

# »: 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.

VOL. LVII. PART 1.

## CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
Proceedings, 7th January, 1944 ..	1	Proceedings, 5th May, 1944	71
Audit Committee .. .. .	2	A Tale of Two Lodges	72
A Dialogue between Simon and Philip	3	"The Bath Furniture"	109
Proceedings, 3rd March, 1944 ..	22	Note ..	134
The Culdees ..	23	Obituary	135

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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.

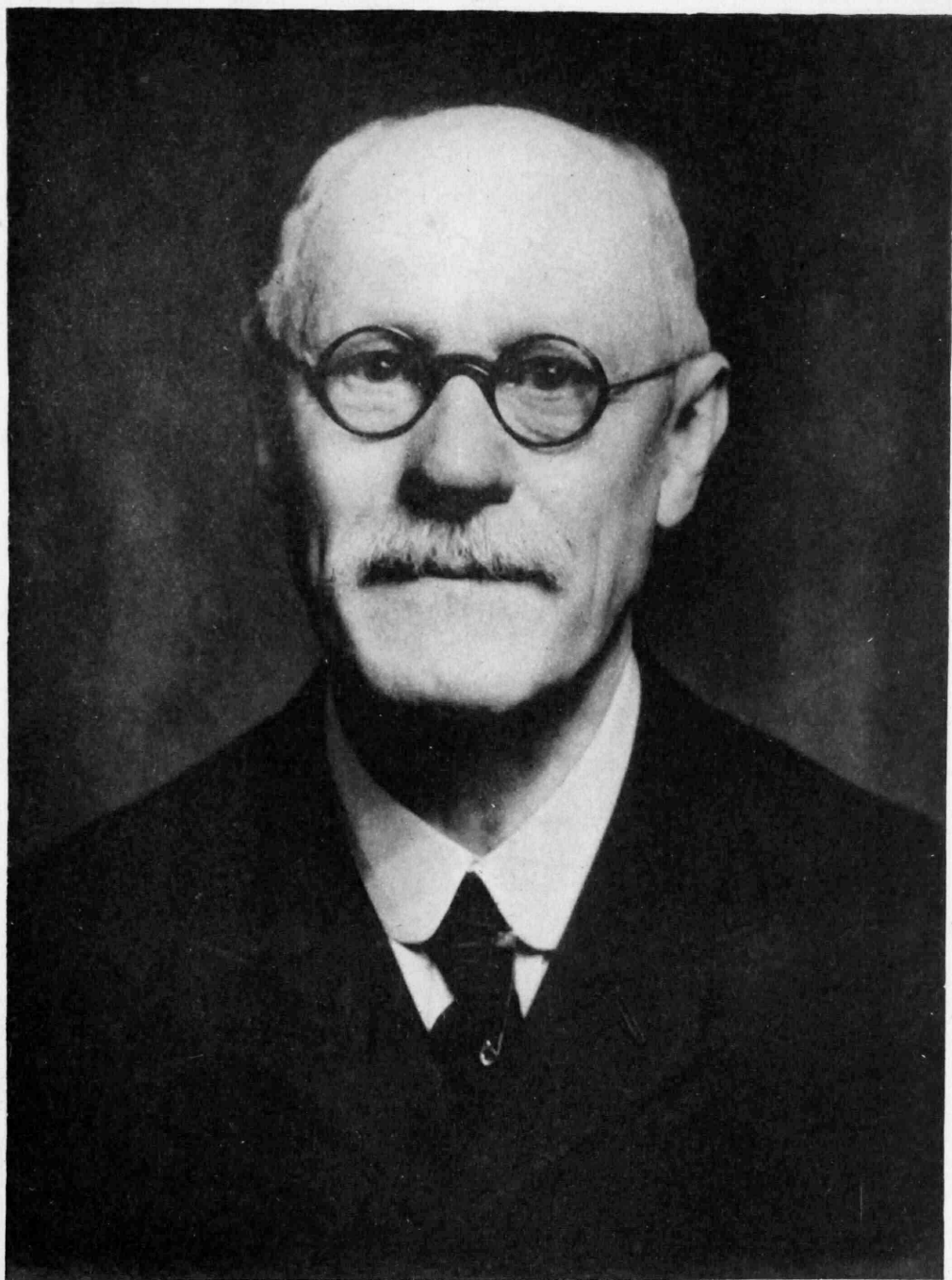
It will thus be seen that the members of the Correspondence Circle enjoy all the advantages of the full members, except the right of voting on Lodge matters and holding office.

**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.





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*Sam Chikard*



—‡‡ Ars ‡‡—  
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**VOLUME LVII**  
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

## LODGE PROCEEDINGS.

	PAGE
Friday, 7th January, 1944	1
Friday, 5th March, 1944	22
Friday, 5th May, 1944	71
Saturday, 24th June, 1944	137
Friday, 6th October, 1944	195
Wednesday, 8th November, 1944	256

## OBITUARY.

Biggleston, H.	135
Bishop, W.	135
Chislett, A. J.	135
Christisen, H. D. A.	135
Clarke, M. H.	135
Cookson, J. H.	284
Dubery, R. G.	135
Eyre, J. W. H.	135
Hallsworth, <i>Major</i> W. H.	284
Hindley, <i>Lt.-Col.</i> G. D.	135
Hotson, <i>Sir</i> John	284
Howard, E.	135
Inwood, <i>Major</i> C. H.	284
Jackson, H. W.	135
Malan, H. J.	136
Marsh, E. J.	136
Marson, E. W.	284
O'Neill, C. A.	136
Oxley, R. B.	136
Palmer, F. T.	284
Pinhorne, <i>Rev.</i> A. G. H.	136
Rees, T. T.	136
Rixon, A. C.	136
Robertson, D.	136
Selby, T.	284
Slack, C. H.	284
Smith, H. E.	136
Strickland, R. W.	136
Tappenden, E.	136
Turner, J.	136
von Geusan, A.	284
Walker, G.	284

## PAPERS AND ESSAYS.

<b>A Dialogue between Simon and Philip.</b> By D. Knoop and G. P. Jones	PAGE 3
Two newly-discovered Masonic Catechisms, 3; Steps taken to trace the MSS. formerly belonging to the late Bro. Lister Salisbury, 3; <i>The Whole Institutions of Masonry, 1724</i> , 5; Differences between it and <i>The Whole Institution of Free-Masons Opened, 1723-4</i> , 6; <i>A Dialogue between Simon and Philip</i> , 7; Transcript with running commentary, 7; The Knocks, 13; The Pillars, 13; Old and new Masons, 13; Authenticity of the <i>Dialogue</i> , 15; Date of the <i>Dialogue</i> , 15.	
<b>The Culdees.</b> By H. C. Booth	23
Migrations from the Mediterranean, 23; Early occupation of Ireland, 24; Period immediately preceding the Christian Era, 25; Monastic system, 26; The Rule of St. Basil, 27; St. Patrick, 28; Ordo Sanctus, 30; Centres of religious education, 31; Scotie missionaries, 32; Columbanus, 32; St. Columba, 33; Communal settlements, 34; Iona, 35; Mission to Northumbria, 36; Etymology of "Culdee", 37; The Rule of the Celi-de, 39; Religious Houses in England, Wales and Scotland, 43; The Celedei at York, 45; Haly-wark-folk, 51; Masonry of St. John, 53.	
<b>The Tale of Two Lodges; Loyal Lodge and Eight Brothers Lodge.</b> By B. W. Oliver	72
North Devon Lodge, 72; Warrant of the "Eight Brothers" Lodge, 73; Surviving Minute Books, 75; Constitution of "Eight Brothers" Lodge, 76; Lodge Seal, 76; Influx of Irish Brethren, 76; Variants in procedure, 78; "Twelve Brothers" Lodge, 78; Move from Gosport, 81; Arrival in Barnstaple, 82; "Loyal" Lodge No. 365, Barnstaple, 83; Visit by Provincial Grand Lodge, 84; Royal Arch in "Loyal" Lodge, 85; Fraternisation between "Ancients" and "Moderns", 90; United meetings on St. John's Day, 90; "Eight Brothers" Lodge disappears on disembodiment of Militia, 93.	
<b>Mirabeau's Scheme for the Political Penetration of Freemasonry.</b> By H. C. Bruce Wilson	138
Montigny's Memoirs of Mirabeau, 138; Mirabeau's ideas on Freemasonry, 139; Projected formation of an inner Society within the Order, 139; Principles of the Inner Society, 141; References to Demosthenes, Cromwell, Jesuitical practice, Pythagoras, 142; Regulations of proposed Society, 143; Qualifications of Candidates, 144; Duties of members, 146; Freemasonry and the French Revolution, 150.	
<b>The York Grand Chapter.</b> By G. Y. Johnson	197
First known reference in York, 197; The Royal Arch Lodge, 198; Provenance of the Degrees, 198; The Founders, 198; Bridge Frodsham, 199; The Three Masters, 201; The Beckwiths, 204; Jacob Bussey, 215; Change of Titles of Masters, 220; Apollo Lodge, 220; William Siddall, 226; Edward Wolley, 228; List of Members and Visitors, 234; Subordinate Chapters constituted by the York Grand Chapter, 236.	

*Table of Contents.*

v.

**PAPERS AND ESSAYS.—*Continued.***

	PAGE
The " Bath " Furniture and how it came to Barnstaple. By B. W. Oliver	109
Supplemental Note to " The Traditioners "	264
King's College Chapel, Cambridge. By W. J. Williams	272
Inaugural Address	258
Toast of Worshipful Master	262

**NOTES.**

The Earl of Sutherland	134
A Unique Masonic Treasure	271
The First Masonic Procession in South America	280
The Triple Tau	283

# INDEX

Adelphes, Les...	158
Amalgamation, financial, Orders in York ...	243
<i>Candid Disquisition</i> —Calcott	13
Candlesticks ...	125
Catalogue of Saints in Hibernia	29
Chairs ...	120
<b>Constitutions:—</b>	
Carmick ...	15
Chetwode Crawley...	15
Cole ...	13
Edinburgh Register House	7
Graham ...	10
Sloane, 3429 ...	7
<i>Culdes of the British Isles</i> — Reeves ...	37
Deacons ...	90
<i>Defence of Masonry</i> ...	13
Desaguliers Regulation	14
<i>Early Masonic Lectures</i> —Knoop and Jones ...	5
Easter—date ...	27
Edwin, Baptism of	45
Freemason, The—an Hudibrastic Poem ...	7
French Freemasonic Bodies in 1774 ...	153
Furniture, "Bath", list of	115
Globes ...	127
<i>Grand Mystery of the Free-     masons Discovered</i> ...	4
Holland in 1776	179
Illuminati ...	163
Inniskilling Regiment, R.A. Chapter in ...	238
Knarborough, R.A. Chapter at Knocks ...	237
<i>La Monarchie Prussienne</i> — Mirabeau ...	164
<i>Les Mirabeau</i> —Loménie	162
<b>Lodges referred to:—</b>	
Ad Astra	3
Apollo ...	220, 223
Bideford ...	116
Cargycreevy, Co. Antrim ...	103
Centurion No. 1718 ...	3
Cock No. 252, Hull ...	147
Concord No. 374 ...	73
Cullybacky, Co. Antrim ...	103
Emulation No. 12 ...	85
Faithful No. 499 ..	73

## Lodges referred to:—

Good Intention ...	72
Grange, Co. Antrim	103
Killyleagh, Co. Down ...	103
King's Head No. 267, Hull	198
Lisburn, Co. Antrim	103
Loyal No. 365 ...	72, 109
Marquis of Granby ...	252
Minerva ...	198
North Devon Militia No. 228 ...	72
Punch Bowl No. 259 ...	197
Rock Corry, Co. Monaghan	103
Royal Arch ...	196, 198
Royal Cumberland, Bath ...	109
Royal Sussex, Bath ...	109
Royal York, Bath ...	109
St. Andrew's, Quebec	265
St. Claudius, G.L.N.	
France ...	3
St. Paul's ...	265
St. Peter's, Montreal	264
"Twelve Brothers"	78
Union No. 364B ...	103
Vanguard No. 254	265
Virtue No. 380 ...	84
Virtue, Bath ...	109
White Hart ...	83

## Chapters:—

Loyalty and Virtue	88
Royal Cumberland	110
Royal York ...	110
<i>Masonic Manual</i> —Ashe	51
Masons Old and New...	13
<i>Masonry Dissected</i>	7
<i>Mason's Confession</i> ...	7
<i>Mason's Examination</i>	4
Melrose Abbey	40
Mercenary Troops	185
Middle Chamber ...	127
Migrations, pre-historic ...	24
Mirabeau a Freemason ...	160
Mirabeau, method of working...	168
<i>Mirabeau, Memoirs of</i> — Montigny ...	189
Monasteries ...	31, 41
<i>Mystery of Freemasonry</i>	7

<i>Notes to the Court</i> —Mirabeau	167
Obligation, United ...	90
Officers, precedence of	81
Paper missive	7
Pedestal ...	123

## Persons referred to:—

Ackroyd, C.	205
Agar, S.	205, 223
Agar, T.	205

## Persons referred to:—

	PAGE
Ashe, <i>Rev. J.</i> ...	51
Athelstane ...	45
Atkinson, <i>J.</i> ...	214
Bamfylde, <i>Sir C. W.</i> ...	72, 83, 110
Barber, <i>J.</i> ...	205
Barruel, <i>Abbé</i> ...	173
Basil, <i>St.</i> ...	27
Bawden, <i>J.</i> ...	111
Bazeries, <i>Major</i> ...	162
Beach, <i>T.</i> ...	128
Beaufort, <i>Duke of</i> ...	265
Beckwith, <i>A.</i> ...	204, 210
Beckwith, <i>M.</i> ...	204, 207
Beckwith, <i>T.</i> ...	222
Beer, <i>J.</i> ...	73
Bewlay, <i>R.</i> ...	216
Bewlay, <i>T.</i> ...	216
Blanchard, <i>W.</i> ...	196, 226
Bosomworth, <i>R.</i> ...	224
Bower, <i>J.</i> ...	212, 223
Braby, <i>J.</i> ...	73
Brannan, <i>M.</i> ...	73
Britton, <i>T.</i> ...	113, 117
Broadbent, <i>Rev. B.</i> ...	240
Brown, <i>W.</i> ...	197
Browne, <i>J.</i> ...	196, 221, 228
Burnard, <i>J.</i> ...	213
Burton, <i>J.</i> ...	203
Bussey, <i>J.</i> ...	213
Butler, <i>W.</i> ...	73
Caddy, <i>J. S.</i> ...	197
Calcott, <i>Wellins</i> ...	13
Castells, <i>F. de P.</i> ...	251
Chanter, <i>J. H.</i> ...	109
Chibley, <i>F.</i> ...	223
Clement of Alexandria ...	26
Coates, <i>G.</i> ...	223
Coleman, <i>J.</i> ...	226
Columba ...	33
Columbanus ...	32
Consitt, <i>R.</i> ...	209
Cottin, <i>P.</i> ...	162
Coupland, <i>J.</i> ...	197, 221
Cramphorn, <i>F. C.</i> ...	3
Crawley, <i>Chetwode</i> ...	202
Croft, <i>J.</i> ...	218
Cutcliffe ...	109
Dade, <i>Rev. W.</i> ...	223
Dalton, <i>J.</i> ...	207
Dassigny, <i>Fifield</i> ...	197, 247, 248
de Vivien, <i>Count</i> ...	174
Dénéchand, <i>Claude</i> ...	265
Dixon, <i>Rev. M.</i> ...	240
Dodgson, <i>J.</i> ...	204
Duke, <i>M.</i> ...	214
Dunckerley, <i>T.</i> ...	128, 264
Durandus ...	13
Ehrington, <i>Lord</i> ...	85
Edwin ...	45
Ewing, <i>A.</i> ...	84
Firminger, <i>Rev. W. K.</i> ...	138, 163, 164
Fitzmaurice, <i>T.</i> ...	204
Fletcher, <i>T.</i> ...	198
Fortescue, <i>Earl</i> ...	114
Frodsham, <i>Bridge</i> ...	198
Garland, <i>R.</i> ...	224
Garrick, <i>D.</i> ...	198
Gawler, <i>J.</i> ...	265
Geary, <i>C.</i> ...	109
Gorham, <i>Major A.</i> ...	4
Graham, <i>W.</i> ...	84
Granger, <i>J.</i> ...	201
Gregory the Great ...	32
Gunthorpe, <i>T.</i> ...	206
Haccemblem, <i>R.</i> ...	275
Hampston, <i>J.</i> ...	226

## Persons referred to:—

	PAGE
Handford, <i>J.</i> ...	73
Harris, <i>G. H.</i> ...	117
Harris, <i>J.</i> ...	113, 116
Harrison, <i>J.</i> ...	210
Hassall, <i>J.</i> ...	239
Hayes, <i>Captain R.</i> ...	222
Hextall, <i>W. B.</i> ...	14
Higgins, <i>G.</i> ...	196
Higgs, <i>J.</i> ...	84
Holdsworth, <i>W.</i> ...	240
Hunt, <i>J. W.</i> ...	117
Huyshe, <i>V.</i> ...	129
Jackson, <i>T.</i> ...	229
Jennings, <i>J.</i> ...	224
Kemys-Tinte, <i>Colonel C. K.</i> ...	110
Kennedy, <i>J.</i> ...	223
Kidd, <i>M.</i> ...	216
Kimpland, <i>J.</i> ...	83
Kingdon, — ...	113
Kingson, <i>E.</i> ...	85
Kitson, <i>G.</i> ...	218
Knox, <i>J. H.</i> ...	113
Kupferschmidt, <i>C.</i> ...	20
La Marek ...	167
Lakeland, <i>R.</i> ...	208
Lambert, <i>D.</i> ...	210
Laughton, <i>W. E.</i> ...	240
Larke, <i>T.</i> ...	275
Lepper, <i>J. Heron</i> ...	14
Ley, <i>G.</i> ...	73
Lock, <i>C.</i> ...	75
Loménie ...	162
Lyon, <i>D. Murray</i> ...	53
Macewan, <i>A. R.</i> ...	36
Mackey, <i>A. G.</i> ...	54
Madelin ...	155
Maimon ...	26
Malczovitch, <i>L.</i> ...	20
Makins, <i>W. R.</i> ...	201
Malden, <i>H.</i> ...	272
Mathers, <i>S. L. M.</i> ...	166
Matthews, <i>G. M.</i> ...	265
Mauvillon ...	171, 172
McNally, <i>P.</i> ...	217
Meek, <i>M.</i> ...	214
Mirabeau, <i>Count</i> ...	138
Montigny, <i>G. L.</i> ...	138
Morgan, <i>W.</i> ...	217
Mounier ...	173
Mules, <i>J.</i> ...	73
Nickson, <i>N.</i> ...	211
Norman, <i>G.</i> ...	61, 109
Oram, <i>J.</i> ...	200
Owen, <i>H.</i> ...	201
Parker, <i>Rev. J.</i> ...	223, 224
Patricius ...	28
Patrick, <i>St.</i> ...	28
Patton, — ...	111
Paul, <i>R.</i> ...	225
Pelmes, <i>J.</i> ...	203
Philo Judæus ...	25
Playter, <i>J.</i> ...	219
Plummer, <i>B.</i> ...	85
Powell, <i>W.</i> ...	223
Prichard, <i>S.</i> ...	9
Pulleyn, <i>F.</i> ...	229
Purchase, <i>N.</i> ...	91
Reeves, <i>W.</i> ...	37
Rennells, <i>J. E. C.</i> ...	89
Richardson, <i>T.</i> ...	214
Robison, <i>J.</i> ...	176
Sadler, <i>H.</i> ...	14
Salisbury, <i>T. H. Lister</i> ...	3
Semerke, <i>H.</i> ...	276
Siddal, <i>W.</i> ...	208, 226
Sloley, <i>R. W.</i> ...	4

## Persons referred to:—

	PAGE		PAGE
Smyth, F. ...	225	Pillars ...	19, 125
Songhurst, W. J. ...	23	Principals, Chapters ...	201, 249
Spencer, W. ...	197, 208, 223	Procedure ...	93
Stainton, T. ...	197		
Stokes, G. T. ...	28	Railway, North Devon, Opening	129
Sussex, <i>Duke of</i> ...	109	Records in York ...	196
"Sutherland", <i>Earl of</i>	134	Remaking in "Ancients" Lodge	77
Taeker, J. ...	203	Remaking in "Moderns" Lodge	84
Taylor, J. ...	221	Revolution, French ...	155, 192
Tertullian	24	Ripon, R.A. Chapter at ...	215, 236
Thompson, J. ...	265	Rotherham, R.A. Chapter at ...	238
Thorney, J. ...	219	Rotherham, R.A. Chapter	
Ua Clerigh, A. ...	23	Warrant ...	246
Waldon, P. ...	74		
Ward, J. ...	73	Staircase, Winding ...	128
Wastell, J. ...	275, 279	<i>Symbolism of Churches—</i>	
Watson, L. ...	230	Durandus ...	13
Watson, W. ...	217		
Weishaupt, A. ...	155	Titles of Masters	220
Whitaker, J. R. ...	213	Tracing Boards	124
Whitcombe, R. ...	84		
Whitefield, J. ...	113, 116	<i>Whole Institution of Masonry,</i>	
Whytehead, T. B. ...	201	1722 ...	5
Wiggins, J. ...	217	<i>Whole Institution of Freemasons</i>	
Wilkinson, Tate ...	198	<i>Opened, 1725</i> ...	5
Willans, T. ...	219	Will of King Henry VI	273
Williams, L. ...	84		
Williamson, W. ...	215	York Grand Chapter—	
Witherington, <i>Sir T.</i>	47	Subordinate Chapters ...	236
Wolley, E. ...	226, 228	York R. Arch Chapter—List of	
Woodford, <i>Rev. A. F. A.</i>	151	Members ...	234
Yarker, J. ...	201		
Yonge, H. A. ...	26		

## CONTRIBUTORS

	PAGE		PAGE
Baxter, R. H. ...	17, 63, 103, 152, 249	Knoop, D. ...	3, 20
Booth, H. C. ...	23, 65, 251		
Bullamore, G. W. ...	254	Lepper, J. H. ...	18, 60, 103, 152, 248, 266, 271, 280
		Milborne, A. J. B. ...	264
Covey-Crump, W. W. ...	18, 64, 249		
Edwards, L. ...	59, 105, 151	Oliver, B. W. ...	72, 107, 109
Fenton, S. J. ...	104		
Grantham, W. I. ...	16, 104, 250, 283	Parkinson, R. E. ...	64
		Pick, F. L. ...	19, 105, 151, 247
Hallett, H. H. ...	106, 255	Poole, H. ...	16
Hatten, A. F. ...	159		
Hawksworth, E. ...	253	Radice, F. R. ...	19, 59, 154
		Rickard, F. M. ...	258
Johnson, G. Y. ...	196, 254	Rylands, J. R. ...	252
Jones, G. P. ...	3, 20		
		Williams, W. J. ...	272
		Wilson, H. C. R. ...	138, 159

## ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE		PAGE
Diagram in <i>Dialogue between Simon and Philip</i> ...	10	T. Boards	120
		Brass Pillars	120
Frontispiece to Dassigny's <i>Serious and Impartial Enquiry</i> ...	273	Officers' Jewels ...	120
		Dial ...	120
"Bath" Furniture—		W. Tools... ..	120
I.P.M.'s Chair ...	120	Pedestal ...	120
Master's Chair (Secretary) ...	120	"Middle Chamber"	120
Master's Chair ...	120	Winding Staircase	120
S.W.'s Chair ...	120		
J.W.'s Chair ...	120	Portrait:—	
Chair at Bideford ...	120	F. M. Rickard	<i>Frontispiece</i>
		Seal of "Eight Brothers"	
		Lodge ...	75



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

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FRIDAY, 7th JANUARY, 1944

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HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.30 p.m. Present: Bros. *Wg.-Commdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A., O.B.E., LL.B., P.Pr.G.W.,* Sussex, *I.P.M.,* as *W.M.*; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M.,* as *S.W.*; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., P.A.G.R., 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, *S.D.*; and Wallace Heaton, *P.G.D., J.D.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. L. E. C. Peckover; S. J. Bradford, *P.A.G.St.B.*; S. H. Love; A. Wells; T. L. Found, *P.A.G.St.B.*; C. M. Given; A. E. Evans; C. K. Hughes; A. F. Hatten; A. F. Cross; S. H. Muffett; J. F. H. Gilbard; F. T. Cramphorn, *P.A.G.D.C.*; R. W. Goff; P. E. Worth; I. Macauley; G. Jack; J. Johnstone, *P.A.G.D.C.*; F. Underwood, *P.A.G.D.C.*; E. A. Hyett; W. J. Meam; A. N. Gutteridge; E. Kayley; J. W. Hamilton Jones; E. Eyles; H. P. Healy; J. J. Cooper; H. B. Q. Evans; L. G. Wearing; F. W. Harris; and H. Bladon, *P.G.D.*

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. E. Pritchard, Huyshe Lodge No. 1099; J. D. Sowter, Euphrates Lodge No. 212; F. L. Dale, Amor Lodge No. 5330; A. E. Hobbs, *P.G.D.*; A. G. Ash, Temple of Staines Lodge No. 5904; and T. Coyish, *L.G.R.*

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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., P.M.,* 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.*; 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, *Prov.G.Sec.,* Armagh; J. A. Grantham, *P.Pr.G.W.,* Derbys.; F. L. Pick, *P.C.I.S., W.M.*; H. C. Bristowe, *P.A.G.D.C., S.W.*; G. Y. Johnson, *P.A.G.D.C., J.W.*; R. E. Parkinson; G. S. Knocker, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*; and H. H. Hallett, *P.G.St.B., I.G.*

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Two Masonic Societies and Thirty 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 ordered to be entered upon the Minutes:—

**PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE**

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, 7th January, 1944.

*Present*:—Bro. W. I. Grantham in the Chair, with Bros. J. H. Lepper, W. W. Covey-Crump, H. Poole, W. J. Williams, L. Edwards, F. M. Rickard, F. R. Radice, W. E. Heaton.

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 1943.**

BRETHREN,

During the year we have had to record with regret the decease of one P. Master of the Lodge—Bro. F. W. Golby. The membership of the Lodge is now 24.

A further large decrease has occurred in the membership of the Correspondence Circle, and the total membership is now 1,769, a figure only about half the aggregate in the year 1930. The additions to membership this year give a net gain, the first for several years. The increase is only small, but we hope it is indicative of a favourable turn.

*A.Q.C.*, Volume liv (1941) has been issued, and Part I of Volume lv is well in hand.

As shown in the accounts now presented to the Lodge, approximately £1,000 will be required for each of Volumes lv and lvi. Subscriptions amounting to over £500 are still outstanding, of which £332 16s. 2d. is considered good. This figure—£332 16s. 2d.—does not include subscriptions from members on the War List, which amount to approximately another £500.

A brief statement of the activities of the Lodge during the past year has again been drawn up; but, owing to the exigencies of the time, this 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 on our behalf.

For the Committee,

IVOR GRANTHAM,

In the Chair.

**RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT**

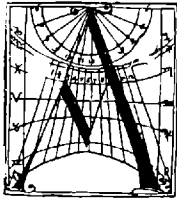
For the Year ending 30th November, 1943.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Cash in hand	126	5 9	Lodge ... ..	28	16 3
Lodge ...	46	4 0	Salaries, Rent, Rates, and		
Subscriptions ... ..	1464	5 8	Taxes ... ..	751	2 5
Cash in advance, and un-			Lighting, Firing, Telephone,		
appropriated	112	7 2	Cleaning, Carriage, In-		
Medals ... ..	21	12 6	surance, and Sundries ...	125	18 10
Sundry Publications ...	87	1 6	Printing and Stationery	514	11 11
Binding ... ..	28	10 11	Binding ... ..	6	13 10
Interest and Discounts	24	4 0	Sundry Publications	27	15 2
Publication Fund	21	16 9	Library	3	6 6
			Postages ... ..	97	12 7
			Local Expenses	4	12 5
			Cash in Bank	374	18 4
	£1935	8 3		£1935	8 3

The following paper was read:—

## A DIALOGUE BETWEEN SIMON AND PHILIP

WITH COMMENTARY BY DOUGLAS KNOOP AND G. P. JONES



FTER our *Early Masonic Catechisms* had gone to press, our attention was directed by Bro. Fred. T. Cramphorn in March, 1943, to two other early catechisms, *The Whole Institution of Masonry, 1724*, and *A Dialogue between Simon and Philip*.<sup>1</sup> We printed transcripts of these two documents, prepared from Bro. Cramphorn's typescripts, in our *Early Masonic Catechisms*, but without comments, apart from a discussion of the probable date of the *Dialogue*. Here we make a more detailed study of the two documents. Unfortunately, we have so far failed to trace the location of the originals, and have consequently to base this paper on the copies made by Bro. Cramphorn about 1930. The originals at that time belonged to Bro. T. H. Lister Salisbury, who was initiated about 1921, and died in July, 1936. He was a member of two London Lodges, Centurion 1718 and Ad Astra 3808. For a time, as an Inspector under the Air Ministry, he was stationed in Bristol, at which period he joined the Moira Chapter 326, Canynges Mark Lodge T.I., and the Robert Fludd College S.R.I.A. We gather that it was not until he had left Bristol that he became interested in the symbolical and mystical aspects of masonry. This interest explains his membership of the Lodge of Living Stones 4957, Leeds, and the London Masonic Study Society. He does not appear to have been a collector of masonic manuscripts or books, or a student of masonic history, but we are informed that "he collected an amazing number of odd and curious facts connected with Masonry", and that he used these "in scrap-book fashion for his lectures to various lodges", "his enthusiastic manner" enabling him "to hold an audience anxious to be entertained rather than instructed". An example of such a lecture is provided by his paper, *Interesting Masonic Incidents on Shore and Afloat*, printed in the *Transactions* of the St. Claudius Lodge No. 21 (G.L.N. of France) for 1932-33, to which Bro. F. Clarke, of Bristol, has drawn our attention. Thus, it is not unlikely that he regarded the catechisms, however he may have come by them, merely as curiosities, and failed to appreciate their historical value. Nor, so far as we are aware, did he draw attention to their existence through the medium of *A.Q.C.*, *Miscellanea Latomorum* or the *Masonic Record*.

We have been in communication with the Secretary, or some senior member, of every Masonic Lodge, Chapter, College or Society to which Bro. Salisbury belonged; we have sought information from the Grand Secretaries of the Craft and of the Mark; Bro. Col. Rickard very kindly printed an enquiry about the *Dialogue* in *Miscellanea Latomorum*, and Bro. I. V. Hall, Secretary of the Bristol Masonic Society, gave the matter similar publicity on the Society's summons for August, 1943. But we have failed to discover where the documents now are, if indeed they still exist, though we have obtained a fair amount of information about Bro. Lister Salisbury. We thank all these Brethren for their

<sup>1</sup> We are greatly indebted to Bro. Cramphorn for placing at our disposal his typescript copies of these documents, and for the information he has given us about the MSS. and their former owner.

courtesy in answering our inquiries,<sup>1</sup> and venture to quote from the two answers which throw most light on the problem.

Bro. R. W. Sloley, Secretary of the London Masonic Study Society, wrote on 8th April, 1943:

I remember vaguely something about the catechism Dialogue – that is hearing Salisbury speak of it, but I do not remember coming across any reference to it among his papers when I looked through them. The bulk of his papers were destroyed, as they were of little value to anyone. He had kept every letter and postcard he had ever received on Masonic matters for the 15 years he had been a member of the Craft. . . . Mrs. Salisbury died about eighteen months ago.

Bro. Major A. Gorham, of Limpley Stoke, Bath, wrote on 17th May, 1943:

I am very sorry to say I can be of no use in placing ownership of the MS. in question. Lister Salisbury was an old friend of mine and occasionally stayed with us here. He frequently brought to my notice anything Masonic which he had come across or which interested him, but I cannot remember that he ever mentioned either “The Whole Institution” or “A Dialogue between Simon and Philip”. In fact, I do not remember his discussing any of the so-called ‘old exposures’, and don’t think that he had seen many of them.

Some years ago I made a list of my own of Old Exposures, and brought it up to date so far as possible, and as I heard of them from time to time. Among my more recent additions I see “A Dialogue between Simon, a Town Mason, and Philip, a Traveling Mason”: no authorship, no locality, no date; where I got it from I cannot say.

At the time, *circa* 1930, when Bro. Cramphorn copied the *Dialogue*, he made the following pencil note in the book:

Note. This dialogue is contained in the same MSS. as the *Masons Examination 1724* and another catechism headed “The following is part of Free Masonry as Printed in London 1725”. There is an address (illegible).

No 8

Mr John Page

(illegible) No 5 (illegible)

Bristol.

From the typescript copies of the documents, very kindly lent to us by Bro. Cramphorn, we learn that “the *Masons Examination 1724*” referred to in the note is *The Whole Institution of Masonry, 1724*, an early and shorter version of *The Whole Institutions of Free-Masons Opened, 1725*; further, that the “part of Free Masonry as Printed in London 1725” is an accurate copy of the examination in *The Grand Mystery of the Free Masons Discover’d, 1725*. Bro. Cramphorn’s recollection of the original documents is not very distinct, but he thinks they were “rather old but in fair condition, written on sheets of paper, not in a book. The diagrams [of the *Dialogue*] were separate and on paper of different appearance”. At the time he made rough sketches of the diagrams in a pocket-book; these he has kindly copied for us, and they have served as models for the Indian ink drawings reproduced in our *Early Masonic Catechisms*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Our thanks are due to Bros. Geo. B. Askwith, A. Bendall, H. S. Bush, Percy D. Castle, F. Clarke, Major A. Gorham, G. W. Grosvenor, Sir Thomas Lumley-Smith, Col. F. M. Rickard, R. W. Sloley, E. C. Taylor and Sydney A. White.

<sup>2</sup> The recent discovery in G. L. Library of photographs of the original documents (see Postscript, page 21 below) has enabled us to use here a new block, based on the photographs of the original diagrams. [January 15th, 1946].

# THE WHOLE INSTITUTION OF MASONRY

We printed a transcript of the *Whole Institution* in our *Early Masonic Catechisms*. We reprint it here, but in parallel columns with such parts of *The Whole Institutions of Free-Masons Opened* of 1725 as correspond, rearranging the order of the Questions and Answers of the latter document where necessary. A complete reprint of the 1725 broadsheet will be found in our *Early Masonic Catechisms*, and also in *A.Q.C.*, vol. 1, p. 15.

## MS. VERSION OF 1724<sup>1</sup>

The Whole Institution of Masonry. 1724

First Observe—That all Squares is Signs  
According to the | subject in handling—

The Salutation, as Follow's—

Q From whence came You.

A. I came from a Right Worshipful  
Lodge of Masters and | Fellows  
belonging to HOLY ST. JOHN.

Q. I greet you well Brother what is  
your Name. A. JACHIN.

The Examination, as Follows—

Q. How shall I know you are a Mason.

A. By True words and Tokens at my  
Entry.

Q. How were you made a Mason.

A. By a True and a Perfect Lodge.

Q. What Lodge are you off.

A. HOLY ST. JOHN

Q. How Stands a Lodge

A. East and West.

Q. How many Lights in a Lodge

A. Twelve.

Q. What are they.

A. Father, Son, Holy Ghost, Sun,  
Moon, Master Mason, | Square, Rule,  
Plum, Line, Mell, and Chizzel.

Q. Whoe is Master of all Lodge's

A. God and the Square.

The Explination of our Secrets is as  
Follow's—

## PRINTED VERSION OF 1725

The Whole Institutions of Free-Masons  
Opened. As also their Words and  
Signs.

FIRST, Observe that all Squares is  
Signs according to every Subject in  
Handling, proved by the 7th Verse  
of the 6th Chap. of the First of  
*Kings*.

*The Salutation as follows.*

FROM whence came You—Answer, I  
came from a right worshipful Lodge  
of Masters and Fellows belonging to  
Holy St. *John*, who doth greet all  
perfect Brothers of our Holy Secret,  
so do I you, if you be one.—

I greet you well Brother, God's Greet-  
ing be at our Meeting, what is your  
Name answer *Jachin*.

*The Examination as follows.*

How shall I know you are a *Free-Mason*.  
By true Words and Tokens at my  
Entering.

How were you made a *Mason*.

By a true and perfect Lodge.

What Lodge are you of,  
answer, St. *John*.

How Stands a Lodge.

*South, East and West*.

How many Lights belongs to a Lodge.

Twelve,

what are they.

*Father, Son, Holy Ghost, Sun, Moon,*  
*Master, Mason, Square, Rule, Plum,*  
*Line, Mell and Cheisal.*

Who is Master of all Lodges,

God, and the Square.

*The Explination of our Secrets, is as  
follows.*

<sup>1</sup> The transcript we print has very kindly been corrected by Bro. J. H. Lepper from photographs in G. L. Library of the original manuscripts, as explained in the Postscript to our Reply. [January 15th, 1946].

JACHIN signifies, Strength and BOAZ Beautiful, | and had reference to the two Sons of Abraham, one to | the Free Woman and another to the Bond, and also | to the two Covenants, one of Works, and one of Free | Grace.

*Jachin* and *Boaz*, two Pillars made by *Heirom Jachin*, signifies Strength, and *Boaz* Beautiful . . .

What posture did you receive your Secret Words in.	Q.	In what Posture did you receive our Secret Words.
Kneeling with Square and Compass at my Breast.	A.	Kneeling with <i>Square</i> and <i>Compass</i> at my <i>Breast</i> .
What were you Sworne too.	Q.	WHAT were you sworn to.
For to Hold and Conceal.	A.	For to Heal and Conceal.
What other Tenor did your Oath carry.	Q.	What other Tenor did your Oath carry.
For to Helpe all Perfect Brothers of our Holy Secret,   Fellow Craft or Not.	A.	For to help all perfect Brothers, of our Holy Secret fellow Craft or not.

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JACHIN and BOAZ. Two Brass Pillars of Won | derful Beauty set up in Solomons Porch at the West | end of the Temple. 32 cubits high 12 cubits in Circum | ference.

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The main difference between the two documents lies not in the wording of the questions and answers, but in the omission from the MS. version of 1724 of certain matter contained in the printed version of 1725, as, for example, explanations concerning the reason Masonry received a secret, the foundation words, the primitive word, and the five points of fellowship. There is, however, one respect in which the earlier document is fuller than the later document, viz., in the account it gives of the two pillars set up in the Porch of Solomon's Temple. Both versions state that Jachin signifies "strength" and Boaz "beautiful", although in the marginal note to 1 *Kings*, vii, 21, in the A.V. Jachin is defined as "he shall establish" and Boaz as "in it is strength". Possibly there was some confusion between these two pillars and three other pillars which had certainly been introduced into Masonry by 1730, and not improbably earlier. We refer to the three pillars called Wisdom, Strength and Beauty, which are said to support a Lodge, a subject discussed a little more fully below in connection with the *Dialogue*. The *Whole Institution* adds two further statements concerning Jachin and Boaz which are not contained in *The Whole Institutions of Free-Masons Opened*, or, so far as we recollect, in any other early catechism. These are (i) the statement that the two pillars had reference to the two sons of Abraham, and also to the two covenants; and (ii) the statement that the two pillars were 32 cubits high, a figure, incidentally, which does not agree either with the 18 cubits of 1 *Kings*, vii, 15, or with the 35 cubits of 2 *Chron.*, iii, 15.

One other difference between the two documents lies in their immediate provenance. The MS. version, to judge by the almost illegible name and address, was not improbably associated with Bristol, if it did not actually originate there. The broadsheet, printed by Wm. Wilmot on the Blind-Key, was a Dublin publication. The fairly close connection at that period between Bristol and Ireland makes it not impossible that a masonic catechism familiar in the West Country seaport should be known in Dublin.

# A DIALOGUE BETWEEN SIMON AND PHILIP

The *Dialogue* consists of two parts. The first is a series of questions and answers which falls into three sections, the questions being asked by Simon in the first section, by Philip in the second, and once again by Simon in the third. The second part consists of a number of notes or explanations on certain answers contained in the first part. In our *Early Masonic Catechisms* we print the *Dialogue* arranged in this way. Here we print each Note immediately following the answer to which it relates. The questions and answers are printed in ordinary type and the original Notes in small type, all slightly indented, to distinguish them from our running comments printed in ordinary type without indentation.

## A DIALOGUE BETWEEN SIMON A TOWN MASON & PHILIP A TRAVELING MASON<sup>1</sup>

SIM. Sr. I have just received inclosed in a letter a piece of | Paper  
in this form ☐ pray what do you mean by it.

PHIL. I am a Stranger, Want company, And hearing you was | a  
Brother Mason made bold to summons you.

The piece of paper was doubtless similar to that mentioned among the signs of *Sloane MS. 3329* of c. 1700: "Another signe is by lending you . . . a bit of paper cut in the forme of a Square on receipt of wch. you must come from wt. place or company soever you are in by virtue of your oath". Reference to such a piece of paper is also contained in *The Free-Masons, an Hudibrastic Poem* of 1722/3:

A man when he needs must drink  
Sends letters without pen and ink  
Unto some brother who's at hand  
And does the message understand:  
The paper's of the shape that's square,  
Thrice folded with the utmost care.<sup>2</sup>

Something of the same idea is reflected in an entry in the "Short Dictionary" of the *Briscoe* pamphlet of 1724: "*Paper*. To send a piece of *Paper* done up like a Letter, tho' there is nothing writ in it, signifies the Member to whom it is sent must be at the *Butcher's Head Tavern* by *Charing-Cross*, at Four of the Clock in the Afternoon."

SIM. And are you a Mason.

PHIL. (a) I am (so taken to be by all Fellows, and Brothers)

(a) I am so taken to be by all Fellows and Brothers. This is | the way  
that Old Masons answer this question. But the | New Masons under  
J. T. Desaguliers Regulation answer | only I AM.

The early catechisms provide a variety of answers to the question, "Are you a Mason?" Thus the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* and *A Mason's Confession* answer "Yes"; *Sloane MS. 3329* "Yes I am a freemason"; *A Mason's Examination* "Yes indeed that I am"; *The Mystery of Free-Masonry* "I am", and *Masonry Dissected* "I am so taken and accepted amongst Brothers and Fellows".

<sup>1</sup> The transcript we print has very kindly been corrected by Bro. J. H. Lepper from photographs in G. L. Library of the original manuscripts, as explained in the Postscript to our Reply. [January 15th, 1946].

<sup>2</sup> An explanation of the method of folding is given in *Misc. Lat.*, xvi, 56.

SIM. And how shall I know you to be a Mason.

PHIL. (b) By Words, Signs, Tokens and Points of my Entrance.

(b) By Words, Signs, Tokens and Points of my entrance. How | the Old Masons and New differ. The New Masons answer By | Signs, Tokens and Points of my Admittance.

The omission of "Words" from the answer to this question would appear to be a good deal older than the Notes of the *Dialogue* would have us believe: the expression does not occur in the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* of 1696, in the *Sloane MS.* 3329 of c. 1700, or in *A Mason's Examination* of 1723. It appears in the related series, *The Whole Institution of Masonry*, 1724, *The Whole Institutions of Free-Masons Opened*, 1725, and the *Graham MS.*, 1726, but not in *The Mystery of Free-Masonry*, 1730, or in *Masonry Dissected* of the same year. The expression "points of my admittance" apparently occurs in none of the early catechisms, all of which read "points of my entry", "entering", or "entrance".

SIM. And whats the Word of a Mason?

PHIL. (c) The word is Right

(c) The Word is Right. The answer is Subtle enough. The Word | of a Mason is Boaz. But they answer the word is Right and | they'l Letter the Word with you &c. Is to guard against Pretenders | imposing on them. Besides Free masons make use of the Word | Right as often as they can with Sence introduce it into conversa | tion because everything they do is right as their Right bended | Knee, their Right hand upon the Bible &c.

SIM. If it be Right give it me Right.

PHIL. I'll Letter with you, If you please.

SIM. Give me the first Letter, and I'll give you the second.

PHIL. B. SIM. O. PHIL. A. SIM. Z.

PHIL. The Word (d) then is BOAZ.

(d) The Word then is Boaz. this is the word of a Mason which is | taken from the 7th Chap. 1 Kings, 21st. verse And he set up the Pillars | in the Porch of the Temple And he set up the right Pillar and call'd | the name thereof JACHIN and he set up the left Pillar and call'd | the named thereof Boaz. Which verse is read to you after you | are sworn, And very often the whole Chapter.

The lettering of the Word occurs both in *The Mystery of Free-Masonry* and in *Masonry Dissected*.

[PHIL.] but as you are a Stran | ger to me, as I am to you, And we in good Policy are not | to answer above Three questions proposed least we should be | imposed on by a Pretender, I ask you, what are Signs.  
SIM. Signs (c) are all Squares, Angles, and Perpendiculars.

(c) Here the New Masons have [? omit] the Word. All. and answer only, | Squares, Angles and Perpendiculars.

The answer in *Masonry Dissected* closely resembles that in the *Dialogue*.

PHIL. And what are Tokens.

SIM. (f) All Brotherly gripes on the hand by which Brothers | distinguish one another.

(f) All Brotherly gripes on the hand &c. Which is when they | shake you by the Hand they presse the first Finger's knuckle on your | Right hand which they call Boaz the pillar. If he has pass'd Fellow | craft or Warden he presses with his Thumb the next long finger's | knuckle which is called JACHIN. the right Pillar—for Jachin is | the word of a Warden.



The answer to this question in Prichard is somewhat similar, viz., "certain regular and brotherly gripes".

PHIL. And what are points of your Entrance?

SIM. To Heal and Conceal the Secrets (g) of a Mason.

(g) To Heal and Conceal this [is] part of the Old Oath, but the New Mason's [? do] it. By pointing to their left Breast with their Finger.

The expression "Heal and Conceal", or its equivalent, "Heile and Conceal", "Hear and Conceal", or "Hail and Conceal", occurs in most early catechisms.

PHIL. How was you admitted a Mason

SIM. By (h) three knocks on the Door the last at a double | distance of time from the former and much larger.

(h) By three solemn Knocks at the Door the last a double | distance of Time and much larger. At the door before you are admitted | stands an Entred Prentice with a drawn Sword to guard against | droppers, as they call them, from Hearnking. For in this they are | very Cautious, and the Question is frequently ask'd Is the House | Tiled ? If safe from hearing the Answer is T'is Tiled. If not or any | Person in Company not a Mason, UNTILED. And the Junior Prentice takes you by the hand and knocks three times at the Door. The | Master asks who's there. And the Prentice answers. One that has | a desire to be made a Mason. The Master reply's Bring him in. | N.B. The reason of those three Knocks is not known to Prentices | but to the Master, which is from HIRAM the Grand Master in | SOLOMON'S TEMPLE. Being murdered by his three Prentices and | was dispatch'd by the third Blow the last Prentice gave him and | this because he would not discover the secrets to them.

This is a different, and probably older, explanation than that contained in the Second Section of the First Lecture, which states that the three distinct knocks allude to "An ancient and venerable exhortation: Seek, and ye shall find; ask, and ye shall have; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." Three other catechisms refer to knocks, without offering an explanation. According to *Sloane MS. 3329*, "Another signe is knocking at any door two little knocks and the third a big one". *A Mason's Examination* states that "when you would enter a Lodge, you must knock three times at the door". To the question "How got you admittance?" Prichard answers "By three great knocks". We discuss the problem of knocks a little more fully at the end of the paper.

PHIL. What was the first question that the Master ask'd you | when you was admitted.

SIM. Whither it was of my own free will that I came | thither to be made a Mason. I answer'd YES.

PHIL. What did you see before you were made a Mason.

SIM. Nothing that I understood.

PHIL. What did you see afterwards.

SIM. Three grand Lights.

There does not appear to be anything corresponding to these questions and answers in other early catechisms.

