons in His Majesty's dominions will soon be united'; to which the Prince replied: 'You may trust that my utmost efforts shall be exerted, that a much-wished-for Union of the whole Fraternity of Masons may be effected.'"<sup>2</sup>

The Duke got his wish, and we our Union in due course, but not without bargaining and delay. Reconciliation became assured only when the Grand Lodge of the Moderns declared for the Traditioner ritual, as it did by the Lodge of Promulgation in 1809.

Now, Brethren, to conclude: my suggestion is that the Masonic Reunion of 1813 sprang from seed planted almost fifty years before, whether by Lord Blayney or another, but certainly by some Brother with wisdom enough to foresee that there could be no Masonic Unity without agreement in the essentials of ritual. Whoever he may have been, he certainly got no credit for prescience during his lifetime, and perhaps would have scouted the idea that many generations after his death anyone should take the pains to demonstrate that he had deserved well of the Fraternity. Indeed, I can well imagine the comment likely to come from a Mason and soldier, a veteran in both crafts:

"That I served and gave of my best is true; if the outcome has been fortunate, it is well; if not so fortunate, nevertheless I served."

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## APPENDIX A.

### VISITING TRADITIONERS.

The following miscellanea of facts collected from various sources demonstrates how important such gleanings would become, if only we could get enough of them referring to a particular person or Lodge. These samples are given to point the moral: collect, and go on collecting:—

Elias Davry, mariner, made a Mason in Old Dundee Lodge in 1760, was wrecked on a voyage from Philadelphia to Newry on the 28th January, 1786, and reported on his return to England that he had been well cared for in Ireland by his Masonic Brethren of the Antient persuasion, though he himself was a Modern, nominally.

Some of the English visitors admitted to First Volunteer Lodge No. 620, Dublin, towards the close of the eighteenth century belonged to Modern Lodges. Lodge 620 was at that time the home of most of the leading ritualists in Dublin, so when visitors were put through an examination, as they invariably were before being admitted, they would have had to satisfy experts in Antient working. Here are some of the names recorded with their English Lodges:

<sup>1</sup> *Clarum ac venerabile nomen!* to recall the sorrow and pride felt, and not in England alone, at a great loss suffered by the Craft.

<sup>2</sup> Gould, II, 463.

- Oct. 1783 Thomas Suitor, No. 144, probably Sunderland, now Palatine Lodge No. 97.  
 Nov. 1783 Ben Hartwell, P.M. No. 272 Holyhead.  
 „ „ Moses Lawrence, No. 100 London.  
 Aug. 1790 Addison, No. 65 Halifax, now Lodge of Probity No. 61.<sup>1</sup>  
 Feb. 1791 KILLSBY, No. 105 London.  
 Dec. 1798 Smith, No. 531 Great Yarmouth.  
 Apr. 1804 Captain Blackie or Blaikie, No. 273 Carlisle.  
 May 1804 Steward, No. 373 Gloucester.  
 All these were Modern Lodges.

Kilwinning High Knight Templar Lodge No. 584, Dublin, specialized in the Additional Degrees at this period. The following "Modern" visitors from England are noted in the Minutes:—

- Oct. 1782 Philip Henry "of Carolina", who had been Exalted in the Grand  
 Jan. 1783 Chapter of England 13th April, 1781, was present as a visitor during Royal Arch and Craft ceremonies.  
 May 1783 Captain John Strafford Saunders, of Lodge of Benevolence, Wakefield, now Unanimity Lodge No. 154. At a later meeting on the 20th May Saunders was Exalted in No. 584.  
 Feb. 1784 Moses Lawrence, of George Lodge No. 100, London.  
 27 Apr. 1784 Robert Blaikie or Blackie, of No. 273 Carlisle, was made a High Knight Templar in No. 584.

From the Charity disbursements of the Grand Lodge of Ireland I take the following:—

- Dec. 1789 Thomas Power of No. 280, Burdwan, India. The story of Freemasonry in India is one of ever-present influence by the Military Lodges, and all that this implies about ritual. On this head see also Appendix E.  
 Sep. 1804 Henry McArdel, No. 463, now Lodge of Friendship, Oldham.

#### APPENDIX B.

##### TRADITIONERS IN BRISTOL.

That Masonry generally in Bristol was Traditioner in type admits in my opinion of no doubt. In addition to Millikin's important evidence, given below, we have many other records of the fraternization between Freemasons in Bristol and Ireland. As early as 1739 we find Bro. Peter Taylour of Cork as a visitor in a Bristol Lodge.<sup>2</sup>

In fact there is so much evidence from the earliest times of the accord between the Irish and Bristolian Masonic rituals that I can only account for it on the supposition that both derived their practices from a *common original*, prior to the era of Grand Lodges, and that while each developed separately, fraternal intercourse between the two districts was too constant to permit of either's adopting any deviation that would have seemed like a wrong direction to such a near and intimate neighbour.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Initiated 10 December, 1788.

<sup>2</sup> Information from Bro. A. C. Powell, P.G.M., Bristol.

<sup>3</sup> The researches of Bro. R. E. Parkinson have shown that Freemasons from Bristol were probably employed on the rebuilding of Christchurch Cathedral in Dublin in the twelfth century. I draw attention to this striking fact, though I base no argument on it; good fellowship between Operative Masons was succeeded in the course of the centuries by a similar feeling between those who were Free and Accepted in both districts, that much is self-evident.

The following excerpts from the Minute Book of Lodge No. 27, Cork, copied for me many years ago by the fraternal kindness of Bro. Philip Crosslé, speak for themselves:—

- 15th May 1751 “Bror” Jos Dalton & James Bonbonous of Bristol came to Visit the Lodge, who being Examin'd by the Secretary & Bror Sarsfield, and they makeing a good report of them, they were allow'd to be admitted.”
- 4th Decr 1751 “Bror” Edwd Scott and Walter Hussey the former of a Lodge of Bristol, and the latter of Mt Surat (*Montserrat*) requested to be admitted as Visiting Brethren & were allow'd to be receiv'd being fully Examin'd by the Secretary.”
- 16th Nov 1752 “Bror Geo Norris (being Recd an Enter'd apprintice in Bristol and being Balloted for & admitted to be Recd last Lodge Night) was pass'd to the Degree of a fellow craft.”
- 21st Mar 1753 “Our Bror” Norris & Roberts were Rais'd to the Degree of Master Masons.”
- 5th Aug 1783 “Visited by Bror James Whitechurch of No. 445 Sea Captain's Lodge, Bristol.”<sup>1</sup>

Note particularly about the foregoing extracts, that a visiting Brother was tested about his Masonic knowledge before being admitted to the Lodge; and that the secrets of the E.A. Degree must have been the same in Bristol and Cork in the year 1752, which saw the birth of the Grand Lodge of the Antients. This point of the identity of these secrets in those two districts is full of importance to my argument.

My next example happened during the Seven Years' War. In July, 1761, Fountain Lodge No. 74, Bristol, made Hercules Burleigh a Mason “in consideration that he was soon going to sea”; and on the 6th January, 1763, a Brother of the same name was inscribed as one of the Wardens in a new Irish Warrant, No. 392, granted to the 66th Regiment of Foot, then in Ireland on its way to Jamaica. I have little doubt that the two references are to one and the same person, in which case we can quote the Grand Lodge of Ireland itself as a witness to the orthodoxy of Masonry in Bristol.

In the main text of this essay I have already offered some evidence to suggest that the differences, if any, between the Craft as taught by Dunckerley and that practised by the Antients can have consisted only in what I might term “external forms”, and did not affect methods of recognition.

Happily there is some direct evidence given to strengthen this view of the case by a neutral observer, who attended Lodges in an English province under Dunckerley's jurisdiction. In the year 1795 this enthusiastic young Irish Freemason during a stay in Bristol visited some of the local Lodges, Modern as well as Antient. Writing more than fifty years later, he thus described his impressions:—

“The difference between the ancient and modern masons was so trivial that the wonder is, that the distinction should have lasted so long as near a century. I was introduced into a modern Lodge in Bristol, in the year 1795, as an ancient Mason, where I found enquiry after the origin, ancient history and early practices of Freemasonry as much alive as ever I witnessed it in ancient Lodges. The only difference I could observe, was a slight variation from the ancient in the ritual and formation of the Lodge, which I always considered as too trivial to perpetuate a division.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Now Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality No. 187.

<sup>2</sup> R. Millikin, *Historico-Masonic Tracts* (Cork, 1848).

This is one of the cases in which I have been able to check up on an *ex parte* statement, and find that Millikin is recorded as a visitor to Jerusalem Lodge (Antient) in Bristol on the 13th August, 1795. He took part in working the Exaltation ceremony, and was thanked for his services. This Lodge would thus seem to have worked a ritual of the Royal Arch known in Ireland.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the Royal Arch in Bristol, Bro. A. C. Powell has written (*A.Q.C.*, xxxix, 165):

"The Royal Arch Degree had a special attraction for the 'Modern' Masons of Bristol at an early date. It is difficult to understand how they knew anything about it, seeing that it was not recognised by their own Grand Lodge. . . .

"There are, however, instances where the 'Moderns' did work the Degree, in spite of regulations to the contrary. The oldest record (1758) of such an occurrence is to be found in the Minute Book of the 'Modern' Craft Lodge meeting at the Crown Inn, Christmas St., Bristol, which is the earliest Minute relating to the Degree in England."

I suggest in all humility, that by substituting for "Modern" in the above passage the word "Traditioner", with the meaning that I have attached to it in this essay, Bro. Powell's difficulty in understanding why the Degree of Royal Arch should have been known to Freemasons in Bristol at such an early date in spite of the ban by the Grand Lodge of England will vanish into thin air.

#### APPENDIX C.

##### TRADITIONERS IN PHILADELPHIA.

In the *History of Freemasonry in Pennsylvania*, by Barratt and Sachse, will be found the full text of the documents relating to the secession of Lodge No. 4, Philadelphia. Among them is a copy of the letter, dated 10th January, 1758, from John Blackwood, late a member of No. 2, London, under the Grand Lodge of the Antients, and subsequently of No. 4, Philadelphia. It is addressed to Joseph Reed, secretary of No. 2 in London. Included was a petition to the Earl of Blesinton, G.M., the G. Wardens and Brethren of the Grand Lodge of the Antients, signed by George Brooks, the Master, and twelve other members of No. 4, Philadelphia, which ran:

"We the under named having for many years past Resided in the City of Philadelphia did form ourselves into a Body, being Antient Masons. Descending from our Mother Lodges in England, Ireland, and Scotland . . . did propose and apply to William Allen Esquire Grand Master of Pennsylvania for a Warrant, which we readily obtained, but upon hearing we were Antients, we were call'd before the Grand Lodge", and, in short, were asked to change our ritual, to which we answered, "we neither could nor would and are determined never to forsake the good old way"; whereupon our Warrant was confiscated. Brothers Blackwood and Jones, who are English Masons, recently arrived from that country, came to our rescue, and suggested that we apply for an Antient Warrant from London.

So far the Petitioners. Bro. Blackwood, whose words flowed from his pen in a stream both deep and clear, though neither dull nor gentle, proceeded to embellish this tale of woe in his personal letter to Reed, and to economise space I condense the narrative as follows:—

He begins by announcing his recent arrival in Philadelphia in convoy, from Cork, and says he must not omit mentioning "that while in Ireland we met some Brethren there, and on Comparing notes we found to our no Small Satisfaction, that we agreed as exactly as face answers face in the glass." A very happy phrase to describe the agreement between the Irish and Antient

<sup>1</sup> *Ide* Powell and Littleton, p. 705.

working. On his arrival in Philadelphia he became acquainted with the Traditioners who had obtained No. 4 local Warrant from the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Moderns; they were twenty in number, "several of whom are Royal Arch Masons." The Worshipful Master was one George Brooks, certified from Lodge 183, Belfast. "On finding these were another kind of Masons than had been known" in Philadelphia, the Provincial Grand Lodge summoned Bro. Brooks before a committee, and he pleaded "guilty" for himself and the others as "being Antient Masons". Then: "The Grand summon'd them before them, and importuned them to an accomodation in manner and form in their way, which they refused to comply with. Whereon the Grand Master detain'd their Warrant."

Bros. Blackwood and Jones, who was also from No. 2, London, on arrival in Philadelphia found them in this sad condition, and suggested the remedy of obtaining an Antient Warrant from London. Blackwood goes on to aver that the enclosed petition is true, "Being firmly convinced the Difference Consists all together in this, the Petitioners are Antients, the others are Moderns". He and Bro. Jones have prevailed with Brooks and his following not to make any new Brethren till they have obtained authority from England. Bro. Brooks, who is an Arch Mason, and registered in the books of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, was just about to lay their case before that Body, but has now agreed to petition the Grand Lodge of the Antients instead. He was quite unaware that there were two Grand Lodges in England, hence his taking a Warrant from the Provincial Grand Lodge in Philadelphia. "We are inform'd Creditably, that names of Moderns are scarcely known in either Scotland or Ireland". Meaning by this that the Modern ritual was unknown in those countries. Among the petitioners is Bro. Charles Burnes, formerly a member of No. 2, London, and now a soldier in Otway's Regiment (35th Foot), which is at Philadelphia in winter quarters. Will Lodge No. 2 kindly recommend the petition to Bro. Dermott and the Grand Lodge of the Antients.

So far Bro. Blackwood.

The petition was granted, and a Warrant No. 69 issued for Philadelphia on the 7th June, 1758. Subsequently a Provincial Grand Master was appointed to govern the Antients in Philadelphia, and in process of time the Provincial Grand Lodge there developed into the present Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

#### APPENDIX D.

#### PEDIGREE OF THE BLAYNEYS OF CASTLE BLAYNEY, CO. MONAGHAN.

(*Barons Blayney of Monaghan in the Irish Peerage.*)

- I. EDWARD Blayney, cadet of a family in Montgomeryshire. Served as a soldier in Spain and Flanders, and became a Colonel under the Earl of Essex in Ireland 1598. Obtained grants of confiscated lands in Monaghan. Created first Baron Blayney of Monaghan in 1621. Ob. 11th February, 1629/30.
- II. HENRY, son of 1st Baron. Captain of the fort at Monaghan. His mansion at Castle Blayney was sacked during the Civil War in Ireland, and he himself killed at the battle of Benburb in 1646.
- III. EDWARD, son of 2nd Baron. Ob. s. p. 1669.
- IV. RICHARD, younger son of 2nd Baron. Ob. 1670.
- V. HENRY VINCENT, son of the 4th Baron. Was a captain of foot in the Williamite wars in Ireland, and one of the noblemen proscribed by James II for fleeing to England, where he ob. s. p. in 1689.
- VI. WILLIAM, younger son of the 4th Baron. The Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, writing from Dublin 22nd May, 1686, and alluding to

<sup>1</sup> Vide Barratt and Sachse, vol. i, pp. 20-26.

the dismissals of officers in the Irish army by James II because they were Protestants, has this reference to him:—

“If what Sir Thomas (Newcomen) says be true, a great many very good men, who have bought their employments, will be ruined: especially Mr. Blayney, my Lord Blayney’s brother, who laid out all his younger brother’s patrimony to purchase a company in my Lord Mountjoy’s regiment, and is an honest, ingenuous young man.”

Luttrell noted in his diary on the 16th December, 1693, that “the lord Blany putt in” for the colonelcy of one of the four new regiments of foot that were to be raised in Ireland to reinforce the British Army in Flanders. He was not, however, successful in his application. Later in King William’s reign he became governor of Sligo. Ob. 3rd January, 1705/6.

VII. CADWALLADER, son of the 6th Baron. Born 1693. During the Lord Lieutenancy of the Earl of Wharton (1709-10) Jonathan Swift recommended Lord Blayney to his friend Joseph Addison, then Secretary of State for Ireland, but it does not appear that the introduction brought any tangible advantage to the young man, who later, as we have seen, demonstrated *vi et armis* on the Howth Road his abhorrence of the Dean and all his works. Blayney obtained a pension from government in 1723, and became Lord Lieutenant of Co. Monaghan and governor of Sligo. He was poor all his life. E. P. Shirley in his *History of Monaghan* (1879, p. 247) says of him:

“The case of Lord Blayney was heard in the Irish House of Lords on the 25th March, 1723, when he was given permission to sell some land. It was stated that the estate had been much wasted by the wars, and did not produce up to £400 a year until after 1699.”

For Lord Blayney’s appearance in Irish Freemasonry *vide Bicentenary History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland*.

The 7th Baron ob. 19th March, 1732-3.

VIII. CHARLES TALBOT, son of the 7th Baron. He took orders and was preferred to be Dean of Killaloe. His choice of profession amazed Lord Orrery, who remarked in a letter to Swift dated 29th September, 1739:

“. . . and what is more wonderfull, One of our Lords, the Baron of Blayney, has quitted the broad Belt and Hanger for the Toga Xtiana of the Church.” (*Orrery Papers*, I, 267.)

The 8th Baron ob. 15th September, 1761.

IX. CADWALLADER, younger son of the 7th Baron. Became “Grand Master of Masons” in England. Born in 1720; ob. 21st November, 1775.

X. CADWALLADER DAVID, son of the 9th Baron. Born in 1769; ob. s. p. 1784.

XI. ANDREW THOMAS, younger son of the 9th Baron. Born in 1770. Entered the army 1789. In 1794 promoted Major in the 89th Regiment, “Blayney’s Bloodhounds”, part of which he helped to raise, and later became its Colonel. Served in the campaign in Holland 1794, and after that in Malta, Minorca, Egypt, Cape of Good Hope, Buenos Ayres, and the Peninsula. He was taken prisoner at Malaga in 1810 and remained in captivity in France till the downfall of Napoleon. Promoted Lieutenant-General in 1819.

For incidents in his Masonic career see an article of mine in *Miscellanea Latomorum*, xxv, p. 113 *et sqq.*

The 11th Baron died in 1834.

XII. CADWALLADER DAVID,<sup>1</sup> son of the 11th Baron. Born in 1802; ob. s. p. in 1874, when the title became extinct.

<sup>1</sup> The Hon. Cadwallader David Blayney, R.N. (later 12th Lord Blayney), was initiated on 10th March, 1828, in St. John and St. Paul Lodge, Malta, and was the fourth of the family in direct descent from father to son to have become a Freemason.

## APPENDIX E.

## THE MASONIC RITUAL OF THE MILITARY LODGES.

This subject would make a long essay, still, *ex pede Herculem*, and this appendix shall be confined to short sketches of the careers of three famous Military Masons who did the Craft some service. All three gave their allegiance to the Grand Lodge of the Moderns, and all three practised the Antient ritual. They operated in districts as widely separated as the Channel Isles, America and India. I select them as typical of the thousands of Masons, less distinguished, who carried the Military Masonic ritual, that is, the Antient or Irish or Traditioner ritual all over the world.

General Sir John Doyle, for whose career in the army and the Craft see *A.Q.C.*, xv, 27, was initiated in May, 1792, in the Prince of Wales's Lodge, now No. 259. In 1807 he was appointed Provincial Grand Master of the Channel Isles under the Moderns. That same year he was "remade" an Antient Mason in a Lodge in Guernsey, subsequently known as Doyle's Lodge of Fellowship, where he was "entered, passed, and raised, and afterwards passed the chair." He would have probably been appointed their Provincial Grand Master by the Antients, and an unofficial Union accomplished in the Channel Isles, but for local disputes in the Lodges about precedence which prolonged the rift for some few years. I mention this particular incident in Doyle's story because it shows that this Mason, so distinguished for his benevolence and high-mindedness, while remaining loyal to his original Constitution, the Moderns, yet had no scruple in adopting the Antient ritual and badge in order, as I believe, to render himself more useful to those humble Military Masons in the itinerant Lodges which garrisoned his bailiwick. When a future Deputy Grand Master of England thus found himself compelled to bow to ancient custom, little wonder if lesser lights in the British army are found shining in Lodge-rooms of the Traditioners.

My second choice is Surgeon Terence Gahagan, for whom see Malden's *Freemasonry on the Coast of Coromandel*. He was an Irishman, initiated about 1764 in some Lodge so far untraced. In 1767 he went to Madras as a military surgeon, and spent long years in that part of the world. A zealous Freemason, he worked with both Antients and Moderns indifferently, and in 1786 was the moving spirit in bringing about a union in Madras between the adherents of the two antagonistic Grand Lodges. Article II of this Union laid down:

"That the United Society shall and will at the initiation, passing, or raising of a Member, *instruct him in the essential points which have Distinguished the two Societies*. The Provincial Grand Master, his Deputy, and the Officers of the Lodge shall at their instalment take an obligation to see it duly put in execution."

Our Bro. Terence was evidently an expert in ritual, for we read that when in September, 1789, he visited Lodge of Unanimity No. 150, Madras, as D.P.G.M., a Masters' Lodge having been opened, "a lecture in the sublime degree passed round with a most instructive discourse by Bro. Gahagan." (*A.Q.C.*, xxi, 29.)

In 1811, when news reached Madras of the resolution of the original Grand Lodge of England "to work agreeably to the Old Landmarks", Gahagan, who was now Provincial Grand Master, declared "that he was a very old Mason and certainly made as such in ancient form and was agreeable to do, so again." There is little to quibble at in this resolve except the grammar.

Just one other interesting fact about Gahagan need be mentioned here, and the reader referred for many others to the book cited above. In 1775 Modern Masonry had become extinct in Madras, and it remained extinct until 1785, when Gahagan and Brigadier-General M. Horne established a new

Modern Lodge "Carnatic Military" at Arcot, and immediately afterwards began negotiations with their Antient Brethren which resulted in the Union of 1786. It would seem certain that during the ten years that preceded this event Terence's Freemasonry had been confined to the Antient vintage.

Madras was not the only district in India where the Traditioner working made its weight felt. W. J. Songhurst has pointed out (*A.Q.C.*, xviii, 51) a good example of this in the history of Humility with Fortitude Lodge, Calcutta, No. 229, which, originally constituted under the Moderns in 1773, took a Warrant from the Antients in 1798. Even after the Union of 1813 this Lodge remained faithful to the Traditioner working, traces of which can be seen in a certificate issued in 1822.

My third choice, Major Charles Shirreff, would be well worth a long monograph to illustrate the Military ritual, but I must content myself with giving some leading dates and events in his life. He entered the army in 1753, took part in the Cape Breton campaign, and was initiated at Louisbourg C.B. in 1758, probably in a military Lodge warranted by the Modern Provincial Grand Lodge in Boston. He served in America during the War of Independence, and attained the temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel. In January, 1781, he became Deputy Quarter-Master-General of the British army stationed in New York. In 1784 he retired on half-pay, reverting to the rank of major, and settled in Shropshire.

During his life in the army Shirreff was an active Mason. While stationed in Jersey 1765-8 he founded a Lodge at St. Helier's, No. 349, a Blayney Warrant; and in 1777 another Lodge, under an Antient Warrant No. 58, at St. Augustine, Florida.

Shirreff came home from America provided with a document, I know not from what Body, authorizing him to confer Additional Degrees up to the "Non Plus Ultra", whatever that may have been in 1784; and his intention at that time was to confine his Masonic activities henceforth to the spreading of this Rite.

However, he was induced by the solicitation of friends to set about the establishment of a Craft Lodge at Whitchurch, Shropshire, and from his letters to the Grand Secretary we learn much about his Masonic sentiments. The curious thing is that he seems to have arrived back in England knowing nothing whatever about the great schism in Masonry. His own ritual is described in one letter as follows:—"Please to remember that I keep up to Antient Masonry and will adhere to none other." Yet he saw nothing incompatible in this resolution with founding a Lodge at Whitchurch under the Moderns, or in becoming in the following year (1786) Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Shropshire. It is, however, of the utmost importance to note that in his correspondence with Grand Secretary William White relative to the foundation of this Lodge, Shirreff emphasized the information that he had worked the Antient ritual all his Masonic life and intended to continue in the same course.

In May, 1788, the Salopian Lodge, now No. 262, was established at Shrewsbury by a dispensation issued by Shirreff. Its ritual for several years was as Antient as Shirreff could make it; but then he began to have disagreements with prominent supporters of the Grand Lodge of the Moderns. A skirmish with Dunckerley at Shrewsbury in 1790 was followed in 1795 by a serious disagreement with the Rev. F. H. Egerton, Provincial Grand Master of Shropshire, whom Shirreff had originally recommended for that position after refusing it for himself on the grounds of poverty. Ritual matters evidently formed no small part of the *casus belli*, and in the upshot Shirreff resigned his position as Deputy Provincial Grand Master. The historian of Freemasonry in Shropshire has written:

"The discontinuance of the appointment of Deacons as Officers of 262 from the year 1791, and the cessation of the practice of installing the W.M. of the same Lodge from the year 1793 until the Union, raises a strong presumption that Egerton was at this period interfering with his Deputy, and converting his Antient method of working into conformity with the practices of the Modern Grand Lodge."  
(Graham, *History of Freemasonry in Shropshire*, p. 24.)

After 1795 I have not traced any connection between Shirreff and another Craft Lodge. Let us hope that he employed his old age pleasantly in spreading the Rite of Perfection, imported from Prussia *via* America by himself, among such pillars of the Grand Lodge as James Heseltine, William White, John Allen, and James Galloway, who were his friends and associates in that Body.

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A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Lepper for his valuable paper; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. I. Grantham, F. L. Pick, R. H. Baxter, D. Knoop, W. W. Covey-Crump, L. Edwards, F. R. Radice, G. W. Bullamore and C. D. Rotch.

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BRO. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

We have been treated to-day to a most fascinating paper from the pen of our esteemed Past Master and Treasurer, Bro. Lepper. It is therefore with the utmost pleasure that I now invite you to express to him your appreciation of his labours in the form of a cordial vote of thanks.

Bro. Lepper's past labours in the field of masonic research have led us to expect much at his hands. Those of us who were aware that this particular paper was in course of preparation have been awaiting it with keen interest. Our highest hopes have now been realised, and we have before us a contribution to our *Transactions* which deserves most careful study.

It is comparatively seldom that two successive papers bear any relation to each other. Those of us who were present at our last regular meeting will remember that on that occasion Bro. Rotch dealt with a body of mid-eighteenth century brethren whom he styled "The Reformers". To-day we have been introduced by Bro. Lepper to a wider body of brethren whose ranks embraced many of those Reformers. Upon these brethren Bro. Lepper has bestowed the name "Traditioner"—a distinctive title, original in conception and expressive of the purpose which animated their masonic activities.

Bro. Lepper's theory—if theory it can still be called in the face of the wealth of evidence submitted to us to-day—that throughout the long struggle for supremacy between the "Antient" and the "Modern" masons there existed amongst the "Moderns" a body of men who carefully fostered certain ritualistic features which were supposed to distinguish the "Antients" from the "Moderns", is most intriguing. I could well have wished that this theory had been present in my own mind ten or twelve years ago, when I was engaged in the researches which led to the paper on the attempted incorporation of the "Moderns".

The Traditioner theory will throw a flood of light upon many puzzling features in the minute books of "Modern" lodges in the eighteenth century. In this paper the author has summarised the principal features by which the Traditioner element can be detected. In the course of our future researches let us all be on the look-out for traces of those features in "Modern" lodges, and let us pass on to Bro. Lepper for his information such further examples as may come to our notice.

The statement that Thomas Dunckerley in his campaign against Laurence Dermott endeavoured to induce Antient lodges to change their allegiance led me to consult an annotated copy of the second edition of Lane's *Masonic Records* with a view to ascertaining, if possible, the number of "Antient" lodges which accepted fresh warrants from the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns". This has been no easy task in the short time at my disposal. It would appear, however, that not less than twenty-four "Antient" lodges accepted "Modern" warrants, while three lodges originally "Modern" in constitution, which had become "Antient" by accepting a warrant from the rival Grand Lodge, subsequently again changed the colour of their spots by the acceptance of a second warrant from their parent Grand Lodge. In spite of this double apostasy on the part of these three lodges it now seems likely that the members of these chameleon-like bodies adhered throughout their chequered career to the same form of ritual—that of the Traditioners. I cannot help feeling that Bro. Lepper in the course of his wider researches has probably succeeded in tracing a far larger number of lodges which changed their allegiance from "Antient" to "Modern". Perhaps in his written reply to our comments upon this paper the author will be able to give us a table showing the identity of those lodges and the Provinces to which they belonged.

In one part of this paper the author submits his theory and the evidence adduced in support thereof to the verdict of a jury composed of his fellow students. As foreman of that jury I now declare the matters in issue open to discussion. The retirement of the jury for that purpose to a convenient room adjoining the lodge is, I suggest, unnecessary and even inexpedient. At this stage of the proceedings I carefully refrain from making any announcement as to the nature of the verdict likely to be reached by the jury; but I have no hesitation in forecasting the terms of a rider which the jury will assuredly desire to add to their verdict—namely, that this Lodge is deeply indebted to Bro. Lepper for another most valuable contribution to our *Transactions*.

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Bro. FRED L. PICK said:—

I have the privilege of seconding the vote of thanks to Bro. Lepper for his able and valuable contribution to the long-drawn controversy on inter-Craft relationship during the eighteenth century. Any communication from the pen of our Brother is received with respect and examined with interest, and I think I may say that to-day he has propounded a paradox and provided a solution with a name worthy of W. S. Gilbert.

One has had some difficulty in accounting for the extraordinary influence apparently exercised by the "Antients" in the face of the greater and weightier membership of the "Moderns", but the thesis that the traditions they upheld were not as foreign to the rank and file of the "Moderns" as to their leaders would account for much.

I have long been of the opinion that the civil war that divided yet stimulated English Freemasonry for so long was an affair of the higher command rather than of the other ranks; the casual relationship between brethren nominally adhering to the two parties in many parts of the country is well known, and I suggest that, where the official ban was enforced, some local factor generally influenced the often-temporary breach.

Bro. S. A. Pope has told us in his *Bank of England Lodge, No. 263*, of James Joyce, who was initiated in a "Modern" Lodge in February, 1784, re-made in an "Antient" Lodge the following September, and, a month later, became a member of another "Modern" Lodge. He was a Founder of the Bank of England Lodge and, later, a member of the Lodges of Promulgation and Reconciliation and died in 1838 at the age of 90, having survived not only

the first quarter-century of the life of the United Grand Lodge, but well into the lifetime of some of the earlier members of this Lodge.

Sir John Doyle, as Bro. Lepper points out, had some experience of Freemasonry under both Constitutions, and our Bro. G. S. Knocker has told us in *A.Q.C.*, I, of the curious duplication of Lodges in the Island of Guernsey and the circumstances which led to this. There was also a transfer of allegiance in Stockport in 1806, when three "Antient" Lodges ceased to meet and warrants were issued by the "Moderns" to the Lodges of Unity, Peace and Concord, though the reason for this step is unknown to-day.

In conclusion, I would be very grateful for any additional information Bro. Lepper can provide on an individual mentioned briefly in Appendix A and elsewhere. Henry McArdel, of Lodge 463, now the Lodge of Friendship, 277, Oldham, is stated to have been relieved by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1804. The records of the Lodge of Friendship are very complete, but a search in the Minute Books, Treasurer's Book and the Country Register of Grand Lodge fails to reveal any brother of this or any similar name. The "Irish" founders of the Lodge were members of Military Lodges and all bore names commonly found in the Oldham district.

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Bro. F. R. RADICE said:—

Bro. Heron Lepper has had several opportunities for making remarks about my puny efforts in research; and now my opportunity has come to retaliate, if retaliation is the proper description to be applied to the mouse's shrill appreciation of the lion's mighty deeds. Bro. Heron Lepper has given us again a paper distinguished by that lucidity, cogency, scholarship and elegance of style which he has accustomed us to expect.

It gives me particular pleasure to congratulate him on his present achievement, as the occasion is especially auspicious for him. It is the twenty-first anniversary of his election to the Inner Circle of the Lodge.

As regards the subject matter I am inclined to regard this paper as one of paramount importance. He has brought into the open a question with which some minds had already been toying, that of the formation of a "middle" party through which the breach which rent Freemasonry in the eighteenth century was eventually healed. It has always appeared to be a matter of great difficulty to explain how, after half-a-century's bitter strife, a reunion was suddenly mooted, with little apparent preliminary preparation, especially as the seceding and numerically smaller party seemed to have won hands down, or at any rate to have obtained nine-tenths of what it had fought for. Bro. Heron Lepper gives us what appears an adequate explanation and one which is so in keeping with English feeling and policy as to make its acceptance, in my opinion, practically a foregone conclusion.

If there is one feature which distinguishes our social and political life more than any other, which has been occasionally imitated even abroad, it is its genius for settling disputes, however violent, and preventing them going to extremes; and moderating disputes, however violent, if unhappily they do go to extremes, to arrive at a settlement in which both disputants have to give up something that they feel worth fighting for in order to preserve something more important still on which both can agree. Contrary to the opinion usually accepted, it is not a skilled arbitrator who brings about this happy solution; he is usually the instrument rather than the cause. If we look into the great controversies which have riven the country in the past, those that have eyes to see will realise that usually during their progress a large group of persons, possibly enrolled under the banner of one of the combatants, discovered a middle ground between extremes, and, as the conflict developed, tended to take control,

jettison the more extreme views of their own side and appreciate what was moderate in that of their opponents, and ultimately by their power in affecting the balance imposed a settlement on all concerned,—which is usually lasting because, though it satisfies neither party, it does give both combatants the substance of what they had fought for. As instances I might quote the party of the Earl of Pembroke in the conflict between Thomas of Lancaster and the Crown in the early years of the fourteenth century, and the “Politiques” led by d’Anville at the end of the French Wars of religion.

In the conflict now in question we have on the one side the Grand Lodge party, conscious of merit in having set up Grand Lodge and in introducing discipline and control, without which a great organisation cannot live, but adopting strange and revolutionary ways owing to a lack of perspicacity which in the end would have led Freemasonry to disintegration. Against this tendency rose the party dominated by the great figure of Dermott, who nailed his colours to the ancient landmarks, and bitterly attacked what he considered unwarranted innovations. Its progress and the decline of Freemasonry under the “Modern” Grand Lodge rule, so clearly indicated in Bro. Lepper’s paper, shows how widespread was the sympathy elicited by the “Antients’” action. Yet the establishment of a rival Grand Lodge could only lead to disruption. So long as this state of affairs persisted there could be no compromise.

Then, as Bro. Lepper points out, the genius of Dunckerley perceived that the position of the “Modern” Grand Lodge was untenable. Accordingly he jettisoned what could not be defended and concentrated on what he considered vital, one ritual and one Grand Lodge. Thus was laid the foundation of the middle party among the ranks of the “Moderns”. The time was not yet ripe for compromise, however. Having justified Dermott’s action by returning to the old landmarks, Dunckerley, in loyalty to his own Grand Lodge, set about destroying the rebel, instead of letting time do its work. He only called forth in his opponents a spirit of loyalty similar but opposed to his own, and though he gained some success the struggle went on as bitterly as ever.

But he had already achieved his great task of focussing attention on essentials, and it was only a question of time before the middle party, firmly based on those essentials, cast off the extremists on either side and brought about the happy settlement which was in reality a victory for neither side, but for common sense. Such is the picture, perhaps somewhat overdrawn, as now presented to my eyes. But there is one great lesson more, it seems to me, to be learnt from this. So often have I been told after witnessing a ceremony, the performance of which left much to be desired, that ritual does not matter much, all that is needed in Freemasonry is good fellowship and camaraderie. But these qualities, however praiseworthy in themselves, have seldom been enough to hold together any association containing a large variety of men. A stronger bond is needed, and I for one am convinced that a careless and slovenly performance of the work in our Lodges can only lead to apathy, ridicule and decay. The love of colour and pageantry is deepseated in humanity, and I am sure our beautiful and significant ceremonies, in which we can all join and unite, constitute one of the strongest appeals of Freemasonry.

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Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

I should like to support the vote of thanks offered to Bro. Lepper for the important contribution to masonic history which we have just heard read—a contribution where facts and theories are clothed in the attractive style which we have learned to associate with him. The attractiveness of his style and the niceness of his ear, to me at any rate—if I may enter a very humble but a very strong protest—make it surprising that he has chosen to use the term

"Traditioner" rather than "Traditionist" or "Traditionalist". I do suggest that the word does not sound well, and that the suffix "er" does not accord with the Latin word, and finally I do ask why, when all three words are given in the New English Dictionary, Bro. Lepper should deliberately choose the only one of them which is marked "rare".

The story of the "Antients" and their ritual is to my mind a striking instance of the development of research and of the changing light and shade of historical opinion. At first we have Oliver's story, derived from the eighteenth century "Modern" authorities, of the "Secession", of the masonic rebels dissatisfied with and withdrawing from the respectable and orthodox Grand Lodge. Then Sadler shows that the "Secession" is in fact a myth, that the so-called "Seceders" were in fact a body not very respectable in their objects and in their members, but also with perhaps a greater historical claim to orthodoxy than the members of the Grand Lodge of 1717. Now comes Bro. Lepper to tell us that their ritual was practised not only in the lodges under the "Antient" Grand Lodge, but that many of the private lodges under the jurisdiction of the "Moderns" kept in the main to the forms used by the "Antients".

The inferences that Bro. Lepper draws from his facts seem to explain much that was not otherwise easily credible in the frequent changes of jurisdiction in the private lodges and the occasional multiplicity of warrants under which they worked. These inferences suggest that what was at issue between the two Grand Lodges was rather administration and jurisdiction than conscientiously-held and irreconcilable views of ritual. For myself I have for some time found it not easy to believe, in spite of knowing how much the *odium theologicum* can separate, that the few ritualistic differences of which we have a record could account for the enmity between "Antients" and "Moderns". If these ritualistic differences were not so important or so prevalent as previously thought, the question then arises in what the "remaking" consisted. If the ritual was the same, or much the same, then this ceremony, it would appear, could have consisted in nothing more than the affirmation of a new allegiance to the Grand Lodge.

May I conclude by again asking Bro. Lepper to consider his nomenclature, and by assuring him that, whether he accepts or rejects my plea, I yield to none in my gratitude for so interesting and important a paper as that we have just listened to?

Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP said:—

With much pleasure may I support the vote of thanks to Bro. Heron Lepper for his paper? He has, I think, proved his main contention—that there was in the eighteenth century a considerable force of Lodges and Brethren who, whilst sincerely loyal to the "Moderns'" authority, remained staunchly faithful to older forms of ritual; and, consequently, that our view must distinguish not only "Antients" and "Moderns", but also "Traditioners". At first I did not favourably incline to this new term, but have now reconciled myself to it.

That, during its first forty years of existence, the English Grand Lodge in London showed neither strength in organization nor efficiency in management, must be admitted. Moreover, the distance of many Lodges from central authority (combined with the natural conservatism of itinerant military Lodges) must, as Bro. Lepper has said, have seriously impeded the dissemination of innovations or alterations in ritual working; especially after that Grand Lodge had become suspect to those sororal powers in Ireland and Scotland which "affected independence".

I venture, however, to suggest one little slip in regard to Lord Blayney's appointment of a Prov. Grand Master for Sweden in 1765. Our Brother says

it was granted to a Dr. Evald Ribe—a member of “St. Edward’s Lodge” Stockholm, and (for a time at least) of an English Lodge at the Lebeck’s Head in Covent Garden. For this Bro. Lepper quotes Gould as his authority. But, unless there is other evidence later than Gould’s, Gould’s own statement (in iii, 197) is that the said warrant was granted to Charles Fullman, who was Secretary to the British Ambassador at Stockholm, and consequently a British subject.

And having said this, there are two other ancillary details which I would like to refer back for his reconsideration. They likewise are connected with Lord Blayney. The first is the altercation between Dean Swift and our Lord Blayney’s father. Is this really relevant, or masonically desirable to be perpetuated in the paper? My second is the question whether, on the basis of the equivocal expression “Grand Master of Masons”, we ought to impute to Lord Blayney an ambition to world-wide autocracy—either for himself personally or (as I think is Bro. Lepper’s view) for the Grand Lodge over which he presided. True, the Secretary Heseltine spoke about the ordinary Lodges “enjoying the patronage and protection” of their Grand Body; but this I regard as bombastic verbiage—characteristic of the time and not to be stressed. And I can leave our present W.M. to say whether any such implication of autocracy was involved (in the legal sense) in the proposal for Incorporation of that Grand Lodge in 1768.

I therefore conclude by again expressing my appreciation and supporting the vote of thanks to Bro. Heron Lepper for his paper.

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Bro. C. D. ROTCH said:—

Bro. Lepper must in the last two or three years have suffered from the fusillade of “Antient” v. “Modern” conundrums I have fired at him. This admirable and comprehensive paper has doubtless been devised by him to secure himself from a like molestation in the future. He gives a list of the various innovations introduced by the “Moderns” in or about the year 1730. It is difficult after a lapse of more than 200 years to follow the reasoning of those in authority who enacted them. Legislation without sanctions could only have proved ineffective; the news of the alterations would soon have got round, and the thirsty souls who made masons for 2/6 or a round of drinks would have been able to instruct their clients with the requisite knowledge to enable them to enter any lodge. Even in lax times a visiting Brother would have been vouched for or proved before he could enter a lodge. I am convinced that all Service masons must have been in sympathy with the “Antient” ritual—Bro. Lepper has proved this point decisively—but not necessarily with the governing body which stood for it. Dermott’s life was devoted to masonry, and he was from about 1751 the moving spirit of his own organization, the “Antient” Grand Lodge. This position—his only place in the sun—would have been jealously guarded by him and would have made him a strong opponent to any compromise between the rival Grand Lodges; the old story, “vested interest”. Had he lived we may wonder whether the union of 1813 would have been brought about. In the minutes of the Lodge of Friendship I have sought in vain for any clue that may enlighten us on the form of ritual used from 1767 onwards. The minutes record nothing, not even the names of the Brethren who performed the ceremonies. Is it possible the Grand Lodge of the “Moderns” was indifferent to the form of ritual used, but far from indifferent to what they considered the presumptuous and provocative rivalry of an opposition Grand Lodge?

Dunckerley in 1770 resigned from the Lodge of Friendship and became increasingly absorbed from that date by the labours of his Provincial duties. It may be he disagreed with Dillon's policy in the matter of the Bill of Incorporation; it is possible, too, that his masonic protégés had developed so rapidly in their masonic zeal that they had taken the reins of government into their own hands. The son of a King and the original leader of a new and regenerating organization would hardly have cared to become a cypher in his own lodge; rather than submit to this he would prefer to be a ruler, and to a great extent a law unto himself, in Provincial masonry. This suggestion of thwarted personal ambition may be thought ungenerous, so let us concede that he laid the foundation stone of a new and enduring masonic edifice, and his activities in the Provinces may have been considered by him far more useful in furthering the influence of the Craft than in attempting to drive the new machinery, which was beginning to function efficiently.

Ritual. "Modern" Ritual in pre-Union times could not have been a very interesting or impressive ceremony. A long series of questions and answers, the so-called lectures, given seated round a table, was all it appears to have been. The "Antients" on the other hand would have enjoyed ceremonies comparable to those of the present day. This alone must have been an additional barrier to any compromise. The Traditioner, if he attended a "Modern" ceremony, must have made an invidious comparison and been utterly bored.

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Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

As a member of the United Antient, Free and Accepted Masons I feel that some measure of loyalty is due to my "Antient" predecessors, and it is therefore with pain that I find Bro. Lepper looks upon the eighteenth century "Modern" Grand Lodge as the sole source of authority and regularity. The "Antients" are regarded as irregulars, robbing the irregular "Modern" Traditioners of some of the credit for preserving ancient usages.

I do not think this is a true picture. The facts as I interpret them suggest that Antony Sayer had only the authority of a chairman at a smoking concert. Grand Master Payne seems to have been Grand Master in a lodge of Fellowcrafts which attempted to bring the meetings of accepted or journeymen masons under control. The method was one well known to some of the London Companies in which the Masters of the Yeomanry Guilds were made fellows and became responsible for the quarterages. The attempt to control the accepted masons by this means did not succeed, and they continued to appoint their Masters without ceremony. The "Modern" or Accepted masons were of journeyman status and their Grand Lodge was a Lodge of Fellowcrafts. I believe that the higher degrees were an entirely separate transmission and were more correctly entitled to the term "Freemason". I therefore fail to see that the "Antients" working as Master Masons or Royal Arch Masons were in any sense responsible to this Lodge of Fellowcrafts. Certainly the "Moderns" worked the higher degrees eventually, but officially they disowned them. Their orthodox ritual was so poor that when the W.M. and two Past Masters of the Lodge of Bury wished to take the R.A. it was necessary for them as a preliminary to be crafted and raised in a Bolton Lodge working an irregular Traditioner ritual. I regard the Lord Blayney incident at the Old Dundee Lodge as due to that Lodge's adherence to the "Moderns" ritual.

The hypothetical reconstruction of the evolution of Grand Lodge that I favour commences when the London Company of Freemasons, in the time of Oliver Cromwell, took the solemn league and Covenant and discarded the name "Freemasons". I believe that the ceremonies were then jettisoned but were perpetuated by the followers of the Stuart in the Society of Freemasons. The

acceptation however was of practical use and was therefore retained by the Company in a simplified form. We may infer what this would be like from a resolution of the Melrose Lodge on St. John's Day, 1764, when it was agreed that "the Mason word be administered in a simpel way and maner free of everything Sinfull and superstitious, only word, sighn and grip and some simpel questions to distinguish a mason from a nother man".

From one of the exposures we learn that the "Antients" used prayers, but that the "Moderns" usually omitted them. Such a debased ceremony would be used for the acceptation of the masons who came to rebuild London after the great fire. When an act of W. and M. was passed restoring to the London guilds their ancient privileges, the accepted masons revived an annual feast and elected Sir Christopher Wren as their head. After the rebuilding of London some of the speculative members of the acceptation continued to meet, and it was to deal with them that the "Moderns" Grand Lodge came into being when the Company of Masons cut off the acceptation altogether.

At the Union, no doubt through Dr. Hemming, who was fanatically "Modern", the pretence was maintained that all lodges were lodges of apprentices and that the Master was a fellow as denoted by his square. The higher degrees were tolerated only, and it is curious that not many years ago a determined attempt was made to render the Installation ceremony irregular and unlawful. It was never a part of the accepted masonry of the "Moderns". For this and for the fuller and richer ceremonies we are indebted to the "Antient" tradition, going back to the Society of Freemasons. Unfortunately, the anti-Traditioner spirit still exists, and phrases such as "Loyalty to your God, your King and your Country" are being swept away with other interesting and harmless usages. I have grave doubts that it was the desire of the Duke of Sussex after the Union to renounce this expression and replace it with "civil, moral and religious duties".

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BRO. RODK. H. BAXTER *writes*:—

It is always a delight to read a contribution from the facile pen of Bro. Lepper. His racy style enthralled one from beginning to end. Admiration alone, however, for the charm of the article would not in itself justify the few comments I have to make.

I am in full agreement with the suggestion that the appellations "Antient" and "Modern", as applied to the adherents of the two principal Grand Lodges—now happily merged into one—was never really factual. It seems to be an undoubted fact that the premier Grand Lodge did introduce certain precautions to prevent unworthy persons gaining admission to their assemblies. After all, was there anything in that to make a fuss about? It has always amazed me that the LEADERS of the older body ever acquiesced in the sobriquet "Modern" being applied to them. Perhaps they had their own ideas of it not being really obnoxious. And I think we can concentrate on the LEADERS of the contending parties, as it is fairly clear the fight was one between Generals and Officers, and not between the Rank and File, who seem to have pursued their own sweet course.

I hope Bro. Lepper will forgive me if I say I do not like his word "Traditioner" any better than he does "Antient" and "Modern". It seems to me ungainly and lacking in euphony. His fertile brain can surely coin a word which we can all use when discussing the problem he has set us. And certainly discussed it will be for many days to come. Dare I suggest "Purist" as an alternative?

All hail, Bro. Lepper. I add my mead to the heap of thanks which I know will be showered on you. I am particularly sorry not to be present to hear you introduce your case, as you are likely in the course of your address to say some things which it is not advisable to print.

Bro. DOUGLAS KNOOP writes:—

It is now more than 50 years since Henry Sadler enunciated, in his *Masonic Facts and Fictions*, his new theory concerning the Irish origin of the "Antients" and, so far as I am aware, more than 40 years since that new theory was last discussed in *A.Q.C.* That was in 1898, when Speth (who by then accepted the main points of the new theory) and Gould (who continued until his death in 1915 to regard the "Antients" as schismatics) both reviewed in *A.Q.C.*, xi, Sadler's *Masonic Reprints and Historical Revelations*. Bro. Lepper in his essay touches on this problem, as well as discussing questions connected with the subsequent activities of both "Antients" and "Moderns".

In 1920, in the preface to the revised edition of Gould's *Concise History*, Bro. Crowe, as Editor, wrote:

Since Mr. Sadler made his most valuable researches in the archives of Grand Lodge and elsewhere, it has become clear to all students of our history that his view of the Irish origin of the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" is the correct one, and I feel sure that I shall be supported by all lovers of truth in the changes I have made [in re-writing the first part of Chapter vii, which deals with "The Great Division"].

After reading Bro. Lepper's paper, I am not at all clear whether he would accept Crowe's dictum. Thus, he quotes with apparent approval, and without any reservation regarding the expression itself, a reference by "that sound Masonic scholar H. J. Whymper" to "the great schism". Nevertheless, my general impression is that Bro. Lepper does not share Gould's view about the schismatic origin of the "Antients", but that he attributes a rather wider foundation to that origin that Sadler apparently did. I should be glad, however, if he would make his position clear in his reply; in the meanwhile, as his main thesis is concerned with "Antient" and "Modern" rituals, and the masons who used such rituals, it is to that problem that I wish to devote my comments.

Earlier this year Bro. Commander S. N. Smith, in a valuable bibliographical paper, reviewed the so-called "Exposures" of the mid-eighteenth century, with more particular reference to *Three Distinct Knocks* and *Jachin and Boaz*. In my comments on that paper I discussed the problem of how far these two "exposures" represented the working of the "Antients" and "Moderns" respectively. I fear that some overlapping here with those comments in unavoidable, though I shall do my best to avoid repetition.

I have to confess that I have read the first part of Bro. Lepper's paper with considerable misgivings, as I fear that it will mislead a good many brethren. I do not question for one moment that Bro. Lepper realizes that there was no standard or stereotyped ritual c. 1730, and that the process of expanding and modifying the ritual continued throughout the eighteenth century, a problem examined by Bro. Lepper himself in his Prestonian Lecture for 1932 on "The development of Masonic Ritual in England during the 18th Century". For the benefit of those brethren who did not have the pleasure of hearing the Lecture, I quote the account of it published in *A.Q.C.*, xlv, 67:

Beginning with the earliest Exposures after the formation of Grand Lodge, Bro. Lepper traced the development of the Ritual and Ceremonies as indicated by Prichard, the French Exposures of the middle of the century, and the English and Irish Catechisms that began with *Three Distinct Knocks*: showing to how large an extent the forms arrived at immediately after the Union were based on pre-existing material.

I very much doubt, however, whether any Brother acquiring his first knowledge of eighteenth century ritual from Bro. Lepper's present essay will

realize that there was a more or less continuous process of development and modification throughout the century. The impression likely to be left on the reader's mind will be:

(a) That there was a pre-1730 ritual, which the "Antients" and the "Traditioners" continued faithfully to follow, *i.e.*, they were, in Bro. Lepper's words, "loyal to the old ritual, from which they never varied".

(b) That the premier Grand Lodge in 1730 devised a brand-new ritual which was adopted in many "Moderns" lodges, and continued to be used until the early nineteenth century, when the "Moderns" reverted to the "Antient" working.

I propose to examine these two misconceptions in turn.