PHIL. What do you call them.

SIM. The Sun, The Moon, and the Master. (i)

(i) The Sun, The Moon and the Master Is three large candles in | large wooden Candlesticks carv'd in all the Orders and plac'd | in a Triangular form upon the Lodge. The Lodge's as Contra [see diagrams] | is commonly made, with white tape nail'd to the Floor round | as you see the letters E for East and S for South &c. are made of | thin Silver or Tin very thin, And likewise the letter G at the top | in the new constituted Lodge's is a Quadrant, a Square, a pair of | Compasses and Plum line placed at the

top of the Lodge. The | Officers of the Lodge stand upright in their proper places with | their Right foot makeing a Square upon their Left their left | hand hanging down in a perpendicular line their right hand | upon their left Breast makeing a Square with their Fingers and | Thumb, with their white Aprons on, And Gloves stich't on their | right side. This is the Posture and great sign that will fetch any | Mason from the top of a House, and is call'd the Posture of a MASON.

We discuss the subject of the form of the Lodge below.

PHIL. How do they [the Sun, the Moon and the Master] Rule and Govern?

SIM. The Sun the Day, the Moon the Night, the Master the | Lodge.

Most of the early catechisms contain a question regarding the number of Lights in the Lodge. The answers vary considerably; among those which specify three lights, the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* describes them as "the master mason, the warden and the setter croft"; *Sloane 3329* as "the sun, the master and the square"; *The Grand Mystery* as "Father, Son and Holy Ghost"; *A Mason's Confession* as "the sun, the sea and the level"; *Masonry Dissected* as "Sun, Moon and Master Mason". *The Whole Institution of Masonry, The Whole Institutions of Free-Masons Opened* and the *Graham MS.* ennumerate twelve lights, viz., Father, Son, Holy Ghost, Sun, Moon, Master Mason, Square, Rule, Plum, Line, Mell and Chisel. Most catechisms do not ask the functions of the lights; *Masonry Dissected* does so, and gives a very similar answer to that in the *Dialogue*.

PHIL. Where stood your Master

SIM. In the East

PHIL. Why in the East

SIM. To wait the rising of the Sun to sett the Men | to their work.

PHIL. Where stood the Warden's?

SIM. In the West.

PHIL. Why in the West.

SIM. To wait the Setting of the Sun and to discharge the | Men from Their Labour.

*The Grand Mystery* and *Masonry Dissected* have somewhat similar questions and answers regarding the Master and the Wardens.

PHIL. Where stood the Fellow Crafts?

SIM. In the South.

PHIL. Why in the South?

SIM. To receive and Instruct all strange Brothers.

PHIL. Where stood the entred Prentices

SIM. In the North to Heal and Conceal and wait of the | Master.

The only questions and answers at all comparable with these occur in *Masonry Dissected*: "Q. Where stands the Senior Enter'd 'Prentice? A. In the South. Q. What is his Business? A. To hear and receive Instructions and welcome strange Brothers. Q. Where stands the Junior Enter'd 'Prentice? A. In the North. Q. What is his Business? To keep off all Cowans and Eavesdroppers". [Cf. "an Entred Prentice with a drawn sword" in the *Dialogue's* Note to the question concerning knocks].

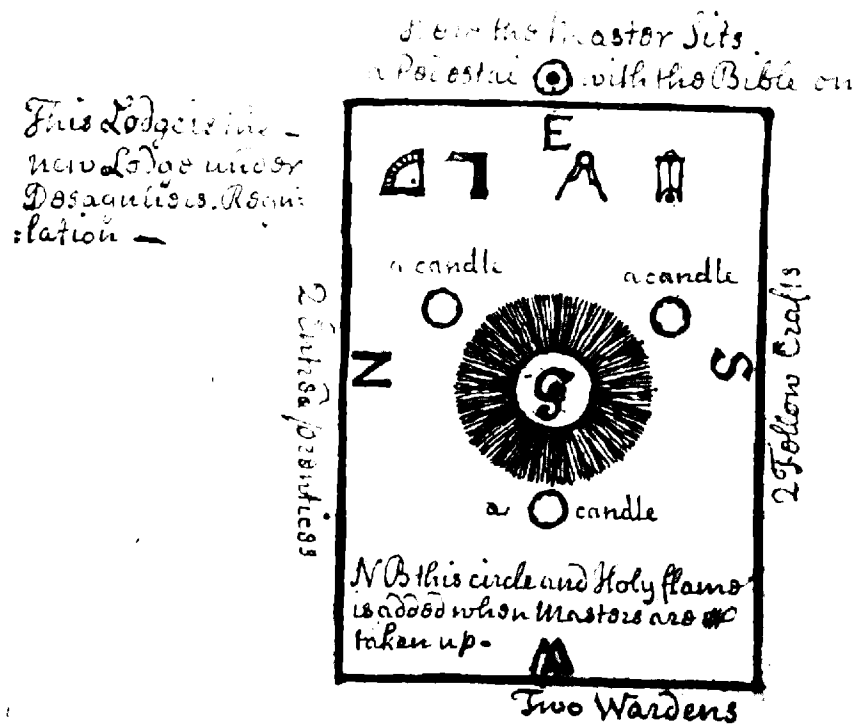
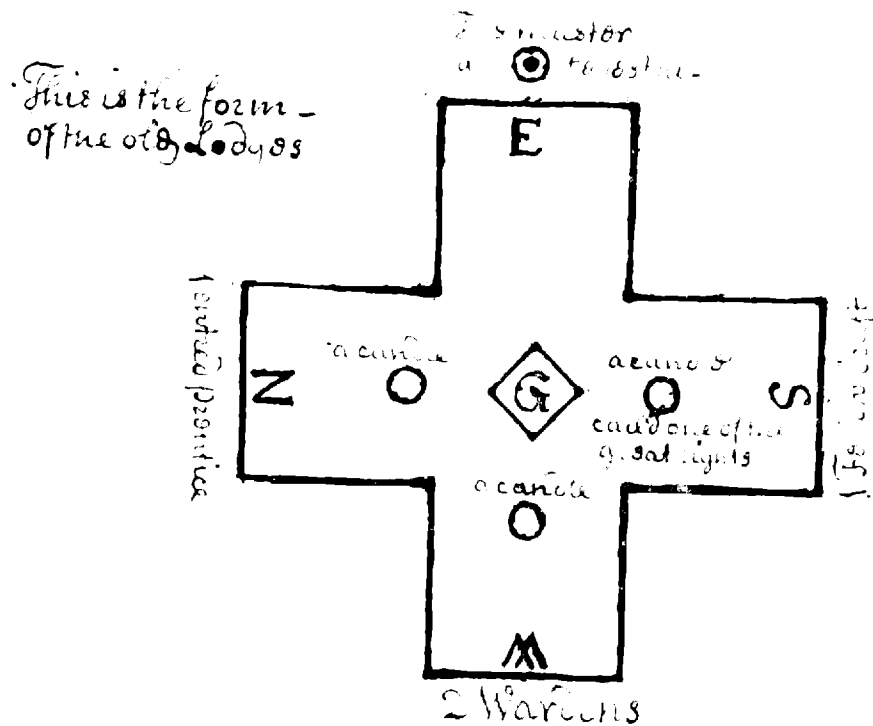
PHIL. You say you see three great Lights, did you see no | other Light?

SIM. Yes one far surpassing Sun or Moon.

PHIL. What was that?

SIM. The Light of the Gospel.

ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.



From a photograph in the Library of the Grand Lodge of England.



These questions and answers appear to have no counterpart in the other early catechisms.

PHIL. Why was you made a Mason?

SIM. For the sake of the Letter G. (k)

(k) You may Observe why G. is placed in the middle of the Lodge.

PHIL. What does it signifye

SIM. GEOMITRY

PHIL. Why GEOMITRY?

SIM. Because it is the Root and foundation of all Arts | and Sciences.

Reference to the Letter G occurs in an advertisement of 1726 about Antediluvian Masonry quoted by Sadler (*A.Q.C.*, xxiii, 325). The only other early catechism with somewhat similar questions and answers is *Masonry Dissected*: "Q. Why was you made a Fellow-Craft? A. For the sake of the letter G. Q. What does that G denote? A. Geometry or the fifth Science".

PHIL. And pray how much mony had you in your pocket | when you was made a Free Mason

SIM. None att all (l)

(l) None at all. This is a very cunning Question to discover a | Pretender because they dismiss you of all Mettle about you as your | mony And your Buckles from your Shoes &c. and give this reason | for it. That at the building of the Temple nothing of Mettle was | heard. According to the 6 Chap 1 Kings 7 verse: And the House | when it was in building was built of Stone made ready before | it was brought thither. So that there was neither hammer | nor Ax nor any tool of Iron heard in the House while it was | in Building.

The same idea is conveyed in the *Graham MS.*—"How came you into the Lodge? poor and penylesse blind and ignorant of our secrets"—and in *Masonry Dissected*—"How did he bring you [to the Lodge]? Neither naked nor cloathed, barefoot nor shod, deprived of all Metal . . ."—

PHIL. And how was you made a Mason

SIM. Neither Naked nor Cloathed, Standing nor Lying, Kneeling | nor Standing, Barfoot nor Shod, but in due form.

PHIL. How is that Form?

SIM. Upon my bare bended knee with a pair of Compasses | extended square in my Breast. And then and there I took the | sacred and solemn Oath of a Mason.

These questions and answers are more or less similar to those found in several of the early catechisms.

PHIL. Repeath your Oath.

SIM. I DO Solemnly Vow and Protest before GOD and this Wor | shipful Company that I will Heal or Hear, Conceal and never | Reveal the Secrets or Secrecy of a Mason or Masonry that has | been heretofore or shall be here or hereafter disclosed unto | me, to neither Man, Woman nor Child, neither print them, | stamp them or Engrave them or cause them to be written | stampd or Engraved upon anything Moveable or Immoveable | or any other ways. Whereby the Secrets of a Mason or Masonry | may be discovered. Upon the Penalty of my Heart pluck'd from | my Left breast, my Tongue pluck'd from the roof of my mouth, | my Throat cutt, my Body to be torn to pieces by Wild Horses, to | be bury'd in the Sands of the Sea where the Tide flowes in 24 | Hours, taken up and burn't to Ashes and Sifted where the | four winds blow that there may be no more Remembrance of | me. SO HELP ME GOD.

This oath bears a general resemblance to those in *The Mystery of Free-Masonry* and in *Masonry Dissected*.

[SIM.] then the SENIOR WARDEN | put me on a White apron with these Words. I put you on the | Badge of a Mason, more Ancient and Honorable then the | Knights of the Garter.

There appears to be no comparable statement in other early catechisms.

PHIL. I am satisfied you are a Mason by the Repeating | of your Oath. If you please you may ask me what Questions | you think proper.

SIM. I ask you where your Lodge was kept

PHIL. In the Vale of Jehosophat out of the Cackling of a Hen, | the Crowing of a Cock, the barking of a Dog.

Most of the early catechisms have a somewhat similar question and answer.

SIM. How high was your Lodge.

PHIL. As high as the Heavens and as low as the Earth (m)

(m) As low as the Earth as high as the Heavens because all | Lodges were kept formerly in the open Fields.

Somewhat similar answers occur in *Sloane 3329*, *Dumfries No. 4*, *Trinity College Dublin MS.* and *Masonry Dissected*.

SIM. How many Pillars had your Lodge

PHIL. Three

SIM. What did you call them

PHIL. Beauty (n) Strength and Wisdom.

(n) Beauty Strength and Wisdom. These three things are | necessary to all great Buildings.

SIM. What do they represent?

PHIL. Beauty to Adorn, Strength to Support, And Wisdom | to Contrive.

Three other early catechisms refer to Pillars. In *Dumfries No. 4* we find "Q. How many pillars is in your lodge. A. Three. Q. What are these. A. Ye square, the compas & ye bible"; in *The Grand Mystery* we have "Q. How many Pillars? A. Two, Jachin and Boaz. Q. What do they represent? A. Strength and Stability of the Church in all Ages"; in *Masonry Dissected* it runs "Q. What supports a Lodge? A. Three great Pillars. Q. What are they called? A. Wisdom, Strength and Beauty. Q. Why so? A. Wisdom to contrive, Strength to support and Beauty to Adorn."

SIM. What Lodge are you of

PHIL. Of the Right Worshipful Lodge of St. John's

St. John's is the answer given in most of the early catechisms, including *Dumfries No. 4*. The exceptions are the *Edinburgh Register House* and *Chetwode Crawley MSS.*, which refer to Kilwinning, and *A Mason's Examination*, which replies St. Stephen's.

SIM. How many Signs has a Free Mason.

PHIL. Five

SIM. What do you call them

PHIL. PEDESTAL—MANUAL—PECTORAL—GUTTERAL— | ORAL.

*The Grand Mystery* gives the signs as Gutteral, Pedestal, Manual and Pectoral, and *Masonry Dissected* as Gutteral, Pectoral, Manual and Pedestal. No catechism

to our knowledge has "Oral" among the signs, apart from the *Dialogue*. It should be noted, however, that the *Edinburgh Register House* and *Chetwode Crawley MSS.* have "Ear to Ear" among the Five Points of Fellowship, which might account for "Oral" [*i.e.* "aural"]. Three of the other signs mentioned, namely, "Pedestal", "Manual" and "Pectoral", might be explained in the same way, though these are not the explanations offered in the Sixth Section of the First Lecture, where, incidentally, no explanation of "Oral" is given.

This concludes the *Dialogue*. There remain to be considered three points which were too long for discussion in our running commentary, together with the problems of the authenticity of the catechism and its probable date.

*The Knocks.* Triple performance of an act in ritual was not uncommon, as the author of *A Defence of Masonry* shows (see our *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p. 169). To his examples from classical antiquity there may be added one from ecclesiastical practice. In consecrating a church according to Durandus (*The Symbolism of Churches* . . . translated and edited by Neale and Webb, Leeds, 1843) the bishop made three circuits outside, and knocked on the door at the completion of each, the door being opened at the third knocking. "Rightly . . . doth the bishop strike three times, because that number is most known and sacred; and in any consecration the Bishop ought to smite the doors three times, because without the invocation of the Trinity there can be no sacrament in the Church". Neither this nor the instances cited in *A Defence of Masonry* explain the additional force in the third stroke, "two little knocks and the third a big one", as *Sloane 3329* has it; but it may be regarded as natural enough to work up to a climax, in knocking, as in other activities. That perhaps also explains the postman's *rat-tat-TAT*.

*The Pillars.* Three sets of pillars occur in early masonic documents. First there are the *two* pillars, one which would not sink and the other which would not burn, which are referred to in the historical or legendary section of most versions of the *MS. Constitutions of Masonry*. They are traditionally explained as those on which the seven Liberal Arts and Sciences were carved to keep them from perishing by flood or fire. Second, there are the *two* pillars set up by Solomon in the Porch of the Temple. These are mentioned by name in most of the early catechisms, including the *Dialogue* and *Masonry Dissected*. Third, there are the *three* figurative pillars, Wisdom, Strength and Beauty, which occur in both the *Dialogue* and in *Masonry Dissected*. Later, these pillars were given concrete form. Very possibly the three pillars in the frontispiece of the 1731 edition of *Cole's Constitutions* are intended to represent Wisdom, Strength and Beauty. At one stage, apparently, to judge by early tracing boards, Wisdom was symbolised by a Doric pillar (see W. W. Covey-Crump, *Misc. Lat.*, v, 19), but the conventional arrangement has come to be to represent Wisdom by an Ionic pillar, Strength by a Doric pillar, and Beauty by a Corinthian pillar. As such, they appear on every Grand Lodge Certificate issued by the Grand Lodge of England; they are also represented by the Columns of the Master and his two Wardens.

There occur in later eighteenth-century masonic documents yet two other pillars, viz., the Pillars of Cloud and Fire which went before the Israelites in their journey through the Wilderness (*Ex.*, xiii, 21). These two pillars are associated by masonic writers with the two pillars set up by Solomon in the Porch of the Temple. According to Wellins Calcott, *Candid Disquisition*, 1769, the pillar on the right hand represented the pillar of cloud, and that on the left the pillar of fire. A somewhat similar statement is still to be found in the Third Section of the Second Lecture.

*Old and New Masons.* Four of the Notes of the *Dialogue* and the two diagrams contrast what is stated to have happened among "Old Masons" on the one hand, and "New Masons under the J. T. Desaguliers Regulation"

on the other. Presumably the terms "Old Masons" and "New Masons" are alternative descriptions to those commonly known to masonic students as "Antients" and "Moderns". The "Regulation" mentioned is probably that referred to by Dr. Desaguliers on 30th August, 1730 (*Q.C.A.*, x, 128), when he recommended to the consideration of Grand Lodge "the Resolution of the last Quarterly Communication for preventing any false Brethren being admitted into Regular Lodges". On 12th April, 1809, Grand Lodge 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". In order better to carry into effect this decision, the Special Lodge of Promulgation was warranted in October, 1809, and from the minutes of that Lodge (see Hextall, *A.Q.C.*, xxiii, 37 *folg.*) it is possible to obtain a fair idea of the matters on which Antients and Moderns differed in the early nineteenth century. Quite recently, Bro. J. Heron Lepper listed in his paper on "The Traditioners" what in his opinion were the more important changes in masonic ritual introduced by the premier Grand Lodge about 1730. The distinctly trivial modifications, which, according to the Notes of the *Dialogue*, differentiated Old and New Masons, find no place either in the minutes of the Lodge of Promulgation or in Bro. Lepper's paper. That, however, does not prove that they are not what they claim to be. Most of the deviations from the ancient landmarks, indicated in the Promulgation minutes and in Bro. Lepper's paper, were probably the result of gradual developments rather than changes suddenly introduced by Grand Lodge. The trivial alterations in ritual suggested in the *Dialogue*, assuming that the original answers were well-known *clichés*, might quite well have been made by instruction of Grand Lodge in order to detect masons who did not belong to Regular Lodges, *i.e.*, Lodges under the ægis of the premier Grand Lodge.

[*The collective effect of the Comments has been to make us change our views concerning "Old Masons", "New Masons" and "the Desaguliers Regulation". We print the foregoing paragraph, however, exactly as it was communicated to the Lodge, but it should be read in conjunction with our Reply printed on page 20 below.*]

The alteration in the form of the Lodge is a different problem, as presumably that had nothing to do with detecting irregular masons. It is generally believed that one innovation introduced by Dr. Desaguliers and his friends was the use of tape, nails, moveable letters, etc., in place of the former system of drawing the Lodge with chalk or charcoal on the stone floor of the room in which the Lodge met, the new system being ultimately replaced by the use of the Lodge Board. This, at least, would appear to be the implication of the following passage from an advertisement of 1726 on Antediluvian Masonry quoted by Sadler (*A.Q.C.*, xxiii, 325):—

There will be several Lectures on Ancient Masonry, particularly on the significance of the Letter G and how and after what manner the Antediluvian Masons form'd their Lodges, shewing what innovations have lately been introduced by the Doctor and some other of the Moderns, with their Tape, Jacks, Moveable Letters, Blazing Stars, &c. to the great Indignity of the Mop and Pail [with which the chalk or charcoal drawings of the Lodge were removed].

Although the advertisement uses the terms "Ancient" and "Modern", it relates to a change made some years before 1730, due probably to the floor coverings of the rooms in which the more aristocratic lodges tended to meet. In any case, there is no suggestion in the *Dialogue* that the use of tape and nails was an innovation made under the Desaguliers Regulation of 1730. It is to an alteration in the form of the Lodge that attention is drawn: whereas



the form of the Lodge under the Desaguliers Regulation is said to have been rectangular, the form of the old Lodges is shown as cruciform. We know of no confirmatory evidence that can be quoted in support of this particular form, though there is evidence to show that the form of the Lodge was not always rectangular. In the *Thomas Carmick MS.* of 1727, under the heading "This figure represents the Lodge", there appears a triangular drawing (see facsimile in *A.Q.C.*, xxii, following p. 112). The practice of setting up a Lodge as a triangle was apparently followed by some Continental Lodges as late as 1746, as is shown by two pages of the minute book of a Hanoverian Lodge reproduced by Bro. Julius F. Sachse in *A.Q.C.*, xxiii, facing page 141.

*Authenticity of the Dialogue.* For most statements contained in the *Dialogue* confirmation can be found in other early catechisms, as we have endeavoured to show above. There are, however, at least three respects in which the *Dialogue* differs from other early catechisms. (i) No other catechism differentiates between Old and New Masons, either in the matter of ritual, or in the matter of the form of the Lodge. (ii) No other catechism causes the Examiner and Examinee to exchange rôles. (iii) No other catechism contains counterparts to certain of the questions and answers which occur in the *Dialogue*. These distinguishing features of the *Dialogue* do not appear, however, to reflect upon its authenticity, which seems to us to be as good, or as bad, as that of other early catechisms. We are disposed to think that the *Dialogue* may have originated as a simple set of test questions and answers among operative masons, in some respects comparable with the *Edinburgh Register House* and *Chetwode Crawley MSS.* In those cases, however, the questions were presumably asked in circumstances precluding doubt as to the *bona fides* of the Examiner, as for example when a stranger was seeking admission to a recognised Lodge. The *Dialogue*, on the other hand, has in mind the case of two supposed masons, right away from a Lodge, attempting to prove each other. To this simple operative catechism additions were not improbably made in the course of time under speculative influence. We have in mind the questions and answers about the Three Pillars, but more especially the request to repeat the oath, which appears to be a relatively late version, and in any case out of place in a set of test questions and answers. Again, operative masons would not be interested in the Desaguliers Regulation, which seems to point to the *Dialogue* being used by speculatives at the time when the version printed here was set down in writing.

*Date of the Dialogue.* As the *Dialogue* is undated, and Bro. Salisbury's MS. is not at present available for examination, reliance has to be placed on internal evidence. In its present form the catechism appears in certain respects to possess more affinity with the later pre-1731 catechisms than with the earlier ones. On the other hand, the simple test questions and answers of which it largely consists bring to mind the questions masons used to put to those who professed to have the Mason Word, before they would acknowledge them. In that respect it resembles the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* of 1696 rather than the much more elaborate ritual of *Masonry Dissected*. The Notes, with their references to "Desaguliers Regulation", must be later than August, 1730. On the other hand, the fact that the terms "Old Masons" and "New Masons" are used with the same meaning as the more usual expressions "Antient Masons" and "Modern Masons", suggests that the Notes were written before the terms "Antient" and "Modern" were well established, or say before 1751, *i.e.*, before the establishment of the Antient Grand Lodge. We are disposed to think that the document which we print is a late version (say *circa* 1730) of an earlier catechism, to which notes of a slightly later date (say *circa* 1740) had been added. As this particular copy of the catechism was presumably made at the same time that the Notes were set down in writing, we suggest *circa* 1740 as the date of the document. If and when Salisbury's MS. is traced and examined, this

provisional date may have to be modified. It might prove that the document was an early nineteenth-century copy of a catechism that was many decades older. We can only express the hope that the printing of this particular version of the *Dialogue*, first in our *Early Masonic Catechisms*, and now in *A.Q.C.*, will bring to light not only the MS. once owned by Lister Salisbury, but some other version or versions of the same catechism, which will help to elucidate some of the uncertainties at present associated with the *Dialogue*.

[Our previously-mentioned change of views concerning "Old Masons", "New Masons", and "the Desaguliers Regulation" disposes us to date the catechism as about 1725 instead of about 1740. We print the last paragraph of our paper as originally written, but it should be read in conjunction with our Reply printed on page 20 below.]

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A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to the authors of the paper, on the proposition of Bro. I. Grantham and seconded by Bro. Poole; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, W. W. Covey-Crump, F. L. Pick, F. R. Radice and J. Heron Lepper.

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Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

In the unavoidable absence of the Worshipful Master it is my privilege to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Bro. Knoop and to his colleague for their very interesting paper. In doing so I would in the first place pay my tribute to Bro. Cramphorn for the happy thought which led him to make a copy of these two early catechisms while the documents were temporarily in his possession. In the second place I would congratulate Bro. Knoop on the good fortune which enabled him to incorporate these catechisms in his latest publication, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, and on his re-arrangement of the original text and notes for the purposes of this paper.

The information obtained by Bro. Knoop from the Secretary of the Masonic Study Society suggests that the missing documents once owned by Bro. Lister Salisbury must now be regarded as "missing, presumed destroyed". If it had not been for Bro. Cramphorn's happy inspiration these two catechisms might never have been brought to the notice of any competent student. It is to be hoped that the loss of these documents will remind us all of the desirability of making adequate provision for the safe custody and careful examination of all masonic papers in our possession at the time of our death.

I have good cause to remember Bro. Salisbury's enthusiasm for the Craft, for it was that enthusiasm which led me on one occasion to accompany him to Bristol for the purpose of "passing the veils"—an excursion which entailed arriving in London on the return journey at about four o'clock in the morning. During the course of his masonic career I had many conversations with Bro. Salisbury, and I am confident that he never mentioned either of these two catechisms to me. The title of the *Dialogue* is so distinctive that if he had mentioned it the allusion would not have passed unnoticed.

It may perhaps be of interest to the brethren if I conclude these remarks by giving a brief demonstration of the method of folding the paper missive, to which reference is made in the opening question and answer of the *Dialogue*.

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Bro. II. POOLE said:—

It is my privilege to second the vote of thanks to Bro. Knoop which the W.M. has proposed, and I have the greatest pleasure in doing so—a pleasure tempered by the regret, which I am sure we all feel most sincerely, that Bro.

Knoop is still such a sick man, and that he is unable in consequence to be present to-day. In spite of this, I think we must all agree in our congratulations to him for his steady flow of papers—a Masonic output which surely must be second to none in these days.

I have only two remarks to make on this *Dialogue*. Though it bears in itself the hall-mark of genuine relationship to the MS. and printed catechisms of the period, it is in its arrangement so completely unlike any other that it is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to its purpose. But one thing suggests itself to me—that it may very well have been prepared for publication in some form: the whole make-up, including the formal title, seems to me to point in this direction; and it is still possible that such an item may turn up among the files of some journal as yet unexplored.

My other remark is based on the phrase "Heal or hear" in the Oath. This is exactly the sort of thing that occurs when a copyist meets an unfamiliar word in a somewhat indifferently-written MS.; and, though by itself rather slender evidence, it does suggest that this MS. was itself copied from an earlier one.

As to the date, we have little to go on, and Bro. Knoop's guess may very well be a correct one. It is very noticeable how often Prichard seems to be the source of the detail; and it is safe to date the document as after 1730. I am, however, inclined to doubt his suggestion that it is based on "a late version (say *circa* 1730) of an earlier catechism", as I see no reason to date either its contents or its general make-up at a date earlier than 1730. No positive evidence helps to suggest how much later; but one feels that Bro. Knoop's guess at *circa* 1740 (for it is no more than a guess) cannot be far from the truth.

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Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

Although we have already had *The Whole Institution of Masonry*, 1724, and *A Dialogue between Simon and Philip in Early Masonic Catechisms*, the authors of the paper, now before us, have done well to give the transcripts the wider publicity of *A.Q.C.* Their comments, too, on the texts are useful and illuminating, but after all in the absence of the originals the conclusions arrived at can hardly be regarded as final. Let us hope that the publicity now accorded to the documents may have the result of tracing their present whereabouts.

One point I would like to make is that I am not sure we can rely on the expressions *old* and *new* being variants of *Antient* and *Modern* in a Masonic sense. Have we not an early reference to being Freemasonized the new way in the Dublin Tripos of 1688? There are many things in Freemasonry about which we are still ignorant.

And now for a point which I almost hesitate to make, as it may be regarded as fantastical. Have the names of the participants in the *Dialogue* been arbitrarily selected or have they any special signification? At the back of a Bible (A.V.) in my possession there is a *Table of Proper Names* in which Philip is stated to mean a lover of Horses. That would be quite appropriate for a travelling mason. And we know from the V.S.L., itself, that Simon was called Peter and that Peter means a rock or stone. Let theologians decide whether he was a firm rock on which to found a church or anything else. All Scriptural proper names are not of Hebrew origin and it may be necessary for other Eastern languages to be consulted. Nevertheless I hope some of our learned Brethren will follow up this point to see if there can possibly be anything in it. After all, there is a reason for most things.

My main object in writing is to express my indebtedness to our authors and to ask that I may be allowed to be associated with the vote of thanks which I know will be heartily accorded to them.

BRO. J. HERON LEPPER writes:—

Bro. Knoop merits our thanks for having given this detailed examination of the *Dialogue*, which when published in *Early Masonic Catechisms* gave many of us cause for thought.

Now we have the phrases of the text analysed by comparison with other texts of the same nature. We shall all agree that no scholar better fitted to perform such a task could have been found; but after reading Bro. Knoop's exposition many of us, myself among the number, will still find it hard to arrive at a decision on the evidence available.

The material is unsatisfactory, being a copy of a probable copy of an original which has disappeared. A hard fate has persecuted many Masonic original documents from the time of Stephen Morin onward.

If instinct possessed any right of entry to the columns of *A.Q.C.*, I could express my own opinion about the *Dialogue* in a less equivocal way than I mean to do; for I think that a "psychic bid", even if it came off, would only add to the existing uncertainty.

So I will confine my remarks to a few dull and arid comments.

The "piece of paper in this form" has already been given an explanation in *Miscellanea Latomorum*, as Bro. Knoop points out. This explanation, however, does not tally with the way in which I was taught, unofficially of course, in my early Masonic youth how to fold the paper. Any rectangular shape of sheet can be used, and three foldings bring it to the shape of an isosceles rectangular triangle . . . a different kind of "square", in fact.

The *Dialogue* raises the interesting question: what were the changes introduced at one fell swoop in 1730, quite apart from those that developed later in the eighteenth century? I think we can be certain that the words of the first two Degrees were transposed; and the methods of preparation reversed at Initiation.

To conclude: if we assume that the *Dialogue* is what it purports to be, either an "exposure" or an *aide mémoire*, what date shall we assign to it?

Bro. Knoop suggests 1740. I consider that impossible, for the compiler did not know about the transposition of words or the altered methods of preparation, which he must have known, if he knew anything at all about the "New Masons".

If it be genuine, it must be of a date before 1730. Perhaps many years before. We have heard of "Freemasonizing in the New Way" as early as 1688.

If it be not genuine—well, then, each of us may indulge his fancy in speculating about how it came into being; my fancy suggests a compilation from several very much older documents, not a single "catechism that was many decades older", as Bro. Knoop suggests.

However, I shall try to keep an open mind while awaiting the discovery of the Grand Original, and in the meantime offer Bro. Knoop my very sincere thanks for a paper so full of interest, scholarship, and instruction.

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BRO. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP said:—

May I suggest that the incidental reference to "Dr. Desaguliers' Regulation" may bear a signification quite different from that which Bro. Knoop has attributed to it? The point has an important bearing on the determination of the date of this intrinsically interesting document. There are several details in it (which I forbear to recapitulate) which seem to point to a date much earlier than the controversy between "Moderns" and "Antients". They point to the time when Lodges of St. John had not heretofore had their

right to independent existence challenged by what they regarded as an upstart federation, mainly non-operative, in London, which refused fellowship (and even recognition) to all Lodges and Brethren who did not (of course for a fee) obtain a warrant from it. Whether the author of the "Regulation" thus referred to was Desaguliers or George Payne—who succeeded him as Grand Master in 1720—is really immaterial; they were both so closely associated that an action taken by the one might easily be attributed to the other, and in any case the Dedication of Anderson's *Constitutions* (1723) was signed by Desaguliers. The Regulation which so hurt their *amour propre* was doubtless that numbered viii on p. 60.

I have very much pleasure in supporting the vote of thanks.

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Bro. FRED L. PICK writes:—

A paper by Douglas Knoop and G. P. Jones is always received and studied with interest, and *A Dialogue between Simon and Philip* is no exception. It is most unfortunate that the original is missing, probably destroyed, and particularly distressing that the late owner should have attained membership of at least three bodies interested in the advancement of knowledge, Masonic or otherwise, without the exceptional nature of the document being recognised. Fortunately, of the many who must have seen the manuscript, Bro. Cramphorn preserved the copy on which is based this interesting and valuable contribution to our *Transactions*.

The paper missive, as described in *Miscellanea Latomorum*, xvi, was in use in the Honourable United Grand Lodge of Mark Master Masons, now the Ashton Mark Lodge T.I., Dukinfield, during the nineteenth century.

The references to Old and New Masons are interesting and suggestive; it is observed that in every instance the version adopted by the New Masons under Dr. J. T. Desaguliers is slightly shorter and simpler than the Old, and this appears to indicate some simplification or codification of the various forms of ritual in existence at the time of the formation of Grand Lodge. The knocks correspond with those of the present day Netherlands working in the 1<sup>o</sup>, a working which was, I am informed, based on that of our own Modern Grand Lodge. The explanation now given to the Dutch initiate is that the first two typify the zeal of the Freemason for labour, and the last his perseverance.

The work of Bro. Knoop and his colleague may well be saluted in this manner.

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Bro. F. R. RADICE said:—

I also wish to associate myself with the vote of thanks given to the authors. They seem absolutely indefatigable in ferreting out information, and their skill in piecing it together and giving it its just value has notably contributed to the history of our Association. I found their account of these two dialogues very interesting, and in them we may see one stage in the development of part of our ceremonial, using this word in a very wide sense.

I had never heard of the Cruciform shape of the Lodge before. It would seem that in this formation only the part of the room used for working purposes is called the Lodge, the four arms of the Cross including the W.M., the two W.s and the Secretary's table. Presumably all who were not officers sat outside the Cruciform outline, *i.e.*, outside the Lodge in its strictest meaning. But this is mere speculation, and the only support for this idea, a very slight one, is that in some of our Lodges the boundaries of the Lodge are not the walls

of the rectangular room, *e.g.*, a Candidate for Initiation remains outside the "Lodge", though he is inside the room until told to rise and follow . . .

As regards the author's reference to the practice of setting up the Lodge as a triangle, I can give them an additional reference. One of our P.Ms., Bro. Kupferschmidt, in his paper on *A Glimpse at early Freemasonry in Germany*, in *A.Q.C.*, ix, p. 162, informs us that the Lodge of the "Three Golden Swords" at Dresden (1744) was formed in the shape of an isosceles triangle, the W.M. sitting at the apex and the Ws. at the other angles. Bro. Klein's remarks in the discussion which followed the paper are also of interest. He said he had come to the conclusion that Operative Masons' Lodges in the Middle Ages were in the form of a right angle, the Master sitting at the right angle.

The form of the room in which the Sublime Elects (3d degree) of the Carbonari met was also triangular, the Grand Master Sublime Elect sitting in the East at the Apex and the two Assistants at the other two angles. The Carbonarian ritual was largely based on Masonic ceremonial.

Since writing the above, I have been able to find another reference to this point in *A.Q.C.*, vol v, p. 19. There the late Bro. Malczovich states in his article on Freemasonry in Austria and Hungary, with particular reference to Vienna in 1750-1770, that in whatever room a Lodge was held "an oblong quadrangle was drawn with chalk on the floor, *within* which all brethren found room. Later they drew a smaller quadrangle *round* which the brethren assembled. Afterwards the quadrangle was strewn with sand, and symbols temporarily inscribed, finally the drawn and painted tracing board (tapis) became fashionable".

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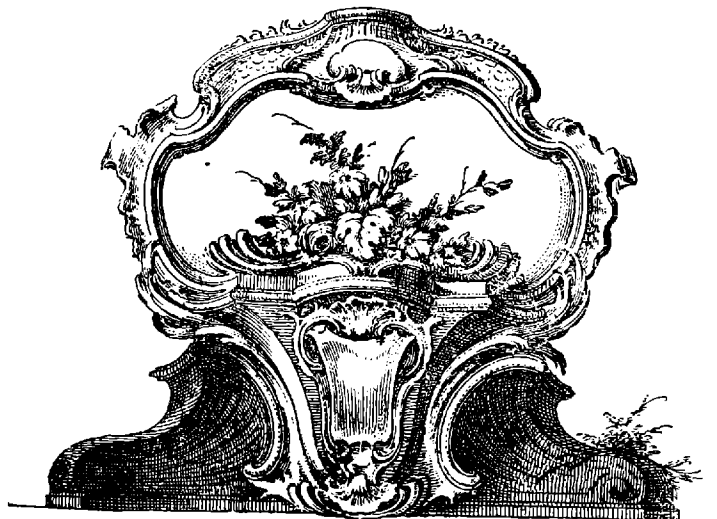
Bro. KNOOP, in reply, *writes*:—

On behalf of my colleague and myself, I have to thank the Brethren who prepared comments on our paper, and none the less heartily because the collective effect of their remarks is to make us abandon our presumptions about the *Dialogue*. Those were (i) that the "Desaguliers Regulation" refers to the action regarding irregular masons taken by Grand Lodge, at the suggestion of Dr. Desaguliers, on 28th August, 1730, and (ii) that the terms "Old Mason" and "New Mason" are equivalent to the terms "Ancient Mason" and "Modern Mason" as commonly understood by masonic students. The difficulties (to which Bro. Lepper particularly draws attention) raised by these presumptions would be decreased if the expressions in question were given a general meaning instead of the somewhat technical sense which we attached to them. We agree that the "Desaguliers Regulation" might well be understood as the written and unwritten rules and practices followed by Grand Lodge and by the private lodges under it, and that the terms "Old Mason" and "New Mason" probably meant operative mason and accepted mason respectively. Desaguliers was very active in Grand Lodge, as its minutes show. References to "the Doctor" in the Letter of Verus Commodus, 1725, and in the antediluvian masonry advertisement of 1726 show that people outside that body regarded him as closely associated with its work. Thus there is no difficulty in taking the "Desaguliers Regulation" to mean the Grand Lodge regime in general. If the expressions "Desaguliers Regulation", "Old Masons" and "New Masons" be interpreted in the way now suggested, the version of the *Dialogue* with notes might have been set down in writing about 1725 and not about 1740. The earlier dating would not only get over the difficulty of lack of reference to the changes introduced into Masonry about 1730, but would also be more in keeping with the character of the catechism. The relatively simple test questions and answers, as we point out in our paper, have more affinity with the earlier than with the later pre-1731 catechisms.

We must, in concluding, express our regret that one object of bringing the *Whole Institution* and the *Dialogue* to the attention of the Lodge has not been achieved, since no light has been thrown on the present location of the manuscript. It may well be, as Bros. Grantham and Pick suggest, that it has been destroyed. Even so, there may be in existence other versions or early copies of the two catechisms, and it is to be hoped that when our paper is printed in *A.Q.C.* some reader will draw attention to other versions of these catechisms, thus providing a wider basis for study and comment.

#### POSTSCRIPT

*January 15th, 1946.*—Since our Reply was written in 1943, the hopes which we expressed in the last paragraph have been partly realized. Last October, Bro. Fred. T. Cramphorn discovered in G.L. Library an album containing a set of photographs of the original manuscript with its three catechisms. It was presented to G.L. Library about 1932, and catalogued as "Photographs". The serial card gives no name of donor; if Bro. Cramphorn is correct in his recollection that Bro. Lister Salisbury lent him the original document to copy about 1930, the chances are that it belonged to Bro. Salisbury about 1932, and that it was he who presented the album of photographs to G.L. Library. The discovery throws no light on the present location of the manuscript, but it has made it possible for our transcripts of *The Whole Institution of Masonry* and of the *Dialogue* to be checked by means of the photographs, and we are greatly indebted to Bro. J. Heron Lepper, who has most kindly undertaken the task of correcting the proofs in this particular respect. Further, the discovery of the photographs has enabled us, by courtesy of Grand Lodge, to reproduce the diagrams of the old and new lodges as in the original.



## FRIDAY, 3rd MARCH, 1944.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 2.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, P.A.G.R., P.M., as W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, P.A.G.R., P.M., Treas.; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—

Bros. A. E. Evans; S. J. Bradford, P.A.G.St.B.; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C.; C. K. Hughes; F. A. Greene, P.A.G.Sup.W., as S.W.; E. Arnold; M. Goldberg; J. F. H. Gilbard; G. Jack; J. A. Burles; J. Johnstone, P.A.G.D.C.; H. Bladon, P.G.D.; Major J. W. M. Hawes; E. Alven; A. F. Hatten; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., as J. W.; J. E. S. Milligan; E. V. Kayley; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; L. G. Wearing; A. F. Cross; A. H. Spencer; J. J. Cooper; J. W. Hamilton-Jones; H. P. Healy; and F. W. Harris.

Also Bro. F. C. O. Wheatley, P.M. Lodge Greenlaw No. 1095, Visitor.

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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.; Wg.-Commdr. W. I. Grantham, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *L.L.B.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, I.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, P.G.Sec., Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.W., Derbys.; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, W.M.; H. C. Bristow, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; F. R. Radice, S.D.; R. E. Parkinson; G. S. Knocker, P.A.G.Sup.W.; W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., J.D.; and H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., I.G.

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One Provincial Grand Lodge and Fourteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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Bro. H. C. Booth read the following paper:—



## THE CULDEES.

BY BRO. H. C. BOOTH



HO were the Culdees? That was how the late Bro. Songhurst greeted me when I visited him one day at 27, Great Queen Street. I was stumped, but I made a mental note then for future investigation when time and circumstances should permit.

The word Culdees came into existence about the early part of the sixteenth century, being a phonetic corruption of certain other words, but the class of people who were signified by the word were of a much earlier date and origin, dating back to the early part of the Christian era. I propose to trace this Sect, by its mode of living, dwellings, and customs, through the centuries.

Before proceeding I wish to draw your attention to a certain fact which has been impressed upon me during my investigations. At a period in history there was a migration, from the shores of the Mediterranean, of a people who passed through Spain, up the western part of France, the western side of England and Scotland, also Ireland, and especially the western islands, the Hebrides and as far north as the Orkneys and Shetlands, leaving in their tracks those megalithic remains which we now call Dolmens, Stone Circles or Standing Stones. There were also raiders from the African shores of the Mediterranean, but they did not stay. The others did settle.

Arthur Ua Clerigh, in his *History of Ireland*, gives an interesting account of these early occupations of Ireland. He says, "There is no evidence that Paleolithic man ever reached Erin, and that the first inhabitants were neolithic men. They were men of short stature, with long heads, dark hair and dark eyes. They came from the south of France, and are known as Fir-Volcæ, commonly called Firbolgs, a sub-denomination of which was the great tribe of the Cat or Cathraige, of which Cairbre Cinnceat became the head. These Volcæ were a powerful people in the South of France in Cæsar's time, occupying the country between the Rhone, the Cevennes and the Garonne.

In Erin the 'Cath' tribes are found from the barony of Cary (Cathraige) in Antrim, to Inis-cathy (Inis Scatterry) in the estuary of the Shannon.

In Scotland a tribe called 'Cait' occupied Caithness, Sutherland, and the Western Islands.

They were probably the Attacoti (*i.e.*, Tuatha Cat), mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus three or four times in connection with the Scoti, but distinct from them."

It was these Neolithic men who built the Dolmens, and possibly the Stone Circles, as the same cup-markings and sculpturings are to be found on both the Dolmens and also the stones of Stone Circles, generally on what are called the "pointer Stone" or Stone of orientation. They are also found on the out-cropping rocks close to the ancient "earthwork Camps", of which I have taken several photographs.

Speaking of the builders of the Dolmens, he says, "All tend to give plausibility to a theory that the route by which those who erected them arrived in Erin was from the South, either down the English Channel or up the western coast of Europe, and so round Lands End and up St. George's Channel, and around the entire coast of Ireland, which island they especially made their own".

Dolmens of the following types, Cromlech, long large dolmens; great tumulus; the Cist; are found, the first in Central France, the valley of the Loire and Seine; the second in Brittany; the third in Logere, Aveyron, Ardeche, and Lozere. They are spread widely over the globe, but are not found everywhere. Their distribution is curious. From France they pass into Spain, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, the Caucasus, Palestine, the North of Persia, and India. They are not found on the Mediterranean east of Corsica, nor in Tripole, Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, or the valley of the Danube.

All three types are found in Ireland. Borlace reckons a total of 780 Dolmens for Ireland, with a preponderance on the West coast.

"The men who built the Dolmens in Sligo must have been a numerous, wealthy tribe, with religions and laws and social order in process of evolution. This we venture to submit was mainly due to the fact that there was direct intercourse between the South-West of France oversea with Ireland, along the route of the Dolmen builders. Erin was not isolated from the rest of the world in neolithic times."

With regard to these early occupations of Ireland, from the Irish Texts we learn—

The first was by Parthelans from what seems to be Maeonia, according to the Psalter of Cashel, about 2680 B.C., and they perished by the plague some 300 years later.

The second, third, and fourth were by Nemedians from Scythia, of one stock, speaking one language, and were later known as the Firvolce. They held possession until the coming of the Gael.

1st Partholans	2680 B.C.
2nd Nemedians	2151 B.C.
3rd Firvolce	1934 B.C.
4th Tuatha Dedanann	1897 B.C.
5th The Gael	1701 B.C.

The fifth occupation was by the Gael, or Milesians, about 1700 B.C. They were tall men, with long skulls and red, golden-yellow, or flaxen hair.

The pedigrees of the Gael are all traced to one or other of the three sons of Gollamh (the soldier), afterwards known as Milesius or Miled, of Spain, *i.e.*, to Eber, Eremon and Ir or to Lugaid, the son of Ith his nephew.

According to the Irish Texts the first coming of the Gael was from the North of Spain. They came as allies of the Firvolce: They were still in occupation at the time of the coming of St. Patrick

These Stone Circles and Megalithic Stones seem to have been looked upon as, what we should call, sacred or holy places. They were later occupied by that cult known as the Druids, who in turn were turned out by those who came to be called Culdees.

This same path seems to have been used by those who first brought Christian teaching to these islands.

Tertullian writing in 201 or 208 A.D. records that districts of the Britanni which the Romans have not reached have yielded to the true Christ. This was some considerable time before the first missionaries of the Latin Roman Church appeared in England.

Were the legends of St. Paul's visit, and also that of Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury, true after all?

These early missionaries or teachers, who traversed the Megalithic path of old, we shall find were followers of the early Eastern Church, and in some respects more akin to what is called the Coptic church, whose rites and tonsure they kept, and especially the date on which they celebrated the Easter festival.

Let us now look at the period immediately preceding the Christian era, the early Eastern church, and the gradual rise of the Monastic system.

Philo Judæus, born about 20 B.C., Hellenistic Philosopher and Theologian, belonging to Alexandria, in his *De Vita Contemplat*, gives an account of the Ascetics of Egypt, and in this he states:—

“ And in every house there is a sacred shrine which is called the holy place and the monastery, in which they retire by themselves and perform all the mysteries of a holy life; bringing in nothing neither meat, nor drink, nor anything else which is indispensable towards supplying the necessities of the body, but studying in that place the laws and the sacred oracles of God enunciated by the holy prophets, and hymns and psalms and all kinds of other things by reason of which knowledge and piety are increased and brought to perfection.

Therefore during six days each of these individuals retiring into solitude by himself, philosophises by himself in one of the places called monasteries, never going outside the threshold of the outer court, and indeed never even looking out.

But on the seventh they all come together as if to meet in a sacred assembly, and they sit down in order, according to their ages, with all becoming gravity, keeping their hands inside their garments, having their right hand between their chest and their dress and the left hand down by their side close to their flank.

And then the eldest of them, who has the most profound learning in their doctrines, comes forward and speaks with steadfast look and with steadfast voice, and with great powers of reasoning, and great prudence, not making an exhibition of his oratorical powers, like the rhetoricians of old or the sophists of the present day, but investigating with great pains and explaining with minute accuracy the precise meaning of the laws, which sits not indeed at the tips of their ears, but penetrates through their hearing into the soul, and remains there lastingly; and all the rest listen in silence to the praises which he bestows on the law, showing their assent only by nods of the head, or the eager look of the eyes”.

The house is separated into two parts by a wall, one for men and the other for women, but so arranged that the women can hear.

They eat nothing of a costly character, but plain bread and a seasoning of salt, which the more luxurious of them do further season with hyssop, and their drink is water from the spring.

“ In the first place these men assemble at the end of seven weeks, venerating not only the simple week of seven days, but also its multiplied power, for they know it to be pure and always virgin, and it is a prelude to a kind of forefeast of the greatest feast, which is assigned to the number of fifty, the most holy and natural of numbers, being compounded of the power of the right-angled triangle, which is the principle of the origination and condition of the whole.

Therefore when they come together clothed in white garments, and joyful and with the most exceeding gravity, when some one of the ephemerutæ (employed in ministrations) before they sit down to meat, standing in order in a row and raising their eyes and hands to heaven, the one because they have learnt to fix their attention on what is worth looking at, and the other because they are free from all reproach of all impure gain, being never polluted under any pretence what ever by any description of criminality which can arise from any means taken to procure advantage, they pray to God that the entertainment may be acceptable and welcome and pleasing.

And after having offered up these prayers the elders sit down to meat, still observing the order in which they were previously arranged, for they do not look on those as elders who are advanced in years and very ancient, but in some cases they esteem those as very young men, if they have attached themselves to the sect only lately, but those whom they call elders are those who from earliest infancy have grown up and arrived at maturity in the speculative portion of philosophy, which is the most beautiful and most divine part of it."

The women join, the men sitting on the right hand and the women on the left. Rugs of the coarsest materials, cheap mats of the most ordinary kind of papyrus of the land.

"After the discourses are finished the young men bring in the table on which is placed that most holy food, the leavened bread with a seasoning of salt, with which hyssop is mingled out of reverence for the sacred table which lies thus in the holy outer temple".

I have quoted fairly fully from Philo's account, using the translation by C. D. Yonge, B.A., because it not only gives a picture of what was happening in the period of, say, 40 A.D. and before the Christian era got going, but it shows the beginning from which the monastic system developed later, and which carried on many of the practices of these early days into the following centuries.

Eusebius Pamphilus, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, has a whole chapter on these Ascetics and Philo's account of them, in which he says they were called Therapeutæ and the women Therapeutrides. He also says St. Mark first proclaimed the Gospel in Egypt and that he established churches in the city of Alexandria.

In his Book V he records the comments of Clement, at Alexandria, who, speaking of Pantænus, head of the Alexandrian school, says—

"The last I met with was the first in excellence. Him I found concealed in Egypt; and, meeting him there, I ceased to extend my search beyond him, as one who had no superior in abilities. These, indeed, preserved the true tradition of the salutary doctrine, which, as given by Peter and James, John and Paul, had descended from father to son."

When the apostles and disciples scattered to preach the Gospel the Apostle John was allotted the region of Asia, now the west part of Turkey in Asia, where he worked until banished to the island of Patmos by the emperor Domitian. On the death of Domitian he returned from exile to govern the churches in Asia, where he finally died and was buried at Ephesus, as Eusebius tells us, in 99 A.D. In confirmation he quotes part of an epistle written by Polycrates, who was bishop of the church of Ephesus, to Victor bishop of Rome, wherein he says—

"Moreover, John, that rested on the bosom of our Lord, who was a priest that bore the sacerdotal plate, and martyr and teacher, he, also, rests at Ephesus."

Regarding the sacerdotal plate as mentioned, Maimon, in his *Treatise of the Implements of the Sanctuary*, says, It was a long plate of gold, two fingers broad and reached from one ear of the priest to the other. Was this the beginning of the tonsure of the early church, which was to distinguish them in the later years?

In a note, further on in the book, to Book V, chap. 24, where the above sacerdotal plate and John are again mentioned, it is stated, "The sacerdotal

plate here mentioned is not to be understood of the Jewish priesthood, for John had no connection with that. It is probable that he, with others, wore a badge like this as the priests of a better covenant."

With regard to the celebration of Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, the Jewish Passover, Eusebius states in Book V, chap. 24, "The bishops of Asia, persevering in observing the custom handed down to them from their fathers, were headed by Polycrates." He also says that this date, the fourteenth day of the moon, in the month Nisan, was observed by the apostles, and mentions Philip and John, also the bishops Polycarp of Smyrna, Thraseas of Eumenia, Sagaris of Laodicea and others.

I mention this date of the celebration of Easter, because in after years it became the great bone of contention between those who were called Culdees and the members of the Roman Latin Church.

Let us now look at the rise of the monastic system.

Following on from Philo's account of the ascetics of Egypt, there is little doubt that the monastic system began there, where St. Antony founded the monastery of Thebaid in A.D. 270. This was followed by one at Tabenisi (Tabenna) by St. Pachomius in A.D. 320 on an island in the Nile.

His rule, known as the "Angels Rule", runs in part, as follows:—

"You shall permit each to eat and drink according to his strength and compel him to labour in proportion to what he eats, and shall not prevent any from eating in moderation or from fasting (*i.e.*, at his choice). You shall impose heavier work on the strongest, and those that eat; lighter on those that are weaker and fast. Let each be clothed at night with a linen tunic, girdled. You shall make separate cells and ordain that three shall remain in each cell. Let each have a melotes (*i.e.*, a white dressed goat-skin) without which let him neither eat nor sleep. However when approaching the Sacraments of Christ, let him undo his girdle and lay aside his Melotes and wear only his cowl 'cuculla')."

St. Basil's rule was the earliest and it remains still unrivalled for richness, variety and culture.

St. Basil was the son of an advocate and Rhetor (public speaker) and made his higher studies in philosophy, law, and literature at Athens, where he had as schoolfellows Gregory Nazianzen and Julian the Apostate.

He went to Egypt and studied the ascetic life there, as well as in Palestine and elsewhere.

He established his monastery in 363 A.D. at Metoza Pontus on the river Iris, where his father had an estate.

He became bishop of Caesarea in 370 A.D.

His rule was in the form of question and answer, the answer being generally a short lecture or discourse on various topics of spiritual interest, admirably suited for reading in chapter. It formed a little code of spiritual discipline.

As regards food, St. Basil prescribes great moderation, the use only of what was necessary to sustain life. The common cheap food of the country with a little oil.

"When they have finished their daily work," says St. Chrysostom, "they seat themselves at table, and truly they have not many dishes. Some only eat bread and salt, others take oil besides. The weaker add herbs and vegetables. Having closed their meal with hymns, they lay themselves down on straw."

St. Honoratus built Lerins in 410 A.D. All are said to have flocked to Honoratus at his monastery at Lerins. It was a school of Theology and Christian Philosophy, as well as an asylum for literature and art.

Cassianus built the monastery of St. Victor near Marseilles in the same year, 410 A.D.

He was probably born in Lesser Scythia, in some trading station of the Marsellaise in that territory, near the mouth of the Danube.

He was educated at Bethlehem, and afterwards went to Egypt, where he spent seven years visiting anchorites and cenobites, from the mouth of the Nile to the first cataract.

The cenobites led a life in common under an abbot or prior.

These early monasteries were schools of Theology and Christian Philosophy as well as asylums for literature and art.

They inculcated the necessity for manual labour in many trades, such as weaving, carpentry, etc., and St. Basil takes great pains to point out that prayer is not to be made a pretext for avoiding it. St. Basil gave his preference to agriculture.

It is noteworthy that there are no vows of celibacy expressly mentioned.

Among the Gael there was no blood-letting or scourging for the mortification of the body. Hard work and plain living, accompanied in very many cases with high thinking, enabled them to dispense with these heroic precautions.

This was the atmosphere in which St. Patrick spent some thirty years, according to Bishop Ultan.

It was on the basis of the rules of Basil and Cassian that the rule of the Irish Monastic system was, as it were, founded.

The emra (eulogy) of Columba 690 has the following:—

“He used Basil’s judgements

He made known books of law as Cassian loved”.

(Stokes, *Rev. Celt.*, xx, 181, 256).

Coming now to Ireland, I would point out that the North-Eastern part of that country was known then as Scotia. Alban (or Scotland) was inhabited by the Picts, except the South-Western portion from the Clyde to what is now called Westmoreland, which was inhabited by the Britons of Strathclyde, and South-East the kingdom of Bernicia extended up to the Firth of Forth.

Patricius, known in Church Legend as Chief Apostle of the Scots, Abbot, Archbishop, and first Primate of all Ireland, was born, not earlier than 386 and not later than 389, at Bannaven Taberniæ, a half-Roman half-British settlement situated either at Daventry in Northants or in Glamorganshire. His father held both civil and ecclesiastical offices, and his grandfather was a presbyter. His early surroundings were mainly though not wholly Christian, but his attainments were slight.

Prof. G. T. Stokes says his original name was Succath, a Celtic name. His father was called Calpurnius, a deacon. His grandfather was Potitus, a priest.

St. Patrick was about 16 years old when he was brought a captive to Ireland by Irish pirates. He became the slave of Milchu, the King of North Dalaradia, who lived in the valley of the Braid, near the hill of Slemish, about five miles from Ballymena, in the county of Antrim, and close to Broughshane, where he spent six years tending cattle.

He fled after six years and took ship for the mouth of the Loire, and eventually arrived at Rome and later at Marseilles, where Cassian was building the monastery of St. Victor. It was from this monastery that Cassian first shone forth to promulgate in Western parts the monastic rule for the perfect and regular way of monastic life.

St. Patrick made his first theological studies at Lerins, now St. Honorat, built by St. Honoratus, the friend of Cassian. It was among these monks he is supposed to have spent 30 years.

There is the old prophecy of the coming of Patrick, referred to by Miircher in Laoghaire's time as given by two wizards. Translated from the Gaelic—

Axehead will come over a furious (?) sea  
 His mantle (chasuble) head-holed, his staff crook-headed  
 His paten (altar) in the east of the house  
 All his people shall answer, Amen Amen.  
 When these things come to pass, our kingdom which is heathen will not stand.

Axehead refers to the form of tonsure. The Gaelic tonsure was half a circle extending from a line drawn from ear to ear at the back, but confined to the top of the head, the circular part lying frontwise, having a fringe of hair all around it.

He next studied under St. Germanus at Altiodorus (Auxere), on the banks of the river Yonne. After some years he returned to his birth-place and, while residing there with his kinsfolk, heard in a dream the cry of the Irish calling to him as with one voice: "We beseech thee, holy youth, to come hither and walk among us". He was uneducated and ill-fitted otherwise, it was thought, for so great a mission. Ultimately, when the spring of his youth was past, he was ordained as deacon, presbyter and bishop. His own statement suggests that he received office in the land of his boyhood.

At the end of the fifth century and throughout the sixth the church of the Scots in their Irish home was certainly not in subjection to Rome and had no episcopal dioceses.

Patrick's triumph consisted in securing a place for Christianity in clan life and in entrusting the offices of religion to believing and devoted men. Its permanence is well expressed in a legend which more than a thousand years afterwards furnished the Church of Scotland with its emblem—the Burning Bush which is not consumed. When the time for the saint's death drew near, he set out at an angel's bidding from Saul in Dalaradia, where he had probably written the pathetic Confession, to Armagh, which he chiefly loved. As he journeyed, a thornbush on the way-side burst into a steady and unflickering flame, while an angel bade him return and sleep his last sleep in Dalaradia, the nursing-home of the Scottish Church. (The ever-burning fire, carefully cherished in various Irish monasteries, was probably a relic of solar and fire worship.) St. Patrick died in 461.

Of the Church organism which he left, a vague but graphic picture is presented in the *Catalogue of the Saints in Hibernia*, a document which is of much earlier date than most of the Patrick legends (not later than the first half of the eighth century).

"The first Order of catholic saints was in the time of Patricius when they were all bishops, illustrious and holy and full of the Holy Ghost; three hundred and fifty in number, founders of churches. They had one head, Christ, and one chief, Patricius; they observed one mass, one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear. They celebrated one Easter on the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox, and what was excommunicated by one church all excommunicated. They rejected not the services and society of women, because founded on the Rock Christ, they feared not the blast of temptation. This Order of saints continued for four reigns. All these bishops were sprung from the Romans, Franks and Britons and Scots."

(The Latin is given in Ussher, *Antiquities*, pp. 473-4, and in Fleming, *Collectanea Sacra*, pp. 420-1.)

NOTE. When the Scotie usages were debated at Whitby, in 664, no reference of any kind was made to Patrick, although the Roman case would have become unanswerable if he could have been quoted as pioneer of the Roman usages. Unless Bede's narrative is worthless, the Scotie Church in the seventh century had been non-Roman as far back as its traditions went.

This Order of the saints—*Ordo sanctissimus*—is dated in the catalogue by the reigns of the Kings of Ireland from the beginning of Patrick's mission in 432; but the names of the saints and kings given in the list show that the cataloguer sacrificed historical accuracy to arithmetical symmetry. (Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 286.)

Considerably before 544 (Skene gives 534 as the date), "*Ordo sanctissimus*" gave place to "*Ordo sanctior*", which he thus describes—

"The second Order was that of catholic presbyters. For in this order there were few bishops and many presbyters, in number three hundred. They had one head, our Lord; they observed different masses and different rules, one Easter on the fourteenth moon after the equinox, one tonsure from ear to ear; they refused the services of women, separating them from the monasteries. This order has hitherto lasted for four reigns. They received a mass from David the bishop, and Gillas and Docus, who were Britons.

The *Catalogue* proceeds to describe a third Order, "*Ordo sanctus*", which began in 598; but the third Order belongs to the Church history of Ireland, not of Scotland. The vital matter for us is the transition from "*Ordo sanctissimus*" to "*Ordo sanctior*". It was an historical development not peculiar to Ireland. We see a missionary Church in which each saint is bishop over his own community or congregation, entering into ordinary social life and maintaining unity through loyal adherence to one chief. And then we see a change. The communities develop and diverge. The clerics begin to live a separate celibate life, and a hierarchy rises. Most of the saints are now presbyters, a certain number of them—fifty out of three hundred and fifty—becoming bishops. Each community or diocese develops its own life and its own ritual. But spiritual unity is secured by the headship of Christ, by the consecration expressed in tonsure, and by celebrating the Lord's resurrection on the same date.

Far from recognizing any authority in Rome, the *Catalogue* expressly records that the Easter date observed was a distinctive one and that the mass-celebration was one introduced from Britain, which undoubtedly at that time was outside the Roman Obedience.

The *Catalogue* indicates that there was some religious deterioration in the change from "*Ordo sanctissimus*" to "*Ordo sanctior*", and it certainly developed features displeasing both to Protestant and Romanist partisans. Yet only the blindest bigotry will regard the change as in any sense a degradation or corruption of Church life. On the contrary, it was a deliverance from feudal limitations and from the complications of tribal government. In the days of Patrick, when a chief gave orders that his clan should henceforward be Christian and established a bishop's altar beside the royal dwelling, the importance of personal conviction and conversion was slight, and the whole tendency was to give the bishop and his ministrations the external and ceremonial functions of the soothsayer whom he supplanted. (In the saints the Goydal saw only more powerful druids than he had previously known. Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 224.)

It was the spiritual independence of the Gospel and its inherent moral force that led those whose Christianity was genuine to detach themselves as separate communities and initiate a mode of living in which religion and its requirements would be supreme.

For Scottish Church history it is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of the fact that at this stage the Church of the Scots in Ireland became wholly monastic. Throughout Latin and Greek Christendom the relation between the monks and clerics affected religious life from the fourth century



onwards, their alliances and rivalries constituted the Church history. But in the Church of the Scots alliances and rivalry were alike impossible. The monks were the clergy; all the clergy were monks.

Monachism is not distinctively Christian. It is a tendency of natural religion which has worked itself into Christianity without any propagandism, and has taken shape in accordance with the temperament and the surroundings of different races.

Scotic monastic life had little resemblance to the Latin or Roman monastery.

Apart from the fact that the British Christianity of the sixth century was moribund and incompetent to reproduce itself, the Scotie monks were of a type widely different from the British. They resembled the monks of Syria and Egypt, inasmuch as they dwelt in groups of huts and worshipped in small oratories scarcely to be called churches; but these resemblances arose not from imitation but from similarity in social conditions and the stage of civilization reached. In principle and in spirit the difference was generic.

Apart from monasteries, the Scotie Church had no organism of any kind, either parochial or diocesan.

Far from being anti-episcopal, they gave bishops important functions ascribed to their office in every part of Christendom from the second century onwards, if not from the time of the Apostles. Indeed, some settlements, termed "collegiate", had seven bishops who were usually brothers selected from one family. Where a settlement had no bishop, it was dependent for episcopal functions upon the bishops of neighbouring settlements.

The weakness or rather the danger of the settlements lay in their half-feudal relation to the chiefs and their clansmen, who might claim a right to the sacraments and other religious ordinances on purely tribal grounds, so reducing Christianity to a clan custom. This danger was grave and indeed inevitable when the "churches", little wooden oblongs, were mere adjuncts to the royal dwelling; but it disappeared when the settlement was housed on a separate site and ceased to depend upon the favour of the chief. So it was that planting of monastic settlements, which in catholic regions implied some severance from Church organism and Church interests, was among the Scots an assertion of Church independence which had distinct and far-reaching value.

That this monasticizing of the Church was a healthy, spiritual movement is demonstrated by the fact that the period which produced it was a golden period, marked by intelligence and devout enthusiasm. The Church flourished and brought forth fruit abundantly.

Ireland was exempt from that conflict with savage invaders which ruined the British Church, and indeed furnished a welcome home to British refugees. Christian minds occupied themselves with sacred learning, and a standard of education was reached which probably surpassed that of Rome herself and was equalled only in a few monasteries of southern Gaul and southern Italy. The attainments and the culture of those settlements which are recorded in all histories of the Church of Ireland are quite outside the region of legend. Many of them were founded between 520 and 560; Clonard in 520, Morville in 540, Clonmacnoise in 541 or 544, Clonfort in 556 or 557, Bangor in 554 or 558. These were notable and productive centres of scholarship, in which Latin was a living language, while Greek and Hebrew received some attention. The centre of interest was the study and transcribing of Scripture.

There was no narrowness in the method of study, and transcribing was developed into a high art. Lettering and illumination of missals and psalters, some specimens of which survive, exhibit great technical skill and considerable artistic idealism.

As centres of religious education, these settlements were especially effective. The smallest of them had usually fifty scholars each, and the largest (Clonard) numbered its scholars by thousands. The nearest modern parallel to

their effectiveness may be found in post-reformation times, in Calvin's school at Geneva and the Jesuit schools in Austria and central Germany.

The character and spirit of the Scotie missionaries are clearly exhibited in the career of one of them who had no personal relation to Scotland. Columbanus (543-615), a native of Leinster, was educated at the monastic schools of Lough Erne and Bangor. He acquired skill in rhetoric and geometry, and his Latin verses show finished and graceful scholarship. In 585 he set out for Gaul with twelve companions, and settled in Burgundy at a time when savage licence flourished there under the misgovernment of the sons of Clovis. The settlers made their home in a wild forest amidst a population only nominally Christians. Their rule was far sterner than that of St. Benedict. The fare was meagre; unquestioned obedience was imperative; flogging was inflicted for the slightest breach of discipline. Yet they attracted admirers and adherents. While their industry redeemed the forest-land, their decorum and piety put forth a civilizing influence. So rapidly did they increase that new settlements were formed, notably that of Luxeuil (*Luxovium*), which became the greatest monastery of the age.

After some twenty years of blameless and beneficent labour, they incurred the censure of the local clergy, partly through the working of jealousy, partly through their persistent adherence to the Scoto-Celtic date of Easter.

They were summoned to a synod of Gallic bishops, but Columbanus refused to attend, and wrote a firm letter to the Pope, Gregory the Great, addressing him with respect, yet appealing to Scripture as his authority, and reproaching Gregory with his blind attachment to the usages of Leo the Great; "a living dog", he wrote, "is better than a dead Leo".

He passed this crisis safely but was expelled by Brunhilda, the reckless and infamous queen-regent, because he refused to connive at her outrages upon the laws of wedlock.

The ship in which he sailed for Ireland was wrecked and he made his way across France to the Rhine. He and his companions ascended the stream on coracles to the lake of Constance, where they founded a new settlement, St. Gall.

Finally he crossed the Alps, and with the favour of the king of the Lombards made his last settlement at Bobbio. In modern times the library of Bobbio has disclosed its origin, for copies of the service-books of Bangor have been found side by side with the Muratorian fragments of the New Testament and other classical treasures.

Towards the papal Chair now occupied by Boniface IV he maintained the same attitude as in his correspondence with Gregory, rebuking Boniface for negligence in suppressing heresy, and calling him to "purge the Chair of Peter from error".

His varied career closed in a cave which he used for his devotions and for repose amidst his labours. (*Vita Columbani*, B. Krusch.)

The providential aspect of the development of the Scoto-Irish church is unmistakable when account is taken of the condition of the Catholic Church in the middle of the sixth century.

The Christianity of Rome was corrupt, and "the sacred city bore the semblance of death". The trivial platitudes of the Council of Orange (529) exhibited the incapacity of the Church to recognize the breadth of the Gospel, while the practical deterioration of religion is illustrated by the fact that in 530 the Roman Senate required to prohibit money payments in elections to the papacy.

After 568 the Arian Lombards were all but masters of Italy, and, in the famous words of Gregory, "Rome was an eagle dying on the banks of the Tiber". The doctrine and ritual of the Church were shaped at Constantinople by Imperial policy rather than by religious considerations. Christian minds,

so far as they were active, were occupied with dialectical subtleties about the interior life of the Godhead, and their thinking was so disputatious and pedantic as to lose religious value. The only foreign missions of the Catholic Church were in reality political enterprises directed and paid for by the Emperors; for the missions to the farther East, which extended to Herat, Samarkand, China and even Tibet, were not catholic but heretical. The decisions of the Fifth Oecumenical Council (553) showed in its long-winded anathemas that the one idea of churchmen was to invest Imperial edicts with a religious halo. The old Latin and Greek Churches seemed to have lost all power to persuade, convert and cleanse.

At this very stage, when darkness brooded over the centres of the Church, lights were kindled on her outskirts. They were kindled in many lands, but nowhere did they shine so brightly as in the Scotie monasteries of Ireland. Through such men as Columbanus there was a new dissemination of the Gospel. Narrow they were, severe and militant, ascetic with an intensity which could not last, and clinging to the usages of their fathers with a dogged indifference to the customs of Christendom. Yet they denounced idolatry in the ears of rustic pagans, and condemned the immoralities and cruelties of their chiefs without fear. The simplicities of Christianity, its simple beliefs and its simple laws, were the motives and measure of their work. In their personal behaviour the heathen saw a new type of purity and honour, of rigid self-denial and informal worship, while their well-ordered and beneficent industry led the wilderness and the solitary place to be glad for them and the desert to rejoice and blossom as a rose.

This truly great movement, so irrefragible a proof of the place of Christianity in providence, secured a permanent home for the Scotie Church when it found an agent who had all the strength and enterprise of Columbanus with more breadth of outlook, more steadiness of aim and more kindliness of heart.

Columba, or Columcille, was born at Gartan in the wilds of Donegal in 521. He was of royal race, being great-grandson on his father's side of the High-king Niall of the Nine Hostages, and descendant on his mother's side of another king of Ireland. According to tradition, he was himself "entitled to the sceptre of Erin, but gave it up for God". His bent from boyhood was religious, and he was prepared and ordained deacon at the monastic school of Moville. After ordination he studied in Leinster under an aged bard, and then proceeded to the school of Finnian at Clonard, where the distinction of his character became apparent. A spirit of enterprise, combined with habits of eager devotion and close Bible study, secured a leading place for him among Finnian's famous pupils.

The abbot so valued his services that he sent him to the neighbouring Bishop of Clonfert to be consecrated bishop. Columba received a cordial welcome from the Bishop, whom he found ploughing a field; but by mistake, instead of being consecrated bishop, he was ordained presbyter. When the mistake was discovered he regarded it as providential and vowed he would be a presbyter as long as he lived. Possibly the episode is a churchman's fiction designed to explain why so great a saint never held episcopal rank. In any case it gives an instructive view of the relation between the different offices in those times and of the extreme simplicity of ritual.

After completing his preparation at the school of Glasnevin he was engaged until his fortieth year as a pioneer missionary in different parts of Ireland, with a success which led to his enrolment among the Twelve Apostles of Erin.

He is said to have been excommunicated and banished for his part in connection with the battle of Cooldrevny, 561.

Migrations of Irish Dalriads to the coast of Kintyre, years before, had lately been defeated by the Pictish king Brude, and it was among them, his

fellow-tribesmen, in their confusion and calamity, that Columba resolved to make his home; he selected for a settlement the most habitable of the islands into which they had been driven. His aim was to strengthen the feeble religion of the British Dalriads; and it was his distinction that he conceived and set forth Christianity, not as a tribal faith to be cherished in a spirit of aggression or even of defence, but as an open message of justice, liberty and peace. It was this conception, boldly and skilfully carried out, that gave Columba a place in history far above the saintly and most strenuous of the other Apostles of Erin.

Our knowledge of the original buildings depends wholly upon casual reference in Adamnan's *Life of Columba*. They were floored with planks and roofed with wicker-work. Columba's house, although more spacious than the others, was only a little hut (*tuguriolum*). Besides the dwellings of the brethren—circular creel-work huts thatched with rushes or heather—there was a guest-house (*hospitium*). The huts were ranged in a circle round a lawn. Outside the circle were the kiln, mill, barn, stable and byre.

Some little distance off stood the church or *oratorium*, which had a side chapel (*credra*) used by the brethren for their private devotions. (Cells in sequestered spots for private prayer, known as "diserto" and under the charge of a "disertach", were features of the Scotie religion. There are traces of one of these in Iona, on the shore of a bay N.E. of the monastery. Reeves' *Life of Columba*.)

The settlement was surrounded by a rampart, although no assault or fear of assault is recorded. There was a separate kitchen or buttery, under the charge of a Saxon baker. The staff included also a butler, whose merriment was sometimes obtrusive. Columba had a special attendant (*minister*), and a car or waggon (*plaustrum*) was set apart for his use. Generally, the method of living had no meagreness and little austerity. So attractive was the life that the numbers of the brethren increased rapidly, recruits coming from British Dalriada, Irish Dalriada and also South Britain.

When they numbered 150 the settlement was regarded as complete, and great strictness was shown in the admission of new members. They were divided into three classes—novices or pupils (*alumi*); workers (*operarii*), who were occupied in agriculture, tending cattle, breeding seals, and other industries: the seniors (*seniores*), whose functions were to attend religious services and to transcribe the Scriptures. They were all called monks (*monachi*) and wore a distinctive dress, white tunics and hooded overcoats made of wool; when journeying they wore sandals. For religious functions a special costume was assumed (*clericatus habitus*), and Columba's costume (*amphibolium*) was distinctive. Although he sometimes took council with the brethren, his authority was absolute.

The life of the community was primarily religious, not only in motive but in method. Fasting was observed twice a week, on Wednesdays and Fridays, while Saturday was a day of rest (*dies sabbati*). To the Lord's Day no sabbatical ideas were attached. Christmas and Easter had their special celebrations, and Lent was kept carefully. To fasting the more zealous added the quaint custom of standing in the sea and reciting the Psalter, a practice of which there are traces in other Celtic regions. Singing had a leading place in worship. The singing-men (*cantores*) formed a separate body.

In organization the most distinctive feature was the subordination of the bishop or bishops to the abbot, the latter being always a presbyter. It is true that the special functions of bishops were carefully guarded. They alone could ordain, and in administering the Lord's Supper they used a special ritual (*episcopalis ritus*). Yet these functions were held in check. Bishops were not allowed to ordain unless the abbot placed his hand on the head of the candidate as a token of consent; and, in the absence of a bishop, presbyters administered

the Supper without any recognition of defect in administration. In Iona the abbot was the sole director, the overseer and shepherd of souls.

The sacrament of Baptism was administered to adults after instruction in the faith, and in some cases to whole families, including children and domestic slaves. (As at Philippi.) *Acts*, 16, v. 15, also v. 33. The omission of special references to infant baptism cannot be fairly made ground for argument, since the monks were rarely within reach of infants. The Lord's Supper was observed in both kinds weekly, sometimes at noon, sometimes in the evening, with great solemnity, after the reading of the Gospel. It was entitled "sacra eucharistiæ mysteria", "missarum solemnitas", "sacræ oblationis mysteria", "sacrificiale mysterium", "corpus Christi". The elements were prepared by a deacon and taken by him to the ministering presbyter at the altar. When several presbyters were present, one of them was chosen as minister, and he usually invited another to break bread with him at the altar as a token of equality, the others coming forward afterwards to receive the elements. (An interesting forecast of Communion observance in those churches in modern Scotland in which elders, presbyters, partake before the congregation. This was not done when a bishop was the celebrant (*Vita S. Columbæ*, i, 29, 44); Reeves shows that the Bread-breaking does not refer to the consecration. Warren holds the practice to have been distinctive of the Celts.)

Religious relics in the Roman sense, which by this time held the field in the continental churches, had no place in Iona in Columba's time. But the touch of Columba and of the famous Irish saints was believed to work wonders; while the cross was not only a symbol but a talisman, and the sign of the cross was employed habitually to sanctify everyday employments.

There is no trace of the worship of the Virgin, nor does the *Life* make any reference to the Authority or customs of Rome.

Columba claimed to stand upon the doctrines of the evangelists and apostles. Although ecclesiastical writings were not ignored, the Bible was the one sacred book. The reading and transcribing of Holy Scripture and the committing of the Psalter to memory were primary occupations, and piety showed itself as much in the solitary exercise of spontaneous prayer as in the stated and united worship of the community.

It must not be supposed that there was any antagonism to Roman beliefs or usages. The divergence was unconscious. Columba, like Columbanus, adhered to the calculation of Easter and the method of tonsure which had been practised by his fathers, but in his day these were in use throughout Britain and Ireland.

The first missionary sent, in response to the appeal of Oswald of Northumbria, from Iona failed in his mission and soon returned to report that the English were intractable, obdurate and barbarous. When the monks met in council (*conventus seniorum*) to deal with the perplexing report, one of them, Aidan by name, said to the missionary: "It seems to me, brother, that you have been unduly hard upon your uneducated hearers, and that you have not fed them, as the Apostle enjoined, with the milk of the word, so that by graded nutriment they might receive complete teaching and obey the loftier precepts of the Lord". Every eye was fixed upon Aidan; all declared that he was the true missionary for Northumbria, "and so", says Bede, "ordaining him, they sent him forth to preach."

Bede, by whom these Scotie usages were condemned, is unsparing in his praise of Aidan's character, doctrine and methods. "His keeping of Easter at a wrong date I do not approve of or praise . . . but this I do approve of, that in keeping his own Easter he pondered, revered and preached, as we do, the redemption of mankind through the passion, resurrection and ascension of the Mediator between God and man, the Man Jesus Christ."

He praises him for his kindness and peacefulness, his temperance and humility, his zeal in study and prayer, his skill in consoling the sorrowful and

relieving the poor and his courage in rebuking the proud and powerful. "His grace of distinction marked him out for the mission; but when the time came he was found to be adorned with every other excellence."

Of the church buildings of those times we can speak with some certainty. It is true that only ruins survive, and that none of these can be assigned to a special date, but they suffice to show that the type followed was that of the Scoto-Irish Church. The monastery was surrounded for purposes of defence by a cashel, rath or wall, such as protected the royal residences of the Celts. Within the cashel were the dwellings of the monks—bee-hive cells, sometimes rectangular, and measuring at the largest 15 x 12 feet—and the church or churches if the settlement were a large one. Churches were built of wood, not from necessity, but in obedience to a tradition, *mos Scotticus*. High authorities have stated that some may have been built of stone, but there is no doubt that, after the seventh century, stone buildings were regarded as a token of "Romanizing" or "Gallicizing", and were disliked by the faithful. (Gougard, *Les Chrétiens celtiques*, p. 315 ff. The church of Chester-le-Street, where Cuthbert's remains were laid, was exceptional. (Stuart, *Book of Deer*, cl and clv.)

The churches were very small—a shade larger than the monks' dwellings. The dimensions of the wooden churches may be assumed to have been the same as those of the first stone churches. The earliest type of these, both in Ireland and Alban, averaged 15 x 10 feet, and in Alban they seem never to have exceeded 23 or 24 feet in length. They consisted of a rectangular chamber without apse, and were entered by a single door and lighted by one small window. In Ireland the architecture was sometimes more complex, with a nave and chancel, the two sections being linked by a more or less developed arch. Yet it cannot be definitely proved that this style was ever followed in Scotland. In the lonelier islands, where monks often made their homes, there were deviations from the normal type, a cashel not being required, and unhewn stone being used as the only available material. (The church on the island of North Rona measures only 11 feet 6 inches x 7 feet 6 inches.)

Of ornament or decoration there was nothing, although the monks had considerable attainment in the decorative arts. The type of structure is unique, its principal features being rudeness of construction, simplicity of form, insignificance of dimensions, and the total absence of any type of refinement. (*Scotland in early Christian Times*, i, 128). *The Rhind Lectures in Archaeology*, 1879-80, by Joseph Anderson, keeper of the National Museum of Antiquaries of Scotland.

That these features were due to some treasured tradition or to veneration of a model given by early Scottish saints, rather than to poverty or ignorance (Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 191), is proved by the care and decorum with which worship was conducted and by the literary attainments of the worshippers.

Columba brought over from Ireland the Celtic ritual in which he had been trained, and although there may have been deviations later, the same method of worship was propagated by the Iona missionaries. After the downfall of Iona there was a good deal of irregularity. The Culdees came to have "a rite of their own" (*Suum officium more suo celebrabant*, *Chron. of Picts and Scots*, p. 190), and in some districts the celebration had, by the eleventh century, elements which seemed barbarous to Roman churchmen. The resemblance to the Latin ritual was so close that the Scottish ritual was in use at York at the beginning of the ninth century.

I have quoted very fully from A. R. Macewan, because I find that he gives a very fair and unbiased account of the characters, as well as a report on the lives and doings of those men who belonged to that cult, which later

became known as the Culdees. This cannot be said of some of the old writers belonging to the Latin-Roman church.

I now turn to a paper with the title *The Culdees of the British Isles, as they appear in history*, by William Reeves, D.D.; LL.D. Edin.; Med.Bac. Dubl.; Hon. Memb. Soc. Antiq., Scot.; Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy, which was read before that Academy Nov. 12th and Dec. 10th, 1860. This paper contains a great deal of useful information direct from Irish records as well as the later Scottish records, and we get the etymology and origin of the word "Culdee".

Reeves begins by pointing out that the devotion and self-denial which characterized monastic life in the Latin Church procured for those who adopted it the special designation "Servi Dei", and in time "Servus Dei" and "Monachus" became convertible terms.

In turning this expression "Servus Dei" into Irish it became the Celtic compound "Céle-Dé". In the *Book of Leinster* and the *Book of Lismore* (early twelfth century manuscripts) it is given as "Céle-nDé". When at last "Céle-Dé" does become a distinctive term, it is only so as contrasting those who clung to the old conventual observances of the country with those who adopted the better organized and more systematic institutions of mediæval introduction—in fact, as denoting an old-fashioned Scotie monk in an age when the prevalence of such surnames as Mac (son of) Anaspie (Bishop), Mac Nab (son of the abbot), Mac Prior (son of the prior), Mac Intaggart (son of the priest), etc., indicated a condition of clerical society not exactly in accordance with the received notions of ecclesiastical discipline.

In Tirechan's *Memoirs of St. Patrick*, early eighth century (one of the earliest instances), is used the Latin term *Servus Dei*, but in a later part of this ancient and valuable compilation we find an example of the Irish term. Speaking of St. Patrick in reference to a lad who had lost his life, it goes on to say, "He ordered a céle-dé of his family, namely Malach, the Briton, to restore him to life" (*Irish MS.*, Brit. Mus. Egerton, 93, fol. 13, ba.), where Colgan incorrectly renders the term in question by *cuidam advenoe*, instead of *Monacho* or *Servo Dei*, the more reasonable translation.

On page 5 Reeves says, "Taking, therefore, into consideration the true form of the term, it may safely be pronounced that the Scotch charter of the twelfth century, which represents it by "chelede" (*Donacio monasterii de Lechlewyn Roberto priori Sancti Andree, per Robertum episcopum*, A.D. 1144-1150), and the biographer Jocelin, who latinized it "calledeus", and the generality of Scotch records, which have it in the form "keledeus", are more correct than the *York Chartulary*, Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Armagh records, which presume some affinity between the Irish "cele" and the Latin "colo" when they represent the term by "colideus" and "coelicola"; in fact, making "celede" the Celtic equivalent of the familiar "deicola". See Appendix C.

In Scotland Hector Boece, followed by George Buchanan, gave currency to the term "culdeus", out of which grew the vulgar form "culdee", which has come into general acceptance, and has been the subject of so much speculative error and historical mystification.

That the persons denoted by the term "Céli-dé" were not supposed by the Irish to be peculiar to their country we learn from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, which represents Malach, a Briton, as a Céle-dé among the saint's companions. Again, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, though the source

NOTE. In the early Irish notices of the Céli-dé the superior is generally styled cenn "head", not abb "abbot" or ppiop "prior". This distinction is observed also in some of the Scotch records, where the superior of the Keledei is called Proepositus. In Brechin he appears as Prior; but the term is qualified at Monymusk. *Prior vel Magister*. In the case of Armagh it was declared that the name Prior indicated only precedence, and in 1550 it was advisedly changed to *Magister aut Rector*.

whence they were derived is uncertain, "At 806, which is 811 of the common era, they relate that,—In this year the Céile-dé came across the sea with dry feet, without a vessel; and a written roll was given him from heaven, out of which he preached to the Irish, and it was carried up again when the discourse was finished. This ecclesiastic used to go southward across the sea, every day when his preaching was finished." (See Appendix D.)

Again, in the year 919 the same annalists record that "Macnach", a céile-dé, came across the sea westwards to establish laws in Ireland. The Celtic form of this individual's name suggests North Britain as the quarter whence he came, it being a common practice with the ancient Irish to style Scotland "the eastern country" (*Extracts from the Irish Annals*).

The Rule of the Céili-dé from the poem which Maelruain composed is given in Appendix A. St. Maelruain was founder, abbot and bishop of the church of Tamhlacht, now Tallaght near Dublin, gathered round him a fraternity for whom, amidst the prevailing corruption of religion and laxity of monastic discipline, he ordained certain rules of stricter observance, which consisted partly of precepts for conventional and sacerdotal guidance, but were especially distinguished by the principles laid down, and the regulation prescribed, for religious worship and the exercise of devotion. The poem of twelve stanzas having the superscription "of the Céili-Dé down here" forms the seventh division of a metrical composition of 145 stanzas, which is ascribed to St. Cathach or Mochuda of Lismore and immediately succeeds a division containing 19 stanzas on the duties of a monk. If this be a genuine composition, or even a modernized copy, it will follow that the Céile-dé were a separate class, previously to the year 636, when St. Cathach died, and that they were distinct from the order called monks.

St. Maelruain died on the 7th July, 792. In his fraternity there lived an ecclesiastic somewhat his junior called Aengus, surnamed from his father Mac Oengobann and from his grandfather Ua Oiblen, whose poetical compositions obtained great celebrity among the Irish. He is said to have taken part in compiling the *Martyrology of Tamhlacht*. He is invariably designated "Céile-dé"; so that "Aengussius Keledeus" in Latin and "Aengus the Culdee" in English is a name familiar to everyone at all conversant with Irish history.

The church at Tamhlacht was founded about 24 years after the institution by Chrodegang of the order of canons, in his church at Metz, to whom the title of "Fratres Dominici" was given, and afterwards that of "canonici".

They were an intermediate class between the monks and secular priests, adopting to a great extent the discipline, without the vows, of the monastic system, and discharging the office of ministers in various churches. At the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 817 a new rule and additional regulations were enacted for them. Possibly the institution of Maelruain may have borrowed from, or possessed some features in common with, the order of canons; for certain it is that in after ages both the Keledei of Scotland and the Colidei of Ireland exhibited in their discipline the main characteristics of secular canons.

Reeves gives us some interesting information from the *Annals of Ulster* and from the *Registers* and other sources of Armagh, from which I have extracted the following:—

*Armagh.* At the year 920, or 921 of the common era, the *Annals of Ulster* relate that "Ardmacha was pillaged (see Appendix E) on the Saturday before St. Martin's day, which was the 10th November, by Gofrith, grandson of Ivar, and his army, who saved the houses of prayer with their people of God, that is Céili-dé, and their sick, and the whole church-town, except some houses which were burnt through neglect. The *Four Masters* record the same event at the year 919 of their reckoning.

The remarkable feature in this passage is that there is no mention of the abbot, subordinate officers, or monks of Armagh, although it possessed several



churches, and was from an early period very fully provided with all grades of conventual ministers. It must be owned, however, that at this period there was a great hiatus in the succession of its ecclesiastical functionaries.

During the course of this (1366) and the following centuries there is repeated mention of the Colidei and their priors in the Registers of Armagh, and from the incidental notices we collect the following particulars regarding their constitution and office:—

- (1) The body consisted of a prior and five brethren.
- (2) The celebration of divine office was discharged by them; and skill in music as well as eloquence in preaching were considered qualifications necessary for the office of prior, which, subject to these conditions were in their election.
- (3) The office of Colideus was accepted as a title for holy orders.
- (4) The repair of the fabric of the church was in their hands; and among them was frequently found the office of "Magister operis Majoris Ecclesiæ", and of Apparitor.
- (5) Licence to appoint a confessor was granted to them by the primate under certain conditions.
- (6) Their consent was not required for the ratification of the primate's official acts.
- (7) They had no voice in the election of the diocesan, except so far as their prior, in virtue of his præcentorial position, had a vote in the chapter.
- (8) They took no part in the custody of the spirituals of the diocese sede vacante.
- (9) In the order of precedence, as a body, they ranked third in the diocese; the dean and chapter being first, the convent of regular canons of St. Peter and St. Paul being second, they third, and the clergy at large fourth.
- (10) Their inferior position was implied in the title canonici majories, which was applied to the non-dignified members of the chapter; while the secular character of their head distinguished him from the prior claustralis, who was an officer among the regular canons.
- (11) Their prior ranked in the cathedral next after the chancellor.

From the Obituary Notices in the *Antiphonary of Armagh*, which came into the possession of Archbishop Ussher, and is preserved among his manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, we collect the following:—

- A.D. 1549, January 28, died, at an advanced age, Edmind McCamyl, dean of Armagh, and prior of the Collidei or convent of the greater metropolitical church of Armagh.
- A.D. 1556, August 16th, died master John McGillamura, late master of the works, and Collideus of the metropolitical church of Armagh.
- A.D. 1570, June 9th, died Roland McGillamura, formerly rector of Clonmore, vicar of Ardee, bachelor in sacred theology, lecturer in the same, and Collideus of the metropolitical church of Armagh.
- A.D. 1574, September 26th, died Nicholas McGillamura, late master of the works, and Collideus of the metropolitical church of Armagh; he was a blameless priest, and a great proficient in the art of music.

Terence Danyell on 31st May, 1550, received a commission from Primate Dowall to exercise the rule and government of the Colidei and other ministers of divine service in the college, "sub nomine Magistri aut Rectoris collegii, et non Prioris" (*Liber Niger Dowall*, p. 126), but was at the same time inhibited from the alienation or disposal of any lands, rents, tithes, or other emoluments belonging to the said Colidei, without his and their consent.

I have been dealing with Reeves and the Céli-dé of Ireland. I now turn to what he has to say about the Céli-dé of Scotland.

*General remarks.* The primitive history of the Church of Scotland is essentially Irish in its character; and during the long period our annals (Irish) afford the most trustworthy materials for the chronology of that country, as our less systematic records do for the investigation of its polity, both civil and ecclesiastical.

St. Columba's great monastery of Hy exercised a religious influence which was felt in every quarter of Scotland, so far north as the Orkneys. In the south Melrose acquired its greatest celebrity under Eata, one of St. Aidan's twelve disciples.

Old Melrose, on a flat promontory (Mail-ros) at a bend in the river Tweed (you look down on this from what is called Scots view, after Sir Walter Scott, on the road to Dryburgh, near Bemerside), a more important mission centre was planted, known now as "Old Melrose", to distinguish it from the Cistercian abbey of Melrose two miles distant. The date of its foundation is uncertain, but it is said to have been founded by Aidan about 640; in 651 it had as its abbot Eata, one of a group of English boys trained by Aidan. St. Cuthbert was also its prior at one time.

There is, I believe, more than just a legend, that there was an Operative lodge of Masons established at Newstead, about a mile away, where the men who built this old abbey lived. The abbey was deserted in 1075 and no trace now remains.

In the eastern extremity of Pictland, Drostan, son of Cosgreg, accompanied the indefatigable Columba, when he founded the churches of Aberdour and Aberlour, and perpetuating in Buchan the remembrance of fraternal attachment in a church whose name of "Deir", *i.e.*, a "tear", commemorated their parting scene, and whose after-history, now preserved in the oldest book of Scotland, as well as the sole relic of its early literature, gave proof of the fulfilment of the promise which was made to them who "sow in tears".

In the *History of St. Kentigern* by Jocelin we have the earliest Scottish record of the name and discipline of Céli-dé.

(The extract, written at the end of the twelfth century, but compiled from much earlier authorities, is taken from a MS. of Jocelin's *Life of St. Kentigern*, preserved in Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin, v. 3, 4, 16, fol. 29b, among the MSS. which Bishop Stearne of Clogher bequeathed to that collection.) (See Appendix C.)

We learn that the Céli-dé, or, as the name is latinised, Calledei, were understood by the Scotch in the twelfth century to have been a religious order of clerks who lived in societies under a superior, within a common enclosure, but in detached cells, associated in a sort of collegiate rather than coenobitical brotherhood—solitaries in their domestic habits, though united in the common observance, both religious and secular, of a strict sodality. And I may here observe, as the principle which, if borne in mind, will solve many enigmas in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland as well as of Ireland, that the distribution of the country into dioceses and parishes was practically unknown in the Scotie Church till the beginning of the twelfth century.

The whole ecclesiastical fabric was constructed on the monastic foundation, and its entire economy regulated by the discipline of conventual life. This was the system which for ages placed the episcopate in a subordinate position, exalting the office of abbot to the pinnacle of church preferment and subjecting all other relations to its social weight, until, in the lapse of time, it lost much of its sacred character and became compatible with a secular life. Sometimes the abbot was in holy orders, sometimes not; and at all times the monastic profession was respected above the ministerial calling.

Thus the useful ferleghinn, or lecturer, and the contemplative anchorite often in our annals take precedence of the bishop.

The essential officer was the abbot, but the presence of the bishop was an accident; and hence, even in the best times, his office was intermittent, so that in the worst it became defunct, and with it in many instances in Scotland the entire religious character of a monastery perishes except in name; and a species of lay property called "Abthein", or Abbacy, is presented to view in the twelfth century, embracing the site of the primitive abbey, accompanied, it may be, by a cemetery and holy well, the annual resort of a whole country side, and held in prescriptive right by the tenure of a bell or bachall.

Where secularization was only partial, a shadow of the old society continued to exist, and, under greater or less laxity of discipline, the representatives were known as Kele-de, a title which, with portions of the church property, in some cases descended from father to son, and in others was practically entailed to members of certain families.

In one point, however, even the ablest of modern writers on the Culdees has fallen into the national error of supposing them to have been a peculiar order who derived their origin from St. Columba; in other words, that they were Columbites, in the same sense as we speak of Benedictines. It is true that, after the lapse of centuries, Culdees were found in churches which he or his disciples founded; but their name was in no way distinctive, being in the first instance an epithet of asceticism, and afterwards that of irregularity.