(a) It is difficult to discuss changes in, and modifications of, ritual except in a properly tyled lodge, but there was at least one important difference between "Antients" and "Moderns" in 1809 (to judge by the minutes of the special Lodge of Promulgation) to which Bro. Lepper does not refer, and which will serve to illustrate my contention that the "Antients" (and the "Traditioners"), as well as the "Moderns", modified their ritual during the eighteenth century. I allude to the methods of Opening and Closing in the three degrees. According to the early masonic catechisms, there were no formal Openings or Closings in 1730; the catechisms of the 1760's suggest a separate Opening in the 1°, but no separate Opening in 2° or 3°, and no formal Closing in any degree. The methods of opening and closing presumably grew up gradually amongst both "Antients" and "Moderns" during the eighteenth century, and were obviously not identical in all lodges. Something similar was probably true of other distinguishing features of "Antients" and "Moderns".

(b) The changes introduced by the "Moderns" can best be discussed under three heads: (i) the nature of the changes; (ii) the date or dates of the changes; (iii) the responsibility for the changes.

(i) *The nature of the changes.* In the essay, under the heading "The changes in the Ritual," are listed nine changes, some of which, I would venture to suggest, were not changes in *ritual*, but changes in *practices*; *e.g.*, neglect of the Days of St. John, and preparation of the candidates. The same is true of other differences between "Antients" and "Moderns" to which attention was drawn by the Lodge of Promulgation, *e.g.*, the mode of placing the three great Lights, the seating of the Wardens, and the employment of Deacons.

(ii) *The date or dates of the changes.* According to Laurence Dermott, the changes were made during the reign of King George I (1714-1727); according to Preston in 1739; according to Grand Lodge itself, when directing private lodges in 1809 to revert to the old practices, in or about the year 1739. Bro. Lepper states categorically that Preston is not correct; relying presumably on the remarks of Dr. Desaguliers regarding false brethren, recorded in the minutes of Grand Lodge under date of 28th August, 1730, he ascribes the changes to 1730, though in one case he accepts an earlier date. He admits, however, that the Passwords for the F.C. and M.M. were first introduced at a later date than 1730, and that the variations in such passwords consequently demand a later date. Personally, I should have thought that another change listed by Bro. Lepper, *viz.*, "A refusal to accept the Degree of Royal Arch as a part of Freemasonry," also demanded a later date. It is true that I myself have suggested elsewhere that the esoteric knowledge now associated with the Supreme Order may have existed in Masonry at the time of the foundation of Grand Lodge in 1717, but that is very different from claiming that "the Degree of Royal Arch" existed before 1740.

As some of the changes were apparently introduced before 1730 (see advertisement of 1726 quoted by Sadler [*A.Q.C.*, xxiii, 325] and referred to

by Bro. Lepper), some probably in 1730 (see Minutes of G.L. and the references in *A Dialogue between Simon and Philip*<sup>1</sup> to "the Desaguliers regulation"), and others after 1730, I feel that it is misleading to refer to all the changes as changes made in the year 1730. The changes which ultimately led to differences between "Antients" and "Moderns" appear to have been introduced over a period of years, some probably being deliberate alterations with the object of detecting irregular masons, others probably being casual modifications introduced in the course of time. The character of the changes is closely connected with the responsibility for the changes.

(iii) *The responsibility for the changes.* Certain changes would undoubtedly appear to have been introduced by Grand Lodge itself. That is probably implied in the previously mentioned minute of 28th August, 1730, when Dr. Desaguliers recommended several things to the consideration of the Grand Lodge, more particularly the resolution of the last Quarterly Communication for preventing any false brethren being admitted into regular lodges.<sup>2</sup> It is implied even more clearly in the resolution of Grand Lodge of 12th April, 1809 (*A.Q.C.*, xxiii, 37):

That this Grand Lodge do agree in opinion with the Committee of Charity that it is not necessary any longer to continue those measures which were resorted to in or about the year 1739 respecting irregular masons and do therefore enjoin the several lodges to revert to the ancient Land Marks of the Society.

From these two minutes it would appear that the measures for which Grand Lodge was responsible c. 1730 were (a) concerned with the ancient land-marks, and (b) intended to detect false brethren as imposters. That being so, it seems to me that only one of the nine "changes in the ritual" listed by Bro. Lepper, viz., a transposition of the words of the E.A. and F.C. degrees, complies with both conditions. Though all the changes may have been subjects on which "Antients" and "Moderns" differed,<sup>3</sup> I do question his assumption that the "Modern" Grand Lodge, as an organization, was responsible for all the changes, or for "imposing the new ritual on the private lodges", to quote a phrase used by Bro. Lepper. He himself admits that the efforts of Grand Lodge can have been only spasmodic, not sustained. The picture he draws of the somewhat moribund condition of Grand Lodge between c. 1740 and c. 1760 makes it unlikely that Grand Lodge showed much activity in the propagation of changes of any description. The neglect of the Lectures, the omission of the esoteric part of the ceremony of installing the Master Elect, and the inadequate preparation of candidates, to mention only three of the changes listed by Bro. Lepper, can be explained far more readily by the growth of an aristocratic element amongst the "Moderns" than by any deliberate action on the part of the "Modern" Grand Lodge.

As I disagree so strongly with the first part of Bro. Lepper's paper, as it appears in the rough proof, I am very glad to find myself in complete agreement with his main contention that the working of some "Modern" lodges was either definitely "Antient", or at least strongly permeated with "Antient"

<sup>1</sup> The *Dialogue* is printed in our *Early Masonic Catechisms*.

<sup>2</sup> If the recommendations of Dr. Desaguliers embraced "the Desaguliers regulation" referred to in *A Dialogue between Simon and Philip*, then doubtless 1730 was the date of certain changes introduced by G.L. It must be borne in mind, however, that when in December, 1730, steps were taken to prevent false brethren being admitted into regular lodges, G.L. decided (*Q.C.A.*, x, 135) that a member of the lodge must vouch for a visitor being a regular mason, the member's name to be entered against the visitor's name in the Lodge Book. There was no suggestion of a change of ritual.

<sup>3</sup> In view of the wording of the First Charge, Concerning God and Religion, in *Ahiman Rezon*, I am not at all clear that the "Antients" did differ from the "Moderns" respecting the de-Christianization of Freemasonry, which Bro. Lepper suggests was the case.

practices. I touched on this point in my comments on Bro. Smith's paper; I have discussed it somewhat more fully in my *Story of the Royal Brunswick Lodge*, the problem being raised by the fact that the Royal Brunswick was a "Modern" lodge of which all the founders were "Antients". In his paper Bro. Lepper has examined the problem in far greater detail and has showed us how much we owe to the brethren he calls "Traditioners". For the interesting light he has thrown on eighteenth century Masonry, and for his labour in preparing the paper, we are all greatly indebted to Bro. Lepper, and I have very much pleasure in supporting the hearty vote of thanks which I know will be accorded to him.

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Bro. NORMAN ROGERS writes:—

This paper is an exceedingly valuable commentary on the ritual of the eighteenth century and an undoubted addition to the facts already known. There are, however, two points which come somewhat as a surprise, *i.e.*, the title used to describe those Brethren who adhered to both "Modern" and "Antient" customs and ritual, and the opinion pervading the whole paper that the Lodges adhering to the original Grand Lodge superimposed the "Modern" ritual on the "Antient" one.

The title of the paper it is not my intention to criticize adversely, for lack of a better one, but surely the so-called "Traditioners" superimposed the "Antient" customs and ritual on the "Modern" ones, and not *vice versa*.

There are two fundamental truths giving rise to this contention:—

1. The new Lodges constituted after 1739—the presumed year of change (*vide* Grand Lodge resolution of April, 1809)—would surely adopt the "Modern" ritual, as would many others of prior date, if only in loyalty to Grand Lodge.
2. It was at a much later period when Lancashire generally imposed the "Antient" method of working on the "Modern" ceremony, and this was particularly the case with the additional degrees.

Here are some potent facts to support this theory, facts which also lend support to Bro. Lepper's admirable paper.

*Anchor and Hope Lodge, No. 37, Bolton (Constituted 1732).*

There is still preserved among the records a letter dated 5765 from Lau. Dermott, giving the cost of obtaining a new Warrant from the "Antients" and the steps to be taken. This is addressed to an officer who was W.M. in 1768.

The following minutes are interesting enough to be quoted in detail:—

- 24 Nov., 1768—"Our Lodge Assimbled in Ample Form, when Ralph Holt, Elijah Lomax and James Wood, were Enter'd and paid for the same (being members of Bury Lodge) only each 2/6."
- 18 Dec., 1768—"A Lodge of Emergency when Ralph Holt, Elijah Lomax and Jas. Wood were Crafted and raised Master Masons they being before Modern Masons."
- 29 Jan., 1769—"Our R.A.L. Lodge Assembled in due form when Elijah Lomax, Ralph Holt & Jam<sup>s</sup> Wood was made R:L, A-M & paid £1 11s. 6d."

It should be noted that of these three, one was W.M. and the other two P.M.'s of the Lodge of Relief, Bury, and that this is the only entry mentioning either "Antient" or "Modern" ceremonies; but, when we know that members of "Antient" Lodges were visiting Anchor & Hope from April, 1768, that the members were using Ahiman Rezon from 1771 to 1787, that

the ceremony of "Installed Master" or "Passing the Chair" appears from 1769 to 1846, that the R.A. was given at Emergency meetings of the Lodge from 1768-1785, when a Warrant was obtained, that there are records of the Knights Templar from 1785 (with an existing Warrant from 1819), and that the Excellent, Super-Excellent, Knights Templar Priests, Ark, Mark, Link and Wrestle degrees were practised later, then we must come to the conclusion that this "Modern" Lodge had gone "Antient".

*Lodge of Relief, No. 42, Bury (Constituted 1733).*

The following minutes of this Lodge are given in full because of their significance—particularly the 1st and 2nd:—

14 July, 1791—"Alexd. Nicholson, Raised Master. John Randle raised Modern Craft."

15 Sep., 1791—"Bror. John Randle and Bror. Wm. Hopkinson Rais'd the 3rd stepe of Modern Masonry."

9 Feb., 1792—"Brothers John Randle, Michael Haworth and Thos. Beardwood Raised Master Mason Antient."

Certainly from 1790 to 1792 every entry shows that Brethren in this Lodge were "entered, passed and raised in the Antient", after which the 3rd degree becomes "raised Master". It should be noted that there was no "Antient" Lodge in Bury until 1803.

#### *Other Relevant Facts.*

The Bye-Laws of the Lodge of Relief, in 1734, specified "Four "Quarterly Communications on St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist. The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Lady Day, 25th March), and St. Michael the Arch Angell" (Michaelmas, 29th September), as well as a monthly meeting.

The 1784 Bye-Laws, however, specify the two St. John's Days only, as well as the monthly meetings, as do the 1790 Bye-Laws of Anchor and Hope Lodge.

Both Lodges appear to have installed W.M.'s half-yearly at the two St. John's Festivals from about 1765, but then creep in peculiar differences. In Anchor and Hope Lodge, candidates for the offices of W.M., Wardens, S. and J.D., were proposed from the Chair and by the Lodge, a ballot was taken, and all 5 were "installed", the details showing that the Master and two Wardens were installed separately.

In the Lodge of Relief there are no records of Deacons until June, 1809, yet the present Deacons (1943) wear "Mercury" Jewels appended to their collars. This Lodge also described its Master as R.W.M. up to 1815, and, until 1784, it was the custom to appoint a "Deputy Master".

A Lecture was part of the proceedings in Anchor and Hope Lodge, and a Lecture Master was appointed in the Lodge of Relief from 1797-1806.

For over 10 years from 1788 the Rev. James Folds was elected Chaplain to both the "Modern" Anchor and Hope Lodge and the "Antient" Lodge of Antiquity, No. 146, at Bolton; he is recorded as being present in Anchor and Hope on one occasion only, and there is no proof that he was ever a Mason. Neither the Bolton nor the Bury Lodge appears to have had an I.G. until the Union.

Many other instances could be given to show that in South-East Lancashire the "Modern" Lodges had more than one working; whether this was due to inherent tendencies among the members, or to the question of "demand and supply" owing to competition from the "Antients", it is difficult to say.

What we do know is that Bro. Lepper has brought together in his valuable paper many of the known facts, and made a further step towards that knowledge of the ritual and customs of the eighteenth century which we should all like to have.

Bro. H. HIRAM HALLETT writes:—

The paper, entitled *The Traditioners*, is of absorbing interest, and I should like to offer my sincere congratulations to Bro. Lepper on the way he has treated his difficult theme; by his patient researches he has undoubtedly thrown much additional light on many somewhat obscure matters, and we are greatly indebted to him for having done so. He has, moreover, given us all much food for thought, and I consider that the evidence adduced only tends to enhance the mystery as to the reason why those bitter and prolonged disputes were not amicably settled some thirty or more years before they were.

It is now some fifteen years ago that I became acquainted with that marvellous work on the History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, of which Bro. Lepper was the joint author, and, having also since then perused many of his valuable papers, my admiration of his vast knowledge and erudition is unbounded. It is therefore with the utmost diffidence that I now venture to suggest that in this, his latest Essay, he has not taken into account certain matters which may perchance tend towards a modification of some of the theories he is now advocating.

Although going somewhat beyond the scope of Bro. Lepper's paper, in order adequately to understand these dissensions it is necessary to bear in mind that when our Grand Lodge was formed in 1717 its jurisdiction was at first restricted to the government of the Lodges then in existence in London and Westminster, but that within the next ten years it gradually extended its control over those elsewhere. It was at this early period that the first dissensions arose, for many Brethren resisted such an encroachment on their supposed traditional rights, as Preston believed and thus explained: "A sufficient number of Masons, met together within a certain district, with the consent of the sheriff or chief magistrate of the place, were empowered, at this time, to make Masons, and practise the rites of Masonry, without warrant of Constitution. The privilege was inherent in themselves as individuals." These first dissentient Brethren have been termed "Non-Regular" by Bro. Chetwode Crawley; but to quote from Sadler's *Masonic Reprints and Revelations*: "During the period covered by these lists" (*i.e.*, three Grand Lodge Registers, or list of Brethren, covering the years of 1723, 1725 and 1733), "there were numbers of legitimate Freemasons whose names could not appear on any such Registers. These Brethren were not irregular or clandestine. They were only Non-Regular in that they had not yet agreed to place themselves under the jurisdiction of the newly-formed Grand Lodges of England and Ireland. There were no other Grand Lodges then in existence, for the Grand Lodge of Scotland belongs to the next decade." The formation of these three Grand Lodges occurred in 1717, about 1723-24 and 1736 respectively.

Other Brethren belonged to Lodges which held aloof from the newly-formed Grand Lodge, and some, combining in 1751, formed a rival Grand Lodge known as the Grand Lodge of the "Antients". It was a very opportune time, for the Premier Grand Lodge, about 1730, had thought fit to introduce certain changes in the "Ritual", and other arbitrary enactments had caused so much dissension that during the eleven years between 1743 and 1754 no less than 63 private Lodges were erased, but three being reinstated, the net loss was 60 (*vide A.Q.C.*, vol. vi, page 17), and so it is no wonder that by 1756 the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" had increased their membership to over one thousand.

Although the Brethren of the first Grand Lodge accepted the title "Moderns", given to them by the "Antients", yet it was a misnomer and has always proved a stumbling-block to young masonic students, so I think, as the word "traditioner" applies generally to all who adhered to or acknowledged tradition, that to limit its application, to denote those Brethren who, although belonging to the "Moderns", yet preferred to retain the "Ritual" of the "Antients", as Bro. Lepper has suggested, would likewise be a misnomer and

lead to confusion in the future, for the term, "Traditioners", is equally applicable to denote the "Non-Regulars" as well as the "Antients".

Then, regarding the writer's reference to loyalties—"loyalty to their Grand Lodge and loyalty to the ancient forms of Freemasonry," I think that he has raised a most perplexing difficulty. On the one hand, owning allegiance to their Grand Lodge, yet deliberately disobeying its mandates in regard to making changes in the "Ritual", would they not have been considered traitors?

The author of *A Defence of Free Masonry*, published in 1765, inserted a foot-note concerning a difference of opinion between the members of the two rival Grand Lodges regarding the colour of the ribbons to be attached to Jewels, and his concluding words were: "Happy are the Regular Masons, that they have no such refractory Members, to dispute the Authority of the Grand Lodge, and set up Opinions of their own" (*Sadler's Masonic Reprints and Revelations*). I find it rather difficult to reconcile this statement with what Bro. Lepper has stated that numerous Lodges even at this period had "set up opinions of their own", and so retained the old traditional forms in their working, more especially if Bro. Cecil Adams is right, when referring to its authorship, that "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 (*vide A.Q.C.*, vol. xlvi, p. 258).

On the other hand, by adhering to the old forms would they not have been strengthening the crusade then being waged by their rivals, the "Antients", for their preservation?

Then, again, would not such a keen-witted and able protagonist as Laurence Dermott have thus adjured them? "You admit that the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" is right to adhere to the old traditional forms, and you also know that your Grand Lodge, by its arrogant enactments, ever since its formation, has repeatedly created discord among its adherents; therefore, as the preservation of old traditions is far more important than that of an autocratic Grand Lodge, there is only one honourable course open to you—to join us forthwith; this would end the present discord, and being united we could all the better carry out the great Ideals for which Freemasonry stands."

Another difficulty is that Bro. Lepper has stated that not only the Grand Masters, Lord Blayney (1764-67) and the Duke of Beaufort (1767-72), and Thomas Dunckerley, preferred to retain the old traditional forms, but that "Forms of ritual, after all, were a matter of choice, chance, or locality. The bulk of the English-speaking Lodges preferred, as Dunckerley was well aware, the old forms, and would not change them; they practised them freely and without interference inside their own walls." If such was the case, personally I cannot understand why these Brethren should have permitted their Grand Lodge, on April 10th, 1777, to enact the following law: "That the persons who assemble in London, and elsewhere, in the character of Masons, calling themselves Ancient Masons, and at present said to be under the patronage of the Duke of Athol, are not to be countenanced or acknowledged, by any regular Lodge, or Mason, under the Constitution of England; nor shall any regular Mason be present at any of the conventions, to give a sanction to their proceedings, under the penalty of forfeiting the privileges of the Society" (*vide Preston's Illustrations of Masonry*). The words, "to give a sanction to their proceedings", surely meant the retaining of the old traditional forms in opposition to the decree of 1730 that they should be changed.

I quite agree with Bro. Lepper, in his statement, that "Forms of ritual, after all, were a matter of choice, chance, or locality." Some idea of the old traditional forms may be gleaned from studying the Old Charges and MS. Catechisms, and how they gradually developed, is revealed in the numerous "Exposures" published up to the year 1776, but William Finch, who was, in

my estimation, the greatest masonic scholar of a century, from 1717 to 1818, when referring to "The True Ancient System," thus wrote, "I cannot here be so explicit as I could wish, let it therefore suffice that there are 22 S.'s, T.'s and W.'s in the three degrees of Craft masonry, as worked by most foreign lodges; whereas, those masons at present designated by the term Modern have but 12, and the Ancient in England but 16. . . . The better to effect the Union so long wished for the Moderns must recover these 10 chief things that they have omitted and the Ancients recover 6."

Personally, I should like to know if there was any truth in this statement. But whether he was right or wrong, I should prefer, after perusing his many works, to call him "The Great Traditioner", rather than such a title should be given to Thomas Dunckerley, who has left none by which it would be possible to substantiate such a claim.

In conclusion, I would again tender my sincere congratulations to Bro. Lepper for his latest Essay, which reveals his indefatigable zeal for enlightening us concerning the past wonderful history of our Fraternity, in which we are so deeply interested, and to which we all at times attempt to make some small contribution.

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Bro. LEPPER writes in reply:—

Before returning sincere thanks to those Brethren who have been kind enough to spend both time and trouble in commenting on my essay, and endeavouring to find suitable rejoinders for each one of them, it would seem permissible to indicate what progress has been made by our joint labours.

If the fact has now been established, as the bulk of my critics assume, that a strong body of Freemasons under the Premier Grand Lodge of England preferred the ritual preserved by its opponents, then we shall henceforth have to consider this body of non-contents as a powerful factor in favour of the movement that led to the Union of 1813. I do not know that such a factor has hitherto been taken into serious consideration when telling the story of the great reconciliation.

First and foremost I have to thank our Worshipful Master for the kindness of his remarks addressed to me personally.

I do not envy him the task he undertook in trying to extract from Lane's *Records* a list of those "Antient" or "Modern" Lodges which changed their allegiance. I am unable at the moment to add to the list, but would hazard the guess that for one Lodge that transferred itself bodily there must have been a hundred Masons who changed sides. This is likely to remain more a matter of guesswork than exact statistics, because the contemporary records are inadequate for the purpose; still, as the Worshipful Master has pointed out, further information may be gathered and should be sought by future investigators when dealing with such contemporary documents. If they do so, our knowledge will be bound to increase, and this essay will have justified its existence.

Since Bro. Pick's researches in the archives of the area best known to him had provided me with some of the evidence that helped to form my convictions, I am more than gratified to find that he has now produced further references to strengthen the case.

It is a disappointment to me that his examination of the books of Lodge of Friendship, No. 277, Oldham, has not disclosed any Henry McArdel as a member for the period *circa* 1804. The number of the Lodge may, of course, have been printed wrongly in the accounts of the Grand Lodge of Ireland for that year, nor are errors of other kinds impossible. The entry runs:

"Brother Henry McArdel, England, No. 463, £2:5:6."

Till we discover more about him he ceases to be a reliable witness.

Bro. Radice has preluded his remarks by a eulogium so flattering that I should find difficulty in alluding to it at all, were we not rightly to ascribe it more to the kindness of that Brother than the merits of my essay.

He has then proceeded to apply his great knowledge of English Constitutional History to the affairs of our Fraternity in the eighteenth century, and has pointed out that the genius for compromise that has helped the country through many a bitter contest can be traced in the history of our Grand Lodge as well. Most of us will agree with this view of the situation.

In this connection he will be quick to see the allusion when I confess that one of the titles I thought of for the Traditioners was that of "Trimmer"; and I rejected it only because of its political significance:

". . . who but only tried  
The worse a while, then chose the better side;  
Nor chose alone, but turned the balance too,  
So much the weight of one brave man can do."

Bro. Radice's careful examination and exposition of the motives guiding the movement we have been considering will, I am sure, evoke interest and admiration.

I am pleased to find that Bro. Covey-Crump accepts most of the conclusions at which I have arrived. I have in particular to thank him for pointing out one of my errors, an error due to my misreading of the meaning in the following passage from Gould (ii, 470):

"Evidently he (*William Dickey*) could, had he liked, have attained membership in No. 246 in the same simple way as Dr. Ribe, in connection with whom, it may be observed, that the first deputation for the office of Provincial Grand Master at Stockholm—under the Grand Lodge whose history we are considering—was granted by Lord Blayney in 1765, and that no Lodge constituted under it appeared on the English roll until 1769."

I quote this passage, which is not easy of interpretation, in extenuation of my crime, and have made the necessary correction in the text of the essay.

On reflection I have retained the story of the fracas between Blunderbuss Blayney and Dean Swift as illustrative of a place and period wherein the kindly influence of Freemasonry might have restrained the bad manners of a young man and, perhaps, the petulance of an older one, but did not. Besides, it is so seldom one has the luck to pick up a feather dropped from an eagle that I feel my cap would be the duller if it were discarded.

As for the title, "Grand Master of Masons", we have yet to learn what its exact connotation was in the eighteenth century. I have shown what some of the implications were; but I did not assert in the essay that our Lord Blayney accepted those implications, though he might well have done so.

Bro. Edwards objects to the word "Traditioner" because of its rarity, the greatest merit I can see in it. TRADITIONIST and TRADITIONALIST are to my mind even more objectionable than the word of my choice, for both have recognized connotations, and in addition are as heavy or heavier in syllables. Like Bro. Edwards I shall rejoice if some ingenious Brother finds an apt word of two syllables to suit the class of Freemason I have termed "Traditioner".

I commend Bro. Edwards's additional remarks to all who appreciate sound common sense and scholarship applied to the problems of the past, both of which qualities always distinguish our Brother's criticisms.

I am grateful to Bro. Roſch for his remarks, because from his studies of eighteenth-century Minute Books he is well qualified to speak about the type of Mason usually found in a London Lodge at that period.

I note that his experience has been the same as that of most of us: little concerning matters of ritual is to be gathered even from the fullest minutes.

His remarks about Thomas Dunckerley seem to me to be worth attention. The services of that Brother were so great that whatever motive may have inspired them a search after that motive cannot be termed ungenerous in an inquirer. So I hope Bro. Rotch will continue on the trail.

As regards the length of the ceremonies in the two competing schools, it was the "Antients", and particularly their Irish supporters, who were accused by a contemporary antagonist of spinning them out to a wearisome extent in question and answer; and I think it would be correct to take the "Modern" tendency as having been in the main for condensation.

"It is with pain," to use his own words, that I find my dear old friend, Bro. Bullamore, accusing me of a crime I never committed either in this essay or elsewhere, that of regarding "the Eighteenth Century 'Modern' Grand Lodge as the sole source of authority and regularity." As an "Antient" of the "Antients" and member, to use Bro. Bullamore's phrase, of the "United Antient Free and Accepted Masons", I am quite as unlikely as our Brother himself to fall into any such heresy, and so I think he will discover, if he reads my text again.

Having with this assurance put Bro. Bullamore out of his pain, I thank him for his other suggestions. The days of chivalry are not dead, in spite of what Burke said, and though I must decline joining Bro. Bullamore on his perilous quest in search of the monstrosities of ritual he expects to find in the nebulous times of Oliver Cromwell, yet I will bear him company on the road as far as the year 1687, when in the month of August Narcissus Luttrell noted in his diary among the addresses made to James II on his late Declaration about Liberty of Conscience one from "the master builders and others in and about London", who would thus seem to have had at that date some sort of an organization, in pursuit of which I wish my old friend "good hunting", and leave him to it.

I am very glad to find that one of my sponsors into the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, Bro. Roderick Baxter, is in general agreement with my suggestions; and he may be surprised to hear that I am in agreement with him in disliking the term "Traditioner", which has too many syllables to please my ear. "Purist", I fear, would lead to disputes about the identity of the real Simon Pure; for we are not all in agreement about how much of the ritual was changed in or about the year 1730. What's in a name? My object has been achieved if students henceforth recognize that a new term is needed to describe a respectable body of Freemasons in the eighteenth century. As the poet said:

"Call me Daphne, call me Doris,  
Call me Lalage or Chloris,  
Only, only call me—anything but Modern."

For his too kind remarks about the essay in other respects, what can I say? Nothing that would adequately express the warmth of my appreciation of his words.

I now come to Bro. Knoop's comments, which I welcome particularly because he disagrees with some of my suggestions. I hoped the essay would stir up discussion. It has done so. *Hablando se entiende la gente.*

I am not quite certain whether or not he accepts my thesis that the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" at its inception probably was supported by some Freemasons who did not come from Ireland, Scotland, or the Ridings of Yorkshire. If not at its inception, it certainly had such support in later years. My object was not so much to argue this point as to produce some evidence which, if considered trustworthy, proved it. This I venture to think I have done.

That being so, my personal opinion matters little; but since Bro. Knoop asks me to define how I stand in regard to the conclusions of Gould, Sadler, and Crowe, which he has stated, this is my answer.

I think that the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" came into existence on the initiative of certain Irish, Scottish, *and*—I emphasize the conjunction—English Masons, who disliked the changes that had been made in the landmarks some years before; and who in the case of the Irish and Scots had the added aggravation that the Grand Lodge of England did not acknowledge the ruling bodies in Dublin and Edinburgh as of equal status with itself, nor the private Lodges in either country as regularly constituted. In this connection I quoted the passage from Whymper, and did so with approval; for it seems to me to contain the first suggestion of the theme taken up later by Sadler and elaborated in the most convincing of ways. That Sadler did not follow up all the implications expressed in Whymper's idea we know; and I took the opportunity of bringing it out of the lumber-room in the hope that the claim for Masonic supremacy, if it was ever made, might prove a fruitful subject for investigation. Sadler did much to explain the genesis of the "Antients" as a Grand Lodge; and our knowledge of that body may yet be increased by some other Brother who follows Whymper's second clue tendered us in the passage in question.

To continue: I am still of opinion that the establishment of the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" was mainly due to the drive of the Irish Masons sojourning in the metropolis, and more particularly to the genius of one Irishman, Laurence Dermott. As for the English Masons who supported it, what I suggested in the essay, and what I still suggest is this: If any of them can be shown to have originally belonged to Lodges under the authority of the premier Grand Lodge, then they might by a "stretch of malice" have been termed "seceders" by zealots with the watchword "My Grand Lodge right or wrong."

I am further of the opinion that Gould had a "blind spot" for the "Antients"; and that Crowe in the passage quoted went much too far in attributing the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" solely to the Irish. But for the Irish there would probably have been no such Grand Lodge; on the other hand, lacking English supporters, it would have been regarded as an alien institution from the beginning and have found few recruits in the provinces. As we know, this was never the case. Be it never forgotten either, that though the first "noble" Grand Masters of the "Antients" were Irish, the peers with whom the branch came to be chiefly identified were Scots, the Dukes of Athol.

What we greatly need in this matter is to trace the Mother Lodges of the English Masons who supported the "Antients" in the early days. To make my own position unequivocal: I believe that Dermott's personal acquaintance with "Modern" Lodges was confined to visiting, and that he never became a joining member in any of them. This belief of mine I have stated elsewhere, more times than I can call to mind.

Now we come to a more delicate matter, that of ritual.

I tried to be careful in the essay to confine my condemnation of the changes to what affected what I termed the "essentials", let us say, a grip for the hand, a sign for the eye, a word for the ear. Those being correct and invariable, the manner in which they are communicated is negligible, provided it be done with decency and order. But our forerunners in the eighteenth century did not think so; and of course I have had to refer to some of the shibboleths of the old school.

But are we safe in assuming that there were no standard or stereotyped phrases that had already become dear to the ear of a Mason by 1730? And, apart from identical phrasing, were there no symbols (e.g. preparation) that called for and were given an explanation in suitable language?

I shall not attempt to go into particulars, and will confine myself to one example that occurs on the spur of the moment. Bro. Knoop assumes that the

methods of opening and closing in the three Degrees grew up gradually amongst both "Antients" and "Moderns" during the eighteenth century. He may be quite right; but we find Deacons as Officers of the Cork Lodge in 1727, and some of the most important functions discharged by a Deacon in the Irish rite take place at the opening and closing of the Lodge. The matter is worth consideration.

Since Bro. Knoop has referred to my Prestonian Lecture of 1932, I may describe it briefly as a valiant effort to explain in an hour's address the indications of ritual given us by contemporary documents during the eighteenth century, and it contained no suggestion that any of the customs described had come into being at or near the time when we first find them set forth in print or manuscript. Spurious rituals are suspect from the moment of their appearance as being the work of men untrustworthy in more important respects than a mere memory for words. Therefore, in dealing with Prichard's exposure of 1730, for example, I pointed out the omission of certain matters to which we attach importance in our existing ceremonies; while on coming to *Three Distinct Knocks*, I showed how many of the missing threads are found in that book some thirty years later. I never dreamt of suggesting that all the additions had accrued during the intervening years and were unknown prior to 1730. That possibility, however, cannot be excluded in weighing the evidence.

Most students, including Bro. Knoop himself, will support me in thinking that the publication of any book so popular as *Three Distinct Knocks*, or its pirated successor, *Jachin and Boaz*, has a tendency to stabilize forms of expression found therein; but that does not mean that those forms of expression came into vogue only from the year of publication. In fact the *lacunæ* in Prichard are so easily filled from the text of the later book that I for one am left in no doubt about the faultiness of the memory of the earlier author.

However, since I am concerned only with "essential points of recognition", I need not give much more space to what Bro. Knoop considers my misconceptions, listed under headings A. and B., and content myself with rejoining:

A. The "Moderns" did undoubtedly introduce a brand new method of recognition.

B. Bro. Knoop is of course right: I have drawn attention to changes in custom (e.g., St. John's Festival) as well as in ritual. I have altered the caption to correspond with this.

I doubt if we can draw any conclusions about the practices of the "Antients" from the charges as printed in *Ahiman Rezon*. Dermott copied from Spratt, who copied from Pennell, who copied from Anderson. In any case it is quite patent that Dermott personally had no qualms about the Craft's having been thrown open to all men of good will outside the Christian religion. The catechisms used by the "Antients", however, show the persistence of the Christian symbolism. So does the first seal used by the premier Grand Lodge. Enough evidence surely to suggest a possible bone of contention between Masons of the old and new schools?

The date when the changes were made is more important. They had come into existence long before Laurence Dermott was made a Mason, so he is not competent as a witness, except from hearsay. The same applies, only more so, to Preston. The reasons for the date, 1739, given by Preston I know not, but it certainly was his statement which the Grand Lodge followed in 1809, so the two can be considered together. I state categorically that it is not correct, because we have a printed record showing the establishment of one of the most important of the alterations two years before that date, in 1737.<sup>1</sup> So I reject

<sup>1</sup> Bro. Smith drew attention to this "exposure" in his paper. The text will be found in *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1738, p. 54.

1739 as impossible. I think the Grand Lodge had too many troubles of another kind in that year to add to them by tinkering with ritual matters.

Passwords, as I stated in the body of the essay, are a difficulty. I never could bring myself to believe the statement that they originated on the continent. Prichard has no reference to any such secret, nor does any hint of them occur in the earlier documents. However, the questions to which I lack answers are: If passwords originated at Frankfort on Main, who introduced them into Great Britain? and why were they different in the "Antient" and "Modern" Lodges? Here is a new scent for some jolly huntsman to follow.

Bro. Knoop's reference to the Royal Arch Degree fails, I think, to take up my point. He and I are evidently at one in recognising that what might be termed the vital germ of that Degree existed before 1717. I have never claimed that this knowledge was used as a separate Degree before 1730; but we cannot put this development long after 1730. It had certainly become a Degree both in London and York before 1744, if we believe Dr. Dassigny.

Why the "Moderns" officially disowned any such knowledge I do not know for certain, but there is evidence that it continued to be Christian in some of its features till what might be termed a late period. That they did so disown it, and sometimes thereby blacked the eye of truth, the extracts given in the essay are abundant proof.

Just one last point. If the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" did not impose the ritual changes on such of the private Lodges as could be got at, why the heresy trial in 1755 when the Lodge at *Ben Jonson's Head* was expelled?

While taking leave of Bro. Knoop and thanking him for the immense trouble he has gone to in annotating my essay, let me at the same time express my extreme pleasure at receiving shortly after this paper was delivered a copy of his delightful *History of Royal Brunswick Lodge*, which book shows that body to have been one of those whom I have denominated "Traditioner."

It was a great satisfaction to me to hear the comments by Bro. Norman Rogers, since they are a proof that my essay has induced a rereading of some old Lodge records in its light. The results in this particular case are of course most welcome to me as further evidence to show that Anchor and Hope Lodge was a Traditioner.

I think there is no need to enter into a lengthy argument about whether every Lodge constituted by the Premier Grand Lodge after 1730 adopted the "Modern" ritual or not, because we have certain proof that some of them, for example the Lodge in Philadelphia or Major Shirreff's at Whitchurch, were "Antient" in every detail of ritual; other Lodges that were definitely "Modern" from the time of their institution, for example the Lodges constituted in Paris *circa* 1735, can sometimes be proved as such; but our great difficulty in the vast majority of cases is to get any inkling about the ritual favoured by an English Lodge, and the extracts so obligingly produced by Bro. Rogers show that there is still much to be learnt from the documents available in Lancashire. I most sincerely hope that he will oblige us yet further by collecting the results of his researches into a paper for this Lodge.

I have given above my reasons for not accepting the year 1739 as that in which the changes were made, but in any case the exact date has little bearing on the value of Bro. Roger's comments, for which I am duly grateful.

In dealing with the comments offered by Bro. Hallett I am at a loss how to reply with becoming modesty to the kindness and generosity of his references to former work of mine, in particular that book written in collaboration with Bro. Philip Crossle, who will, I am sure, feel just as gratified as I do at hearing its praise from such a quarter; and so I will confine myself to a very short rejoinder on those points in the present essay about which Bro. Hallett and I must agree to differ.

FRIDAY, 1st OCTOBER, 1943.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, at 4 p.m. Present:—Bros. Wg.-Comdr. W. Ivor Grantham, *O.B.E.*, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Sussex*, *W.M.*; L. Edwards, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *I.P.M.*; Fred. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, *S.W.*; F. R. Radice, as *J.W.*; Col. F. M. Rickard, *P.G.S.B.*, *Sec.*; W. J. Williams, *P.M.*; and Wallace E. Heaton, *P.G.D.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. C. F. Sykes, J. R. Rylands, F. C. Ruddle, H. W. Wills, S. H. Love, R. Donaldson, L. G. Wearing, A. E. Hatton, F. E. Gould, S. J. Bradford, *P.G.St.B.*, C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D.*, C. D. Melbourne, *P.A.G.R.*, J. W. Hawes, D. O. Davies, H. Bladon, *P.G.D.*, I. Macauley, J. W. Hamilton-Jones, Edward Smith, *P.A.G.D.C.*, A. F. Cross, A. E. Evans, F. W. Harris, Jas. J. Cooper, B. Foskett, H. P. Healy, Eric Alven, and M. Goldberg.

Also Bro. O. C. Klagge, *P.M.*, St. Mary's Lodge No. 63, Visitor.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, *P.G.D.*, *Pr.G.M.*, Bristol, *P.M.*; R. H. Baxter, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *P.M.*, *Treas.*; Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*, *Chap.*; Rev. H. Poole, *B.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*; D. Flather, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; D. Knoop, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; S. J. Fenton, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Warwicks.*, *P.M.*; Col. C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; B. Ivanoff, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *Pr.G.Sec.*, *Armagh*; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Derby.*; H. C. Bristowe, *M.D.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.W.*; G. Y. Johnson, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.D.*; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; Geo. S. Knocker, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*; and H. Hiram Hallett, *P.G.St.B.*

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The W.M. read the following

#### IN MEMORIAM.

#### FREDERICK WILLIAM GOLBY.

It is with profound regret that I have to announce the death on September 5th of our much respected Past Master, Bro. Frederick William Golby, *P.A.G.D.C.*, in his eighty-sixth year.

Born in 1858, Bro. Golby was educated at the Old Polytechnic, at King's College and at the Birbeck College. His knowledge of chemistry and other sciences enabled him to obtain a succession of Government appointments at an early age. In 1888 Bro. Golby relinquished his appointment as Assistant Examiner in H.M. Patent Office and embarked upon private practice as a patent agent, in which sphere he attained marked distinction.

At the age of 36 Bro. Golby was initiated in the Neptune Lodge No. 22, of which he became Master in 1900 and in which he subsequently served as Secretary from 1901 until 1932. He became a joining member of the Panmure Lodge No. 715 and of the Jubilee Masters Lodge No. 2712 in 1900, served as Master of the former of these two Lodges in 1905, and became a Founder and first Director of Ceremonies of the Thalia Lodge No. 5277 in 1930.

We certainly do not differ about the status of the non-regular Masons, those made in a Lodge that never gave allegiance to any of the Grand Lodges in Great Britain; and I agree with him, too, in deploring that the words "Antient" and "Modern" were ever adopted to describe the two schools. Both terms are confusing, because both can be used in two distinct senses, as badge of a particular Masonic party as well as in the ordinary acceptation of the words; and, as a matter of fact, the terms are employed in the Minutes of the Lodge of Reconciliation sometimes with one meaning, sometimes with the other, and the result is most confusing. However, long usage has stamped both "Antient" and "Modern" indelibly on the pages of our history, and we and our successors must just put up with them. If in a similar way "Traditioner" should in the future give rise to any confusion between non-regular Masons and those who refrained from adopting the changes in ritual, then it should certainly be strangled at birth; but I cannot see that any such confusion need arise; for we have "non-regular" well established and well known to students, while to describe an entirely different set of Masons who belonged to Lodges under the Premier Grand Lodge I present this bantling of mine, whose name is a matter of indifference to me, provided some acceptable designation be found for the important body it personifies.

When we come to consider the motives of the members of the Traditioner Lodges, I think there is still no difference between Bro. Hallett and myself, because even if we were inclined to probe into their motives, neither of us could give a certain answer to the question why they acted as they did, and probably neither of us would try to do. The facts, however, are I think beyond dispute:

(1) That some of the oldest English Lodges, including two T.I., were Traditioner;

(2) and that the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" admitted that many of the "Modern" Lodges had preserved the real "Antient" ritual, and consequently besought them, in vain, to come over.

Finally, in regard to the resolution by Grand Lodge on 10th April, 1777, this, as I have endeavoured to show in the essay, was a sign of renewed hostilities between the rival Grand Lodges, who were always ready to find quarrel in a straw when honour was at stake. The "Antients" passed resolutions, just as full of denunciation, and just as uselessly, judging from the lack of effect on the rank and file who continued to have friendly relations with the other camp.

Bro. Hallett concludes his comments with an interesting allusion to William Finch, whom, since Bro. Rickard's recent paper, most of us have come to regard as anything but a charlatan, while not excusing the ends to which he devoted his Masonic knowledge. However great that knowledge was, still I for one would not be disposed to set him higher than Thomas Dunckerley in the hierarchy of those who have deserved well of the English Craft.

I end by thanking Bro. Hallett for a series of thoughtful comments that cannot but add to whatever of value my essay may contain.



Exalted in 1896, Bro. Golby was installed as First Principal in 1903.

In 1911 our departed Brother was honoured by appointment as Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in the Craft and as Past Grand Standard Bearer in the Royal Arch.

A Vice-Patron of the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls, the Royal Masonic Institution for Boys, the Royal Masonic Benevolent Institution, and the Royal Masonic Hospital, Bro. Golby served for many years as a member of the Board of Benevolence, and also for several years as a member of the Board of General Purposes.

Joining our Correspondence Circle in 1916, Bro. Golby was elected to full membership of the Lodge in 1931; he became one of the most regular attendants at our Annual Summer Outings, and took these excursions as the subject-matter of his Inaugural Address when installed in this chair in 1937. Bro. Golby's best known contributions to masonic literature comprise: *The History of the Neptune Lodge No. 22*; *A Century of Stability*; and papers on *Freemasonry a Century ago*; *London Rank*; *A Concise History of English Freemasonry*; *The English, Irish and Scottish Royal Arch Organizations*; and *Our Early Brethren as Patentees*.

To the Craft at large Bro. Golby will always be remembered best for his vigorous leadership of the Stability Lodge of Instruction, which extended over a period of thirty-six years from 1900 to 1936. Some of us who were brought up in a different school of masonic ritual had the privilege from time to time of witnessing demonstrations of the Stability working under his guidance. While Preceptor of the Stability Lodge of Instruction this champion of ritual acted as Deputy Preceptor of the Aldersgate Chapter of Improvement for a period of eight years.

Of Bro. Golby it may indeed be said that he was courteous in manners, easy of address, steady and firm in principle, able and willing to undertake the management of the work, and well skilled in the ancient charges, regulations and landmarks of the Order. Although small in stature, our departed Brother was great in heart, great in mind, and great in spirit.

Since the year of his mastership of this Lodge, although the spirit was no doubt willing, the flesh grew weaker, and increasing frailty rendered it impossible for him to continue his regular attendance at our meetings. On September 8th his mortal remains were laid to rest after cremation at Golders Green, on which occasion this Lodge was represented by its Master.

This Lodge in particular, and the Craft as a whole, have sustained a grievous loss by the passing of Bro. Golby. Those of us who knew him best are all the poorer for our loss and yet the richer for his memory.

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Bro. Fred. Lomax Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, *S.W.*, was unanimously elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, *P.A.G.R.*, was re-elected Treasurer; and Bro. G. H. Ruddle was re-elected Tyler.

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One Lodge, one Chapter, one Masonic Club and thirty Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

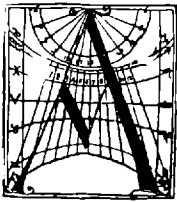
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Bro. J. R. RYLANDS read the following paper:—

## EARLY FREEMASONRY IN WAKEFIELD.

BY BRO. J. R. RYLANDS, M.Sc., P.M. 4065.

### TRADITION AND LEGEND



LONG the approaches to the history of early Freemasonry in Wakefield are many tempting byways into legend and tradition. Before dealing with the more solid foundation on which the so-called "authentic" account must rest, we may glance at some of the less reliable suggestions which have, at one time and another, been offered as masonic links with early days.

Of these, the first is perhaps the reference to a General Assembly of Operative Masons, which, according to Dr. Charles Hope Merz, took place in Wakefield in 1663. In Campbell-Everdens' book *Freemasonry and its Etiquette* (1915, p. 432) occurs the sentence:—

"It is stated that Robert Padgett, who was 'the Clearke' of the Operative Society, rewrote their Ritual in 1663; and it is also stated that at Wakefield in 1663, the General Assembly sanctioned the ancient prayer which is still in use by the Operatives."

Whence this information is derived is not clear; it is suggested that it is taken from Merz's book *Guild Masonry in the Making*, and that Merz apparently followed Stretton and Carr. None of these authors seems to offer any evidence for the statement, and it must be added that, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there is not a shred of support in any Wakefield records.

The second and perhaps more intriguing suggestion is that of a masonic connection between the "Noah" play in the Wakefield Cycle of Mystery Plays and the admission customs of the Mason Gild. The manuscript of the Wakefield Plays, now in the Huntington Library and Art Gallery at San Marino, California, was written on vellum, and originally consisted of 160 leaves. Twenty-eight have been lost, but thirty-two plays and part plays remain. The complete cycle may have comprised thirty-five plays, the third of which is the "Noah" Play.

The bold rubricated heading to the verses reads:

"Processus Noe cum filiis Wakefeld"

and J. W. Walker, in his *Wakefield, Its History and People* (1939), looks upon this as proof that this play was written for and played to a Wakefield audience. There is a comic atmosphere about the action, and the rendering of the story is in a hilarious spirit. The "Noah" Play was presented at the Wakefield Pageant in 1933, and from the laughter of the modern audience one may imagine that the fifteenth century citizens thoroughly enjoyed the drama.

Some of the Plays were undoubtedly referred to one or another of the ancient gilds; the *Pharoah* play was associated with the dyers, who had a gild in Wakefield, and who may have undertaken the production of the play. According to Walker (*loc. cit.*) the representation of the Mystery plays was carried on at Wakefield, by the various crafts and gilds, until as late as 1576, and the Wakefield Players became so well known that their services were in request in other towns; there are records of at least one visit to York.

Although several of the plays may be associated with definite gilds, there is no evidence that the "Noah" Play was connected with the Mason Gild. The suggestion has been made, not that the "Noah" Play is in any way the ancestor of our masonic legends, but that, in course of time, the Mason Gild confused the rehearsal of the Play with the admission ceremony to the Gild, or telescoped the two, or converted the one into the other. An alternative suggestion is that the admission ceremony evolved from a confused recollection of the Play, the moralising background of the two having much in common.

The long arm of coincidence would have to be much strained for the facts to fit the theory. It has yet to be shown that there was, in fact, a Mason Gild among the Gilds in Wakefield. So far I have found no clear evidence of the existence of such a Gild. Bro. Noel Hopkins, the Provost of Wakefield Cathedral, informs me that there is very little in the way of early records of the Cathedral fabric, but there is certainly nothing which supports the theory that there was an active Mason Gild in and around the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Had there been such a gild, however, it would still have to be shown that it had some form of admission ceremony, and that it was responsible for the presentation of the "Noah" Play. Drake's *York* gives an account of the Corpus Christi celebrations in that city, but I have not recently had access to that work. I believe, however, that no such association existed at York.

In a work *Ancient Mysteries Described* by William Hone, published in 1823, there is a description of some of the English Miracle Plays, and a reference to the Corpus Christi celebrations in Newcastle. After stating that the earliest mention of the performance of mysteries in Newcastle is in the ordinary of the coopers for 1426, the author proceeds:—

"In 1437, the barbers played the baptizing of Christ. In 1568, the offering of Abraham and Isaac was exhibited by the slaters. By the ordinary of the goldsmiths, plumbers, glaziers, pewterers, and painters, dated 1436, they were commanded to play at their feast 'the three kings of Coleyn'. . . . From the ordinary of different trades it seems that about 1578, the Corpus Christi plays were on the decline, and never acted but by special command of the magistrates of Newcastle. They are spoken of as the general plays of the town of Newcastle, and when thought necessary by the mayor to be set forth and played, the millers were to perform the Deliverance of Israel; the house-carpenters, the Burial of Christ; the masons, the Burial of our lady Saint Mary the Virgin."

There is also a statement that all that remains of the Newcastle Plays is a vestige entitled "Noah's Ark, or the shipwright's ancient play, or dirge." The characters are God, an Angel, Noah and his wife, and the Devil.

As in the Wakefield Plays, the Noah Play seems to have none of the specific features of the Noah *story*, as found, for example, in the *Graham MS.* It is possible that the suggestion of an association between the Noah *Play* and the Hiram *legend* arises from a confusion between the Play with its emphasis on the ludicrous, and the story with its emphasis on the necromantic.

#### THE TAYLOR MS.

The first document having genuinely masonic associations with Wakefield is the *Taylor MS.*, now in the Library of the Province of Yorkshire (West Riding) at Leeds. It was presented to the Province in 1907 by Mr. John Charlesworth, F.S.A., a well-known Yorkshire antiquary, who found it among the papers of Mr. Thomas Taylor, Coroner for the West Riding, and a local historian of some repute. The document is a fragment of the original MS.;

what little is known of it is given in the recent *Handlist of Masonic Documents* (Knoop and Jones, 1942) and the transcript in *The 'Yorkshire' Old Charges of Masons* (Poole and Worts, 1935).

Bro. W. Bentley, the present Coroner of Pontefract, is of the opinion that the MS. came to Thomas Taylor with the papers of Richard Linnekar, who was Coroner for the West Riding until his death in 1800. The suggestion hitherto has been that Taylor came by the MS. through his father, a member of the old Lodge of Unanimity in Wakefield. In either case the MS. has Wakefield associations, though there is no evidence that it was ever used in any way by the Wakefield Freemasons. If Bro. Bentley be right, there is a possibility that further fragments of the MS. may turn up; at the present time it is not feasible to make a search in either Wakefield or Pontefract.

#### BEGINNINGS OF SPECULATIVE FREEMASONRY IN WAKEFIELD

Probably the earliest "documented" date relating to Freemasonry in the West Riding is the well-known 1713 reference to the meeting at Bradford—"when 18 Gentlemen of the first families in that neighbourhood were made Masons".<sup>1</sup> No new light has been thrown on this matter since the investigation carried out by a Bradford Committee in 1913, and it seems that judgment must be suspended until further data become available.

The next reference seems to be that in the *Leeds Mercury* of the 16th January, 1721. There is a copy in the Hailstone Collection in the York Minster Library, and in it occurs the following paragraph:—

"On New Years Day laft at *Leedes* was a meeting of the Antient and and Honourable Society of Freemaçons; and at *Pontefract* that Day 7 Night was another; where feveral neighbouring Gentlemen were admitted; the Lodge confifting of about thirty Perfons in Number, walk'd to feveral of their Brothers Houfes, having on white Gloves and Aprons, Mufick before them, &c. Afterwards returning to the Gallery of the Lodge Room, they drank the *King, Prince, &c.* with the Earl of Pontefract and other Loyal Healths, Money was thrown to the Croud by Handfuls, and the Night concluded with Illuminations, &c."