Among the Cotton manuscripts in the British Museum is preserved a catalogue of the religious houses of England and Wales, at the end of which is a list of the Scotch sees and the orders of their respective societies. It is annexed to Henry of Silgrave's *Chronicle*, which compilation comes down to the year 1272, and is in the same handwriting. It contains the following:—

	Episcopatus S. Andree,	Canonici nigri.	Keldei.
(Dunkeld)	„ Dunkeldre, S. Columkille	„	Keldei.
(Breachin)	„ de Brechin		Keledei.
(Rosemarkie)	„ de Ros.		Keledei.
(Dunblane)	„ de Dublin (error)		Keledei.
	„ de Katenesio		Keledei.
(Lismore)	„ de Argiul		Keledei.
(Hy, or Iona)	Abbatia in Insula		Keledei.

These are the only instances where the term Keldei, or Keledei, occurs in the record. The *Canonici Nigri* are regular canons of St. Augustin, and are represented as existing at St. Andrew's and St. Columba's of Dunkeld collaterally with Keledei.

To these may be added from charter sources some non-cathedral monasteries, namely:

The church of	Lochleven in Kinross.
„	Abernethy in Perthshire.
„	Monymusk in Aberdeenshire.
„	Muthill in Perthshire.
„	Monifeith in Forfarshire.

This list might be considerably enlarged if such churches as Scone, Melrose, Montrose, Abirlot, Dull, Ecclesgirth, and others, which are presumed to have resembled the foregoing, were admitted; but the object is to treat only of those in which we have record evidence that Keledei did exist.

From those given by Reeves I have selected the following as being the most interesting to our subject:—

*St. Andrews.* From *Historia Ecclesie Santi Andree*. A.D. 1144-1153.

There were kept up, however, in the church of St. Andrews, such as it then was, by family succession, a society of thirteen, commonly called Keledei, whose manner of life was shaped more in accordance with their own fancy and human tradition than with the precepts of the holy fathers. Nay, even to the present day their practice continues the same: and though they have some things in common, these are such as are less in amount and value, while they individually enjoy the larger and better portion, just as each of them happens to receive gifts, either from friends who are united to them by some private tie, such as kindred or connection, or from those whose soul-friends, that is, spiritual advisers, they are, or from any other source. After they are made Keledei, they are not allowed to keep their wives within their lodgings, nor any other woman who might give rise to injurious suspicions.

At some period anterior to 1107 the ecclesiastical community of Cill-Righmonaigh (St. Andrews) had become parted into two sections, and that each carried with it a portion of the spiritualities and temporalities, which we may reasonably conceive had been originally combined. One party was the Keledei, consisting of a prior and twelve brethren, who numerically represented the old foundation, and as clerical vicars performed divine service, having official residences and enjoying certain estates as well as the minor dues of the sacerdotal office. With them also, as the clerical portion of the society, rested the election of the bishop, when a vacancy occurred in the see.

The other party included the bishop, the eleemosynary establishment, and the representatives of the abbot and other great officers now secularized, yet enjoying by prescription another portion of the estates and the greater ecclesiastical dues. The chief censure is directed against these; but it is to be taken with some limitation, because the bishop was one of them, and the hospital represented another.

*Dunkeld*, Dun-caillenn.

Dean Mylne, who was a canon of Dunkeld, about 1485, has left to us, in his *History of the Bishops of Dunkeld*, the following description of their ancient chapter:—In this monastery Constantine, King of the Picts, placed religious men, commonly called Keledei, otherwise Colidei, that is, God-worshippers, who, however, after the usage of the Eastern Church, had wives (from whom they lived apart when taking their turn in the sacred offices), as afterwards grew to be the custom in the church of the blessed Regulus, now called St. Andrews.

But when it seemed good to the supreme controller of all Christian religion, and when devotion and piety had increased, St. David, the sovereign, who was the younger son of King Malcolm Canmor and the holy Queen Margaret, having changed the constitution of the monastery, erected it into a cathedral church; and, having superceded the Keledei, created, about the year 1127, a bishop and canons, and ordained that there should in future be a secular college.

The first bishop on this foundation was for a time abbot of that monastery, and subsequently a counsellor of the king. •

In the concluding passage the writer seems to imply that the Keledei, who occupied the monastery which was attached to the mother church, were removed from this position and constituted a college of secular clergy, while their former place was assigned to a society of regular canons, with the bishop, now made diocesan instead of abbot, at their head. These two corporations coexisted for nearly two centuries; and as at St. Andrews, so at Dunkeld, Silgrave's catalogue notices the collateral societies of Canonici nigri and Keldei.

*Brechin*.

Here in Brechin we have a very compact Culdee case. There is a well-marked round tower, modernized, no doubt, at its apex, but bearing evidence in its general character that it belongs to about the period of Kenneth, son of

Malcolm, that is, 970-992, to which the Pictish Chronicle justifies us in referring to its erection by its concluding sentence, "Hic est qui tribuit magnum civitatem Brechne Domino". Taking the tenth century, then, as the date of this building, we have an Irish ecclesiastical round tower of respectable antiquity which was, as it were, the gnomon of the original monastic group. The place totally disappears from history till St. David's reign, when it reappears, having an abbot, a layman, enjoying considerable possessions; a bishop living in society with a college of Keledei; the prior of the Keledei, a Celt, and ranking next to the bishop. Presently an archdeacon is introduced, who takes precedence of the prior; subsequently a dean appears on the stage, but in a subordinate position, and with him a chapter; and at last, about the middle of the thirteenth century, the Keledei are absorbed, and the bishop, with his dean, and the chapter of precentor, chancellor, treasurer, archdeacon, and the six prebendaries, become the numerical representatives of the antecedent corporation, and so they continued till prelacy was overthrown in Scotland.

*Hy. Iona.*

The *Annals of Ulster* relate, at 1164, that a deputation of the chiefs of the family of Ia, consisting of Augustin the arch-priest, Dubsidhe the lecturer, MacGilladuff the recluse, MacForcellaigh head of the Ceili-nde, and such as were of eminence in the island, waited on the abbot of Derry and invited him to accept the abbacy of their church.

Extract from the Irish annals:—The chiefs of the family of Ia, viz., Augustin the great priest, and Dubsidhe the lector, and MacGilladuff the hermit, and MacFairchellaigh the head of the Celi-nDe, and the chiefs of the family of Ia in general, came to meet the coarb of Columcille, namely Flaithbertach Ua Brochain, to invite him to accept the abbacy of Ia, by the advice of Somhairle and the men of Argyle and Innse Gall. But the coarb of Patrick, the king of Ireland, namely, Ua Lochlainn, and the chiefs of the Cinel-Eoghain, prevented it.

From this we learn that the Celi-de of Hy were only a section of the community, whose superior was styled a "head", not "prior", and took a low rank among the notables of the place. He probably held a position similar to that of precentor elsewhere, and his subordinates were most likely the clerical body who performed the ordinary services of the church.

Before leaving Hy I would interpose a note concerning the emigration of Columba to Hy, taken from Johannes de Fordun Chronicle, *Gentis Scotorum*, Book III, chap. xxvi.

In the 8th year of the reign of Convallus, A.D. 566, and the 9th of that of Brude the son of Mealocho, over the Picts, there came out of Ireland into Scotland the holy priest and abbot Columba—a man of a life to be no less admired than venerated, the founder of monasteries and the father and instructor of many monks. He shared his name with the prophet Jonah; for Jonah in the Hebrew tongue is Columba in the Latin and Peristera in the Greek.

The names of the twelve men who sailed over to Scotland with Columba from Ireland are these:

The two sons of Brendinus, Baythenus also called Coninus, St.

Columba's successor, and Cobthacus, his brother.

Aemanius, the uncle of St. Columba.

Dormicius, his minister.

The two sons of Bordain, Rus and Fechno.

Scandalaus, son of Bresail, son of Endius.

Eoghodius.

Thocammeus.

Morifirus Cetea.

Cayrnaanus, also a son of Brandinus, son of Melgy.

Grillanus.

On a certain day, at the very hour when there was being fought in Ireland a battle, which is called Ondemone in Scotland, this man of God, having audience of the said king Convallus, son of Congal, in Scotland, gave a minute account both of the battle which was being fought and of the king to whom God vouchsafed the victory over their enemies.

#### *Lochleven.*

A primitive monastery, founded on an island in Loch Levin, flourished during several centuries, and possessed a chartulary or donation book, written in Gaelic, an abstract of which, in Latin, is preserved in the register of the priory of St. Andrews. The first memorandum in the collection states that Brude, son of Dergard, the last of the Pictish kings, bestowed the island of Lochleven on God, St. Servan and the Keledean hermits dwelling there in conventual devotion. Also that the said Keledei made over the site of their cell to the bishop of St. Andrews, upon condition that he would provide them with food and raiment; that Ronan, monk and abbot, a man of exemplary holiness, on this occasion granted the place to Bishop Fothadh, son of Bren, who was in high repute all through Scotland. The bishop then pronounced a blessing on all who should uphold this covenant between him and the Keledei, and, *vice versa*, his curse on all bishops who should violate or retract the same.

This is a very interesting record, not only as affording a glimpse of the Scottish Church, and the Céli-dé in particular, at a period when history is painfully silent, but as a striking example of undesigned coincidence between the independent memorials of Scotland and Ireland; the latter of which record at the year 961 "the death of Fothadh mac Brain, scribe, and bishop of the islands of Alba" (Scotland). *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.C. 961.

Their fate was sealed about 1145, when King David declared that "he had given and granted to the canons of St. Andrews the island of Lochleven, that they might establish a canonical order there; and the Keledei who shall be found there, if they consent to live as regulars, shall be permitted to remain in society with, and subject to, the others; but should any of them be disposed to offer resistance, his will and pleasure was that such should be expelled from the island".

Robert, the English bishop of St. Andrews, who dictated this stern enactment, was not slow to carry its provisions into effect; for immediately after he placed these Keledei in subjection to the canons regular of St. Andrews, and converted their old conventual possessions into an endowment for his newly erected priory. He even transferred the ecclesiastical vestments which these Keledei possessed, and their little library, consisting for the most part of ritual and patristic books, the titles of which are recited in the instrument.

Thus terminated the separate and independent existence of one of the earliest religious foundations in Scotland, which probably owed its origin to St. Serf, in the dawn of national christianization; and after a recorded occupation by Keledean hermits from the ninth century down, was, before the middle of the eleventh, brought into close connection with the see of St. Andrews, through the influence of one of the earliest recorded bishops of the Scottish Church, who was probably a Céle-dé himself, and allowed to exercise a kind of episcopal superintendence over his community of St. Andrews and the neighbouring monasteries, foreshadowing a function which afterwards developed itself in diocesan jurisdiction, and eventually became invested with metropolitan pre-eminence.

From the foregoing you will have noted how the Latin Roman Church, corrupt as it was in those days, by intrigue and falsehood gradually undermined the old foundations of the Keledei, a cult built on the early pure Christian teachings of St. John the Divine, until they were completely wiped out. We shall find that the same thing happened to the Keledei at York, which we have now to consider.

#### *The Keledei at York*

There existed in York, till the dissolution of the monasteries, an hospital called St. Leonard's, the chartulary of which, a beautifully written volume, engrossed in the reign of Henry V. passed into the Cotton collection, where it is now preserved in that section of the British Museum Library. From this book Dugdale has printed, in his *Monasticon*, an abstract, which furnishes us with the following particulars (from the *Registrum Cartarum et Munimentorum Hospitalis Sancti Leonardi Eboraci*, preserved in the Cottonian Library, Nero D. III. It is described as one of the finest Manuscripts of its kind, written upon 241 leaves of vellum of the largest size. An abstract is given in English in Drake's *Eboracum*).

Before dealing with the Hospital of St. Leonard let us see what Drake has to say about those early days in York.

#### *Baptism of Edwin and his sons. 627.*

A little oratory of wood was therefore thrown up in the very place where the great church now stands, and dedicated to St. Peter. In which on Easter-day, being April 12, 627, one hundred and eight years after the coming of the Saxons into Britain, the King Edwin and his two sons, Osdrif and Edfrif, whom he had by a former wife, with many of the nobility, were solemnly baptized by Paulinus.

The ceremony over, says Bede, the prelate took care to acquaint the king that since he was become a Christian he ought to build an house of prayer more suitable to the divinity he now adored, and adequate to the power and grandeur of so mighty a monarch as himself. By the Bishop's directions he began to build a magnificent fabrick of stone, ipso in loco, where the other stood, and in the midst of which enclosed the oratory already erected, to serve till the other was finished.

Bede tells us that this first temple of stone was a square building (*Templum per quadrum ædific.* Bede), and that it was also dedicated to St. Peter. It was demolished by Penda, the pagan king of Mercia.

It was repaired by Wilfrid in 669. He fixed on the roof and took care to cover all with lead, and glazed the windows to preserve it from the injuries of the weather, and prevent the birds from defiling it.

Eddius states:—It is plain by his testimony and that of the venerable Bede, contemporary, that masonry and glazing were used here long before Benedict the monk, who is put down as the first introducer of these arts into England. This building was burnt by Danes and Northumbrians in 1069.

#### *Athelstane against the Danes*

The Danish kings Sitbrick and Nigell his brother reigned beyond the Tyne, and Reginald had the city of York with all the country betwixt the rivers Tine and Humber.

These kings were at last compelled to submit to the arms of the victorious Athelstane, the successor of Edward, and, doing homage, were permitted to keep their possessions. Sitbrick had his daughter in marriage.

Anno 926. Sitbrick dying the first year of his marriage, his sons Godfrey and Aulaff, offended that their pagan gods were neglected by means of their father's last wife, stirred up the Northumbrian Danes to rebel; which attempt brought Athelstane upon them so suddenly that the two sons of Sitbrick, with

Reginald, had much ado to escape falling into his hands at York. The city he took, and with it all Northumberland submitted, except the castle at York.

What end made Reginald I know not; but the two brothers Godfrey and Anlaff, having been disappointed in their last attempt, fled, one into Scotland and the other into Ireland, in order to gain aid to try their fortunes again.

They entered the Humber with a fleet of 600 sail while Athelstane was carrying on war in Scotland, and marched on York.

They raised the siege of the castle, which had been blockaded by Athelstane. Athelstane met them at Brunanburg, since called Bromford, in Northumberland, where Athelstane gained a complete victory, and slew Constantine king of Scotland, five petty kings of Ireland and Wales, twelve general officers and destroyed the whole army. Athelstane, at his return to York from this victory, raised the castle to the ground, lest it should be any more a nursery of rebellion, and being now sole monarch of England, he conferred those honours on the churches of St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfrid at Ripon, which the monkish histories are so full of.

#### *The Coledei at York*

The hospital of St. Leonard was one of the antientest, as well as noblest, foundations of that kind in Britain. Anno 936, Athelstane, our famous Saxon monarch, being on his expedition to Scotland, in his way thither, visited three religious places, Beverley, York and Durham; where he requested the benefit of their devout prayers on his behalf, promising that if he succeeded well therein he would abundantly recompence them for the same.

Returning with a happy victory over Constantine, the Scotch king, which was gained near Dunbar in Scotland, he came to York, and in the cathedral church there offered his hearty thanks to God and St. Peter. Observing, in the same church, certain men of a sanctified life and honest conversation, called then Coledei, who relieved many poor people out of the little they had to live upon, therefore that they might better be enabled to sustain the said poor, keep hospitality, and exercise other works of piety, Anno 936, he granted to God and St. Peter, and the said Coledei, and to their successors for ever, one "thrave" of corn out of every carucate of land, or every plowgoing, in the bishopric of York; which to this day is called "Petercorn". For by grant of the inhabitants within that district, the king had to him and his successors the said thraves for destroying wolves; which in those days, so exceedingly wasted the country, that they almost devoured the tame beasts of the villages thereabouts; but by these means those ravenous creatures were totally destroyed.

These Coledei being thus possessed of the said "thraves" and a piece of wasteground which the king also gave them, began to found for themselves a certain hospital in the city of York; and they elected one of them to preside over the rest, for the better government and preservation of their rights and possessions.

They continued thus till the conquest; when William confirmed the said "thraves" to them. But his successor, William Rufus, was a much greater benefactor, for he translated the site of the hospital into the royal place where it now stands; as appears by many houses then being on it, which in times past belonged to the king's use. He likewise built a little church therein, and caused it to be dedicated to St. Peter; which name this hospital bore to the last, as their common seal testifies; "*Sigillum hospitalis sanai Petri Eboraci*".

King Henry I granted to them the enlargement of the close, wherein their house is situate, as far as the river Ouse; when he shall recover the same from the monks of St. Mary. He also confirmed to this hospital all the lands which either he himself, or Eustace Fitz-John, Lambert de Fossgate, or other of the king's men or burgesses, had formerly given thereunto, within or without the burgh; especially the land in Wesgate, which John Lardinarius had conferred



on them. He freed them from "gelds, customs", and granted to it the liberties of "Sac, Soc, Tol, Theme, and Insangtheos". As a special mark of his favour, this king took to himself the name of a brother and warden of this hospital, *frater enim et custos ejusdem domus Deo sum*.

King Stephen rebuilt this hospital in a more magnificent manner, and dedicated it to the honour of St. Leonard; and it has ever since been called *Hospitalis S. Leonardi*. This king confirmed the "thraves", which were as here expressed, all the oats which had been used to be gathered betwixt the rivers Trent and Scotland, for finding the king's bounds; which was twenty fair sheaves of corn of each plowland by the year, and appointed the dean and canons of the cathedral church to gather them for the relief of the said hospital. He likewise caused Nigel, mayor of York, to deliver up a certain place, by the West Wall of the city, to receive the poor and lame in.

All these privileges and possessions were confirmed by Henry II and King John; which last ratified them by his charter, and further granted to this hospital timber for their buildings, wood for their fires, with grass and pasturage for their cattle, through his whole forest of Yorkshire.

The hospital continued in these possessions, which were confirmed and much enlarged by several succeeding monarchs, and piously disposed noblemen and others, to the reign of Edward I, when that king, upon the return of a writ of *ad quod damnum*, granted to the master and brethren of this hospital liberty to take down the wall of the said hospital, which extended from Blake Street to Botham-barr, and to set up a new wall for enlarging the court of the said hospital, and so enclosed to hold the same to the master and successors for ever, dated Apr. 2, 27. Ed. I.

It would take up too much time to enumerate all the confirmations, privileges, charters, etc., that belonged to this once famous hospital, which had all the sanction of an Act of Parliament, the second of Henry VI to confirm them. Sir Thomas Witherington (*MS. History of York*) is very prolix upon this head, being then in possession of the coucher book belonging to the hospital, which is since repositied in the Cotton Library.

*From Sir Thomas Witherington's MS.*

Anno 1294. Walter Langton, master of St. Leonard's hospital, made certain orders for the brothers and sisters of it to this effect. That every learned chaplain should have a seat and a desk in the cloister, and all be present at mattins and other hours. That at least four brothers, besides the priest, should assist at the mass of the blessed virgin, and after having said all their masses to be at their chairs in the cloisters at prayers. How they should behave themselves in the choir, that one should read at their meals; that in summer they should sleep a little after dinner and then read, that after supper they should go to church and give thanks, and say complin, &c., that silence should be observed in the cloister, rectory and dormitory; that if any one happened to be incontinent, disobedient, or hold anything of his own, to be denied christian burial. That the lay brothers should not go beyond the door of the nave of the church, except in processions. That the sisters should have a convenient place for them in the church; and that neither any of them nor the lay brothers should go out of the bounds of the church without leave. The master had nothing to himself but reliefs, perquisites of courts, and alterages, which he might dispose of in small gifts for his own honour, and the honour of the house, as he should see expedient. He was to deliver the common seal of the house to the keeping of two brethren, under his own seal. They were not subject to any visitor, but the king or his deputies; though the hospital was in the collation of the dean and chapter of York.

The number that were constantly maintained in this hospital, besides those that were relieved by them elsewhere, were

A master .....	1
Brethren .....	13
Secular priests .....	4
Sisters .....	8
Choristers .....	30
Schoolmasters .....	2
Beadmen .....	26
Servitors .....	6
	<hr/>
	90

Reeves comments on this record that it would appear that these Colidei were the officiating clergy of the cathedral church of St. Peter's at York in 936, and that they discharged the double function of divine service and eleemosynary entertainment; thus combining the two leading characteristics of the old conventual system, which was common to the Irish and Benedictine rules. But when things assumed a new complexion, and a Norman Archbishop was appointed, and the foundation of a new cathedral laid, and a more magnificent scale established for the celebration of divine worship in this metropolitan church, the Colidei, an old order of officiating clergy, were superceded; and while they were excluded from their cathedral employment, they received an extension of their eleemosynary resources, and, in order to mark their severalty, they were removed to another quarter of the city, whither they took their endowments with them, and thus continued through several centuries, under an altered economy and title, till all memory of their origin had perished, save what was recorded in the preamble of their charter book.

The existence of the name "Colidei" at York in the beginning of the tenth century indicates some surviving traces of the Celtic school of ecclesiastical discipline. For the name is undoubtedly technical, and a form of Céli-dé, suited to the ears of a people who were ignorant of Celtic, but were familiar with Latin; and as the etymology of Colideus was in such harmony with the profession of the Céli-dé, the adaptation which the ear suggested was sanctioned by an apparent fitness. When this transformation of the name took place it is hard to say; but the memoranda, from which the chartulary derived this its earliest entry, seem to indicate that before the year 936 the term had undergone the change.

At all events it is a curious vestige of early Irish influence discernible amidst long continued Saxon usage, which, as we learn from Bede, was, in ecclesiastical polity, antagonistic to the Scotie system.

I have referred to the Keledei being a cult built on the earliest Christian teachings of St. John the Divine and Evangelist. We have direct confirmation of this in the statement of Coleman, the Metropolitan Bishop of York, a Ceil-de, at the Synod of Whitby in 664, when he contested with Wilfred at that Synod on the question of the correct date for celebrating Easter.

We have two accounts of what took place—

- (a) That by Eddeus, a scribe under Wilfred;
- (b) That by the Ven. Bede, Book III, chap. 25.

Eddeus states that Coleman, replying to the question of the correct date for Easter, said "Our fathers and those who went before them, inspired by the Holy Spirit, as was Columba, ordained the celebration of Easter on the 14th moon, (being) the Lord's Day, following the *example of John the Apostle and Evangelist*, who reclined in the bosom of our Lord, and was called the lover of the Lord. He celebrated Easter on the 14th moon, and we, as his disciples, Polycarp and others, on this trust celebrate. Nor can we dare, nor do we wish, having regard to our fathers, to change."

This is as quoted by A. Ua. Clerigh, who adds:—"Coleman was quite right in saying that what was known as the Johannine use was to celebrate on the 14th moon, being Sunday as well as on week-days.

I give two accounts of what Bede has to say by different translators.

That by A. M. Sellar in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England*, 1907:—"The Coleman said 'The Easter which I keep I received from my elders, who sent me hither as bishop; all our forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated it after the same manner; and that it may not seem to any contemptible and worthy to be rejected, it is the same which the blessed John the Evangelist, the disciple specially beloved of our Lord, with all the Churches over which he presided, is recorded to have celebrated'."

That by the Rev. George Young in *History of Whitby and Streoneshalh Abbey*, 1817:—"Coleman proceeded to address the meeting as follows: 'The Easter which I am wont to keep is what I received from those who sent me hither as bishop, and which all our fathers, men beloved of God, are known to have observed in the same way. Nor is it to be despised or rejected; for it is the same which the Evangelist John, the beloved disciple of the Lord, is said to have observed, with all the churches under his inspection'."

Both these accounts of Bede agree with that of Eddeus on the main point, but that of Eddeus is much more emphatic.

I have just been reading *The Company of Avalon*, by G. F. Bligh Bond, and have been much interested in the information he gives of the formation of the earliest settlement at Glastonbury. A circle of small huts surrounding a central shrine or church, also circular, and he quotes confirmation from William of Malmsbury, the twelfth century chronicler of Glastonbury.

He also records that Paulinus enclosed the *Vetusta Ecclesia* or Shrine with his church. This is exactly what Drake says he did at York, where the early wattle church was enclosed in the first stone church dedicated to St. Peter.

This formation of a circular church surrounded by a ring of huts or cells, and outside that a fence or cashel, was the formation of all the early settlements of the Celé-dé, both in Ireland and at Iona, as well as other places.

Some exception may be taken to *The Company of Avalon* on account of the means by which the information was obtained, "Automatic Writing", but I make no apology for mentioning this, as I have had a little personal experience of that means of obtaining information, and no trained scientist will condemn the means by which results that can be proved correct are obtained, even if for the present he cannot see how. The future may reveal the secret.

Who were the Culdees, or rather those who came to be known by that name at a much later date in history?

In this paper I have endeavoured to trace them by means of their peculiar mode of living, customs, form of dwellings and religious life, from the beginning of the Christian era, and slightly before that if we consider what Philo has to say. Then as the founders of the first monasteries and earliest monastic system, which spread from the shores of the Mediterranean to Ireland, then on to Scotland as far north as the Hebrides and Orkneys, where all the early churches and monastic sees were founded by those of this cult.

They spread southward from Scotland down the East of England to as far south as York, where we find them early in the seventh century.

We find that they were a religious cult, followers of the pure early Christian Church, without any frills or embellishments such as were adopted by the Latin Church of Rome, and especially that they were followers of the customs and practices of St. John the Evangelist.

Their lives were spent in the simple worship of God in peace, industry and doing good to their less fortunate fellow men, coupled with a form of

missionary work among those who had not heard of the Christian faith. But they were not taken up with dogma or parochial life.

Coleman, a Culdee and Metropolitan Bishop of York, when contesting with Wilfred at the Synod at Whitby in the year 664, gives us the direct confirmation that the Culdees were followers of St. John the Evangelist, and carried on the same customs and practices instituted by the Apostles.

It is evident that they built their early oratories and surrounding dwellings or cells themselves, of whatever materials were at hand. When they were founding a new mission the leader or head always took with him twelve disciples, e.g., St. Columbanus, St. Columba and St. Aidan.

When Paulinus of the Latin Church of Rome came to York in the year 627, in the retinue of the Princess Ethelburga, on her marriage to Edwin King of Northumbria, he found there a little Oratory of wood, where he baptized Edwin, and immediately persuaded the King to build a church of stone enclosing the little wooden Oratory. Paulinus remained in Northumbria until the year 633, when he accepted the see of Rochester. He died in the year 644.

As Coleman was Metropolitan Bishop of York in 664, and the Coledei were in charge there, it certainly looks as if they were there before Paulinus came, for the little wooden Oratory was of the type used by the Coledei in all their settlements, and this was immediately covered by a stone church by Paulinus. The Coledei were still in charge during Athelstane's time, and continued until William Rufus removed their hospital to another part of the city, and further augmented its resources.

They built the hospital and church of St. Peter on a site inside the City of York, the name being changed later by King Stephen to that of St. Leonards when it was removed to another site outside the city proper.

From Drake's *Eboracum* we understand that those at York received some form of charter from Athelstane in the year 936, and that this had to be, and was, confirmed from King to King, in the same manner as stated in the Old Charges, as quoted by Henry Sadler in *Masonic Facts and Fictions*, page 205. "And gave them the Charter and the commission to keepe, and made an ordynaunce that yt should be renewed from Kyng to Kyng".

It looks to me as if this Athelstane charter to the Coledei at York, covering the thraves of corn and also land for building their hospital, may be the same as the traditional Masons' Charter granted by the same King.

We understand from the later Armagh records that the Culdees were responsible for the fabric of the Church, and that they held the office of Magister operis Majoris Ecclesiæ.

From the obituary notices of Armagh we have evidence that some of them had this title, Master of the Work.

Also the terms Magister and Warden were applied to the Superior of their settlements.

Referring again to the traditional Masons' Charter, it goes on to say: "And when the assembly was gathered together he (Edwin) made a crye that all olde massons & yoong that had any wryting or understanding of the charges and the mann's that weare made before in this land or in any other yt they should bring and shewe them forth. And when yt was proved their were founde some in ffreanche, some in Greeke and some in english and some in other langage and they weare found all to one intent."

Who would be the most likely people to possess any books or manuscripts in those days; they were very scarce and highly prized? Certainly not the ordinary operative masons.

The only persons would be those who had been through the monasteries, where Greek and other languages were studied, and were capable of producing copies of books themselves in manuscript, as there was no printing then. The Culdees were the most likely, for we have seen that they paid great attention

to learning and philosophy, also copying and illuminating manuscripts in their monasteries.

I am much indebted to Bro. Heron Lepper for drawing my attention to the *Masonic Manual* by Rev. Jonathan Ashe, from the 2nd Edition, 1825, of which I quote the following extracts, as they are evidence of a direct connection between those who came to be called Culdees and what has developed into Masonry.

*Page 149.* "Soon after Christianity became the established religion of this country the professors of it employed themselves in founding religious houses, and in the building of places of worship.

A fervour for endowments infatuated the minds of the converted; certain days were assigned for the purpose of attending to religious works and edifices, called haly-wark-days, on which no man of what profession, rank or estate soever, was exempt from attending that duty.

Besides, there was a set of men called haly-wark-folk, to whom were assigned certain lands, which they held by the service of repairing, defending, or building churches and sepulchres; for which pious labours they were free from all feudal and military services: these men being stone cutters and builders, might also be of our profession, and most probably they were. The county of Durham entertained a particular set of these haly-wark-folk, who were guards of the patrimony and holy sepulchre of St. Cuthbert. Those men come the nearest to a similitude of Solomon's Masons, and the title of Free and Accepted Masons, of any degree of architects we have gained any knowledge of: but whether their initiation was attended with peculiar ceremonies, or by what laws they were regulated we have not been able to discover; and must lament that in the church records of Durham, or in any public records, there is not the least remains of evidence, touching those people and the constitution of their society. It was a matter to be coveted by us studying this subject, as most probably such constitution or evidence would have confirmed every hypothesis we have raised on the definition of our emblems and mysteries.

The emblems used by these people very much resembled the emblems of our society, several tokens of which have been found of late years in pulling down ruined monasteries.

It is much to be wished that those noblemen, &c., on whose estates ancient abbeys stand, would, on all occasions of pulling down or repairing, give instructions to their workmen to preserve with care any antique marks, characters, or emblems they may find. There are double walls, or hollow pillars, in which such things were deposited. Few men will be at the expense of digging to the foundations of such buildings, where valuable marks and curious inscriptions might be found on the foundation, or what was called the angle-stone, which formed a perfect cube."

*Page 159.* "During the reign of Henry the Second, when the English first engaged in the Holy war, there were not less than one hundred and eleven abbeys, nunneries, and religious houses founded in this kingdom; during the reign of Richard the First eighteen; and during the reign of Henry the Third forty. — — —

The ecclesiastics, in imitation of the works of Solomon, might become masters of those works, and superintend and conduct the labours of the inferior sect of haly-wark-folk; that by acceptable hands such pious works might be conducted, and from whence the ignorant and profane might be rejected, like the Samaritans; these might assume the honary title of Masons, which, from vulgar acceptance, would naturally confound with ordinary mechanics."

*Page 160.* "In the Anglo-Norman Antiquities, it is said of Freemasons that they were a religious association, who engaged in the founding and erecting of churches and religious houses in Palestine. I have already mentioned the

religious sect who were really architects and builders of churches, the haly-wark-folk, with no small degree of respect. They were a body of men subsisting before the crusades; they were maintained by the church, under which they held lands for the service of erecting and repairing holy edifices and guarding the sepulchres of saints. It is not improbable that when the rage of holy works and holy wars agitated all Europe, that a body of these people might embark in the enterprise, and be transported thither to build churches for the better planting or propagating the Christian doctrine, or to guard and maintain the holy sepulchre. We would be ready at all times to admit these emigrants might possess some rules and ceremonies for initiation peculiar to themselves, so far as the bearers of burdens were admitted under Solomon in the building of Jerusalem, and that they might retain their singular maxims and principles of secrecy; and it may also be admitted that, in honour of that gradation of Masonry and of their profession, they might claim the great antiquity, from Solomon's temple at least; they might even be more than a collateral branch of the Free and Accepted Masons, as we have before admitted, and be initiated in the mysteries of Masonry, their occupation being in no wise incompatible with our profession, and they might be known and distinguished by the title of Operative Masons, as the Essenes were divided into Theoricks and Patricks. But from the writings of the author of the *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*, we are convinced he was not a Free and Accepted Mason himself; and the secrecy of that society had attracted the attention of many, who, as their curiosity was exercised, raised conjectures respecting the name of Masons, to discover their origin and principles, or to reconcile their own opinions; from whence nothing is more likely to strike the attention of an historian than this body of men, the haly-wark-folk, as if they were Masons."

*Page 161.* "Our origin in this country is thought to be from the Phœnicians, and afterwards the emigrants from the Holy Land, who taught us the rules instituted by Solomon at the temple at Jerusalem; and finally the propagators of the Christian doctrine, who brought with them the principles of the Master's Order, and taught the converted those sacred mysteries which are typical of the Christian faith, and expressive of the hope of the resurrection of the body and the life of regeneration."

*Page 164.* "After these pursuits subsided (the crusades), bodies of men would be found in every country from whence levies were called; and what would preserve the society in every state, even during the persecutions of zealots, the Master Mason's Order under its present principles, which is adapted to every sect of Christians. It originated from the earliest influence of Christianity, in honour to, or in confession of, the religion and faith of Christians, before the poison of the sectaries was diffused over the church.

To the ancient rules, deduced from Solomon, other laws and ordinances were added, during the enterprises of the crusaders, for the prevention of riot, luxury, and disorder; and for maintaining that necessary subordination which the command of such armies required. Many of those rules we retain in the conduct and government of our lodge, which can in no wise be deduced from any other original."

We have in the county of Durham a K.T. Preceptory called the Halywerfolc Preceptory, after these haly-wark-folk; the former seems to be the Saxon word and has the meaning Holy work people.

Now Aidan founded the See of Lindisfarn in 634. Coleman was its Bishop 661-664, when he went to York. Cuthbert was its Bishop in 685; Eardulph the 16th and last Bishop of Lindisfarn 854.

After Lindisfarn was sacked by the Danes he founded the See of Chester-le-Street and was its Bishop until 900.

When Lindisfarn was sacked the monks escaped, taking with them, among other things, the body of St. Cuthbert; and after many wanderings the body was placed in the little Oratory at Chester-le-Street which became the shrine of St. Cuthbert until the remains were finally placed in Durham in 1104, shortly after its foundation.

It is recorded that Wigred was appointed Bishop of Chester-le-Street by King Athelstane in 928, when he visited the shrine of St. Cuthbert on his way to Scotland, and that he confirmed the possessions and privileges of the church, with the additional grants of South Wearmouth and its dependencies, viz., Weston, Offerton, Silksworth, two Ryhopes, Burdon, Seaham, Seaton, Dalton, Dalden and Heselden.

All these bishops were Culdees. So that at that time the whole of the North-East of England, as far South as York at least, was under the control of the Culdees as far as religious instruction was concerned. They had all received their training either at the mother settlement of Ioua, now called Iona, or Old Melrose, or Lindisfarn.

The only member of the Latin Church of Rome who lived in the district during the period is the Venerable Bede, of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, whose date is given as 673-735.

The earliest Guilds were the church or cathedral guilds, which developed later into the various craft guilds, the influence of the church being shown by the religious plays performed during the Corpus Christi festivals.

Now Bishop Coleman, at the Synod of Whitby, stated that they, the Culdees, were followers of St. John the Evangelist.

From the following evidence I think that there seems to be a distinct connection between those who came to be called Culdees and the Masonry of St. John, if not the whole of Speculative Masonry.

In Scotland we have frequent references to "the Masonry of St. John"; mark you, not "the St. Johns". This definitely refers to St. John the Evangelist.

This St. John, the brother of James, was a pillar of the church at Jerusalem. The theme of a large part of his writings was God's love for man, and the exhortation for brotherly love between men. The simple teaching of the early church as followed by those who were called Culdees.

Now in an old set of lectures on the three degrees, H.R.A. and K.T., with a watermark date in the paper of 1794, and a definite date of 1797 in writing, evidently Athol, and possibly originating from old York, we find the following in connection with the building of a symbolic Lodge, at the end of the 3rd Part (3rd Deg.), 3rd Section:—

M. To whom will you dedicate your Lodge?

A. To God and Holy St. John.

M. Why do you dedicate it to Holy St. John?

A. Because St. John taught and preached Brotherly Love as the Cape Stone of Religion, for Love is the fulfilling of the Law.

The circle between two parallel lines and St. John the Baptist are never mentioned throughout the lectures.

David Murray Lyon, in his *Freemasonry in Scotland*, on page 39 refers to a jotting in the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh, Mary's Chapel, under the date 27th November, 1599:

"First, it is ordanit that the haill Wardenis sal be chosen ilk year preciselie at Sanct Jhonees day, to wit the xxvii day of december and thairafter the said Generall Warden be advertesit quha are chosen wardenis".

And on page 170, in a note at the bottom of the page, he says "The raising of the 24th June to the rank of a red-letter day in the Scotch Masonic Calender is more likely to have been done after the example of the English Grand Lodge; for taking the records of Mary's Chapel and Kilwinning as conclusive evidence on the point, the holding of Lodge assemblies on St. John the Baptist's Day was never a custom of the Scottish Fraternity until after the erection of Grand Lodge. Of the meetings of the Lodge of Edinburgh between the years 1599 and 1756, only some half dozen happened to fall on the 24th June, and the first mentioning of the Lodge celebrating the Festival of St. John the Baptist is in 1757."

St. John the Baptist seems to have been a later introduction both in England and Scotland.

All the old Lodges in Scotland kept their annual Festival on St. John the Evangelist's Day, 27th December.

The records of the Brechin Lodge (Brechin, St. Ninan's another Culdee See), Scotland, of date December 27th, 1714, say:—"It is a statute and ordained that every member of the Lodge duly and strictly attend the brethren upon St. John's Day, yearly, for commemorating the said Apostle our Patron Saint, under penalty of forty shillings Scots.  
Banff, 7th January, 1765.

3rd. Our Great annual festival is St. John the Evangelist's day the Twenty Seventh of December at which time Every Member of the Lodge must attend and account for his quarterly payments which is three pence Sterling Quarterly to each Operative Mason and four pence halfpennie to each Geometrical Mason."

These are given as examples, and more could be quoted.

A quotation from *Book M. or Masonry Triumphant*, by W. Smith, printed by Leonard Umfreville, 1736, may be of interest.

Page 13, Lecture III

"That great Saint and beloved Disciple of our Lord whose Festival we Masons celebrate today frequently made use of this expression, Little children, love ye one another."

From the General Regulations approved 24th June, 1721, when John Duke of Montague was unanimously chosen Grand Master.

Page 66 (Reg.), XXII

"The Brethren of all the Lodges in and about London and Westminster shall meet at an annual Communication and Feast, in some convenient Place, on St. John Baptist's Day, or else on St. John Evangelist's Day, as the Grand-Lodge shall think fit by a new Regulation, having of late years met on St. John Baptist's Day:"

I quote this because it seems to be an attempt to placate the trouble that had arisen between a section of the brethren and the Grand Lodge, whom they accused of departing from the old customs and landmarks, one of which was changing the annual Feast Day from 27th December, St. John the Evangelist's Day.

In Albert G. Mackey's *Lexicon of Freemasonry*, under "John's Brothers", is the following:—

"In the 'Charter of Cologne' it is said that before the year 1440, the society of Freemasons were known by no other name than that of 'John's Brothers', that they then began to be called at Valenciennes, Free and accepted Masons."

Also under "Royal Order of Scotland".



"There is reason to suppose that it (R.O.S.) and the Grand Lodge of St. John's masonry were governed by the same Grand Master at Kilwinning." And further on, "The Culdees, as is well known, introduced Christianity into Scotland, and, from their known habits there are good grounds for believing that they preserved among them a knowledge of the ceremonies and precautions adopted for their protection in Judea".

Again, from *The Freemason's Manual*, by Jeremiah How, London, 1862. Page 344. The Royal Order of Heredom and Rosy Cross.

"Dr. Oliver says, the Heredom was not originally Masonic, but appears to have been connected with some ceremonies of the early Christians, which are believed to have been introduced by the Culdees, whose principal seat was at I-Colm-Kill, during the second and third centuries of the Christian era."

There is an old saying, "Where there's smoke there's fire", and this must be my excuse for giving you these odd quotations from various sources with regard to the Culdees and St. John the Evangelist. There must be a germ of truth in them all.

From the evidence I have put before you there seems to be quite reasonable grounds for considering that the masonry of St. John and possibly the Speculative side of Free Masonry may have originated under the influence of the old Keledei or Culdee.

I wonder now if our late Bro. Songhurst had something of the sort in the back of his mind when he asked me that day at 27, Great Queen Street, Who were the Culdees?

#### APPENDIX A.

#### METRICAL RULE OF THE CELI-DE

Of the Celi-De down here. Reeves pp. 82, 83.

If we be under the yoke of clergyhood,  
 Noble is the calling;  
 We frequent the holy church  
 At every canonical hour perpetually,  
 When we hear the little bell,  
 The tribute is indispensable;  
 We lift up a ready heart,  
 We cast down our faces.  
 We sing a Pater and a Gloria,  
 That no curse may fall upon us;  
 We consecrate the breast and face  
 With the sign of Christ's cross.  
 As we enter the church  
 We kneel thrice;  
 We bend not the knee only  
 On the Sundays of the living God.  
 We celebrate and we instruct,  
 Without weakness, without sorrow;  
 Noble is the person we invoke,  
 The Lord of the heaven of clouds.  
 We watch, we read, we pray,  
 Each according to his strength:  
 According to the time, you contemplate,  
 At gloria until tierce.  
 Each order proceeds according to its duty,  
 According to the proper manner,  
 As is appointed to each,  
 From tierce to none.

The people in orders (priests), for prayer,  
 For the mass rightly;  
 The readers for teaching  
 According as is their strength.  
 The youth for humility,  
 As is in the law:  
 For the property of the devil  
 Is a body that hath pride.  
 Labour for the illiterate,  
 After the will of pious clerics:  
 The wise man's work is in his mouth,  
 The ignorant man's work is in his hand.  
 Celebration each canonical hour  
 With each we perform:  
 Three genuflexions before celebration,  
 Three more after it.  
 Silence and fervour,  
 Tranquility without guile,  
 Without murmur, without contention,  
 Is due of every one.

*MS. Trin. Coll. Dubl.*, II.2, 16, cols. 224, 225.

Possibly there is a reference here to the practice of standing which was anciently enjoined on the Lord's Day. See Bingham, *Antiq. lib.*, xiii.

#### APPENDIX B.

An extract from a MS. of Jocelyn's *Life of St. Kentigern*, preserved in Primate Marsh's Library, Dublin, v. 3, 4, 16, fol. 29b, among the MSS. which Bishop Stearne of Clogher bequeathed to that collection.

Jocelyn, 1190, in his *Life of St. Kentigern*, who, he alleges, was a Culdee, says—

"They were accustomed to fastings and sacred vigils, intent on psalms and prayers and meditation on the divine law, content with modest diet and dress and employed in manual labour at fixed seasons and hours; for after the fashion of the primitive church under the Apostles and their successors, possessing nothing of their own, living with due sobriety, justice and piety, and with very great continance, they yet dwelt, as did St. Kentigern himself, each in his own cot (in singulis casulis) from the time when they had ripened in age and wisdom; whence, too, those 'singular' clerics (singulares clerici) were styled by the common people 'colledei'.

They lived apart from secular life in companies numbering twelve with a prior or abbot or provost at their head. Each had a cell or chamber to himself. Marriage was permitted, but married men were not allowed to take their wives into their cells.

They were not elected nor appointed to office. Son succeeded father as heir to privileges and fortunes. They conducted worship, practised charity towards the poor, and were much occupied with the study of the Bible".

#### APPENDIX C.

Reeves from the notes on *The Culdee Controversy*.

A real step in advance was taken in 1718, by the publication of John Toland's *Nazarenus*. The writer, who was a native of Inishowen, and, as Shane O'Tuholan, spoke Irish as his mother tongue, was able to apply a branch of knowledge to the subject which hitherto had been unemployed. Justly censuring the etymological surmises of Lloyd and Stillingfleet (they referred to cells), he declares that the Culdees were constantly called Keledei, from the

original Irish or ancient Scottish word Ceile-de, signifying separated or espoused to God; these having been likewise very numerous in Ireland, and in all the Irish writers invariably known by this name. From Ceile-de many of the Latin writers made Colidei in the plural number; and others, who did not understand this word, did from the mere sound (like our two great bishops' derivations) interpret it Cultores Dei, whence the modern word Culdees, though it be Keldees and Kelledei in all the ancient Scottish writings. Ceile-de both name and thing, cannot be deny'd by any man who's tolerably versed in the language of the Irish and their books.

A period had now arrived when the literature of Scotland was to be "reformed from Hector Boethius", and this revolution was due to Thomas Innes, whose *Critical Essay*, in 1729, broke down the fictions of the old belief. He was not able, however, to shake off the Columbite error, as appears from his ingenious application of the expressions, "Deo serviendi non saeculo" and "Dei famulus", as employed by Venerable Bede in reference to the Scotie missionaries of Northumbria (*Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 26). All this made so deep an impression on the people that not only they thronged in to hear them and to receive their blessing and instructions, when any of them came into their neighbourhood, says Bede, but it obtained to them among the vulgar, the peculiar name of Servants of God, expressed in former times by the word Ceiledee or Keledee, so famous in our country in following ages, but whether originally Pictish or Gaelic is not easy to determine at this distance of time.

However, though the word Kekedee be now become obsolete, it is still expressed in Gaelic by the word Gildee or Guildhee, which hath the same signification, and almost the same sound.

And again, concerning Dunkeld, Milne tells us that the religious persons placed in it for performing Divine Service were called Kildees, which was the vulgar name given in those days to churchmen in our country, especially to those that lived together in communities. They were originally the same with the Columbites, formerly so called because they followed the rule of St. Columbia. (*Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, pp. 191, 331.)

#### APPENDIX D.

##### EXTRACTS FROM THE ANCIENT IRISH TALES.

1. The Legend of St. Moling, from the *Book of Leinster*, a manuscript of the early half of the twelfth century.

One time, as he was praying in his church, he saw a youth coming to him into the house. A purple garment was about him, and he had a distinguished countenance. That is good, O cleric, said he. Amen said Moling. Why doest thou not salute me? said the youth. Who art thou? said Moling. I, said he, am Christ, the Son of God. This is not possible, said Moling: when Christ approaches to converse with the Celi-de, it is not in purple . . . he comes, but in forms of the miserable, i.e. of the sick and lepers.

2. The same legend from the *Book of Lismore*, a manuscript of the fifteenth century.

Moling of Luachair, foster-son of Maedoc of Ferns. It was from Maedoc he received Tech-Moling: of th Ui Deagad Mors of Leinster was he. Once, as Moling was praying in his church, he saw a youth coming to him into the house; garments of purple were about him, and he had a distinguished countenance. That is good, O cleric, said he. Amen, said Moling. I am Christ the Son of God, said he. It is not possible, indeed, said Moling. When Christ comes to converse with the Celi-De, not royal purple are his clothes: but it is in the forms of the wretched, and of the sick, and of the lepers that he comes.

## EXTRACTS FROM THE IRISH ANNALS.

- No. 1. A.D. 806 (recte 811). In this year the Celi-de came over the sea with dry feet, without a vessel; and a written roll was given him from heaven, out of which he preached to the Irish; and it was carried up again when the sermon was finished. This ecclesiastic used to go every day southwards across the sea, after finishing his sermon. *Four Masters. Chronicon Scotorum*, 811.
- No. 2. A.D. 919 (recte 921). Macnach, a Celi-de, came across the sea westwards to establish laws in Ireland. *Four Masters. Chronicon Scotorum*, 921.
- No. 3. Eodem anno. Godfrey, grandson of Ivar, took up his residence at Ath-oliath; and Ardmacha was afterwards plundered by him and his army, on the Saturday before St. Martin's festival; but he spared the houses of prayer, with the Celi-de and the sick. *Four Masters*.
- No. 4. An. 920 (recte 921). The spoiling of Ardmacha on the 10th of November by the foreigners of Dublin, i.e. by Godfrith, grandson of Ivar with his army, on the Saturday of St. Martin's feast; who saved the houses of prayer, with their people of God, the Celi-de and the sick, and the whole church-town, except some houses which were burned through neglect. *Annals of Ulster*.
- No. 5. A.D. 947. A year of wonders, that is, in which the leaf came from heaven, and in which the Celi-de used to come off the sea from the south, to preach to the Gaoidhel. *Chronicon Scotorum*.

## THE CULDEES.

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A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Booth for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. L. Edwards, seconded by Bro. F. R. Radice; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, W. W. Covey-Crump, R. E. Parkinson and J. H. Lepper.

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Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

I think we must all welcome Bro. Booth's first paper read before this Lodge, not only for the interesting material he has provided and the manner in which he has dealt with it, but also for the very pleasant way in which he has read it.

The *Catholic Encyclopedia* (art. Culdees) says of his subject: "The Etymology of the term, the persons designated by it, their origin, their doctrines, the rule or rules under which they lived, the limits of their authority and privileges have all been matters of controversy; and on the questions much learning and ability has been shown and not a little partizan zeal." But in spite of these unpromising conditions, Bro. Booth has succeeded in giving us a conspectus of the learning on the subject, and this conspectus in itself does much to clear away the clouds which have so much obscured it. From what is then seen each will draw his own inferences—logical ones, we hope, though sometimes we fear they may be influenced by personal predilections. If we adopt the view of Bishop Dowden, in his *Celtic Church in Scotland*, that the Culdees originated in "an attempt to aim at the higher perfections of an ascetic life" and that there is no evidence that they "differed from the rest of Christendom at the period either in regard to faith or in their views of Church government", we cannot well accept the views of those who believe in something in the nature of a secret oral tradition.

As to some of the details considered by our author the succession of *Magister Operis Majoris Ecclesie* is an interesting fact to add to our many known instances among bodies concerned with building operations, but carries us no further on the speculative side. The prominence of St. John the Evangelist in both Culdean and Masonic references is at least an interesting coincidence, but in the absence of anything more definite must remain so. There is further the connection with York, but this might have arisen from the operatives of the Minster at least as much as from the Culdees of St. Leonards Hospital, and the influence of the Culdees, apart from insignificant survivals, seems to have died out before the rise of the mediæval operative lodges, such as those of York whose Fabric Rolls have come down to us.

Bro. Booth has answered Bro. Songhurst's question well and worthily, he has stated the facts, given his authorities (some of the later Masonic ones like Ashe and How may be too secondhand and vague to impress us), and he suggests his inferences not unfairly. For these reasons I move that our thanks be accorded him for this interesting paper.

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Bro. F. R. RADICE writes:—

I have great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Bro. Booth for his paper on this obscure subject. Bro. Booth has performed a piece of work of considerable value in bringing together most of the references to the Culdees, a piece of work which is bound to be of assistance to future investigators.

In this connection I will start by offering one or two criticisms. It is difficult to gather from the galley proof before us what exactly is quotation and what is Bro. Booth's own opinion. For example, I have been unable to discover exactly what has been quoted from A. R. Macewan, p. 7.

To pass now to the subject of the paper, I am not quite clear as to whom Bro. Booth wishes to apply the term Culdee. From page 14 one would infer

that he regards the early pre-Christian hermits in the desert as Culdees and likewise all the subsequent missionaries who travelled through Spain up the Atlantic coast to Ireland and from Ireland to Scotland and the Northumbrian Kingdom. I am not altogether sure that he does not wish us to regard as Culdees the primitive tribes whose migrations to Ireland followed the same route. This attribution seems to be altogether too wide, and on present evidence I doubt very much whether we should be justified in designating as Culdees anyone outside that fraternity of churchmen founded by St. Maelruain, p. 8, which kind of Canonical order came to be regarded throughout the varied circumstances of their subsequent development as a separate class of churchmen. I think that at present it would be but ordinary prudence to narrow down our designation in this way.

On the other hand I find Bro. Booth's explanation of the origin of the word Culdee completely satisfactory, though I must leave to philologists the final decision on the point.

Bro. Booth's paper has given me additional pleasure because it helps to shed some light on that very interesting yet very obscure period in our history, the Anglo-Saxon period, and I cannot help feeling that a critical examination of the building work of that time would be well worth while. The reason why we as Freemasons should take an interest in the Culdees and their doings is of course that they were regarded by some as our forerunners, and in this respect what Bro. Booth says about their building and the title of Master of the Works which was in some cases conferred on some of them is of great interest. We must admit nevertheless that there are too many links missing in the chain which would bind us to the Culdees for us to regard the connection between them and our Fraternity as speculative in the extreme, and for the time being it is wiser to reserve our judgment.

King Athelstan's donation to the York Culdees however stands in a different category. When we consider how legends arose in those days, when the truth was so difficult to ascertain, we may well wonder whether Bro. Booth has not discovered in this charter of King Athelstan to the Culdees after Brunnanburgh the *fons et origo* of the legend in the Ancient Charges which attributes to Athelstan or Edwin the traditional Mason's Charter. It seems to me that here we leave behind mere speculation and enter on the realm of probability. Incidentally the identification of Brunnanburg with Bromford is new to me. Burnswark and Bromberrow have hitherto held the field.

Lastly, Bro. Booth has pointed out that the Culdees were Johannites or followers of St. John. Herein may lie the explanation of the antagonism of the clergy of the Latin Church to the Culdees in later times. Some bold speculators among mediæval Churchmen propounded the idea that a third revelation was about to take place and a new gospel was to be given to man. They argued that the Old Testament was the revelation of God the Father; and the New Testament the revelation of our Lord; the Third Gospel was to be the revelation of the Holy Ghost, and this was to be traced back to the writings of St. John the Evangelist. Such bold speculation dangerously approached the appearance of heresy, and it would not be surprising if the orthodox clergy would look askance at those who regarded themselves as followers of St. John and would therefore be, in their eyes, potential heretics.

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Bro. J. HERON LEPPER writes:—

We must all be grateful to our Bro. Booth for the time and patience he has devoted to preparing an exposition of a subject which is full of difficulties, not only because material has to be gathered from widely scattered sources, but also because the passions and prejudices of men have drawn varied conclusions from the same set of facts.

It seems to me that the essayist has done his work well in presenting us with an answer to the question asked by our late beloved Bro. Songhurst: "Who were the Culdees?"

It is just because Bro. Booth has done his task so thoroughly that a commentator, such as myself, who has never examined the matter closely will find himself much at a loss to supply any addition of value.

That I happen to be in a position to add a few stones to the cairn is due to the circumstance that quite recently our Grand Lodge Library has been enriched by the gift of some of the MSS. of a P.M. of this Lodge, the late Bro. George Norman, M.D.

Bro. Norman has made a special study of the early Irish Church and its missionaries, and had roamed through remote parts of Ireland visiting the remains of the Celtic monasteries and churches, thus acquiring a minute knowledge of the subject. Some of this knowledge he embodied in a series of lectures, and from these latter I offer the following excerpts, with every confidence that their author would thoroughly have approved of the purpose to which they are now being applied, the increase of our knowledge, and an aid to the labours of a fellow-toiler in the same field of research.

The selection I have made is purely arbitrary.

Here, then, are some of Bro. Norman's conclusions and facts.

"The idea of retiring from the world to some solitary place for prayer and penance arose early in the history of the Christian Church, and was first practiced in the deserts of Egypt, partly with a view of escaping from the abominations of the heathen world, and partly from the desire to escape the fiendish cruelty of the persecutions under the Roman Emperors. . . .

St. Martin of Tours may be claimed as the founder of monasticism in Gaul, for as early as 358 he retired to a small island near Alasio with one companion priest, and there for three years practised austerity of life. . . . He then went to Poitiers and established a monastery at a place near by . . . a spot interesting to us, as it must have been visited by St. Patrick.

The enthusiasm for the monastic life created by St. Martin was fostered and disciplined at the famous monastery of Lerins, a small island in the bay of Cannes. . . . The point of special interest to us in connection with the monastery of Lerins is the fact that St. Patrick here received the training probably between 411 and 415 which fitted him for his great life work as a missionary. . . .

Iona is a bare island three miles long, separated from the mountainous island of Mull by a strait, generally stormy and troubled. On the southern shore is a small sandy cove bounded on both sides by steep and rugged cliffs. A patch of green sward runs down to the sandy margin of the little bay, and outside it is sheltered from the fury of the winds by several rocky islets, through which, however, a currach might easily pass even in broken weather and reach the little sandy beach in safety. This cove is still called Port na Churraich, and it is the unfailing tradition that it was in this cove Columba and his companions first landed. The rule of life in Iona and in all the monasteries afterwards founded under the Columban rule was to let not a single hour pass which should not be occupied either by prayer, reading, writing, or some other useful work. . . . Combine with this intense earnestness of purpose, entire self-sacrifice, a heart full of compassion, and a power to infuse these qualities into those working with him, and you have the key to his success in his great battle with paganism.

We are apt to be carried away by the charming characters of these Celtic saints, their zeal, devotion, and self-sacrifice which appeal to the hearts of all men—their goodness and nobleness which attest the heavenly origin of the Faith they taught. Yet we have to recognise that their work had its weak points; for devoid of the organisation which was the strength of the Roman Church they made the clan system the basis of their government, and this, even in Ireland where at first it had been so successful, led ultimately to disastrous results through the difficulty of separating tribal quarrels and ecclesiastical controversies.

The Church of England needed unity above all things and discipline and organisation as well, and we must acknowledge that she learnt much from being drawn into the main stream of civilization which then flowed through Rome . . . Let us, however, ever remember that it is to the Celtic missionaries we owe that free and independent spirit which has ever characterized the English church."

So far Bro. Norman.

I shall confine my own contribution to one small matter only, that of St. John as the patron saint of Craftsmen.

Bro. Booth inclines to the opinion that the Evangelist is the Saint of that name most worthy of the honour.

I am inclined to doubt this.

In Italy the preference certainly went to the Baptist in some places, as the following two extracts, reported with more than five hundred years' interval between them, go to show:

"One day as he stood at the window with his bride, he saw a number of people pass along the piazza with lighted torches in their hands. 'What is the meaning of this?' he asked. The lady answered: 'They are artificers going to make their offerings at the church of St. John, this being his festival!'"

That is taken from *Il Pecorone*, written by P. Giovanni Fiorentino in the year 1378.

The next extract is from the *Observer* of 28th June, 1925, sent by "Our Own Correspondent" from Florence.

"St. John the Baptist has been patron saint of Florence since the sixth century, at least, and no patron saint has ever had more honour paid to him. The 24th June is still the crowning festival of the Florentine year. The town councillors are escorted in procession to the Baptistery, where they hear mass and make the traditional offering of wax candles to their patron saint.

When Mass was over the crowd drifted by common consent to Piazza della Signoria, to see the tapestries which are always hung out on great festivals in the Loggia dei Lanzi—specimens from the almost untold wealth of tapestries which are the heritage of Florence from Midecean days.

In old days a horse-race through the streets occupied the afternoon of St. John's day. We move with the times, and this year the chariots of the air were to have assembled at the Campo di Marte for a grand aviation meeting, but some unforeseen difficulty has caused this part of the programme to be postponed until next Sunday. Still, there were bands of music all about the town, and a public 'Tombola' or lottery in the Piazza della Signoria which filled up the time until evening came, and the pagan fires of mid-summer night began to glow all round us in ethereal and spiritualized form." Etc., etc.



From Italy, the mother of the liberal arts, the observance of St. John passed into Germany. My next extract is from a book by Johannes Butzbach, who was born in 1478 near Mainz, became a wandering scholar, and travelled through Germany, Bohemia, and Holland. After settling down as a monk he wrote in the year 1506 an account of his voyagings in Latin for the guidance of his younger brother, also a wandering scholar. This book, entitled *Hodoporicon*, is full of interesting pictures of the life of the times. Here is how he describes his leave-taking from home: his father, after imparting much good advice, indulged himself in ritual.

"He took a can filled with wine, made the sign of the cross over it, and spoke as follows: 'Take this, my dearest son, and drink with me as a last ceremony the blessing of Holy St. John'. When I begged him to be the first to drink of it, he would not.

When he had drunk after me, he handed me back the can, so that I might pledge my mother, and after her my brothers, sisters and other relatives from the same vessel. Now when each of them had taken a sip, he invited my travelling companion, who was now to take his place (as father) with me, to take a draught also, and did so in sweet, friendly terms."

Thus we see that St. John was invoked as the patron saint of young travellers, and probably by all manner of wayfaring men as well.

Grimm in his *Teutonic Mythology* (Stallybrass's translation, 1880, page 62 *et seq.*) tells us that in the Middle Ages St. John and St. Gertrude were the two saints most particularly honoured in drinking healths. This was because John had drunk poisoned wine without suffering hurt, while Gertrude was esteemed as a peacemaker.

Christians made the sign of the cross over the cup, just as the heathens had hitherto made that of Thor's Hammer, that sign of evil omen, the modern Swastika.

Similarly, drinking a libation to Thor was succeeded by drinking a libation to St. John, probably the origin of the ceremony indulged in by Butzbach's father.

Truly, there is nothing new under the sun.

In conclusion I thank Bro. Booth for a most suggestive and valuable contribution to our annals.

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Bro. RODK. II. BAXTER writes:—

It is not difficult to imagine the delight with which Bro. Booth, who is the Junior Substitute Magus of the Rosicrucians, approached the preparation of his exhaustive paper on the Culdees. It seems to me, however, that he has gone a long way round to develop his theme that there was a connection between that cult, who were followers of St. John the Evangelist, and the St. John Masons, so well known to us by tradition and so little known in matters of detail. Any relationship should surely lie in the building operations of the two bodies. So it appears to me that the architecture of the Culdees might have been treated more fully. The round towers of Scotland and Ireland have never been, so far as I can remember, adequately handled in our *Transactions*, and as they are associated—rightly or wrongly—with Culdee influence a golden opportunity has been missed.

I am looking forward to reading the discussion arising out of the paper now before us and hope it may be of an illuminating kind. In the Quatuor Coronati Lodge we are all archæologists, although architects and building specialists are rather lacking from our present full membership. If I may be forgiven for saying so, the paper is not lacking in one or two touches of humour, conscious or otherwise. I further hope that the vote of thanks to our author will be a cordial one, and I would like to be associated with it.

Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP writes:—

“Who were the Culdees?” Many of us have, like Bro. Booth, experienced the spur of our late Past Master of Socratic analysis. “Who were the Culdees?” On which word shall the emphasis be laid? However, in the present instance (as in others) the query has proved efficient; our Brother has collected and co-ordinated many fugitive facts and useful information gleaned from sources not readily available to us, for which he has well earned our sincere thanks. We will not detract from our thanks by demurring as to the extent of its relevancy to Freemasonry. We will gratefully welcome his suggestion that the authenticity of King Athelstan’s Charter at York in 926 may be (partly) explainable by a Charter granted to some Culdees at that time. This is an ingenious suggestion deserving careful consideration. So too is the suggested possibility of associating the Durham “Haly-wark-folk” with Culdees.

But I hope I am not hypercritical in asking, Was it really necessary to trace their prehistoric ancestry back to 2860 B.C.? Or, coming to more recent times, whilst biographies of SS. Basil, Patrick, Columba and Columban are interesting in their way, does Bro. Booth desire us to deem them Culdees? Also, if the last two saints are essential to his argument, would it not have been better to take them in Chronological sequence?

That S. Aidan was a Culdee seems reasonably capable of proof, but as regards his predecessors much is doubtful if not mythical. At no period were the Culdees an Order in a like sense with the Benedictines or the Carthusians. Nevertheless they exerted a powerful influence for good, and maintained a sturdy British independence against Roman encroachments. The main evidence adduced has been their opposition to the Roman computation of Easter and to monastic celibacy. Concerning the former tenet, they claimed to be followers of S. John the Evangelist. Such, however, was not exactly the case, for they were not *Quartodecimani*; they did not keep Good Friday on a Wednesday—or whatever other day happened to coincide with the full moon. They always kept Easter on a Sunday; and the divergence arose only in occasional years when the Pascal full moon fell on (or about) a Sunday. Then the Culdees (following the Council of Arles, 314) kept that Sunday as Easter Day; but the adherents of Roman usage (following Dionysius Exiguus, 525) contended that the festival must be kept on the Sunday *next after* the full moon (Bede, *Hist.*, iii, 4). The question was complicated by the fact that one party reckoned March 18th as the equinox, whilst the other reckoned March 21st. Ultimately the Synod of Whitby in 664 decided to adopt the Roman computation, and after that time the Culdees, still intransigent, gradually died out.

But, though defeated on their first tenet, they were victors on the second, viz.—that marriage is not inconsistent with clerical ordination, or (under proper conditions) even with monachism. In Anglican Churches the marriage of clergy is still permissive under Art. xxxii, and the same rule prevails among Non-conformist bodies; sometimes married Canons are to be found even residing in Cathedral Closes. However, being myself to some extent within this category. I refrain from further comment, but most heartily desire to be associated with the vote of thanks to Bro. Booth for his valuable paper.

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Bro. R. E. PARKINSON writes:—

To me, an Irishman, Bro. Booth’s paper on the Culdees has appealed immensely, and we must all be grateful to him for presenting such a full exposition of an extremely obscure subject. Most of us, probably, know only Gould’s admirable summary, though Reeve’s work is familiar to antiquaries, and such is his reputation that few will challenge his conclusions.

The five traditional invasions of Ireland have, doubtless, some foundation in fact, but they have yet to be placed in their proper historical perspective; nowadays, the arrival of the Gael would be put a thousand years later, and there are authorities who identify them with the Helvetii who fled after their defeat by Julius Cæsar. Invasions, warlike or peaceful, have reached Ireland by the "Megalithic Path" of the Mediterranean and Spain, direct from France, or *via* Britain, and from the Baltic shores and Amber Coast *via* the south of Scotland. But the point seems to be that, throughout history, as even in this twentieth century, Ireland has been a refuge for those fleeing from the wrath in Europe, to contribute to her culture, and in happier times the debt has been repaid by those who went out from Ireland as missionaries and scholars.

Bro. Booth's paper leaves little for any but an expert to criticize, but I can offer two crumbs of information in return for the feast he has set before us.

Representatives of the Culdees still hold office in the ancient Cathedral of Armagh.<sup>1</sup> Diocesan episcopacy was not finally organized in Ireland till the twelfth century, and the establishment of cathedral chapters was later still, probably stimulated by the influx of churchmen in the wake of the Anglo-Norman invaders. When the Chapter of Armagh was fully organized in the thirteenth century, it consisted of the Dean, four dignitaries, the Prior of the Culdees as Precentor, Chancellor, Treasurer, and Archdeacon; sixteen Prebendaries, or Canones Majores, eight "*inter Anglicos*", and eight "*inter Hibernicos*", and the four Culdee Prebends of Mullabrack, Ballymore, Loughgall, and Tynan.

The canons "*inter Anglicos*", by a century before the Reformation, had lost all connection with their church, or voice or vote in the Chapter, as Armagh lay without the Pale. The canons "*inter Hibernicos*", distant from Armagh, also lost touch, so that control of the Chapter remained with the ancient Culdee Prebendaries, whose parishes lay near the city. Thus, they and their reformed successors came to be taken as the real Prebendaries; the Chapter of Armagh to-day consists of the Dean, the four Dignitaries above, and the Prebendaries of Mullabrack, Ballymore, Loughgall and Tynan, and further, they held the Culdee lands granted for their maintenance from the days of Patrick right down till Disestablishment.

The following entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, of the year 1129, is worth noting:

"The altar of the great church at Cluain-mic-Nois was robbed, and the jewels were carried off from thence, namely the *carracan* (model) of Solomon's Temple, which had been presented by Maelseachlainn, son of Domhnall".

Maelseachlainn, more familiarly known as "Malachy of the Collar of Gold", died in 1022. Although Culdees are mentioned at Clonmacnois in 1031, I do not suggest that the association of a model of Solomon's Temple with a Culdee church is necessarily more than a coincidence; but I would remark that there are many references to a Solomonic tradition in Irish literature; the whole subject deserves the attention of a Brother who is also a competent Gaelic scholar.

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Bro. H. C. BOOTH writes, in reply:—

Before replying to the individual comments on my paper "*The Culdees*" let me try to clear up certain points which seem to have been somewhat misunderstood.

<sup>1</sup> Canon Charles Scott, M.A., "*The Culdees of Armagh and the Chapter*," *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 11 (1895-6) p. 244.

The paper is primarily an attempt to show who were the Culdees, or rather who were those who came to be called by that name at a much later date. For the name Culdee is really a modern name and applied to them long after they had ceased to exist, as, shall we say, a Sect.

Reeves shows it was the turning of the expression "*Servus Dei*" into Irish, that it became the Celtic compound *Cele-De*. The biographer Jocelin latinized this as *calledens*. They were also called *Keledai*, and many Latin writers made it *Coledai* and others interpreted it as *Cultores Dei* whence the modern corruption *Culdees*. (See Appendix C).

The possibility of a connection between the Culdees and Masonry has come to light during my researches, especially in connection with Athelstane and York and the charters he gave them at York, and also at Chester-le-Street and the Haly-wark-folk of that district.

I have simply drawn attention to these as a side issue from the paper, and the same applies to the Masonry of St. John, as the small amount of evidence, I have so far been able to glean, seems to point to more than a possible connection.

The portion about the invasions of Ireland and Scotland by a people from the Mediterranean has been included to show how the line of communication, which I call the Megalithic Path, between the Eastern Mediterranean and Ireland and Scotland was formed, and it seems to have been by this line that the earliest Christian teaching arrived in these Islands, as recorded by Tertullian in 201 or 208 A.D. and Origin in 230 A.D.

The rise of this sect of religious teaching can be taken to have occurred among the ascetics in Egypt after they received the early Christian teaching from St. Mark, who Eusebius Pamphilus tells first proclaimed the Gospel in Egypt; and what should be more natural than that they should keep their Commemoration or Easter according to the Jewish Calculation of the Passover, for the first Easter coincided with the Passover, and most of them were Jews by birth.

Perhaps the two following quotations from "*Ireland and the Celtic Church*" by the late Prof. George T. Stokes, D.D., revised by H. J. Lawler, D.D., may also help to clear things.

Page 169. "One of the earliest offshoots from Egyptian monasticism was planted in Gaul. The communication between Marseilles and Alexandria was as vigorous as now. Christians of the Eastern rite abounded in Marseilles and all along the Rhone, and naturally looked to Egypt far more than to Rome as their spiritual teacher. In fact, monasticism for long enough found no favour in Rome. One of the best known writers of the time of St. Patrick, the beginning of the fifth century, was John Cassian, educated in Bethlehem, trained among the monks of Syria and Egypt, and ended his life in southern Gaul, where he helped to propagate and develop his monastic views. For the first 45 years of the 5th century he was one of the most influential men in that district. He wrote a book called the *Collations of the Monks*, wherein you will find a picture of the sayings, doings and daily life of the Nitrian ascetics of that day held up as a model for the monks of St. Patrick's time. Now tradition represents St. Patrick as so connected with Lerins and living for many years in the district where John Cassian was thus teaching the laws and practices of Egyptian monasticism. In fact, Cassian made Egypt so well known in France that whenever a bishop or presbyter desired a period of spiritual retreat and refreshment he retired to Egypt, to seek in Nitria the development of his higher spiritual life.

Here, then, is one channel through which the ideas of the East may have passed over to the extremest West.

Note. The monastic works of Cassian and Palladius seem to have been well known in Ireland in the 7th century. Some mediæval Irish homilies are full of references and names drawn from them, (see *The Passions and Homilies from the Leabher Breac*: text Translation, and Glossary, by R. Atkinson; Todd Lecture Series R.I.A.1887).

Page 183. Not only the constitution of the monastic system, but even the form of the early Irish monasteries displayed their oriental origin. The usual notion of a monastery is that of a society united together in one building, under one common roof. Now none of the Celtic monasteries were of this type. The primitive Celtic monastery was a very simple affair, and more resembled a rude village of wooden huts. The type of the early Celtic monastery is to be sought not among the Latins, but among the Greeks and Orientals. Go to Mount Athos, that mountain of monasteries, and there you will find the same system prevailing. Visit the more distant East; there the Laura of St. Sabas, founded in the fifth century and still flourishing near Jerusalem, and the monastery of Mosul, for fourteen hundred years the seat of the Eutychian primacy, are both of this type. Then transport yourself to the shores of County Sligo, and six miles off the coast you will find the island of Inismurray, where, safeguarded by the waves and storms of the Atlantic, stands the monastery of St. Molaise, organised and built on identically the same principle, a number of beehive cells surrounded by a cashel or fortification and grouped round a central church. At Inismurray the cashel was originally about 15 feet high, built of red sandstone slabs of moderate dimensions, and without cement. It is circular and encloses about half an acre of ground. Inside are found the famous beehive-habitations and the primitive old chapels. Seven of these beehive-habitations remain all pretty much alike, built like the cashel and churches of red sandstone; the entrance is low and narrow, covered with one flag, tapering inwards and upwards. To enter you have almost to crawl on hands and feet; one or two still retain a stone offset about two feet above the floor to serve as a couch for the hermits. The roofing is formed by slabs gradually overlapping one another till they are capped by one central flag.

The churches are three or four in number, the largest being 24 feet by 15 feet while the chapel of St. Molaise is only 10 feet high, twelve feet long, and eight feet broad, built and roofed like the cells. They are rectangular and devoid of chancels.

The monastery at Inismurray is in all its features an exact reproduction of many an Eastern one. Adamnan in his book on Palestine and the holy places, informs us that the Monastery of Mount Tabor was built on this plan, with a cashel, or a circular fortification, enclosing both monastic cells, and the three small chapels for their use. It is a far cry from Syria to Donegal Bay yet I trust I have been able to show you the line of march pursued by monasticism."

I thank W.Bro. Lewis Edwards for his very kindly remarks when proposing the vote of thanks.

I quite agree that in regard to faith the Keledei did not differ from the rest of Christendom at that period; their manuscript Service books were found to be still in use at York and other places, some on the Continent, long after the Keledei had died out; but with regard to Church Government they did not seem to have any, for Reeves tells us that with regard to both Ireland and

Scotland dioceses and parishes were unknown in the Scotie Church until the twelfth century.

Their settlements were purely missionary without dogma or parochial life and it was only after the infiltration of the Latin Church with its Canonical teaching that any Church Government arose and finally drove out the Keledei from the Churches which they originally founded, and they were left to look after the sick and poor as at St. Leonard's Hospital, York.

Bro. Radice finds a difficulty in distinguishing what is from the various authorities consulted; this is due to the paper restrictions of the present times which prevented printing, in the galley proof, the Appendices and Bibliography at the end of the paper. In the Bibliography he will find a list of the various Authors consulted and the pages where they are used in the paper.

The remarks I have made at the beginning of my reply will I hope clear up several points he raises on the migrations to Ireland.

With regard to St. Moelruain I would point out that he died in 792.

The two main points that distinguished the Keledei from the Latin Church were the tonsure and the date of celebrating Easter. The evidence I have produced about these two points from the time of St. Patrick (381-461), according to the Catalogue of the Saints in Hibernia, St. Columba, Iona, Lindisfarne, York, etc. up to final confirmation of the Synod at Whitby in 664; is all over 100 years before St. Moelruain's time.

I do not think anything would come from an examination of the early building work for the following reasons.

All the early settlements of the Keledei consisted simply of a collection of huts with a small church, the whole surrounded by a wall or cashel.

No serious church or cathedral building was undertaken in the North of England or Scotland before the eleventh century, and by that time the infiltration of the Latin Church had ousted the Keledei from the Sees they had established in England. William Rufus (1056-1100) removed them from the site later occupied by York Minster, and Stephen (1135-1154) moved their hospital to the outside of the city walls of York. Queen Margaret and her son David I. completed the triumph of the Latin Church over the Keledei in Scotland before 1153.

The Keledei seem to have been in existence in Ireland up to the time of the Reformation, and it is from the Armagh registers in Ireland we get the information that "the repair of the fabric of the Church was in their hands" and they held the office of "*Magister operis Majoris Ecclesiae*."

I firmly believe that the Keledei themselves erected their own buildings of whatever type and with what materials were ready to hand.

I thank Bro. W. W. Covey-Crump for his kindly criticism and his welcome to my suggestion with regard to the Athelstane Charter at York, etc.

What I have said at the beginning of my reply will I think show him that I was not trying to trace the Culdees back to B.C. dates.

With regard to the biographies of S. S. Basil, Patrick, Columbanus and Columba. All these derived their teaching and knowledge from the same original source, viz., the ascetics of Egypt, and the two latter from St. Patrick's teaching as shown by the quotations from the Catalogue of the Saints in Hibernia. They all had in common the mode of life, tonsure and the date for keeping Easter, which distinguished those who came to be called Culdees from the members of the Latin Church of Rome.

The only one out of chronological order is Columbanus and I dealt with him before Columba because his work and life were confined to the Continent, whereas Columba founded the Iona colony, and the whole of the Culdee influence in Scotland and Northern England followed on from Iona, which was regarded as the home of Culdee teaching, after Ireland, and the rest of the paper was devoted to what followed on from Iona.

I agree that the Culdees were not an Order like the later Monastic Orders, but were simply missionaries with no interest in dogma or parochial life.

I am much indebted to Bro. Heron Lepper for his very interesting comments and kindly remarks. .

His notes from the MSS. of the late Bro. George Norman, M.D., are particularly interesting as they confirm several points dealt with in my paper, and I should very much like to read through those notes and lectures; perhaps he will be able to give me an opportunity for doing so at a later date.

I am interested in what he has to say about St. John the Baptist as the Patron Saint of the workmen in Italy and on the Continent.

In Scotland St. John the Evangelist was the Patron Saint of all the old Operative Lodges and their annual Festival was always held on the 27th December. My opinion, that this was due to Culdee influence, seems to me to be strengthened by what he says with regard to St. John the Baptist holding sway on the Continent.

I do not know if there were any old Operative Lodges in Ireland, but if there were, who was their Patron Saint? Perhaps Bro. Lepper can enlighten me on this point.

Because St. John the Evangelist was the Patron Saint in the northern part of the kingdom, whilst the southern part may have been influenced by the continent, this may have accounted for the fact that when the Masonic Lectures were revised both St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist were included in the revised lectures.

There is, however, a Kabbalistic interpretation of the circle within the geometrical square touching all four sides, of which the circle between two parallel straight lines is a much later derivative, which was explained very fully by Bro. J. Mason Allan in his "*Introduction to the Kabbala*," and which fits in with the interpretation of this figure as given by our brethren of old, viz. "I am whatever is past, present, or to come never did mortal reveal me plainly," and "he who fully comprehends it may be said to have arrived at the Ne Plus Ultra of Masonry."

I thank Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter for his kindly comments, but he will realise, from what I have said above, that the possibility of any connection between the Culdees and the Masonry of St. John has come out as an interesting side issue to the paper, the result of investigations during the preparation of the paper. And to us Masons this side issue is of very considerable interest.

The Culdees seem to have left no records of their building operations, and their writings seem to have been confined to copying and illuminating the scriptures, psalters, and service books.

With regard to the round towers of Scotland and Ireland and the similar Brochs of Scotland, these seem to have been built as places of refuge from the invader.

Those in Scotland have been investigated by a friend of mine from the Office of Works and I hope I may be able to persuade him to write a note on them for the Transactions later.

I also thank Bro. R. E. Parkinson for his confirmation that the Culdees continued at Armagh until the time of the Reformation. Also that the Precentor of Armagh Cathedral, to this day, is the successor of the Prior of the Culdees.

#### Dates.

Philo Judæus writing about	A.D.	40.
Tertullian " " " "	"	208.
St. Antony founded the Monastery of Thebaid	"	270.
St. Pachomius " " " " Tabanisi	"	320.
St. Basil " " " " Metoza Pontus	"	363.

St. Honoratus built the Monastery of Lerins	„	410.
Cassianus „ „ „ „ St. Victor	„	410.
St. Patrick period ... ..	A.D.	386-461.
Irish Monasteries Clonard founded	A.D.	520.
Morville	„	540.
Clonmacnoise	„	541-546.
Clonfort	„	556.
Bangor	„	554-558.
St. Columbanus period		543-615.
St. Columba „ „ „		521-597.
St. Aidan founded Lindisfarne about		634.
„ „ „ Old Melrose „		640.
Oratory of Wood at York in ...		627.
Synod at Whitby Coleman dispute with Wilfred		664.
Ven. Bede period		673-735.
See of Lindisfarne 634 Aidan.		
651-661 Finan a Briton.		
661-664 Colman went to York 664.		
664 Tuda.		
644 Cedda removed the See to York.		
664 Eata made Bishop 678.		
585-687 Cuthbert made Bishop Easter April 7th, 685.		
854 Eardulph 16th and last Bishop of L.		
893 destroyed.		
Eardulph first Bishop of Chester-le-Street till 900.		
Wigred appointed „ „ „ by King Athelstane 928 when he		
visited the shrine of St. Cuthbert, and gave him a charter.		
Athelstane gave the Coledei at York the Charter of the Thraves of corn, etc. 936.		





FRIDAY, 5th MAY, 1944.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4.15 p.m. Present:—Bros. F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, W.M.; L. Edwards, *M.A.*, *P.A.G.R.*, P.M., as S.W.; F. R. Radice, as J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, *P.A.G.R.*, P.M., Treasurer; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, *P.G.S.B.*, Secretary; *Wg. Commandr.* W. I. Grantham, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *LL.B.*, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Sussex*, *I.P.M.*; S. J. Fenton, *P.Pr.G.W.*, *Warwicks*, P.M.; and W. E. Heaton, *P.G.D.*, *J.D.*

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. C. K. Hughes; C. D. Rotch, *P.G.D.*; J. P. Hunter; A. F. Hatten; A. G. Harper, *P.G.St.B.*; B. W. Oliver; G. Stevens, *P.G.St.B.*; H. Bladon, *P.G.D.*; S. G. Bailey; S. H. Love; S. J. Bradford, *P.G.St.B.*; H. P. Healy; A. E. Evans; P. E. Keville; E. R. Lines; W. A. Crawford; E. Mackie, *A.G.D.C.*; J. H. Craig, *P.G.D.*; C. D. Melbourne, *P.A.G.R.*; F. Badham; S. C. Fidler; H. Chown, *P.A.G.St.B.*; W. Wilkinson; B. G. Stewart; A. F. Cross; R. W. Paterson; S. M. Catterson; J. Johnstone, *P.A.G.D.C.*; W. J. Mean; H. A. Dowler; H. B. Q. Evans; L. J. Humphries; and W. E. Brooke.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. R. H. G. Wright, *S.W.* Good Hope Lodge No. 4856; E. T. Pugsley, P.M. Norbury Lodge No. 4046; and G. H. R. Barham, *L.G.R.*

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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.; *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.*, *Derbys*; H. C. Bristowe, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *S.W.*; G. Y. Johnson, *P.A.G.D.C.*, *J.W.*; R. E. Parkinson; G. S. Knocker, *P.A.G.Sup.W.*; and H. H. Hallett, *P.G.St.B.*, *I.G.*

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One Provincial Grand Lodge, three Lodges and seventy-three Brethren, were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The Congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following Brethren of the Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—Bros. C. Machell Cox, and *Col.* C. B. Spencer, Junior Grand Deacons; *Rev.* C. H. Mosse, Assistant Grand Chaplain; D. L. Oliver, Assistant Grand Registrar; *Major* E. S. Henochsberg, Past Assistant Grand Registrar; Albert Barlow, W. J. Dickenson and Edward Mackie, Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; G. A. Potter-Kirby, Z. B. Edwards, Norton Milner, R. Raffle, and P. M. Turnbull, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; Walter Hall, Past Grand Standard Bearer; and Daniel Cain, Past Assistant Grand Pursuivant.

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Bro. B. W. OLIVER read the following paper:—

## A TALE OF TWO LODGES.

"LOYAL LODGE" AND "EIGHT BROTHERS" LODGE.

BY BRO. BRUCE W. OLIVER, *Pr.J.G.W., Devon.*



N the year 1812 there were two Lodges, No. 228 of the "Ancients" and No. 365 of the "Moderns", the latter constituted in 1783 and the former in 1812. They were both (nominally) North Devon Lodges. No. 365, Loyal Lodge, meeting in its early days at The Globe Inn, Cross Street, Barnstaple, by the year in question had moved to the Kings Arms in the High Street; its members were the Gentry and Tradesmen of the town and district. Lodge No. 228 was attached to the North Devon Militia, then stationed at Gosport in Hampshire.

Barnstaple lies remote from the great centres, in the North of Devon. At the time our story opens its main approach was by the sea and its community did a not inconsiderable trade with Ireland and many parts of the world.

The first recorded Barnstaple Lodge met at "The Fleece" in the year 1762, being numbered 281, warranted shortly after No. 274 at Appledore, a little port at the mouth of the river Taw, on which Barnstaple stands.

It may be mentioned that the present Loyal Lodge premises occupy the site of The Fleece, which stood at the Quay Head and adjoining the Merchants' Walk, which forms a colonnade approach to the present Lodge building.

Although both these Lodges soon closed down, the members at The Fleece seem to have carried on and in 1783 applied for a new Warrant and opened Loyal Lodge at the "Globe" in Cross Street, receiving the number 453.

Throughout the surviving Minutes of No. 228 no meeting place is mentioned, but it may be inferred that the Lodge first met at Gosport. Again, the Lodge is invariably described in the Minutes by its number, never by name; but by the smoke seal, which has been applied to each entry, we find it described as "The Eight Brothers Lodge", N.D.M. (North Devon Militia). So members of this Lodge were Militia-men mostly drawn from the North Devon area and, incidentally, raised voluntarily by their Officers, and not, as was usually the case, balloted companies.<sup>1</sup>

This was the second Lodge to be constituted in the North Devon Militia. The first was warranted by the "Moderns" Grand Lodge<sup>2</sup> in the same year as Loyal Lodge, being numbered 452 as against 453, the original number of Loyal Lodge.<sup>3</sup>

Since Loyal Lodge had received a "Provincial Warrant" from the Provincial Grand Master, Sir Chas. W. Bampfylde, it may be assumed that he similarly issued a Warrant to No. 452, probably a Travelling Warrant.

Meeting at first in Exeter, the Regiment was almost immediately moved to North Devon, where it was stationed for some time, and there was considerable intercourse with Loyal Lodge, in whose Minutes appear many visits by members of the Lodge of "Good Intention".

<sup>1</sup> *First Devon Militia*, Waldon, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> *First Devon Militia*, Waldon, p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> and <sup>3</sup> *List of Lodges*, Lane, p. 94.

First of these visitors was John Renolds on the 6th of November, 1783. Unfortunately the Secretary has not always named the Lodge of which the visitor was a member, but the following Brethren of "Good Intention" can be identified:—7 Oct., 1784, Geo. Ley; 4 Nov., 1784, Jno. Ward; 2 Dec., 1784, John Mules, Cridge; 3 Feb., 1785, Lee; 20 July, 1786, John Handford, James Braby.

In July, 1786, Loyal Lodge required a Tyler, and Bro. Ward of "Good Intention" was proposed to that office on the sixth of the month. On the 17th of August he declined "being removed from this Town". A few years later—in 1805—a Brother of "Good Intention", in the person of John Mules, did become the Tyler of Loyal Lodge.

The Headquarters of the North Devon Militia was in Barnstaple, but it is possible that "Good Intention" met also in the neighbouring town of Bideford, where the Militia were on guard over the French Prisoners confined there.

The Regiment moved sometime after 1786, and it may be assumed that Lodge "Good Intention" went with them. I have not been able to trace its places of meeting, but it settled at Crockernwell, where, as No. 468, in 1821, being in arrears, it was erased.

Following their departure from North Devon, a new Lodge was warranted at Bideford in 1792 as "Faithful Lodge" No. 499 under the "Moderns" Constitution.

Yet another North Devon Lodge was "Concord", originally numbered 463, Plymouth Dock in 1784, and according to Jones's *Masonic Miscellanies* (1795) "Lodge of Concord" 374, Old Kings Arms, Plymouth. Its Warrant, or at any rate its number of 374, was, in 1802, granted to a new Lodge at Ilfracombe, where at the Union it became 474. Both these early North Devon Lodges—"Faithful" and "Concord"—succumbed in the early 1820s.

On the other hand the Eight Brothers Lodge and Loyal Lodge had no contacts until the end of 1814, when they were of particular significance for both Lodges.

#### THE EIGHT BROTHERS LODGE No. 228 ("ANCIENTS").

The original Warrant is in the Grand Lodge Library, and a copy is here given:—

Athol Grand Master.

(Signature)

William Oakes S.G.W.      Thomas Harper D.G.M.

(Signature)

(Signature)

Archibald Herron J.G.W.

(Signature)

To all whom it may Concern

We the Grand Lodge of The most Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and / Accepted Masons (according to the old Constitutions granted by His Royal Highness Prince Edwin at York, Anno Domini / Nine hundred twenty and six, and in the Year of Masonry, Four Thousand Nine hundred twenty and six) in ample Form assembled, viz. / The Right Worshipful The most Noble Prince John, Duke Marquis & Earl of Athol, Marquis & Earl of Tullibardine, / Earl of Strathtay & Strathardle, Viscount of Ballquider, Glenalmond & Glenlyon, Lord Murray, Belveny & Gask, Constable of The / Castle of Kincleaven, Lord of Man and the Isles & Earl Strange and Baron Murray of Stanley in the County of Gloucester etc. etc. etc. / Grand Master of Masons, The Right Worshipful Thomas Harper Esquire Deputy Grand Master, The Right Worshipful / William Oakes Esquire Senior Grand Warden, and The Right Worshipful Archibald Herron Esquire Junior Grand Warden (with The / approbation and Consent

of the Warranted Lodges held within The Cities and Suburbs of London and Westminster) Do hereby authorise / and impower our Trusty and well beloved Brethren viz. The Worshipful Brother Philip Waldon one of our Master Masons / The Worshipful Brother J. Brannan his Senior Warden, and The Worshipful Brother William Butler his Junior Warden, to form and / Hold a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, aforesaid at and in and attached to the North Devon Regiment of Militia by & with the Consent of the Colonel Commandant of the said Regiment and not not (*sic*) contrarywise upon the first and third Tuesday in every Month and / on all seasonable Times and lawful Occasions: and in The Said Lodge (when duly congregated) to admit and make Free Masons according to the / most Ancient and Honourable Custom of the Royal Craft in all Ages and Nations throughout the known World. And WE do hereby farther authorise / and impower our said Trusty and Well beloved Brethren Philip Waldon J. Brannan and William Butler (with the Consent of the Members of their Lodge to nominate, chuse, and install Their Successors, to whom they shall deliver this Warrant, and invest them / with their Powers and Dignities as Free Masons etc. And such successors, shall in like manner nominate, chuse, and install Their Successors, / etc. etc. etc. Such Installations to be upon (or near) every St. John's Day during the Continuance of This Lodge for ever. Providing the above named Brethren and all their successors always pay due Respect to this Right Worshipful Grand Lodge, otherwise This Warrant to / be of no force nor Virtue.

Given under our Hands and the Seal of our Grand Lodge in London this thirty first day of October in the Year / of our Lord One Thousand Eight hundred and Twelve and in the Year of Masonry Five Thousand Eight hundred and Twelve.

Note. This Warrant is registered  
in the Grand Lodge Vol. 9  
Letter I. 28 June 1785.

	:	:	:	:
Edw. Harper D. G. Sec.	:	:	:	Robt. Leslie
	:	:	:	Grand Secretary.
	:	:	:	(Signature)
Seal of Athol			Seal of G. Lodge	
attached			attached	

It will be noted that the Warrant provides no variation from the accepted form of the "Ancients". The endorsement, indicating that the Warrant was granted originally in 1785, is of interest, but I have as yet no certain information as to its recipients. It is believed to have been intended for a Lodge in the Bahamas which never came to fruition.

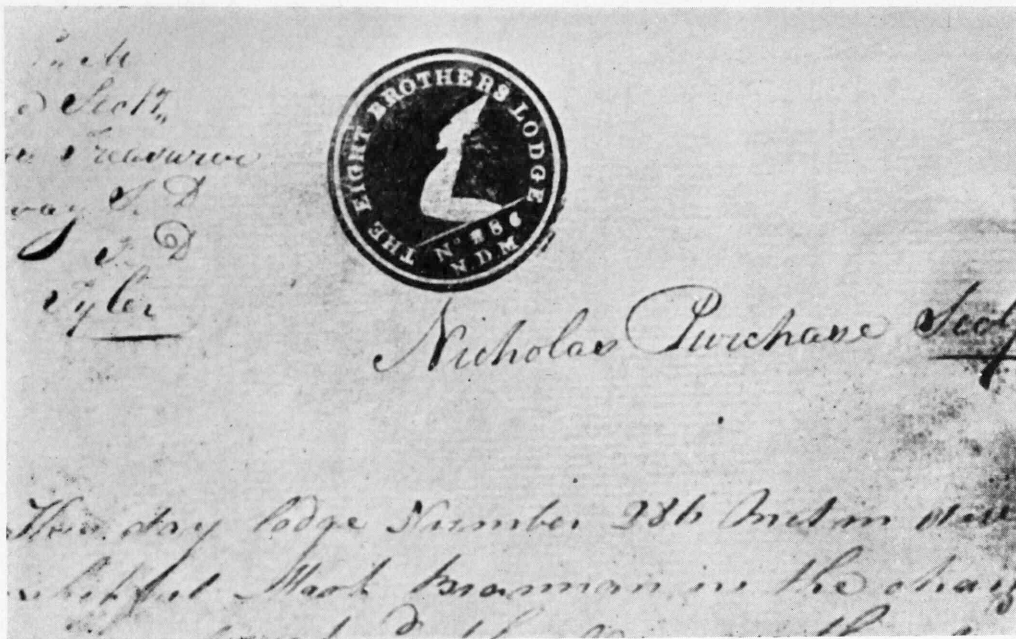
Of the three Brethren mentioned in the Warrant at the time the Minutes commenced, Philip Waldon was still the Master, but the Senior Warden was Mark Brannan, and the Junior, J. Beer. William Butler, the Junior Warden designate, is the Secretary.

The name of J. Brannan occurs nowhere in either the list of Members or the Minutes, and quite possibly the "J" in the Warrant should have been "M".

No place of meeting is specified, the right to travel with the Regiment being inferred—subject to the Colonel Commandant's consent.

Judging from the few Warrants of the "Ancients" with which I am acquainted, days of meeting are named for once a month, but here the meetings are specified to be twice Monthly—on the first and third Tuesdays, and so far as Military duties allowed, the Eight Brothers met accordingly.





The only surviving Minute Book of the Eight Brothers Lodge commences with the 28th December, 1812, and the last entry is dated 5th June, 1815. It is foolscap, strongly bound in white forel, and the paper bears the water-marks of "Britannia in an oval placque surmounted by a large crown" with the lettering "E. Jones 1811".

This book was found some years ago in the block of old buildings, once the North Devon Barracks, Barnstaple, but many years since converted into dwelling houses and re-named "Ebberley Lawn". The preservation of the book is due to W.Bro. Charles Lock, P.A.G.Swd.Br., a Past Master of Loyal Lodge, who succeeded in obtaining possession of it on its discovery.

The Eight Brothers Lodge was constituted 31st October, 1812, by the "Ancients" and received the Number originally granted to a Lodge in the West Indies. This Lodge was short-lived and the Eight Brothers received a number much older than their true ranking.