I have the feeling that there is still something to be discovered in Pontefract; this early meeting indicates masonic activity which may have some association with the *Taylor* MS. on the one hand, or with the later development of Freemasonry in Wakefield on the other. The present Pontefract Lodge, St. Oswald No. 910, is of comparatively recent foundation, two of the Wakefield Lodges being its sponsors.

It would be interesting to know how these apparently unattached groups of "gentleman" masons subsequently fared. Some are apt to think, I suppose, that because "gentlemen", i.e., non-operatives, were admitted to a masonic lodge, that lodge was necessarily "speculative". If by this term we mean a lodge in which the members drew moral lessons from the implements of the mason's craft, the assumption does not necessarily follow. If, on the other hand, we use the term "speculative" to denote "non-operative", then it may also be used to describe lodges which were simply social and convivial gatherings.

Although it is nowadays generally accepted that the Lodges of the early eighteenth century were largely convivial bodies,<sup>2</sup> I doubt whether this point has even yet been sufficiently emphasised and placed in its true relation in the "transition" from operative to "speculative" masonry.

<sup>1</sup> Jacob Bussey; letter to Grand Lodge, 29th August, 1778.

<sup>2</sup> C.f., Knoop, *Genesis of Speculative Masonry*, pp. 21 and 22.

Indeed, it may be that the kind of transition we are looking for never in fact took place. There may have been a greater measure of discontinuity than has hitherto been supposed.

These Yorkshire meetings, at which comparatively large groups of local gentlemen were admitted, may have been nothing more than festive occasions warranted by a novel and fashionable excuse for conviviality. I see no reason to suppose that there was, at the Bradford, Leeds and Pontefract meetings, any ceremonial associated with the moralising of masonic W.T.s., though there may have been some communication of esoteric matter associated with recognition secrets.

There seems, indeed, no logical objection to Murray Lyon's view that some person or persons, in the early eighteenth century, actually fabricated the speculative or symbolical system of freemasonry. Bro. Knoop has given it as his opinion that the weight of the available evidence is against this view, and I am reluctant to do anything but regard this opinion with respect. That there was some kind of relation between the old operative and the new speculative masonry is certainly in accordance with evidence, particularly if by "speculative" we mean "non-operative". But it seems to me that the importance of the "convivial" stage in the transition has not been adequately realised. There was a period in the early eighteenth century when almost any and every excuse for social and convivial fraternity seems to have been eagerly embraced, and it may be that some of the "operative" lodges had become no more than associations whose chief bond was an occasional hearty supper.

Such lodges would in time quite naturally admit visitors who had no connection with the craft of masonry. Once the lodge had become a more or less social club, there would presumably be no objection to the "non-operatives" becoming paying members. There may have been some pretence at formal admission, more to keep up appearances than to preserve ancient traditions; or there may have been some communication of recognition-secrets which were in effect a membership certificate. It would not be unreasonable to expect an influx of members of a social class perhaps rather higher than that of most of the original members.

Possibly one or two of the new-comers, having intelligent and enquiring minds, would find an interest in discussing the early history of the operatives, and would conclude that such records and traditions as remained to be worthy of preservation.

I think the transition to be sought is that from this "social and convivial" masonry to the present-day "social and moralising" masonry. It seems to me quite natural that one or two ingenious ministers of religion, who had been associated with the masonry of the day from the social standpoint, and were interested in its "antiquities", should adapt a process of moralising quite common in their vocation to the tools of the mason's craft, in an endeavour to "improve and elevate", in Sadler's words, the society of which they had become members.

Such a theory of the "transition", I freely admit, draws to a large extent on the imagination, but it must be conceded that the theories which hold the field at the present time do not give much place to the undoubted fact that the so-called speculative lodges of the early eighteenth century were largely convivial in character. As will be seen from what follows, several, and probably many, of the provincial Lodges retained a predominantly "convivial" character until late into the eighteenth century. In regard to the lodge at Wakefield, as I shall shortly show, there is plenty of evidence to support this contention. Similar statements hold good for other old Yorkshire Lodges such as the 'Apollo' in York and 'Probity' in Halifax.

Whereas the transition from "operative" to "convivial" seems in some respects to have been marked by discontinuity, the transition from "convivial"

to "moralising" was gradual and continuous, and in many lodges has become more or less complete only in these latter years under the stress of war-time difficulties

#### THE PLACE OF FREEMASONRY IN CULTURAL HISTORY

In one of the recent papers<sup>1</sup> by Bro. Knoop and Dr. Jones, there is the stimulating remark:

"It is therefore to be desired that competent Brethren should investigate the relationship between accepted or speculative masonry and the political, philosophical, ethical, religious and scientific ideas of its formative period, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries".

I am not in any way competent to undertake such an investigation, but I do perceive the danger of a non-scientific approach to a study of this kind. There is a great temptation to search for facts to prove a case, or to support stubbornly-held opinions. A classical example of biased approach to this subject is that in von Schlegel's *Philosophy of History*. Yet I feel that a scientific investigation on these lines may well throw light on the transition problem.

An "official" statement lays it down that masonry is a system of morality illustrated by symbols and veiled in allegory. Using the terms of psychology, we could say that masonry is a system whereby an accepted conventional behaviour-code is inculcated in a peculiar manner. If we look upon "character-building" as a process whereby an appropriate reaction and behaviour-pattern is acquired, then modern "speculative" masonry may be regarded as being in part such a process. The *method* is that of repetitive affirmation combined with the dramatic rehearsal of a legend.

It is in this particular method that I suppose the "peculiarity" of the process lies. The teaching of the behaviour-pattern is partly by the repeated affirmation of acceptable precepts which form part of the general behaviour-code of the day, partly by the use of ritual allegory and legend, partly by the sanction of vows and obligations, and partly by moral lessons drawn from the "symbolising" of the tools of a particular craft.

The precepts are not new; many, indeed, are very old. Inculcation by repeated affirmation is not new. Vows and sanctions are as old as community life. The use of dramatic ritual, of myth, allegory and legend goes back to ancient days.

Nor is the occasional use of a craft implement as a symbol with moral implications a novelty. One need mention only the hammer, the flail and the scythe as tools of antiquity which were employed in the inculcation of moral lessons. But I think the systematic symbolising of the whole range of implements used in a particular craft was a novelty, and I think it was invented as a whole in, and added to the convivial freemasonry of, the early eighteenth century.

It is possible that a comparison of the conventional precepts of freemasonry with the conventional behaviour-code of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries would give some indication of the period of the introduction of the "moralising" element. An investigation on these lines awaits the attention of some competent and unbiased Brother.

#### FREEMASONRY IN WAKEFIELD

In 1738 was founded the present premier Lodge in the Province of West Yorkshire, "Probity" (now 61), in Halifax. Its story has been delightfully told in Bro. Hanson's excellent history, *The Lodge of Probity, No. 61, 1738-1938*, to which I am indebted for a good deal of information relating to the early history of its "daughter" Lodge at Wakefield, the Lodge of Unanimity, now No. 154.

<sup>1</sup> Knoop and Jones: *Masonic History Old and New*, 1942.

The beginnings of Unanimity are unusually well-documented. I am grateful to the Brethren of the Lodge for their courtesy in placing at my disposal a very fine collection of letters, minute books and cash accounts, from which collection it is possible to form some picture of the negotiations and proceedings involved in the foundation of a "regular" "Moderns" Lodge in 1766.

The regulations were clear, and I take it that they would be as given by Preston. My edition is a late one (the 16th), but I imagine that the form of the Petition, as given on p. 67, and the rules relating to the manner of constituting a Lodge (p. 66), would be those which governed the Wakefield Brethren at that time.

According to Preston:—

"Any number of regularly-registered Masons, not under seven, resolved to form the new Lodge, must apply, by petition, to the Grand Master. The petition must be recommended by the officers of some regular Lodge, and be transmitted to the Grand Secretary; unless there be a provincial Grand Master of the district or province in which the Lodge is proposed to be holden; in which case it is to be sent to him, or to his deputy."

The first Lodge founded in Wakefield accordingly started with the minimum number of founders. Their names are given in the first entry in the first Cash Book of the Lodge.

C <sup>r</sup> . S <sup>t</sup> John's Day the 27th Dec <sup>r</sup> . 1765				£	s	d
By	Mr. W <sup>m</sup> . Walker Sen <sup>r</sup> .	Master	Subscription	-	15	-
	Mr. W <sup>m</sup> . Walker Jun <sup>r</sup> .	S W	D <sup>o</sup>	-	15	-
	Mr. Edw <sup>d</sup> . Kilvington	J W	D <sup>o</sup>	-	15	-
	Mr. J <sup>o</sup> . Brown	P M	D <sup>o</sup>	-	15	-
	Mr. Rob <sup>t</sup> . Amory	M. D.	D <sup>o</sup>	-	15	-
	Mr. Rich <sup>d</sup> . Linnecar			-	15	-
	Mr. W <sup>m</sup> . Parker			-	15	-

Cash Book I is a paper backed foolscap book of 21 leaves. One leaf, presumed blank, is missing. The pages are in a fair state of preservation, and most of the writing easily legible. The period covered is from the 27th December, 1765, to the 4th July, 1770.

Of the seven founders, five appear to have been masons for some time before 1765. The two Walkers, father and son, were both surgeons, and lived at Westgate End. From a list of members dated 1784 (see p. 259) it appears that the younger Walker had been made a mason in Edinburgh, presumably whilst pursuing his medical studies, and it is possible that the elder Walker had a similar masonic provenance. Enquiries from the Grand Lodge of Scotland have not, however, been able to elicit confirmation of this suggestion.

It is not impossible that many young medical students who went from various parts of England to receive their professional training in Scotland, came back not only with their medical qualification but also with a short experience of Scottish masonry. This custom may, in fact, have been one of the minor channels through which Scottish influence continued to be exercised upon English masonry late into the eighteenth century. I suggest, too, that the convivial aspect of freemasonry may have been predominant in the Scottish Lodges which admitted the medical students.

Dr. Robert Amory was a prominent Wakefield physician, but of his masonic origin the records disclose nothing. He came of an old family tracing its descent from an Amory de Montford, whose brother married the sister of Henry III. His father was "the learned and ingenious but singularly whimsical"

Thomas Amory, author of *John Buncke*.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Amory died in 1805 at the age of 74, and would be about 35 when the Lodge was formed.

The fourth of the founders was a book-keeper of the name of John Brown, or Browne, who is noted in the Cash Book as P.M. I can find nothing in the Wakefield records about this Brother beyond the fact that he was the first Senior Deacon. In common with several Yorkshire Lodges of Moderns origin, No. 361 had two Deacons from the commencement. I think that this indicates, not the effect of "Antients" influence, but that the oft-repeated statement that Deacons were a peculiarity of the "Antients" system requires modification. As long ago as 1887 Sadler drew attention to the notion that Deacons were essentially an "Antients" feature, and cited instances of Deacons in "Moderns" Lodges. The number of such instances now known seems to be so considerable that the existence of Deacons in an eighteenth century Lodge cannot be looked upon as evidence of "Antients" associations or influence.

There is a John Brown mentioned in a 1764 list of members in Sheffield, in Bro. David Flather's paper on eighteenth century Freemasonry in that town.<sup>2</sup> The entry is dated June 25th, 1764, and opposite the name is the note:

"xpell'd for not paying his dues."

Whether this is or is not the same man as the founder of the Wakefield Lodge I cannot say. It may be that he simply left Sheffield and settled in Wakefield, without formally "declining" his own Lodge and paying his dues.

On the other hand he is not recorded in the Sheffield list as "P.M.", and since the name John Brown is not uncommon, it may be that there were several masons of that name in the district.

The sixth name on the list is Richard Linnecar, of whom there is more to say later. He seems to have been an unusual man, and one of considerable parts. He was a linen-draper, a wine-merchant, Post Master or "Deputy", Coroner of the West Riding, and something of a play-wright and poet. He was to occupy the Chair of the Lodge for a quarter of a century, and to become one of the best known masons of his day. According to the list of members (p. 259) already mentioned, he was made a mason in Gibraltar in 1743. His Lodge is given as No. 25. According to Lane, the number was 51 in 1729, and the Lodge lapsed before the Union. Bro. Rickard, to whom I am indebted for much help and guidance, tells me that Lodge No. 25 changed from "Moderns" to "Antients" at some date unknown, but by conjecture perhaps about 1780. It may be that at some period during Linnecar's membership of No. 25 there was an "Antients" atmosphere in the Lodge; if so, this would help to explain certain apparently "Antients" practices in the Wakefield Lodge during the first few years of its existence. Linnecar would be about 21 or 22 years of age when he became a member of the Gibraltar Lodge in 1743, but I cannot find when he came back to England. He was elected Coroner in 1763, and must therefore have been established in Wakefield for some years before this date.

I am indebted to Bro. G. Y. Johnson for the following extract from *The York Courant* of the 1st February, 1763:—

Laft Wednesday came on at the Caſtle the Election of a Coroner for the Weſt Riding of this County, in the room of the late Mr. Heron, when Mr. Richard Linnecar, of Wakefield, was unanimouſly choſen into that office; who at the ſame Time gave two Guineas to the Priſoners in the Caſtle, and Half a Guinea to thoſe in Oufebridge Gaol.

<sup>1</sup> Lupton's *Wakefield Worthies*, 1864.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv., facing p. 136.

Linnecar became "Deputy" or Postmaster at Wakefield three years later. The Deputies at Wakefield were:—

1728 Mr. Thomas Cherryholme  
1736 Mr. Nevenson  
1741 Mr. Booth  
1766 Mr. Richard Linnecar

The Minute of Appointment reads:

*Ordered* "That Mr. Richard Linnecar be appointed Deputy at Wakefield in the stead of Mr. Booth, deceased, to commence the 5th instant (i.e. 5th July 1766).

The next appointment was in 1793, Mr. Cook, an innkeeper, becoming Deputy. Linnecar, who died in 1800, therefore held the office for 27 years.

Two more Brethren were needed for the minimum of seven. Two Wakefield tradesmen, Edward Kilvington, a mercer, and William Parker, a "linnen draper", who became respectively Junior Warden and Treasurer of the new Lodge, went to Halifax to receive the light. They were initiated in the Old Cock Tavern, then No. 97, on the 11th September, 1765, and were passed and raised on the 16th November of the same year.

The Halifax Brethren sponsored the petition for the new Lodge at Wakefield. The first document in the *Unanimity* archives is a copy of a letter from the Grand Secretary of the "Moderns", Bro. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Spencer, to the Secretary of the Old Cock Lodge, Bro. W<sup>m</sup>. Appleyard.

London Dec. 10. 1765

Brother Appleyard

Yours of the Second Instant I reciev'd (*sic*)  
and have communicated the Contents  
to the D.G.M. who hath orderd the  
Brethern to have a Constitution Granted

If I have your Direction in what  
Manner they woud have it done I  
will forward it as soon as Pofsible.  
If they woud have it done on Paper  
and sent unfram'd and Glaz'd, or  
upon Vellum, as yours is unfram'd  
or Glaz'd, or if they woud have it done  
as yours is. I am with Best Respects  
your Affectionate Brother

Sam<sup>l</sup> Spencer

This Letter to Brother Appleyard

This copy is written on the back of the letter in which Bro. Appleyard informed Kilvington of the granting of the Constitution, and apparently enclosed the original letter from London. Kilvington carefully copied the latter before returning it.

Appleyard's letter is a little pompous, as would befit the old hand writing benevolently to the beginner:

Bro<sup>r</sup>. Kilvington

Halifax Decem<sup>r</sup>. 17. 1765

Whoever pofsefseth a true Spirit of Masonry, is well  
pleased with whatever tends to the encrease of the Craft.  
I have now the Pleasure of transmitting you  
Bro<sup>r</sup>. Spencer's Letter, wherein he says the D.G.M.

<sup>1</sup> Hanson, loc. cit., p. 87.

Brother Appleyard  
London Dec. 10. 1760

Yours of the 2nd Instant I received  
I have communicated the contents  
to H. G. W. who hath ordered the  
Brethren to have a Constitution drawn

If I have your Direction in what  
manner they would have it done, I  
will forward it as soon as possible.

If they would have it done and Paper  
and Seal provided and Glaz'd, or  
upon vellum, as you is intending  
or Glaz'd, or if they would have it done  
as you is, I am with the Request  
your Affectionate Brother

Sam. Spencer  
His Letter to Brother Appleyard

Wm. Appleyard  
Mr. Wm. Appleyard  
London

Copy of Letter from Sam<sup>l</sup>. Spencer to W. Appleyard.

Bro. Kilvington Halifax Decem<sup>r</sup>. 17. 1765

Whoever professeth a true Spirit of Masonry, is well  
pleased with whatever tends to the increase of the Craft.  
I have now the ~~great~~ Pleasure of transmitting you  
Bro. Spence's Letter, wherein he says that D. G. M.  
hath ordered that you have a Constitution granted, I  
congratulate you on the Occasion, at first I have  
not Time to say more than, when the Breth<sup>r</sup>. have  
consulted together respecting the latter part of Bro. Spence's  
Letter, I may know the Result thereof, <sup>if any</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>consequently</sup> be  
able to form an Ans<sup>r</sup>. to the said Letter. my  
Complim<sup>ts</sup>. to the Breth<sup>r</sup>. I am cordially

Yours &c  
Wm. Appleyard

Please to return me the Inclosed

Copy of Letter from W. Appleyard to E. Kilvington.

hath ordered that you have a Constitution granted, I congratulate you on the Occasion. at pres<sup>t</sup>. I have not Time to say more than, when the Breth<sup>n</sup>. have consulted together respecting the latter part of Bro<sup>r</sup>. Spencers Letter, I may know the Result thereof, in consequence be able to form an Ans<sup>r</sup>. to the said Letter — my Complim<sup>ts</sup>. to the Breth<sup>n</sup>. I am cordially

Bro<sup>r</sup>.

Your's &c

Will<sup>m</sup>. Appleyard

please to return me the Inclosed

The occasion was one of rejoicing. All seven founders went to Halifax on the 12th January, 1766, to celebrate the granting of the Constitution and, perhaps, to learn a little of the organisation and practices of a regular Lodge under the "Moderns" allegiance. The names of the Brethren—the two Walkers, Amory, Linnecar, Kilvington, Parker and Brown—are noted in the Halifax records.<sup>1</sup>

It must be remembered how various were the masonic origins of the Wakefield Brethren. The three medical men may have been initiated in Scotland; Linnecar learnt his early masonry in a Colonial Lodge of uncertain allegiance; Brown may have been a member of a military Lodge; Kilvington and Parker belonged to the Halifax Lodge. Probably the Wakefield Lodge took time to settle down to an agreed working—in the broad sense—and there are hints that in the early years at least, the "Moderns" working was by no means strictly followed.

Enthusiasm ran high among the little band of Wakefield Brethren. Less than three weeks after the visit to Halifax the Master-designate of the new Lodge, William Walker Sen<sup>r</sup>., wrote direct to Bro. Spencer in London, expressing a shade of impatience at the delay in the sending of the Constitution.

The letter is inscribed to:

Mr. Sam<sup>l</sup>. Spencer  
at the Golden Hartichoke  
Charing Crofs  
London

Bro. Spencer—

Your favour to Bro. Appleyard  
Mas<sup>r</sup>. of the Lodge N<sup>o</sup>. 97 at Halifax  
we had the Happiness of receiveing. And  
your asurance to him that the D.G.M.  
had orderd us to have a constitution  
granted, Gave us real satisfaction  
wch. we begged he wou'd transmit to you  
desiring to have it upon vellum rolled up  
& sent down, and indeed we have been in hopes  
of receiving it 'ere now. The reason, I now  
taken the liberty of troubling you with this, is,  
to beg the favour of you to do your utmost  
endeavours towards its early execution & at  
same time desire you will be so kind  
as give us an Account of the expences

<sup>1</sup> Hanson, loc. cit., p. 87. The account in the Cash Book, dated 26th January, 1767, *i.e.*, a year later, almost certainly refers to a visit in connection with the Royal Arch section of the Lodge. See p. 230 prox.

& we will take care to order some of our friends  
to discharge it. Your Acquiescence in this  
will greatly oblige all the Brethren of our  
infant Lodge & particularly your affect<sup>o</sup>. Bro<sup>r</sup>.  
& hble. serv<sup>t</sup>.

W. W.

Feb. 1: 1766

In due course a reply from the Grand Secretary came to:

Mr. Will<sup>m</sup>. Walker Sen<sup>r</sup>. Surgeon

at Wakefield in Yorkshire

Sir & Bro<sup>r</sup>.Lond<sup>o</sup>. Feb<sup>r</sup>. 22. 1766

Your favour of the 1<sup>st</sup> Instant I rec<sup>d</sup>  
by the due course of the post, & should have  
Answer'd it sooner as I could not give you  
a Satisfactory Answer till now ———  
On Monday next your Deputation will be  
sent per the Machine from the Swan w<sup>th</sup> 2 Neck (*sic*)  
Lad Lane which I hope you will receive safe  
The Expence is as under.

I have the pleasure to Acquaint you that  
last Sunday His Royal Highness the Duke  
of York attended the Lodge at the Horn Tavern  
Westminster, who was made a Mason, at Berlin  
upon his Travels, he Bro<sup>t</sup>. with him his Bro<sup>r</sup>.  
the Duke of Gloucester & Earl Pembroke who went  
thro the three degrees of Masonry which hath  
given great pleasure to myself & the rest of  
the Grand Officers who all attended & they were  
made by the R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup> Lord Blayney.  
On the 18 of Dec<sup>r</sup>. last I rec<sup>d</sup>. a letter from Bro<sup>r</sup>.  
W<sup>m</sup>. Simpson recommending one James Dixon as a  
Proper object of the General Charity—in your Deputation  
I have sent the print'd Laws relating to the  
Charity which you will forward one of them to him  
for the use of his Lodge. if Agreeable to  
those Laws he is Intitled to our Charity a Petition  
must be drawn up address'd to the G.M & officers  
& have it sign'd by the Master Wardens & Breth<sup>n</sup>  
of his deserving of it & send it to me any time  
within this Month & I will Carry it to the Committee  
of Charity when it is held & write them an  
Answer of its Success

I wish Success to your Lodge & my compliments  
Mr Appleyard & Simpson when you write  
to Halifax & believe me to be your ever true  
& faithful Bro<sup>r</sup>

Sam Spencer G.S

Writing the Deputation upon Vellum	-	2: 7. 0
to the fund of Charity		2 2
registring Engraveing in a list		
of Lodges		1. 1
		<hr/> 5. 10. 0

if the post is p<sup>d</sup> here it will come to 2/ more

The Deputation duly arrived safely, and has been in good keeping ever since. William Walker acknowledged its receipt. Bro. Simpson was a prominent member of the Halifax Lodge at the Old Cock. Of Bro. James Dixon, Bro. Hanson says he was their greatest charity problem.<sup>1</sup> Bro. Simpson wrote to Grand Lodge as directed; the reply appears to have come *via* Wakefield, and the Halifax Brethren must have made application in the prescribed form, but Grand Lodge do not appear to have granted relief. Another letter followed from Halifax, written in December, 1768, indicating that no result had followed from the petition—"from what good reason we know not"—and announcing that Bro. Dixon had since died.<sup>2</sup>

There is a copy of Walker's letter in the *Unanimity* archives.

Wakefield March 12<sup>th</sup> 1766

Bro<sup>r</sup>. Spencer  
Sir,

Your favour of the 22nd ult. I reced and the Deputation also in due course. Underneath you have a draught upon Mr. Edward Clark China Man Ludgate Hill for five pounds twelve shillings, which is the charge you make upon us. In regard to our Subscribing towards the furniture necessary for your Lodge, we must beg your excuse at present, as we are only a small Body and having our own to provide we are now incapacitated, but when we can lend you assistance shall make a point not to forget, and the Subscription for Charity we shall willingly pay, as regularly as possible, therefore shall be obliged to you to acquaint us of the time it will be expected. A List of our Members as also of our Proceedings by virtue of the Deputation, we will send to you by a Bro<sup>r</sup>. of our Lodge, who expects to be in Town about May Day next. I forwarded to the Lodge at Halifax according to your desire one of the Printed laws inclosed acquainting them with the purport of what you said to me about them. We shall be much obliged to you to send us a Book of Constitutions, which you think may be the fittest for our Purpose, as also a List of Lodges, as at present, we do not know our own Number, the expense of both which our Bro<sup>r</sup>. will pay you when in Town, and please to let them be made into a small Parcell and sent to Mr. Clark's upon Ludgate Hill as above, directed for Mr. Edward Kilvington in Wakefield, and desire him to forward them as soon as he can, and please to acknowledge the receipt of this as soon as convenient, from

Your Bro<sup>r</sup>. & H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>.

W.W.

<sup>1</sup> *Hanson*, loc. cit., p. 72. "The £1 1s. given for Charity to Bro. James Dixon delivered into Bro. Norris hands and to be paid by him as best seems meet" . . . On 27 November, 1765, it is ordered: "That the Secy. in behalf of Bro. James Dixon write Grand Lodge to desire their Charity toward assisting said Bro<sup>r</sup>."

<sup>2</sup> *Hanson*, loc. cit., p. 72.

Wakef<sup>d</sup>. 12 March -66

At sight pay Mr. Samuel Spencer or Order, five pounds twelve shillings value, & an act. as advised by

Edw<sup>d</sup>. Kilvington

To M<sup>r</sup>. Edw. Clark, Ludgate Hill, London.

A Coppy

In due course Bro. Spencer replied to Bro. William Walker, Senr.

“ My Good Bro<sup>r</sup>.

Lond. Mar 25. 1766

Your favour of the 12 instant I rec<sup>d</sup>.

Inclosing a draft on Mr. Clark for your Deputation which draft has met with due honour.

As to your or any Lodge being address'd about the furniture of the Grand Lodge it is not meant that Any Lodge should subscribe who's finances are small but it being voluntary it is left to Every Lodge as it suits them.

With regard to your Subscription when it will be expected, the Answer is the same—when the Lodge flourishes & can afford it. Once a Year or in Two Year or as it suits your Conveniency only let the Grand Lodge know you are still in being. as to sending you a book of Constitutions I could send you one now, as there will be a new Book Publish'd towards S<sup>t</sup>. Mich<sup>s</sup>. Next I would have you wait till it is published as it will contain all the Laws & regulations to this time.

The list of Lodges are also Engraveing, & I believe will be finished by the first of May when your friend may have what he pleases.

I am oblig'd to you for forwarding the Packet to Halifax I wish prosperity to your Lodge

I am y<sup>r</sup>. Ever true & faithful Bro<sup>r</sup>.

Sam Spencer ”

A copy of the Warrant or Deputation<sup>1</sup> is given below; the original, like so many other Warrants, has for the time being been placed in safe keeping, and it has not been possible to obtain a photograph of it. It is in an excellent state of preservation, and is still in the original frame.

#### COPY OF WARRANT

BLAYNEY, G.M.

*To all and every our Right Worshipful, Worshipful, and Loving Brethren, We, THE RIGHT HONORABLE CADWALLADER, LORD BLAYNEY, BARON BLAYNEY OF MONAGHAN, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of said County, in the Kingdom of Ireland, and Major General in His Majesty's Service, Grand Master of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons,*

SEND GREETING.

<sup>1</sup> It is actually a Warrant of Constitution and not, strictly speaking, a “ Deputation ”.

Know ye that we, at the humble petition of our Right Worshipful and well-beloved Brethren, WILLIAM WALKER, Senr., WILLIAM WALKER, Junr., EDWARD KILVINGTON, and several other Brethren residing at or near the town of Wakefield, in the County of York, do hereby constitute the said Brethren into a regular Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, to be opened at the George & Crown, in the town of Wakefield aforesaid. And do further, at their said petition, and of the great trust and confidence reposed in every of the said above-named three Brethren, do hereby appoint WILLIAM WALKER, Senr., to be Master, WILLIAM WALKER, Junr., Senior Warden, and EDWARD KILVINGTON, Junior Warden, for opening the said Lodge, and for such further time only as shall be thought proper by the Brethren thereof, it being our will that this our appointment of the above officers shall in no wise affect any future election of officers of the Lodge, but that such elections shall be regulated agreeable to such Bye-Laws of the said Lodge as shall be consistent with the General Laws of this Society contained in the Book of Constitution. And we do hereby will and require you the said WILLIAM WALKER to take special care that all and every the said Brethren are or have been regularly made Masons, and that they do observe, perform, and keep all the Rules and Orders contained in the Book of Constitution. And further, that you do, from time to time, cause to be entered in a book kept for that purpose an account of your proceedings in the Lodge, together with all such Rules, Orders, and Regulations as shall be made for the good government of the same; that in no wise you omit once in every year to send to us or our successors, Grand Master, or to Colonel JOHN SALTER, our Deputy Grand Master, or to the Deputy Grand Master for the time being, an account in writing, of your said proceedings, and copies of all such Rules, Orders, and Regulations as shall be made as aforesaid, together with a List of the Members of the Lodge, and such a sum of money as may suit the circumstances of the Lodge and reasonably be expected towards the Grand Charity. Moreover, we hereby will and require you the said WILLIAM WALKER, as soon as conveniently may be, to send an account, in writing, of what shall be done by virtue of these presents.

GIVEN at London, under our Hand and Seal of Masonry, this 15th day of February, A.D. 1766, A.L. 5766.

By the Grand Master's command,

JOHN SALTER, D.G.M.,

*Witness:*

SAMUEL SPENCER, G.S.

Lord Blaney was Grand Master at the time, and the Warrant is signed by Colonel John Salter as Deputy. The Lodge was given the number 361, which it retained until the enumeration of 1770, when it became No. 296. Subsequent numbers were 237, 238, 202, 252, 179 and the present 154.

The various records indicate how the work of forming the Lodge was shared out among the founders. Kilvington appears to have attended to money matters. Wm. Walker Senr., the first Master, conducted most of the correspondence with London and Halifax, and in the meantime Kilvington and Linnecar busied themselves with the arrangements for furniture and jewels.

Enquiries were sent out to various jewellers who supplied masonic regalia. One reply came from Wm. Hancock in Sheffield. The letter is addressed to Mr. Edw<sup>d</sup>. Kilvington in Wakefield:—

Sir.

Sheffield Dec<sup>r</sup>. 14th 1765

Yours of the 9<sup>th</sup>. Ins<sup>t</sup>. I receiv'd yesterday and the price of a Sett of Jewells in Silver, will come very high, and will not be half so handsome as the Gilt ones; the jewells that we made for our Lodge was gilt; and looks very well, & will ware as well as if they was all Gold; we had some in silver, but as soon as the Lodge saw the gilt ones they order'd us to gild the silver ones.

the price of a Sett of Gilt jewells for Master, Past Master, Sen<sup>r</sup>. & Jun<sup>r</sup>. Wardens, Secretary & Treasurer will come to three pounds, ten shillings, & the price of a Sett of Silver will come to above double that some (*sic*) but it is quite Eaqual to us which we make.

Your answer per return of Post will greatly oblige yours respectfully

W<sup>m</sup>. Hancock

At M<sup>r</sup>. Jos<sup>h</sup>. Hancock's  
Sheffield

It was, however, the offer from York which took the fancy of the Wakefield Brethren:—

My dear Friend

York Dec 25<sup>th</sup>. 1765

I hope I shall agreeably Surprize you and the Rest of my Brethren I by Chance met with the Best Set of Jewels I ever saw they are much Better than in our Grand Lodge excepting that of the Grand Master's which is Gold I have made them all as good as new I have put the Lace to them I Bought them with if you think proper to have it Now that you can do at Wakefield the Price of them is £3..17s..0 altogether I hope you will not think them dear I beg you you will give the Best Wishes of a Mason to all my unknown Brothers and tell them I hope to drink there healths and yours at our Lodge next friday Pray my Compliments to your family

I am your most obliged

Amb. Beckwith

There were several Beckwiths associated with York masonry at this time. Ambrose and Malby Beckwith are frequently mentioned in the minutes of the "Apollo" Lodge.

The "Grand Lodge" to which Beckwith refers in his letter will be the York Grand Lodge which was revived on the 17th March, 1761, being "opened in 'ample form', the Grand Master, Francis Drake, Esq., F.R.S., being present in person."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hughan's *Apollo*, p. 12. The Minutes of the old "Apollo" Lodge have long been in the care of the "Humber" Lodge, No. 57, at Hull. Some time ago the building containing the safe in which the Minutes are kept suffered the fate of so many masonic temples, but fortunately the books were undamaged. I am indebted to W.Bro. H. S. Goodyear, the Trustees of the "Humber" Lodge, for the privilege of examining the "Apollo" Minutes and Account books.

The Wakefield Brethren decided to acquire the jewels from York, and Linnecar paid for them. An entry in the First Cash Book refers to the transaction:—

St. John's Day 24<sup>th</sup> June 1766  
Paid Linnecar      M<sup>r</sup>. Beckwiths Bill for Jewells  
£3..16..0

Why the amount should be one shilling less than the quoted price is not clear. However, there seems to have been a slight misunderstanding. Linnecar acknowledged receipt of the jewels, and expressed appreciation of them. In their eagerness to secure a set of jewels the Wakefield Brethren appear to have assumed that the set would be the same as that specified in the offer from Sheffield. They were disappointed to find that there was no Treasurer's jewel. Linnecar pointed this out to Beckwith, but the latter replied to the effect that in his Lodge the Treasurer and Secretary were one person, and wore the Secretary's jewel.

To M<sup>r</sup>. Linnecar  
Wakefield

Dear Brother

York Feb 9<sup>th</sup> (1766)

When I received your first, after your receipt of the Jewels, which Gives me Pleasure to find they Please, I was out of town. We have no other Jewels but those I have sent you. the Secretary with us is the Treasurer and uses none but the Secretary's Jewel but I have wrote to London to a Brother to enquire if he can meet with anything of the kind second hand. if he can't I will not delay making one for you as soon as Pofsible (*sic*). My Brother Malby and M<sup>rs</sup>. Beckwith desires there Compliments and I heartily wish you succefs in your Lodge and may Harmony for ever attend it

I am dear Brother

Yours

Amb. Beckwith

Whether this offer was accepted we do not know. There is, however, an entry in the Cash Book under date 12th June, 1766, showing that £1..5..0 was paid for "a Treasurer's Jewel", but there is no mention of the maker's or supplier's name.

It is of interest to note that in the Cash Account of the "Apollo" Lodge in York there are two items some years later which show a remarkable similarity to the Wakefield transaction, and are a confirmation of Beckwith's statement about the Treasurer's jewel:—

Nov. 17 <sup>th</sup> 1773	Amb. Beckwith, Jewels per Receipt . . .	£5..0..0
Dec. 15 <sup>th</sup>	Amb. Beckwith, Treasurer's Jewel	1..5..0

The Wakefield Brethren made many other purchases. The first pages of the First Cash Book are interesting reading:—

FIRST PAGE OF CASH BOOK No. 1.

1765	D <sup>r</sup> . LODGE N <sup>o</sup> 361	£	s	d
27 Dec	Paid Expences of the day	1	14	?
	Do. to Servants ...		2	?
2 Jan <sup>y</sup>	Expences		5	?
	Tyler		1	,

6 Feb <sup>ry</sup>	Paid Bro. Derby for Summons printing ...	10..?
	Paid for Ahyman Rezon ...	6...-
	for table furniture	2.. 4.. 6
	for 6 sheep skins ...	3.. 9
	for 3 locks & keys & 1 p <sup>r</sup> Compafses	6.. 6
	for 3 books ...	2...-
	for the Tyler 3 Nights we met	
	before St. Johns Day	3...-
	for a Bible	5.. 6
16 Jan <sup>ry</sup>	Expences	6.
9	Tyler	1
29	Tyler	1
23	Tyler	1
30	Tyler	1
	Paid Carriage of Candles	.. 8
6 Feb <sup>ry</sup>	Expences	6.
	Tyler	1.
	for tinsockets ( <i>sic</i> ) for Candlesticks	5.
13	Tyler	1. .
	Bro. Wilkinson for Candles	1. 2. 6
20	Expences	7.
	Tyler	1.
6 Mar	Expences	7.
	Tyler	1.
	3 Sheepskins	2. .
	Solomon's temple Spiritualiz'd	9
	1 P <sup>r</sup> . Compafses	. 6
20	Expences	1.
	Tyler	1.
3 Apr	Expences	7.
	Tyler	1.
17	Expences	6.
	Tyler	1.
1 May	Expences	6.
	Tyler	1. .
		£10. 14. 6

The right hand top corner of the page is missing, and the pence from the first five items cannot be given.

The names Derby and Wilkinson are not those of contemporary Wakefield masons. There is little doubt, I think, that "Bro. Derby" was the Pressic Darby who was a printer and newspaper proprietor in Halifax, and a member of the Old Cock Lodge. Bro. Hanson says<sup>1</sup> "that he was the publisher of the *Union Journal or Halifax Advertiser*, and the S.W. of the earliest record of the Lodge.

There was a Bro Wilkinson in the Halifax Lodge, the date of his initiation being given as 11th July, 1764, though Bro. Hanson does not state his vocation.<sup>2</sup> The transaction recorded in the books of Lodge No. 361 may thus indicate what this was.

One of the most interesting items in the list of purchases is that relating to *Ahyman Rezon*. Why should a regular "Moderns" Lodge purchase the "Antients" manual so early in its career? The transaction is not without precedent. The Mother Lodge at Halifax had bought a copy of *Himan Raison*

<sup>1</sup> *Hanson*, loc. cit., p. 53. Darby appears to have left Halifax about this time.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p. 351.

in 1763, and paid only 4/- for it. That some importance was attached to its possession is evidenced by the fact that the Halifax Brethren ordered and procured another copy in 1773, by which time the price had risen to 6/-. Lodge No. 361 also procured another copy in 1768, the price this time being 5/-.

The Apollo Lodge at York also possessed a copy of Dermott's famous work. The fact that several Lodges owned, and apparently used, the *Ahiman Rezon*, would seem to be against the theory that the Wakefield Lodge had any special "Antients" leanings. It is probable that there was a good deal of fraternising between "Antients" and "Moderns" in provincial Lodges; there is at least one instance recorded of an "Antients" visitor to Wakefield,<sup>1</sup> and there is a letter from Sheffield<sup>2</sup> which definitely states that the Wakefield Brethren "worked Antients", but I think the real reason for the use of the book had reference to the Royal Arch. I think that far too much has been made of Samuel Spencer's famous remark: "Our Society is neither Arch, Royal Arch or Ancient", and that at this period the "Moderns" Grand Lodge, if they did not recognise the Royal Arch, certainly did not actively prohibit its working.

The Lodges in Wakefield and Halifax both worked the Royal Arch, the former from 1766 and the latter a year earlier.

#### TABLE FURNITURE

This subject stimulated an interesting correspondence in *Miscellaneous Latomorum*, vol. xxvi., last year. There seems to be little doubt that at the period of the formation of Lodge 361 the use of a table in the Lodge was quite common. Linnecar himself has left us some indication of the nature of the "furniture" on the table. In his *Miscellaneous Works*, published in 1789, we read (p. 254):

"The hieroglyphics and symbols, on the table and chairs of a lodge, are the three great lights of masonry. The three lesser lights, the twenty four inch gage, the common mallet, the pillars, &c. which the brethren are early taught to explain; also the rough ashler, which is a stone, as taken out of the quarry, which by the care and skill of the workman, is brought to due form. This is emblematical of the mind of man in his primitive state, which is rude and unimproved like that stone, 'till by the grace of God, a virtuous education, and pious example, his mind is enlightened.

The perfect ashler, is a well wrought stone, a regular cube, tried by the square and compass. Which should teach and excite us to try and prove ourselves whether we have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man.

The tressel-board, is what the master draws his designs on, the better to instruct the younger brothers. The Holy Bible is the tressel of the great architect of the universe, wherein are laid down such good and certain instructions, that if we faithfully attend to them, we shall be enabled to build a house, without hands, eternal in heaven!"

From the fact that the furniture was *on* the table, I think we may infer that the Brethren sat round on chairs or benches. It is possible that some part of the "ceremony" took place in a relatively small space at the end of the room, where there may have been a pedestal for the purpose of administering the Ob., and that once this had been done, any subsequent perambulations would take place round the table, ending in the candidate taking his place in the seat assigned to him.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 35 in MS.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 70 in MS.

I incline to the view that the practice of "squaring the Lodge" originated from the physical necessity of progressing round the table in this way, and that any symbolism associated at the present day with the act of "squaring" is superimposed subsequently. Alternatively, the squaring may have been done round the "tressel-board", or the "drawing on the floor" which probably occupied part of the space between the Lodge table and the position in the extreme E. from which the Master administered the O.

I like to think that the description of the assembling of a Lodge at this time, as given in *Jachin and Boaz* (first pub. in 1762; my edn. is dated 1814), corresponds fairly well with what actually took place in the first few years of the existence of Lodge No. 361.

"The evening being come when a lodge is to be held, which generally begins about seven in the winter and nine in the summer, as previous notices are sent to the members for this purpose, the masons are punctual to time, and it frequently happens, that in half an hour, the whole lodge is assembled.

The master, the assistants, secretary and treasurer, begin with putting over their necks a blue ribbon of a triangular shape; to the master's ribbon hang a rule and compass, which is in some cases made of gold, though in others only gilt: the assistants, senior wardens, and the other officers, carry the compass alone.

The candles are placed upon the table in the form of a triangle; and in the best lodges, the candlesticks are finely carved with emblematical figures. Every brother has an apron made of white skin, and the strings are also of skin; though some of them chuse to ornament them with ribbons of various colours. On the grand days, such as quarterly communications, or general meetings, the grand officers' aprons are finely decorated, and they carry the rule and compass, the emblems of the order.

When they sit down to the table, the master's place is on the east side, the bible being opened before him, with the compass laid thereon, and the points of the . . . covered with a lignumvitæ or box square; and the senior and junior wardens opposite to him on the west and south. On the table is likewise placed wine, punch, &c., to regale the brethren, who take their places according to their seniority. Being thus seated, the master proceeds to *open the lodge* . . ."

The "Apollo" Lodge at York also used a table. There is a record in the Minute Book dated 20th February, 1782, which says that it was:—

"Agreed that a smaller Table than is now in use in the room, shall be ordered by Bro. Rule for the convenience of the Members, when a lesser number may meet than shall Fill the present Table."

The impression conveyed is that certain Brethren occupied specified positions at the table, and when numbers were small, the officers would be inconveniently far apart.

I have not been able to reach any definite conclusion as to the size of the room in which the Brethren first met. My original impression was that it was something like 15ft. by 18ft., but Bro. W. Harold Watson, an architect and a present member of the Lodge of Unanimity, thinks that it may have been 30ft. long. We do know that No. 361 met at the George and Crown Inn. In eighteenth century Wakefield this was one of the more important hostelries, and stood in Silver Street on the site subsequently occupied by a large house erected by Loveday the clockmaker, and in more recent years by a millinery establishment. Walker's *History* says that:

"It was timber framed with good barge boards, and was entered by a low archway leading into the yard. Over the archway entrance was a signboard bearing a representation of St. George mounted on a white horse trampling a fiery dragon, while the Saint transfixed it with his spear."

The George and Crown Yard still exists; on the 1823 map of Wakefield by J. Walker it is shown extending from Silver Street to the Tammy Hall, a large building with a frontage of about 230ft.

Bro. Warmington, the present West Riding Registrar of Deeds and a P.M. of the Lodge, says that by 1795 many additions had been made to this property, and that by the end of the century, if not at the time of the formation of the Lodge, the George and Crown was much more than an Inn, and must have been quite a centre of social activity. The deeds show that there were on the premises by 1795

An Academy of Music  
An Assembly Room  
A Meeting House  
A Circulating Library

From the fact that, in its beginnings, the Lodge possessed but little in the way of "furniture" and that little probably locked away in boxes or cupboards with the "3 locks and keys", we might infer that at first they hired one of the ordinary inn rooms for their fortnightly meetings; it was not till 1776 that they bought "3 chairs and their Thrones" and probably reserved a room permanently.

There is evidence, too, that the convivial side of Freemasonry was prominent in the early meetings. The receipts side of the accounts in the first years seems to indicate that the rules observed were more like those governing the affairs of a social club than of a solemn philosophical and speculative assembly. The cash records show that Candles, Herb Tobacco and Glasses—the latter often broken in a hearty "fire"—were among the oft-recurring items. The custom of exacting "fines" for minor misdemeanours may indicate attempts to curb premature conviviality and to restrain excessive exuberance.

		£	s	d
7th Aug. 1766	Bro. Amory and Bro. Dawson, for inattention to the Mast <sup>r</sup> s Mallet	0	0	6
2nd Oct.	Bro. Nevinson for sitting down uncloth'd	0	0	3
18 Mar. 1767	Bro. W. Parker for Smooking when at Work	0	0	6
17th Jun	Rec <sup>d</sup> . for a Glafs from Bro. W <sup>m</sup> . Walker burst in a fire	0	1	0
	Rec <sup>d</sup> . from Bro. Kilvington for another Glafs broke in a Fire	0	1	0
	By D <sup>o</sup> . from Bro. Walker a Glafs	0	1	0
24th Jun	Kilvington for sitting down unclothed	0	0	3
15th Jul	Sill for D <sup>o</sup> .	0	0	3
	D <sup>o</sup> . for D <sup>o</sup> . &c.	0	1	0
(one wonders what offence is hidden under that "D <sup>o</sup> . &c." to warrant the heavy fine of one shilling!)				
	Sill & Nevinson for Tofsing up who should pay for their suppers	0	0	6
	Bro. Linnecar for unclothed	0	0	3

It would appear that the after-proceedings were not confined to liquid refreshment, though the amounts recorded for "expences" seem hardly enough to cover for meals for all the Brethren present. Probably they paid for their own suppers, but shared or paid from the Lodge funds the bill for the drinks.

Whatever the exact form of the proceedings round the table, there is no doubt that "toasting" had a large part in them, as will be seen later. There was a distinction between "work", when "smoking" was not permitted, and the later proceedings when glasses were often "broke in a Fire", but the Lodge was probably not closed until after everything was over.

This custom could probably be inferred from the manner in which the expenses are always recorded in the minutes of each meeting—the minutes being probably written up there and then.

There is an "Apollo" minute dated 28th Sept., 1774, which shows the practice in York:—

" . . . Order'd that the Stewards examine the Bill every Lodge, & if they find such Bill right, that they sign it & that the Treasurer for the Future shall not pay any Bill unless such has been examined by the Stewards & signed by them. Order'd that the Stewards call for & settle each Bill before the closing of the Lodge & sign the same, in case of their Neglect to be fined 1s. for each offence."

There were fines for "swearing Oaths", the usual amount being one shilling, but on one occasion this was reduced to 6d. when Capt. Tottenham was overheard "swearing a gentle Damn".

I picture the early meetings as merry affairs, but that there was a serious side to the masonry of those days there can be little doubt. Linnecar's *Miscellaneous Works*, published so far as concerns the masonic portions at the entreaty of several of the Brethren, is confirmation of this; the books they bought and presumably used provide further evidence.

The Lodge grew in strength. The earliest Craft minute is dated St. John's Day (24th June), 1770, but the Cash Books show the names of those who were admitted from the beginning, and paid the fee of £1. 11. 6 for the first three "steps". The first initiates of the Lodge are recorded on the first "receipts" page:—

1766			
9 Jan <sup>ry</sup>	By Cash rec <sup>d</sup> .	of Bro <sup>r</sup> . Armatage	£1. 11. 6
	By Do	of Bro <sup>r</sup> . — White	1. 11. 6
	By Do	of Bro <sup>r</sup> . — Dawson	1. 11. 6
23	By Do	of Bro <sup>r</sup> . — Nevinson	1. 11. 6
7 Apr	By Do	of Bro <sup>r</sup> . — Graham	1. 11. 6
	By Do	of Bro <sup>r</sup> . Peter Cave	1. 11. 6
7 June	By Do	of Bro <sup>r</sup> . Bolton	1. 11. 6

The Rev. Jo. Armitage was the first clergyman to become a member of the Lodge; he subsequently went to Hooton. Stephen White was an attorney who, in the 1768 list, was reported "gone to Ripon"; he appears to have been the second Senior Deacon of the Lodge. Thomas Dawson was the landlord of the George and Crown, where the Lodge held its meetings, and he is shown in the list of 1768 as J.D., but was not the first holder of that office. Jo. Nevinson, a merchant, was the first Junior Deacon, and was Junior Warden in 1768. James Graham was a druggist, Peter Cave a "Captain of Foot", and Robert Bolton or Boulton a Bookkeeper. They were all apparently quite young men, and their interests and pursuits were those of their times. Dawson, the landlord of the George and Crown, was a great supporter of the then popular "sport" of cock-fighting, and encouraged "mains" between the Gentlemen of Wakefield and those from other towns in the neighbourhood. There were several cock-pits in Wakefield, but Dawson's New Pit saw many great battles and much heavy wagering. The inhuman and barbarous practice was suppressed by law in 1849.

The first list of members in the Wakefield collection is dated 1st January, 1768. It is on a single sheet, and appears to be a copy of a return sent to the General Secretary on the 6th April, 1768.

A List of the Members of the Lodge No 361 Held at the Geo: and Crown, Wakefield	Their Titles, Mysteries or Trades	When admitted Members, or made Masons in the Lodge	When declined to belong to the Lodge, or when Expell'd	If Expell'd, for what cause
L. A. Tottenham, Masr. Jos. Armitage Senr. W Jos. Nevinston J W Jo. Brown S D Thos. Dawson J D Wm. Parker Treas: Rich. Linnecar Secretary Robt. Amory P M Wm. Walker Senr Wm. Walker Junr	Lt.Colnl. Foot Revd. Mercht. Bookkeeper Innholder Linnen Draper Coronator & Do. M.D. Surgeon Do.	27 Decr. 1766 still a Member 9 Jan'y. 1766 Do. 23 Jan'y. 1766 Do. 19 Decr 1765 Do. 16 Jan 1766 Do. 19 Dec 1765 Do. 19 Dec 1765 Do. 19 Dec 1765 Do. 19 Dec 1765 Do. 19 Dec 1765 Do.		
Fra: Bushell Sill Arthur Helsham E. Kilvington Stephen White Andrew Ewbank Thos. Zouch Robt. Bolton Thos. Holdford Thos. Holdsworth Richd. Slaveley	Capt. of Foot Esqr. Mercer Attorney Revd. Revd. Bookkeeper Surgeon M.D. Gent.	24 Jun '67 27 Dec 1767 19 Dec 1765 9 Jan 1766 2 Sept. 1766 2 Sept. 1766 7 Jun 1766 31 July 1766 12 Novr 1766 3 Decr 1766	Do. Do. Expell'd 17 Feb '68 gone to Ripon lives at York & cannot attend Do. Cambridge Do. at Armin Do. Knutsford a Visitor lives at Doncaster	for contumacy (sic) to this Lodge
Elias Wright Jas. Graham Peter Cave Bodo Knigge Richd. Brickenden Edwd. Taylor Jo. Roberts John Sampson John Dutton	Clerk Druggist Captn. Foot Captn. Dragoons Captn. of Do. Mercht. Bookkeeper Sea Captn. Lieut: 30th Regt.	3 Decr 1766 7 Apr 1766 7 Apr 1766 17 Decr 1766 17 Decr 1766 18 May 1767 3 June 1767 24 June 1767 16 Decr 1767	a Visitor left the Country at Doncaster at his Regiment Do. at Barnsley Visitor gone to the East Indies Visitor	Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.

A Copy of the Members ret<sup>d</sup>, to the Grand  
Lodge y<sup>e</sup> 6 April 1768

At the side of the List, which is dated 1768, Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1st, is a note:

After you have sent in the List of the prefent Members of your Lodge, you are, as often as you make or admit seven new ones, to transmit an Account of the same to the Grand Secretary, that they may be registr'd.