The entries commence with:—

20 Dec. 1812

This day Lodge N<sup>o</sup> 228 held at the windmill near the North Devon Barracks met in due form and opened the Lodge in the first Degree of Masonry. Collected the dues & parted in good harmony at 7 O'clock in the evening

	Philip Waldon	W.M.
Wm Butler Secty	Mark Brannan	S.W.
	John Beer	J.W.P.T.

And the next Minute:—

7th Jan<sup>y</sup> 1813

This day Lodge N<sup>o</sup> 228 met in due Form Br. W. Waldon in the Chair, when the following Brothers Abr<sup>m</sup> Brannan and Hen<sup>y</sup> Barnes was regularly Pafs<sup>d</sup> to the Degree of A fellow Craft after which John Winsford was regularly proposed by Br M. Brannan. After being Ballotted for and unanimously agreed, nothing Elce offer<sup>d</sup> for the Good of the Craft Collec<sup>d</sup> the dues and Clofse<sup>d</sup> the Lodge in good Harmony.

(Smoke	Wm Butler
Seal)	Sact <sup>y</sup>

The smoke seal affixed bears the No. 286 and is the Seal prepared after the re-allocation of numbers at the Union and was therefore applied at a later date. The No. 228 seal was in preparation and was first used on April 15th, 1813, and employed up to the appearance of the new seal on the 19th May, 1814, which was applied not only to the succeeding Minutes, but also to those prior to the 15th April, 1813. The old seal reappears on one later occasion 1st September, 1814—when the Regiment may have been on the march and the new seal not available.

A list of Members was commenced at the rear of the book, but never continued:

b Jan<sup>y</sup> 7th 1813

No	Names	Amount
1.	Segt Major Waldon	0 1 6
2.	B. M. Brannan	0 1 6
3.	B. J. Beer	0 1 6
4.	B. S. Ratcliffe	0 1 6
5.	B. H. Parsley	On duty.
6.	B. Wm. Butler	
7.	B. Thos. Humphries	0 1 6
8.	B. J. L. Gaurien	0 1 6
9.	B. A <sup>m</sup> . Brannan	
10.	B. Thos. Barnes	

Although the numbers are continued up to twenty no further names were entered.

From this list we may surmise the "Eight Brothers" who founded the Lodge and so named it.

The location of the first meeting appears to have been, not at Barnstaple, but at Gosport, where the 2nd North Devon Militia were then quartered, and this is confirmed by a copy of a letter on a small sheet of paper found in the Minute Book and the only record now remaining of the Lodge Correspondence.

*Lodge No 228 N.D.M. Gosport*

Sir & Br.

Gosport April 1813

I am ordered by The W. Master that as Br. Abm Brannan and Br. Jno. Winsford have been raised to the degree of master Mason it is necessary they should be registered in the Grand Lodge of England herewith we have sent enclosed one Pound three shillings for their Grand Lodge Certificates Registry &c being instructed that the same is the present dues therewith belonging. We wish likewise to inform you that some Brethren have joined our Lodge No. 228 from Ireland, and we have a particular desire to have them Registered in the Grand Lodge at the same time, but not knowing the dues considering it different from a New made Brother we have omitted any remittance for them at present hoping on your goodnefs to inform us the dues for each Registry, Certificate &c. We trust that you will forward as quick as Pofsible the the Grand Lodge Certificates for Br. Abm. Brannan who was raised to a Master Mason in our Lodge No. 228 on the ——— 1812 & Br. Jno. Winsford on the 1st April 1813

Yours &c

Wm. B.

Sec<sup>y</sup>

Although there is no indication as to the person addressed, it is clear that it must have been the Grand Secretary "Ancients". On the back of the letter is written:—

We having a wish at the same Time to have them likewise Registered in the Grand Lodge of England.

Also on the back of the letter and in somewhat lighter vein is entered four times and in pencil

4 Pots - - - - 2 . . 0.

—evidently not applicable to the labour of the Lodge.

The interesting minutes which record the joining of the Irish Brethren and the raising of Bro. John Winsford are as follows:—

March 22nd 1813.

Emergency this day lodge No. 228 Met in due form. Br Worshipful Waldon in the Chair Opened the lodge in the 3rd degree of Masonry when the following Brothers were propos<sup>d</sup> to Join this Body (viz)

Br. Jennings from Lodge No. 7. E.

Br. Jno. Carroll from Lodge No. 749. I.

Br. Jam<sup>s</sup>. M<sup>c</sup> Cully from Lodge No. 201. I.

Br. Hugh Thompson from Lodge No. 180. I.

Br. Wm. Harper from Lodge No. 537. I.

Br. Jn<sup>o</sup>. Adams from Lodge No. 606. I.

Br. Math<sup>w</sup> Green from Lodge No. 811. I.

Where duly elected Clos<sup>d</sup> the Lodge at 8 OClock and parted in good Harmony.

(Smoke  
Seal)

Wm. Butler  
Sact<sup>y</sup>



April 1st 1813.

This day lodge No. 228 Met in due form Brother Worshipful Mark Brannan in the chair Opened the Lodge in the first degree of masonry when Br. John Narraway was regularly Aniciated in the first degree of Masonry. Closed the lodge in the first and open<sup>d</sup> it in the third When Brother John Winsford was regularly rosd to the sublime degree of A Master Mason. Nothing else offered for the good of Masonry Collected the dues and parted in good harmony at 9 OClock.

Wm. Butler  
Sect'y

Visited by Brother Bell of No. 148.  
(Smoke  
Seal)

On April 15th, 1813, there is a somewhat similar entry:—

“When Brother Kerslake propos<sup>d</sup> Brother Wm. Hill a Modern Mason to be Antiensized”.

John Narraway was “regularly pafs<sup>d</sup> and ros,d to the sublime degree of a Master Mason” on the 6th of May.

It is to be noted that the Irish Brethren were not required to be “Antientized”, the Grand Lodges of the “Ancients” and of Ireland being in close communion. Bros. Narraway and Hill coming from “Moderns” Lodges, had to be remade. There is no guide as to Wm. Hill's Lodge, but John Narraway was from the home town, where he had been initiated and passed on the 2nd of January, 1813, and five days later, on the 7th, “raised to the Sublime degree of Master” in Loyal Lodge No. 365. On the fifteenth of February he “pafsed the Chair,” a truly rapid promotion no doubt due to his impending call to the Colours. This was his last attendance at Loyal Lodge until he rejoined on the 5th of September, 1816.

In the “Eight Brothers” his progress was almost equally rapid. He was Junior Warden when the Lodge met in Barnstaple, but his name is not in the list of Brethren visiting Loyal Lodge on 27th December, 1814. Entered on the lists as “J. Nanaway” he attended Lodge of Reconciliation on four occasions as a member of No. 228.

The Joining Brethren, it may be noted, were elected whilst the Lodge was in the third degree; but the proposition for Initiates or Brethren of the “Moderns” was usually made in the first degree. On the night John Narraway was proposed the Lodge was working in the second degree, but the entry is made beneath a ruled line at the end of the Minutes, so that the first degree can be assumed.

“Br. Jno. Narraway was regularly propos<sup>d</sup> by Wm. Butler to receive the degrees of the Ancient”.

Following the common custom of the period, the Lodge met fortnightly on the first and third Thursdays of the month, and the examples of the Minutes quoted give a representative record of the usual proceedings.

The re-making of John Narraway and William Hill was typical of the Masonic sec-saw constantly on the move at this time. At home in Barnstaple, Loyal Lodge was receiving “Ancients” and re-making them “Moderns”.

“25 Dec. 1800. Br. Tamlyn & Br. Graham was remade from Ancient to Modern to the first second & Third degree of Masters.”

Another interesting point is the clear cut statement that the Lodge was opened and then closed in the first degree of Masonry, and then opened directly in the third degree.

The influx of Irish Brethren is somewhat explained by a later Minute:—

In Consequence of a Warrant being rec<sup>d</sup> By 138 the property of the Brothers of the Royal Artillery whom his Members of 228 the have this night declar<sup>d</sup> from us the following is A list of the Brothers Names Viz.:—

	John Jennings
	Jam <sup>s</sup> M <sup>c</sup> Culley
(Smoke	W <sup>m</sup> Harper
Seal)	Nathen Green
	Wm. Butler Sect <sup>y</sup> P.T.

This Minute is not dated; it occurs between the 5th and the 19th August, 1813. The number 138 is that of a neighbouring Lodge, the "Twelve Brothers" of Portsea.<sup>1</sup> In the record of subsequent visits these Brethren, who had resigned from the "Eight Brothers", are given as members of No. 356, England, which was Warranted by the Ancients in 1813 in the Tenth Battalion, Royal Artillery,<sup>1</sup> being the last but two of the "Ancient" Lodges to be constituted.

It would appear that these four Brethren were Artillery men, and that they resigned from the "Eight Brothers" when a new Lodge was Constituted in their own Regiment.

Members of the "Twelve Brothers" visited the "Eight Brothers" the 18th of March, 1813:—

"Br. John Griffiths 138,  
Br. Wm. Elliott 138."

and quite possibly the earlier Lodge, warranted about 1808, may have suggested the title for Lodge No. 228.

At the meeting held on June 3rd occurred one of those occasional "breezes"; there may be an error on the part of the Secretary, but the Minute runs as follows:—

"—— opened the Lodge in the second degree and proceeded to business as follows, Br. Wm. Hill was regularly ros<sup>d</sup> to the sublime degree of A Master mason, Called the Lodge of (f) from the 2nd to the 3rd Degree When Br. John Kerslake stood charg<sup>d</sup> by Br. John Beer for making use of improper language and much unbecoming a man and a Mason

The Worshipful Master Officers and brethren came to the following *decifion* that Br. John Kerslake should be Censur<sup>d</sup> for the space of 6 Months from the present date hereoff——"

The six months' censure was duly imposed, and not until the 18th of November do we read:—

"—— proceeded to business when Brother John Kerslake, he having been censured for Six Months for Masonic misconduct was readmitted by the unanimous consent of the whole of the Brethren——"

The entries of "Raising" in the Second Degree are very insistent, but the interpretation may be that Hill was examined in the Second, and that in view of the Raising, the Secretary felt it unnecessary to state the Degree.

The Third Degree was definitely used to hear the charge against Kerslake, he being a Master Mason. When he was reinstated the Lodge was in the First Degree.

On St. John the Baptist's Day the Officers were Installed as follows:—

Philip Waldon	W.M.
John Beer	S.W.
Wm. Butler	J.W.
Mark Brannan	P.M.

<sup>1</sup> Haughan's *Masonic Register*.

Nicholas Purchase	Sect <sup>y</sup>
Hen <sup>y</sup> Parsley	Treasu <sup>r</sup>
Jn <sup>o</sup> Winsford	S.D.
W <sup>m</sup> Hill	J.D.

The ensuing six months were uneventful, but Philip Waldon, who had been absent from recent Lodges, ceased to be Master at the end of the year. The relative Minutes are given in full.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 2nd, 1813 This day lodge No. 228 met in due form Brother Worshipful Brannan P.T. in the Chair the Lodge being opened in due form in the Second degree, proceeded to business when Brother Jn<sup>o</sup> Hopkins and Brother John Simmons was raised to the sublime degree of a Master Mason and the following Officers duly elected to serve for the ensuing six Months Viz:—

Mark Brannan	W.M.	} the Lodge closed at eight o-Clock and parted in good harmony
Nicholas Purchase	S.W.	
John Winsford	J.W.	
Philip Waldon	P.M.	
John Simmons	Sec <sup>ty</sup>	
John Beer	Treas <sup>r</sup>	
Abraham Brannan	S.D.	
William Hill	J.D.	

Nicholas Purchase Sec<sup>ty</sup>

(Smoke  
Seal)

Decr 16<sup>th</sup> 1813—This day Lodge No. 228 met in due form Brother worshipful Mark Brannan P.T. in the chair Proceeded to business opened the lodge in the second degree of Masonry Call<sup>d</sup> from the 2nd. to the third when Br. Henry Barnes was raised to the sublime degree of A Master mason Br. Worshipful then propos<sup>d</sup> for the Brothers of Lodge No. 228 and any worthy member of Any Ancient Lodge to meet at 1 OClock On the 27<sup>th</sup> of the Month for the purpose of Celebrating St. John<sup>s</sup> day which was unanimously agreed Nothing else offered for the good of the Craft Collected the dues and parted in good harmony at 8 OClock—

(Smoke  
Seal)

Nich<sup>s</sup> Purchase

Secty.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 27th. This day being St. Johns Day the lodge met In due form Br. W. Waldon in the Chair Proceeded to business when the under-mentioned Officers was duly installed agreeable to the usual form used on that occasion in open Lodge It was unanimously agree<sup>d</sup> that the hearty thanks and best wishes of this body should be offered and inserted in this book to our much Esteemed Late Master Br. Waldron for his goodness and great respect he has shown this Lodge During the tedious task has endured for Twelve Months past.——

Nothing more offered for the good of the Craft when The Lodge closed and Parted in good Harmony

Mark Brannan	W.M.	} John Symons Sec <sup>ty</sup>
Nicholas Purchas	S.W.	
John Winsford	J.W.	
Philip Waldon	P.M.	
John Symons	Sec <sup>ty</sup>	
Henry Parsley	Treas <sup>r</sup>	
Abraham Brannan	S.D.	
William Hill	J.D.	

Advancement was evidently not the mechanical process it sometimes is to-day.

It will be observed that on 16th December the Raising is stated to be taken in the "third degree". Attempting to summarise the working of the degrees, the following result appears:—

INITIATION - - - Always in the 1st degree.

PASSING - - - - Six entries state in the 1st degree and one only in the 2nd degree.

RAISING - - - - Five Raisings entered as in the 2nd degree and two in the 3rd degree.

Actually four Raisings are entered as in the 1st degree; probably therefore there was no actual variation from the normal procedure

The first indication of the union of the two Grand Lodges is the appearance of the new Lodge number of 286 on the 20th of January, 1814, but without comment; the new seal is first used on May 15th.

The ensuing months are a record of the usual ceremonies and of numerous visitors who were of the English, Scotch and Irish Constitutions. A full list of names is given in Appendix III.

It is usually recorded that the Lodge is "opened" into the higher degree, but in lowering it is usually:—

The Lodge being call<sup>d</sup> from the Second to the First degree.

I will quote two typical Minutes:—

Feb<sup>y</sup>. 3rd, 1814.

This day Lodge N<sup>o</sup> 286. met in due form Br. Worshipfull M. Brannan in the Chair Proceeded to bufinefs the Lodge being opened in the first degree when Br. Abm. Isaac was duly initiated into the first degree of Masonry. Nothing offered further for the good of Masonry but visited by the undermentioned Brothers.

Br. Ware	}	355 England.
Br. Jennings		
Br. Mc Culey		
Br. Harper		
Br. Callkington		
Br. Thompson		
Br. Howith		

---

Br. Hughs	731	Ireland
Br. Dalling	543	Lisbourn
Br. Fobes	551	England

Collected the dues and Closed the Lodge at 8 OClock and parted in good Harmony

(S) John Symons Secty.

S)

March 17th 1814.

This day Lodge N<sup>o</sup> 286 met in due Form Br. Worshipfull M. Brannan in Chair Proceeded to Bufinefs, the Lodge being Open<sup>d</sup>, in the Second Degree when Br. Wm. Marshall and Abrm. Isaac was Raid to the Sublime degree of Master Mason, The Lodge being Call<sup>d</sup> from the Second to the First degree when Br. Wm. Joce was Pafs<sup>d</sup> to the Second degree after which Wm. Branton was regularly Propos<sup>d</sup> by Br. Waldon Nothing further offered for The good of the Craft Clofs<sup>d</sup> the Lodge at Eight OClock and parted in good Harmony

(Smoke John Symons Secty.  
Seal)

On occasions when no particular business was transacted the form of Minute is usually:—

July 7th 1814.

This day Lodge No 286 met in due form Bro. Worshipfull Mark Brannan in the Chair Proceeded to Businefs Open<sup>d</sup> the Lodge in the 3rd. degree of Masonry Nothing particular Offer<sup>d</sup> for the good of the Craft Collected the dues and parted in good harmony at 9 O'Clock.

(Smoke  
Seal)

William Butler  
Sect<sup>y</sup> P.T.

Not all the Members were of the Military. In May Moses Rollins, Mariner, was accepted for initiation.

With the coming of April change is foreshadowed for the "Eight Brothers" Lodge. Trewman's *Exeter Flying Post* of the 14th of April says:—"At length after a War of twenty years we have once more the pleasing, the happy preface of RETURNING PEACE".

No indication is to be found in the Lodge Minutes, but on May 19th—the night when "Moses Rollins was initiated into the first degree of Masonry, Pafs<sup>d</sup> and raised to the sublime Degree of Master Mason" all in one evening!—there were a large number of visitors, of whom ten were of No. 575 E.C., which appears to have been a "Moderns" Lodge, "Harmony" also meeting at Gosport.

The rapid preferment of Moses Rollins was, maybe, because he was a sailor and his ship about to sail, but more than likely it was the approaching dis-embodiment of the Militia. The 2nd North Devons had probably already received their marching orders, and this meeting was to be their last at Gosport. The amount of business and the large number of Visitors from the neighbouring Lodge—a "Moderns" at that!—gives the impression of a farewell meeting. The Visitors' names will be found in Appendix III.

This Day being St. John's Day this Lodge 286 met in due form, Br. Worshipful Brannan in the Chair, when the following Brothers Pafs'd the Chair,<sup>1</sup> Viz:—Br. Hopkins, Br. Todds, Br. Joce, Br. Branton, Br. Steddiford, Br. Isaac, & Br. Marshall we further proceeded to businefs when the following Officers was Installed (agreeable to the usual form used on that occasion) for the ensuing Six Months. Nothing farther offered for the good of the Craft when the Lodge Closed at 9 O'Clock and parted in good harmony.

Officers' names.

Br. M. Brannan	W.M.	
Br. J. Beer	S.W.	
Br. H. Parsley	J.W.	
Br. P. Waldon	P.M.	
Br. N. Purchase	Sect <sup>y</sup>	
Br. J. Hopkins	Treasurer	
Br. J. Narraway	S.D.	(Smoke
Br. W <sup>m</sup> . Butler	J.D.	Seal)
Br. W <sup>m</sup> . Todds	Tyler	

Nicholas Purchase Sect<sup>y</sup>.

Here we get our first mention of a Tyler as far as this Lodge is concerned. The order of precedence of officers persistently shows the Secretary placed above the Treasurer. The Past Master's name invariably appears after the Wardens.

It may be presumed that this Installation meeting was held at Tavistock in Devon, the Regiment having passed through Exeter en route for that town

<sup>1</sup> This is the first, and only, mention in these Minutes of this Ceremony. All the Candidates were Members of the Lodge. There is no hint of the R.A., or of any other higher degrees.

on the 6th of June,<sup>1</sup> where they remained in the neighbourhood until the 26th July, when they left for Barnstaple.<sup>2</sup>

They thus missed the Peace Celebrations in the City of Exeter, advertised in *The Flying Post*<sup>1</sup> for June 30th, headed "FREEMASONRY" and decorated with Masonic emblems.

The Brethren of the different Lodges in this City intend to walk in masonic order to the Cathedral Church of St. Peter on the ensuing thanksgiving day. The Brothers will meet at their respective Lodges punctually at nine o'clock in the morning; when the company of all visiting Brethren will be deemed an honour.

Dinners will be provided at the lodge rooms; and which will be on the table at half past Two.

The account of that procession almost makes one wish for the days that were.

Thursday last, being the day appointed for a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God for our signal Victories and the restoration of the blessings of Peace; the same was observed in this City with every demonstration of joy and gratitude; every parish Church was fully attended. The Rt. W. the Mayor, with several corporate bodies, went in grand procession to St. Peter's Cathedral attended by a great number of Freemasons, displaying their various badges and orders; also by the working carpenters, plasterers, bricklayers &c. all neatly attired, bearing emblems of their trades, and flags and mottoes appropriate to the joyful occasion. The former trade wore all of them sashes & cockades formed of shavings, which had a very pretty appearance, and carried a model of The Temple of Peace, and another the Devon & Exeter Hospital, both ingenious workmanship, executed by Mr. Hedgeland, builder.

A Lodge was held on the 7th of July, William Butler acting as Secretary, and the next on the 4th of August may have been held in Barnstaple. Philip Waldon was in the Chair and Butler still acting as Secretary.

The working conditions of the Lodge were undoubtedly disturbed by the movements of the Regiment, and probably too by the Peace Celebrations throughout the country, and on the 1st of September we read:—

This day being the regular lodge night the Brethren being on duty the Meeting was dispensed with by order of P. Waldon Past Master

Wm. Butler Secty.

Waldon was again in the Chair on the 6th of October; on the 7th of November it was occupied by John Beer and again on December 5th, when they received as a visitor Brother George Northcott of No. 469. This is the first recorded contact of the "Eight Brothers" with Loyal Lodge, of which George Northcott had been re-elected Treasurer on the first of the month, when E. C. Reynolds was elected R.W. Master of Loyal Lodge for the ensuing six months.

The "Eight Brothers" having made their way to Barnstaple and established intercourse with the local Brethren, it may now be well to turn to the Minutes of "Loyal" Lodge for the same period.

<sup>1</sup> Treuman's *Exeter Flying Post*.

<sup>2</sup> Waldon, 1st Devon Militia.

## LOYAL LODGE No. 365 ("MODERNS").

"Loyal" Lodge, in 1812 numbered 365, had survived the vicissitudes of its first thirty years and was now in a prosperous state; but before taking up that part of its story contemporary with the "Eight Brothers", let us take a brief glance at those earlier years.

Having received a Warrant from Sir Chas. W. Bampfylde, the first Provincial Grand Master for Devonshire,<sup>1</sup> it proceeded to hold the first meeting at the Globe Inn, Cross Street, Barnstaple.

SEPTEMBER 23 1783

First Lodge held this day at the Globe Inn in Barnstaple.

Master ————— Mr. James Kimpland

Senior Warden — Mr. James Science

Junior Warden — Mr. Alex<sup>r</sup> Collmer

Treasurer ————— Mr. Geo. Kingson

Secretary ————— Wm. Barrett

Standing	{	Mr. Rich. Yeo
Members		Mr. Robt. Lewis
		Mr. Edm <sup>d</sup> . Thomas

Visiting

Brother ————— Mr. Wm. Stephens

This Night was remade Enter<sup>d</sup> Apprentices and Fellow Crafts-----

Edw<sup>d</sup> Cowland Tyler

Lewis Langdon

Wm. Barrett

Hen<sup>y</sup> H. Drake

Rob<sup>t</sup> Lamprey

John Reed

This Lodge is closed and adjourned 'till a further summons-----

The Master, James Kimpland, had for some thirty years been the Proprietor of "The Fleece". He was a Mason before the year 1769, when he was a Subscriber to Calcott's *Candid Disquisition*, and there can be little doubt that he and the other founders had been members of the Lodge at The Fleece, warranted by the "Moderns" Grand Lodge in 1762. The six Brethren "remade" on this occasion may have been "Ancients", but it is far more probable that the earlier Lodge had, although erased in 1778, continued to function and that they were made Masons at The Fleece sometime after 1778.

The solitary visitor, Mr. Wm. Stephens, was from Exeter, where he carried on the business of a Sadler. He was a member of The White Hart Lodge, and I believe that his visit was official and that he was the Provincial Grand Tyler.

The Senior Warden named on the Warrant was "R.W. Bro. John Hartnoll" a Surgeon. He never acted, for tragically he lay dead at his house whilst the first Lodge was held and was buried on the following day.

James Kimpland was at this time an old man of seventy-four, but ruled his Lodge well for two years, being absent from very few meetings until on the 1st September, 1785:—

Right Worsh<sup>l</sup>. Master B. Kimpland declined the Chair through infirmaty and old age.

He was brought to the Lodge in a Chair on the 15th September and:—

Lodge opened by Bro. Kimpland who duly placed Br. Barrett in the Chair as Master.

<sup>1</sup> A.Q.C., xlii, pt. 1. Although functioning from 1775, the Provincial G. L. of Devon was not formally Warranted and Constituted by G. L. until 1820.

From this entry it would appear that some ceremonial of Installation may be inferred.

James Kimpland had not been present when the first recorded Royal Arch meeting was held..

July 9. Private Meeting or Chapter of Loyal (*sic*) Arch.

Br. Betty as Mr.  
 Br. Reynolds from Lodge of Good Intention  
 Br. Ward       "       "       "       "  
 Br. Mules       "       "       "       "  
 Br. Lee         "       "       "       "  
 Br. Coleman    "       "       "       "  
 Br. Cridge     "       "       "       "  
 Br. Bowen  
 Br. Marshall  
 Br. Yeo

Pass'd to the Arch Br. Langdon, Br. Hill, Br. Coulin, Br. Barrett, Br. Hewett.

Wm. Barrett was succeeded as Master on the 24th June, 1786, by Br. Archibald Ewing, who came to Barnstaple from Bath, where he had been Initiated in Lodge of Virtue No. 380 in 1782. He held the Mastership for ten years, but towards the end of that time the Lodge passed through a very critical period.

During these early years the degree in which the Lodge met was never stated. The Candidates were invariably made Entered Apprentices and Fellow Crafts on the same evening, the Raising being taken on a following night:—

4 Dec. 1794—Hyman Ralph proposed last Lodge Night was made an Enter'd Apprentice and Pafs'd.

On the 30th January, 1799, the Lodge moved to The Kings Arms in the High Street; the business continued to be entered in the same reserved manner, the meetings were held on Thursdays twice a month and both St. John's Days were observed.

In September, 1799, two visitors were Bros. Graham and Tamlin. They both became members, but not until Christmas Day, 1800, when a Lodge of Emergency was held for the purpose:—

Br. Tamlin & Br. Graham was remade from Ancient to Modern to the first second & third degree of Masters.

Thus for more than a year two Brethren of the "Ancients" had visited and become members of a "Moderns" Lodge, even on occasion occupied the Junior Warden's Chair, and not until Bro. Graham was actually elected Junior Warden were they "remade".

William Graham was elected Master on the 27th December, 1802, but although he had been an "Ancient" Mason there is no evidence of "Installation", yet signs are not wanting of such ceremonial both before and after this date:—

1796. B. Halse elected R.W. Master & Chair<sup>d</sup>.

5 June 1806. At this Lodge Brother Jos. W. Hunt was elected Master.

24 do. Brother was duly pafsed to the Chair.

The first official visit of Officers of Provincial Grand Lodge occurs on the 3rd of November, 1802, when visiting Brethren from Exeter are:—Jno. Higgs, Laurence Williams Esq., and Philip Whitcombe. Jno. Higgs acted as R.W. Master ("P.T."), and evidently some instruction was given and the Lodge was

Clos'd in good order and Decorum.



Another visit of some importance was that of Benjn. Plummer, P.M. of No. 12 Lodge of Emulation, the Antwerp Tavern, London, who occupied the Master's Chair on the 31st January, 1805.

The 7th of May, 1807, saw another visit of Provincial Grand Lodge Officers, amongst whom was Lord Ebrington, who later as Earl Fortescue became the second Provincial Grand Master for Devon.

Edwin Kingson, son of the Founder Treasurer of the Lodge, was the first Secretary to introduce any substantial change in the form of the Minutes. He took office on St. John the Evangelist Day, 1808. A Bro. Thos. Scholar was a visitor in February and again in June, 1809, and might have suggested the variations. On the 4th May we read "Br. Oram raised to the Sublime & honourable degree of a Master", and at the following Lodge we get the first indication of the degree:—

——— Entered Apprentices Lodge opened in Due  
Form 8 June 1809.  
——— Entered Apprentices Lodge closed in due Form  
untill 26th inst. unlefs a Lodge of Emergency  
occurs when every member shall have previous  
Notice.  
  
Fellow Craft Lodge open'd in due Form  
Lodge of Emergency August 15. 1809 ———  
——— Lodge closed in due form ———  
——— At this Lodge Night Brother Shadgett  
was promoted from a Fellow Craft to  
the Sublime Degree of a Master.

At last, in April, 1810, we get:—

Masters Lodge

when two Brethren were "Rais'd to the Sublime Degree of Masters".

Up to this date the Officers had been the R.W.M., P.M., S.W., J.W., Treasurer, Secretary, and Tylers. Now a Steward is added to the list.

Signs appear indicating that the Royal Arch was becoming active:—

1812.  
Feb<sup>y</sup>. 6. Loyal Lodge of Emergency No. 365.  
Masters Lodge opened.  
Present———  
At this Lodge Night Br. Jas. Rendell,  
Wm. Clarke, E. C. Rennels, Wm. Finch, &  
John Hooper were pafsed to the Chair &  
appointed individually Past Masters.

An Entered Apprentices Lodge was then opened and proposals were made of Candidates for Initiation. The Accounts register the purchase of "Three Crowns" at 13s. 6d. Unaccountably, the closing of the Lodge on St. John the Baptist's Day, 1812, bears a singular resemblance to the formula of the "Eight Brothers":—

Closed in good Harmony at 11 oClock.

It does not reappear.

Since, after the first few years, the Secretary usually neglected to record the Lodges of the visiting Brethren, their influence on the working of the Lodge is difficult to appraise. Only one or two Irish Brethren are so described, but intercourse between the Ports of South Ireland and that of Barnstaple cannot be excluded. Again a number of Military men were from time to time quartered in the town. Archibald Ewing, it may be surmised, introduced something of

the Bath working during his long Mastership. Benjn. Plummer evidently gave an exposition of London practice on the night of his visit; whilst Exeter, where many peculiarities typical of West Country procedure are still retained, strongly influenced the North Devon Lodge, first by the Brethren of Good Intention, and later by official visits of Provincial Officers.

The influences working to build up the Ritual and Traditions in Loyal Lodge were—it can be seen—many and varied, and one is led to the conclusion that the differences between “Ancient” and “Modern” methods could not have been great in this North-West corner of Devon, since two “Ancient” Masons could be received into and actually work with the Lodge for some time before being “remade” “Moderns”.

To bring the story of Loyal Lodge abreast of that of the “Eight Brothers” we will continue with the Minutes of the meeting on the first Thursday in December, 1812.

Dec<sup>r</sup>. 3rd

1812

LOYAL LODGE BARNSTAPLE N<sup>o</sup> 365

Entered Apprentices Lodge open<sup>d</sup> then clos<sup>d</sup>. Fellow Craft open<sup>d</sup> then clos<sup>d</sup>. Masters Lodge open<sup>d</sup> then clos<sup>d</sup>.

Present J. W. Hunt ——— R.W.M.

Northcott ——— S.W.

Delve ——— J.W.

W<sup>m</sup>. Rennels ——— T.

E. Rennels ——— S.

Finch

Hooper

G. Kingson

E. Baker

Philips

Randell

W<sup>m</sup>. Delve

Whimble

Hodge

Clarke

Peters

Visiting B<sup>r</sup>. Yeo

W<sup>m</sup>. Delve

Lodge duly clos<sup>d</sup> untill 28th Inst. unless a Lodge of Emergency intervene, when timely notice will be given.

\*

At this Lodge Night B<sup>r</sup>. Powell & B<sup>r</sup>. Delve & B<sup>r</sup>. Peters were pass'd from Entered Apprentices to Fellow Crafts B<sup>r</sup>. W. Rennels elected Master of this Lodge and E. Rennels Treasurer and B<sup>r</sup>. Peters & Hodge & B<sup>r</sup>. Delve & Powell were raised to the sublime Degree of Master.

\*(Written vertically in margin.)

(Page 2.)

Vote of thanks to the Master Senior & Junior Wardens & Secretary of the Loyal Lodge No. 365 held at Barnstaple, 3rd. Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1812.

The Lodge being opened in due form, and the day being arrived when the election of a new Master takes place, our Right Worshipful Master in a long and animated charge to the Brethren proposed a vote of thanks to his Senior and Junior Wardens, Treasurer &

Secretary for their assiduous attention to the duties of this Lodge which was seconded by Br. G. Kingson Jun<sup>r</sup>. and carried unanimously.

A New Master being elected, and Treasurer chosen, Br. W<sup>m</sup>. Rennells the Right Worshipfull Master elect in a short but elegant speech wherein he returned his grateful thanks to R<sup>t</sup>. Worship<sup>l</sup> Master & Brethren for the honor they had done him, concluded in proposing a vote of thanks to Joseph Wingett Hunt the present Master for his able and impartial conduct during the time he had the honor of being Master of this Lodge—which was also seconded by Br. Kingson Jun<sup>r</sup> and carried Nem Dis.

Dec<sup>r</sup>. 28th LOYAL LODGE BARNSTAPLE N<sup>o</sup>. 356.

1812 Entered Apprentices Lodge Open'd & Clos'd Masters Lodge opened

Present J. W. Hunt ——— R.W.M.  
Northcott ——— S.W.  
Rendell ——— J.W.  
Hooper  
Randell  
Tamlyn ——— P.M.  
J. Baker  
Marsh  
Dory  
Mathews  
Whimble  
Westcott  
Tyte ——— Tyler  
Delve  
Crispin  
Oram  
E. Baker

\*

At this Lodge Night B<sup>rs</sup>. Hartree, Hodge & Westcott pass'd the Chair. B<sup>ros</sup>. Philips & Powell was rais'd to the Sublime Degree of Masters and Snell propos'd & Woodford also propos'd. Lodge Duly clos'd 'till Thursday 7th. January next.

\*(Written vertically in margin.)

Not until the Lodge of the 2nd of January is the Master recorded as being in the Chair and there is no note of any Installation ceremonial. The above quoted Minutes are typical of those throughout the year. On the 5th of January a Lodge of Emergency was held, when:—

Masters Lodge open'd and Clos'd

(15 Brethren present)

This Lodge night Br. G. Kingson Senr. pass'd the Chair—Bro. Woodford was raised to the sublime degree of Master, and pass'd the Chair.

George Kingson had been the first Treasurer in 1783, and had resigned in 1801, but after his two sons had been Initiated he rejoined in 1810.

For the 15th of February the entry is:—

Past Masters Lodge open'd & closed

(8 Brethren present)

This Lodge Night Bro<sup>r</sup>. Narraway and Hounsell pass'd the Chair.

Chapter of Loyalty and Virtue was not warranted until 1821, but from the number of Brethren who "Pafs'd the Chair" at this period, it is clear that the Royal Arch was a flourishing Institution in Loyal Lodge; by 1820 there was an Encampment of Knights Templar, probably a descendant of the "Trine" Encampment founded at Bideford in 1791.

The election of Master and Treasurer took place on the 3rd of June, when Rennells and Northcott were re-elected to their respective offices; but in December there is no mention of the election of a Master or any officer. St. John's Day was celebrated on the 27th of December and the same officers apparently were continued.

The perennial trouble of Quarterages was dealt with on the 2nd of December, when:—

This Lodge Night it was unanimously agreed that no Brother shall remain more than Twelve Months in arrears, if he does not pay it then, He shall be expell'd, and not to be admitted even as a visiting Brother, untill He has paid his Quarterage. To commence next John Baptist day 1814.

This was duly enforced, the Minutes for 4th August, 1814, stating:—

Several Brethren who have neglected the payment of Quartiledge have been erased from the Book.

The Lodge continued to be busy throughout 1814, and the following is not uncommon:—

1814

May 19 LOYAL LODGE OF EMERGENCY N<sup>o</sup>. 365.

Entered Apprentices Lodge opened and closed & Fellow Crafts Lodge opened in due form

(10 Brethren present.)

At this Lodge Night Br. Chas. Cornish was proposed ballotted for and unanimously elected & initiated into Masonry in the first & second Degrees.

There was again no election recorded of either Master or Treasurer for St. John the Baptist's day, which was celebrated on the twenty-eighth of June, the same officers continuing. The Lodge was now meeting at the "Kings Arms", the Landlord being John Halls, a P.M. of the Lodge, and on this St. John's Day there was evidently an "incident".

There having been irregularity committed by the admifsion of Persons into the Lodge not Masons Brother J. W. Hunt gave notice of a motion on the Subject which in order to give every facility to the Members of the Lodge appointed a Lodge of Emergency to be held on Thursday Evening next at 7 oclock and that the whole Lodge shall be summoned on the occasion.

The matter was settled at the Emergency Lodge held on June 30th, 1814, at which 19 Brethren were present:—

In consequence of the anxiety of the Brethren exprefsed on the celebration of Saint John's Day last—it was proposed by Brother J. W. Hunt

1st. That for the future under any circumstance nor by the introduction of any member shall any person not a Mason be admitted into The Lodge Room during the Sitting of the Brethren.

2nd. That as Brother Halls gave offence to the Lodge at the Meeting and having now made an appology the brethren shall never more revert to the circumstance.

It does not seem to have been the custom of the Lodge to consider complaints in the Fellow Craft Lodge. Generally they were taken in the First Degree.

Applications by Brethren of other Lodges to join Loyal Lodge were evidently carefully examined:—

July 7

1814. ———As Bro. Taylor hath bin propozed to Be a member of our Lodge Last Lodge Night We have proposed to have a Return from ilfracombe Lodge.<sup>1</sup> Nex Lodge Night by our Lodge sending a Note to ilfracombe Respecting His beHalf.

There is no record now of the reply received, but it was evidently favourable, for he was duly “ballotted for and accepted”.

During the last decade of the eighteenth century several Ilfracombe men had been made Masons in Loyal Lodge; in 1802, Lodge Concord, warranted in 1784 as No. 463, was transferred to Ilfracombe, the number then being 374.<sup>1</sup> In 1814 it became No. 474, lapsing about 1820.

Not until the 1st of December, 1814, do the Minutes give any indication of the union of the two Grand Lodges, when without comment the new number of 469 displaces 365. The accounts record:—

Nov. 30. P<sup>d</sup>. for Carriage New Instructions — 4 - 0

Having traced the converging paths of our two Lodges, the threads of the story draw together as we approach their United Meetings at the Festival of St. John the Evangelist.

#### THE TWO LODGES

At the regular meeting of Loyal Lodge on the 1st of December:—  
“J. E. C. Rennells was Chosen R.W. Master for the ensuing six months, and likewise G. Northcott as Treasurer”.

The “Eight Brothers” at a Lodge of Emergency on the 12th of December, elected their officers for the ensuing six months as follows:—

Br. John Beer	- - - -	W.M.
Br. Butler	- - - -	S.W.
Br. Narraway	- - - -	J.W.
Br. Parsley	- - - -	S.D.
Br. Todds	- - - -	J.D.
Br. Waldon	- - - -	P.M.
Br. Purchase	- - - -	Sect <sup>y</sup> .
Br. Hopkins	- - - -	Treas <sup>r</sup> .
Br. Harris	- - - -	Tyler.

Loyal Lodge also held an intervening meeting:—

Wednesday Dec<sup>r</sup>. 7th 1814.

#### LOYAL LODGE OF EMERGENCY No. 469

Present E. C. Rennells	- - - -	R.W.M.
Br. Randall	- - - -	S.W.
Hooper	- - - -	J.W.
Northcott	- - - -	T.
Young	- - - -	S.
Llewelling	- - - -	
Cocks		
Shapland		
Whimble		
Tamlin	- - - -	T.

At this Lodge of Emergency John Turner & Wm. Ackland was Pas'd the Chair.

Masters Lodge opened & Duly Clos'd.

<sup>1</sup> Lane's List of Lodges.

Loyal Lodge, in accordance with usual "Modern" practice, had so far appointed no Deacons, and the visit of the "Eight Brothers" on the 26th of December was, without doubt, very informative, when the United Obligation was taken, but of other business transacted we are not told. It can only be surmise if I suggest that a Ceremony, or possibly the Installation was rehearsed.

Decr. 26th  
1814.

# LOYAL LODGE No 469.

St. John's Day in Commemoration

Masters Lodge opened in the 3rd. Degree.

Present—The Rt. Wosh<sup>l</sup>. Master and Officers of the North Devon Lodge No. 286.

Mark Brannan	- - - R.W.M.
John Beer	- - - S.W.
Hen <sup>r</sup> . Parsley	- - - J.W.
Ab <sup>m</sup> . Brannan	- - - S.D.
W <sup>m</sup> . Butler	- - - J.D.
Ew <sup>d</sup> . Rennels	- P.T. - P.M.
Philip Hodge	- P.T. - Sect <sup>r</sup> .
John Hopkins	- - - =Treas <sup>r</sup>
W <sup>m</sup> . Teddy ( <i>sic</i> ) (Todds)	=Tyler.
J. W. Hunt	Continued
Hooper	Nott
Northcott	Avery
Young	Eardy — V.Br.
Taylor	W. Rennels
Rice Turner	G. Kingson
Llewelling	Chas Leigh
Whimble	J. Bowhay
Halls	Tamlyn
Rendal	Lodge duly closed and the above
Jas. Randell	mentioned Brothers took the
Finch	United Ob <sup>n</sup> . Br. Coles &
Ackland	Larwell not admitted on acn <sup>t</sup> .
Bowden	of not being Members of this
Shapland	Lodge.

It is interesting to note that one Brother—George Kingson—was a founding member of Loyal Lodge and its first Treasurer in 1783.

The Master of Loyal Lodge, Edward Rennels, acted as Past Master and Philip Hodge as Secretary, otherwise the Members were spectators of what was evidently a formal demonstration by the Brethren of No. 286; an arrangement probably made by George Northcott on his visit on the 5th.

Having in mind Bro. Wonnacott's work, *The Lodge of Reconciliation* (*A.Q.U.*, xxii, p. 222), in which he quotes from the Minutes of the meeting 7th December, 1813:

———a great number of Grand Officers, all of whom had not been previously obligated by the Commissioners of the Union, were solemnly obligated according to the Ancient form———

it would appear that it was essential that Members of Loyal Lodge, being under the "Moderns" Constitution, should be reobligated "according to Ancient form".

If members of the "Eight Brothers" were also required to be reobligated it is not probable that they would have left the matter until so late a date;

but there is no indication in the whole of their Minutes even to hint at their being reobligated.

On the following day the two Lodges again met, when the "Eight Brothers" entertained Loyal Lodge, possibly in the roomy Barracks at Ebberly Lawn, but the place of meeting is not mentioned. Once more we turn to the Minute Book of the "Eight Brothers". Unfortunately all their minutes are most reticent—throughout the whole series the names of the attending members are never given—generally the names of Visitors are recorded, but on this occasion even they are omitted, and we are left to surmise that most, if not all, who had attended on the previous day were again present. The meeting is thus recorded in the Minute Book of No. 286:—

Dec<sup>r</sup>. 27th, 1814.

This day lodge No. 286 Met in due form when the Officers were Install<sup>d</sup>. for the ensuing 6 Months, the officers and Brothers then proceeded to give the new instructions to Lodge No. 469 after which spent the day in Memory of St. John and parted in good harmony at 9 OClock.

(Smoke  
Seal)

Nich<sup>s</sup>. Purchase  
Sect<sup>y</sup>.

Thus Loyal Lodge, warranted by the "Moderns" Grand Lodge over thirty years prior to this date, received instruction from a young Lodge whose experience was limited to the two years of its existence. Barnstaple, remote in the North-West of Devon, was far from the larger centres, and new practices would be slow to penetrate. The North Devon Militia had been stationed at Gosport for practically the whole period of the brief existence of the "Eight Brothers", giving and receiving many visits in that busy Military district, and indeed had a unique opportunity for wide Masonic enlightenment.

It is to be recalled that they were of the "Ancients" Constitution, and it may be well that they had preserved the older workings, whilst Loyal Lodge, remote as was its situation, had yet had sufficient intercourse with the outer world to follow at least some of the changes introduced by the "Moderns".

According to the Accounts of Loyal Lodge, the New Instructions had been received on the 30th November, when four shillings was paid for their carriage. A few further interesting items are disclosed by the accounts; the bill produced by Bro. John Halls, mine host at the Kings Arms, was settled for £12-14s.-6d., or nearly eight shillings per head.

Brothers Mark and Abraham Brannan received a fee of half-a-guinea each and at a later date Wm. Butler received five shillings.

Whilst not so stated, it would appear that the Brannans and Wm. Butler received payment for their services on the nights of "Instruction".

Unfortunately Peace was short lived, the North Devon Militia were soon to be transferred and there was little further intercourse between the two Lodges.

No. 286 now met but once in the month, on the first Monday, and their only recorded visitor is John Shapland, of Loyal Lodge, on the 2nd of January, 1815.

The last entry in the Minute Book of the "Eight Brothers" is for 5th June, 1815, and runs as follows:—

June 5th, 1815.

This day Lodge No. 286 met in due form B<sup>r</sup>. Worshipful John Beer in the Chair proceeded to Businefs after the Lodge being opened in the first Degree. Nothing particular offered for the good of the Craft the dues Collected and the Lodge Closed at 9 o.Clock. Parted in good harmony.

Nicholas Purchase Secretary.

More than three-quarters of the "Eight Brothers" Minute Book remained unused; no doubt the escape of Napoleon from Elba was responsible for Nicholas Purchase's Minute Book being left behind in the Barracks at Barnstaple and so providentially preserved for our information.

In April Sergeants and Drummers were ordered

to be at once sent to such places in Devon—in order to raise recruits by beat of drum.<sup>1</sup>

On the 7th of August the Regiment marched out of Barnstaple en route for Plymouth Dock, where they remained until February, 1816, when they returned to Barnstaple to be finally disembodied.<sup>1</sup>

John Beer, Master of No. 286 during its stay in Barnstaple, and who acted as Senior Warden at the memorable St. John's Day meeting, settled in Barnstaple as an Inn Keeper, becoming the proprietor of "The George" in Boutport Street; he joined Loyal Lodge, and for some years the Brethren celebrated St. John's Day at his house, "Brother Beer being requested by the W.M. to serve up the Dinner in his usual style".

Another Militia man to join Loyal Lodge was Bro. Todds, who became Tyler.

When in May, 1821, a Royal Arch Warrant was granted for the Chapter of Loyalty and Virtue, amongst the Petitioners named are the following Brethren of the "Eight Brothers":—John Narraway, Mark Brannan, and John Beer.

No. 286 was erased in 1821, and of its final years I can find no account, but for some time the effects of the meetings can be traced in the records of Loyal Lodge, whilst the small variations in the Lodge Ritual of to-day have a distinctly "Ancient" savour.

Immediate results appeared at the following meeting on the 5th of January, 1815, of which the following are the Minutes:—

Jan. 5, 1815. LOYAL LODGE No 469.

Entered Apprentices Lodge opened & Closed.

Present	E. C. Renuells	—	R.W.M.
	J. Rendell	—	S.W.
	J. Hooper	—	J.W.
	P. Hodge	—	S.
	Bowden		
	Ackland		
	Tamlyn	—	T.

Lodge duly Closed 'till the first Thursday next month unless a lodge of emergency intervenes when Bro<sup>s</sup>. will have timely notice — Ath this Lodge Night B<sup>r</sup>. Northcott purposed to alter the Visiting fees his opinion to be Considered next Lodge Night — Bro<sup>s</sup>. Hodge & Bowden chosen to do the office of Senior & Junior Deacons.

At the following Lodge it was "Unanimously agreed that the visiting fees should in future be 3s. in case of Making on that Night if not to be 2s. as usual". Bros. Hodge and Bowden are duly entered as "S.D." and "J.D." respectively.

Deacon's Jewels were not purchased until August, 1816, when they were obtained at a cost of three guineas, and on the 3rd of October:—

Paid for Ribbon & Mounting

Deacons Jewells ————— 3s - 6d.

A little later appears "Deacons 2 Black Rods".

<sup>1</sup> *N. D. Militia.* Waldon.



The Inner Guard enters in 1817—with an assistant! although occasionally described as “Inner Tyler”.

With the disembodiment of the Militia the Lodge of the “Eight Brothers” came to a natural end; Loyal Lodge is still hale and hearty after celebrating its sesqui-centenary in 1933, cherishing the memory of its early Brethren and those of the “Eight Brothers”, to whose help they were indebted in the year 1814.

# APPENDIX I.

## COMPARATIVE NOTES ON PROCEDURE IN THE TWO LODGES

### LOYAL LODGE.

### THE EIGHT BROTHERS.

#### OPENING

Entered Apprentice lodge opened.  
or  
Lodge opened in Due form.  
(Never both.)

This day Lodge No. 228 Met in Due  
form, proceeded to business.

#### CLOSING

Lodge duly clos'd till the first thursday  
in the Next Month unless a Lodge of  
emergency should intervene when  
every Brother will have previous (or  
Timely) Notice.  
(Sometimes all in one entry thus:-)  
Entered Apprentice Lodge opened then  
clos'd, Fellow Craft opened then  
clos'd, Masters Lodge opened then  
Clos'd.

Nothing else offered for the good of the  
Craft, collected the dues and Clofsd.  
the Lodge in good Harmony at 8  
(or 9) O'clock.

#### FIRST DEGREE

In both Lodges the above openings infer  
the First Degree, or the entry is thus:-

Entered Apprentices Lodge opened in  
Due form, or  
Entered Apprentices Lodge Duly  
opened and closed.

Opened the Lodge in the first degree  
of Masoury;  
The Lodge being opened in due form  
in the first degree;  
or  
proceeded to business after the Lodge  
being opened in the first Degree.

Business taken:-  
Initiates proposed. Ballotted for and  
made.  
Re-making from Ancient to Modern in  
the First Degree.  
General business taken, but not invari-  
ably.

Business Taken:-  
Initiates proposed. Ballotted for and  
initiated.  
Modern Masons “Antiensized” in the  
First Degree.  
An Excluded Brother was readmitted.

Out of seven entrys of “Passing” six  
are in this degree

## SECOND DEGREE

Fellow Crafts Lodge opened (& duly closed.)	Lodge met in due form——opened the Lodge in the Second Degree.
Re-making from Ancient to Modern in the Second Degree.	Modern Masons "Antiensized" in the Second Degree.
Passing from Entered Apprentice to Fellow Craft.	Out of seven entrys of "Raising" five are in this degree. Only one "Passing" is entered.
Proposals re discipline, non payment of dues etc.	

## THIRD DEGREE

Masters Lodge opened	Met in due form——opened the
Re-making from Ancient to Modern in the Third Degree.	Lodge in the third degree of Masonry.
Raising to the "Sublime Degree of Master."	Out of seven "Raisings" only two are entered in this Degree.
Passing the Chair.	Charge against a Master Mason heard.
Installation.	Election of joining Master Masons.
	Installation.

## APPENDIX II.

## LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE EIGHT BROTHERS LODGE.

Name.	Date of Membership.	Rank.	Old Lodge No.				
Waldon, Serjt. Major Brannan, Mark Beer, John Ratcliffe, S. .... Parsley, H. .... Butler, William .... Humphries, Thomas Gaurier, J. L. Kerslake, John .....	28. 12. 1812.	W.M. W.M. W.M.  Trs. S.W.	Possibly the eight Founding Members.	Never attended.			
Brannan, Abraham					7. 1. 1813.	S.D.	P.
Barnes, Thomas .....					7. 1. 1813.		P.
Winsford, John					4. 2. 1813.	J.W.	A.
*Jennings,					23. 3. 1813.		J. 7.
Carroll, John .....					23. 3. 1813.		J. 749. Irish.
*McCully, James .....					23. 3. 1813.		J. 201. Irish.
Thomson, Hugh .....	23. 3. 1813.		J. 180. Irish.				
*Harper, William	23. 3. 1813.		J. 537. Irish.				
Adams, John .....	23. 3. 1813.		J. 606. Irish.				
*Green, Matthew .....	23. 3. 1813.		J. 811. Irish.				
Narraway, John	1. 4. 1813.	J.W.	A. 365.	Loyal. Barnstaple.			
Hill, William .....	6. 5. 1813.	J.D.	A.				
Purchase, William ...		Sec.		No entry of 1st Atdee.			
Hopkins, John	2. 9. 1813.	Tres.	1.				
Simmons, John	2. 9. 1813.	Sec.	1.				
Newton .....	(18. 11. 1813.	Acted as Master).					

Name.	Date of Membership.	Rank.	Old Lodge No.
Barnes, Henry	16. 12. 1813.		I.
Todds, William .....	20. 1. 1814.	Tyler.	I.
Stedeford, George	20. 1. 1814.		I.
Marshall, William ...	20. 1. 1814.		I.
Isaac, Abraham	3. 2. 1814.		I.
Joce, William .....	3. 3. 1814.		I.
Branton, William	7. 4. 1814.		I.
Hewlett, J. N.	21. 4. 1814.		J.
Rollins, Moses	19. 5. 1814.		I. -Mariner-
Harris, David .....	6. 10. 1814.	Tyler.	J. 162. (Royal Cambrian, Newport).
Keen, John	5. 12. 1814.		I.

I. = Initiated.

P. = Passed.

R. = Raised.

A. = Anciented.

\*. = Resigned and became members of No. 356.

## APPENDIX III.

## VISITORS TO THE EIGHT BROTHERS LODGE.

Name.	Date of 1st Visit.	Constn.	Lodge.
Abel	8. 3. 1813.	Scotland.	140.
Aderly	1. 7. 1813.	(" A ")	62. (Social, Manchester).
Amelia	1. 7. 1813.	(" A ")	62. (Social, Manchester).
Aspanell .....	19. 5. 1814.	(" M ")	575. (Harmony, Fareham).
Bell .....	8. 3. 1813.	(" A ")	148. (Twelve Brs., Portsea).
Bennett .....	19. 5. 1814.	England.	575. (Harmony, Fareham).
Bishop .....	19. 5. 1814.	Scotland.	18.
Branton, B. ....	17. 2. 1814.	(" M ")	139. (Gloucester, Portsea).
Callkington	3. 2. 1814.	(" A ")	356. (10th. Batt. R.A.).
Carroll, Jno. ....	7. 9. 1813.	(" A ")	356. (19th. Batt. R.A.).
Catchbull	4. 11. 1813.	(" A ")	79. (Falstaff Tavern, Portsmouth).
Catchpole, Jno. ....	21. 1. 1813.	Scotland.	189.
Crawford .....	3. 3. 1814.	Scotland.	316.
Cylett, John .....	4. 2. 1813.	(" A ")	79. (Falstaff Tavern, —Portsmouth).
Dalling	3. 2. 1814.	Ireland.	543. (L'isbourn).
Davies	1. 7. 1813.	(" A ")	62. (Social, Manchester).
Dobbs .....	3. 3. 1814.	Scotland.	316.
Drinkwater .....	17. 2. 1814.		575. (Harmony, Fareham).
Drinkwater, Jno.	4. 2. 1813.	(" A ")	79. (Falstaff Tavern, Portsmouth).
Elliott, Wm. ....	18. 3. 1813.	(" A ")	138. (Twelve Brs., Portsea).

Name.	Date of 1st Visit.		Constn.	Lodge.
English, east ( <i>sic</i> )	8.	3. 1813.		254. (St. Georges).
Fobes	3.	2. 1814.	(" M ")	551. (Harmony, Fareham).
Forbes	17.	2. 1814.	(" M ")	575. (Ditto, new Number).
Green, Mathew	7.	9. 1813.	(" A ")	356. (10th. Batt. R.A.).
Griffiths, John	18.	3. 1813.	(" A ")	138. (Twelve Brs., Portsea).
Hall	2.	9. 1813.	(" A ")	62. (Social, Manchester).
Harper	3.	2. 1814.	(" A ")	356. (10th. Batt. R.A.).
Harris, David	6.	10. 1814.	(" A ")	162. (Jerusalem, Bristol).
Hindle, Saml.	17.	6. 1813.	(" A ")	208. (Brunswick, Plymouth).
Howorth	3.	2. 1814.	(" A ")	356. (10th. Batt. R.A.).
Hughs	3.	2. 1814.	Ireland.	731.
Jennings	26.	3. 1813.	(" A ")	7. (Union Waterloo, Woolwich).
Jennings	3.	2. 1814.	(" A ")	356. (10th. Batt. R.A.).
Jennings	4.	11. 1813.		365.
Johnstone	21.	1. 1813.	(" A ")	79. (Falstaff Tavern, Portsmouth).
Johnstone	17.	2. 1814.	(" M ")	575. (Harmony, Fareham).
Kidd	5.	3. 1814.	Scotland.	271.
King	19.	5. 1814.	(" M ")	575. (Harmony, Fareham).
McCuley	3.	2. 1814.	(" A ")	356. (10th. Batt. R.A.).
McDonald	1.	7. 1813.	(" A ")	62. (Social, Manchester).
Melsin, Patrick	7.	9. 1813.	Scotland.	73.
Metheral	17.	2. 1814.	(" M ")	139. (Gloucester, Portsea).
Newton	4.	11. 1813.	(" A ")	79. (Falstaff Tavern, Portsmouth).
Northcott, George	5.	12. 1814.	(" M ")	469. (Loyal, Barnstaple).
Pride	3.	3. 1814.	Scotland.	316.
Rafter	1.	7. 1813.	(" A ")	62. (Social, Manchester).
*Reddock	5.	3. 1814.	(" M ")	551. (Harmony, Fareham).
*Riley	17.	6. 1813.	(" A ")	62. (Social, Manchester).
Rogers, 1	3.	3. 1814.	Scotland.	316.
Rogers, 2	3.	3. 1814.	Scotland.	316.
Rose	19.	5. 1814.	(" M ")	575. (Ditto, new Number).
Seaman, Shm.	17.	6. 1813.	(" A ")	259. (Confidence, London).
Shapland, John	2.	1. 1815.	(" M ")	469. (Loyal, Barnstaple).
Steant	17.	2. 1814.	(" M ")	575. (Harmony, Fareham).
Stoneman	19.	5. 1814.	(" M ")	575. (Harmony, Fareham).
Thompson	3.	2. 1814.	(" A ")	356. (10th. Batt. R.A.).
Ware	3.	2. 1814.	(" A ")	356. (10th. Batt. R.A.).
Willson	7.	9. 1813.	(" A ")	356. (10th. Batt. R.A.).
Wilson	3.	3. 1814.	Scotland.	316.
Woods	17.	2. 1814.	(" M ")	575. (Harmony, Fareham).
Young	19.	5. 1814.	(" M ")	575. (Harmony, Fareham).

## APPENDIX IV.

## VISITORS TO LOYAL LODGE FOR THE YEARS 1812-13-14-15.

Name.	Date of 1st Visit.	Constn.	Lodge.
Rendell, Elias .....	2. 4. 1812.		
Stephens, H. ....	3. 4. 1812.		
Hillens .....	25. 6. 1812.		
Nott .....	25. 6. 1812.		
Dory, John .....	3. 9. 1812.		
Myrton .....	1. 10. 1812.		
Willis .....	1. 10. 1812.		
Bradley .....	5. 11. 1812.		
Dorin .....	5. 11. 1812.		
Wallis (*) .....	5. 11. 1812.		
Watts .....	5. 11. 1812.		
Harthee .....	5. 11. 1812.		
Stephens, E. H. ....	16. 11. 1812.		
Bennett .....	16. 11. 1812.		
Beaumont .....	2. 1. 1813.		
MacCab, Edwd. ....	6. 1. 1814.		
Ounsell .....	3. 3. 1814.		
Cowell .....	2. 6. 1814.		
Taylor (*) .....	2. 6. 1814.		
Budd .....	2. 6. 1814.		
Cornish (*) .....	2. 6. 1814.		
Somervill .....	2. 6. 1814.		
Hounslow .....	2. 6. 1814.		
Braley .....	28. 6. 1814.		
Lake .....	6. 10. 1814.		
Allison .....	6. 10. 1814.		
Coals .....	1. 12. 1814.		
Barby .....	1. 12. 1814.		
Brannan, Mark .....	26. 12. 1814.	Ancient.	N. Devon Lodge 286. (Eight
Beer, John .....	26. 12. 1814.	do	do Brothers).
Parsley, Heny. ....	do	do	do
Brannan, Abm. ....	do	do	do
Butler, Wm. ....	do	do	do
Rennels, Edwd. ....	do	do	do
Hodge, Phillip .....	do	do	do
Hopkins, John .....	do	do	do
Todd, Wm. ....	do	do	do
Barnes .....	do	do	do
Miller .....	2. 3. 1815.		
Mackin .....	6. 4. 1815.		
Thomas, Capt. ....	26. 6. 1815.		
Lerwell .....	7. 9. 1815.		
Narraway .....	7. 11. 1815.	Ancient.	No. 286. (Eight Brothers).
Hopkins .....	7. 11. 1815.	do	do do

(\*) These were from Ilfracombe  
and the others may have been  
from there also.

## APPENDIX V.

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 TWELVE BROTHERS LODGE No. 138.

BLUE ANCHOR TAVERN, PORTSEA.

1807

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 RULES

and

## ORDERS

which are to be punctually observed and kept by the most Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS, according to the old Constitutions granted by his Royal Highness Prince EDWIN at YORK in the Year of our Lord Nine Hundred Twenty and Six, and in the Year of Masonry Four Thousand Nine Hundred Twenty and Six.

In order to prevent all Feuds, Controversies, illegal Arguments, or Debates which might in anyway disturb or make void the true Intent and Meaning of this our unanimous Conjunction,

We the Master, Wardens, Deacons and Secretary, together with the rest of the Members of our Lodge No. 130 (by and with the Approbation and Consent of the GRAND LODGE)—have thought proper to subscribe and establish the following Rules—

- I. THAT a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, aforesaid, shall be held at the Blue Anchor Tavern opposite the Gun Wharf Gate Town of Portsea on the first Tuesday of each Kalendar Month. That the said Lodge shall consist of One Master, Two Wardens, Two Deacons, One Secretary, One Treasurer, and as many Members as the Master and Majority shall think proper; and that every Brother shall appear in decent Apparel, with proper Clothing, and observe a due Decorum while the Lodge is engaged in what is serious and solemn; and for the better Preservation of Secrecy and good Harmony a Brother well skilled in the Master's Part, shall be appointed and paid for tyling the Lodge Door during the Time of Communication.
- II. THAT the Lodge shall meet at the Hours hereafter mentioned; viz: <sup>1</sup> from the Vernal Equinox to the Autumnal Equinox, at Seven o'Clock in the Evening and sit till Ten; and from the Autumnal Equinox aforesaid to the Vernal Equinox following, from Six to Nine o'Clock: and if any member be absent one Hour after the appointed Time of Meeting he shall be fined Two Pence, and if absent the whole Night, or Time of Business, he shall be fined Sixpence except Such Absentee be Sick, Lane, in Confinement, or upwards of Three Miles from the Place of Meeting; and that all such Fines shall be deposited in the Fund for the Relief of indigent Brethren.

<sup>1</sup> The Vernal Equinox upon or near the Twenty-first of March; Autumnal Equinox upon or near the Twenty-second of September.

- III. THAT the Master shall be chose by Ballot; viz: the Wardens shall stand Candidates for the Chair on the stated Lodge Night next before St. John's Day; and the Candidates shall withdraw, while every free<sup>2</sup> Member gives his Vote in favour of him which he deems most worthy; each free Member having one Vote, and the Master two<sup>3</sup> Votes.

When done, the Master shall order the Candidates before him; and having carefully examined the Poll, shall then audibly declare him (that hath the Majority) duly elected.

Then the Master Elect shall nominate one for the Senior Warden's Chair; at which Time the present Master and Brethren shall nominate one in Opposition, to be balloted for in like manner; and so on in the Choice of all the inferior Officers; and that no Person shall put in such Election, but such as are deemed to be able and worthy of Performance.

<sup>2</sup> *vide* the Rule XIII.

<sup>3</sup> That is, when the Number of Votes happen to be equal. In such Case the Master has two Votes; otherwise he has but a Single Vote.

- IV. THAT the Master and Wardens of this Lodge shall attend the Grand Lodge, and the Stewards Lodge, when summoned by the Grand Secretary (if within Twenty Miles of London); and when in the Grand or Stewards Lodge, he, they, or either of them, shall have full Power and Authority to transact all Matters relative to this Lodge, as well, full, and truly as if we the whole body were then present.

- V. THAT if any Member (past Officers excepted<sup>4</sup>) refuse to serve any of the aforesaid Offices, he shall be fined as follows; viz: for the Master Five Shillings, each Warden and Secretary Two Shillings and Sixpence, each Deacon One Shilling, (the Treasurer at the Discretion of the Majority) and to be fined the like Sum if they don't serve their full Time, except for the Reasons mentioned in the Second Rule.

<sup>4</sup> It is not lawful to fine a Member for not serving an Office which he hath formerly served with Honour; nor for Non-servitude in any Office beneath the Dignity thereof, while there are other Master Masons in the Lodge.

- VI. THAT all Members of this Lodge shall dine together upon (or near) every St. John's Day; that each Member shall pay five Shillings on the Lodge Night (next) before such Feast Day, towards defraying the Charges of the Festival. That the Wardens shall be appointed Stewards to Transact all Matters relating to the Feast. That the new Master and other Officers shall be immediately installed after Dinner, at which Time all and every of the Accompts belonging to the Feast, and Lodge Affairs general, shall be properly settled, and delivered to the new Officers; and that all Visitors who dine at such Feast shall pay over and above the constant Members: Sojourners always at the Discretion of the Majority.

- VII. THAT on every stated Lodge Night each Member shall pay<sup>5</sup> one Shilling and Six-pence of which one Shilling and Three-pence shall be spent, and the Remainder put into the Fund for the Relief of Indigent Brethren. That the junior Warden shall keep an exact Accompt of the Reckoning, and acquaint the Lodge when the stated Complement is in. And upon his Negligence or Omission, he shall be accountable for the Deficiency. And whereas the junior Warden is accountable for such Deficiency, it is hereby Ordered and Declared,

That if any Member shall order any Liquor, etc. on the Lodge Account, without the Consent of the said Warden, the Transgressor shall pay for the Quantity so ordered out of his private Pocket, exclusive of the stated Expence of the Night.

<sup>5</sup> Many Lodges pay seven Shillings per Quarter, Grand dues included.

- VIII. THAT no Visitor <sup>6</sup> shall be admitted after Lodge Hours: viz: Nine in Winter and Ten in Summer; or at any Time without the consent of the presiding Officer: and, if admitted into the Lodge Room, he shall perform a certain Ceremony in the Master's Presence before he sits down: nor shall any Brother (that is not a Member of a Lodge) visit a second Time, Sojourners excepted.

<sup>6</sup> Visitors' Contributions to the Reckoning left at the Discretion of the Majority. [To pay the sum of four Shillings on every stated Lodge Night].

- IX. ANY Person desirous of being made a Free Mason in this Lodge, shall be proposed by a Member hereof; that is to say, his Name, Age, Description of his Person, Title or Trade, and Place of Residence. That such Proposal shall be made in Lodge Hours, at least one Lodge Night before the Initiation, in order that the Brethren may have sufficient Time and Opportunity to make a strict Inquiry into the Morals, Character, and Circumstances of the Candidate. And the Brother that proposes him shall at the same time, deposit such a Sum (of the Candidate's Money) as the Majority shall think sufficient (not less than one Crown) to insure the Lodge that the Candidate will attend according to the Proposal. And if the Lodge approve his Person, Age, Character and Circumstances, and therefore initiate him into the Mystery, etc. he shall pay whatsoever Sum the Brethren shall think proper (not less than four Pounds five Shillings) and cloath the Lodge if required. But if the Lodge think the Candidate unworthy, and refuse to make him, his Money shall be faithfully returned to him. But in case the Lodge approve his Person and Character, etc. and he refuse to be made, then shall he forfeit his Money for the Benefit of distressed Free Masons. And it is hereby Ordered and Declared, That no person is capable of becoming a Member of this Lodge, but such as are of mature Age, upright in Body and Limbs, free from Bondage, has the Senses of a Man, and is endowed with an Estate, Office, Trade, Occupation, or some visible Way of acquiring an honest and reputable Livelihood, as becomes the Member of this most Ancient and Honourable Fraternity.

- X. ANY old Mason, desirous of becoming a Member of this Lodge, shall produce a Certificate of his good Behaviour in his former Lodge: upon which he shall be proposed, and balloted for as before; and if admitted a Member, he shall pay whatsoever Sum the Brethren shall think proper, not less than Ten Shillings and Six-pence.

- XI. IF any Brother in this Lodge curse, swear, lay, or offer to lay wagers, or use any reproachful Language in Derogation of GOD'S Name, or Corruption of good Manners, or interrupt any Officer while speaking, he shall be fined at the Discretion of the Master and Majority. To be fined Six-pence for any such offence.

- XII. IF any Member of this Lodge come disguised in Liquor, he shall be admonished (by the presiding Officer) for the first Offence: for the second of the same Nature, he shall be fined One Shilling: and for the third he shall be excluded, and reported to the Grand Lodge.



XIII. ALL Fines, Dues, etc. shall be paid on the third (stated) Lodge Night next after they become due; otherwise the Person so indebted shall not have a vote in the Lodge. And if not cleared on St. John's Day, he shall be excluded, except some Cause appear which may excite Lenity.

XIV. THAT on a Lodge Night, in the Master's Absence, the past Master may take his Place;<sup>7</sup> and in his Absence the senior Warden, and in his Absence the junior Warden; and in the Absence of all the Officers, the Members according to Seniority and Merit shall fill the absent Officers' Places. And it is hereby Ordered and Declared, That every Officer absent on a Lodge Night, whether stated or on an Emergency, shall be fined a discretionary Fine, over and above the common Fine of private Members; except for the Reasons mentioned in the second and thirteenth Rules.

<sup>7</sup> It is the undoubted Right of the Wardens to fill the Chair, even though a former Master be present; but the Wardens generally waive this Privilege upon a Supposition that the past Masters are best acquainted with the Business of the Lodge.

XV. THAT the Master shall have full Power and Authority to call a Lodge on an Emergency, where all the Members are to attend, or be liable to Fines as on stated Lodge Nights;<sup>8</sup> but such Fines shall not be levied until Proof is made of the Absentee being actually summoned (in writing) to such Emergency.

<sup>8</sup> It was resolved unanimously that no Visitors be admitted on Lodges of Emergency—on any pretence whatever.

XVI. THAT the Chest, Warrant, Cash and Furniture of this Lodge shall be in the Care of some responsible Brother, such as the Master and Majority shall think proper and sufficient; and the Money to be disposed of for the Advancement of the Lodge, and Benefit of the Brethren.

XVII. THAT the Secretary shall keep a regular Register of the Members, according to the Form annexed; and proper Minutes of all Transactions (that are fit to be committed to Writing) in order that the said Transactions may be laid before the Grand Lodge once a Quarter if required.

XVIII. THAT no disagreeable Dispute be suffered to arise in this Lodge: but if a Dispute (concerning Masonry, of otherwise) should happen between the Brethren out of the Lodge, which they cannot decide between themselves, such Dispute, Complaint or Controversy, shall be laid before this Lodge, and here decided, if possible. But the Disputants will not then agree, in order to prevent vexatious Law-suits, etc. the Master shall order the Secretary to take proper Minutes of such Complaint, Dispute or Controversy, and lay the same before the next Grand Lodge, where such Disputants are to attend (if within Twenty Miles of London) and agree as the Grand Lodge shall order. But in the case of Non-Compliance to such decision of the Grand Lodge, such Person or Persons as refuse to be conformable, shall be forever excluded, and deemed unworthy of this Society: and the Grand Secretary (according to the Nature of his Office) shall give Notice of such Exclusion to the warranted Lodges (under the antient Constitution of England) throughout Europe, Asia, Africa and America.

- XIX. THAT the Master, Wardens, and the rest of the Members of this Lodge, when duly congregated, shall have full Power and Authority to make, amend, and correct or explain these, or such other Rules and Orders as may seem most necessary and convenient for the welfare of the Lodge, providing such additions or Alterations do not remove our antient Land-Marks. And if such Addition or Amendment be made, the Master shall order the Secretary to send a fair Copy of such Regulation to the Grand Secretary, for the Benefit of the Society in General.
- XX. THAT the Tyler shall receive one Shilling for every Mason that shall be made in this Lodge, and Sixpence for every old Mason that shall become a member of this Lodge. And the said Tyler shall take particular Care not to admit any Person (not even a Member) without the knowledge and Consent of the presiding Officer; neither shall he admit any Visitor (that is not a Member of a warranted Lodge) a second Time, Sojourners producing Certificates excepted.
- XXI. THAT these Rules and Orders shall be read (by the Secretary, or some Brother of the Master's Appointment) to every new Member, (or Candidate, if required) or otherwise, as Occasion shall require, in the Lodge.
- XXII. THAT the Members of this Lodge shall contribute annually to the Grand Lodge Fund, or general Charity, for the Relief of distressed Free Masons, according to the general Mode of Contributions *pro tempore*: and that the Master shall send a true List of all the Members to the Secretary of the Grand Lodge, at the Time of such Contributions, or as often as Occasion shall require.
- XXIII. IF a Complaint be made against a Brother by another Brother, and he be found Guilty, he shall stand to the Determination of this, or the Grand Lodge, according to the XVIIIth Rule; but if a Complaint be made against a Brother, wherein the Accuser cannot support his Complaint to Conviction, such Accuser shall forfeit such Penalty as the Person so accused might have forfeited, had he been really convicted on such Complaint.
- XXIV. THAT in order to preserve good Harmony, and encourage (working) Master Masons, it is hereby Ordererd and Declared, That no Brother under the Degree of a Master Mason, shall be admitted to visit this Lodge, upon any Pretence whatsoever.
- XXV. THAT upon (or near) every St. John's Day, during the Continuance of this Lodge, the new installed Officers shall send a proper List of all the Members, signed by the said Officers, and counter-signed by the past Officers, to the Secretary of the Grand Lodge, whereby the said Secretary may be enabled to know the Hand-writing of such Officers, and pay due Respect to such Persons as may from time to time be certified by the Officers of this Lodge *pro tempore*.
- XXVI. AND if a Member be found guilty of any Misdemeanour, not directly specified in the aforesaid Rules and Orders, he shall be dealt with according to the Discretion of the Master and Majority. Such Decision nevertheless shall be subject to an Appeal to a General Grand Lodge.

FINIS

Rob<sup>t</sup>. Leslie G.S.

A hearty vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Oliver for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. F. L. Pick, seconded by Bro. Edwards; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, J. H. Lepper, S. J. Fenton, W. L. Grantham and H. H. Hallett.

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BRO. RODK. H. BAXTER writes:—

Nothing is uninteresting unless it be uninterestingly told and Bro. Bruce W. Oliver cannot be accused of having bored us with his paper, *A Tale of Two Lodges*. It is just the kind of thing that will make a big appeal to many of the readers of our *Ars*. The very title of the paper is reminiscent of one of our great nineteenth century writers who was always refreshing and generally had a pithy object for his target. Some of the quotations from the old minute books present difficulties not easy of solution. I have long been imbued with the idea that these things are due to the inability of the secretaries to express themselves clearly in writing. Even at the present day that fault persists and I have known Provincial Grand secretaries who have been guilty of serious blunders. Our late dear Bro. W. J. Songhurst was bitter—almost vitriolic—about the Rev. Dr. James Anderson having falsified the minutes of Grand Lodge itself. For my own part I am inclined to think he merely amended them. These points have some bearing on the paper now before us. I should like to be associated with the vote of thanks, which I am sure will be accorded to the author.

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BRO. LEPPER said:—

We are all grateful to Brother Oliver for a delightful sketch of Masonry over a century ago in a corner of the West Country.

Apart from joining my thanks to the rest all I can do to show my appreciation is in supplying some niggling little details which the essayist might consider worth embodying in a note or two to his text.

According to a manuscript note by the late Brother Wonnacott in the annotated copy of Lane in G. L. Library: Lodge of Good Intent in the North Devon Militia joined Faithful Lodge, Bideford 499 in 1803, and was erased in 1823 as No. 535.

Union Lodge No. 364 B (again quoting the same authority) was constituted 1st February 1806 at the Globe Inn, Exeter, and was transferred shortly after, by a Provincial Warrant, to Crockernwell, in the parish of Cheriton Bishop, near Exeter. It made no payments after 1807, and was erased in 1823 as No. 468.

I would draw attention to the clause in the Warrant of "Eight Brothers Lodge" authorising it to install the Masters twice a year on the two festivals of St. John.

Here is an identification of the Irish Lodges who supplied it with joining members:

- 749, Lisburn, Co. Antrim (1791-1818).
- 201, Rock Corry, Co. Monaghan (1749-1843).
- 180, Killyleagh, Co. Down (1748-current as No. 113).
- 537, Cullybackey, Co. Antrim (1776-current).
- 606, Cargycreevy, Lisburn, Co. Antrim (1782-current).
- 811, Lisburn (1795-current).
- 731, Rock Corry, Co. Monaghan (1790-1818).
- 543, Grange, Co. Antrim (1777-1849).

The preponderance of names from Lodges in Antrim and Monaghan suggests to me that the Militia Regiments from those counties were in Devon at the time.

In our Grand Lodge archives we have the original manuscript copy of the by-laws adopted by "Twelve Brothers" Lodge, the gift of Brother Albert Frost.

Coming to Loyal Lodge No. 365, I was delighted to find that, though a "Modern," it had a ceremony of Installation and observed both St. John's Days. I should label it a "Traditioner" Lodge. The essayist says "that one is led to the conclusion that the differences between "Antient" and "Modern" methods could not have been great in this North-West corner of Devon;" and I concur in his verdict.

I should like most heartily to support the vote of thanks which Brother Oliver has well earned by his charming paper.

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BRO. IVOR GRANTHAM said:—

In this brief but welcome contribution to our Transactions the author has given us a glimpse of one of the many short-lived masonic lodges constituted in various regiments of militia raised during the period of the Napoleonic Wars.

Brother Oliver's ability to record details concerning the work of the "Eight Brothers" Lodge is due to the fortunate preservation of a minute book discovered in a block of buildings, formerly a barracks at Barnstaple, where the North Devon Militia were at one time stationed.

In December, 1812 this military lodge is stated to have been meeting "at the windmill near the North Devon Barracks." Is it to be inferred from this that the Lodge actually held its meetings inside a windmill? or was "The Windmill" a local inn of that name?

The allusions to this military lodge attached to the North Devon Militia are of particular interest to me, as traces exist of a similar lodge attached to the East Devon Militia when this regiment of militia was located at Lewes and at Eastbourne in the year 1806.

As this paper is largely concerned with the activities of a military lodge perhaps I may be permitted to take this opportunity of mentioning the recent discovery of 69 regiments located at Horsham in Sussex between 1797 and 1814. Of these 69 regiments no less than 34 appear to have been sponsoring one or more masonic lodges at the material time.

As regiments were constantly on the move along the south coast of England during the period of threatened invasion from the continent a century ago, it might well be possible to trace a similar strong masonic element at other military centres such as Chichester, Portsmouth, and Plymouth or Devonport. It is therefore to be hoped that hitherto unrecorded minute books of other military lodges in Devonshire and elsewhere will be brought to light from time to time, in order that we may obtain a clearer picture of the influence of these military lodges in the south of England at the turn of the eighteenth century and in the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

In thanking Brother Oliver for the material laid before us in this paper, I would, if I may, urge him and his brethren in Devonshire to seek for further traces of extinct regimental lodges in the Province of Devon.

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BRO. S. J. FENTON said:—

I am sure we are all indebted to Brother Oliver for his valuable contribution to Masonic History, particularly in respect to the "Eight Brothers" Lodge. Information regarding extinct Lodges is always useful, because the longer that time expires since their decease, the more difficult it is to compile their History.

The particular point which has appealed to me personally, is the number of references he has collected regarding PASSING THE CHAIR.

In 1814, we find that no less than seven brethren Passed the Chair at one meeting.

In 1789, July 9, he records that at a Private Meeting of the Loyal Lodge, which Lodge apparently held a Chapter Meeting, five Brothers were passed "to the Arch." Two of these brothers had been "remade Entered Apprentices and Fellow Crafts," less than two years previously in the Lodge, and it would be interesting to know whether they had in the meantime been through the Ceremony of "Passing the Chair."

In 1812, six members were Passed the Chair "And appointed individually Past Masters" and on another occasion one brother "was raised to the sublime degree of Master and passed the Chair" at the same meeting.

I should appreciate information from any brother regarding the earliest and latest dates from Lodge Minute Books recording the ceremony of "Passing the Chair."

There appears to be a big field for research on this subject. I have made many notes, of which, one of the most curious is from the History of the Albany Lodge No. 389, which states that in 1831, "Twelve brethren took the degree of Past Master, of whom one only is minuted as having taken the degree of Fellow Craft previously."

Again expressing to our Lecturer appreciation for his interesting paper.

Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

In seconding the vote of thanks, Bro. Oliver had most acceptably dealt with a subject which both in regard to time and to circumstances was one of great interest. The differences between the "Ancients" and the "Moderns" were illustrated as well as the effects of the Union. Moreover, once more was it proved how much the Craft owed to the Services.

Bro. FRED L. PICK said:—

We are indebted to Bro. Bruce W. Oliver for an interesting and valuable study of Freemasonry in Devon about the time of the Union. This, following as it does, other recent papers on the development of the Craft during the XVIIIth and early XIXth centuries is particularly acceptable to the Lodge.

On looking through copies of the Warrants of several Antients' Lodges I agree with Bro. Oliver that generally a single day of meeting per month was provided for, though the Derwent Lodge, No. 36, Hastings, now No. 40, was warranted by the Antients in 1813 to meet on the first and third Wednesdays. (T. Francis, *History of Freemasonry in Sussex*).

Bro. Oliver has done his best to disentangle the curious confusion of entries in connection with the conferment of degrees. It looks as though the Lodge Secretary has contented himself with recording the degree in which the preliminary examination took place leaving it to possible readers to understand that the Lodge would be opened into whatever degree was actually being conferred.

The Royal Arch does not appear to have been worked in the "Eight Brothers'" Lodge; according to the List of Chapters on the Roll of Supreme Grand and Royal Chapter as given in Highan's *Origin of the English Rite*, Trinity Chapter, Bideford, was warranted in 1791 and Loyalty and Virtue Chapter, Barnstaple, in 1811, not 1821. Though the two Lodges were

meticulous in the matter of re-making right up to the time of the Union I suggest the formation of the Moderns' Chapter led to the solitary example of constructive passing of the Chair in the Antient Lodge on St. John's Day, 1811.

The Procession and Thanksgiving Service in Exeter Cathedral of June 30th, 1811, is reminiscent of the celebrations of Preston Gild in 1802 and 1822, when Peace and Unity Lodge, now 314, took its place among the "Companies of Trades", being allotted the place of honour on each occasion.

It would be interesting to know what were the "New Instructions" whose carriage cost four shillings on 30th November, 1814. The revised *Book of Constitutions* was not issued for another year.

On the question of re-obligation at the United Meeting of 26th December, 1814, it appears to me that the members of the two Lodges were alike re-obligated.

BRO. H. HIRAM HALLETT writes:—

I am very sorry indeed that continued ill-health prevents me from attending the meeting of our Lodge on Friday next, more especially as my friend, Bro. Bruce W. Oliver, is giving his Paper, "A Tale of Two Lodges." I have read the proof with the greatest pleasure, and I heartily congratulate him on having given so many interesting details regarding Masonry in North Devon at this early period.

Upon glancing through his footnotes I notice that he has taken certain dates from Lane's *Handy Book of the Lists of Lodges*—1723 to 1814, which was published in 1889, and consequently he has apparently ignored Lane's other monumental work, *Masonic Records*, the 2nd edition, which was published six years later, in 1895, and which contains further information to that of his Lists. I will therefore confine my remarks to a few points recorded therein, which I trust will prove of some little help to Bro. Oliver should he decide to revise his paper.

As he has stated, there were two Lodges formed in connection with the North Devon Militia, and personally I think his introductory remarks are a little difficult to follow.

Lane has given the following particulars regarding the oldest of these two Lodges, that named "The Lodge of Good Intention," warranted by the "Moderns" in 1783, when the Regiment was stationed at Exeter. He described it as "in the North or Second Regiment of Devon Militia," and that it was numbered 452 and re-numbered 364. It met at the Globe Inn, St. Mary's Churchyard, Exeter, but within a short time the Regiment was removed to Barnstaple. There is an additional note: "was adjourned to Crockernwell" near Exeter under the new Warrant in 1806. The new Warrant was dated 1st February, 1806, in the name of the "Union Lodge," No. 364, and then re-numbered 468. No payment was made after 1807, and it became erased in 1823.

The other Lodge of the North Devon Militia, Warranted by the "Ancients" on 31st October, 1812, when the Regiment was at Gosport, Hampshire, it was removed to Barnstaple in 1814. This Lodge was numbered 228, afterwards re-numbered 286, and it was erased on 30th August, 1821.

The Barnstaple Brethren are to be congratulated on having discovered the old Minute Book of this Lodge for it is very interesting indeed. I am very glad that Bro. Oliver has given us the wording of this old Warrant, dated 31st October, 1812, and the endorsement that it had been registered on 28th June, 1785, some 17 years earlier. Lane has stated that the original warrant was dated 2nd March, 1785, and was issued to a Lodge in the Bahama Islands, West Indies, its number being 228. He has added the following note: "Granted and sent to the Bahama Islands, December, 1785. Lapsed shortly afterwards. No

Returns." This Warrant must have travelled many thousands of miles on its journey to and back from the West Indies.

Lane has presented the copyright of his *Masonic Records* to Grand Lodge soon after the first edition was published in 1886, the 1895 second edition was published by Grand Lodge, regarding which the Board of General Purposes remarked that "many years of patient labour and careful research were spent by the compiler in its preparation, and it is perhaps the most useful Masonic Work ever published." This is recorded in the "In Memoriam" notice of Bro. John Lane, who died suddenly on 30th December, 1899, aged 56, and was written by that equally well-known Masonic student, Bro. W. J. Hughan (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xiii, 1900, p. 41). It may not be generally known that Grand Lodge welcome any correction of errors that may have occurred in the *Masonic Records*, as well as additional information that any Brother may be able to supply.

The name, "The Eight Brothers" is a new one in the nomenclature of Lodges, and I wonder if Bro. Oliver is able to give us any information as regards its adoption?

Bro. Oliver has not given any dates when other Lodges in North Devon ceased to function, so the following notes may be of some help to him. The first Lodge, meeting at the Fleece, was warranted on 28th May, 1782, and numbered consecutively 281 and 228; it was erased 13th November, 1776. As regards the "Concord" Lodges, the first was warranted on 1st August, 1784, numbered 463 and 374, and met at the Old King's Arms, Fore Street, Plymouth Dock. It was not named until the year 1789. It lapsed about 1800. The second which met at the Crown Inn, Ilfracombe, was warranted in 1802, and given the same number of the Lodge at Plymouth Dock, No. 374, and subsequently 474. It was erased 5th March, 1828.

In conclusion I must again congratulate Bro. Oliver on giving us such an interesting paper.

Bro. BRUCE W. OLIVER writes, in reply:—

I wish to express my thanks to the Members of Q.C. for their kindly reception of my paper "A Tale of Two Lodges" and for the many helpful details of information given.

As Bro. Baxter points out the apparent inconsistency in the entries of "Passing and Raising" are probably due to the Secretary's indefinite methods, but they are so persistent that they do raise the query whether some of the 'work' may not have been done in the previous degree.

Bro. Lepper states that "Good Intention" joined "Faithful" Bideford in 1803, but there is no local information to that effect and there are no familiar names amongst the visitors to Loyal Lodge which would give confirmation to this fusion.

I think Bro. Lepper is in error in suggesting that the Irish Regiments were in Devon; they would be at Gosport in Hampshire where the North Devon Militia were then stationed.

Since the "Twelve Brothers" Lodge, very probably, was regarded as a pattern for the "Eight Brothers," their Bye Laws are of particular interest and may well have been the basis for those of the latter Lodge whose Bye Laws are now lost.

Bro. Lepper's agreement with my surmise as to the little difference probably existing between the "Moderns" Loyal and the "Ancients" is one I value. The title "Loyal" is not a common one and in view of the number of members re-made at the first meeting it is possible that the question of

allegiance to the premier Grand Lodge had been under discussion and that the continued Loyalty was signified by the name selected for the new (or resuscitated) Lodge.

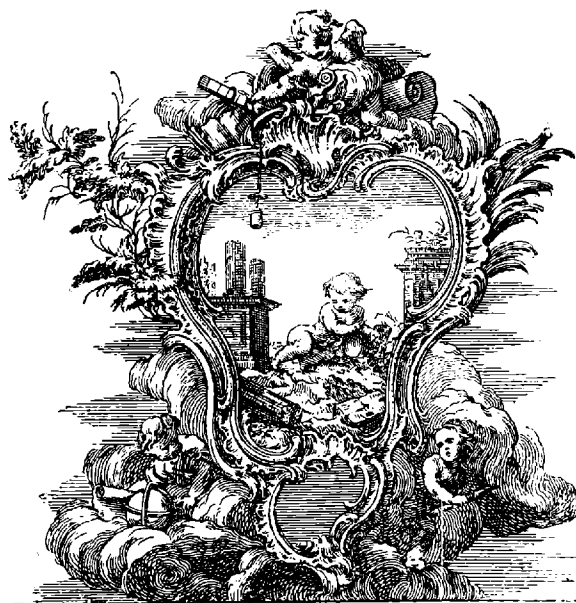
Whether the "Windmill" was a Mill or an Inn near the North Devon Barracks at Gosport I have been unable to discover so cannot inform Bro. Grantham on that point.

In regard to the Royal Arch as queried by Bro. Fenton, the first "Passing the Chair" in Loyal Lodge was the 6th February, 1812, and the last entry of that kind the 7th May, 1835. Of those who "passed to the Arch" 5th July, 1785, none had passed the Chair and Bro. Betty who acted as 'Master' was only initiated 16th December, 1784. Many of those present were members of Good Intention and I can only suggest that Bro. Betty had taken the Arch in that Lodge.

Bro. Pick points out that Loyalty and Virtue Chapter, Barnstaple, was warranted in 1811, but apart from the entries in the Craft minutes there is no local record prior to the existing warrant dated 1821.

To Bro. Fenton's query I can only surmise that a new form of Obligation was issued by United Grand Lodge together with "The New Instructions," which seems to have been demonstrated by 'The Eight Brothers' to Loyal Lodge on St. John's Day in winter, 1814.

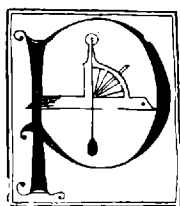
To Bro. Hallett I am greatly obliged by the information he gives as our Library contains no copy of 'Lane's Records.' The title of the 'Antients Lodge' may have been prompted by the neighbouring—and possibly the Mother Lodge—Twelve Brothers, and there seems to have been eight founding members of the Eight Brothers, viz:—Sergt. Major Waldon, M. Brannan, J. Peer, S. Ratcliffe, H. Parsley, Wm. Butler, Thos. Humphries, and J. L. Gaurien.





## “THE BATH FURNITURE” AND HOW IT CAME TO BARNSTAPLE

BY BRO. BRUCE W. OLIVER, P.P.G.W. (DEVON)



PROPOSED by Brother Cutcliffe, and seconded by Brother Chanter that the Worshipful Master do make inquiry (*sic*) as he is going to London, if the Lodges in general do intend to participate in the chance of obtaining the Furniture in the Masonic Lodge, Bath, if so that any Number of Shares, not exceeding Ten pounds be invested, for the purpose according to the discretion of the Worshipful Master, carried by seven to four.

This extract, from the Minutes for the 5th October, 1842, of Loyal Lodge No. 312 (now 251), which met at a “Private Room” in Cross Street, Barnstaple, North Devon, is the first reference to the “Bath Furniture”, which for over a century has been one of its most treasured possessions.

The story has already been well told in the *Transactions of the Somerset Masters’ Lodge*, by W.Bro. George Norman; but I believe this is the first attempt to approach the subject from the Barnstaple view-point; and to render this account as complete as possible I would quote freely from those notes.

Most of the Furniture appears to date from the late eighteenth century, and the “Prince of Wales Plume” on the Master’s Chair indicates the seventeen-nineties.

The furniture, sold in 1843, was in the hands of Bro. Charles Geary; and, in order to appreciate the situation, I give a brief sketch of his masonic career, abstracted from the *Transactions of the Somerset Masters’ Lodge*.

Bro. Charles Geary was a wine merchant, living at Fountain House, Bath, playing a prominent part in public affairs. Joining the Royal Cumberland Lodge in 1803, when the Lodge met at the Christopher Inn. He became J.W. in September of the same year, Senior Warden in the following June, and in December, in less than two years after his Initiation, R.W. Master of the Lodge; a truly rapid advancement, but not unusual for a good man in those far-off days.

Geary remained in office for three of the six-month terms of office then common, and was again elected Master in 1807, and held the office for ten years. One of his last duties as Master was to lay the Foundation Stone of the Freemasons’ Hall in York Street, by virtue of his office of Master of the Senior Lodge of Bath.

The cost of the building amounted to £3,000, and proved too heavy a burden for the Lodges concerned—the Royal Cumberland Lodge, Royal York Lodge, and Lodge of Virtue. The Royal Sussex Lodge had not participated in the scheme.

The formal opening was performed by the M.W. Grand Master, His Royal Highness, Frederick Augustus Duke of Sussex, on the 23rd September, 1819, in the presence of a very large gathering of distinguished Brethren, including no less than eight Provincial Grand Masters, amongst whom was Sir

Charles Warwick Bampfylde, Bart., R.W. Provincial Grand Master for Devon, whose Warrant is still held by Loyal Lodge. It may be presumed that the magnificent "Bath Furniture" was in use on that day, and the "Master's Chair" occupied by H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex. For two days prior to the consecration, the Hall was open to the public, and the *Bath Herald* of the 25th September, 1819, informs us:—

"Upwards of 2,000 persons (chiefly ladies) paid for admission to view the masonic paraphernalia which was displayed in due form in the hall".

The financial position remained precarious and many difficulties had to be faced by the Financial Committee, which included Bro. Geary, representing the Royal Cumberland Lodge; and, although a Trustee, he was elected President of the Committee and Treasurer on 6th April, 1820. The various Lodges and Chapters were all heavily indebted to the Committee. Finally Bro. Geary offered to:—

"pay off all the debts and incumbrances affecting the building", provided that

"all such Subscribers to the said building will execute such Release and Discharge ——— and permit him ——— to obtain a lease of the said Building from Earl Manvers (the ground landlord thereof) to and for the absolute use and benefit of him the said Charles Geary".

Thus, on the 25th March, 1823, Bro. Charles Geary became sole proprietor. Unfortunately, by the autumn, disagreement had arisen, Bro. Geary refusing the use of the Rooms until the various Lodges had:—

"entered into some satisfactory and proper arrangement of Rent to be named for their use of the Lower Lodge Room etc., during the last five years. ——— It is my determination not to suffer any Furniture or properties whatsoever to be removed from the premises."

He claimed the right to do this as Proprietor of the Hall and to prevent the "Furniture etc., from being a second time removed, until the Rent in arrear is discharged".

The Debtors were:—The Royal Cumberland Lodge, The Royal York Lodge of Perfect Friendship, The Lodge of Virtue, The Royal Cumberland Chapter, and The Royal York Chapter. The debt claimed was rent:—

"from October 1818, to October 1823, five years at £60 per annum, £300-0-0d not including the Large Room, the profits of which have been appropriated to the use of the Lodges and Chapters, by which means I am a considerable loser—by outgoings during that time having been in Interest and Ground Rent alone £84-16-0d."