In a rough copy of the List, the name "Bolton" is spelled "Boulton" and "Knigge" is spelled "Kneige".

The List has many points of interest, not the least being the fact that the Secretary, presumably Linnecar, thought it necessary to insert a column

headed—"If Expell'd, for what cause"? Only twelve of the twenty-nine names in the list are those of active members. Edward Kilvington, one of the seven Founders and the first J.W., had already left the lodge under somewhat of a cloud.

There is in the collection an undated letter from Kilvington to Dr. Amory:

Dear Sir,

Some time ago I desir'd Bror. Parker wou'd never summons me to the Lodge which he was kind enough to observe, but yesterday our worthy Bro. Linnecar sent me one, not knowing, I imagine, I had desir'd the contrary. I am very sorry for what happened that night & I have maturely considered the nature of all my obligations to Masonry with that I made when I cancell'd my name & at present cann<sup>t</sup>. reconcile myself to attend. I shall always have the highest opinion of Masonry & wish every blefsing may attend No 397 & all its members

I am, D<sup>r</sup> Sir, your affect<sup>n</sup>. Serv<sup>t</sup>. & Bro  
E. Kilvington

Wednesday Morn<sup>g</sup>.

The letter was probably written in 1768, after Amory had left the Chair; the number, 397, is an error on Kilvington's part. The Lodge was still No. 361; No. 397, according to Lane, was a Lodge meeting in Soho.

Kilvington continued in the office of J.W. for a second year, but when Tottenham became Master in 1768, Armitage and Nevinson were his Wardens. It may be that there was some coolness between Kilvington and Tottenham; it may be that the Colonel, later to become General, ruled the Lodge with a strong hand. According to the letter just quoted, Kilvington resigned; the list written by Linnecar has it otherwise. Whatever the truth of the matter, the Lodge lost one of its most enthusiastic Founders, and his name never occurs again in the records.<sup>1</sup>

The members were drawn from a variety of vocations, the "professions" in particular being well represented. Most of those who are noted as living away from Wakefield had some connection or other with the town, but it seems to have been the custom to admit to the benefits of masonry certain individuals who were classified as "visitors". Most of the Brethren thus described were initiated, passed and raised in the Lodge, and paid their fees of £1:11:6 for the three degrees, but did not pay a subscription.

In some cases Brethren were admitted to further degrees after having been presumably initiated in some other Lodge. Thus, the first mention in the Cash Book of Jo. Roberts is on the 3rd June, 1767:—

By Cash of Bro. Jo. Roberts for pafs<sup>s</sup>. F.C. ... 10s 6d

and on the 24th of the same month he is recorded as paying another 10/6 "for raising Mas<sup>s</sup>."

The Cash Book has only one reference to Bro. Dutton:—

Dec<sup>r</sup>. 2. 1767 By cash rec'd of Bro<sup>r</sup>. Dutton for being rais'd 10s 6d

Bro. Dutton was already a Mason, as is confirmed by the Second Royal Arch Journal of the Lodge, one of the first pages of which contains a copy of the certificate issued by the Lodge to Brethren raised to the Royal Arch:—

<sup>1</sup> His brother, Thomas Kilvington, was a medical man who died in 1823 and left Edward Kilvington's son a sum of £13,000 for "Christian purposes". The son, Rev. Edward Kilvington, who had been Perpetual Curate of Ossett, near Wakefield, from 1799, applied the legacy to the building of Holy Trinity Church in Ripon, and became its first incumbent in 1827. He is buried beneath the Church.

"Copy of Royal Arch Mason's Certificate

No. 238 Lodge of Unanimity held under the Grand Lodge of England,  
at the George & Crown Inn, in Wakefield.

L.S. TO all and every Right Worshipful & Worshipfull, the Grand  
Masters, and Masters, Wardens, and Brethren of the most ancient  
and honourable society of Free and Accepted Masons, Greeting.

WE, the Master and Wardens do certify that Brother John Dutton, Lieut.  
in the 30th Regiment of Foot, has been strictly examined as an  
Entered Apprentice, Fellow-Craft and Master Mason, and being  
approved of, and accepted by us as such, On account of his great  
diligence, skill and ability in those Capacities, he was advanced by  
us to the sublime degree of a most Excellent Royal Arch; in which,  
and every other Capacity, he hath behaved himself as a worthy  
Brother, and as such we heartily recommend him.

Given under our hands and seal of our Lodge this 6<sup>th</sup> day  
of April A.L. 5768 "

The Minute relating to Dutton's admission is given on p. . He was  
a member of Lodge No. 14; according to Lane this was the "Anchor and  
Baptist's Head Lodge", warranted in 1723, and which met in 1767 at the  
"Crown and Rolls" in Chancery Lane. It was erased in 1782.

THE ROYAL ARCH IN WAKEFIELD

It is impossible to tell the story of early Wakefield Freemasonry without  
constant reference to the Royal Arch. There are only a few odd leaves still  
remaining from the Craft Minute Books relating to the period before the Union,  
but the Royal Arch Minutes are practically continuous from 1766 to 1844.

There are two early Royal Arch Journals. The first was originally a  
book of foolscap size, backed with a marbled paper, and now containing 10  
leaves. The front cover is missing, also apparently two leaves at the end. The  
first leaf of Journal No. 1 is blank. The Minutes commence with the account  
of the first meeting on the 30th August, 1766; the last Minute in the book is  
dated 17th Feb., 1793. Between the 24th June, 1788, and 17th Feb., 1793,  
the Minutes are missing from the first Journal.

Royal Arch Journal No. 2 is also foolscap size, but it has stiff board  
covers and a cloth spine. It contains 77 pages of minutes and a number of  
blank pages at the end. The Minutes from 1766 to 1793 have been copied from  
the first Journal into the second, and they include the missing records between  
1788 and 1793. The Scribe copied the old minutes in a most clerkly hand, but  
added one or two "improvements" of his own, which will be noted later. The  
period covered by this second Journal is from 30th Aug., 1766, to 15th July,  
1844.<sup>1</sup>

The Minute of the first meeting reads:—

Royall Arch Lodge Night, in Due form, 30: Aug<sup>th</sup>. 1766

Bro<sup>rs</sup>. Present

W: Walker Sen<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>.

Jo: Armitage M<sup>r</sup>.

Stephen White M<sup>r</sup>.

W. Parker ———

<sup>1</sup> After this date the records of the Unanimity Chapter become confused with  
those of the "Wakefield Chapter" now No. 495. The two Chapters appear to have  
held joint meetings, and made their records sometimes in one book and sometimes in  
another. Separate Minutes for the Unanimity Chapter were resumed in 1865 and  
the records continued to 1920, when the Chapter was transferred to Meltham.

Bro<sup>rs</sup>. Propos'd to be rais'd Royall Arch

Expences 3/6  
Tyler 1/-

W. Walker Jun<sup>r</sup>.  
E: Kilvington  
R: Linnecar  
R: Amory  
Ja: Nevison

Visitors

Lodge closed to the 3<sup>rd</sup>. Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1766

The elder Walker was apparently already a Royal Arch Mason, but I have been unable to find out where he was admitted to the degree. Armitage, Parker and White had been made R.A. only a few weeks earlier. Bro. T. W. Hanson, in an address to the Prov. Grand Chapter of Yorkshire (West Riding) given on the 31st May, 1933, records that these Brethren were admitted to the Rose and Crown Royal Arch Lodge in Halifax on the 30th July, 1766. As the Wakefield Lodge no doubt followed the model of the Old Cock Lodge in Halifax, so no doubt did the Wakefield Royal Arch Lodge follow that at the Rose and Crown in Halifax, which had itself commenced its R.A. activities in January, 1765.

The second R.A. meeting was held four days after the first:—

Royall Arch Lodge 3<sup>rd</sup>. Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1766

Bro<sup>rs</sup>. Present  
W. Parker. M<sup>r</sup>.  
W. Walker. M<sup>r</sup>.  
Jo: Brown. M<sup>r</sup>.  
Stephen White ———  
Jo: Armitage

Bro<sup>r</sup>. W Walker Jun<sup>r</sup>. E: Kilvington R: Linnecar R. Amory &  
Jo Nevinson took the fourth or Excellent degree of Royall Arch

	£	S	D	Expences	s	d
				Tyler	13	10
five Admifision fees	2	12	6		1	-
					<hr/> S14	<hr/> 10

Lodge Clos'd to the 11 Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1766

At the next meeting the Brethren from Halifax paid a visit in strength. From the numbers present this would seem to have been something of a celebration, but the Cash Book discreetly records expenses amounting to only 13/-.

Royall Arch Lodge held at the George and Crown, in Wakefield, the 11th September 1766

Visitors  
W. Norris—Pro Tem: M<sup>r</sup>.  
S. Lord  
W. Newby  
W<sup>m</sup>. Appleyard  
Jo<sup>s</sup>. Poole

Brothers present  
W. Walker M<sup>r</sup>.  
W. Walker Jun<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>.  
E. Kilvington M<sup>r</sup>.  
W. Parker  
R. Linnecar  
R. Amory  
Jo. Nevinson  
S. White  
Jo: Armitage

Lodge closed to the 18<sup>th</sup>. February 1767

At the following meeting there was a single visitor, and no ceremony is recorded. The date is 18th February, 1767, and the three Masters were Amory, Linnecar and White. Kilvington, Walker, Armitage and Brown were present, also

“Morris Power, of Lodge No. 39, Manchester”

Lodge No. 39 was probably “St. Anns Church and Mitre in Manchester”, consecrated, according to Lane, in 1755. It was an “Antients” Lodge, and this is therefore an instance of an “Antients” visitor to a “Moderns” Lodge; but I doubt whether it is a justifiable inference that the R.A. as practised in Halifax and Wakefield was necessarily similar to that worked by the “Antients.”<sup>1</sup>

On the 27th May, 1767, there were five Brethren present, with Amory, Armitage and Linnecar as Masters, the expenses of the night being only 2/2½. On the 23rd June Amory, Armitage and Kilvington were the Masters, the two Walkers, Linnecar and Parker also being present. At neither of these two meetings was there a ceremony.

On the 19th August, 1767, Amory, Armitage and Walker were the Masters, and Linnecar was the only other member present. The minute reads:—

“Brothers L. A. Tottenham and Thos. Holdford propos’d to be rais’d Royall Arch, & pafsed in the Affirmative”

These two Brethren duly “took the fourth degree of Masonry, or Excellent Royall Arch” on the 25th August, 1767, the meeting being also the last occasion on which Kilvington attended the R.A. Lodge.

The 16th December was a Regular Lodge Night, and was apparently converted into a Royal Arch Lodge meeting. Col. Tottenham brought in two of his friends, one of them the Bro. John Dutton already mentioned. The minute reads:—

“Bro<sup>r</sup>. Tottenham proposed Bro<sup>r</sup>. John Dutton of Lodge N<sup>o</sup>. 14 and Brother Sill, Capt<sup>n</sup>. of the 62<sup>nd</sup>. Rt. for most excellent Royal Arch Masons, w<sup>ch</sup>. pafsed in the affirmative, and they being thought worthy and that most sublime step, Captain Dutton was now made, as was Bro<sup>r</sup>. Brooke, Tyler, proposed by Bro<sup>r</sup>. Amory ——— but Captain Sill could not attend.”

Dutton attended early in the following year as a visitor.

It will be observed that the principal officers were designated “Masters”. One is reminded of the present-day R.A. Regulation No. , which reads:—

“According to ancient custom, a complete Chapter of this order of Freemasonry consists of the Three Principals, who, when in Chapter assembled, are to be considered jointly as the Master, and each severally as a Master.”

Frequently the three “Masters” of the R.A. Lodge were the Master and Wardens of the Craft Lodge. In recording the transactions of the meeting held on the 3rd February, 1768, the secretary actually wrote “M., S.W., and J.W.” against the names of Tottenham, Armitage and Linnecar. He then crossed out these abbreviations and substituted “M<sup>r</sup>.” in each case. At this meeting Amory and Walker also were present, and Brothers Sill and Helsham “were made Excellent Royal Arch Masons.”

The next two meetings were on the 17th February and 20th April, 1768. No ceremony is recorded at either meeting, and the attendance is small. No expenses are recorded, and it may be that a Craft meeting had preceded the R.A. Lodge. On the 3rd February, 1768, there is a note:—

<sup>1</sup> See, on the other hand, Cutler’s letter to Linnecar in 1772, p.

"Expences . . 0 . . 0. The Tyler not to be paid because there was a Crafts Lodge the same night. The expences was paid by each Brother".

The expression "Crafts Lodge" is to be noted.

There was another meeting of the R.A. Lodge on the 21st December, 1768, when Tottenham, Armitage, Nevins, Amory, Helsham and Linnecar were present. Parker is not noted in the list of "Broth<sup>rs</sup>. pres<sup>t</sup>", but there is an item at the side which says:—

"Bro. Parker to pay the Tyler 1/-"

After the meeting on 17th Feb., 1768, the Principal Officers are no longer designated by any abbreviation; the names of those present are simply recorded without reference to office. This practice continued for several years, but after 1776 it became the custom to use the Craft designations, including "S.D.", "J.D.", "Sec." and "Tyler."

The above remarks refer to the records in the First R.A. Journal. In the Second Journal, into which several of the earlier minutes had been copied, the scribe has made a curious "improvement". Instead of confining the title of "Master" to the three Principal Officers, he has conferred it on all present, giving the record an odd appearance. Thus, his list of Brethren present at the meeting on the 18th February, 1767, reads:—

Robert Amory M.D.	Ma <sup>r</sup> .
Rich <sup>d</sup> . Linnecar	Ma <sup>r</sup> .
Stephen White	Ma <sup>r</sup> .
Edw <sup>d</sup> . Kilvington	Ma <sup>r</sup> .
W <sup>m</sup> . Walker	Ma <sup>r</sup> .
Jo: Armitage	Ma <sup>r</sup> .
Jo: Brown	Ma <sup>r</sup> .

The copyist evidently did not understand the use of the term "Master" in this connection, and perhaps thought it meant "Master Mason". I do not think that we can read into this any reference to the custom of "passing the Chair" before proceeding to the Royal Arch. This practice does not seem to have been followed at Halifax, and there would be no reason for it to appear in Wakefield.

The Brethren do not, however, seem to have been quite sure of their ground with the Royal Arch. I do not know in what their uncertainty consisted, but the two following letters, written about this period, do indicate that they were seeking certain information. I have not been able to identify "E. Pryce", but it would seem that he was in some way connected with Grand Lodge in London:—

"To

Mr. Wm. Parker,  
Linnen Draper,  
Wakefield,  
Ykfs

Lond<sup>o</sup>. 4th May 5768  
(vulgar error)

Broth<sup>r</sup>. Parker,  
Dear Sir,

Upon a sick bed (which some thought would be my death one) with reviving pleasure I receiv'd your agreeable Epistle: your genteel list of Members, your Charity and your order for Books, the two former have had the necessary care taken of them in time, and the latter as soon as my strength and time would permit.  
I hope you and the good Brethren when you come to know the reason will pardon my delay.

The Ahymon Rezon 5<sup>a</sup>. and the sermon 6<sup>d</sup> which I find to be the the only one Entick ever publish'd, for he never preached but 2 on Masonry I could not without difficulty procure after sending three times to his house to Stepney Churchyard.

However yesterday I sent the Book and one Sermon to come from the White Bear by the Waggon, and if you would please to have 11 more of the same sort, pray signify it & I will send them:  
We have had at the Feast 2<sup>d</sup>. ins<sup>t</sup>. some change of Officers

His Grace of Beaufort	G.M. as before
The Honble M <sup>r</sup> . Dillon	D.G.M.
Rowland Holt Esq <sup>r</sup> .	S.G.W.
Bro <sup>r</sup> . Jaffray	J.G.W.

The Brethren were sadly displeas'd  
at dismissing Col<sup>n</sup>. Salter

I beg leave to subscribe myself  
Yours and the Brethren of y<sup>r</sup>. Lodge's  
Very humble Serv<sup>t</sup>. & Bro<sup>r</sup>.  
E. Pryce "

There are no copies of Bro. Parker's letters, but a month later Bro. Pryce wrote again:—

" Bro<sup>r</sup>. Parker,  
Sir,

Lond<sup>o</sup>. 14th June 1768

Since then, upon further enquiry find I have led you and my self into an error rlatve (*sic*) to the Arch. My Brother of that order being very consciencious (*sic*) not knowing positively whether you or any sufficient number of your Lodge were so, which in fact I was not able to inform him

He also talked of an extravagant demand 'most double what I hinted to you

Therefore think we must delay it untill you or some able Brother comes to Town and then if agreeable I will afsist in any thing to the utmost of my power

and am sincerely

Yours and the Brethren  
affectionate Bro<sup>r</sup>. and  
humble servant  
E. Pryce "

Perhaps the Brethren were considering the purchase of furniture for the better working of the Royal Arch. The correspondence remains a puzzle.

#### ROYAL ARCH WORKING IN 1769

I look upon the next Minute as being of very great interest. It is probably the earliest-known clear indication of the nature of the Royal Arch ceremony in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and appears to be good evidence that the "Moderns" working (presuming Wakefield to have followed the "Moderns" in the R.A. as well as in the Craft) of that time was closely related to that practised at the present time.

It has been stated that the "Antients", in their R.A. working, followed the Irish ritual. If the eighteenth century Irish R.A. was anything like that of the present day, then the Wakefield R.A. Lodge certainly did not practise the Irish working. The Minute reads:—

Royal Arch Lodge 22<sup>d</sup>. February 1769

Broth<sup>rs</sup>. prest.

Rev<sup>d</sup>. Armitage

Helsham

Linnecar

Amory

Parker

Tottenham

Browne

*Toasts or Sentiments*

All tha's gone thro' y<sup>e</sup>. seven

To him that grop'd (*sic*) in y<sup>e</sup>. Dark

The first Man that enter'd y<sup>e</sup>. Arch

To him that first shak'd his Cable

May the Crown of Glory, y<sup>e</sup>. Scepter of Righteousness & the Staff  
of comfort attend true Masons

To the Memory of him that first move his stones in the Dark

Harmony among all those who have rec'd the Cord of Love

To the happy Messengers that carried the News to King Cyrus

The Roy Arch ——— Word ———

May the true beam of intelligence (*sic*) Enlighten Every Royal Arch  
Mason

May we be all adorn'd with a true internal (*sic*) robe at the last Day

May we live to see our posterity to follow this Example

As the Jewish High Priests put off their shoes when they enter'd  
the Sanctum Sanctorum, so may every Mason divest himself of  
every vice when he enters this Lodge

Lodge closed to 10th Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1771

The first four toasts correspond clearly enough with our present working, though there seem to be, in the fifth and sixth toasts, suggestions of a symbolism which we do not nowadays employ.

Carrying the News *to* King Cyrus is either a mistake, or refers to some event about which our present ritual is silent. The other toasts, with the exception of the seventh, seem to accord fairly closely with our modern presentation. There are, no doubt, many points of interest, but I do not feel competent to follow out all the implications.

The seventh "sentiment", however, I find intriguing. Whether this was the "strong cord" of our modern working I cannot say. It has been suggested to me that the "cord" was long enough to go round the Chapter, and that it was held by all the Companions at opening and closing. I am told that such a custom is still followed in some Chapters, and that at one stage in the ceremony the candidate holds the two ends of the cord. I have, however never seen this done in any Chapter I have visited.

The expression "cord of love" or "cord of amity" appears to have been in common use among the Wakefield Brethren of that time and for many years later. There is in the "Unanimity" records a letter written by Armitage to Linnecar in 1776, in reply to an invitation to attend the Festival of St. John in Winter. Armitage had left Wakefield and had settled in Hooton, a small village some miles away. Linnecar had apparently described the intended proceedings, and in reply Armitage wrote a charming letter:—

"Hooton, Dec<sup>r</sup>. 25<sup>th</sup>. 1776

Dear Linnecar

I am very much obliged to you  
for giving me an Invitation to dine with you on Friday  
& for acquainting me with your intended Proceedings  
on that day. — I do not mean it as a mere Compliment

when I assure you that I have not the least Doubt of the utmost Propriety of external behaviour being kept up in your Procession to & from the Church; tho' I must own that I have always been apprehensive of the Difficulty of doing it with proper Dignity, unless there be a large Body to support it; however, I should have been extremely glad to have been with you, would the present Time have permitted me. But as it will not, I must content myself with wishing you & the Lodge all the Happinesses you can possibly enjoy, & treat myself with a Glass extraordinary to all your Healths, which I shall drink with peculiar Pleasure to all those Wanderers in the Wilderness who have had the honour of sitting in the Chair of Amity & of being presented with the Cord of Love ——— Mr<sup>s</sup>. Armitage joins in best Regards to Mr<sup>s</sup>. Linnecar, Harry, &c, with your Sincere Friend & Brother  
Jo: Armitage

Many happy Returns of this Season"

There are two additional interesting allusions in this letter. Besides the "cord of love" we have the "Chair of Amity" and the "Wanderers in the Wilderness". Is it possible that at some point in the ceremony the candidate was seated in a particular chair and was presented with the (?ends of the) cord, or is the reference to some privilege enjoyed by the Master or "First Principal"? The allusion to the "Wanderers in the Wilderness" has a familiar ring, but somehow it does not quite fit into the modern R.A. working.

The Wakefield records contain one other reference to the "Cord". At a meeting of the Chapter held in the Black Bull Inn on the 17th January, 1809, a presentation was made by one of the members. The Minute states:—

" . . . the first principal then proceeded to give Instructions which being ended Comp<sup>n</sup>. Wice presented to the first Principal (for the use of the Chapter) a very handsome silken Cord of Amity which was Receiv'd most thankfully as a token of friendship. . ."

It seems clear that some definite ceremonial usage was associated with the Cord, and that it was not part of the normal regalia worn by each Companion, since the Chapter would possess only the one cord. Linnecar's portrait, which clearly shows his Royal Arch sash and apron, has no sign of a "silken cord". Incidentally it should be noted that Linnecar wore his sash on the right shoulder. There is a painting of a Companion of the early nineteenth century in the Whitby Lodge, showing the sash similarly worn.

The next R.A. minute is a short one; four of the members, Nevingson (*sic*), Linnecar, Parker and L. A. Tottenham, were present, and they entertained Bro. Jas. Whitley, a visitor from Halifax. There are, however, several interesting points arising out of this short record. The meeting was on a Sunday, the 10th November, 1771; the expenses are unusually high for so small a gathering—they amount to £1..7..9, and the record ends with the note:—

"Lodge closed to 1774"

There is nothing to indicate why there had been no Royal Arch meeting for more than eighteen months, or why there should be another and even longer period of inactivity.

On checking the Cash Book records, however, the agreement between the R.A. minutes and the receipts of fees during the years 1766 and 1777 is not quite exact. Bro. Brooke, who was made R.A. along with Capt. Dutton on the 16th December, 1767, was Tyler and presumably a "serving Brother", and thus paid no fee. Under date 4th July, 1770, the Cash Book has an entry:

"By Bro. Cap<sup>t</sup>. Tottenham, R.A. 0. 10. 6"

but the Royal Arch Journal has no Minute referring to Capt. Tottenham's admission to the degree.

The earliest Craft Minutes are lost, but there happens to remain a single tattered leaf recording four meetings in 1770. The fragment is a single frayed foolscap sheet, much yellowed with age, and the ink has turned a dark brown.

George & Crown Lodge N<sup>o</sup>. 361 May 23<sup>d</sup>. 1770

Bro<sup>rs</sup>. Present

	s	d		
Whole Ex	7	9	Linnecar	M
Ex & Tyler	6	0	Browne	S.W.
			Nevinson	J.W.
			Tottenham	P.M.
			Dawson	

Lodge clos'd to 6th June Except Emergency

George and Crown Lodge N<sup>o</sup>. 361 June 6<sup>th</sup> 1770

	s	d		
Whole Ex	3	9	Bro <sup>rs</sup> Present	
Ex & Tyler	4	9	Linnecar	M
			Browne	
			Dawson	

Lodge Clos'd to St. Johns Ex: Emergency

On the other side of the leaf the records are:—

George & Crown Lodge N<sup>o</sup>. 361 St. Jn<sup>s</sup>. Day . (1770)

Visitors	Bro <sup>rs</sup> Present
Bro <sup>r</sup> . Walker Cap <sup>t</sup>	Linnecar <span style="float: right;">M</span>
Ewbank	Helsham <span style="float: right;">S.W.</span>
Tottenham Cap <sup>t</sup> .	Nevinson <span style="float: right;">J.W.</span>
	Tottenham
Whole Expences . £3 . 1 . 7	Nevinson
Ex. and Tyler — 1 . 10 . 0	Dawson
	Parker
	Browne

Lodge Clos'd to 4<sup>th</sup>. July Ex: Emergency

Tyler Discharg'd to this Day

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The "social and convivial" aspect does not appear to have been neglected. The "expences" are not inconsiderable, and Bro. Nevinson's name appears twice in the list of members present. It is, however, the last of the four Minutes which explains the discrepancy between the Cash records and the Royal Arch Journal. Apparently the Lodge, in the absence of Craft business, decided to resolve itself into the Royal Arch, and to admit Captain Tottenham to that degree:—

Royall Arch Lodge Night in Due form 20. Aug 1766

Bro. Present  
 W. Walker Jun. M.  
 So. Armitage M.  
 Stephen White M.  
 W. Parker

Bro. Proposed to be raised Royall Arch

Expenses 3/6

Tyler 4/-

Visitors

W. Walker Jun.  
 E. Hilvington  
 R. Linnear  
 R. Amory  
 So. Newson

Lodge closed to the 3. Sept. 1766

Royall Arch Lodge 3. Sept. 1766

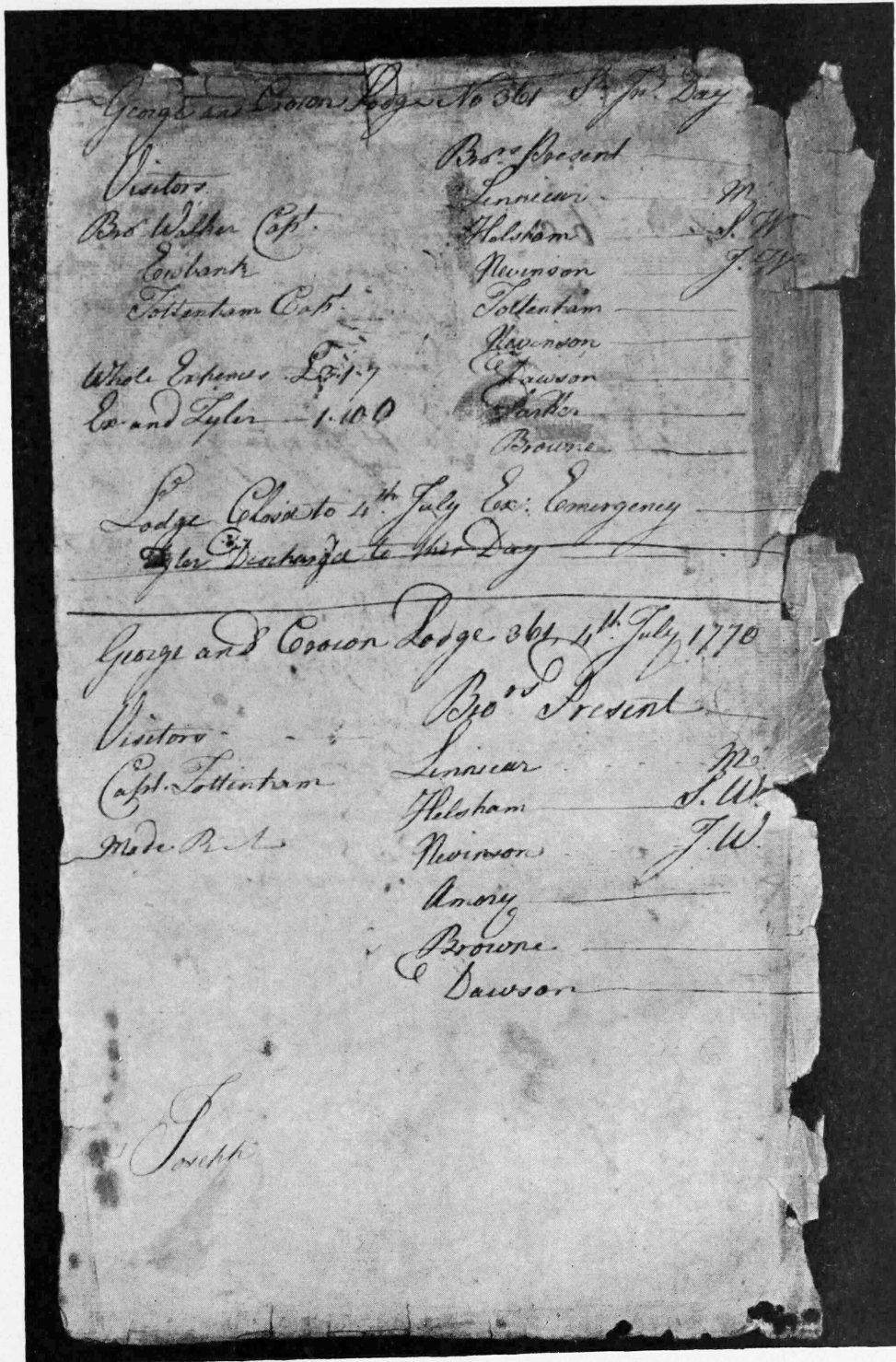
Bro. Present  
 W. Parker M.  
 W. Walker M.  
 So. Brown M.  
 Stephen White  
 So. Armitage

Bro. W. Walker Jun. E. Hilvington R. Linnear R. Amory  
 & So. Newson took the fourth or excellent Degree of  
 Royall Arch

for Admission fees L. 5. 8  
 2. 12. 6

Expenses - 13. 10  
 Tyler 1  
 £ 14. 10

Lodge closed to the 11 Sept. 1766



Only Page yet discovered from the First Minute Book of the George and Crown No. 361, Wakefield.

George and Crown Lodge 361, 4<sup>th</sup> July 1770

Visitors	Bro <sup>rs</sup> . Present
Capt. Tottenham	Linnecar ..... M
	Helsham ----- S.W.
Made R A	Nevinson ..... J.W.
	Amory -----
	Browne -----
	Dawson -----

Joseph

The usual "Lodge clos'd to . . ." has been omitted, and the cryptic reference to "Joseph" must remain unexplained.

A point of interest is that Linnecar is for the first time in the history of the Lodge shown as Master. The succession of Masters in the first few years was:—

1766	W. Walker Senr.
1767	Dr. Robert Amory
1768	L. A. Tottenham
1769	Rev. J. Armitage
1770	Richard Linnecar
1771	Jo. Nevinson
1772	?
1773	?
1774	Richard Linnecar
	to
1800	

There is a curious period of inanition between 10th November, 1771, and 16th January, 1776. There is only one item in the Cash Book on the expenditure side of the accounts during this period:—

30 Dec. 1772	To Cash p <sup>d</sup> . Bro <sup>r</sup> . Parker for Expences in going to visit the Lodge at Sheffield	£1. 6. 0.
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Which Lodge did he visit, and why? Perhaps the Sheffield records may throw some light on these questions, and give a hint as to the reason for the inactive period at Wakefield.

There are rather more entries on the receipts side.

27 June 1772	By Cash rec'd of Coln <sup>l</sup> . Tottenham	s	d
	for the Arches	4.	0
	By subscription for for ( <i>sic</i> ) supper the next meeting	12.	6
	By Cash rec'd of John Hudson in full	5.	6
30 Dec 1772	By Bro <sup>r</sup> . Tottenham's subscription	10.	6
	By Bro <sup>r</sup> . Linnecar D <sup>o</sup> .	10.	6
	By Bro <sup>r</sup> . Amory's D <sup>o</sup> .	10.	6
	By Bro <sup>r</sup> . Parker's D <sup>o</sup> .	10.	6
	By Bro <sup>r</sup> . Dawson's D <sup>o</sup> .	10.	6

The next entries on both sides of the Cash Book are dated 16th January, 1776.

There are no Craft minutes extant for this period, but the first Royal Arch Journal contains a note immediately after the minute of the meeting on 19th November, 1771:—

"Brother Linacar appointed Maft<sup>r</sup>. for 1774  
The Lodge to meet at y<sup>e</sup>. Maft<sup>rs</sup>. pleasure"

In the first Journal the note is recorded in an almost illegible hand. It appears at the head of the left-hand page, and is ruled off underneath. The copy in the second Journal has not only been beautifully written, but has been "improved" by the copyist. He has made it look as much like a minute as possible:—

"Royal Arch Lodge

1774

Brothers present

Brother Linnecar was appointed Master for this year, and the Lodge to meet at the Masters pleasure.

Lodge closed to 10th June 1776"

In his zeal for tidying up the old minutes, the scribe has not noticed a curious error in the two minutes which follow. In the first Journal, immediately under the line ruling off the note mentioned, are entered the following minutes:—

Royal Arch Lodge In due form held at the George  
and Crown 10<sup>th</sup>. June 1776 upon Emergency

Brothers present

Visitor

Richd. Linnicar Mastr.

Wm. Walker S.W.

A. H. Linnecar J.W.

Broth<sup>r</sup>. Garside

John Barstow

W. Royston Se<sup>ly</sup>

Richd. Mawhood Jun<sup>r</sup>.

Exp<sup>a</sup>. Bill 5 . . 11

Tyler 1 . . 0

Ent<sup>d</sup>. 6 . . 11

Broth<sup>r</sup>. John Barstow propos'd to be made a Royal  
Arch Mason pafsd in the Affirmative and made  
accordingly ———

Brother's W. Royston & Rich<sup>d</sup>. Mawhood Jun<sup>r</sup>. propos'd  
themselves to be made Royal Arch Mason's pafs'd in  
the affirmative and made accordingly

Lodge Closed in due form to 13<sup>th</sup> May 5776

Omitted on acc't of the Sec<sup>y</sup>. absence

Royal Arch Lodge held in due form at the George  
& Crown Inn the 13th May 5776

Brothers John Ball & Jun<sup>o</sup>. Mackerth & Jos<sup>h</sup>. (*sic*) Goodall propos'd  
themselves to be rais'd Royal Arch Mason's pafs'd in the Affirmative  
and made accordingly

Broth<sup>rs</sup>. Present

R. Linnicar Mas<sup>r</sup>.

W. Walker S.D.

A. H. Linnicar J.D.

Visitors Broth<sup>r</sup>. Ball

D<sup>o</sup>. Armitage

Exp<sup>a</sup>. Bill : 15 : 9

Tyler : 1 : 0

Ent<sup>d</sup>. 16 : 9

Lodge clos'd in due form to 30 July 1776

The Minute of 13th May should of course precede that of 10th June; it seems to have been the custom for the Secretary to leave blanks after the phrase :

“Lodge clos'd to .”

and to fill in these blanks after the lapse of several meetings. The two minutes were transposed for the reason given in the note (in small handwriting) immediately under the double line ruling off the minute of the meeting on May 13th. The successive dates were added perhaps some months later, and when the minutes were copied out years afterwards into the second R.A. Journal, the scribe added an error of his own when he converted the note about Linnecar in 1774 into a minute of a transaction at a meeting.

Whatever the reason for the partial suspension of the activities of the Lodge immediately prior to 1776, there is no doubt that the beginning of that year marked the commencement of a new era, and was in many ways the golden age of the Lodge. Linnecar took the Chair in that year and retained it till his death in 1800. There had undoubtedly been a decline in the affairs of the Lodge, and the Brethren were intent upon a revival.

Linnecar, that man of many parts, wrote a “song” to mark the occasion, and published a broadsheet, presumably for circulation among the Brethren of the district. The first verse runs:—

“What joy fills our hearts, what transports we share,  
When thus my dear brethren we meet on the square  
Our light now shines forth, where darkness appeared,  
For the Lodge is reviv'd, that at Wakefield was rear'd!”

The broadsheet version was a little broad in its humour, and when the “song” was reprinted in Linnecar’s book, published in 1789, several of the sentiments were modified, and the whole song referred back to the period of the formation of the Lodge.

The version in the *Miscellaneous Works* is:—

“ON THE CONSTITUTING OF THE LODGE, No. 238  
AT WAKEFIELD.

What joy fills our hearts, what transports we share!  
When thus my dear brethren we meet on the square!  
Our light now shines forth, where darkness appear'd!  
For a lodge we at length in Wakefield have rear'd!  
Derry down.

With hearts thus united, cemented by love,  
An emblem of that happy station above!  
No back-biting, malice, no envy have we!  
Our motto is silence, love, charity!  
Derry down.

The town’s in an uproar, as plainly is seen:  
Free-masons cry they, pray what do they mean?  
They’re eunuchs, one answer’d; I’m told by a neighbour,  
That a Free-mason’s wife was never in labour!  
Derry down.

With a hot salamander, their bodies are sear'd,  
 That they are haters of women, I also have heard,  
 And that it is so, I most firmly believe,  
 For their Lodge the have barr'd 'gainst the daughters of Eve.  
 Derry down.

They are fools cry'd another: their secrets they boast  
 When by books that are publish'd, those secrets are lost.  
 There's Jack King, and Buz, and three proper knocks,  
 All the mist'ry of Masons, most fully unlocks.  
 Derry down.

Then replied a wiseacre, I know very well  
 No secrets they have, so none can they tell!  
 And those books of free masons, I strongly believe  
 Are only rank nonsense, the world to deceive.  
 Derry down.

A lady then spoke, as she tea poured out,  
 About these free masons, what a din and a rout;  
 They're disciples of Rome, his holyness knows,  
 Sent out to alure (*sic*) by their tricks and their shews.  
 Derry down.

The wife of a mason, who heard all this stuff  
 Cry'd peace, my good friends, you've shewn envy enough;  
 'Tis pity some folks, their folly should shew,  
 By railing at matters, they own they don't know.  
 Derry down.

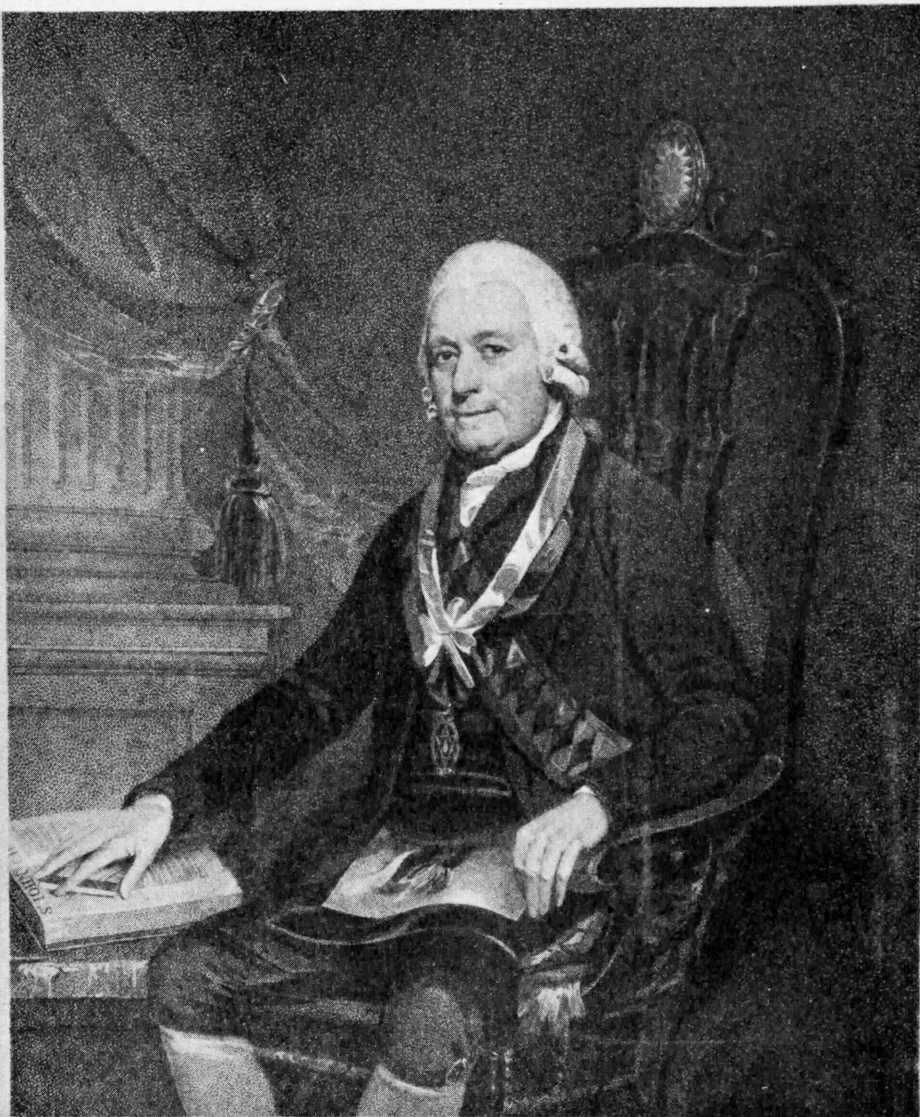
God bless! these poor people, pray let them rail on,  
 And let us, dear brethren, each strive to mend one!  
 That by our example, the world may all see,  
 To be good and virtuous, is free-masonry!  
 Derry down.

Come charge my dear breth'ren, come fill the glass high,  
 To the Kind, our grand master, and free-masonry!  
 To our wives, barns and sweethearts, let it go round,  
 And may this our new lodge, with blessings be crown'd!  
 Derry down.

Replenish once more, I've a toast to propose,  
 As the hearts of each mason, with gratitude glows,  
 To the good lodge of ——— those brothers so true!  
 Let us drink with all honours, to masonry due.  
 Derry down.

It is not clear why Linnecar should have left a blank in the last line but one. The word "Wakefield" would scan, but when the *Miscellaneous Works* was published, the Lodge had already been named "Unanimity" (in 1777).

The rest of the song is not without masonic interest. It indicates that some of the various "exposures" current at the time were well-known to the Brethren even in the Provinces, and had attracted sufficient general attention to justify a little disparagement. *Jachin and Boaz* was first published in 1762, and according to Bro. Vibert ran into 26 editions by the Union. *Three Distinct Knocks* also went into a number of editions after publication in 1760.



*Richard Linnecar R.W.M.*  
of the LODGE of *Unanimity* N°202 WAKEFIELD  
(and one of his *MAJESTIES* Coroners for the  
WEST RIDING of the COUNTY of YORK)



Vibert's list<sup>1</sup> indicates roughly two periods of "revival", and the Wakefield records show that the renewed enthusiasm of the Brethren corresponded to the second of these periods. The Cash Book entries between January 16th and March 16th, 1776, are a little untidy and confused, but on the latter date a new treasurer turned over a new leaf, and with £21/16/- in hand, began to set out his accounts in an orderly manner.

CASH		Dr.	£ s. d.
1776	16th Mar	To Postage of a Letter from London ..	— 4
		To Cash Bro't, Forward ..	1 2 8
		To Cash remitt'd to Broth <sup>r</sup> . Heseltine ..	4 4 4
		towards building a New Hall ..	1 1 —
		To Cash remitt'd for the annual Charity ..	— 16 —
	30	To Exp <sup>s</sup> . of the Night ..	— 8 6
		To expences of the Night ..	— 8 6
April	3	3 Chairs & their Thrones ..	4 14 6
		To Exp <sup>s</sup> . of the Night ..	— 14 —
	17	To Exp <sup>s</sup> . of the Night ..	— 15 —
	27	To Exp <sup>s</sup> . of the Night ..	— 7 —
May	1	A Dagger for the use of the Lodge ..	— 1 9
		Squares for D <sup>o</sup> . ..	— 8 —
		1 yd. Ribbd <sup>d</sup> . ..	— — 6
		18 yds Ribbd <sup>d</sup> . , Bot. of Earnshaw & Royston ..	— 1 16 —
		Exp <sup>s</sup> . Bill ..	— 12 8
	15	Paid for Ribbins for the use of the Lodge ..	1 16 —
		D <sup>o</sup> . for 1000 Notices ..	1 0 —
		Exp <sup>s</sup> . attending the Royal Arch Lodge ..	— 12 —
June	5	Exp <sup>s</sup> . Bill ..	1 5 6
	10	Exp <sup>s</sup> . Bill ..	— 6 11
May	13	Exp <sup>s</sup> . Bill .. this was omit'd	— — —
June	12	Paid Earnshaw & Royston as p. Note ..	— 13 —
		Paid for 2 Books for y <sup>e</sup> . use of y <sup>e</sup> . Lodge ..	— 8 —
		Paid Post <sup>r</sup> . of a L <sup>r</sup> . from y <sup>e</sup> . Grand Lodge ..	— 4 —
		The Tyler's Sword mending &c. ..	— 1 2
	13	Exp <sup>s</sup> . Bill ..	— 9 —
			£24 4 4

<sup>1</sup> Lionel Vibert, *The Rare Books of Freemasonry*, 1923.

The furnishings received further attention. The Lodge had already, in 1768, bought three fine chairs, for which they paid £11/9/-. These chairs are still in use, and are in the dining hall at Wakefield. The Master's chair is shown in the engraving made from the large portrait of Linnecar. The Wardens' chairs are similar in design, that of the S.W. bearing a glazed gilded level, whilst the J.W.'s has a beehive.

In 1776, it will be seen, three more chairs "and their Thrones" were acquired. I believe these are the old chairs now used by the principal officers in the temple itself at Wakefield. The "thrones" (presumably raised platforms) no longer exist; the chairs are now carried on modern painted deal platforms.

Some of the Lodge equipment was either flimsy in character, or was energetically used. The dagger paid for on May 1st required repairing in July, and the Tyler's sword also needed mending in June.

The "ribbins" or "ribbands" would perhaps be for the equivalent of the officers' collars, or may have been for decorating the aprons or for making R.A. sashes. There was a cheap kind at 6d. a yard, and the much dearer variety which cost 36/- for 18 yards. From Linnecar's portrait it was apparently still the custom for the officers to suspend their jewels from a collar of ribbon, though a length of 18 yards seems rather more than would be needed for a set of officers' collars of that time, though it would be about right for a set of sashes.

One could continue to comment at length on the items in the pages quoted and in those which follow in the 'Cash Book. "Herb Tobacco" occurs more than once; the "expences for the Night" vary considerably; the printing (?) of 1,000 notices indicates a determination to set affairs on a firm foundation.

Later items for 1776 include the purchase of a "Trufsel Board" for which the Lodge paid a Mr. Thos. Smith the sum of 16/-. Candles were a heavy expense; in December a Mr. Sigston supplied candles to the amount of £1/14/6. Linnecar's "Song" was printed at the Lodge's expense, though the item of 6/- involved was not excessive. Disbursements for charity occur frequently; a distressed Brother, Mr. Henry Wallack, received a guinea; another poor Brother whose need was perhaps not so great, was given a shilling. The Lodge was not careless with its money; there is an item on the credit side:

"By a Bottle of Wine ret<sup>d</sup>.                      2s "

Possibly Linnecar, in his capacity as wine merchant, was responsible for the supply of wines; the Brethren were no doubt connoisseurs.

The items show, at the very least, that the Lodge was again thoroughly alive. A few months ago, by the kindness of Bro. Harry Dyson of Horbury, near Wakefield, two pages from the Minute Book of this period came into my hands. The pages were found many years ago by one of Bro. Dyson's relatives among some old prints in a dealer's shop, and came into Bro. Dyson's possession when he became a Mason. They were very kindly returned to the "Unanimity" Lodge last year, and are now a much appreciated and treasured item in the Lodge collection. I mention the circumstance to show in what curious ways these old fragments turn up.

The two foolscap leaves belong apparently to the second Minute Book of the Lodge, since the size is slightly different from that of the 1770 leaf, and the watermark is also different. They were taken from near the middle of a section, and record seven meetings of the Lodge between April and July, 1776. One of the meetings was an "Emergency" and one what we should now call an "Installation".

The first of the series of minutes is undated, and there is no heading. At this period, however, the meetings were usually held once a fortnight; and, as there is an item of 14/- for expenses in the Cash Book under date 3rd April, 1776, we may assume that this meeting was held on that date.

Visitors Brothr. Dr. Davison	Brothers Present	
	Brothr. Richd. Linnicar	Master
	Wm. Walker	- S.W.
	A. H. Linnicar	J.W.
	E. Wright	- S.D.
	Frans. Barstow	- J.D.
Expences Bill . . . 13..0	W. Royston	
Tyler . . . 1..0	Thos. Andrews	
	Thos. Hardy	
Entd. . . 14..0	J. Mackerth	
	Tim Oxley	
	Robt. Beatson	
	Thos. Dawson	
	Heny. Andrews	

Brother Dr. Davison proposed himself to be rais'd  
Master Mason the next Lodge Night or the first  
Lodge Night he attends

Lodge closed except on Emergency till the 17th April

#### George & Crown Inn Lodge Night 17th April 1776

Brother Tim: Oxley, Bror. Mackerth, Bror. Thos. Hardy & Bror. Andrews propos'd themselves (*sic*), to be raised on this Night Master Masons and were rais'd Accordingly — being made upon emergency. Brother Heny. Andrews proposed himself to be made Fellow Craft on this night pafs'd in the affirmative & made accordingly being raised upon emergency

Exps. Bill . . . . .	14 .0
Tyler . . . . .	1 . 0
Entd. . . . .	15 . . 0

(the minute continues on the back of the front sheet)

Brot. up Timy. Oxley Frans. Barstow Robt. Beatson John Mackerth Thos. Dawson	Brothers Present	
	A. H. Linnicar,	Master in absence
	of Richard Linnecar	
	Wh. Walker	S.W.
	John Barstow	J.W.
	Elias Wright	S.D.
	Richd. Mawhood	J.D.
	W. Royston	
	Thos. Andrews	
	Thos. Hardy	
	Heny. Andrews	

Carrd. up

Lodge Closed except on emergency till y<sup>e</sup>. 1st May 1776

Ann Harrison Linnecar was Richard's son. He is referred to in Armitage's letter to Linnecar, dated 25th Dec.: 1776 (see p. ), as "Harry", but Bro. David Flather tells me that in Sheffield, where he was made a Mason, he was known as "Nancy". A. H. Linnecar took his "First Step" in Lodge No. 340,

Sheffield, on the 29th December, 1773. He was raised in the same Lodge on the 27th December, 1775,<sup>1</sup> and joined the Lodge in Wakefield on the 16th January, 1776.

He does not appear to have been Master of his Sheffield Lodge, nor was he ever regularly elected Master of the Lodge at Wakefield. It would appear that at this period it was not essential for an "Installed Master" to preside over the Lodge when conducting a ceremony. The expression "Passed (or Past) Master" was not unknown in Wakefield; Tottenham, who had occupied the chair in 1768, was noted as "P.M." on at least one subsequent occasion. It seems unlikely, however, that any distinctive secrets or ceremony were associated with the assumption of the chair at that time. Nor do I think the ceremony of "passing the chair" was ever practised in Wakefield, as a preliminary to the Royal Arch. As will be seen from the Craft minutes now cited, Harry Linnecar deputed for his father on more than one occasion, and presumably conducted the ceremonies.

I imagine the reason why Dr. Davison was not made a Master Mason on the same night as he "propos'd himself" for that degree is that a number of those present were not MMs. Davison did ultimately proceed to the "3rd Step", and was made a Royal Arch Mason on the 1st December, 1782. He was attached, like so many of the Brethren, to the 90th Regiment.

It may be worthy of note that on the 17th April, 1776, several Brethren "propos'd themselves" to be raised Master Masons, and were "made accordingly" without the proposals being put to the vote. When Bro. Henry Andrews proposed himself to be made a Fellow Craft, the proposal had apparently first to be approved.

The earliest Bye-Laws of the Lodge of which I have been able to secure a copy are dated 1805. In these the point in question is covered by a rule which reads:—

"Every Brother who has received the apprentices, or any other degree, and is desirous of being advanced, shall move the Lodge for that purpose, and his motion when seconded, shall be determined by ballot"

In two of the older Wakefield Lodges there is a curious custom at the present time of giving notice regarding advancement. After a candidate has been initiated, or passed to the second degree, it is usual for his proposer to rise and say:—

"W.M., I wish to give notice that Bro. A.B. will take a further degree in due course."

If by chance this announcement is omitted, there is often doubt in the minds of the Brethren as to the legitimacy of proceeding to a further degree until the "proper notice" has been given.

The next minute is a blunt record of a disappointment.

George & Crown Inn Lodge on emergency 27th April upon expectation of two visiting Brethren who did not come.

		Brothers Present	
Exps. Bill	. . . . . 6..0	A. H. Linnicar Mastr.	in absence
Tyler	. . . . . 1..0	of R. Linnicar	
	— — —	Richd. Mawhood Jun.	S.W.
Entd.	. . . . . 7. 0	John Barstow	J.W.
	— — —	Thos. Dawson	S.D.
		Timy. Oxley	J.D.
		W. Royston	Secy.

Lodge closed till the 1st May except on emergency

<sup>1</sup> David Flather, *Freemasonry in Sheffield in the 18th Century*, A.Q.C., xlv, p. 154.

From the flourish with which the name "W. Royston" is written, it is safe to assume that these minutes are in his writing. The whole of these 1776 minutes, with the exception of a short portion of the minute of 17th April, are by his hand.

The minutes given above occupy the two sides of the first page or leaf. Two leaves are missing from the centre of the section, and this would account for the minutes of four or five meetings, which seems a reasonable assumption from the Cash Book records.

The next minute corresponds, I imagine, to a modern "Installation", but the occasion was in the middle of summer, and not, as is now the custom in Wakefield, as near as possible to St. John's Day in Winter.

Geo<sup>e</sup>. & Crown Inn Lodge, being St. John's Day, y<sup>e</sup>. 24<sup>th</sup>. June 1776  
Lodge met and dined in due form.

The same officers re-elected

A List of the Officers	
R. Linnecar,	Master
W. Walker	S.W.
A. H. Linnecar	J.W. & Treas.
Thos. Dawson	S.D.
Timy. Oxley	J.D.
W. Royston	Sec <sup>y</sup> .

Brother's Present	
R. Linnecar	Mas <sup>r</sup> .
W. Walker	S.W.
T. Andrews	J.W. pro. temp
T. Dawson	S.D.
T. Oxley	J.D.
W. Royston	Sec <sup>y</sup> .
T. Horrocks	
Elias Wright	

Visitor ——— Rev<sup>d</sup>. J. Mackerth

	£	s	d
Exp <sup>s</sup> . Bill	3.	4.	0
Tyler		2.	6
Serv <sup>ts</sup> .		2.	6
Ent <sup>d</sup> .	£3.	9.	0

Lodge closed till y<sup>e</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>. July 1776 except on emergency

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There were nine Brethren present, and the expenses were £3. 9. 0. I like to try to picture this gathering on a bright summer evening in eighteenth century Wakefield. The curtains would be drawn, we must presume, over the leaded windows of the long room above the archway entrance into the George and Crown yard. Inside the room, at the eastern end, would be the Master's chair on its raised dais, with the pedestal before it. A third of the room would be vacant except for the squared carpet on which the ceremony was performed. Then, stretching two-thirds the length of the room, at the western end would be the Lodge table. On this occasion, what a sight would meet the eyes of the Brethren! Bro. Dawson, Mine Host, an old member and the Senior Deacon of the Lodge, would have given of his best. The finest of the glass and silver in the house would have been brought out to supplement the "mason's glasses" of the Lodge. The side tables would bear the bowls of cold punch, and there would be an ample sufficiency of choice wines, selected and perhaps supplied by the Master himself.

The Lodge would be opened, formal business transacted, and the Brethren would then take their seats at the table. The meal, we may imagine, would be such as appealed to the tastes of the youthful and no doubt fastidious members of the Lodge, nor would it disgrace the tradition of Wakefield hospitality. We can picture the first toast loyally drunk—many of the absent members were with their regiments—the drawing of the cloth, and the settling down to a merry evening and the steady consumption of wines, and of “malt liquor” for the good of the house. We can see the radiant and genial Linnecar in his best form presiding over the little gathering of good fellows, who every now and then would raise the roof with one of their “Derry Down” choruses. There would be toasts, “sentiments”, challenges, and an occasional glass broken in a too vigorous “fire”—and we may be sure that joy was unconfined and indeed restrained only by the fleeting hour and the good example of the Master.

With the exception of Linnecar, who at this time would be about 53, they were nearly all quite young men. Walker was about 35, but Mackerth, Royston, A. H. Linnecar and some of the others were in their early twenties. Their gatherings would be exuberant, but they would be kept in check to some extent by the respect they had for the urbane and versatile Linnecar. We can realise why he retained the chair for a quarter of a century; with the mellowing of the years the respect of his Brethren would grow into something akin to veneration, until there could clearly be no alternative to Linnecar in the chair in his lifetime.

The meeting on St. John's Day shows that all the officers were elected, and that Linnecar must have occupied the Chair during the previous year. Mackerth had already moved to Hooton, and was no longer a subscribing member, although in later years he frequently attended the Royal Arch meetings as a member.

The next meeting was a much quieter affair; six Brethren were present, including one visitor, but the expenses amounted to less than 3s. per head.

Geo<sup>e</sup>. & Crown Inn Lodge y<sup>e</sup>. 3<sup>d</sup>. July 1776

				Brother's Present	
				R. Linnicar	Mas <sup>r</sup> .
				E. Wright	S.W. Pro temp
Visitor				T. Andrews	D <sup>o</sup> .
Fredk. Wilkinson				W. Royston	Secy.
	£	s	d	T. Horrocks	
Exps. Bill		15.	9		
Tyler		1.	0		
Waiter			3		
Entd.		17.	0		

Lodge closed till y<sup>e</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup> July. 1776 except on emergency

The next minute contains a curious entry in regard to the result of a ballot.

Geo<sup>e</sup>. & Crown Inn Lodge, y<sup>e</sup>. 17<sup>th</sup>. July 1776

Mr. Kitson proposed by Brother Walker — sec<sup>d</sup>. by Brothr. Horrocks balloted for and pafs'd in y<sup>e</sup>. negative

Visitor				Brothers Present	
The Rev <sup>d</sup> . J. Mackerth				R. Linnicar	Masr.
				W. Walker	S.W.
				T. Andrews	J.W.
	£	s	d	T. Dawson	S.D.
Exps. Bill	1.	0.	2	E. Wright	J.D.
Tyler		1.	0	W. Royston	Secy.
		—	—	Henry. Andrews	
Entd.	£1.	1.	2	T. Horrocks	
		—	—		

Lodge closed till y<sup>e</sup>. 7<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup>. 1776 except on emergency

The last of the "1776 minutes" records on emergency meeting on a Tuesday, instead of the usual Wednesday. The alteration may have been made to suit the convenience of the candidate, a young attorney, Mr. Jonathan West, who became a Royal Arch Mason in December of the same year. Thereafter he disappears from the records. The name "Goodair" is uncommon, but there is still a family in Wakefield bearing that name, and claiming connection with eighteenth century ancestors in the town. There is also a Goodair Square in Wakefield.

George & Crown Inn Lodge, y<sup>e</sup>. 30<sup>th</sup>. July 1776 on emergency

Mr. Jon<sup>n</sup>. West Jun<sup>r</sup>., Att<sup>y</sup>. aged 24 proposed by Broth<sup>r</sup>.  
Mawhood — balloted for and made accordingly —  
Mr. Thos. Goodair — proposed by Broth<sup>r</sup>. Horrocks & sec<sup>d</sup>.  
by Broth<sup>r</sup>. Walker to be made an apprentice Mason  
the next Lodge Night, pafs'd in the affirmative

	£	s	d	Brothers Present	
Exps. Bill	1.	0.	3	R. Linnicar	Mas <sup>r</sup> .
Tyler		1.	0	W. Walker	S.W.
		—	—	T. Andrews	J.W.
Entd.	£1.	1.	3	T. Dawson	S.D.
		—	—	R. Mawhood	J.D.
				W. Royston	Sec <sup>y</sup> .
				T. Horrocks & J. West	

Lodge Closed till y<sup>e</sup>.  
7<sup>th</sup>. Aug<sup>t</sup>. except  
emergency

The minute goes down to the bottom of the page, and the Secretary was just able to squeeze in the bottom lines.

There are no more Craft minutes available until 1799, but there is other evidence of the activities of the Lodge during the first few years of the "revival".

In the Cash Book under date 27th December, 1776, there is an expenditure item:—

"Expenses being St. John's Day . £23. 11. 4"

The story behind this unusually heavy item has already been told to some extent in *Miscellanea Latomorum*, vol. xxvi., under the title "The Bacchus Affair". From the correspondence and notes in the "Unanimity" collection it is evident that the Brethren had determined to celebrate their "revival" with a great festival on St. John's Day in Winter. Most Lodges at that time had a Festival and Dinner on or near that day, but Linnicar apparently wished for something more elaborate, and invitations to assist in the rejoicings were sent to several

neighbouring Lodges. The meeting was also advertised in the Press. I am indebted to Bro. G. Y. Johnson for an extract from the *York Chronicle* of 20th December, 1776, reading:—

Linnecar, Master.

Free and Accepted Masons are desired to meet the Brethren of the Lodge No. 296, at the George and Crown in Wakefield, on Friday the 27th of December inst. at ten o'clock in the forenoon, being St. John's day, where a sermon will be preached on the occasion, by the Rev Brother John Mackareth.

Walker, Senior Warden.

A. H. Linnecar, Junior Warden.

Dinner to be upon the table at two o'clock.

Linnecar's notes of the arrangements still exist. It was to be an imposing affair. There was to be a Procession from the Lodge to the Church—a distance of some 300 yards by the nearest route—a Service and a Masonic Address, a return Procession, and then a sumptuous and elaborate Dinner in the Lodge. The Notes are in Linnecar's handwriting, and besides arranging the order of the Procession, show that the after-proceedings were also carefully organised.

An extract from the latter portion reads:—

“The stewards, to order a sufficient quantity of Red Port and Lisbon into the Lodge, after we return from Church. And to order, the Large Bowl to be made full of Punch, and two small Bowls, full of Rum and Water, and Brandy and Water, before Dinner. Ready to place on the Table when the Cloth is drawn. To Order, a number of Common Wine Glasses into the Room, to use at Dinner. That our Masons Glasses, may be clean and ready to set on the Table, after the Cloth is drawn. To Order, the Tylers to wait, if a sufficient number, that none but Masons may be in the Room.

Every Measure should be consider'd on, that order may be preserv'd throughout the Day.”

The records also contain letters from the various Lodges in the vicinity; some accepted and others declined on account of previous arrangements:—

“Right Worship<sup>l</sup>. Master, Sen<sup>r</sup>. & Jun<sup>r</sup>. Wardens,  
and the rest of the Breth<sup>n</sup>. of the Lodge  
N<sup>o</sup>. 296 at Wakefield ————

I communicated to as many of the Bro<sup>s</sup>. as the time would permit, your very obligeing invitation to accompany you to hear a sermon on the commemoration of S<sup>t</sup>. John the Evangelist — it would have given us the greatest pleasure to have heard a sermon on that occasion, had we not been pre engaged, but as usual orders was given the regular Lodge Night to provide a supper to be upon the table at seven o'Clock, in order to commemorate the anniversary of S<sup>t</sup>. John, so that we are under the necessity of declining your kind invitation — if any Bro<sup>r</sup>. from Wakefield shou'd happen to be this way at that time his company will be esteemed a favour

I am, D<sup>r</sup>. Breth<sup>n</sup>. your most Hble Serv<sup>t</sup>. & Broth<sup>r</sup>.

William Pearson  
Master

Lodge N<sup>o</sup>. 277 Kings Head  
Sheffield, Dec<sup>r</sup>. 22<sup>d</sup>. 1776

This old Lodge is now "Britannia" No. 139, Sheffield. According to Lane, it did not move to the "Old King's Head, Change Alley" till the following year.

There were two Lodges in Leeds at this time. One was "The Talbot" which had been warranted by the "Moderns" in 1754 as No. 243, and in the 1770 enumeration became No. 142. According to Lane, this Lodge was erased in 1776, but according to the Wakefield records it was still active in this year, since it was represented at the Wakefield Festival in December. The record of the proceedings shows that the Brethren of "Lodge 243" were represented by their Master, a Past Master, the two Wardens, Treasurer and Secretary.

The other Leeds Lodge was the "Golden Lyon", which met at the Inn of that name near Leeds Bridge. Lane says that this was a "Master's Lodge", that it was warranted ("Moderns") in 1761 with the number 258, and was No. 205 at the time of the Wakefield Festival. It lapsed for want of members, and was erased in 1786. The Brethren of 205 had made other arrangements:—

Dr. Sir

Your very kind favour of 19<sup>th</sup>. Inst: giving our Lodge an invitation to meet your's on the approaching St. John's day, has only this moment been put into my hands — On Account of the shortnefs of this notice I am under the necefsity to tell you we cannot have the pleasure to wait on you that day. Having already made the necefsary dispositions for celebrating the said Feast in our own Lodge. At any other time it will afford us much pleasure to pay a Visit to our Bretheren at Wakefield

I am w<sup>th</sup>. much respect & esteem

Dr. Sir

Your affect fr<sup>d</sup>. & Bro<sup>r</sup>.

Geo: Scott M<sup>r</sup>.

Leeds 23<sup>d</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1776

Mr. R<sup>d</sup>. Linnecar, Master of the  
Lodge of Free & Accepted Masons  
N<sup>o</sup>. 296 Wakefield

10 forenoon

The Brethren of the Halifax Lodge decided to attend, and wrote a formal note of acceptance, signed by the three principal officers:—

The letter is inscribed to:—

Mast<sup>r</sup>. of the Lodge of Free Masons  
N<sup>o</sup> 296

Wakefield

Right Worshipful Mast<sup>r</sup>.

Sen<sup>r</sup>. and Jun<sup>r</sup>. Wardens & the rest of the Officers & Brethren of the Lodge 296 at Wakefield

In answer to your favor of the  
19<sup>th</sup>. Inst. as many of this Lodge as pofsible intend  
themselves the pleasure of paying you a Visit  
on Friday next — We shall not exceed seven nor we  
believe not lefs than five — We wish we could increase  
the number

We are Dear Broth<sup>rs</sup>.

Your most obed<sup>t</sup>. hum' Ser<sup>s</sup>.

& Brethren

JOHN CARTWRIGHT Mast<sup>r</sup>.

JOHN WOODWORTH Sen<sup>r</sup>. W

WILLIAM AKED J.W.

Lodge N<sup>o</sup> 81 Old Cock Halifax Decem<sup>r</sup> 22. '76

The three signatures are boldly and carefully written, and it is to be presumed that these three Brethren at least attended the celebrations.

The Festival seems to have been a great success, if we may rely on a document in the Wakefield Collection. This account reads as though it was a report intended for the Press, and perhaps a search among contemporary journals would show that it was actually published. The affair followed the lines of Linnecar's notes, and there is little doubt that the Brethren enjoyed themselves hugely.

The account runs:—

“On Fryday last, being St. John the Evangelist's Day, the Freemasons of the Lodge at Wakefield, accompanied by the Brethren of the Lodges 81 and 243 and several Brethren from other Lodges, went in procession from their Lodge, with a fine band of Martial Musick, belonging to the 59th Regiment; and other performers, to Church, where a most excellent Sermon was preached on the occasion by the Revd. Mr. Mackreath; they were ushered into the Church by a grand piece of Musick by Mr. Clementshaw<sup>1</sup> on the organ, which continued playing till the service began. The greatest concourse of People were assembled, the Church, Streets, and Windows were crowded with Spectators. The text was the 16th Verse of the 3d. Chap of the Prophet Malachi.”

There follows a description of the Procession; it must have been a brave show:—

“Two Tylers, with drawn Swords  
Musick, two and two  
Stewards, with White Rods, Two and Two  
Brethren of the Wakefield Lodge, Two and Two

#### LODGE 81

Treasurer and Secretary, with their Jewels  
Senior and Junior Wardens, with their Jewels  
Past Master, with his Jewel  
Master, with his Jewel

#### LODGE 243

Treasurer and Secretary, with their Jewels  
Senior and Junior Wardens, with their Jewels  
Past Master, with his Jewel  
Master, with his Jewel

#### LODGE 296

Treasurer and Secretary, with the Bible  
with their Jewels  
Senior and Junior Wardens, with their Jewels  
Past Master, with his Jewel  
Clergyman and Master, with their Jewels”

<sup>1</sup> Bro. G. Y. Johnsen says that “In the correspondence at Grand Lodge there is a letter from Richard Linnecar to the Grand Secretary, dated 8th February, 1783, asking whether ‘it is possible to initiate Mr. Clementshaw’, who is described as ‘our organist’ and ‘is now blind occasioned by the Small Pox’. The last paragraph in the letter states that the Lodge will be pleased to subscribe £25, without interest, to pay off the Hall debt. There is another letter, dated 8th April, 1783, enclosing a bill for the £25 and also subscribing for 6 copies of *The Use and Abuse of Masonry*, by Bro. Capt. Smith. Richard Linnecar also states that he is glad to hear the Grand Lodge approved of Mr. Clementshaw as a proper candidate for Freemasonry.”

The notice continues:—

“They returned in the same manner from the Church to the Lodge, where an elegant Dinner was provided; many loyal and Masonic Toasts were given; Songs, accompanied by the Band were sung, and everything was conducted with the greatest propriety and harmony.”

One would think that everything passed off without untoward incident, and this is, no doubt, the impression it was intended to give to the outside world. But in the Minutes of the Apollo Lodge at York, under date 19th February, 1777, appears the record:—

“A Letter was received from the Master & Wardens of y<sup>e</sup> Bacchus Lodge, Halifax, N<sup>o</sup>. 383, complaining of an affront put upon them by the Members of the Old Cock Lodge Halifax N<sup>o</sup>. 81 In consequence of which the Secretary was ordered to write to the Master of the Lodge at Wakefield. A Letter was also received & read from the Grand Lodge in LONDON.”

The Apollo Lodge at this time was, to all intents and purposes, the Provincial Grand Lodge, and at the meeting referred to, Bro. Garland, later Deputy Provincial Grand Master, was in the Chair.

The Bacchus Lodge had a doubtful reputation. Bro. T. W. Hanson, in his excellent History of the Lodge of Probity, Halifax,<sup>1</sup> has given a full account of this strange body, which had been warranted by the “Moderns” in 1769, on the recommendation of “two very respectable Lodges in London”. The Brethren of the existing Halifax Lodge had grave doubts about the founders of the new Lodge, and went so far as to describe them in a letter to Grand Lodge as “a number of loose fellows.” It appears from what eventually came to light that certain frequenters of the Bacchus Inn, some of whom were Masons, had determined to form a Lodge as the basis of a secret society of coiners and counterfeiters, and no doubt plied their criminal but profitable activities behind tyled doors and under the obligations of Masonry.

The counterfeiters were ultimately caught and justice dealt out to them; a number of the Brethren were sentenced to transportation for life. But it was the incident in Wakefield on St. John’s Day in 1776 that led to the eventual erasure of the Bacchus Lodge.

Bro. Hanson states that there is a note dated 1st January, 1777, in the Grand Lodge records in London:—

“Letter from Brother John Main of the Lodge at the Bacchus in Halifax, Yorkshire, complaining against the Lodge, No. 296, at Wakefield, on account of some ungentle treatment he and another Brother of the Bacchus Lodge had there received on St. John’s Day last.”

The Festival had *not* been without incident; the nature of the affront has long been a mystery, but a letter in the Wakefield records throws some light on the affair:—

Leeds, 10<sup>th</sup>. Jan<sup>y</sup>. 1777

Dr. Br.

I rec’d yours, and am sorry we could not have the pleasure of your, and the brethren’s company, we are all very sorry for the Worshipful, and Br. M<sup>o</sup>. Keraths poor state of health, which that God may restore them to health is our prayers. Dr. Br., I desire most humbly to beg the Worshipfuls and Every Br. who was present, *Pardon* for my behaviour on St. John’s Day (at Night) to that

<sup>1</sup> Hanson, *The Lodge of Probity*, No. 61, 1738-1938.

person who came without invitation not having on a Wedding Garment, (Gentleman I will not call him) I hope the Worshipful, and Lodge will pardon me for two reasons, first as it is very seldom I am so long absent from my self, secondly as I am determined (by Grace assisting) it shall be the last time I will be so absent (and you may Justly say so it ought for any Master of A Lodge) I have suffered much in mind, and so I ought indeed, I am heartily Ashame'd of myself, and I am sorry I gave you all reason to be so that Night, I wish I could recall, but that cannot be. If you think convenient to make an apology for *me*, to the Minister who reads prayers, and to Mr. Clementshaw (as they were no Masons) and I believe they were present, please to oblige me. I should have wrote the day after St. Johns but Expecting the Worshipful here, I intended doing it personly. All our Lodge joins in their best respects to the Worshipful and all the brethren, and whenever it is found convenient to come to Leeds, we only desire to know the day before.

Believe me to be, Dr. Br., your

Penitent but Efectionate Br. in all the  
Bonds of Masonry,  
John Rea "

Linnecar cannot have known of the malpractices of the Bacchus Brethren, for he sent them an invitation to the Festival, and several of them attended wearing the new aprons they had purchased for the occasion.<sup>1</sup> They kept up appearances remarkably well; they sent up regular Charity subscriptions to London—as they could well afford to do—and no doubt they attended such masonic functions of a semi-public character as could be made to serve their purpose.

But apparently the worthy Brother from Leeds knew more than his friends in Wakefield, and though he must have controlled his feelings until late in the day, by the evening he was beside himself with rage. It would be very interesting to know exactly what was said, but though Bro. Rea's remarks must have been sufficiently pungent to neessitate the somewhat lengthy apology to his hosts in Wakefield, it is probable that they did no more than justice to the occasion.

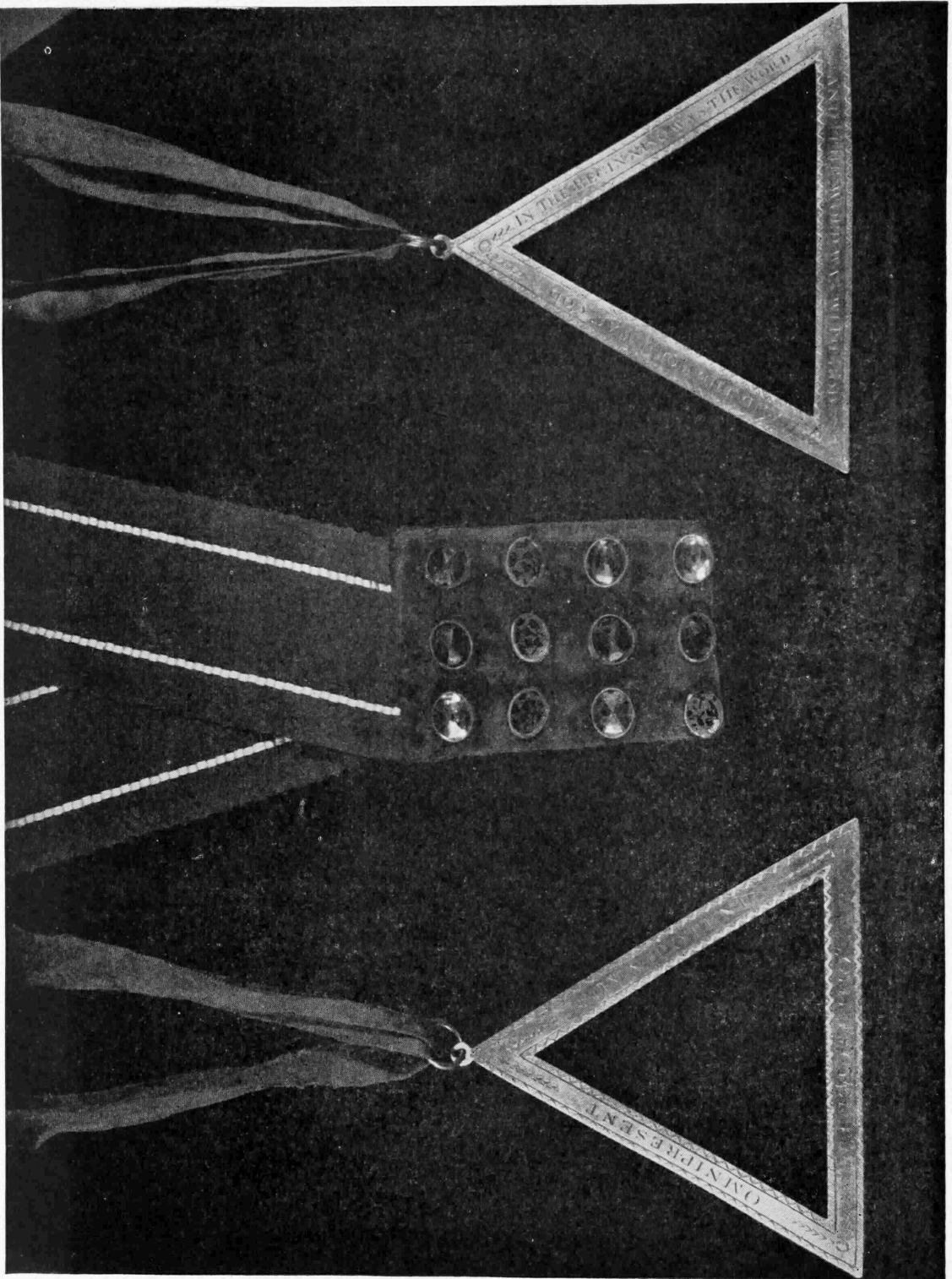
The complaint of the Bacchus Brethren was taken up by the Provincial Grand Lodge, but the result was very different from what they expected. The last reference to the matter in the Apollo minutes is:—

"The Bacchus Lodge was deemed highly censurable for their past conduct, & that having behaved so derogatory to the Rules of Masonry, they are not proper to be continued upon the list of Lodges. The Provincial Lodge of Yorkshire therefore waites the final determination of the Grand Lodge in this matter."

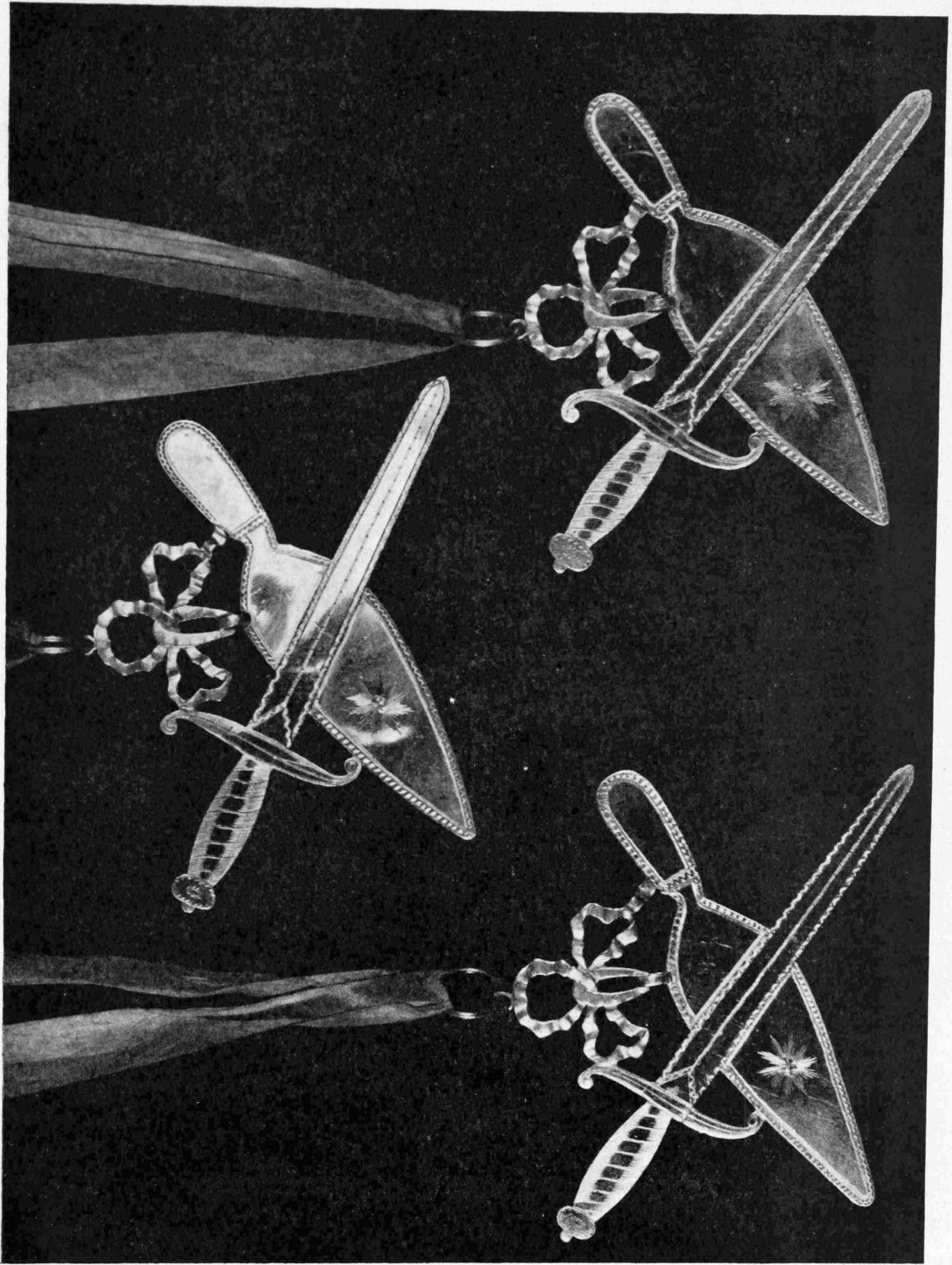
This minute is dated 26th August, 1778, but the Bacchus was not removed from the List till 9th April, 1783.

The Royal Arch Lodge had also been active. There were several meetings in 1776, and one in 1777. There was an emergency meeting on the 30th July, 1776, when "Brother's Dawson, Andrews, Hardy & Oxley propos'd themselves to be rais'd Royal Arch Masons—the next Lodge Night—balloted for & pafs'd in y<sup>e</sup>. affirmative." They were "rais'd" accordingly at the next meeing, on the 7th August, 1776. Brother Elias Wright was made Royal Arch on the 21st August, and Bro. Francis Barstow on the 13th December, 1776. It is not clear to me how these Brethren could "propose themselves", unless they did

<sup>1</sup> Hanson, loc. cit., p. 99.



Jewels of the Principals of Unanimity Chapter, Wakefield.



Jewels of the Sojourners, Unanimity Chapter, Wakefield.

so when the Lodge was open in the Craft and then resolved itself into the Royal Arch.

The great Festival of the 27th December had been preceded on the previous day by a Royal Arch meeting. The record is interesting by reason of the light it throws on this practice of Brethren "proposing" themselves:—

"Royal Arch Lodge — 26th December 1776 on emergency

Bror. Goodair & West was proposed to be raiz'd Royal Arch Masons this Night, pafs'd in the affirmative & made accordingly.

Visitors		Brors. Present	
Bror. Parker	} 59 Regt.	Linnicar	Masr.
Garside		Wright	Senr. W.
Knowles		Oxley	Junr W.
Rea & Walker		Royston	Secy.
Lyster		Andrews	
White		H. Andrews	
		A. H. Linnicar	
		Mawhood	
		Mackirth	
		Dawson	
		Goodair	
		West	

Exps. Bill  
Tyler

Lodge closed in due form

The date of the next meeting has not been filled in, nor have the expenses been shown. I can find no record of this meeting in the Cash Book, and it may be that the Brethren met the Bill out of their own pockets. The name "Rea" will be noted in the list of Visitors, as belonging to the 59th. His letter to Linnicar reads as though he was Master of the Leeds Lodge. It may be that the two statements are not incompatible, but I have not been able to confirm this point.

The Royal Arch Lodge did not meet again until the following year, when, on the 27th December, 1777,

"Brothers Fearnley, Horrocks, and Cockshott were proposed to be made Royal Arch Masons,—the two first the Next Lodge Night viz<sup>t</sup>. the 5<sup>th</sup> Jan: next and Bro<sup>r</sup>. Cockshott the next time he attends. Pafsed in the Affirmative."

It will be noted that the Brethren "were proposed"; the alteration in the minute of 26th December, 1776, in this respect will also have been observed.

In the Cash Accounts for 1777 there is an interesting item:—

1777 Mar. 19<sup>th</sup>. Postage of a letter and a Breast Plate . . . 1s. 3d

When the Royal Arch jewels of the Lodge came to light some years ago there was among them a "Breast Plate" in the shape of a small rectangular pad of dark blue velvet, with twelve coloured glass bosses, the whole being suspended from a broad blue and white striped ribbon. The pad measures 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.; the ribbon is 2 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. wide, with two  $\frac{3}{32}$ in. white stripes  $1\frac{5}{16}$ in. apart.

The jewels are oval in shape, faceted, and on brass mountings. They are approximately  $\frac{9}{16}$ in. by  $\frac{7}{16}$ in. by  $\frac{3}{16}$ in. thick. The colours are arranged:

WHITE	PURPLE	GREEN
RED	YELLOW	RED
BLUE	PURPLE	BLUE
YELLOW	GREEN	WHITE

An interesting correspondence developed in *Miscellanea Latomorum* (vol. xxv) regarding this and other Breastplates, and in particular regarding the arrangement of the jewels. There does not appear to have been any "standard" arrangement so far as Masonic Breastplates are concerned, neither does it seem likely that there was anything in the Royal Arch ceremony, or in the duties of J., corresponding to the oracular office of the High Priest.

It is curious that the Breastplate was secured in 1777, and the remainder of the R.A. jewels not until 1799. I incline to the view that, as the Royal Arch was looked upon as the 4th degree, and the principal officers in the period 1774 to 1793 were the Master and Wardens of the Lodge, the Officers wore their Craft jewels, with suitable ribbons or sashes.

### KNIGHTS OF MALTA

Another item in 1777 is worthy of notice. In the Cash Book appears the entry:—

1777 Dec. 10<sup>th</sup>.

	Knights	
P <sup>d</sup> . for a Lodge of	Nights ( <i>sic</i> ) of Malta .	£1. 3. -.

I believe this is a very early reference to Knights of Malta in English masonry, and it is tantalising that there is nothing more to throw light on what took place at this meeting.

There is no record of any Royal Arch Meeting on this date, and we have no Craft minutes of this period. The Cash Book has, in addition, an item of £1. 9. 6. for "Expences of the Night", which is an average figure for a Lodge meeting at that time, so that we may assume that most of the active members were present. The "Expences" of those days were chiefly for wines, malt liquor, and sometimes "herb tobacco", usually consumed in the Lodge room after "work" was finished. A sum of £1. 9. 6. would go a long way, and indicates a fairly full attendance.

Yet only four names appear on the receipts side of the Cash Book under date 10th December, 1777. The entry reads:—

		s d
"By Brother Mackereth's ( <i>sic</i> ) Share of Expences		2 6
By Brother Wright's	D <sup>o</sup> .	2 6
By Brother Oxley's	D <sup>o</sup> .	2 6
By Brother Horrocks's	D <sup>o</sup> .	2 6

On enquiring further into the masonic history of these four Brethren we find that Mackereth, Oxley and Horrocks were initiated in 1776, and that Wright was one of the older members, having been made a Mason in 1766, the first year of the Lodge. All but Horrocks were made Royal Arch Masons in 1776, *before* the Malta meeting; Horrocks was made Royal Arch on the 5th January, 1778, after the Malta meeting.

This seems to be an important point, since, as Bro. Songhurst pointed out long ago, the Royal Arch qualification for the Order of the Temple goes back to an early date. The connection between the two Orders, Temple and Malta, was not always as close as it is to-day, but I gather that early references to Malta are frequently associated with the Royal Arch.

Personally I feel that Gould was not far wrong when he said that the Royal Arch originated in France at the time of the rise of the Scots degrees,<sup>1</sup> and a contribution towards the evidence in favour of this view is suggested below.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gould: *History of Freemasonry*, vol. ii, p. 457.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 86 post.

It is possible that the Royal Arch, Temple, Malta and "degree" of Installed Master are derived from much the same source, and that the "Antients" had a good deal to do with the spread of these degrees in England. Up to the present time, however, I have come across nothing in the Wakefield records to indicate how the Malta meeting came to be held in 1777, nor to whom the sum of £1. 3. 6 was paid. There is no other record in either Cash Books or Royal Arch Minutes relating to the Malta or Temple.

About this time Linnecar received an interesting letter from William Cutler, a prominent Sheffield mason. The letter raises one or two intriguing points regarding the question of "Antients" influence, but does not provide the answers to the questions which arise. The letter is written on the back of a printed copy of the 1772 "Resolutions" of the Grand Lodges of England ("Antients"), Ireland, and Scotland.

"Sheffield, Decem<sup>r</sup>. 22<sup>d</sup> 1777

Bro<sup>r</sup>. Lenacar

Please to let our Rev<sup>d</sup>. Bro<sup>r</sup>. Macreith and the rest of the Bretheren of your lodge see this letter or these resolves, and it will easily convince you of the resolves of the Modern Grand Lodge which are Abstracts or pretty near taken from the Antient Craft Only with this Alteration, that they are Indeavouring to take the word Freedom from you, for no man can be said to be free who shall be Tyed by the Modern Constitution, for who are at liberty to visit a Modern lodge, who shall work Antient as you do

And who can Admit Masons at our own discretion, and does not see but every man may have it in his power to be both Antient and Modern, if it should be is Choice — As to my own Part, I have been made both Antient and Modern, and should any man be refused of this, It certainly his taking is birthright from him, all Brittons that are free born have a right to be a Member of what Society, whatsoever and not to be Tyed or Confined to any one without his own free will, and whoever Attempts to the Contrary is Robing his Majesty of is Prerogative, which all Masons have no right to do, as it will prevent all Brotherly Conections ———

I am Gen<sup>n</sup>. your Most Obed<sup>t</sup>. friend and Bro<sup>r</sup>.

W<sup>m</sup>. Cutler

P.S I should be glad of an Answer  
with your Approbation of the same  
to Signify to me wether my Oppinion  
his right or Wrong, in the above  
Explanation

The letter is inscribed:—

To

Mr. Richard Lenacar  
Post Master In  
Wakefield

The records do not show what action was taken by the Wakefield Brethren, but the insinuation that they worked "Antient" is most interesting.

I have mentioned that Horrocks was made a Royal Arch Mason on the 5th January, 1778, and the Journal contains a minute to this effect. There is, however, no mention in the Royal Arch Minutes of either Fearnley or Cockshott being raised to that degree, although they were proposed and accepted at the same time as Horrocks. Cockshott appears later in the R.A. Minutes as a "visitor" on the 13th January, 1782, and Fearnley as one of the "Brothers Present" at the Royal Arch meeting on the 27th December of the same year.

The Cash Book discloses that these Brethren each paid 10s 6d. for their "4th Step" on the 5th April, 1779, although there was no Royal Arch meeting on that date. It is a fair inference, I think, that the Royal Arch ceremony took place in the Craft Lodge, as in the case of Capt. Tottenham in 1770, and that it would be recorded in the Craft minute book now lost.

There are other instances of a similar kind. The Cash book records payments, also on the 5th April, 1779, of 10s 6d. each for the "4th Step" by Capt. South and Bro. Heurtley, but I cannot find these names in the Royal Arch Journal as having been made Royal Arch.

There was a regular meeting of the Royal Arch Lodge on the 22nd February, 1779, when three military Brethren were "raised" to the R.A. The next meeting was on the 19th March, 1781, and two members of the Lodge were made Royal Arch. This was the first time in its history when the Lodge did not meet at the George and Crown; on this occasion they went to another of Wakefield's old inns, the "Woolpacks," which still stands on the north side of Westgate, and thrives as a popular hostelry.

Ten months elapsed before the Royal Arch Lodge met again, this time on Sunday, the 13th January, 1782, and at the George and Crown. The minute records:—

"Broth<sup>r</sup>. Thos. Fife proposed to be raised a Royal Arch Mason, which agreed to and made accordingly— ———

Brother Sam<sup>l</sup>. Robinson of Sheffield was proposed by Broth<sup>r</sup>. A. H. Linnicar to be raised a Royal Arch Mason which was agreed to and made accordingly— ———

Brother Dollife Rollinson of Sheffield was proposed by Broth<sup>r</sup>. A. H. Linnicar to be raised a Royal Arch Mason, which was agreed to and made accordingly— ———

Lodge closed in due form

Visitors	Brothers Present	
Fife	Linnicar	Mast <sup>r</sup> .
Cockshott	Mawhood	S.W.
Barstow	A. H. Linnicar	J.W.
Rollinson	Hardy	
Robinson	Oxley	
	Lang	
	Royston	
	Mackerth	

Thos. Fife was a member of the Halifax Lodge at the Old Cock. The two Sheffield Brethren probably came to Wakefield because their own Royal Arch Lodge was temporarily in abeyance. Bro. Flather says that the R.A. was worked in Sheffield between 1766 and 1770, and there was also records for 1783 onwards. It is possible that a revival took place in or about the latter year, and that Robinson, later to become Z. of the R.A. Chapter of Paradise in Sheffield, took a leading part in it. The Chapter of Paradise<sup>1</sup> seems to have been partly "Antients," and partly "Moderns." At one stage the principals are referred to as 1st, 2nd and 3rd Kings; at another as 1st, 2nd and 3rd Grand Master, and later as Z, H and J.

Several meetings of the Royal Arch Lodge, and no doubt of the Craft Lodge, were held in Wakefield in 1782 and 1783, presumably to suit the convenience of the Freemasons in the 90th Regiment quartered in the district.

Even in those days, Masonry knew no distinction of rank inside the Lodge, although most of those who attended the Lodge, either as visitors or to proceed to

<sup>1</sup> Stokes and Flather: "*The History of Royal Arch Masonry in Sheffield*," 1922.  
Stokes: "*The Royal Brunswick Chapter of Paradise*."

the Royal Arch Degree, were, probably for financial reasons, of commissioned rank. On the 25th October, 1782, Capt. Phineas Mackworth Praed of the 90th, and Daniel Vaughan, surgeon in the same Regiment, were "raised Royal Arch," General Tottenham, Capt. Fitz and Capt. Forrest being among the visitors. On the 1st December, 1782, Capt. Charles Newton, Capt. Robert Towers Fawcett and Dr. Wm. Dawson, all of the 90th, were made Royal Arch, and on the 3rd February of the following year

"Brother Cap<sup>tn</sup>. Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Thomas Fitzgerald of the 90th Regiment, originally made in Lodge No. 1 under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, about 24 years of age, was raised to the Superlative Degree of a Royal Arch Mason"

There was another meeting on the 5th February, 1783, when seven more Brethren (no ranks stated) from the 90th took the degree; another on the 18th February, when two more were admitted, and still another on the 24th February, the record reading:—

"Rais'd Brothers John Stratford Saunders, Captain 90th Regt., Robert Atkinson, Serg. & John Jackson, Private 90th Regim<sup>t</sup>. to the Superlative Degree of Royal Arch Masons————"

From the long lists of visitors at these meetings it would seem that a very goodly proportion of the 90th Regiment in 1783 was composed of Masons; probably most of them were of Irish Masonic origin, but received their Royal Arch Degree in Wakefield.

About this time the 90th must have moved away. The meetings continue at intervals to December, 1784, the attendance being round about a dozen on the average. The Lodge resumed its normal existence after what must have been an exhilarating and probably hilarious time in the company of the members of the gallant 90th.

There is no record of a Royal Arch meeting until 1784, but the Cash Book and other sources indicate that towards the end of 1784 the earl of Mexborough and Col. James Lowther were made Masons in the Lodge at Wakefield. In the following year, these two gentlemen, together with Richard Linnecar, were made honorary members of the Apollo Lodge at York, which at this time was acting as the Provincial Grand Lodge of Yorkshire. The meeting was held on the 19th January, 1785, Bro. J. Sawyer was in the chair, with Bros. Parkinson and Staveley as Wardens. Bro. Rule, with whom Linnecar had done business on former occasions, and who was subsequently to supply much of the Royal Arch Chapter regalia, was Treasurer.

The Deputy Provincial Grand Master, Bro. Richard Garland, proposed the Earl of Mexborough and Col. Lowther, and Bro. Camidge proposed Linnecar; the resolution "pafsed Nem. Con."

I have already mentioned that I had an opportunity, some months ago, of studying the old Apollo books, which fortunately escaped the fate of the building in which they were housed. Hughan's *History of the Apollo Lodge, York*, will be well remembered. It would appear from his second Chapter that he worked from Tesseyman's transcript, and this may account for a number of minor errors which are apparent on comparing Hughan's account with the actual Minute and Cash Books.

In regard to the rapid Masonic rise of Richard Slater Milnes, Hughan's account<sup>1</sup> is a little misleading. The Apollo minutes of 24th June, 1784, record:—

"Bro. Garland proposed Richard Slater Milnes Esq. to be a member of this Lodge, and to be raised to the Sublime Degree, and being a case of emergency he was balotted for and admitted."

<sup>1</sup> Hughan: "*History of the Apollo Lodge, York*," 1889, p. 71.

At a meeting of the Apollo on the 22nd September, 1784, Bro. Camidge proposed that the D.P.G.M., Bro. Garland, should write to R. S. Milnes, Esq., to desire him to appoint a day when he would attend the Lodge, i.e., the Apollo Lodge in its capacity as Provincial Grand Lodge, to be installed as Provincial Grand Master. The Provincial Grand Master of the time, Sir Walter Vavasour, did not seem to care much for his office, and seldom attended the meetings of the Provincial Grand Lodge. As a result of correspondence between him and the Apollo, he expressed his willingness to resign the office, and the Apollo took the will for the deed. Richard Slater Milnes of Wakefield appearing to them to be a fit and proper person for the office of Provincial Grand Master, an approach seems to have been made to him, and on the 3rd November, 1784, Bro. R. S. Milnes was duly installed and invested.

The Cash Book of the Lodge at Wakefield makes it clear, however, that he had been a Master Mason only three days, and that he had taken his 2nd and 3rd degrees in Wakefield:—

4 Oct. 1784	By raising Bro. R <sup>d</sup> . Slater Milnes to the 2nd Degree and Reg <sup>e</sup> . fees .....	13s. —.
1 Nov. 1784	By Raising Bro <sup>r</sup> . Milnes to the 3 <sup>d</sup> . Degree ...	10s. 6d.

Bro. Milnes was admitted a (joining) member of the Lodge at Wakefield on the 27th December, 1782, but there is no reference in the Cash Book to his being made a Mason in that Lodge. His name appears in the Wakefield records for the first time under the date just given, but it is as paying his subscription of one guinea along with the other members of the Lodge.

He was therefore already a Mason when Bro. Garland proposed him for *membership* of the Apollo, but he had taken only the 1st degree. The next mention of his name records his 'raising' to the 2nd and 3rd degrees at Wakefield, and not at York.

There is little doubt that Milnes was advanced hurriedly to the rank of M.M. *after* he had been approached by the Province regarding the Provincial Grand Mastership. The episode bears all the marks of haste; it may be that the Apollo, in their eagerness to find a successor to Sir Walter Vavasour, persuaded the Lodge at Wakefield to rush Milnes through the two degrees *after* securing his consent to accept the office.

Hughan notes that the Patent of Appointment of Richard Slater Milnes as Prov. Grand Master was not received until nearly two months later, and comments on the strangeness of this delay. He suggests that:—

“ . . . whereas the appointment was duly notified to the ‘Apollo,’ the actual completion of the requisite authority was thus delayed. . . . ”

My suspicion is that the Yorkshire Lodges arranged matters among themselves, and notified London of a *fait accompli*.

Bro. Milnes does not seem to have proceeded to the Royal Arch in Wakefield. Neither the Royal Arch Journal nor the Cash Book contain any reference to him in this connection, but the 1784 returns record him as a member of the Lodge, and show that at the age of 25 he was both a Member of Parliament and the Provincial Grand Master for Yorkshire.

The Royal Arch Lodge continued to hold meetings with fair regularity, drawing on the members of the Craft Lodge for its candidates. In practice most members went forward as a matter of course; Masonry at this time was in Wakefield a system of four degrees. On the 13th February, 1784, two Brethren from Doncaster, Charles Plummer and Edward Miller, were made Royal Arch.

A LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE LODGE OF UNANIMITY No. 238, HELD AT THE GEORGE AND CROWN INN IN WAKEFIELD						
Members' Names	Age nearly when made or admitted	Business or Profession	Residence	When made Masons	When admitted Members	Remarks
Richard Linnear	43	Coroner	Wakefield	1743	19 Dec. 1766	Made mason at Gibraltar Lodge No. 25
William Walker	23	Surgeon	do.	30 Nov. 1764	do.	Made mason at Edinburgh
Thomas Hardy Jun. S.W.	22	Woolstapler	do.	2 Mar. 1776	2 Mar. 1776	
Rev'd Jno. Mackarith Chapn.	23	Clerk	do.	do.	do.	
Ann Harrison Linnear Treas.	23	Wine Merchant	do.	1775	16 Jan. 1776	Made mason in Lodge No. 221 at Sheffield
Thomas Lang Secy.	48	Gentleman	do.	do.	7 Jan. 1782	Made mason in the 7th Lodge of Bengal No. 351
Elias Wright	22	do.	Heath near Wakefield	3 Dec. 1766	3 Dec. 1766	
Richard Mawhood Junr.	22	Attorney at Law	Wakefield	3 Feb. 1776	3 Feb. 1776	
William Royston	22	Mercer	do.	do.	do.	
John Fearnley	22	Farmer	Lofthouse near Wakefield	1 Jan. 1777	1 Jan. 1777	
Saml. Hall	30	Stuff Weaver	Pottovens near Wakefield	7 Jan. 1782	7 Jan. 1782	
John Carr	22	Attorney at Law	Wakefield	24 Sep. 1782	24 Sep. 1782	
Richd. Slater Milnes	22	M.P. & P.G.M.	Newland near Wakefield	27 Dec. 1782	27 Dec. 1782	
William Willis	23	Merchant	Leeds	13 Mar. 1783	13 Mar. 1783	
Saml. Lumb	22	Woolstapler	Wakefield	7 Apr. 1783	7 Apr. 1783	
Hugh Royston	26	Corn Factor	Walton near Wakefield	do.	do.	
John Meggitt	23	Bookseller	Wakefield	3 Nov. 1783	3 Nov. 1783	
David Parkhill	22	Li. of 101st. Regt.	do.	1 Mar. 1784	1 Mar. 1784	
Rt. Honble, Earl of Mexborough	23	Nobleman	Methley near Wakefield	4 Oct. 1784	4 Oct. 1784	
Colol. James Lowther	29	M.P.	Lowther, Westmoreland	do.	do.	
James Richardson	39	M.D.	Wakefield	do.	do.	
Frank Sotherton	22	Lieut. in the Navy	Darrington	19 Nov. 1784	19 Nov. 1784	
Sent copy to the Provincial Grand Lodge at York 24 June 1788						
Sent to Provincial Grand Lodge 24 June 1789						
Samuel William Nicoll	22	Gentleman	Upper Shitlington	11 Sep. 1788	11 Sep. 1788	
Thomas Atkinson	26	do.	Rotterdam	16 Oct. 1788	16 Oct. 1788	
John Fredk. Bisthorn	24	do.	Frankfort on the Main	8 Dec. 1788	8 Dec. 1788	
Wm. Smith	24	Merchant	Wakefield	25 May 1789	25 May 1789	
Sent to Provincial Grand Lodge 21 Nov 1791						
Thomas Carr	31	Dyer	Leeds	18 Jan. 1790	18 Jan. 1790	
William Brewster Junr.	30	Brewer	do.	do.	do.	
William Bellcombe	34	M.D.	London	19 Oct. 1791	do.	
Sent to Provincial Grand Lodge (no date)						
William Murray	43	Cabinet Maker	Wakefield	25 Jun. 1792	25 Jun. 1792	
Geo. Strafford	43	Carpenter	do.	do.	do.	
Wm. Puckring	37	Bricklayer	do.	do.	do.	
Francis Senior	32	Yeoman	do.	about 1787	6 Jul. 1792	
Wm. Dawson	27	Attorney at Law	do.	6 Aug. 1792	6 Aug. 1792	
Benja. Rhodes	40	Cloth Maker	Hightown	3 Sep. 1792	never	
John Backhouse	47	Glazier	Wakefield	do.	3 Sep. 1792	
Rd. Scholes	35	Carver	do.	do.	3 Sep. 1792	
Wm. Edwards	35	—	do.	1 Oct. 1792	1 Oct. 1792	
Thos. Penny	46	Shoemaker	do.	do.	do.	
John Robinson	36	Cabinet Maker	do.	5 Nov. 1792	5 Nov. 1792	

The Secretary between 1782 and 1784 was Thomas Lang. For several meetings he followed the custom of describing the three principal officers in the Royal Arch Lodge as Master, S.W. and J.W. On the 29th September, 1783, he reverted to the old style of "Master" for each of the three, and this practice was continued until 1793.

A meeting was held on the 27th December, 1784, at which six of the Brethren and a visitor, Charles Mason, were present, but no ceremony was conducted. Thereafter the Royal Arch Lodge did not meet again until the 6th February, 1788, when a new element appears in the affairs of the Lodge. The minute reads:—

"Royal Arch Lodge held at the George and Crown in Wakefield the sixth day of February 1788

Members Present

Richard Linnecar	Mas <sup>r</sup> .
W <sup>m</sup> . Walker	Mas <sup>r</sup> .
A. H. Linnecar	Mas <sup>r</sup> .

The Right Worshipful Master proposed Brother William Hodgson of Leeds to be raised to the sublime degree of Royal Arch Mason which was seconded by Brother Lang and unanimously agreed to and raised accordingly. Brother Hodgson proposed Philip Jacob Idstein to be raised to the sublime degree of Royal Arch Mason which was seconded by Brother Linnecar and unanimously agreed to and he was raised accordingly. Brother Walker proposed Brother John Meggitt to be raised to the sublime degree of Royal Arch Mason which was seconded by Brother Lang and unanimously agreed to and he was raised accordingly. Brother Hodgson proposed Brother Jean Francois Alex<sup>r</sup>. Lavaifse to be raised to the sublime degree of Royal Arch Mason which was seconded by Brother Linnecar and unanimously agreed and he was raised accordingly.

All business over the Lodge was closed in due form

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William Hodgson was one of the enthusiasts in Leeds Masonic activities, and was the first Z. of the Unity Chapter in that City, the warrant being granted in October, 1790. His keenness got him into trouble on one occasion, when two Harrogate Brethren complained to Grand Lodge that Hodgson had in his possession a manuscript of the lectures belonging to all four degrees in Masonry, and that he had obtained these for the purpose of "teaching an intended Lodge and Chapter at Leeds."<sup>1</sup>

John Meggitt was a bookseller in Wakefield; he was also a bookbinder whose work was much appreciated, and occasional examples of his art are still encountered.

Idstein and Lavaifse, I believe, were French prisoners of war, of whom there were many in the district. At subsequent meetings other French names appear: two of these Brethren, James Gabriel Hugueir (or Huguère) and Julian Franswa (*sic*) were frequent visitors. The prisoners were on parole in Wakefield, and included officers of the French Navy as well as Army.

The Cash Book confirms the transactions of the Royal Arch Lodge, and shows that the Craft Lodge also was active. Occasional items of interest occur; on the 21st February the Lodge bought a "Box for Ballotting" for which they paid £1. On the 4th July in the same year they bought a copy of Noorthouck's "Constitutions," and had it bound by Bro. Meggitt two years later. The book is still in the possession of the Lodge, bound in full calf, though the passage of time has left the joints weak.

<sup>1</sup> Bro. Edwin Hawkesworth: "*History of Royal Arch Masonry in Leeds*"; Address to Prov. Grand Chapter, Yorks (W.R.), delivered in 1932.

In 1787 they purchased "a Box for the Master's Picture." This was no doubt for the well-known three-quarter length portrait of Linnecar, by Henry Singleton, who would be a young man of about 21 when he painted this picture. An engraving was made from this portrait after Linnecar's death in 1800, and many copies are known.

The Lodge dispensed quite large numbers of small amounts for charity. usually the record runs:—

"To a Poor Brother ..... 2s. 6d.  
but occasionally there is more detail. Thus:—

"Gave to a distrefs'd family upon Mrs. Walkers's  
recommendation ..... 5s. 3d.

or:—

"Gave to a Distrefs'd Brother, Mr. Henry  
Wallack ..... £1 1s. —."

Occasionally we read of distressed Brethren claiming to come from what must have seemed the ends of the earth. Thus:—

"1784 Oct. 13 To two Turkish Brothers in  
distress ..... 5s. —."

Whether these were genuine or not cannot, of course, be said, but it is possible that ingenious mendicants, with the aid of one or the other current "Exposures" and a romantic story of Eastern Masonic provenance, may have travelled from Lodge to Lodge in search of financial aid. It would be interesting to trace, if it were possible, the progress of the "two Turkish Brothers" through the Cash Books of the local Yorkshire Lodges.

#### LINNECAR'S "MISCELLANEOUS WORKS."

In 1789 Linnecar published his book of 300 octavo pages. The dedication is to "John Berkenhout, Doctor of Physic, and the rest of his generous subscribers." The contents comprise a tragedy, two comedies, a number of songs and poems, and a section of 18 pages entitled "*Strictures on Freemasonry*." The word "Strictures" is, of course, used in its old sense of "incidental remarks or comments" and not as we now use it, to mean "adverse criticisms." The plays are not of great merit; indeed, Chetwode Crawley<sup>1</sup> alluded to them as "Two melancholy comedies and an insipid tragedy." His "*Hymn on Masonry*" became well-known, and is frequently quoted:—

Let there be light! th' Almighty spoke,  
Refulgent streams from Chaos broke,  
T'illumine the rising earth!  
Well pleas'd the great Jehovah stood  
The power Supreme, pronounce'd it good  
And gave the planets birth!  
In choral numbers, Masons join  
To bless and praise this light divine!

Parent of light! accept our praise!  
Who shedst on us thy brightest rays,  
The light that fills the mind;  
By choice selected, lo we stand,  
By friendship join'd, a social band!  
That love, that aid mankind!  
In choral, &c.

<sup>1</sup> A.Q.C. VIII., p. 157.

The widow's tears we often dry,  
 The orphan's wants, our hands supply,  
 As far as pow'r is given!  
 The naked cloath, the pris'ner free,  
 These are thy works sweet charity!  
 Reveal'd to us from heav'n!  
 In choral numbers, Masons join,  
 To bless and praise this light divine.

The Hymn was separately printed and widely distributed; it was popular, and was no doubt frequently heard in the assemblies of the day.

The book also contained the "Song" written on the occasion of the "revival" in 1776, and it would be for this and for the "Strictures" that his volume was in such demand among his many friends. The list of subscribers is amazing; it contains more than a thousand names from all parts of the country. As Chetwode Crawley said:—

"Bro. Linnecar's prominence in the Craft is attested by his List of Subscribers, which comprises Brethren and Lodges in all parts of the United Kingdom, from the Scilly Isles to the Lothians, and from the fens of Lincolnshire to the bogs of Ireland."

There were the Lord Mayors of London and York, the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Napier, Lord and Lady Petre, Lord and Lady Mexborough, and nobility and gentry from all over the country. The County families are very well represented, as well as the clergy, lawyers, doctors and military men of note, together with hundreds of his friends and Brethren in Yorkshire. There is no doubt that, in his day, Linnecar was a well-known figure; his reputation had travelled far and wide; he was known to men and women in all ranks of society, and was admired and respected by them all.

His "Strictures" appear to consist of general remarks on Freemasonry, such as Linnecar was in the habit of making to his friends in the Lodge. He prefaces the section:—

"AND THE LIGHT SHINETH IN DARKNESS, AND THE  
 DARKNESS COMPREHENDED IT NOT."

St. John, I Chap., v. Verse.

"'TIS CAVIER TO THE MULTITUDE."

Shakespeare.

Several of the following remarks and strictures, my brethren will remember to have read in some of the excellent compositions that have been published on Free-masonry, or have heard in the lectures. But I flatter myself, that the observations and additions that are here given, will clear and elucidate many parts; and I hope, be a means of information to some of my brothers who have not had an opportunity of paying that attention to the Royal Art, as I have done.

As no man can have a juster or higher opinion of the excellency and utility of the sublime order of Freemasonry than I, so no man has made more his study to endeavour to qualify himself for the high and important office, which the worthy brethren of the Lodge of Unanimity, No. 238, at Wakefield, have out of partiality honoured me with, by appointing me, for many years, Master of the Lodge. And as several of the brethren have frequently intreated me to put in writing the remarks I had made, I here submit them to the candour of my brethren; and if what I have communicated can be of the least benefit to my brothers, I shall esteem it as one of the greatest happinesses of my life, to have added my mite to the inestimable treasure of Free-Masonry.

Of the "Strictures" themselves Bro. A. F. A. Woodford kindly said though they were well expressed, they belong to the uncritical school. They must, however,

have interested the Brethren of Linnecar's day, and though various legends he cites are quite unhistorical, they must not be judged by the standards of a later age. For example, Linnecar held the view that Masonry was at one time under the personal patronage of St. John the Evangelist, and gives the following curious account:—

“From Solomon's time all Lodges were dedicated to him, until the building of the second temple, by Zerubbable, after the Babylonish captivity. Then Zerubbable continued patron of Masonry until the destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus. ——— Lodges were then broke up, and the masons were dispersed, and it was some time before a sufficient number could assemble to form a lodge; at last they met in a city of Benjamin; when they deputed five of the most eminent brethren to go to St. John the Evangelist, who was then Bishop of Ephesus, to entreat him that he would honour them with his patronage. St. John told them, he was very old, being turned of ninety, but to support so good and ancient an institution, he would undertake the charge—and from that day, all lodges are dedicated to him.”

Chetwode Crawley quite rightly labelled the whole story as preposterous, but it was widely believed in Linnecar's day, and his book must have contributed largely to the dissemination of the legend, and may to some extent be held responsible for the persistence of the myth of association to the present time.

In the absence of the Craft minutes some of the Cash Book references are tantalising:—

1789	Nov. 23	To Thos. Wood's Bill mak <sup>d</sup> . up the Curtain .....	5s. 8d.
	Dec. 28	To Thos. Whitehead's Bill for Joiner's Work .....	£1 15s. 10d.
1790	Mar. 15	To Jon <sup>n</sup> . Chambers for Dying & pre s <sup>d</sup> . a p <sup>e</sup> . of Serge .....	5s. 0d.

What, if any, was the connection between these three items? Did they relate to the Lodge “properties”? If so, to what degree or activity do they refer?

There is an item in 1791 which puzzles me completely:—

To Bro<sup>r</sup>. Green for a W——h ..... £3 3. —.

The context, which refers to ordinary Lodge expenses, throws no light on the meaning. There are no other “hidden” entries like this. There are no Craft minutes available for this period, and the R.A. Chapter did not meet between 8th August, 1790, and 17th February, 1793. What was this “W——h” which cost the formal sum of three guineas? There is no corresponding item on the income side of the accounts, and there was not at this time a Bro. Green in the Lodge, nor so far as I am aware, in *Probity*.

#### FORMATION OF THE ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER.

There was a meeting of the Royal Arch *Lodge* on the 24th June, 1788, at which Bro. Thomas Beaumont was “raised” to the “sublime degree of Royal Arch Mason.” The next minute reads:—

Royal Arch Chapter held at the George & Crown Inn in Wakefield, the 8th August 1790

Visitors		Members present	
Williams		Rich. Linnecar	Ma <sup>r</sup> .
Osmond		A. H. Linnecar	Ma <sup>r</sup> .
Wm. Hodgson		Jn <sup>o</sup> . Meggitt	Ma <sup>r</sup> .
Bill of Expenses	£1. 0. 0.	Thos. Lang	Sec <sup>r</sup> .
Waiter & Tyler	2. 0.		
	£1. 2. 0.		

The Worshipful Master proposed Brother Joseph Mason to be raised to the sublime Degree of Royal Arch Mason, which was seconded by Brother A. H. Linnecar and unanimously agreed to, and he was raised accordingly.

The Right Worshipful also proposed Brother Thomas Holden to be raised to the sublime degree of Royal Arch Mason, which was seconded as above, and unanimously agreed to, and he was raised accordingly.

The Right Worshipful also proposed Brother Charles Chambers to be raised to the sublime Degree of Royal Arch Mason, which was seconded as above, and unanimously agreed to, and he was raised accordingly.

All business over

The Lodge was closed in due form

Mason, Holden and Chambers were all members of *Probity* in Halifax.

This is the first occasion on which the term "Chapter" is used, and in the Cash Book there are the significant items:—

1790	Dec. 27	To post <sup>a</sup> . and carr <sup>a</sup> . of R.A. Constitution	3. 2.
1791	Mar. 29	To Royal Arch Constitution .....	£3. 13. 6.

The Brethren had evidently decided to come forward and make application for a Warrant or Constitution to form a regular Chapter, and such a Warrant was apparently issued. The document was, however, lost between 1790 and 1865, and a warrant of confirmation was issued in the latter year.

It is perhaps of interest to note that in 1865, when the Chapter had been more or less dormant for twenty years—its members attending the Wakefield Chapter (then No. 727)—a list of "Founders" of the 1790 Chapter was printed in the new 1865 By-laws. The names given are:—

Richard Linnecar, Z.  
 William Walker, H.  
 William Walker, Jun., J.  
 John Smith,  
 John Kershaw,  
 Edward Steer,  
 M. J. Naylor, D.D.,  
 Richard Acton,  
 David Dixon,  
 John Whitworth

Of these, only Linnecar and one of the Walkers were members in 1790. The younger Walker went to Hull many years earlier, and the others did not become R.A. Masons until many years later. The explanation is that the Royal Arch Records were lost for many years, and were not available at the time of the 1865 revival; they were not found again until quite recently, and the list given above must have been constructed partly from tradition and partly by guesswork.

Apart from the change of name from "Lodge" to "Chapter" and an increase in the fee from 10/6 to 26/-. the new Constitution seems at first to have made little difference. The 1790 and subsequent minutes read much like those of preceding years. Linnecar continues to occupy the Chair as R.W. Master, with his son and Bro. Meggitt as the other two Masters. In 1793, however, the designations Z., H., and J., begin to be used, and have continued to modern times. Occasionally there is some confusion in the minds of the Scribe as to whether H. or J. should come first; there is one minute where Richard Linnecar's name is third on the list, but still as Z., though in the minutes he is almost always referred to as the "Right Worshipful."

In 1793 the Lodge moved its place of meetings from the George and Crown to the Black Bull, where it remained for the next 44 years. This was one of the oldest of the Wakefield Inns. It was spoken of by Sir William Brereton in 1635,

and had the reputation of being "an honest and excellent house"<sup>1</sup>. The original building was pulled down in 1772, and "an elegant house erected on its site." The accommodation was on a generous scale; stabling was available for nearly 100 horses, and later there was a theatre in its yard. At the time the Lodge transferred its activities to the Black Bull, the latter would be the best and most commodious hotel in the town.

In the interval of three years during which the Chapter did not meet, a fair amount of "work" seems to have accumulated, and in the next few years attempts were made to overtake this. The meetings were all well attended, and it is quite probable that the better accommodation now available made feasible meetings on a larger scale. The meeting on the 4th December, 1797, must have been something of an occasion; two Brethren from Sheffield were "raised," no fewer than 12 visitors being present in addition to 18 members of the Chapter. Linnecar, Meggitt and Arnold were Z., H., and J. respectively, and the visitors were:—

S. Robinson, from Sheff<sup>d</sup>.  
James Bentley P.P.  
John Smithson P.P.  
Samuel Smithson P.  
Jo. Durham  
Benj. Clarkson  
John Leech  
Hen<sup>r</sup>. Higgins  
Thos. Cocker  
Chas. Land  
Joshua Dawson  
Samuel Brook

The minute reads:—

"The Rt. Worshipful propos'd Bro. Saml. Tomkin Senior Warden of the Lodge at Sheffield No. 189 also the Worshipful propos'd Wm. Rowley Junior Warden of the said Lodge to be rais'd to the most excellent R.A. Chapter, was ballotted for, approv'd & rais'd accordingly."

Samuel Robinson had been made R.A. in the Chapter in 1782, and the Chapter of Paradise in Sheffield had certainly been active between 1783 and 1788. According to Stokes and Flather<sup>2</sup> there seems to be no record of transactions between 1788 and the 24th December, 1797, on which date, less than three weeks after the "exaltation" of Tompkin and Rowley, the two latter Brethren and Samuel Robinson presided at the meeting in Sheffield, and exalted two new members.

Tompkins and Rowley were enthusiastic Masons; they figured prominently in Sheffield Masonry at that period, and Rowley in particular was a voluminous correspondent. In later years he exchanged many letters with the Wakefield Lodge.

#### THE "UNANIMITY" ROYAL ARCH JEWELS.

On the 10th March, 1799, the Cash Book has this interesting item:—

To Ja <sup>s</sup> . Rule Three Equilateral Triangles	
for 3 Principals, Three Swords & Trowels	
for Sojourners Silver	£5. 15. 6 <sup>3</sup>

Bro. James Rule, whose name has already been mentioned on several occasions, was a well-known Masonic figure in York. I am indebted to Bro. G. Y. Johnson

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Walker, "*Wakefield, its History and People*," Ed. 2, p. 525. Towards the end of last century part of the old inn was converted into a modern hotel, and the rest into offices.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes and Flather, "*Royal Arch Masonry in Sheffield*," p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> The jewels were exhibited at the meeting of Q.C. on 3rd May, 1940.

for several items of information about him. Rule was a watchmaker and jeweller, and was Master of the York Lodge (now No. 236) in 1781, 1782, 1784 and 1786. He became a joining member of the "Apollo" Lodge at York on the 7th January, 1777, and his name figures frequently in the "Apollo" minutes. He acted as treasurer when Linnecar was made an honorary member, and generally seems to have taken an active part in Masonic affairs in York. Two of the silver triangles and the three sojourners' jewels are still in the possession of the "Unanimity" Lodge at Wakefield. The box in which they were discovered some years ago, after long concealment among the accumulated rubbish of years, bore the inscription:—

Dut 1/8  
Mr. Rich. Linnecar  
2 Wakefield

The silver Triangular Jewels have a  $5\frac{1}{4}$ -inch side, the width being just under  $7/16$  inch. They are suspended from faded silk ribbons 2 inches wide, the colour of which may have been a deep purple. They are inscribed on one side "Omnipotent, etc" and on the other, "In the beginning, etc"

The Trowels and Swords are also silver. The swords are  $4\frac{7}{8}$  in. long; the trowels are  $4\frac{1}{4}$  in. long, and the jewels are suspended from faded light red silk ribbons  $1\frac{3}{16}$  in. wide.

Certain other jewels from the "Unanimity" collection were exhibited at a Q.C. Meeting, but these are of later date, and there is no mention of them in the Cash Accounts of the 18th century.

James Rule made jewels for other Lodges and Chapters,<sup>1</sup> and it may be that the crossed sword and trowel was the accepted jewel for the sojourners in the Royal Arch of that period. If this was so, the fact is not without significance, especially when considered in the light of Gould's remarks on the Scots Degrees.<sup>2</sup>

"Kloss attributes the introduction of *new* degrees into Britain, to the influence of the French Masons. . . . There is little doubt, however, that the degrees of Installed Master, and of the Royal Arch, had their inception in the "Scots" degrees, which sprang up in all parts of France about 1740."

I am aware that this off-hand dismissal of the origin of the Royal Arch on the part of Gould has not met with general acceptance, though Bro. Knoop<sup>3</sup> does consider the possibility of an association between the R.A. and the Scots Lodges. Gould goes on to say<sup>4</sup>:—

"One chief idea, however, runs through all [the Scots degrees]—the discovery in a vault by Scottish Crusaders of the long lost and ineffable word—also, that in this search they had to work with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other."

As regards the Royal Arch working in Wakefield in 1769 to 1799, the known facts are the form of the jewels, and the nature of the toasts and sentiments in the 1769 minute.

I suggest that at the least there is a possibility that the R.A. legend of 1769 was in some way connected with Scots Masonry, and that at least one of the features which Gould notes as characteristic of the Scots degrees—the sword and trowel—persisted till 1799.

The other feature, relating to the vault, existed in 1769, and has persisted down to modern times.

<sup>1</sup> Bro. G. Y. Johnson says that there is a Royal Arch jewel by Rule at York, and another at Whitby. I have not, under present conditions, been able to examine these.

<sup>2</sup> Gould, "*History of Freemasonry*," vol. ii, p. 457.

<sup>3</sup> Knoop, "*Pure Antient Masonry*," p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> Gould, loc. cit. vol. iii, p. 92.

Lane<sup>1</sup> pointed out that there was a "Scotch" or "Scott's" Mason's Lodge in London in 1733, and posed the question: "If 'Scots' Lodges originated first in France, and that not until 1740 . . . where did our English Brethren obtain the distinctive appellation of a "Scotch," or "Scott's" Masons' Lodge, and what constituted its peculiarity in 1733?" So far as I am aware, this problem has not been solved, and it would appear that no new knowledge is yet available.

Probably all that can be inferred from the Wakefield sojourners' jewel is that in the Royal Arch in Yorkshire, in the latter half of the 18th century, there may have been some element similar to, if not derived from, one of the Scots degrees. I think there is still something to be said regarding the influence of the French prisoners-of-war who came to England in fair numbers during the 18th century. There were certainly French prisoners in the Wakefield area in 1759, and though I have not been able to prosecute the search with any completeness, I think it not unlikely that there was contact of this kind with the French, in Yorkshire, much earlier in the century. The Milnes family drew great profits from their ventures, in the early years, in two privateers which they financed and found for the purpose of harrying the French and Spanish vessels. Walker<sup>2</sup> quotes several extracts from *The Leeds Mercury* of 1744, describing the exploits of these two privateers, and mentioning the taking of French prisoners. Is it altogether impossible that there may be some connection between the "Dassigny" reference of 1744, and these French prisoners?

#### APPEAL FOR WAR FUNDS.

The Lodge was by no means parochial in its outlook, but took a great interest in the affairs of the nation, as evidenced by the following extract from the *Leeds Mercury* of the 2nd February, 1793, for which I am indebted to Bro. G. Y. Johnson:—

At a meeting of Free Mafons held on Monday fe'n-night at their Lodge, in Wakefield, it was unanimously resolved to print a thoufand copies of Lord Grenville's anfwer to M. Chauvelin's note, and to difperfe them throughout the town and neighbourhood of Wakefield.

In the early months of 1798, the Unanimity Lodge, under the leadership of Linnecar, launched the famous appeal for funds to help the Government to prosecute the war with France. The "resolutions," though couched in the language of the day, breathe a spirit which finds exact acceptance at this present time.

The resolutions passed by the Unanimity Lodge in 1798 making an appeal for War Funds were printed in full in the *Leeds Intelligencer*.<sup>3</sup> These resolutions were printed as an advertisement, and a paragraph in the same edition of the paper, 9th April, 1798, is as follows:—

For the very loyal and fpirited resolves of the Lodge of Unanimity at Wakefield, fee the advertifement in the preceding page of this paper; in which our readers will find A moft patriotic example of old Brother Linnecar, which we have great hopes will be followed by all the younger Brethren of the Mafonic Order, throughout the kingdom.

<sup>1</sup> Lane, *A.Q.C.*, vol. i, p. 173

<sup>2</sup> Walker, loc. cit. vol. ii, p. 489.

<sup>3</sup> I have to thank Bro. G. Y. Johnson for extracts from the *Leeds Intelligencer* of 11th June and 2nd July, 1798, giving an account of the festival of St. John the Baptist in 1798.

## FREE MASONRY.

THE BRETHREN of the LODGE of UNANIMITY at WAKEFIELD purpose going in Procession to the New Church, on Monday the Twenty-fifth Inst. to celebrate the Feast of St John the Baptist.

A SERMON will be preached by Brother MUNKHOUSE, D.D.—The Brethren of the Neighbouring Lodges are requested to favour and honor them with their Company by Nine o'Clock.

Dinner will be on the Table at Two o'Clock.  
Wakefield, June 9th, 1798.

On Monday last, the Masonic Brothers of the Lodge of Unanimity (No. 202) assembled in their Lodge-Room at the Black Bull, in Wakefield, where they were joined by a numerous body of Brothers from this town and the neighbouring places, and proceeded from thence in due form, and in the dresses of their respective offices and degrees, (accompanied by a fine band of music) to St. John's Church. On the procession entering the church, Brother Sampson played the Dettingen Te Deum, which was succeeded by a recitative and air from the opening of the Messiah, sung by Mrs. Arnold; who, after the morning prayer, also sung He shall feed his flock, &c. Before and after sermon, a hymn on masonry (written by the Master, and set by Brother Sampson) was performed by the choir of the church, with admirable effect. An occasional sermon was delivered by Brother Munkhouse, from Acts XX. verse 32. which was a sensible, ingenious, and well-written discourse, full of charity, practical piety, and virtue. The procession both to and from the church was conducted with the utmost propriety. The number of spectators from the windows, and the crowd that attended the procession, were very great. It is computed that there were not less than 1800 or 2000 people in the church. The Brothers were accommodated at dinner with a room adjoining the Black Bull, in which sat down at one table 109, together with the stewards and others, the number of the Brothers present amounting to 120. To the affability and cheerfulness of the Right Worshipful Master, (Linnecar) and the extreme care, attention, and management of the stewards, the Brothers were greatly indebted for the regularity and decorum with which the business of the day was conducted. Due regard was had to the objects of charity proposed to the respective lodges. Many masonic, loyal and constitutional toasts were given from the chair; and some excellent songs were sung by the Brothers. The whole of the large assem-

1798

1798

W. H. F.

Right Worshipful Master, on

I have taken the Liberty of  
we have contributed will be of some  
and the other respectable Lodges in

our Resolutions. Altho the triple  
re, yet when I consider that young  
age and Opulent Country, have already  
or who intend following this plan. I flatter myself it will have a powerful  
influence on the Lodges in England, Scotland and Ireland, and by this means

Lodge of Unanimity, No. 202.

Walsfield, Yorkshire, A. L. 5798.  
April 24, A. D. 1798.

NOTICE having been previously given  
to the Brethren of the Master's Intentions,

The Right Worshipful Master, LINNECAR,  
in the CHAIR,

Moved, To take into Consideration the Expediency of  
a Masonic Contribution in Aid of Government at the present  
alarming Crisis, when the following Resolutions  
were severally put, and unanimously agreed to.

Resolved,

1. That it is the grand and leading Characteristic of  
Free and Accepted Masons, in every Clime, and under  
every Form of Government, to be obedient to the Powers  
that are, and grateful to the Laws by which they are  
protected.

2. That, accustomed as they every where are to the  
Study of whatever is most perfect in the sublime Science  
of Architecture, they are led to admire Beauty under all  
its Forms and various Appearances: And that We the  
Inhabitants of this happy Isle, do not especially con-  
template, with enthusiastic Fondness and Admiration,  
the nice Symmetry and Proportion of that glorious  
Structure, the British Constitution, consisting of King,  
Lords, and Commons.

3. That the Cause and Interests of our most ancient  
Institution are more particularly maintained by, and have  
ever been most prosperous under the Monarchical Form of  
Government:—That this, and other weighty Reasons  
and Considerations moving us, We do avow an unfeigned  
Love of the King, our Sovereign—the Friend and Fa-  
ther of his People;—and lay upon no Sacrifices to be  
to a great which have for the subject the Dignity of his  
Crown, the Safety of his Person, and the Stability of our  
incomparable Constitution and Laws.

4. That We are decidedly among the foremost of our  
patriotic Fellow-Subjects to approve and adopt any Mea-  
sures, that may (by our competent Rulers) be thought  
most conducive to the general Welfare, and the Prosperity  
of the State.

5. That, in our exclusive Capacity of Free and Ac-  
cepted Masons, We do now gladly embrace the Oppor-  
tunity of acquiescing in the proposed Expediency of  
A Masonic Donation to Government, in Support of its  
vigorous Exertions to confound the Enemies of the Land  
we live in:—And that we reserve to ourselves, at the  
same Time, such other Portion of pecuniary Assistance  
as may be reasonably expected in a more general—  
Parochial Contribution.

6. That the Secretary be empowered immediately to  
receive the Donations of the Brethren present, and with-  
out Loss of Time to collect the Contributions of absent  
Brethren:—That their Names, together with the A-  
mount of the respective Sums, be entered in the Books  
of their Society, and carefully preserved as a lasting Me-  
morial of their Spirit and Patriotism; and that the whole  
Sum thus contributed, (together with a Copy of these  
Resolutions) be transmitted, in the Name of the Wake-  
field Brethren, Lodge of Unanimity, (under Cover to  
FRANCIS FREELING, Esq.) to the Mansion House  
Committee, now sitting in the Metropolis for the Receipt  
of Voluntary Patriotic Contributions.

7. That We do most sincerely hope and believe, that  
these our Proceedings will not long be permitted to appear  
a solitary Instance of Masonic Love of their King,  
Constitution and Country.

8. That a Copy of these Resolutions, together with  
an Account of the Sums voluntarily contributed, be re-  
spectfully presented to the Grand Lodge of England; and  
that the Resolutions be twice inserted in the Leeds In-  
telligencer.

That lastly, most emphatically and unreservedly, We  
do desire to be understood as "hatred with a perfect  
Hatred" all treasonable and revolutionary Practices;—  
and do solemnly denounce that insidious and atheistical  
System which now desolates the Continent of Europe,  
and which will, if it continue to gain Ground, not only  
disappoint the exalted Ends and benevolent Purposes of  
the Craft, but also do away the Fear and Love of the  
Supreme Being, and root out the moral and social Virtues  
from the Hearts and Souls of Men.

MAY THE GRAND ARCHITECT OF THE UNIVERSE  
PRESIDE OVER THIS AND ALL OTHER  
LODGES ROUND THE GLOBE!—So mote it be!

a sum of money may be raised, that perhaps otherwise might not have brought  
on in aid to Government, of this urgent Crisis, to protect us in the possession of all  
that is dear to us as men and Masons!

Wishing every good to the members of Lodge No 506. I remain Respectfully  
Worshipful and Dear Brethren, your most Obedient Humble Servant.

A second Faithful Brother  
our friend Rich. Linneear

RESOLUTION referring to APPEAL for WAR FUNDS.

On New Years Day last at *Leedes* was a meeting of the Antient and Honourable Society of Freemasons; and at *Pontefract* that Day 7 Night was another, where several neighbouring Gentlemen were admitted; the *Lodge* consisting of about thirty Persons in Number, walk'd to several of their Brothers Houses, having on white Gloves and Aprons, Musick before them, &c. Afterwards returning to the Gallery of the Lodge Room, they drank the *King, Prince, &c.* with the Earl of *Pontefract* and other Loyal Healths, Money was thrown to the Croud by Handfuls, and the Night concluded with Illuminations, &c.

From the *Leeds Mercury*, 16<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup>, 1721.

bly broke up before eight o'clock; and fo truly pleafing and fatifactory were the occurrences of the day, that they cannot fail of being long remembered with extreme gratification by the Brothers, and highly to the honour and credit of this moft excellent infitution.

(For copy of the Resolutions see Plate VIII)

In the last years of the century, both Lodge and Chapter seem to have been well established. The "Unanimity" collection contains a double sheet of minutes of four meetings of the Lodge in 1799. Two examples are typical of the records of the time:—

"At the Lodge of Unanimity held at the Black Bull Inn April 1st. 1799

Present		
Julian Franswa	R. Linnecar, Mar.	Thos. Bedford
Zach Jillatt	T. Hardy S.W.	Jno. Statter
Wm. Sampson	J. Meggitt J.W.	Jno. Carr
Geo. Fitton	J. Robinson	P. Hardcastle
	S. A. Arnold	Thos. Stott
	Jno. Backhouse	Rd. Sampson
	H. Vickers	
	John Elwick	
	A. Peterson	
	Jno. Haigh	

Bror. Jno. Sawyer of Huddlessey having been proposed & ballotted for to be made an enterd Apprentice, as was also Joseph Sawyer of Selby and approv'd, they were both made accordingly.

Bror. Rd. Sampson propos'd himself to be raised (*sic*) to the sublime Degree of Master Mason was approvd & to be rais'd next Lodge.

Bror. Wm. Sampson propos'd himself to be raised to (*sic*) second Degree and approv'd to be rais'd.

All Bufinefs being over the Lodge was closed till Monday May the 6th except on Emergency.

"At the Lodge of Unanimity held at the Black Bull Inn to celebrate the Festival of Holy St. Jno. the Bapt. June 24 1799

Present		
Thos. Johnson	R. Linnecar Mr.	Wm. Dennison
Wm. Barker	T. Hardy S.W.	P. Hardcastle
Wm. Bayley	S. Arnold	R. H. Wilson
	J. Robinson	Br. Elwick
	R. Munkhouse	Jno. Statter
	R. Sampson	
	H. Vickers	
	Jno. Haigh	
	G. Strafford	
	W. Puckerin	
	G. Backhouse	
	Jno. Bird	

Mr. Thos Johnson having been ballotted for and approv'd last Lodge Night, was made and enter'd Apprentice accordingly

Mr. Wm. Barker was also made an enter'd Apprentice

The Rules were read

Bro'. Hardy proposed Wilfrey Oldridge to be made an Enter'd Apprentice & seconded by Bror. Haigh to be ballotted for next Lodge Night. Bror. Dennison propos'd David Hill to be made an Enter'd Apprentice & seconded by Bror. Robinson to be ballotted for next Lodge Night. All Bufsinefs (*sic*) being over the Lodge was clos'd till Monday the 5th of August except on Emergency.

The Chapter met on two occasions in 1799. The same names appear in Craft and R.A., and the impression gained is that the Masonic system of four degrees—despite lip-service paid to a separate Grand Chapter—was vigorous and flourishing in the closing years of the century.

Royal Arch Chapter held at the Black Bull July 15 1799

Present

R. Linnecar	H. Vickers
T. Hardy	
S. A. Arnold	
J. Robinson	
J. Backhouse	
J. Haigh	
W. Puckrin	
R. Munkhouse	

Bror. Thos. Bedford was propos'd to be made an Excellent R.A. Companion by the Principal Z and seconded by J & H was approv'd & rais'd accordingly

Bror. John Elwick was also propos'd & seconded by the three Principals to be made an excellent R.A. Companion was exalted accordingly

Royal Arch Chapter held at the Black Bull Inn Wakefield  
November 18th 1799

Present

R. Linnecar	Wm. Dawson
J. Carr	Jon <sup>n</sup> . Gledhill
S. A. Arnold	R. H. Wilson
J. Robinson	
Thos. Stott	
H. Vickers	
John Backhouse	
Wm. Puckrin	
John Elwick	
John Haigh	

Bror. Richd. Hodgson Wilson was propos'd by the Principal Z and seconded by J & approv'd to be made an Excellent R.A. Companion was exalted accordingly

Bror. John Statter was also propos'd by the same Companions and approv'd to be made a R.A. Companion.

Bror. Henry Smallpiece late of Nostell was propos'd by the same three Principal Companions & approv'd to be made a R.A. Companion was exalted accordingly

Bro. Hinchin (?)

All bufsinefs being over the Lodge was clos'd in due form

Apparently Bro. Statter did not turn up as expected. His name never appears again in the R.A. Journal or in the Cash Records, and it may be that some mishap befell him before he could proceed to the R.A. I think this must have been

the well-known Wakefield doctor known as Squire Statter, of whom many stories are told. Walker<sup>1</sup> relates an anecdote of a meeting between Statter and Peter Priestley, the parish clerk, sexton, and tombstone carver:—

“Peter was lettering a gravestone in the churchyard through which a public footpath ran, when Squire Statter, ancestor of two generations of Wakefield doctors, happened to pass by. Looking at the inscription he remarked, “Why, Peter, you’ve spelt it wrong.” “Have I, Doctor?” said Peter, “Well, well, pass it over, Doctor, I’ve covered up monny a blot o’ yours.”

The succeeding generations of Statters were all prominent Wakefield Freemasons and members of the Unanimity Lodge.

The occasional lapses on the part of the Secretary in describing the Chapter as “Lodge,” and referring to the Principal Z as the “Right Worshipful,” and the custom of keeping the Craft and R.A. accounts together—a custom which continued until late in the 19th century—indicate that the R.A. was not looked upon as a separate degree.

The Cash Book items confirm the Lodge and Chapter transactions in regard to candidates taking the various degrees. The items of expenditure are mostly for “Expenses of the Night,” postages, tyler’s fees, charitable donations and dues to Grand and Provincial Grand Lodges.

On June 21st, 1798, there is the entry:—

To. Wm. Meggitt for Robes .....	£2. 19. —
To. Mrs. Puckrin for makg. Do. ....	1. 2. 6
To H. Vickers for Caps & ——— .....	1. 11. 6

Once again the record is tantalisingly vague. What were the “Caps and ———.” Do they refer to regalia for the R.A.? The association is quite possible, since it was about this period that the Brethren bought the silver jewels from James Rule, of York, and were presumably actively engaged in establishing the R.A. working on a permanent footing as regards furnishings and regalia.

On the 13th March, 1800, the Right Worshipful, Richard Linnekar, died whilst conducting an inquest at Swillington in the Honour of Pontefract. He was 78 years of age, and must have retained full possession of his faculties to the end. He had occupied the chair at his Lodge for more than a quarter of a century, and he left it prospering and with a tradition of dignity and achievement to uphold.

It took the Lodge some little time to recover from the shock, but in the following year Bro. Hardy, a woolstapler, who had been a member of the Lodge since 1776, became Master, and Bro. Puckrin, a bricklayer, who had been initiated in 1792, became First Principal of the Chapter in 1802. A pierced jewel of the period, belonging to Puckrin, is still in existence.

In closing this first part of the account of the early history of Freemasonry in Wakefield, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to the Brethren of the “Unanimity” Lodge for their kindness in allowing me free access to their most valuable records. I wish also to express my very great debt of gratitude to Bro. David Flather for much kindly help, advice and encouragement extending over a number of years; also to Bro. F. M. Rickard for constant, patient and friendly guidance. Many other Brethren in Wakefield and elsewhere have assisted me with information, and to all of them I extend my grateful and fraternal thanks.

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A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Rylands for his interesting paper; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. W. I. Grantham, F. L. Pick, J. Heron Lepper, W. W. Covey-Crump, D. Knoop, G. Y. Johnson, F. R. Radice, E. Hawkesworth, and G. W. Bullamore.

<sup>1</sup> Walker, loc. cit., p. 517.

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

It is with real pleasure that I rise to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Rylands for his interesting paper.

Bro. Rylands, an industrious member of our Correspondence Circle, has selected for treatment the early days of Freemasonry in Wakefield, and has approached his task with the skill of a student who knows what to seek and what to record for the benefit of other students.

The paper to which we have listened to-day is concerned for the most part with the activities of the Lodge of Unanimity, and in certain portions of the paper considerable stress has been laid upon the convivial element. The author has been so bold as to suggest that sufficient emphasis has not yet been placed upon the part played by the convivial element in the period of transition which connected the purely speculative lodges with the operative lodges of an earlier generation. Although I am inclined to think that Bro. Rylands has perhaps exaggerated the importance of the convivial element, I am in hearty agreement with him that this aspect of the matter should not be overlooked.

The Lodge of Unanimity is stated to have been formed in 1766. It would seem, however, that the members of this respectable lodge, happily still on the roll of Grand Lodge, could legitimately claim that the labours of their lodge commenced in the previous year, for according to the first Cash Book a meeting was held on St. John's Day, December 27th, 1765, and in the following February the Tyler was paid the sum of three shillings in respect of three nights upon which the brethren had met *before* the previous St. John's Day. It is therefore clear that the members met on at least four occasions at the end of the year 1765 with the Tyler in attendance.

Shortly after the Lodge of Unanimity was warranted by the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" attempts were made, as we know, to incorporate their Society. If in the course of his researches the author of this paper has alighted upon any reference to this subject it is to be hoped that he will allude thereto in his reply, in order that we may know whether this newly-formed provincial lodge favoured or opposed this scheme.

The contacts formed by the Lodge of Unanimity with French prisoners-of-war and with the personnel of British regiments serving in the neighbourhood of Wakefield are worthy of note. As no less than twenty-one members of the 90th Regiment were "made Royal Arch" by the brethren of the Lodge of Unanimity in the winter of 1782, it may, I think, be legitimately inferred that the 90th Regiment was already possessed of a regimental lodge at this period. In the limited time at my disposal since receiving a copy of this paper it has not been possible for me to identify this regimental lodge; but perhaps some other Brother has been more successful. The regiment in question, to give it its full title, was the 90th Regiment of Foot (or Perthshire Volunteers). In spite of this Scottish element I am inclined to suspect that the Lodge Warrant emanated from the Grand Lodge of Ireland. In his paper on *The Poor Common Soldier* (*A.Q.C.*, xxxviii, 149), Bro. Lepper mentions a lodge warranted in this regiment in 1786—Andalusia No. 8—but this is four years after the date we are concerned with in this paper. I will therefore leave this matter to be dealt with by Bro. Lepper.

We are informed in this paper that the Royal Arch minutes of the Lodge of Unanimity are practically continuous from 1766 to 1844. In view of the strong Royal Arch element to be detected in the affairs of this lodge, it is perhaps somewhat surprising to find it stated that on February 22nd, 1769, the Royal Arch Lodge "closed to 10th November 1771" and that on November 10th, 1771, the Royal Arch Lodge "closed to 1774". In the absence of more detailed information upon this point I find myself unable to accept the proposition that in February, 1769, the members of the Royal Arch Lodge arranged to hold their next meeting twenty-one months later on 10th November,

1771, and that on the occasion of their meeting in November, 1771, the members then agreed not to meet again until an unspecified date in 1774. Let me hasten to assure Bro. Rylands that I am not for one moment seeking to challenge the accuracy of his transcription of the entries in these Royal Arch Journals; but I would venture to suggest that there is here clear evidence of faulty editing of the Royal Arch Journals, that the records of many of the Royal Arch meetings are missing, and that some well-intentioned person in editing these records thoughtlessly inserted at the end of one set of minutes the date of meeting recorded at the commencement of the next set of minutes to which he had access, regardless of the length of the intervening period. I would therefore urge Bro. Rylands to re-examine the Royal Arch Journals with this suggestion in mind before he finally replies to our comments upon this paper. It is to my mind inconceivable that the Royal Arch activities of the Lodge of Unanimity, extending over a period of twenty-two years from 1766 to 1788, could have been fully recorded upon no more than ten foolscap leaves in the Royal Arch Journals.

The author of this paper has unearthed a number of intriguing references to the Royal Arch and one early allusion to the Knights of Malta. It is to be hoped that those who contribute to the discussion upon this paper will be able to throw further light upon these matters.

Bro. Rylands has also given us a number of cryptic quotations from the early minutes of the Lodge of Unanimity. It ought not to be beyond the ingenuity of the members of this Lodge of Research to offer solutions to these problems. Let me venture to suggest that the "W——h" in respect of which three guineas was paid in 1791 was a winding-cloth upon which were embroidered the customary emblems of mortality. The expression "winding-cloth" appears to have been in common use in the eighteenth century, but has since become obsolete; the expression now used is "winding-sheet". In Bro. Heiron's *Ancient Freemasonry and the Old Dundee Lodge No. 18* will be found a photograph of a specimen of this type of cloth, called in this instance a "Raising Sheet", which cost the Old Dundee Lodge £1 12 6.

The "Curtain", for the making up of which five shillings and eight pence was paid in 1789, may have been a form of canopy erected over the thrones of the Three Principals in the Royal Arch Lodge.

The piece of serge dyed and pressed in 1790 at a cost of five shillings may have been a piece of cloth intended for a cape or cloak to be worn by the Tyler as part of his uniform when engaged upon masonic business.

As the entry "Caps and 1. 11. 6." follows immediately after two items relating to robes, it is, I think, highly probable that the word "Caps" was intended to refer to head-pieces worn by the Three Principals, and that the blank space was intended as an allusion to some other piece of Royal Arch regalia.

As those who are gathered here to-day are all speculative masons I have no doubt that various suggestions will be advanced by way of solution to these fascinating problems. I await those speculations with as much interest as the author of this paper, to whom I now propose a most cordial vote of thanks.

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Bro. F. L. PICK said:—

I second the vote of thanks to Bro. Rylands with pleasure and congratulate him on his able treatment of an interesting subject. He has been fortunate in having access to such valuable data on the formation and early days of the Lodge of Unanimity, and his reconstruction of the proceedings of the Lodge tallies very closely with that of the Royal Cumberland Lodge No. 41, Bath, which some of us have been privileged to witness.

Perhaps the most valuable feature of the paper is the information regarding the early days of the Royal Arch. One gathers that the Master and Wardens of the Craft Lodge filled the principal Chairs of the Chapter, which indicates a difference of qualification, though the list of toasts indicates a ceremony on lines not too far distant from those of to-day. The 1848 edition of *The Ritual and Illustrations of Freemasonry* describes an alleged Royal Arch ceremony, evidently based on American information, in which the Can. is described as being received under a "living Arch" through which he is depicted as being dragged by a rope wound several times round his body. The Cord of Love suggests something like the Brotherchain of the Netherlands working, though the presentation of a "Cord of Amity" indicates that a visible symbol of this ritual joining of hands was adopted.

On the subject of headgear for the Principals of the Chapter this was fairly common in this part of the country at one time, and I was recently informed that the Principals of a Chapter in Bradford are still invested with caps as well as robes, though I have not verified this. A set used in the Chapter of Melchisedech, Bolton, is illustrated in E. B. Beesley's *Masonic Antiquities of East Lancashire Lodges and Chapters*, and a set of Principals' hats and robes stands in a case in the Masonic Temple, Manchester, to-day.

The references to St. John's Days recall that in the North-West one still hears an Installation meeting colloquially referred to as a "Saint John" more frequently than by its correct title.

The item of relief to two Turkish Brothers in 1784 has a parallel in the Lodge of Friendship, Oldham, whose Cash Book contains the item:

27th July, 1795. To relieving a Brother Turk 3s. 6d.

Bro. Rylands also refers to the appeal for funds launched by the Lodge of Unanimity in aid of the Government in 1798. A public appeal was issued in aid of "the exigencies of the State" in Oldham the same year, and all the Masonic bodies in the town subscribed liberally.

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BRO. J. HERON LEPPER writes:—

I am sorry I could not be present to hear the paper read and add my voice to the applause which the author ought to receive for it. Its contents have given me great personal satisfaction, for Bro. Rylands, working completely independently, has produced evidence which is quite new to me and is strongly in support of a thesis put forward in my recent paper on *The Traditioners*.

The questions involved are of no little importance, for if the weight of evidence goes for anything we must conclude (a) that many of the English Lodges yielding allegiance to the Premier Grand Lodge never changed their ritual; and (b) that the Yorkshire Lodges and those in the north of England generally fell into this category.

All I can add to this excellent essay is no more than a few scattered notes on various passages.

In the first place I cannot agree with Bro. Rylands "that the systematic symbolising of the whole range of implements used in a particular Craft was a novelty" in the eighteenth century. Medieval literature is full of such symbolism, and I look upon our existing custom in the Craft as the survival of an old landmark.

Of course the explanations have been revised from time to time, and expanded as new implements came into use; but the custom itself seems to me to bear all the features of an origin grounded in antiquity.

As regards the foundation of a regular Modern Lodge in 1766, the procedure would have been governed by Entick's *Constitutions* of 1756, and after carefully reading through the regulations affecting private Lodges (p. 306 *et seq.*) I can find nothing about the number of Masons requisite to form a new Lodge. So I assume that the mystic number of seven was laid down later, or else was considered a piece of traditionary knowledge so well known to Masons as not to be needed in print.

I was pleased to find that Lodge of Unanimity appointed Deacons from the start. I consider the occurrence of such an officer proof that the Lodge was "Antient" in its ritual, even were evidence of another kind lacking, which happily is not the case.

Linnecear, having been made in Gibraltar, was certainly initiated in the best of "Antient" traditions, that of the Military Masons. The Rock and its Masonic associations would be well worth a detailed paper. Later in the century every Military Lodge there, whatever its allegiance, became for the time being subject to the Provincial Grand Lodge of England held under the "Antients". A case is on record in which the Grand Lodge of Ireland wrote to one of its Lodges at Gibraltar and ordered it while there to submit to the properly constituted Masonic authority, that is, the Provincial Grand Lodge aforesaid.

I would draw special attention to the interesting passage in Grand Secretary Spencer's letter of 25th March, 1766, stating that country Lodges were only expected to contribute to the Charity Fund when convenient and when they chose. His later letter referring to the dropping of Colonel Salter as Deputy Grand Master reminds us of an event that might almost be said to have split the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" into two factions.

The toasts given at the meeting of the Royal Arch in 1769 are noteworthy. We have so little to throw light on the degree as then worked that I look upon these hints as most valuable material. I venture to say that the "Cord of love" would present no difficulty in explanation to an Irish Royal Arch Mason. The cord forms an important bit of symbolism in the degree as we have it in that jurisdiction, and gave rise to the sign of Order as given in an Irish Royal Arch Chapter. I may say that the cord is *not* long enough to go round the Chapter, but that is as much as I care to communicate on the present occasion. Seven of the toasts would be understood to-day by any Irish Royal Arch Mason.

The different titles given to the presiding officers of the Royal Arch Chapter could be paralleled by a similar confusion that existed in Ireland, a confusion only equalled by, apparently, the period of the legend in use at different places. Probably the actual ceremony had little variation, whether Josiah, Zerubbabel, or a High Priest supervised the Exaltation.

The name of Captain John Stratford Saunders, who received the "Superlative Degree of Royal Arch Mason" on the 24th February, 1783, presents me with a pretty puzzle. Bro. Saunders turns up in Dublin in April or May of 1783, visits Kilwinning High Knight Templar Lodge No. 584, is proposed as a joining member by Morley Saunders, Esq., of Morley Grove, is elected a member, and apparently is exalted as a Royal Arch Mason, together with Morley Saunders, on the 20th May. The Minute Book recording these events is very defaced. The transcript made for me by Bro. J. Hewton runs:

Kilwinning Lodge open'd i(     )  
 Due Form the Worshipful in t(     )  
 7 Members present, A Master (     )  
 Balloted for Bror John Stratford (     )  
 Esq, who was admitted open'd a (     )  
 Excellent and Super Excellent Lo(     )  
 advanced both Bror Saunder(     )  
 Sublime Degrees, had a lecture a (     )

This entry reads to me as if Bro. John Stratford Saunders had been re-Exalted; but the state of the Minute Book leaves a margin for doubt.

Turkish Masons in distress were a common feature in many Lodge Rooms in 1784. In March of that year, as we learn from Joy's *Historical collections relative to the town of Belfast*:

Captain Abraham Rahash, and his son Rahash, two Turks taken prisoner by the Spaniards in attempting to bring relief to the garrison of Gibraltar, and had after escaped and got to Leith, from whence they came to this town, well recommended by the Grand Lodge of Scotland—visited the Lodge 257, where they were treated with every respect, civility and love by the Brethren of that numerous and respectable body; who gave them a recommendation to other Lodges, and a sum of money to enable them to return to Constantinople, the place of their nativity.

And we find that on the 27th May, 1784, the same pair visited Lodge 620 in Dublin, having previously on the 6th May been granted £5 each by the Grand Lodge of Ireland "to carry them back to their country."

Dunckerley, writing to Grand Secretary White on 16th November, 1786, alludes to "several persons disguised like Turks, who pretend that they were made prisoners in attempting to relieve Gibraltar, have imposed on Lodges at Bristol and Bath." Let us, however, after this lapse of time give the visiting Turkish Brethren the benefit of the doubt.

Let me conclude these random notes with sincere congratulations to Bro. Rylands on an excellent paper, and add my thanks to those he will receive from the Lodge collectively for a very attractive and sound piece of work.

Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

I have read with care and pleasure Bro. Rylands' paper. Dealing, as it does, with the history of our Craft in Wakefield—a city of importance, but one with which (alas!) I have never had an opportunity to make acquaintance—for me to offer any criticism would be an impertinence.

There are, however, two small errors in the introductory paragraphs to which I would call attention; for, as they in no way affect the gist of his argument, Bro. Rylands will doubtless wish to alter them when revising the proof-sheets:—

(1) In col. 1.—In the quotation from Wm. Hone's book on Medieval "Mystery Plays" occurs the sentence, "By the ordinary of the goldsmiths, plumbers, glaziers, pewterers and painters, dated 1536," etc., the aforesaid date should be 1436.

(2) At the foot of col. 3 we are told that Dr. Robert Amory "came of an old family tracing its descent from an Amory de Montford who married the sister of Henry II." The historical fact is that Amory de Montford's brother Simon married Eleanor, widow of the Earl of Pembroke, on 7th January, 1238; and the said Eleanor was a sister of King *Henry III*.

Bro. KNOOF writes:—

At the outset I should like to congratulate Bro. Rylands warmly on his maiden effort in masonic history, in what concerns the Q.C. Lodge. The close association of a "Modern" lodge at Wakefield with the working of the Royal Arch is particularly interesting. Had Bro. Rylands contented himself with placing before us the story revealed by the surviving Wakefield records, I should have had nothing further to add but my cordial thanks to him for making the facts generally available for masonic students. But he indulges in some

generalisations, not based upon the Wakefield records, which I cannot let pass without comment, more especially as he refers to my views.

In the first place, I would touch upon Bro. Rylands's suggestion that lodges in general, in their development, passed through three stages, viz., (i) operative, (ii) convivial, and (iii) moralising [?=speculative]. It seems to me that he is confusing two methods of classification, one based on the temperateness of the lodge, and the other on its functions. An operative lodge, for example, might be either staid and sober, or convivial, or intemperate, and the same might be true of a lodge of accepted masons, or of a lodge of speculative masons. The evolution of the lodge would indeed appear to have passed through three stages, but a somewhat different three from those set forth by Bro. Rylands.

(i) Operative lodges, permanent organisations discharging certain trade functions. Amongst the members there might be non-operatives as well as operatives, but, so far as one can tell, the non-operatives exercised no influence on the working and policy of the lodges.

(ii) Lodges of accepted masons, either occasional or semi-permanent in character. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries these followed the practices in vogue in Scottish operative lodges, *i.e.*, the reading of a version of the Old Charges, together with the formalities associated with the imparting of the Mason Word. Such "accepted" rites and ceremonies underwent a gradual process of modification, and it is impossible to say exactly at what stage they ceased to be "accepted" and became "speculative". The main interest of accepted masons was probably antiquarian.

(iii) Lodges of speculative masons, in which the reading of the Old Charges and the practice of the somewhat crude usages and phrases associated with the giving of the Mason Word had been more or less entirely replaced by the teaching of a peculiar system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols. The underlying characteristic of these lodges is "moralising", to use the expression of Bro. Rylands.

Bro. Rylands quite rightly stresses the convivial character of freemasonry in the eighteenth century; the same was probably true of masonry in the early nineteenth century. Conviviality, therefore, was first associated with accepted masonry, and at a later period with speculative masonry. We are reminded of the former partiality for conviviality every time we hear the Junior Warden admonished to be temperate and discreet in the indulgence of his own inclinations, and careful to observe that none of the Brethren be suffered to convert the means of innocent refreshment into intemperance and excess. What Bro. Rylands does not draw attention to is the fact that conviviality was a general feature of social life in the eighteenth century, and was not confined to masonry. Thus Francis Drake, Junior Grand Warden, in his speech to the York Grand Lodge on 27th December, 1726, refers to "the pernicious custom of drinking too deep, which we of our nation too much indulge. . . . I wish I cou'd not say, that I have frequently observ'd it in our own Most Amicable Brotherhood of Free-Masons".

Secondly, I should like to refer to Murray Lyon's view about the fabrication of symbolical masonry, which Bro. Rylands mentions with apparent approval, but without quoting the passage (*History of the Lodge of Edinburgh*, p. 163) in full:—

We . . . have . . . no hesitation in ascribing Scotland's acquaintance with, and subsequent adoption of, English symbolical Masonry to the conference which the co-fabricator and pioneer of the system [*i.e.*, J. T. Desaguliers] held with the Lodge of Edinburgh in August, 1721.

This passage shows that we are concerned with two distinct problems, the first relating to the so-called fabrication of English symbolical masonry, and the second to its introduction into Scotland.

(i) Probably the Rev. James Anderson was cast by Murray Lyon for the other leading part as "fabricator", but whether that is so or not, I have no hesitation in affirming that English symbolical masonry was not fabricated by Desaguliers and Anderson, or by any other two men: the ritual and ceremonies developed gradually, as the Brethren will best realise if they study the masonic catechisms from 1696 to 1730, which they will find set out in chronological order in our recently published volume of *Early Masonic Catechisms*. Always assuming that these catechisms give some indication of masonic ceremonies in the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the Brethren will appreciate that the rites of the Desaguliers period were at most but a nucleus of the present ceremonies, and that they were almost, if not entirely, devoid of any symbolical element.

(ii) Even if, on the occasion of his visit to the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1721, Desaguliers, without his own team of officers, did, as Murray Lyon supposes, conduct the ceremony of entering and passing, in accordance with the ritual he was anxious to introduce (*op. cit.*, p. 162), we have to ask ourselves whether one single display of a presumably new, or largely modified, ceremony at one particular lodge would bring about the adoption and spread of that new system of working throughout Scotland. Personally, I think it very unlikely (a) that Desaguliers did conduct the ceremony on the occasion of his visit to the Lodge of Edinburgh, or (b) that such ceremony, if so conducted, was "symbolical" in character at such an early date as 1721, or (c) that such ceremony, if so conducted, would have sufficient to secure its introduction throughout Scotland. If we remember the many displays in the Lodge of Reconciliation of the new working adopted at the Union, and the difficulty in securing its general adoption, the balance of probabilities is very strong against a single display in Edinburgh of a new working by Desaguliers, assuming that it ever did take place, exercising any permanent effect on Scottish masonic ceremonies. Murray Lyon apparently overlooks the fact that within thirty years or so of the publication of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, eight Scottish editions of that pamphlet had been published. If, as is often suggested, *Masonry Dissected* exercised a considerable influence on the development of masonic working in England, then the chances are that it exercised a similar influence on the development of masonic working in Scotland. The Grand Lodge of Scotland was not established until 1736, and it is doubtful whether much modification of the old operative working occurred before that event.

Thirdly, I note that Bro. Rylands shares Bro. Gould's view that the Royal Arch originated in France. Personally, I do not share that view, but having devoted considerable space in my paper on *Pure Ancient Masonry* (*A.Q.C.*, liii) to discussing the whole problem, I content myself here with recording my dissent from Bro. Rylands's view.

Lastly, to revert to a problem affecting Wakefield masonry in particular, it is not without interest to note that Richard Linnecar, and certain other Wakefield masons mentioned by Bro. Rylands, were members of the Wakefield Chapter of Gregorians, formed on 24th June, 1796, as we learn from a paper by Bro. Rylands's distinguished namesake in *A.Q.C.*, xxi, pp. 118-29. A Gregorian Hymn in the handwriting of Richard Linnecar, first Senior Warden of the Wakefield Chapter, has survived, and will be found in *A.Q.C.*, xxii, pp. 134-5.

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Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON writes:—

In the first place I should like to congratulate Bro. J. R. Rylands on his paper. To me it has proved most interesting.

The Unanimity Lodge of Wakefield is one of the most famous Lodges in Yorkshire. The George and Crown Inn, where the Lodge originally held their meetings, must have been an hostelry of note. In the *York Courant* of 26th April, 1743, it was advertised "to be Lett" and was described as "situate in the Market Place". In the *York Courant* of 14th June, 1768, "A main of Staggs" was advertised "to be fought at Mr. Dawson's new Pit at the George and Crown in Wakefield." One wonders whether any members of the Lodge were present on that occasion.

In the year 1768 the Grand Lodge of the Moderns made their first Register. Only four Lodges in Yorkshire appeared in this Register, and the Lodge at Wakefield was one of these. Twelve members appeared in the list, which is as follows:—

A List of Members of the Lodge No. 361 Held at the George & Crown, Wakefield		Their Titles Mysteries or Trade
Joseph Armitage	Masr.	Revd.
Arthur Helshaw	S.W.	Esqr
Richd. Linnecar	J.W.	Coroner
Wm Parker	S.D.	Linnendraper
Joseph Nevinson	Treasr.	Merchant
Joseph Brown	Secty	Bookkeeper
Robert Amory		M.D.
L. A. Tottenham		Colonel
Thos. Dawson		Inn Keeper
F. B. Sill		Capt. of Foot
Wm Walker	J.D.	Surgeon
Wm Walker, Senr.		Do Declined on acct. of living at Hull

It interested me to read that the Brethren at Wakefield purchased the Lodge jewels from Ambrose Beckwith of York, who was a well-known York tradesman, and advertised in the local Press on several occasions. He described himself as "Jeweller and Goldsmith, at his old shop, The Golden Cup in Coney Street, York".

He was a Freeman and Council Man of the City; and his death was announced in the local Press of 2nd October, 1770.

Ambrose Beckwith, senr., was made a Mason in York Grand Lodge on 23rd March, 1761, and was the first Initiate after the Revival. He was not a regular attender, and in 1765 he was only present on one occasion, and that was two days after his letter to Wakefield. This was his last appearance; he resigned the York Grand Lodge on 26th June, 1769.

There was another Ambrose Beckwith in York described as Ambrose Beckwith junr., who was also a Jeweller "at the Crown & Pearl in Coney Street, York". His bankruptcy is announced in the local Press of 17th January, 1769; his stock in trade was sold soon afterwards.

He was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge on 10th March, 1766, and served as Junior Grand Warden in 1767. The last trace we have of him is at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1779, where he was incarcerated for debt and the York Grand Lodge made him a small allowance.

Were these two men father and son, or were they uncle and nephew? They were in competition, both being Jewellers in Coney Street, and Ambrose Beckwith senr. never attended the York Grand Lodge after Ambrose Beckwith junr. had been initiated, but they both attended the meeting of the Grand Chapter at York on 1st May, 1768.

Neither of these brethren ever attended the Apollo Lodge.

It is somewhat difficult to account for the purchase of Masonic jewels by the Apollo Lodge of York from Ambrose Beckwith in 1773; as Ambrose Beckwith senr. had died in 1770, his business being carried on by Hampston and Prince; and Ambrose Beckwith junr. had become a bankrupt and his stock sold in 1769.

The next reference in the Press to the Wakefield Lodge that I have been able to trace is a short account of the St. John's meeting in 1785. This appeared in the *Leeds Mercury* of 28th June, 1785.

On Thursday laft the annual meeting of Free and Accepted Mafons was held at the Crown Inn in Wakefield, where an elegant dinner was provided: Previous to which they attended Divine Service at the Church, where an excellent fermon was preached by Brother Makereth. In the interval of the service the following HYMN, wrote by a Brother, and fet to Mufic by Mr. Clementfhaw, Organift, was fung on the occafion.

(Here follow three verses of the Hymn)

The Wakefield Brethren appear to have been most generous, as they subscribed £5/5/- to provide winter comforts for the troops. A paragraph to this effect appears in the *Leeds Intelligencer* of 25th November, 1793, as follows:

Subscriptions for providing our brave troops on the Continent with flannel waistcoats and drawers.

A fubfcription has been likewise opened at Wakefield, and upwards of two hundred pounds have been generoufly fubfcribed by the inhabitants of that place. The gentlemen of the Mafons' Lodge there, at their meeting on Monday laft, with that generofity which ever accompanies their proceedings, liberally contributed five guineas, exclufive of their individual donations:—An example which we hope will be followed by other Lodges.

Just one final note. In the Grand Lodge records there is a printed circular dated 30th June, 1800, advertising the publication of a book, "*The Knight and the Mason, a Novel*; in 3 volumes duodecimo. The price to subscribers 12s." The circular is signed by Ste Arnold, R.A. I believe that the circular was published by the authority of the Unanimity Lodge, but am not sure on this point. Is anything known of this novel?

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Bro. F. R. RADICE said:—

I wish to join in the congratulations already offered to Bro. Rylands on his very interesting paper. It illustrates in a particular manner how useful these histories of local Lodges can be in assisting one to piece together a history of the Craft in general, in confirming opinions already formed as regards the state of affairs in times past and sometimes even giving rise to new ideas which in their turn need confirmation elsewhere. Bro. Lepper has already commented on the fact that Bro. Rylands has supplied evidence which tends to confirm Bro. Lepper's ideas set forth in the last paper read before the Lodge on the existence, tacit and largely unacknowledged, of a "Centre" Party between the Ancients and the Moderns; and this evidence is all the more valuable in that it was unconscious, so to speak; it had not been consciously sought out in order to support any theory.

Bro. Rylands' remarks on convivial Masonry and the transition to a moralising Masonry are very interesting, so are those on the place of Freemasonry in cultural history. He also gives us excellent examples of the value of the information which may be gleaned from the old Cash Accounts. His view on the opinion as to the origin of "squaring the Lodge" is not new; in fact, it has been suggested to me by eminent Masonic students, and I for one have little doubt that it is correct. The alternative of squaring round the "tressel board" does not appeal to me, as the physical necessity of the squaring would then be absent. In addition I have no doubt that the sections on the Royal Arch add very useful information on those supreme degrees, and tangible evidence how Royal Arch working first began and led after some years to the formation of a regular Chapter is an especially valuable contribution. I look forward with interest to the "second part" that Bro. Rylands promises us, and I feel that this paper should be a very strong encouragement to other members of the Correspondence Circle to "go and do likewise."

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Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

Originally the mason craft consisted of operatives and speculatives, which may be said to correspond roughly with the journeymen and the fellowship and masters. The operatives qualified for the fellowship by seven years of labour, the speculatives were admitted without this preliminary. Non-operative, non-speculative patrons of the Guild would be admitted as speculatives. Accepted masons were journeymen accepted by a lodge although trained elsewhere.

In the middle ages, when church building and symbolism was at its height, the semi-monastic masters probably used symbolism for the entertainment and instruction of the journeymen, while during the Commonwealth the term Freemason was dropped, and we can be reasonably sure that "popish and pagan" references and symbolism went with it; although the accepted masons were retained as a method of controlling and collecting quarterage from itinerant journeymen.

These accepted masons became numerous at the rebuilding of London. After the fire some of the non-operative or honorary members seem to have met irregularly. It was probably at such a festive meeting that Antony Sayer presided. After the death of Sir Christopher Wren and before separation from the Masons' Company Bro. Payne's Old Regulations may have been issued as the first attempt at re-organisation. Eventually the Modern Grand Lodge evolved as a fellowcraft body with subordinate lodges of journeymen status. The paucity of the modern ritual is well shown by the oft-quoted extract from the Bolton Lodge, when in 1768 the Master and two Past Masters of the Bury Lodge were "crafted and raised Master Masons, they being before Modern Masons". The Bury Lodge subsequently became a Master Mason Lodge, and it is of interest therefore to note Wm. Cutler's opinion that the similar work in a Wakefield Lodge was taken from the "Antients".

The restoration of degrees and symbolism from another tradition must have been in operation from the commencement of the formation of the Modern Grand Lodge, and until we cease to regard the "Antients" as schismatic "Moderns" we are not likely to get a very clear picture of Masonic descent.

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Bro. E. HAWKESWORTH *writes*:—

I have read Bro. Rylands' paper with more than ordinary interest, and congratulate him upon the good use he has made of the material which has been so fortunately preserved. Whilst admitting the great value of the knowledge published on many other matters of Masonic importance, my experience as Local Secretary for some years makes it clear that these histories of old Lodges appeal

more to the ordinary members of our Correspondence Circle than the more abstruse papers. Being more particularly interested in the R.A., I am prompted to offer a few remarks rather to supplement than criticise some matters mentioned in the paper. It is exceedingly difficult to gather much information about the nature of the ceremonies practised in the old Lodges and Chapters, as the records are so uninformative. When one reads that on one occasion there were the Three Masters and two other undescribed brethren present, and the R.A. was conferred upon five brethren; on another a Master and S.D. and J.D. to make three R.A. brethren; and again Three Masters only and three candidates, one wonders how it could be possible to work any ceremony at all corresponding with the present one, which demands nine officers. We do know that in early days, at least in the North of England, there were brethren skilled in the ritual, who visited the neighbouring places, often far apart, and performed the ceremonies, receiving payment of their expenses, but there does not appear to be any record of such visits or payments in the Unanimity books. Neither is there anything about the election of Masters or Officers, and the Installation ceremony was then unknown. The Minutes of the Chapter of Unity No. 72, Leeds, commencing in 1796, show that the Principals were elected half-yearly, and they forthwith took their Chairs. Again, there does not appear to have been any special qualification for Mastership, as the Wakefield Minutes show that only eight days after being made R.A. two brethren are recorded as Masters, and a few months later two others, made at the same time as these, were present as Masters. Indeed, Bro. Rylands tells us that often the Master and Wardens of the Craft Lodge presided over the R.A. Lodge. He also infers that there was no making of nominal P.Ms. to qualify for the degree, though there might be no need for this if the Craft Wardens took two of the Chairs. If it was not done in Wakefield, such a practice became fairly common a few years later, and the Wm. Hodgson made R.A. in Unanimity in 1788 may have known about it, as at the second meeting of Alfred Lodge, now 306, Leeds, of which he was the first Master, four or five brethren "passed the Chair" to qualify them for membership of Unity Chapter No. 72, warranted in 1790, although there is no record of its meetings until 1796, when Hodgson was its first Z., and occupied that office for three years. His name appears on the warrant of 1790 as Z., a somewhat rapid rise, seeing that he was only made R.A. in 1788. This Chapter of Unity became attached to Alfred Lodge, and to conform to the edict of Grand Chapter altered its name to Alfred in 1819. I doubt the conclusions in the paper about R.A. working in 1769. Surely the fourth step, or fourth degree, and the very close relationship between the Craft and R.A. Lodges, and their officers, is good evidence of "Ancient" practice. Unfortunately my notes about the ceremonies compiled after visits, many of them repeated ones, to all the 68 Chapters in my Province, are not at present accessible, and although having no distinct recollection of Wakefield Chapter No. 495, which may have the same working, that of Sincerity No. 1,019, in the same city, which I visited only a few months ago, was strikingly different, in the opening, from that of the majority of Chapters. The questions to the Sojrs. as to their situation and duties elicited the replies that they were at the entrances to the three respective Veils, not to allow anyone to enter unless in possession of the P.W., etc., etc. Then the colloquy between Z., H. and J.—Whence come you? From B. Whither directing your steps? Towards J. For what purpose? To rebuild, etc., etc., which is all reminiscent of the Irish and Bristol rites, thus evidently descended from some "Antient" form. The item of "Caps" in the entry of June 21st, 1798, seems likely to refer to the headgear of the Three Principals—crowns for Z. and H., and mitre for J., a custom of at least some old Chapters, now extinct or nearly so. I rather think they are still placed upon the Chairs in Bristol, but in one of the Bradford Chapters, at the Installation, they are placed upon the heads of the new Principals, as

invested, laid aside for a time (they do not appear to be comfortable wear), resumed for the proclamation, then put away for another year, as is the Breast-plate with which J. is invested, though in the Doncaster area this is worn regularly by J., and is rather larger than the dimensions of the Wakefield one. I have recollections of "The Cord of Amity", or its equivalent, being used in the closing of a Chapter, by the Comps. all standing round holding it by their hands; in two or three others the staves are held horizontally so as to form a similar connection; whilst the same idea of continuous "love and unity" is shown in several Chapters by all the Comps. standing round, hand-in-hand, repeating, instead of the Principals' "We Three", "We All do Meet", etc. The Cord is not the same as the "strong" one placed about the P.S.

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Bro. H. S. GOODYEAR writes:—

As a temporary resident in Wakefield, Bro. Rylands' paper on Unanimity Lodge and Chapter has deeply interested me, and one is very grateful to him for the trouble he has taken in going through the old minute and cash books, and laying the extracts before the Lodge.

The records of old, and in many cases extinct, Lodges always make interesting reading, and invariably shed some light on how our ancient brethren conducted their masonic business, and also proves that we, of the present day, are following their traditions to a very great extent. It is a remarkable fact that most of these early records have brought to light many masonic traditions and items which are of interest to the young student who "wants to know" the why and the wherefore of certain portions of our ancient usages. Many of the quaint expressions used in present day workings of ritual have their origin and have been kept alive for us by the scribes of these early Lodges, and, in my opinion, these records of early Lodges are invaluable to the young masonic student.

Unanimity Lodge undoubtedly owed, and still does owe, a great debt of gratitude to that remarkable Master who occupied the chair for such a long period—Richard Linnecar, who, though he appears to have been a "Jack of all trades", was certainly "Master" of his masonic work. I, as well as Bro. Rylands, have made a diligent search of the old Rectory burial ground at Wakefield, where it is known he was interred, to try and find his grave in the hope that his gravestone would give further information as to his masonic activities, but owing to street widening and the overgrown rubbish which has accumulated in this uncared-for "God's Acre", we have been unable to discover it.

Amongst the entries in the Cash Book which are of interest, those referring to the payment of £25 to Grand Lodge, the purchase of a w——h, and the purchase of caps and gowns are of particular interest to me. The payment of the £25 evidently resulted in the Lodge being entitled to possess the old Freemasons' Hall Medal (as mentioned by Lane), and this jewel is still worn by the W.M. when the Lodge meets, just as the Hall Stone jewel is worn now-a-days.

In my opinion the w——h referred to was a winding cloth used in the 3rd degree. This is of interest because even at the present time in at least one Wakefield Lodge a similar sheet is used during this ceremony, thus showing how a masonic usage of antient times is perpetrated by daughter Lodges. Unanimity was the Mother Lodge of the town and naturally their usages were followed.

The reference to "caps, etc." undoubtedly refers to the robes worn by the 3 Principals of the Chapter. Bro. Rylands at a previous meeting of Q.C. Lodge exhibited other regalia, notably a breast-plate, which was also worn in this old Chapter.

In my mother Lodge (Humber No. 57) the Principals of the Chapter wore metal crowns of brass—and most uncomfortable they were—until the destruction of the Lodge by the enemy in 1941. Caps (or coronets) are still worn in many Chapters, but I do not know another case of metal crowns being worn.

The toast list given by Bro. Rylands was by no means unusual in the olden days. In the records of the Rodney Lodge (extinct 1820) or the Phoenix Lodge (extinct 1835)—I am unfortunately unable to definitely say which, owing to absence from Hull—one of the minute books gives a list of about 22 different toasts which were given at a masonic supper. It seems to me that these numerous toasts recorded in old minute books must have been interposed in the meal just as at the present time the W.M. takes wine with certain groups of guests during the meal.

Is it possible that the "Cord of Love" mentioned in the Unanimity toast list was not actually a cord, but was emblematical as the "living circle" is in the A. and A. Rite?

I should like to thank Bro. Rylands for his kindly reference to the Trustees of the Humber Lodge, in giving him the opportunity of studying the Apollo Lodge minutes in connection with the dispute between the Halifax (Bacchus) Lodge and Unanimity. The Apollo Lodge was nominally the Provincial Grand Lodge of Yorkshire at the time, hence the reference to them.

It is fortunate that the Apollo minutes and cash books, along with the records of the other extinct Lodges mentioned above, were saved from destruction during the "blitz" on Hull, May 7th and 8th, 1941. The whole of the Lodge premises and the contents were absolutely demolished. Everything except the old Warrant of 175 and the minute books in the safe was utterly destroyed, including a valuable library and museum. Only one minute book—the current one—was lost, and that had been used at the Lodge on May 7th and left out of the safe so that the minutes could be written up the next day. Unfortunately there was not a "next day". Fourteen other Warrants for various degrees were destroyed, and these degrees are all working under dispensations. The old Humber Lodge Warrant was saved by one of the members, who saw it hanging and climbed over the debris and brought it to safety on the morning of May 8th. The building was struck by a bomb on May 7th and struck again by an incendiary on May 8th.

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Bro. RYLANDS *writes* in reply:—

I much appreciate the reception given to the paper, and the encouraging comments made by the Master and Brethren. Some of my generalisations may appear to have been made on an insufficiency of evidence, but on the whole I feel that I have been treated gently and with fraternal consideration.

Bro. Grantham is inclined to think that I exaggerate the convivial element in eighteenth century masonry. I admit that, so far as concerns direct evidence, my opinions are based on a quite small number of Yorkshire Lodges. It may be that in other districts the convivial element was by no means so prominent, and that it would be wrong to assume that these characteristics were common in eighteenth century Freemasonry.

There is, however, not a complete absence of evidence of a general character. The following quotation gives the views of a foreign visitor in the late eighteenth century, and to that extent cannot be adduced in support of my main contention. Indeed, the suggestion seems to be that the tone of masonic gatherings had deteriorated within recent years. On the other hand, the visitor may have been mistaken in assuming that Freemasonry in England had formerly chiefly been devoted to "nobler and more essential purposes":—

"I have seen the large Freemasons' Hall here, at the tavern of the same name. This hall is of an astonishing height and breadth, and to me it looked almost like a church. The orchestra is very much raised, and from that you have a fine view of the whole hall, which makes a majestic appearance. The building is said to have cost an immense sum. But to that the Lodges in Germany also contributed. Freemasonry seems to be held in but little estimation in England, perhaps because most of the lodges are now degenerated into mere drinking clubs; though I hope there still are some who assemble for nobler and more essential purposes. The Duke of Cumberland is now grand master."

This is taken from *Travels in England in 1782*, by Karl Philipp Moritz, at that time a young Prussian clergyman, and one of the outstanding figures in the *Sturm und Drangperiode* of German literature.

I have examined the "Unanimity" records, as suggested by Bro. Grantham, for references to the attempted "Incorporation", but regret to report that so far I have found nothing. The only minutes available covering this period are those of the Royal Arch *Transactions*, and they have no mention of the matter. There is nothing in the Cash Books, but there may be some correspondence which has not yet come to light, and I shall look out for references to the proposals.

Bro. Grantham draws attention to the curious character of the Royal Arch minutes in the 1771-1774 period, and suggests that the records of many of the meetings are missing. I have carefully examined the records again, and am compelled to form the opposite conclusion. It is true that one or two members of the Lodge appear at the Royal Arch meetings as fully-fledged R.A. Masons, and that there is no record in the Royal Arch Journal of their admission to that degree. Every one of these brethren is, however, accounted for, either in the Lodge minutes or in the Cash Book. Further, even on those occasions when there was no Candidate for the Royal Arch, the Cash Book always records the expenses of a "Royal Arch Night".

The Royal Arch minute of 22nd February, 1769, when reproduced in print, does not disclose a relevant fact which is clear in the original manuscript. The phrase at the end of the minute:—

"Lodge closed to 10th Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1771"

is in two different hands; the words "Lodge closed to . . ." being in the same writing as the foregoing minutes, and the remainder ". . . 10th Nov<sup>r</sup> 1771" being written by the hand which recorded the minutes of that date.

It does not seem to be a case of careless editing; it was in fact a custom of long standing for the Secretary, when completing his record, to end the account of a meeting with the words:—

"Lodge closed to . . ."

When he or some other Brother came to write up the minutes of the next meeting, the first task was always to complete the above phrase by adding the date of the next meeting.

There was thus no question of the Brethren who met on the 22nd February, 1769, arranging for their next meeting to be held on the 10th November, 1771, nor of these latter deciding not to meet again till some date unspecified in 1774. What the record does indicate, I think, is that no regular meeting of the Royal Arch Lodge did in fact take place in the interim periods. When, on one occasion, it was desired to confer the degree, the ceremony was worked in the Craft Lodge and is recorded in the Craft minutes (4th July, 1770). This instance is confirmed by an entry in the Cash Book, and since it is the only case of its kind, and there are none of the Royal Arch members who are

not accounted for in one way or another, I think we must agree that there are no missing Royal Arch records. I am sorry that my transcript did not make this clear, and I am grateful to the W. Master for raising the point and enabling me to amplify the explanation.

Bro. Grantham's solutions to my "cryptic quotations" seem eminently reasonable; I have since learnt that the expression "winding-cloth" is still used in some Yorkshire lodges.

I thank Bro. F. L. Pick for his interesting comments. It is a matter for regret that none of the "caps" and (possibly) "robes" has survived. No one now alive in Wakefield has any recollection of headdresses being used, but I can confirm that the Chapter of Sincerity No. 600, in Bradford, which in past years was in close fraternal touch with Royal Arch Masonry in Wakefield, possesses a set used at Installation meetings.

Bro. Lepper's kindly remarks give me much pleasure. I note, however, that he cannot agree with my suggestion regarding the systematic symbolising of the whole range of implements used in a particular craft. Perhaps if I emphasise the words "whole range" we may be nearer agreement. There is little doubt that the symbolising of an occasional implement is a custom of ancient date, but I still feel that the symbolising of a whole trade is another matter.

Bro. Covey-Crump's corrections are duly noted and have been incorporated; I thank him for them.

I much appreciate the complimentary remarks made by Bro. Knoop, even though they are qualified by dissent in regard to some of my speculations. Congratulations from a masonic student held in such high esteem as is universally accorded to Bro. Knoop are indeed encouraging.

Bro. Knoop suggests that my remarks on the "convivial" stage in the transitional period, on the "fabrication" of symbolical masonry, and on the origins of the Royal Arch, are generalisations not based on the Wakefield records. I concede the point in part: these generalisations, for what they are worth, are based on impressions formed by studying not only the Wakefield records, but also those of the contemporary Lodges in York, Leeds and Halifax, together with many of Bro. Knoop's own recent papers. My "crime" is in having included such general remarks in a paper presumably limited to the subject of "Early Freemasonry in Wakefield", and my temerity has resulted in my breaking a friendly lance with a giant—a most unequal combat.

I think we need a clearer understanding of terms. I would give to the word "convivial" less of the element of intemperateness and more of the notion of social fellowship centred round a good meal. My point is that in the early non-operative Lodges the common meal appears to have been an important, if not an integral, part of the proceedings *in the Lodge room* between the formal opening and closing of the Lodge. It seems natural that in the days when the "ceremonial" work consisted largely in the communication of signs, tokens and words, with little, if any, moralising upon the equipment, there could easily be an emphasis on the fellowship of the meal without necessarily involving intemperateness.

The removal of the dining table from the Lodge room to the dining room—or, what is in effect the same thing, the closing of the Lodge before commencing the meal—signals a change in procedure, custom or fashion, which change may well have been associated with an "elevating" process such as the introduction of the practice of moralising the working tools. On the other hand, we know that in some parts of the country until quite late in the eighteenth and possibly until early in the nineteenth century the Brethren dined in the Lodge room. Such a practice would not prevent an increase of emphasis on the ceremonial work, and I agree with Bro. Knoop that contemporary Lodges differ widely in this respect. Intemperateness, as distinct from conviviality,

- might, in an age of changing ideologies, have the local effect of expediting the change in custom as regards dining, and at the same time encourage the adoption of the "new" moralising process.

There is little doubt that in the West Riding there was, in the early years of the eighteenth century, a good deal of emphasis on the meal, and I suggest that at the *ad hoc* meetings in Leeds and Pontefract (1721) and Bradford (1713) there was little else. I agree that this was a reflection of customs general at the time, and I think I made it clear that such conviviality was a feature of social life in the early eighteenth century.

I was careful not to mention Desaguliers and Anderson, and I regret having misled Bro. Knoop to think I necessarily had these Brethren in mind. I agree that they were too early for my purpose. Yet I do not see any logical objection to the "fabrication" theory itself, nor to the suggestion that such fabrication was probably the work of one or more clergymen, or of others of similar outlook.

As Bro. Knoop points out, referring to that excellent work *The Early Masonic Catechisms* by himself and his two colleagues, the assumption that Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* gives some indication of the nature of the ceremonies of that period, suggests that before 1730 there was little of a moralising nature associated with the masonic symbols. Yet in 1789, and by inference in 1765, and possibly in 1743 (when Linnekar was initiated in Gibraltar), the process of drawing moral lessons from the symbols and equipment in the Lodge was already established. We have, unfortunately, no copy of the 1766 ritual of Unanimity, but if the moralising process was already in vogue at that time, Bro. Knoop's suggestion would apparently be that it evolved during the period of 36 years between the two dates. So short a period does not conform with my notions of gradual evolution. Against the theory of gradual evolution must also be set, I think, the circumstance that by 1766 the moralising parts of the ceremonies had become fairly standardised, and it seems unlikely that similar symbolical explanations could have developed gradually all over the country. I think it is the *differences* in the workings which gradually developed; the original, more or less complete, moralising plan, was, I suggest, the work of a small body of fabricators in the early eighteenth century.

In regard to the origins of the Royal Arch I have an open mind. Evidence accumulates slowly, and it may be a long time before we are in a position to decide between competing views. To my way of thinking, however, the Wakefield evidence of the Sojourners' jewels and of the Royal Arch Toasts seems to support Gould's suggestions rather than those of Bro. Knoop as expressed in his *Pure Antient Masonry*. It may be, as Bro. Knoop says, that no Royal Arch Legend had been adopted by 1751, but the "Toasts" indicate a definite legend in the Wakefield working of 1766, and, by inference, in the Halifax working of 1765.

If this be so, we have here apparently another case of "introduction" and not of gradual development, and we must look to some source whence a more or less ready-made legend and possibly ceremonial were derived. The chain I suggest, namely "France - Scots Degrees - French prisoners of war", has weak links, but it offers a definite field of search, and we may perhaps expect further evidence.

I thank Bro. Knoop for his allusion to the Wakefield Chapter of Gregorians, about which I fear I know little. Further enquiries have so far met with little result, but I propose to follow up this line of enquiry.

Since the reading of the paper I have had the pleasure of studying Bro. Lepper's very interesting exposition of his views on a "centre party", the Traditioners, and am able to appreciate the force of Bro. Radice's remarks. In regard to my "operative—convivial—speculative" suggestions, Bro. Radice appears to have an open mind, but Bro. Bullamore tactfully indicates his dissent

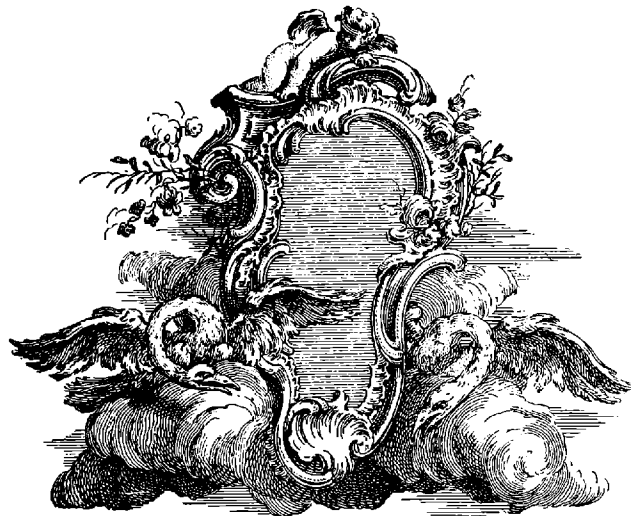
by a partial *précis* of the "acception" theory. My feeling is that the one does not necessarily exclude the other. It may have been the social fellowship of the common meal, if not a more robust conviviality, which was one of the bonds of the "acception".

Bro. G. Y. Johnson, from whom I have already received much kindly assistance, has further increased my debt to him by further contributions from the York records. I have taken him at his word, and have incorporated much of his further information in various parts of the paper.

Bro. Hawkesworth, as Prov. Grand H. in Yorkshire (West Riding), has made an extensive study of the customs and working in the Royal Arch in this Province, and the supplementary information he gives is of great interest. It is curious that the Wakefield records make no reference whatever to the custom of "Passing the Chair"; this "ceremony" was undoubtedly worked in contemporary Royal Arch Lodges and Chapters in Yorkshire and elsewhere. There is a reference to the "Veils" in the opening ceremonies of all three Wakefield Chapters. The present rituals cannot be traced with certainty to a date earlier than 1865, but it is possible that the references to the "Veils" belong to the pre-Union working of "Unanimity".

I have already acknowledged my debt of gratitude to Bro. H. S. Goodyear for facilitating my access to the records of the "Apollo" Lodge, contemporary with "Unanimity" in Wakefield. The Master of the latter Lodge still wears the original Freemasons' Hall Medal granted in 1780; I believe there are in existence 16 Lodges entitled to this medal.

That the "Cord of Love" was a tangible object and not merely a symbolic notion, is, I think, evidenced by the fact that Bro. Wice, in 1809, presented to the Chapter "a very handsome silken Cord of Amity". Bro. Goodyear's remarks on "Toast Lists" in general are of interest, and suggest that it would be worth while to make a critical examination of all such early lists for hints on the form and possible content of the ritual legends of earlier days.



## Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

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MONDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1943.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 12.00 o'clock noon. Present:—

Bros. *Wg.-Comdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, *O.B.E., M.A., LL.B.*,  
*P.Pr.G.W.*, Sussex, *W.M.*; Fred. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, *S.W.*; F. R.  
Radice, as *J.W.*; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A., B.L.*, *P.A.G.R.*, *P.M.*,  
*Treas.*; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, *P.G.S.B.*, *Sec.*; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*,  
*P.A.G.R.*, *P.M.*; and Wallace E. Heaton, *P.A.G.D.C.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. J. O. Dewey, A. L. Bridgett, R. H. Tatton, P. Francks, C. D. Melbourne,  
*P.A.G.R.*, S. J. Bradford, *P.G.St.B.*, A. Ed. Evans, T. H. Carter, *P.G.St.B.*, A. F.  
Hatten, F. L. Edwards, J. F. H. Gilbard, F. M. Leslie, J. W. M. Hawes,  
A. W. R. Kendrick, H. Bladon, *P.G.D.*, M. Goldberg, F. E. Barber, C. H. Duveen,  
W. Jepson, F. Coston Taylor, A. F. Cross, L. Veronique, J. H. Smith, F. W. Harris,  
and F. P. Reynolds, *P.G.St.B.*

Also the following visitors:—Bros. K. G. Lomax, *W.M.* Royal Brunswick Lodge  
No. 732; F. Fox, *P.M.* Westcombe Park Lodge No. 4241; L. T. Heggs, *W.M.* Old  
Northamptonian Lodge No. 5694; A. Allport, *W.M.* Grenadiers Lodge No. 66; and  
R. W. Goff, *S.W.* Athene Lodge No. 5349.

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Letters of Apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell,  
*P.G.D.*, *Pr.G.M.*, Bristol, *P.M.*; R. H. Baxter, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*; *Rev. Canon* W. W.  
Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*, Chap.; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.M.*;  
W. J. Williams, *P.M.*; D. Flather, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*; D. Knoop, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *P.M.*;  
S. J. Fenton, *P.Pr.G.W.*, Warwick, *P.M.*; *Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *P.G.D.*, *P.M.*;  
B. Ivanoff, *P.M.*; W. Jenkinson, *Pr.G.Sec.*, Armagh; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W.*,  
Derby; H. C. Bristowe, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.W.*; G. Y. Johnson, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.D.*;  
R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; Geo. S. Knocker, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*; and H. H. Hallett,  
*P.G.St.B.*

One Lodge and Twelve Bretheren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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W.Bro. Fred Lomax Pick, F.C.I.S., the Master Elect, was presented for Installation, and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge.

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The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. H. C. Bristowe	S.W.
G. Y. Johnson	J.W.
„ W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
„ J. Heron Lepper	Treasurer
„ F. M. Rickard	Secretary
„ F. R. Radice	S.D.
„ W. E. Heaton	J.D.
„ H. H. Hallett	I.G.
„ G. H. Ruddle	Tyler

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The W.M. Proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried:—

“ That W. Bro. *Wing Comdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, *R.A.F., O.B.E., M.A.*, Past Provincial Grand Warden, Sussex, having completed his year of office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge, and that this Resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him.

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The WORSHIPFUL MASTER then delivered the following:—

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS

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BY BRO. FRED. L. PICK.

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THE Office of Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge is rightly regarded as the highest and most prized reward in the whole field of Masonic research and, as I return thanks to the Brethren of this famous Lodge for the conferment of this mark of their confidence, I cannot repress a feeling of unworthiness as I reflect on the long line of illustrious Brethren who have occupied this Chair.

I am directly and personally indebted to many members, past and present, and I would like to refer to the especial debt I owe to four—Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter, one of the senior members of the Lodge, has been my guide, philosopher and friend since my earliest days in the Manchester Association for Masonic Research; that indefatigable pair, our late Bros. Songhurst and Vibert, directed, helped and criticised many of my early faltering efforts; and our present Secretary, Bro. Colonel F. M. Rickard, has brought to this and many other Offices an ability and energy which can never be fully appreciated by brethren not in personal touch with 27, Great Queen Street.

May I next refer to the Correspondence Circle; as Bro. Baxter wrote many years ago, "My strongest . . . recommendation to every intelligent brother is to join the Correspondence Circle of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, the foremost literary lodge of the world . . . he will receive the published transactions of the lodge, and be entitled to all other advantages of membership, except holding office and voting on matters of business. I say advisedly that it is necessary to join this circle, and not merely to read some other subscriber's copies of the publications, for it must be evident that a very large influx of subscriptions is necessary to enable the work to be carried on, which is so highly appreciated by the foremost Masonic scholars in all parts of the world".

I have chosen as the subject of my Inaugural Address, *THE ENGLISH GILD*, and present this short summary with a threefold object; firstly, to summarise a great deal of work which has appeared in the pages of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* and elsewhere; secondly, to pay a tribute to many past and present members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle for their labours in this one field of the many in which we are interested; and, lastly, as an encouragement to those Brethren of the Correspondence Circle who are in a position to investigate gild or other records in their own localities, and who, making discoveries which may possibly be of importance, send them in for publication in our transactions or in *Miscellanea Latomorum*.

### THE ENGLISH GILD.

For the general history of gilds one turns to authors other than our Members. The foundation-work is the great volume on *English Gilds* issued by the Early English Text Society, a posthumous memorial to its compiler, Mr. Toulmin Smith, and a tribute to its editor, Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, and the author of the valuable preface, Professor L. Brentano. Another work, which should be studied in conjunction with the former is *Gilds Merchant*, by Dr.

Charles Gross, the English edition of which was published in 1890. Dr. Gross controverts in some important details certain of the conclusions of Professor Brentano.

As to gild development in the provinces, one cannot do better than to study the Rev. G. Lambert's *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life* (1891) and we have general accounts of the London Companies in the two volumes of *Herbert's History Of The Twelve Great Livery Companies of London* (1837) and W. C. Hazlitt's *The Livery Companies of the City of London* (1892) or a more compact and modern work, George Unwin's *The Gilds and Companies of London* (1938). The list could be extended by hundreds of items, but further elaboration is unnecessary here.

The pre-Conquest position is obscure and our members have done little beyond summarising the conclusions of Brentano and other authorities. Dr. Gross goes so far as to deny the existence on any large scale of gilds prior to that event. "The history of the Gild Merchant begins with the Norman Conquest. The latter widened the horizon of the English merchant even more than that of the English annalist. The close union between England and Normandy led to an increase in foreign commerce which in turn must have greatly stimulated internal trade and industry. Moreover, the greatly enhanced power of the English crown tempered feudal turbulence, affording a measure of security to traders in England that was as yet unknown on the continent."<sup>1</sup>

Our late Bro. Vibert summarised the pre-Conquest position in his *Freemasonry before the Era of Grand Lodges*, a work based mainly on *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, and we have also the summary by R. F. Gould in his *History of Freemasonry*. We have several examples of the pre-Conquest gild, each of which embraced among its principles fellowship, contribution to the common stock, and, generally, some peculiar reason for the establishment of the fellowship, related to the particular needs of the community, e.g.:—

*Police*: The Laws of Ine and Alfred, the Frith Gilds  
of London under Athelstan, and the Gild of  
Thegns or Knights of Cambridge.

*Religious*: Exeter or Ludlow.

*Friendly Society*: Abbotsbury.

Shortly after the Norman Conquest the gild merchant began to make its appearance all over the country. Gross gives a list of more than one hundred towns in England known to have had gilds merchant, as well as thirty in Wales and sixty-six in Scotland. The earliest references traced by him are to the granting of a Charter by Robert FitzHamon to the burgesses of Burford (1087-1107) and a transfer of property between the Chapman Gild of Canterbury and the community of Christ Church (1093-1109).

Two of the three volumes of Mary Bateson's *Records of the Borough of Leicester* were reviewed by G. W. Speth and E. Conder, Jr.<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Leicester granted a merchant gild to the citizens of Leicester at an early date, the benefit to the town being the privilege of regulating its own mercantile affairs. In the early days the Mayor functioned merely as a collector on behalf of the Earl. Social-religious gilds existed in the fourteenth century, but the gild merchant was strictly secular. The number of masons admitted was not large and Speth suggested that "Foreign" masons were largely employed for the many building works erected in the town, a conclusion with which Conder agreed. On this question of the employment of masons, reference should be made to the works of Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones.

It was my ambition to place before the Lodge in 1942 an account of the gild merchant of Preston, to coincide approximately with the celebration of the

<sup>1</sup> Gross, vol. i, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A.Q.C., xiii and xiv.

Gild. The break owing to the war is the first since 1542. Some notes on this subject appeared in vol. xxv of the *Transactions of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research*.

Records of a gild of masons at Lincoln are preserved in the Record Office and Bro. W. J. Williams has given us a transcript, translation and comments thereon.<sup>1</sup> The Certificate of A.D. 1389 is the only surviving Certificate of a gild of masons, which is stated to have been founded on the Feast of Pentecost, A.D. 1313. Brothers and sisters were to be admitted and the candle of the gild set up. Members in custody were to be helped save only those guilty of murder and theft. Knoop and Jones urge that by 1389 this had become merely a social and religious fraternity<sup>2</sup> and Lionel Vibert refers to it as a religious fraternity among the masons.<sup>3</sup>

According to Gross, craft gilds are first mentioned during the reign of Henry I, about half a century after the appearance of the gild merchant.<sup>4</sup> There is great confusion of terms, the expression "gild merchant" sometimes being used merely to signify an aggregation of craft gilds. The transfer of power from the gild merchant to the craft gilds followed the usual lines of economic development, being fiercely opposed in some places and proceeding more placidly in others. There is also some confusion between the gilds, especially the gilds merchant, and the municipalities and in some places, notably Preston, they are almost indistinguishable, but Gross insists that the gild merchant of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was not a body in which the general local government was centred, "that it was a very important, but only a subsidiary part of the municipal administrative machinery."<sup>5</sup> Gould also refers to this connection, "At Bristol—as in Worcester—the old ordinances show the amicable connection of the Craft Guilds with the municipal authorities; and the Mayor evidently possessed a ministerial function in confirming the election of the masters of the Crafts."<sup>6</sup>

According to Gross, "the greater the commercial and industrial prosperity of a town, the more rapidly did this process of sub-division into craft gilds proceed, keeping pace with the increased division of labour. In the smaller towns, in which agriculture continued a prominent element, few or no craft gilds were formed; and hence the old Gild Merchant remained intact and undiminished in power longest in this class of boroughs."<sup>7</sup>

The increasing power of the gilds, whether merchant or craft, was watched by various sovereigns, and from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries we have evidence of the progress of the gilds and constant attempts to curb their growing power. The members were, however, their own worst enemies as, with the continued division of labour, specialised or wealthy sections of companies split off and formed craft gilds of their own and control passed into the hands of oligarchies, the prospect of an ordinary journeyman succeeding to the mastership of his gild becoming more and more remote. The position of the mason during this long period has been examined by several of our members and from several points of view.

The basic authority on the London Company of Masons is our late Bro. E. Conder, Jr., whose great work, *The Hole Craft and Fellowship of Masons* was published in 1894. An abstract with certain corrections was given by the author in *A.Q.C.*, ix, and he later published the Regulations of 1481 in *A.Q.C.*, xxvii. Reference should also be made to *The Medieval Mason*, by Knoop and Jones, and their *London Mason in the Seventeenth Century*,<sup>8</sup> as well as their *The London*

<sup>1</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xlii, xlv and liv.

<sup>2</sup> *The Medieval Mason*, 151.

<sup>3</sup> *The Early Freemasonry of England and Scotland*, *A.Q.C.*, xliii.

<sup>4</sup> *Gross*, vol. i, 114.

<sup>5</sup> *Gross*, vol. i, 63.

<sup>6</sup> *The Assembly*, *A.Q.C.*, vol. 210.

<sup>7</sup> *Gross*, vol. i, 116.

<sup>8</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xlviii.

*Masons' Company*.<sup>1</sup> Bro. W. J. Williams has given us a number of papers including *Masons and the City of London*<sup>2</sup> and *Archbishop Becket and the Masons' Company of London*.<sup>3</sup> In 1916 the members of the Lodge were conducted through the Halls of several of the London Companies, of which a number of members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle have been members. Other London Companies described in *A.Q.C.* are the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries<sup>4</sup> and the Free Carpenters.<sup>5</sup>

The part played by the masons' organisations in the presentation of Miracle Plays were discussed by E. Conder, Jr., in 1901.<sup>6</sup> Although much has been published since then, it is still impossible to trace any direct connection between the Miracle Play and Masonic ritual, though there is a suspicion of "borrowing" on the part of our forefathers, and it should be remembered that the Whitsun or Corpus Christi Plays were still being performed in the reign of James I, not so very long before the earliest recorded appearances of speculative Freemasonry.

The Old Charges have claimed the attention of many of our most eminent brethren, from W. J. Hughan in the past to the Rev. H. Poole, R. H. Baxter and Douglas Knoop and his collaborators in the present. One may here but briefly refer to a number of papers. In his *Gild Resemblances in the Old MS. Charges*.<sup>7</sup> Bro. Knoop considered "How far gild features are reflected in the Old Charges". *The Evolution of Masonic Organisation*<sup>8</sup> by Knoop and Jones stresses the fact that there were at least three types of organisation among masons in the Middle Ages; the Assembly, the Lodge and the Municipal Gild.

R. F. Gould's paper on *The Assembly* has already been mentioned and one may also refer to notes by G. W. Speth and Dr. Begeman.<sup>9</sup> E. E. Thiemeyer, of St. Louis, Miss., believed that, between them, the Old Charges and restrictive legislation proved that regional assemblies were held in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries<sup>10</sup> and Gordon P. G. Hills stated in *Some Usages and Legends of Crafts Kindred to Masonry*, "I think we may with confidence assert that if we could review a record of the procedure and practises of our Masonic forebears in mediæval times, we should find them acting generally very like kindred institutions of the same period."<sup>11</sup>

Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones have presented many studies of the economic side of the building industry and summarise their findings in *The Mediæval Mason*, suggesting that the relative uniformity of masons' customs arose:

1. Through the intermingling of workers from various parts of the country.
2. The association of masons with particular ecclesiastical foundations (*e.g.*, York), with the consequent regulation of rules and customs.
3. Legislation.
4. The policy of the Crown in moving royal officers from one building to another or entrusting one man with the care of more than one job.

<sup>1</sup> *Economic History*, February, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xlv.

<sup>3</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xli.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. T. Carr in *A.Q.C.*, xxix.

<sup>5</sup> F. J. W. Crowe in *A.Q.C.*, xxvii.

<sup>6</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xiv.

<sup>7</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xlii.

<sup>8</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xlv.

<sup>9</sup> *A.Q.C.*, v and vi.

<sup>10</sup> *The Transition*, *A.Q.C.*, xlii.

<sup>11</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xxviii.

The Rev. H. Poole suggests in *The Antiquity of the Craft*<sup>1</sup> that the craft takes essentially the form of a gild. An important contribution is *The Sixteenth Century Mason*<sup>2</sup> wherein Knoop and Jones say, "It is probable that the old system of regional 'assemblies' administering the 'customs', in so far as it really existed during the Middle Ages, slowly disintegrated. Here and there it may have been replaced by the ordinances of the municipal companies, equipped with charters and usually including other crafts as well as that of the masons, which were set up in some towns in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries."

The effect of legislation has already been briefly mentioned. The Act of Richard II calling upon the Masters and Wardens of all brotherhoods to return their foundations, statutes and properties was the first major attempt on the part of the Crown to secure control over the gilds or endow them with the qualities of the golden goose. Henry VI required each gild to register its letters patent before the county justices, &c., and the ordinances were to be subject to the approval of the chief justice or chief officer. His act against confederations of masons is well known. Henry VII also prohibited the unauthorised adoption of ordinances and Henry VIII forbade the charging of extortionate entrance fees, but the final blow fell in 1547 when, in the first year of Edward VI, the process of legalised loot already applied to the monasteries was extended to that portion of the assets of the gilds dedicated to religious usages.

A year later the Act of 2 Edw. vi, c. 15, authorised "any Free Mason, Rough Mason, Carpenter, Bricklayer, etc. borne in this realm or made Denizen to work in any of the said Crafts in any city borough or town corporate with any person or persons that will retain him or them, albeit the said person or persons so retained . . . do not inhabit or dwell in the city borough or town corporate . . . nor be free of the same city, etc." This particular section was repealed a year later.<sup>3</sup>

We have links with earlier times at Norwich and Ludlow. J. C. Tingey gives us *Some Notes Upon the Craft Guilds of Norwich*<sup>4</sup> in which he mentions the Customal of the City, a transcript of the original which probably dated back to the thirteenth century. Regulations dealing with the masons were drawn up in 1469. Other communications are *Extracts from the Records of the Corporation of Norwich*, by Walter Rye<sup>5</sup> and *A Mason's Contract of A.D. 1432*, by G. W. Daynes.<sup>6</sup> Once again, reference should be made to *The Medieval Mason*. We are indebted to T. J. Sawley for *Notes on some Trade Guilds at Ludlow*.<sup>7</sup> The Palmers' Gild is said to have been chartered by Edward the Confessor; this was a religious gild with provision also for mutual protection. Ludlow was the centre of operations of the Lord Marchers of the Welsh Borders and under the protection of the town walls and a strong castle a snug municipality grew up. The Church was probably originally a gild chapel as the North Transept is still known as the Fletcher's Chancel and the Corporation appointed the churchwardens until 1835. The borough was chartered by Edward IV in 1461 and the supervision of the gilds was then placed in the hands of the town council. The masons were incorporated with the smiths and several other trades, and the company was governed by Six Men and two Stewards or Wardens.

Canon Westlake gives us an interesting extract from the regulations of the Palmers' Gild:

"If a brother of the gild desired to keep watch by the body of the dead he should be permitted to do so, but he must not put on hideous masks nor attempt any mockery of the dead man or his reputation,

<sup>1</sup> A.Q.C., ii.

<sup>2</sup> A.Q.C., i.

<sup>3</sup> *The Medieval Mason*, pp. 226-7.

<sup>4</sup> A.Q.C., xv.

<sup>5</sup> A.Q.C., xv.

<sup>6</sup> A.Q.C., xxxv.

<sup>7</sup> A.Q.C., xxxii

nor play any other indecent games! The phrase which is here translated "put on hideous masks" is in the original *monstra larrarum inducere*, and is hardly capable of the translation "call up the shapes of demons" as given by Mr. Toulmin Smith (E.G., p. 194). In any case the Rule hints at revelries of an improper nature."<sup>1</sup>

Although we have already found references to the Masons' Companies of London, Lincoln and elsewhere, it is in the next period that we meet with really widespread organisations of masons and, about the same time, the existence of bodies of speculative Freemasons becomes apparent.

Bro. Knoop and his colleague say:

"In the sixteenth century when craft guilds were decaying, if they had not already died or been converted into livery companies, or in some cases in the seventeenth century, trade companies or fellowships were set up and incorporated in various places. They appear to have represented organisations forced upon the various trades from above, schemes to facilitate municipal government at a time when Tudor monarchs were encouraging oligarchies and when by the Statute of Apprentices an attempt was being made to provide a national control of industry. These new organisations seem to have been established for political rather than for industrial purposes."<sup>2</sup>

Several of these later incorporations are described in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* and elsewhere, among them being:—

*Canterbury*: The Fellowship, Society and Company of Carpenters, Joiners, Masons, Bricklayers, Glasiers, Painters, Coopers and Turners were granted a Charter in 1632.<sup>3</sup> According to this Charter the Company had existed "time out of mind".

*Durham*: From the days of the Norman Conquest to the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835, the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants of the County Palatine of Durham was presided over by the Bishops, by whom Charters of Incorporation were granted to various Companies from time to time. The Weavers came first with a Charter of the thirteenth century and the "Rough Masons Wallers and Slaters" were incorporated by Bishop Matthew Hutton in 1594 and Bishop Morton in 1638. The oldest sons of freemen were admitted as freemen of Durham at the age of twenty-one and apprentices were admitted at the conclusion of seven years' apprenticeship and the payment of a fee. Honorary members could be admitted in consideration of a larger payment, and many of these were made, especially in the Tailors and Drapers' and the Mercers' Companies. In 1772 there were 1150 freemen of Durham, including 104 members of the Masons' Guild, but by 1909 the latter number had dwindled to fourteen. Some members of this guild were also members of the Marquis of Granby Lodge, now 124, and in June, 1744, the Festival of St. John in Summer had to be postponed as several members were engaged at the Trades Meeting.<sup>4</sup>

*Exeter*: We have a transcript of the Charter of Incorporation of the Artificers of the Company of Carpenters Masons Joiners Glaciers and Paynters given by the Mayor and Council of the City in 1586, also a Charter of Incorporation of the Carpenters Free Masons Masons or Bricklayers Glassiers and Paynters of 1694, with the Rules and Orders of the Incorporation.<sup>5</sup> Stella

<sup>1</sup> *The Parish Gilds of Mediæval England*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *The Mediæval Mason*, p. 232.

<sup>3</sup> *The Evolution of Masonic Organisation*, by Knoop and Jones, A.Q.C., xlv, p. 295. An account of this gild also appears in *Miscellanea Latomorum*, vol. xix.

<sup>4</sup> *Notes concerning the Masons' Guild and the Marquis of Granby Lodge of Freemasons in the City of Durham*, by Harry Brown, A.Q.C., xxii.

<sup>5</sup> A.Q.C., xli.

Kramer says, "At this stage large unions seem to have become the rule among the building crafts, the Exeter carpenters . . . etc. frankly confessing in 1586 that they wanted a gild 'albeit fewe in number and slender in welth'. They desired to be partakers of so many good benefits whereby they might become and be the more profitable members of the community".<sup>1</sup>

*Gateshead*: W. H. Rylands gave us a transcript and translation of the Charter incorporating the Trades of Gateshead in 1671. This was issued by Bishop John Cosin. The Corporation was authorised to have a common seal bearing a shield of four of the Trades quarterly, viz.: (1) Masons, (2) Pewterers, (3) Bricklayers, (4) Glaziers.<sup>2</sup>

*Ipswich*: Stella Kramer mentions that two of the four combines registered in Ipswich show local groups of builders among the rest. Thus, in the Drapers' Company are found the joiners, carpenters, freemasons, bricklayers and tylers, and in the Tailors' Company are the plumbers, coopers, glaziers and turners.<sup>3</sup>

*Kendal*: We are indebted to the Rev. H. Poole for *Some Notes on the Companies of Kendal in the 16th and 17th Centuries*.<sup>4</sup> The Charter was granted to the town by Elizabeth in 1575 and twelve companies were formed, each entitled to appoint two or more Wardens, number twelve being the Carpenters Joyners Masons Wallers Slaters Thatchers Glasiers Paynters Pleysterers Dawbers Pavers Myllers and Cowpers. The Company was to choose two Wardens, of whom one was to be a carpenter or joiner. Women were eligible for membership, and from time to time persons desirous of taking part in the administration of the borough secured membership of one or other of the companies without serving any apprenticeship, though the regulations contained full and complete instructions on this subject. The Corpus Christi Plays were performed in Kendal in 1581, 1586 and 1604, after which they were superseded by processions, which were held at irregular intervals until 1759, after which they were discontinued by reason of expense.

*Newcastle-upon-Tyne*: References to the Masons' Company of Newcastle-upon-Tyne are to be found in Strachan's *Northumbrian Masonry, The Medieval Mason*, and F. R. Taylor's account of the Summer Outing of 1912.<sup>5</sup> The Ancient Guild of Masons was constituted on September 1st, 1581, as a body corporate with perpetual succession, to meet yearly to elect two Wardens, and with power to sue or be sued in the County of Newcastle. They took part in the Corpus Christi Plays, being allotted *The Burial of our Lady Saint Mary the Virgin*, absence from which entailed a fine of half a crown. The brethren were to attend the marriages and burials of members. One half of fines went to the Company, the other towards the maintenance of the great bridge. An interesting light on the relations between England and Scotland is found in the regulation that no Scotsman was to be taken apprentice under a penalty of forty shillings, nor to be admitted to membership of the Company under any circumstances. It may be mentioned that the ordinances of at least five of the eight companies of Carlisle contained restrictions on trade with Scotsmen during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>6</sup>

*Oxford*: Bro. Lionel Vibert gave us a transcript and translation of the Incorporation of the Company of Freemasons, Carpenters, Joiners and Slaters exercising their trade or calling in Oxford or its suburbs on 12th November, 1604, and in the same volume W. J. Williams gave us a List of Oxford Wills and Administrations of deceased Freemasons.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The English Craft Gilds*.

<sup>2</sup> A.Q.C., xv. See also *Speculative Members included in Bishop Cosin's Charter Incorporating the Trades of Gateshead*, by "St. Maur," A.Q.C., xviii.

<sup>3</sup> *The English Craft Gilds*, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> A.Q.C., xxxvi.

<sup>5</sup> A.Q.C., xxv.

<sup>6</sup> *Some Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle*, Ferguson and Nanson.

<sup>7</sup> A.Q.C., xl.

Local organisation and custom probably restricted the masons less than most trades. The Act of 2 Edw. VI has already been mentioned. After the Fire of London an Act was passed encouraging all manner of building trade workers to settle in the City of London, promising them their freedom on the completion of seven years' residence and work there.<sup>1</sup> Charles II also exercised his influence with the corporations of other towns for the rehabilitation of those who had lost their homes and businesses in the fire. The corporation of Preston, one of the most exclusive centres of gild organisation, allowed William Cadman, Stationer, of the City of London, to inhabit and trade in Preston for the term of two years "providing his growing family be not burdensome".<sup>2</sup>

W. H. Rylands cited the interesting case of Thomas Roch, a cabinet-maker, who settled in Canterbury and purchased his freedom during the eighteenth century. He was called upon by the builders, to which fraternity he was considered as bound, to pay to the Master and Wardens dues amounting to £4. This he declined to pay and the company sued him. The case eventually went to Rochester Assizes, where, in 1758, the plaintiffs were non-suited.<sup>3</sup>

The disadvantages of this parochialism are illustrated by the case of Merchant Baines, father of the Lancashire historian, who was prosecuted at Preston in 1772 for trading in the town while not being free of the corporation. Baines simply withdrew immediately outside the precincts of the borough, and thereafter non-freemen were encouraged to ply their trades within the town, to the rapid extension of its prosperity.<sup>4</sup>

The passing of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835, finally swept away whatever vestiges of gild power remained, with the exception of certain functions of some of the London Companies.

We have had a hint of connection between gild and craft in the London Company of the sixteenth century and at Durham in the post-1717 period; during the whole of the nineteenth century the Freemasons of Preston played a prominent part in the celebrations of the gild festival in that town. Of recent years Lodges have been formed in connection with a number of London Companies.

Consideration of space alone has restricted the scope of this paper to England, and much valuable material from Scotland and other countries has been omitted. My aim has been to provide in a somewhat abbreviated form an account of the rise, progress and decline of the English Gild, with especial reference to the Mason Craft.

As the contributions of many students, especially members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle, have been merged to form this composite picture, may I repeat my appeal to members of the Correspondence Circle not only to do all in their power to enlarge their number, but where they have access to local sources of information which may be of interest to send in their notes for scrutiny and, if possible, publication.

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At the subsequent luncheon, W.Bro. W. Ivor Grantham, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" in the following terms:—

Having to-day had the pleasure of installing Bro. Pick in the chair of this Lodge, I now claim the privilege of proposing the time-honoured toast of the Worshipful Master. In doing so let me tell you quite briefly why I am confident that you will honour this toast with more than usual sincerity.

<sup>1</sup> 18 & 19 Car. II., c. viii, cited by R. F. Gould, *History of Freemasonry*, vol. ii, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Abram, *Memorials of Preston Guild*, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Freemasonry in Lancashire and Cheshire*. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, vol. xiv, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> Stella Kramer, *The English Craft Gilds*, p. 182.

Bro. Fred Lomax Pick knocked upon the door of Freemasonry in Rutland in the year 1926 at the age of twenty-eight. Those knocks received a ready response from the members of the Vale of Catmos Lodge No. 1265 at Oakham. Bro. Pick's enthusiasm for the craft soon proved too great for England's smallest county. It is therefore by no means surprising to find that within a very few years of his initiation into Freemasonry our Worshipful Master had extended his masonic contacts by joining the Lodge of Friendship No. 277 at Oldham, whither business had taken him, by becoming a founding member of the Manchester Lodge for Masonic Research No. 5502, and by enrolling himself as a member of our Correspondence Circle.

Bro. Pick also extended his researches into other degrees in Freemasonry, and has already passed the chair in the Mark Degree, in the Royal Arch, and in the Rosicrucian Society. A Past President of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research, Bro. Pick is now the indefatigable Secretary of that Association.

Both in the Province of Lancashire (Eastern Division) and in our own midst here in London our Worshipful Master is known as a masonic student whose views always command respect. Besides his paper on *Freemasonry in Oldham*, which will be found in volume li of our own *Transactions*, Bro. Pick's principal contributions to masonic literature will be found printed in the *Transactions of the Manchester Association for Masonic Research*; these contributions comprise papers entitled *The Lodge of Friendship No. 277*, *The Early Victorian Freemason*, *Preston Guild*, *Freemasonry and the Stage*, and *The Miracle Play*. Another paper of value, entitled *Mark Masonry in Oldham and the Travelling Mark Lodge*, appeared in volume xvii of *Miscellanea Latomorum*.

Joining our Correspondence Circle in 1932, Bro. Pick was called to full membership of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge in 1937.

Our Worshipful Master's popularity is not confined to the Craft; he has a host of friends in those other spheres of activity in which he has gained a prominent place, particularly in the realm of insurance, which he entered at an early age after completing his education at Preston Grammar School. A Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, Bro. Pick is now Clerk to the Oldham Insurance Committee. In the last war our Brother served in the Royal Field Artillery, saw active service on the western front and was gassed at Ypres; in the present war he has filled since 1940 the important and exacting post of Assistant First Aid Commandant in the Oldham Casualty Services.

In spite of these many activities, and in spite of the length of his cable-tow, Bro. Pick has managed to maintain regular attendance at our meetings in London. His sound advice in Committee is as welcome as his shrewd comments in Lodge. In Bro. Pick we have a man of friendly disposition, a brother of sound judgment, and a masonic student of discernment—a combination of qualities which renders him eminently well suited for the mastership of this Lodge.

In open Lodge to-day I had the satisfaction of proclaiming Bro. Fred Lomax Pick as Master of this Lodge. I now call upon you all to acclaim him in the accustomed fashion as our Worshipful Master.



## NOTES.



**MITH'S POCKET COMPANION, Dublin, 1735.**—Grand Lodge Library has recently acquired a copy of this famous book, which seems worth a note in *A.Q.C.* because of its history and certain manuscript interpolations.

The donor, Bro. George C. Gardner, of Thames Valley Lodge No. 1460, in sending it wrote:

“In turning out old papers I came across the enclosed ancient book. It seems to me its best home is either with you or Grand Lodge of Ireland. It belonged to my father, whose Mother Lodge was 642 Ireland; on the distaff side he was a Heasly and I think all that family were Masons. . . . Why I mention Grand Lodge of Ireland is that my mother's family, Chaplin, were all Masons. A Lodge used to meet in the house of a Great-Grandfather Chaplin.”

Having inspected the book, wherein the name of “George B. Heasly” is inscribed wherever any blank space suggested an autograph, I wrote asking for any further information that might be available, and these were the results:

“Great-grandfather Chaplin lived at a small village or township called Durrow in County Kilkenny, some miles from the city of Kilkenny. He died in his son Tom Chaplin's house in that city, aged between 80 and 90. Family tradition is he was very pernickety in old age. Tom Chaplin initiated my father. I think the reason why Masonry flourished in that county is that the Prior Wandesworth family of Yorkshire had a large grant of confiscated land in that area after the accession of William III. (Some say the grant was in Cromwell's time; I think this wrong.) This family settled *younger sons* from their Yorkshire estate on the property—all Protestants. I saw some fifty years ago in a local paper the names of the tenants from both estates who were giving the usual 21st birthday gift to the heir. It was interesting how the names duplicated, Booths, Bradleys, etc. I think most of those families have now left Ireland.

“My father's family settled in Youghal, when Cromwell granted land to his army there. I am the last of the name, and have no son. My father was in Arch Chapter, and I fancy other Degrees. . . .

“The following *fact* about Great-grandfather Chaplin sounds fiction, but is true. My mother told it me when I was initiated, and my cousin who knew him confirms it now. He had a pet tame gander who was devoted to him and he to the bird. It used to walk out of the farm and on the road to meet his returning from market, and sat in the dining-room by his side. It may be a libel on the bird that it liked ‘a drop of drink’. Anyway it was called ‘Paddy the Mason’, and always went into Lodge with the old man. Truth is stranger than fiction. Can you beat this even in Ireland?”

Well, well, well, Paddy the Gander is not the first of the Irish Wild Geese to have been a Brother Freemason, if there be any truth in tradition!

Bound up with the book are four sheets of paper slightly thicker than that used for the printed pages. The first three contain the following manuscript addenda, which I transcribe line for line:—

F.1.

## A PRAYER.

To be said before the Closing of a  
 LODGE. ——— O HOLY, Blessed and Glorious  
 TRINITY, Mysterious Three in One, Thou  
 Great and Wonderfull Architect of the  
 Universe, Father of Light, and God of  
 Unity and Concord, Grant, we beseech  
 thee, That, we thy Servants, who by thy  
 Grace and favour, have been led out of  
 Darkness to Light, and from Ignorance  
 to Knowledge, may enjoy the same with  
 all true Thankfulness, in all Godliness  
 of Life, Brotherly Love, Unity & Affection.

——— WE confess, O Lord, that without  
 that Light, which lighteth us through this  
 Mortal State, We should have still remained  
 in gloomy Darkness, and profound Ignorance,  
 Grant, therefore, O Lord, That having  
 Escaped that Cloud of Darkness & received  
 Knowledge, We may be Cloathed with the  
 Armour of Light, and may know Thee,  
 the only true God ———

——— UNITE us, O Lord, we beseech  
 thee, in one Body with the Invincible  
 Bands of thy Fatherly Love, That by  
 making Thee our only Pattern, we may  
 live

V.1.

live together in Love, Unity and true  
 Affection, the only Cement and Bage  
 of all true and faithfull Brothers.

——— DIRECT us, O Lord by thy  
 most gracious favour, and Grant, that  
 We by our Lives and Actions, may Con-  
 vince all COWENS, of the Faith that is  
 in us, that thereby the CRAFT, may be  
 more honoured, and that we may more  
 and more be Edified by good Lessons  
 from time to time, and Especially at this  
 time delivered unto us. ———

——— GOD bless and Defend his most  
 Sacred Majesty King George, his Royal  
 Consort, and all the Royal Family ———  
 Enlighten his mind, We beseech thee,  
 and grant, That the Report of our well  
 Doing, and the Love and Harmony Sub-  
 sisting amongst us, may reach his Royal  
 Ears and Induce him to follow the Steps  
 of his Royal Father and Grand Father,  
 our late Royal most Worthy Brothers.

——— BLESS, likewise, we beseech  
thee The Grand Master, Grand Wardens  
and Fellows, The Masters Wardens and  
Fellows

F.2      Fellows of all true and faithfull  
Lodges, and particularly The Master,  
Wardens and Fellows of this Lodge,  
now Assembled here before Thee, in all  
Humility, beseeching thee, That by our  
Living in all good and Godly Works, by  
Asking, we may receive, by Seeking, we may  
find, and by Knocking, the Door of thy  
Heavenly Temple / a Temple not made with  
hands, / may be Opened to us, and to all  
true and faithfull Brothers, There to Dwell  
with Thee, O Gracious Father, Blessed Son  
and Holy Spirit world without End —  
            AMEN      so mote it be

The Above Prayer Compos'd by our  
Worthy & Well Belov'd Brother —  
Ald. Thomas Cooke Decas'd —  
And Humbly Dedicated to Lodge  
No 19 Held at Youghall —

V.2              To the Right Worshipfull  
Richard Croker Esqr P. G. M. M.  
& the Worshipfull Hugh Polluck M.  
Shirley Fielding & Spencer Scamenton Wrds  
and the members  
of Lodge No 19 held in Youghall  
the following Song is Humbly De-  
dicated by thire Affectionate hum-  
ble Servant and Brother John O'Brien  
of Lodge No. 383 in Cork  
September the 5th A.D. 1763

#### SONG

Tis Masonry unites mankind  
To Generous Actions forms the Soul  
In friendly converse All's conjoy'd  
One Spirit Annimates the whole  
  Then let

#### 2

Where ere Aspiring Domes arise  
Where ever Sacred Alters stand  
those Alters Blaze unto the Skies  
These Domes Proclaim the Masons hand  
  Then let

F.3

3

As Passions Rough the Soul disguise  
till Science cultivates the Mind  
So the Rude Stone unsheaven lies  
Till by the Masons Art refin'd  
Then let

4

Let wrechcs at our Manhood Rail  
But those that once our order Prove  
will own that wec who Build so well  
with equal energy can love  
Then let

5th

Tho still our Chief concern and Care  
Be to Deserve A Brothers Name  
yet ever mindfull of the Fair  
thire Chiefest Influence we claim  
Then let

6th

Sing Brethren then the Craft Devine  
Blest Band of Social Joy and mirth  
with Choral voice & Cheerfull wine  
Proclaim its virtues ore the Earth  
Then Let

V.3

Finis

Chorus to be Sung at the end of Every Verse  
of the forgoing Song

Then let Mankind our Deeds approve }  
Since Union Harmony and Love }  
Shall waft us to the Realms above }

The Following two Verses belong to the Song

7

From us Discord long has fled  
With all her Train of Mortal Spite  
Nor in our Lodge dares shew her head,  
Sunk in the Gloom of Endless Night  
Then let

8

My Brethren Charge your Glasses high  
To our Grand Masters noble Name,  
Our Shouts shall beat the vaulted Sky,  
And Every Tongue his praise proclaim  
Then let

I need add few exegetical notes on the foregoing effusions. Lodge No. 19, Youghal, to whom the book belonged, was warranted in 1733, and was cancelled in 1830 as a result of neglecting to reply to repeated requests by the Grand Lodge for dues many years in arrears. The number when cancelled was issued

shortly afterwards, according to the bad custom of the times, to an entirely new Lodge, so that when the former members of No. 19 petitioned for forgiveness they were too late to obtain their original number, and were offered instead the vacant number 20, which they did not accept.

Lodge No. 383 was warranted for Cork City in 1762, and cancelled in 1813. It had registered no names with Grand Lodge since 1783.

Richard Croker of Youghal was appointed Deputy Provincial Grand Master of Munster in 1759 by Thomas Mathew, the P.G.M., who later was Grand Master of the "Antients" in England. The "P.G.M.M." should have had a D prefixed to be strictly correct. A facsimile of the document by which he was appointed Deputy P.G.M. will be found in the *Bicentenary History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland*.

Students will be grateful to Bro. John O'Brien for having recorded the names of the Master and Wardens of No. 19 in 1763, though I doubt if his song is worthy of a place in Bro. Knoop's next Anthology of the Masonic Muse.

The prayer composed by Bro. Thomas Cooke, Alderman of Youghal, is written in a better hand than the rest of the manuscript insertions, and may have been done by himself. It will be noted that he was in no doubt that King George II had been a Freemason. Yet another old tradition whose truth remains to be demonstrated.

JOHN HERON LEPPER.

#### KENTISH REGISTER: CITY OF CANTERBURY LIBRARY.

The following extracts from the Kentish Register are of interest as referring to Freemasonry and the French Revolution:—

Kentish Register for July, 1794 (p. 262)

To the Editor of the Kentish Register.

#### FRENCH REVOLUTION caused by FREEMASONRY?

As everything that relates to the French Revolution, especially whatever tends to investigate the cause of it, is extremely interesting at the present period, I embrace the opportunity which your widely circulated Publication affords, of making known amongst my countrymen an opinion on this subject, which, whether well or ill founded, is very prevalent on the Continent; hoping that some of your intelligent correspondents will be enabled to throw greater light upon it. The opinion in question is that the mysteries of Freemasonry have, in a great measure, contributed to those changes in sentiment and morality, no less than in government amongst a neighbouring people, which the surrounding nations view with such surprise. I cannot better make known these ideas than by giving a short account of a work, in which they are contained, now lying before me, written in the French language, and much esteemed by the honest part of the French nation, though little known amongst our countrymen. The author of this was a Mr. Le Franc, the late superior of the seminary of Eudists at Caen, who was butchered at Paris on the infamous 2d of September. He is said by his friends, one of whose letters on this subject I have seen, to have derived his knowledge of Freemasonry from a voluminous collection of papers which a master of that order, in his last sickness, put into his hands. It is further stated that the author, having thoroughly examined these papers, conceived it to be his duty to lay the substance of them before the Archbishop of Paris some years previous to the commencement of the Revolution; at the same time undertaking to demonstrate that the system contained in them menaced approaching ruin both to the Church and to the State. The work I

have mentioned is entitled *The Veil withdrawn; or the Secret of the French Revolution explained by the Help of Freemasonry*. The second edition, which I make use of, was printed in Paris in 1792.

In the aforesaid work the author ridicules the several pretensions to a high antiquity and to an honourable origin, to which many Freemasons lay claim. It seems that some of these say they were founded by those fraternities of masons who re-built several cities in Palestine during the Crusades, and who were the fabricators of our beautiful Gothic Churches: others ascribe their institution to our King Athelstan, the grandson of the great Alfred; who, having sent over to the Continent for the most able builders that could be engaged, gave them a charter and a code of laws peculiar to themselves; whilst many more claim a descent from the builders of Solomon's famous Temple. To all these Mr. Le Franc replies that it is clear, from their own confession, as well as from every other circumstance, that their building is of a mere emblematical nature: their profession being to erect temples for the protection of virtue, and prisons for the reception of vice. It appears that of late years many members of this society, and amongst the rest the celebrated Count Cagliostro, maintained that the strictest conformity is to be found between the mysteries of Freemasonry and those practiced in the worship of Isis, and that therefore the former were to be traced up to a very remote period of antiquity, and to the country of Egypt. For, whatever learning there is in this account, Le Franc says that Cagliostro is indebted to the publication on this subject of Monsieur Guilleminet, a learned mason. He is as far, however, from admitting this as the other genealogies of the society in question. On the contrary he says it cannot be traced higher than the famous irreligious meeting of Trevisan, Ochin, Gentilis, Lelius, Darius Socinus, and others, at Vicenza in 1546: but it is to Faustus Socinus, he asserts, that the proper foundation of Freemasonry as a hidden and emblematical system of Equality and Deism properly belongs. This artful and indefatigable sectary, having seen Servetus burnt by Calvin at Geneva, for maintaining only a part of his system, and finding that the Protestant and Catholic States were equally hostile to its reception, is said to have concealed it under emblems and mysterious ceremonies, together with certain dreadful oaths of secrecy, in order that, whilst it was publicly preached among the people, in those provinces in which it was tolerated, it might silently steal, especially by means of the learned and opulent, into other countries, in which an open profession of it would there have conducted to the stake. The propagation of this system is stated to have been veiled under the enigmatical term of building a temple, "the length of which," in terms of Freemasonry "was to extend from East to West, and the breath (*sic*) of it from the North to the South." Hence the professors of it are furnished with the several instruments of building; the trowel, the mallet, the square, the level, the plummet &c. This accounts for the name of Masons which they have adopted. As to the epithet of *Free* which they prefix to the same, our author says it is derived from *frey*, which in Poland, whence this Socinian confraternity passed about the middle of the last century into England, denotes a *brother*.

With respect to the influence which this writer supposes Freemasonry to have had on the French Revolution, he remarks that the Monster Egalité, who was the main spring of the latter, was also the Grand Master in France; of the former, that Condorcet, Rochfoucault, and other chief officers of the Masonic order, were the chief architects of the new constitution; that the new division of France into *departments, districts, cantons, and circumferances* (arrondissements) is confessedly the self-same, in all its parts, with that of masonry throughout Europe; that the National Assembly, when they went in a body to the Cathedral of Paris to celebrate the Revolution, soon after it had taken place, were pleased to accept of the highest honour of Masonry, that of

passing under an *arch of steel* (formed by a double row of brethren, who hold the points of their swords, so as to touch each other). In short, he says, that the municipal scarf, which is the distinctive mark of the lowest order of French Magistrates, is the self-same with that of apprentice masons; that the president of the Assembly's hat resembles that of a *venerable* master in Masonry; and that the obligation of laying aside of all marks of distinction, such as stars, garters, ribbands, crosses, &c before a Brother is permitted to enter a Lodge, was not only a prelude, but was also intended as a preparation for the destruction of all ranks in society, which has taken place in the country we have been speaking of. I must not forget the marked protection which our author says the new Legislature has afforded Freemasonry, at the same time it has destroyed all other corporations and societies.

I must now detail some of this writer's remarks on the effects which he supposes Freemasonry has produced on moral sentiment and religion in France. He contends, that the horrible and sanguinary oaths which are taken in the several degrees of Freemasonry, and which he lays before his readers, the daggers, cross-bones, death's heads, imaginary combats with the murders (*sic*) of Hiram, and other horrid ceremonies they make use of, have a natural tendency to steel the heart, and have, in fact, paved the way for those revolting barbarities, which have been indeed transacted by the enthusiastic multitude, but not until they have been coolly planned by their philosophic leaders. He moreover, enters upon an exposition of the Rabbinical tales concerning the death and burial of Adoniram, and of the meaning of the Master's watchword *Machbenae*, together with an analysis of the catechism repeated by the Masonic Knights of the fun at their initiation; all which he undertakes to show, are calculated to undermine genuine Christianity and to establish a Socinian and Deistical system of religion, and a code of morals very different from that of the Gospel.

It is necessary I should here remark, in favour of many Masons of this country of approved morality and sentiment, and conspicuous for their loyalty at the present season, that our author maintains that, whilst the lower orders of this society, viz. the *apprentices*, *companions*, and ordinary *masters*, are amused with their emblematical *insignia* and ceremonies, only the *perfect* or *Scotch Masters*, and the *grand architects*, whose introduction into France he dates so low as the year 1784, through the means of Earnest Frederick Walterstorff, chamberlain to the King of Denmark, are in the real secret of Freemasonry. On this head, he points out the oaths which are taken in the different degrees, not only to conceal their respective secret from the *profanum vulgus*, but also from their own brethren who are in a lower class than themselves.

Having given this imperfect analysis of the above mentioned author's celebrated work, the substance of which is also adopted by other writers of character, I wish to ascertain, if it be possible (after making very great allowances for our author's enthusiasm for his system, in ascribing to one cause an event which is evidently the result of many) 1. Whether there is anything in the original constitution of Freemasonry which is calculated, or has a tendency, to produce those changes in civil and religious affairs which have lately taken place in France. 2. Admitting that this first question is determined in the negative, may not a considerable number of Lodges in France have organized themselves of late years upon principles of Irreligion and Republicanism? 3. Was Freemasonry instituted by Socinus and his immediate disciples, and introduced into England about the time of the great Rebellion, and thence carried into France at the time of the Revolution?

Yours &c.

J. M.

Kentish Register: September, 1794 (p. 347).

“Mr. Le Franc’s book on Freemasonry, of which an account appears in your Register for July, is a curious instance of fanciful theory. The author of that account makes several queries at the end of it, as to the tendency of Free Masonry, the time of its institution, &c. It is difficult for anyone but a Mason to answer these questions; and by the brethren of that order I am given to understand, it would be highly improper in any one of their fraternity to do it. If what *Cecilius Natalis*, who is quoted by Minutius Felix, has said, be true, ‘that crimes dread the day-light, and that virtue is never afraid of the public eye,’ their silence on the subject is conclusive against the good intentions of the Society. The weight of the public opinion is also decisively against them; and the voice of the people, if not in this instance the voice of God, is at least that of his supposed vicegerent. Clement XII on the 26th of April, 1738, published his constitution, which begins with the words ‘*In eminenti*’. Then he thunders against this sect, and launches the terrors of excommunication against the individuals who compose it; from which they cannot be relieved by any one, but his Holiness himself except on their death bed. Not content with menacing them with spiritual, he subjects them also to corporal punishment; and enjoins all the ordinaries, superior ecclesiastics, and inquisitors, to watch in a special manner over those sectarists, and to punish them as persons strongly suspected of heresy.

The same Pope also published an edict dated 14th of January, 1739, in which he forbids, *under pain of death and without any hope of pardon*, all persons from assisting or being present at the loges of Free Masons, which he terms ‘pernicious associations, suspected of heresy and sedition’. Benedict XIV confirmed this bull, and republished and extended it in his constitution dated the 10th of May, 1751, called ‘*Providas Romanorum Pontificas*’. In addition to the papal prosecution of this order many secular princes have shown themselves adverse to it. Seven prohibitions were published against it in Manheim in 1737, by the Elector Palatine; at Vienna, in 1743; in Spain and Naples, in 1751; at Milan in 1757; and in various parts of Europe at different periods since. Even Turkey, in 1748, issued orders to surprise a company of Free Masons, to imprison them, and burn the house in which they assembled.

With respect to the time when the society first originated, some of the brethren who have high notions of antiquity carry us up to Adam, Moses and Solomon, according to this class, were Grand Masters of the order; and the history of the art, in the intermediate stage between our first parent and them, is filled with the most illustrious names among the patriarchs. Others, who are more moderate in their pretensions to antiquity, go no higher for their origin than the temple of Solomon. A third set, who are however, of grovelling minds, or they would never be content to be accounted such mushrooms, can trace themselves no farther back, than to be a remnant of the Knights Templars, who took refuge in Scotland, and who, being often obliged to mingle with infidels during the Crusades, found it convenient to recognise each other by means of certain signs. A priest who has lately written on the subject at Rome, and to whom I am obliged for much of this information, seems to favour an opinion which he says prevails ‘that Thomas Cranmer an *Apostate Bishop*, was the founder of the sect, others say Oliver Cromwell, and some King Arthur.’

From the above Chronology, it will be hard if J.M. cannot meet with some period to suit his purpose, or to support any proposition he may find himself inclined to: the latitude is extensive enough for the accomodation of any reasonable man, and if he or his ingenious author Le Franc should be disposed to show that the subversion of the Roman Empire was owing to the influence of *Marbenach*, and the *arch of steel*, they will find no objection to their theory in point of date, from your humble servant

Scrutator.”

**The Woodcock MS. of the Old Charges.**—The latest copy of the Old Charges came to light in Worcester recently. It has been tentatively named the Woodcock MS. from its present owner.

The MS. is in book form, measuring 6½ in. by 4 in., written the long way of the page. Pagination—1, blank; 2-28. The Charges; 29. A Song; 30-36. Blank. To page 31 is now pinned a paragraph omitted from page 9, referring to Euclid's commission. This was at some time pinned to the page 9.

The watermark shows a motto "Pro Patria", Britannia helmeted, holding a trident. Also a lion and a curious low palisading. This is a Dutch mark, on paper specially made for the English market in the reigns of William, Anne and the early Georges. Both the watermark and the engraving on the cover are an adaptation of the Dutch watermark which showed the Maid of Holland surrounded by her fortified frontiers maintaining liberty by force of arms.

The cover is of a stiff grey blue paper; on the inside is printed half a steel engraving, showing a woman seated, wearing a hat and holding a rod in her right hand, around her a frame elaborately ornamented with leaves and flowers. Outside the frame, at the top, is the half of a Crown and a large letter R; at the bottom of the frame, on a name plate the letters NE. Within the frame and near the head of the seated figure the letter A. The engraving has been cut nearly through the centre, and the right hand portion is the part printed. There is a portion of palisading shown, curiously like that in the watermark of the paper. The missing portion would probably show A R. The small A in the middle possibly Anna or Pro Patria, and the NE on the name plate, Queen Anne. 1702-1714 gives one limit for the date of the MS.

On the outside of the cover are two signatures in ink, but they are unfortunately indecipherable. On page 1 there is a blind die impression of a shield showing a swan not quite adorsée but ruffled, and the initials D.P.K., evidently of some previous owner.

The handwriting is an exceptionally clear script, hardly a letter of which is in doubt. It is written right to each edge of the book, and although there is a double red line ruled round each folio, barely a 32nd of an inch from the edge, the writing frequently encroaches on it. Many words are in large, heavy black letters, a few nicely ornamented.

It is at present the possession of Wor. Bro. G. P. Woodcock, P.A.G.D.C., who acquired it from his brother-in-law, a merchant captain, to whom it was presented by a Brother in China.

In the classification of the Old Charges it belongs to the Thorp Branch of the Sloane Family. Bro. Rev. H. Poole has given his opinion that it is a close relative of the Strachan MS., and consequently not of much interest textually. He suggests the No. E.a. 23 should be allotted to it.

F. J. UNDERWOOD.

**Further Extracts from Diary of Count Jacob de la Gardie.**—27th December, 1813.—Already at eleven o'clock Mr. Blacker appeared who had been sent by the Duke of Sussex to escort me to the Lodge. There a great number of Ceremonies were seen; more than 800 persons were assembled. After the Acts had been read and the Committee of Union had withdrawn to an adjoining room, the two Dukes inquired of me if I would accompany them and allow the Committee to read the two proposals to me so that I might afterwards say whichever I found the most *right* one which they would then adopt. I thereupon went out and the Obligations according to the Old and to the New Systems were read to me with many Ceremonies. Without hesitation I preferred the Old one as being much the better and also most corresponding to our Swedish system.

On my return to the Grand Assembly Hall I made this protestation aloud to the whole Lodge, and both Dukes then according to the Old Ritual placed the Bible in my hands and each kissed It three times. The Duke of Sussex having, as set out in the printed Ceremonial, been elected Grand Master, I sat down on the Throne he had used whereupon he kneeling received his Decorations pertaining to his new office out of my hands.

At 6.30 o'clock we departed to dinner which lasted until 1.30 o'clock in the morning. Among the great many toasts proposed were also toasts to H.M. the King of Sweden, H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sweden, Swedish Freemasonry, the Swedish Army and to myself. Each time I had to respond in English which highly embarrassed me, but the English seem to like when foreigners speak their language and readily excuse the errors because of the good-will shown. — I went home at nearly 2 o'clock being I must confess rather tired of the fourteen hours I had spent. When taking leave I received further proofs of the friendship and kindness of the English.

This probably is the only instance where a Swede in London has been placed in such a position that, in an assembly of over 800 persons all standing, he alone is seated, also one of the Princes Royal kneeling before him. Knowing the noble pride of the English, it is of double worth to find oneself in such a casus as that wherein I found myself, and most likely neither I nor anybody else will ever again be.



## OBITUARY.

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**T**is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

*Rev.* **Robert Relton de Relton a Ababrelton, I.S.O., M.A.**, of Upminster, in September, 1943. Bro. à Ababrelton held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer in the Craft and Royal Arch. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1920.

*Lt.-Col.* **Frank Baker, O.B.E.**, of Northampton, on 28th September, 1943. Bro. Baker held the rank of P.Pr.G.S.B., and was P.So. of Eleanor Cross Chapter No. 1764. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1933.

**Arthur James Cross, M.B.**, of Dalton in Furness, on 25th June, 1943. Our Brother held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1912.

**Alexander Darling**, of Berwick on Tweed, on 1st June, 1943, aged 83 years. Bro. Darling held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was one of the senior members of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1895.

*Sir* **James H. Ford**, of Leeds, on 10th September, 1943. Our Brother held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and P.Pr.G.D.C. (R.A.). He also was one of the senior members of our Correspondence Circle, and was elected to membership in January, 1894.

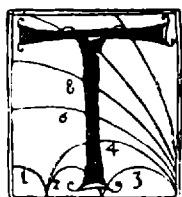
**Frederick James Franks, F.C.I.S.**, of Bournemouth, on 28th September, 1943. Bro. Franks held the rank of P.Pr.A.G.D.C. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1943.

**Frederick William Golby**, of London, N., on 5th September, 1943, aged 85 years. Bro. Golby held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was admitted to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1916, elected to full membership of the Lodge in June, 1931, and was W.M. in 1937-38.

**Harry Mackenzie Ridge**, of London, N., on 4th August, 1943. Our Brother was P.M. of Radium Lodge No. 4531. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1939.

**Thomas Herbert Thatcher**, of London, W., on 24th June, 1943. Bro. Thatcher held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1917.

## ST. JOHN'S CARD.



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1943:—

*LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.*:—District Grand Lodge of Ceylon, Colombo; Unity Lodge No. 1637, Harrow, Mdx.; Teme Lodge No. 4267, Knighton, Radnor.; King Cyrus Chapter No. 1 (U.S.A.), Valparaiso, Chile; Osisko Lodge No. 107, Noranda, Quebec; Ethelbert Lodge of Instruction No. 2099, Herne Bay, Kent; Gillingham Masonic Club, Gillingham, Kent.

*BROTHERS*:—Cyril William John Allen, of London, N.; Albert Barlow, of Rochdale, Lancs., P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.G.Sc.N.*; T. S. Barlow, of Bolton, Lancs., P.M. 3326; Charles Henry Bayliss, of Wolverhampton, 2848; Frank William Belschner, of London, S.E., 2824, *2147*; John A. Blatchford, of Plymouth, P.Pr.G.Treas.; Wilfred Boulton, of London, E.C., 143, *1704*; Edgar Halsey Bourne, of London, N., P.M. 292, *1385*; Samuel James Bradford, of London, N.W., P.G.St.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; *F/Lt.* Walter Edward Brooke, *R.I.F.*, of Richmond, Surrey, 5413; Walter Henderson Carter, of Union Mills, I. of M., 3732; E. J. Casley, of Perranporth, Cornwall, P.Pr.G.D., Devon., *1091*; Alexander Dickson Clark, of Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks., 1618, *561*; W. H. Clark, of Portsmouth, Hants., W.M. 343; John Clarke, of Torquay, Devon., 159, *159*; *Dr.* Antony Moreira Clement, of Trivandrum, S. India, 2710, *2710*; William Anselm Coates, of Hale, Cheshire, P.M. 2581, *3749*; Hugh Neville Colpman, of Northampton, 360, *360*; *Capt.* Harold Alfred Dowler, P.M. 142 (Sask.), *P.Z. 24 (Sask.)*; Arthur Gordon Eames, of Middleton-on-Sea, Sussex, 5413; Gordon Richard Eland, of London, S.E., 5501, *1973*; *Capt.* John Lees Elliott, of Westbury, Wilts., P.Pr.G.S.B., *493*; John Embley, of Blackburn, Lancs., P.Pr.G.W., *269*; Charles Solomon Tarbey, of Edgware, Mdsx., 5284, *1585*; Paul Franck, of Bromley, Kent, 2466, *2466*; Frederick James Franks, *F.C.I.S.*, of Bournemouth, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; F. J. Fuller, of East Cosham, Hants., P.M. 3816; James Butler Goddard, of Cullompton, Devon, P.Pr.G.R., *261*; Reginald William Goff, of Sutton, Surrey, 5349; Frederick William Gozna, of Hastings, 1524; Hans Haarbarger, of Bloemfontein, P.M. 47 (N.C.), *1022*; Victor William Claude Hale, of Bristol, 326, *326*; John R. Hatcher, of Leicester, P.M. 3924, *Z. 1136*; Arthur Robinson Hebblethwaite, of Hornsea, E. Yorks., P.Pr.G.S.B., *P.Pr.G.Sc.N.*; James Stephen Holloway, of Leeds, W.M. 1214, *1214*; *Lieut.* Frederick Charles House, *R.N.V.R.*, of Plymouth, 1099, *1099*; George Hudson, of Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks., P.M. 1618; W. F. Jeffery, of Portsmouth, W.M. 1776; William Llewelyn Jones, of Bedford, P.G.St.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; George Samuel Joyner, of Plymouth, 189; Edward Varley Kayley, of Woking, Surrey, 2824, *2147*; Oskar Carl Klagge, of London, S.W., P.M. 63, *P.Z. 63*; Horace William Langdon, of London, S.W., L.G.R., *P.Z. 3244*; Julian Lee, of Edgware, Mdsx., P.M. 5785, *4285*; Frank Maurice Leslie, of London, N.W., 1668, *188*; Edward Aneurin Lewis, *Ph.D.*, of Kabete, Kenya, P.M. 4070, *3727*; Harry George Lewis, of Northampton, P.M. 5694, *2431*; Raymond George Lister, of Cambridge, 88; Francis George Marr, of London, N., P.M. 5026; William Millar, of Glasgow, W.M. 114, *282*; John William Newton, of Darlington, P.G.St.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; R. G. Nobbs, of Portsmouth, W.M. 1834; Horace A. Palk, of Plymouth, P.M. 1550; David Brice Pardy, of Bristol, 4464, *68*; Cyril E. Paterson, of Bristol, 103; Thomas Edward Peart, of London, N.,

P.M. 11, *P.Z.* 11; Myer Pencharz, of Bloemfontein, P.M. 47 (N.C.), *P.Z.* *President Brand* (S.C.); Arthur Edward Perkins, *J.P.*, of Worthing, P.M. 5237, 851; *Sqdr.-Ldr.* Jack Allister Perkins, *R.A.F.*, of Worthing, 2201, 159; Elbert O. Phlegar, Jr., Phœnix, Arizona, U.S.A., 2; Frank Henry Plummer, of London, N.W., P.M. 271, *P.Z.* 1910; Claude Cyril Pollard, of Plymouth, 223; Leonard William Stephen Porter, of Portsmouth, *Pr.J.G.D.*, *P.Z.* 80½; Lionel Presman, of Edgware, *Mdsx.*, 1349, 1685; John Robert Price, of Durban, S. Africa, 1937, 1937; *Rev.* Frank Read, of Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks., 4539; Oscar Charles Read, of West Mill, Herts., 4770, 3537; John English Robson, of West Hartlepool, P.M. 4350, 76½; Thomas English Robson, of West Hartlepool, *W.M.* 4965, 76½; Emanuel Rosner, of Edgware, *Mdsx.*, 1349, 4258; Cecil Rutt, of Biggleswade, Beds., 803, 540; Herbert Sampson, of Leeds, 5612, 2330; Thomas Richard Sandford, of Torrington, Devon, 1885, 261; Henry Schofield, of Menston in Wharfedale, W. Yorks., *P.Pr.G.Treas.*, *P.Pr.G.Sc.V.*; R. H. Schuepp, *A.I.E.E.*, of Bombay, 109; Herbert Edward Scott, of Sheffield, *W.M.* 1462; Thomas Henry Shaw, of Sheffield, 4092; Arnold Simon, of Harpenden, Herts., P.M. 4314; *Lieut.* James Smith, of Nairobi, 4070; Jay Barham Smith, of Burton-on-Trent, Staffs., P.M. 353, 353; Joseph Prentice Smith, of Burton-on-Trent, Staffs., *P.Pr.G.Sup.W.* (Derbys.), *P.Pr.G.S.B.*; Arthur Holt Spencer, of Portsmouth, *W.M.* 4071, 487; William Stacey, of Torrington, Devon, P.M. 1885, 489; Michael Stein, *M.B.*, *Ch.B.*, of Ferryhill Village, Co. Durham, 2352, 3568; *Dr.* Henry Adam Sturdevant, of Enid, Oklahoma, P.M. 80, *P.H.P.* 27; Albert William Swan, of Surbiton, Surrey, 3911, 3911; Hardwicke Slingsby Tasker, *M.A.*, *B.Sc.*, *A.I.C.*, of Watford, Herts., 4077; Robert Henry Grenville Tatton, *D.L.*, of Nantwich, Cheshire, P.M. 5166, 4775; Philip Harry Taylor, of London, W., *L.G.R.*, *P.Z.* 188; Cyril Leopold Stuart Thomas, of Shipston-on-Stour, Worcestershire, *P.Pr.G.R.* (Devon), *P.Z.* 328; Alfred Charles Tidey, of Romsey, Hants., 4124; John Frederick George Troughton, of Nairobi, 3227, 329 (S.C.); Christiaan Jozna Venter, of Frankfort, S. Africa, Jan Brand (N.C.), *Golden Thistle* (N.C.); Thomas Verity, Pateley Bridge, Yorks., P.M. 4984; James Alexander Walker, *M.B.*, *B.Sc.*, of Parkstone, Dorset, P.M. 2559, 2559; Hugh Leslie Watkinson, *M.A.*, *B.Sc.*, of Mexborough, Yorks., 5238; William James Weaver, of Middlesborough, P.M. 2391; Ernest Humphries Wharton, of Sheffield, *W.M.* 4092, 3397; Harold Duckett White, of Olkalou, Kenya, *W.M.* 3727, 3727; Geoffrey Ronald Wilkins, of Barrow-in-Furness, Lancs., 1398; Thomas Edward Wooldridge, of Bideford, Devon, P.M. 1885, 489; Percy Edgar Worth, of N. Wembley, *Mdsx.*, P.M. 1360.

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# Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

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