Alternatively, Geary offered to sell to the Brethren the Building for what it had cost him, and to abandon his claim for the arrears of rent—a fairly generous offer it would seem.

The Brethren of Royal Cumberland Lodge appealed to the Provincial Grand Master of Somerset, Col. C. K. Kemeys-Tynte, who ordered Bro. Geary to hand over the Warrant, but stated that:—

"as to the Furniture and other Property of the Lodge I have no official power to assist you in the recovery of it".

Failing in their endeavours with the Provincial Grand Master, they made direct appeal to the Board of General Purposes, who replied that:—

"The Prov. Grand Master was the proper authority in the Province to investigate all Masonic complaints".

It is not surprising that tempers were frayed in the course of this dispute. Bro. Geary had apparently made complaint at the Prov. Grand Lodge Meeting that Bro. Patton "was the cause of all Masonic disturbances that had taken place in this City". (Bro. Geary had seconded Bro. Patton to become an honorary member in 1819.) Geary was summoned to attend the Lodge on the 24th February, 1825, on the complaint of Bro. Patton. Bro. Geary did not attend and was threatened with expulsion. Actually he was in London at the time, but he attended the Lodge on 17th March, 1825, when the attendance was so small that the matter had to be deferred.

Fourteen members were present at the meeting held on the 24th March, 1825, including Bro. Geary. After hearing Bro. Patton's charges and Bro. Geary's reply, the Lodge:—

"upon a mature and impartial investigation of the said charges, do Unanimously Resolve that Bro. Charles Geary P.M., be suspended as a Member of this Lodge, during the pleasure of the Lodge, and he (Bro. Geary) is hereby suspended accordingly. Bro. Geary declined any defence".

This was confirmed on 7th April, when it was proposed:—

"That Bro. Geary should be written to for his account and demand against the Lodge".

On 24th June a letter was sent to the D.P.G.M.:

"requesting an early decision of the Memorial of this Lodge for the recovery of its Furniture, against Bro. Geary".

The following reply was received to this request:—

Chard.  
17th August, 1825.

W. Sir and Brethren,

I have received your letter requiring me to institute an enquiry into the conduct of Mr. C. Geary for the seizure and detention of the Furniture, Regalia, etc., belonging to the Royal Cumberland Lodge and Chapter.

I have already given my opinion on this subject, and I now repeat it that I consider this proceeding of Mr. Geary to have arisen from causes of a private nature, unconnected with Freemasonry, and that I have no authority whatever to interfere and certainly no power to compel a Restitution of the goods detained.

I am, Sir and Brethren

Yours with fraternal regards

J. BAWDEN, D.P.G.M.

Without doubt this letter justly states the situation; the causes of the dispute were not masonic, but almost wholly of a financial nature. It is significant that neither the Royal York Lodge nor the Lodge of Virtue sought redress; the quarrel was maintained with Royal Cumberland, and possibly personal disagreement with W.Bro. Patton.

Seventeen years later Bro. Geary seems to have made a last approach, for immediately before he offered the furniture for sale he wrote to his old Lodge, who resolved:—"That Mr. Geary's letter be received and put on the Pedestal." This was the 3rd November, 1842. The Hall had already been sold by auction on 18th July, 1842, when:—"This noble Building" as it was rightly described, and which had cost nearly £3,000, fetched a meagre £1,300.

The Bath Brethren evidently expected the furniture would also be offered at auction, and on 2nd June resolved:—"The Treasurer with Bros. Barrett and Fraser be empowered to purchase any Lodge Furniture expected to be sold by Auction". Prior to this the Royal Arch had in February:—"agreed that the Three Principals do form a committee for the purpose of procuring the necessary furniture for the use of the Chapter."

The Royal Sussex Lodge did not associate itself with the other three Lodges at any stage of this affair, and they took no part in the Masonic Hall scheme, continuing to meet at the Greyhound Inn; but in 1826, two years after the other Lodges had gone elsewhere, they moved to the Masonic Hall, York Street, renting from Bro. Geary at £14 per annum. In 1830 Bro. Geary generously reduced this to the almost nominal charge of £2 per annum.

The Masonic Hall had scarcely proved a profitable investment for Bro. Geary, and in 1831 he advertised it for sale. The Royal Sussex, as a consequence, moved to the White Lion, and three years later joined Royal Cumberland Lodge and Lodge of Honour in leasing the new Masonic Hall, Corridor. For some reason the Sale did not take place, and Royal Sussex Lodge desired to return to the York Street Rooms, but the Prov. Grand Master and the Deputy Prov. Grand Master both paid an official visit to the Lodge, and obtained a pledge from the Worshipful Master that:—"the contemplated removal to the Old Masonic Hall in York Street would not take place." The Prov. Grand Master described it as:—"a place rendered particularly obnoxious to the Craft" ———. Nevertheless in 1841 there was a "unanimous decision to move to York Street," and the Installation was held there on 10th January, 1842. *The Freemason's Quarterly Review* gives this account:—

"BATH. Jan. 10.—The Public were admitted gratis to the Freemasons' Hall, York-street, preparatorily to the installation of the Worshipful Master of the Royal Sussex Lodge No. 61. The room was brilliantly illuminated with Gas and wax-lights, and was magnificently adorned with the varied and striking paraphernalia of the Order. The Furniture, we understand was that used on the occasion of the consecration of the building by H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, and is of the most gorgeous description—the "Master's Chair" alone being valued at fifty guineas. The jewels and emblems were exceedingly brilliant. Nearly 800 persons were gratified with the sight of these curious ornaments."

Having now disposed of the Hall, Bro. Geary finally decided to sell the Furniture. Possibly to the last he had hoped that the Bath Lodges would take it off his hands. Instead of putting the Furniture up to Auction Bro. Geary announced that:—

"The Furniture was to be disposed of in one lot by way of chance on January 16th. 1843. Tickets 21/- each or five for £5."

This proceeding no doubt caused a considerable flutter in the Masonic Dovecote; the Barnstaple Brethren evidently had some doubts as to the propriety of participating in the scheme, and it was very probably a Bath Brother who wrote to the *Freemason's Quarterly Review* and received this reply in the column devoted 'To Correspondents'.

"ETIQUETTE.—It may or may not be in accordance with a public statute; but we see no impropriety in the proposed mode of disposing of the elegant Masonic furniture of Bath."

The same publication reports the result in its March issue of 1843:—

"Lottery for the drawing of the Masonic Furniture belonging to the late Bath Masonic Hall, Jan. 16.—Meyler's Library, Meeting held: Present, P.M. of 312 in the Chair, and eight other subscribers. Bro.

Geary stated that having only disposed of 200 shares, he should withdraw fifty for the benefit of the subscribers. No. 212 proved the prize, the number being held by Bro. Geary."

"By a circular since issued Bro. Geary offers again the entire lot at the reduced price of 100 guineas, or will divide the lots in proportionate sums."

The Barnstaple Brethren, disappointed in their hopes, returned home and reported at the February meeting of Loyal Lodge (No. 312.). The Minute reads:

"Brother John Harris informed the Lodge that he and Brother Whitefield attended the Drawing of the Bath Masonic Furniture. Brother Jno. Harris was unanimously called to the Chair, and after 27 numbers had been Drawn, 212 proved the Prize, which unfortunately was not one of the Numbers which belonged to Lodge 312."

Brothers Harris and Whitefield must have been deeply impressed by the beauty of the Furniture they had seen at Bath. There is no record in the Minutes, but they evidently acted with great dispatch in obtaining subscribers from amongst the Brethren for the private purchase under the terms of the offer contained in Bro. Geary's circular.

A month later, 1st March, 1843, the Brethren of Loyal Lodge:—

"having heard the report of Brother Britton of the Bath Masonic Furniture being purchased and conveyed to Barnstaple, beg to thank the individual Subscribers for their assistance in obtaining it for the Benefit of this Lodge."

"That a Committee be formed of the Worshipful Master, Senior Warden, Junior Warden and Superintendent of Works to meet the Subscribers, and decide what part of the Furniture shall be reserved for the Lodge or Chapter attached, as now useful or likely to be hereafter useful."

The proposer was Bro. J. H. Knox and the seconder Bro. Kingdon. Bro. Knox further proposed and Bro. Chanter seconded:—

"that a vote of thanks be given to Brother Britton for his valuable assistance in removing the Furniture from Bath"

On the 8th March:—

"it was reported to the Chapter that the Bath Masonic furniture had been received, and a proposition was made, duly seconded and unanimously carried that three shares should be taken by the Chapter."

To summarise our story thus far,—The three Bath Lodges meeting at the new Masonic Hall in York Street in 1818 had, by 1823, become the Tenants of Bro. Geary; the Shareholders, in financial difficulties having assigned the Hall to him. The rent of the rooms remained unpaid, Bro. Geary—to protect himself—closed the Rooms and a dispute followed. For close on twenty years the Furniture remained in his hands, until in 1843 he offered it in a Lottery. The tickets did not go well, despite his withdrawing fifty shares he was found to hold the winning number; Bro. Geary, and not Loyal Lodge, was the winner of the Furniture. The Barnstaple Brethren, however, made a quick decision, purchasing the whole for one hundred guineas as offered by Bro. Geary in his circular.

The Brethren of Loyal Lodge were meeting in a comparatively small private room at No. 8, Cross Street, to which they had moved some fifteen years previously, and the sudden acquisition of this large and stately furniture severely taxed their available space. At the April meeting it was agreed:—

"that a Lodge of Emergency be held for the purpose of considering the propriety of removing the Lodge Room to the Public Rooms."

This was promptly followed in May, by accepting Brother Britton's offer of:—

“The use of the Public Assembly Rooms for their Meetings, Gratis until our present Rooms could be given up and afterwards from Year to Year at the Rent of £15. Such sum to include fires and cleaning.”

Once more the *Freemason's Quarterly Review* supplies us with further details:—(1843. p. 564.)

“BARNSTAPLE, DEVON.—LOYAL LODGE, No. 312.—This Lodge having of late greatly extended its numbers, and the Brethren becoming the purchasers of the splendid and celebrated Bath Masonic furniture and paraphernalia, have found it necessary to remove to a larger and more commodious Hall, and they have consequently met, during the last Autumn, in the Assembly Rooms, which have been taken for the purpose.

The Bath Masonic furniture, since its acquisition by this Lodge, has undergone a complete renovation, and being displayed to the greatest advantage in the elegant and capacious ball-room, forms as splendid and perfect a coupe d'oeil as any Lodge in England; and more particularly the effect on the newly initiated candidates (aided by the solemn peals of the powerful and fine-toned organ, to which the utmost effect is given by the talented organist, Bro. Edwards), is most impressive. It is a cause of congratulation to the Craft in general, that this splendid furniture, which was collected and arranged at Bath, regardless of expense, has not now been dispersed, but is again restored to its legitimate purpose, under the guardianship of this Lodge. The candlesticks are especially worth notice, as it is said, that but three sets were ever cast, one for the Grand Lodge of England, another for the Grand Lodge of Prussia and the third set is in this collection. They are of ormolu, of most elegant and delicate workmanship, with allegorical silver plates inlaid; but the counterparts being in the Grand Lodge of England, any further description is unnecessary.”

One more quotation may be given from the same periodical for 1844:—

“BARNSTAPLE, May 6.—The Devon Provincial Grand Lodge was held in Barnstaple by the Right Hon. Earl Fortescue, Provincial Grand Master. The Assembly Room was magnificently decorated with the paraphernalia of the Lodge which is of the most costly description. The respectable part of the public were admitted to view it on the previous day, and hundreds, we believe, were gratified with the sight. There would have been a procession to the Church intended to have been arranged with great splendour; but this part of the usual proceedings on such occasions was prevented by the refusal of the vicar to allow a sermon to be preached. This is the more to be regretted as it would have been for the benefit of those useful institutions, The North Devon Infirmary and Barnstaple Dispensary. The Brethren dined in the evening at the Fortescue Hotel.”

The procession to Church had been decided at the previous St. John's Day (in winter): the Minute for the 14th April, 1844, simply records:—

“The Right Worshipful provincial Grand Master of Free and accepted Masons his day held the provincial Meeting at Barnstaple after which the Brethren dined together at Brother Cory's.

It is interesting to note that this Furniture, which had on two or more occasions been displayed to the popular world in Bath, was again exhibited at Barnstaple. This was done again on a similar occasion in 1856. In 1857 the Furniture was lent on the occasion of the Masonic Promenade Ball,—“in order

to make the Ball Room as attractive as possible in its decorations". For the Masonic Ball in 1860 the Furniture was moved to the Music Hall for the function—including the Organ!

It is most disappointing that we do not now possess an Inventory of the goods received from Bro. Geary; and, since some were almost immediately sold, either to the newly formed Lodge at Bideford, or into private hands, we shall probably never have a complete list. Since, also, in the course of its history Loyal Lodge has made many acquisitions, some uncertainty will remain as to the origin of certain articles.

The generally accepted list of Bath Furniture in the possession of the Barnstaple Brethren is as follows:—

# THE BATH FURNITURE AT LOYAL LODGE 251. BARNSTAPLE

A = Still in the possession of Loyal Lodge.  
B = Sold to Barnstaple Brethren.  
D = Doubtful.  
M = Now missing.

## CRAFT.

A. Master's Chair.  
A. S.W's. Chair.  
A. J.W's. Chair.  
A. I.P.M.'s. Chair.  
A. Chaplain's Chair.  
A. Secretary's Chair.  
A. W.M's. Pedestal.  
D. Kneeling Stool.  
D. 3 Harris Tracing Boards.  
A. 1 Combined Tracing Board.  
D. Secretary's Table.  
A. 3 Large Candle Sticks.  
A. 2 Brass Pillars.  
A. Silver Working Tools.  
A. Silver Collar Jewels.  
A. 2 Rococo Pillars, with 2 Terrestrial Globes.  
A. Middle Chamber.  
A. Winding Staircase.  
A. Beech's Portrait of Thos. Dunckerly.  
A. Marble Tables of Stone.  
A. Organ.  
B. "Oil Cloth" (Qy. Floor Cloth).  
B. Chandelier.  
B. Sign Board.  
M. Ornamental Flag Staff.  
M. Carpet.  
B. Drawers & Cupboards.  
A. Firing Glasses.  
B. 3 doz. Glasses.  
D. Rough Ashlar.  
D. Jacob's Ladder.  
D. Mahogany Warden's Columns (2).  
D. Mahogany S. Warden's Level.  
D. Mahogany J. Wardens Plumb Rule.  
D. Chair, now at Bideford.  
A. S. Deacon's Chair.

## ROYAL ARCH.

A. R.A. Collar Jewels.  
B. Breast Plate, etc.  
B. Pillars & Arch.

As regards the remainder of the Furniture, the accepted tradition has been that it was sold to the young Lodge at Bideford. It is true that the sale is detailed in the Bath Furniture Account, and it is to be remembered that almost all the Bideford Brethren were members of Loyal Lodge, seven of them taking up thirteen shares; nine of these being in payment for the furniture sold to Bideford. A further point for consideration is that Barnstaple already had a well furnished Lodge, and it is far more likely that they sold their old furniture to Bideford, retaining the finer from Bath for their own use. There is a possibility that they kept their Master's Chair, and it is that now used by the Senior Deacon.

The statement of the Bideford Account, abstracted from the Barnstaple Bath Masonic Furniture Accounts, is as follows:—

MASONIC FURNITURE SOLD TO THE BIDEFORD LODGE.		
1843		
July		<i>Payments</i>
Jewels	10—0—0	Pd 9 shares of Bath
Collars	1—2—5	Furniture, Nos. 33,
Working Tools, Ornam <sup>ts</sup> &		89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 96.
Tracing Board	2—9—0	97, 98
Masonic Pavement	10—0	Cash Pr Bro. Chanter... 13—10—0
S. Warden's Chair	3—0—0	
P. Master's do.	1—0—0	
Candlesticks	3—0—0	
	£20 -12—6	
Deduct	12—6	
	£20—'—'	£20—0—0

My purely personal opinion is that all these items were the old paraphernalia of Loyal Lodge, with the possible exception of the "Senior Warden's Chair", but here the charge of £3 hardly seems adequate for a Warden's Chair in any way comparable with the remainder of the Bath Furniture.

Lodge Benevolence, Bideford, do possess an ancient and most interesting Masonic Chair, now in their Ante-Room, which may be the Chair in question. A description of this chair is included later with the details of the authenticated Bath Furniture.

As has been seen, the Furniture was first purchased by a few un-named private Brethren; but it may safely be inferred that Bros. John Harris and James Whitefield, who attended the drawing at Meyler's Library at Bath, were amongst the number; and, from their position in North Devon Masonry, we may add to the list:—Bros. J. R. Chanter, Thomas Britton, Joseph W. Hunt, and George Harris. No certainty or exactitude can be claimed for this list, but it would be desired to honour those men who did so great a thing for their Lodge, and possibly there were others.

JOHN HARRIS, born 4th August, 1801, was a Linen and Woollen Draper at 31 High Street, Barnstaple; member of a family long occupying a prominent position in the Borough, and owners of the important Warehouses on the Great Quay. He was Initiated 20th December, 1838, becoming Master in 1842, and again occupying the Chair in 1851.

JAMES WHITEFIELD, born the 23rd September, 1807, was initiated 1st December, 1836. He was a Tailor, residing in Joy Street; and, although never occupying the Chair, his interest in Freemasonry may be judged by this letter, addressed to Mrs. Whitefield on his death in 1862:—



My Dear Madam,

I am Directed by Loyal Lodge No. 312 to convey to you their sympathy on the loss you have sustained by the death of Bro. James Whitefield and to express their grateful sense of the efficient manner in which he performed the duties of Treasurer for a period of Twenty five years.

I remain, Yours very truly

J. W. TATHAM, Secretary.

GEO. HENRY HARRIS, owner of the Kings Arms Inn (where Loyal Lodge once met and the Bonded Cellars on the Quay, was a Spirit Merchant; Initiated 7th March, 1839, and was probably a brother of John Harris. He was, in 1843, Senior Warden.

The following Brethren were the three most outstanding Masons in North Devon in the first half of the nineteenth century. Bros. Britton and Chanter appear to have been close friends, and on many occasions "worked" the Lectures together, generally completing them, in their various sections, in the course of the session.

THOMAS JOHN BRITTON, born 17th October, 1786, was probably the first professional Photographer in Barnstaple. To him we owe the only known photograph of the old building I have now succeeded in proving to be "The Fleece", in which the first Freemasons' Lodge in Barnstaple was held in 1762. His address was No. 40, High Street, advertising as: "Opticians and Brass Founders. All the latest improvements in the Photographic Art, both Portraiture and Landscape." He was the Lessee of the Assembly Rooms, where all the fashionable Balls and Entertainments were held. Initiated in 1828, he was Master in 1840, and for many years prior to his death in 1855 "Superintendent of Works"—an office corresponding to our present day Director of Ceremonies. A memorial stained glass window, subscribed for by the Brethren, may still be seen in the Church of St. Mary Magdelene.

JOHN ROBERT CHANTER, born at Bideford, was brought up as a child by his uncle, John Roberts, of Fort Hill, Barnstaple. He was probably initiated in a University Lodge, made his first visit to Loyal Lodge on 1st August, 1838, and was almost immediately appointed Junior Warden; was Master as early as 1841, and again occupied the Chair in 1854 and 1879. A well-known Attorney-at-Law, he played a big part in public life, was an Antiquarian, and instrumental in the preservation of the Town's ancient Municipal Records. Copies of lectures on Masonic subjects, delivered by him, are still preserved.

JOSEPH WINGYETT HUNT was initiated in 1805, and for half a century was an outstanding figure in North Devon Masonic circles. He first occupied the Master's Chair in 1806, and in all was elected to that high office on nine occasions, the last being in 1819. His guiding hand can be detected on many occasions, and as late as December, 1849, he was thanked for his attendance and "for his great desire to see the Lodge in a flourishing state". On 5th February, 1855, the Worshipful Master reported—"that Br. J. W. Hunt, who has for some years been the Father of the Lodge, having departed this life since the last meeting, the Brethren in considerable numbers attended his funeral to testify their respect to his memory".

May these, our ancient Brethren, ever be held in honoured and fraternal memory.

The Accounts of the purchase of the Bath Furniture are detailed and well kept. They are entered in a Quarto Account Book, with limp marbled covers, the back bound in red leather. It commences with an

INDEX.		Page.
Original Subscribers to Bath Masonic Furniture		1
Lodge account with Subscribers		9
Masonic Furniture Acct.		19
Number of Shares belonging to Lodge 312		31
Masonic Furniture sold to Bideford Lodge		40
Royal Arch acct.		42
Br. Chanter's acct.		44

The first page is headed:—

“LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS TO BATH MASONIC FURNITURE,  
Feby. 1843.”

It appears that the money was found by the Craft Lodge, the Royal Arch Chapter, and forty-five of the Brethren. The total number of shares was one hundred at £1—10/- each; of these the Lodge took sixteen and the Chapter three. The remaining eighty-one shares were taken up by the forty-five Brethren, of whom six were from Bideford—Initiates of Loyal Lodge and Founders of Lodge of Benevolence, which held its first meeting on 2nd July, 1843, Bro. J. R. Chanter being the first Master and seventh of the Members of Loyal Lodge to be a founder. At that meeting Bro. Chanter reported:—“that he had completed the arrangements with Lodge 312 as to the Purchase of Furniture.

The Account commencing on page 19 contains much interesting information and is worth quoting in full:—

MASONIC FURNITURE ACCOUNT.

1843	Dr.	£	s.	d.
Feby.	100 Shares @ £1—10/- pr. share	150—	0—	0
	Balance	11—	13—	5
		<hr/>		
		£161—	13—	5
1843	Cr.	£	s.	d.
Feby.	Br. Geary for Bath Furniture	105—	0—	0
	B. Britton fares to & from Bath	3—	2—	0
	— do —8 days Expences 12/6	5—	0—	0
	Carriage empties to Bath	3—	7	
	— do —from Station	1—	0	
	Haybinds &c	3—	6	
	Beer for Men	4—	0	
	2 Packing Cases	19—	0	
	Fares to and from Bristol	7—	0	
	4lbs Cord @ -/9	3—	0	
	4 Mats 1/6	6—	0	
	Cord	8		
	Small nails	6		
	4 doz. Cards @ 1/-	4—	0	
	Beer	3—	6	
	2 Men 4 days 3/-	1—	4—	0
	1 do 1 do 5/-	5—	0	
	Pullin's Bill	12—	0	
	Gage's do	6—	1—	0
	Langdon's do	14—	0	
	Carriage of Goods, Bristol & Taunton	3—	17—	3
	Porter	2—	0	

Freight from Bristol	7— 7—5
— do — Taunton	5—11—3
Porterage of Goods from Vefsel	13—9
Removing at different times, cleaning rooms & glass	1— 0—0
Cambridge's Bill	5— 0—0

---

Cost of Furntiure & Carriage £148— 5-11

REPAIRS.

Ornamental Flag Staff	2—6
Renovating Masters' Chair	5—0
Book of Gold leaf Master's Pedestal	2—0
Cleaning Carpet	3—6
Jewell's Bill Sectys. Chair	2—0
Carriage Parcel R. A. Jewels	2—6
Bale's Bill	5—0
Rudhalls Bill	5—0
Repair of Organ	12— 0—0

---

£161—13—5

Amongst items of furniture shown by the accounts to have been sold, in addition to those disposed of at Bideford and to the Royal Arch, the following are recorded:—

1843			
July	Drawers & Cupboards Br. Knox	5— 0—0	
	3 doz. Glafses, Br. Chanter	18—0	
	Breast Plate &c do	3—0	
1844			
March 5	Oil Cloth Br. Britton	5—0	
1845			
May 26	Pillars & Arch	1— 0—0	} Br. Chanter
	Benches & Grate	1—12—6	
	Chandelier	4— 4—0	
Sept.	Sign Board Br. Symons	15—0	

To meet the outlay over the Furniture, a sum of £21 was borrowed from Bro. Chanter, and this account appears in the book as follows:—

BR. CHANTER'S LOAN ACCOUNT

(Dr.)		£	s.	d.
1843	Amount advanced to pay for Bath Furniture	21—	0—	0
1844	Interest for one year	1—	1—	0
1845				
May 26	do do	1—	1—	0
		<hr/>		
		£23— 2—0		
(Cr.)				
1843				
April	Masonic Glasses	18—	0—	0
	Candle stick	3—	0—	0
1845				
May 26	One years Interest	1—	1—	0
	Pr. Cheque	5—	11—	6
		<hr/>		
		7—13—6		
	Balance	15—	8—	6
		<hr/>		
		£23— 2—0		

The cost of the Furniture without doubt proved a heavy burden, and the debt to Bro. Chanter remained undischarged for a considerable time. By 1845 the debt had grown to £50, when:—

“Br. Chanter handsomely agreed to allow the debt of £50 owing by the Lodge to him to remain another Year.”

It was still undischarged in December, 1856, when it was:—

“Moved by Br. Whitefield and seconded by Br. Gould that the thanks of this Lodge be conveyed to Br. Chanter for his kind forbearance in allowing the debt on the Furniture to remain so long unpaid, and that every economy of the Lodge funds be used in order, as early as possible, to discharge the same.”

Many of the Brethren presented their shares to the Lodge, but the final discharge of the debt is not shown in the Account Book, in which the last entry is dated 1846. Probably another account was opened in April, 1846:—

“Bro. Knox (Secretary) proposed and Br. Hancock seconded that the Abstract of the Bath Furniture Account now laid before the Lodge, be kept with the other papers of the Lodge, for the inspection of the brethren.”

We will now proceed to an examination of the furniture, jewels, and other paraphernalia, generally acknowledged to have come from Bath. It is obvious from the diversity of styles that they were acquired at various times over a period of some fifty years. It is unfortunate that the minutes of the Bath Lodges do not give complete information as to the date and circumstances of acquisition; but, when the few details available are examined and compared with the features of the furniture itself, a fairly coherent story can be built up.

In the examination of the furniture I have had the benefit of the highly specialised knowledge of W. Bro. A. H. Hopson, a Past Master of Lodge Benevolence, Bideford, and a very well known specialist in Antique Furniture; whilst Bro. Harold Chapman, a Barnstaple Jeweller, has assisted me in the examination of the Regalia.

I propose to take our various exhibits in order of date, commencing with the earlier:—

#### MASTER'S CHAIR IN SUPPER ROOM.

Width 2ft. 5ins.

Height 3ft. 8ins.

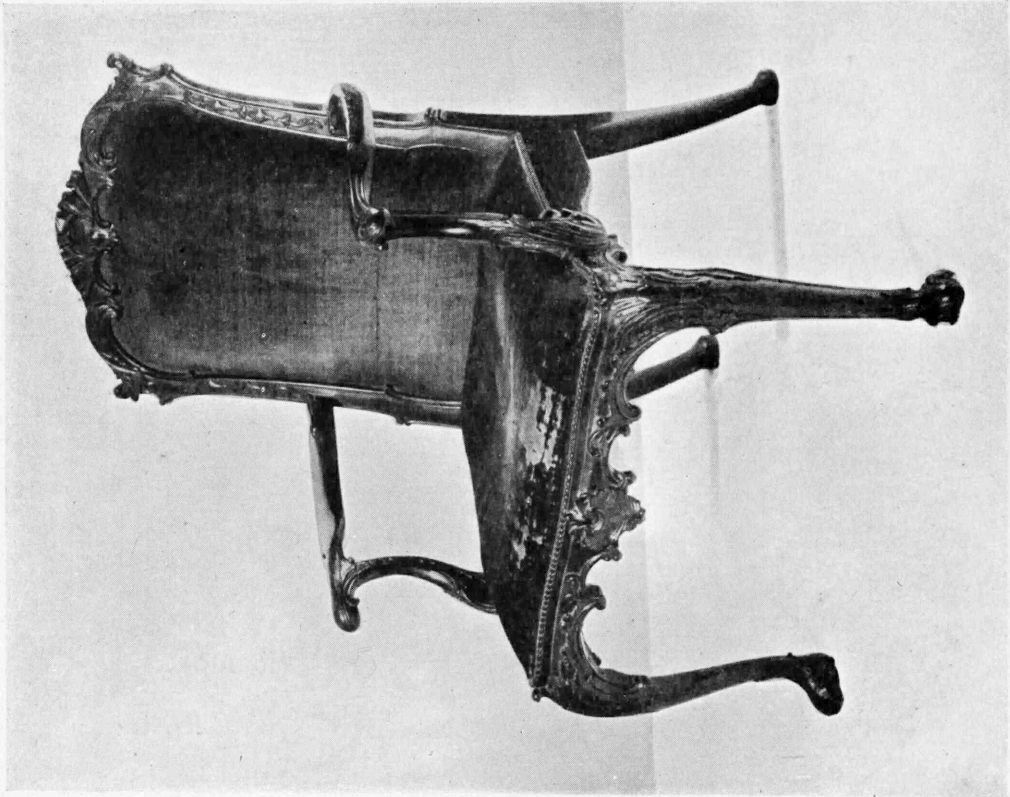
Height of seat 1ft. 7ins.

This chair must be that described as the “Secretary’s Chair” in the accounts of 1843, which show that two shillings were spent on its repair. It was doubtless used by the Secretary from that time, when the Lodge met at the Assembly Rooms, until a move was made to our present quarters at Queen Anne’s Walk in 1868, where there was not sufficient space in the Lodge Room for this large chair, which is a beautiful example of the early Chippendale school. It is finely and vigorously carved, with cabriole legs and carved feet, and dates about 1745. The present upholstery is a dark red plush.

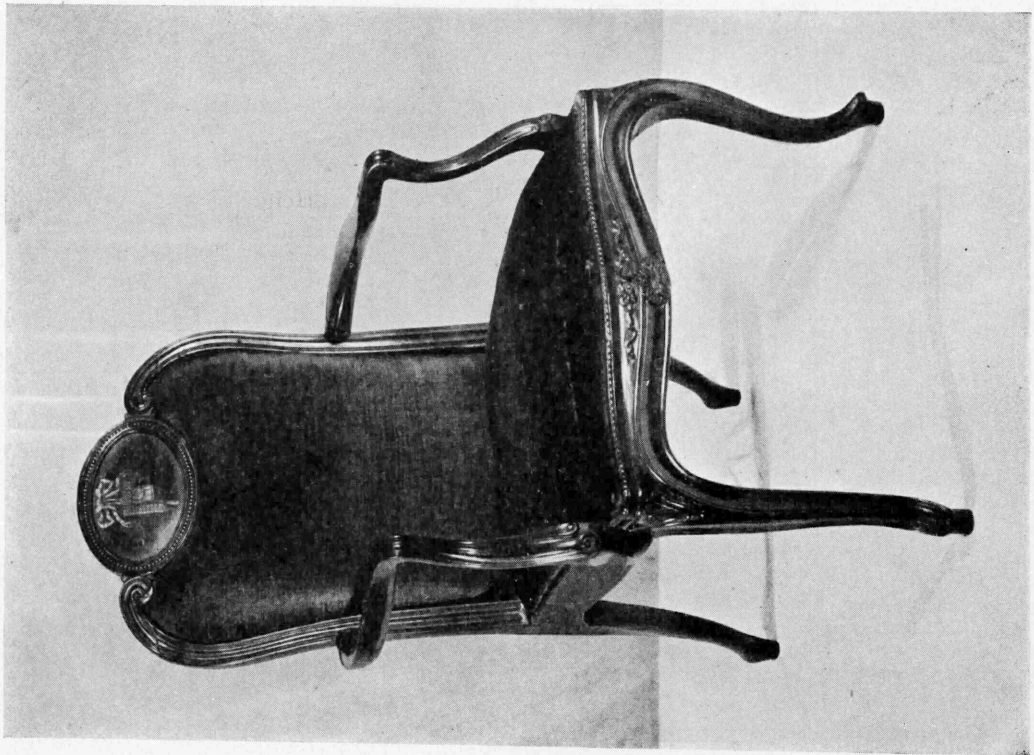
Turning to the minutes of the Bath Lodge founded at the Bear Inn about 1732, we find that on the 14th June, 1743:—

“Bro. Christopher Crowe Esqr. made a present of one Pound one Shilling to this Lodge, to be disposed of as the Lodge shall at their discretion think proper. A proposal for a Master’s Chair, if the Worthy Members of this Lodge shall think proper.—C.C.”

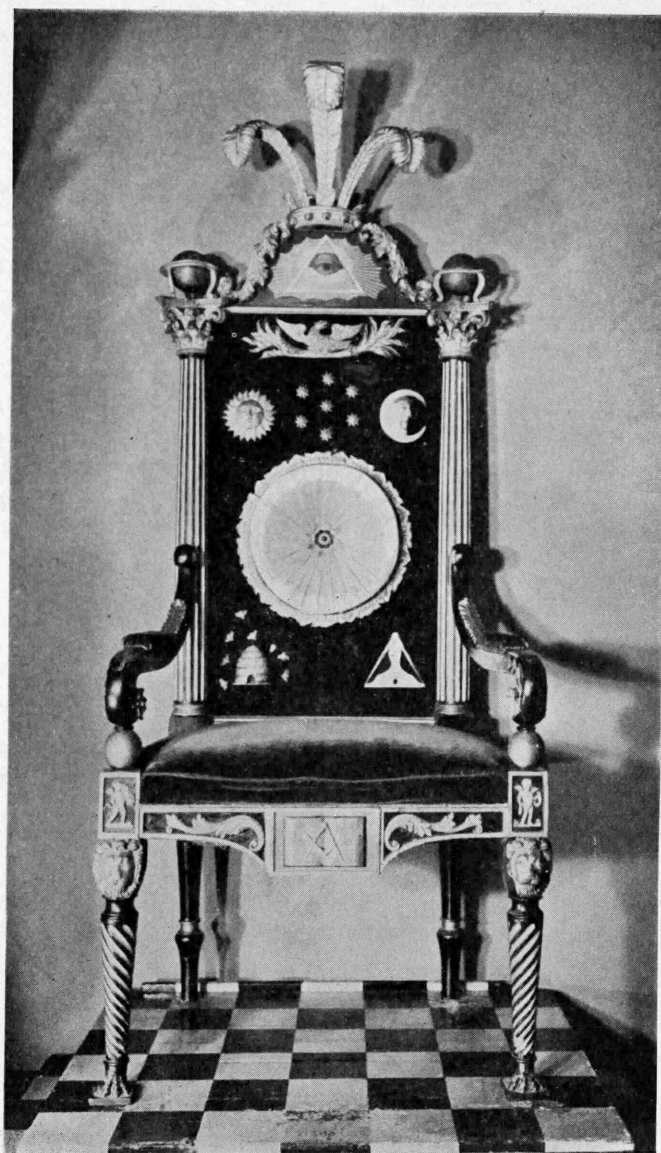
The purchase of the Chair is not recorded, but the dates coincide so nicely that I feel there can be little doubt that it was then obtained. Its dimensions and proportions indicate its use for ceremonial occasions, but it displays no Masonic symbols.



"Bath" Furniture—  
Master's Chair in Supper-Room (Secretary).

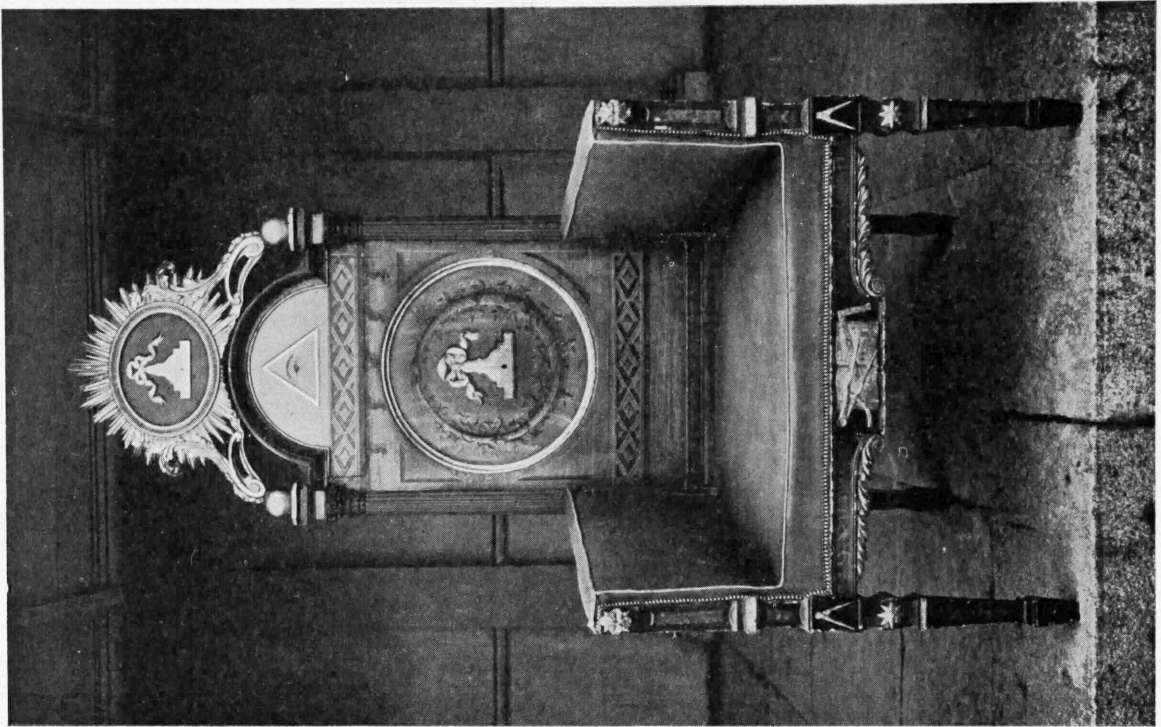


"Bath" Furniture—I.P.M.'s Chair.

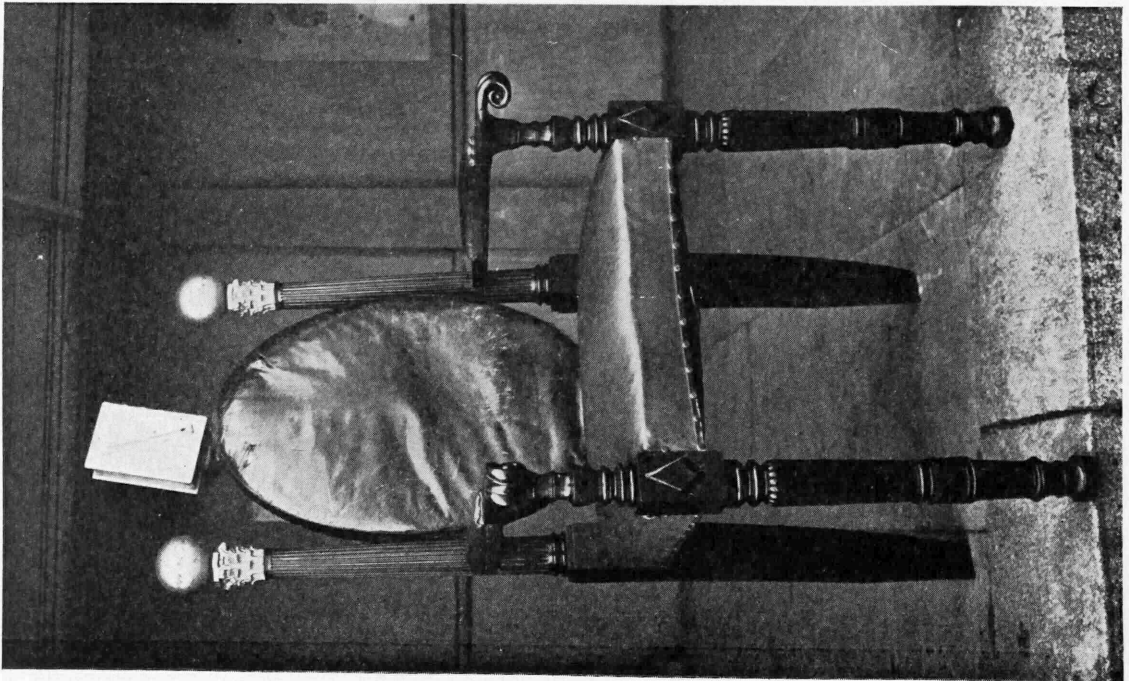


"Bath" Furniture—Master's Chair.





“ Bath ” Furniture—S.W.’s Chair.

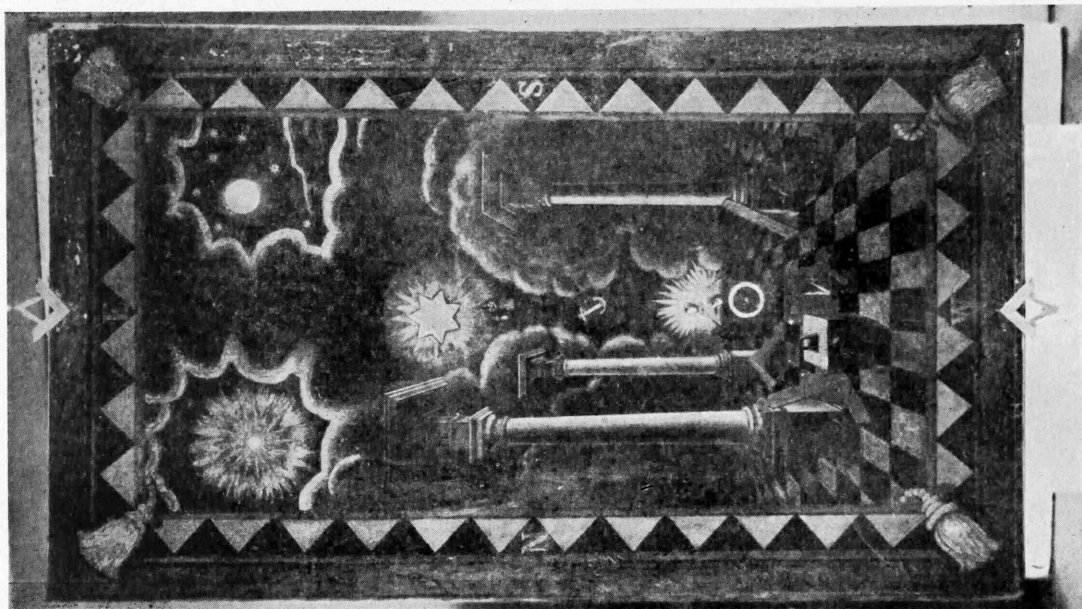


“ Bath ” Furniture—J.W.’s Chair.

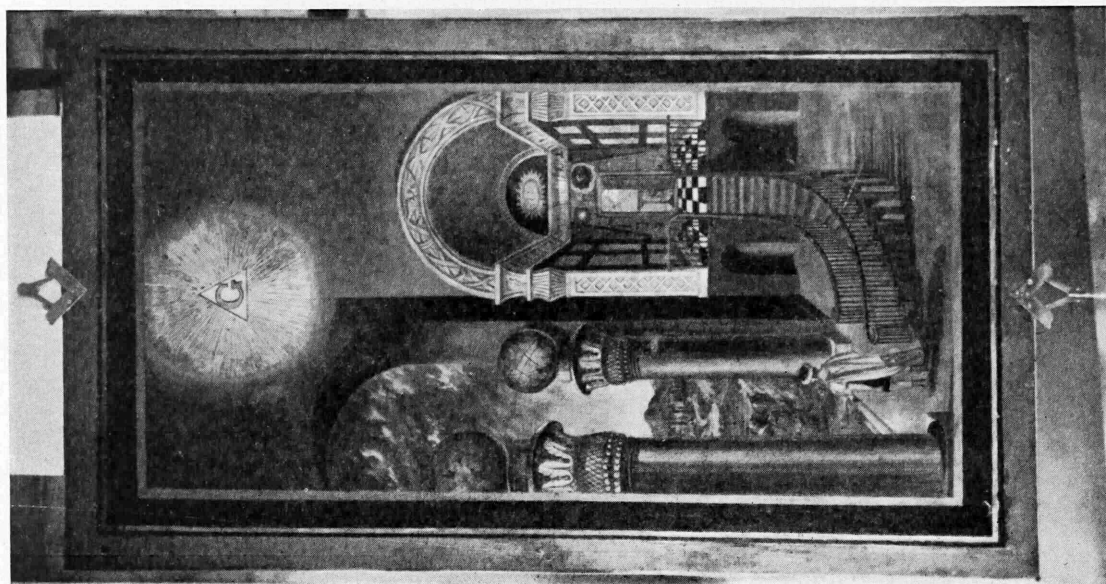


“ Bath ” Furniture—Chair at Bideford.

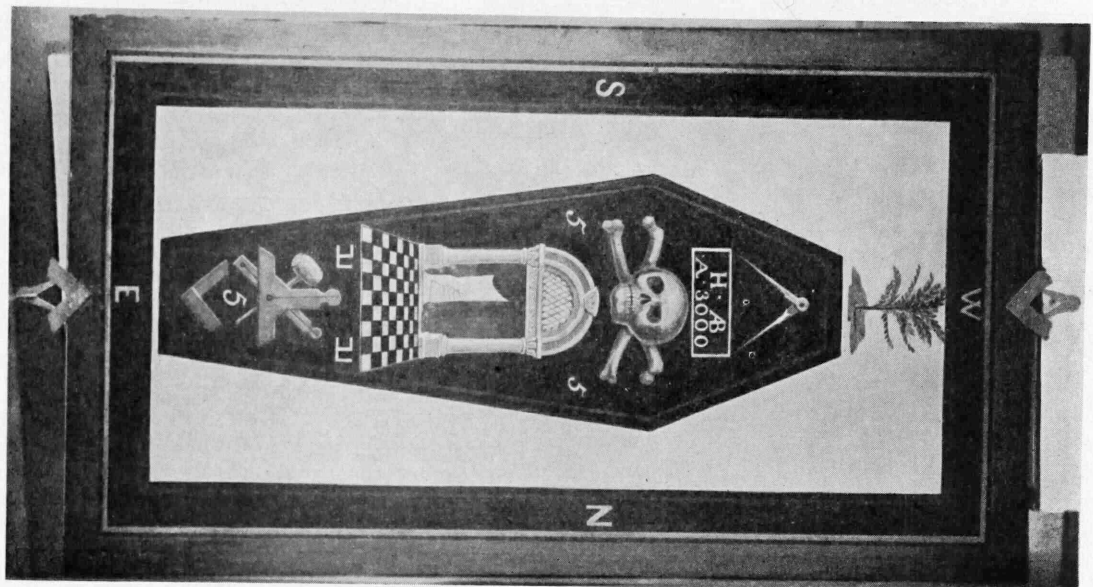




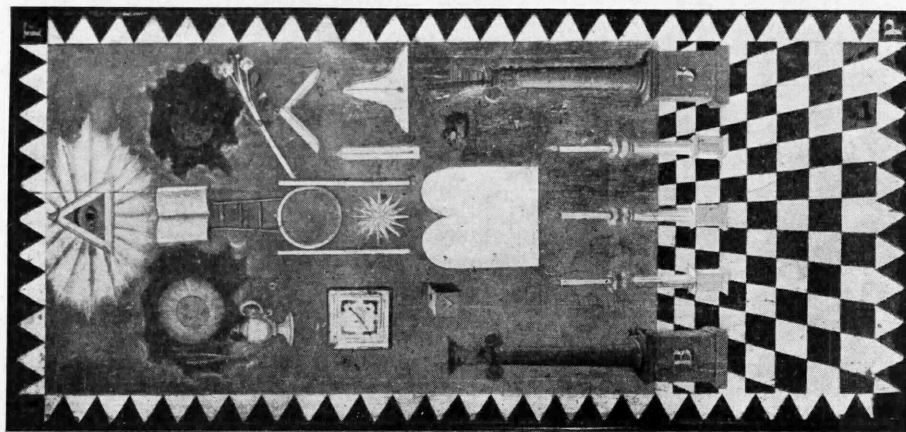
“ Bath ” Furniture—Tracing Board.



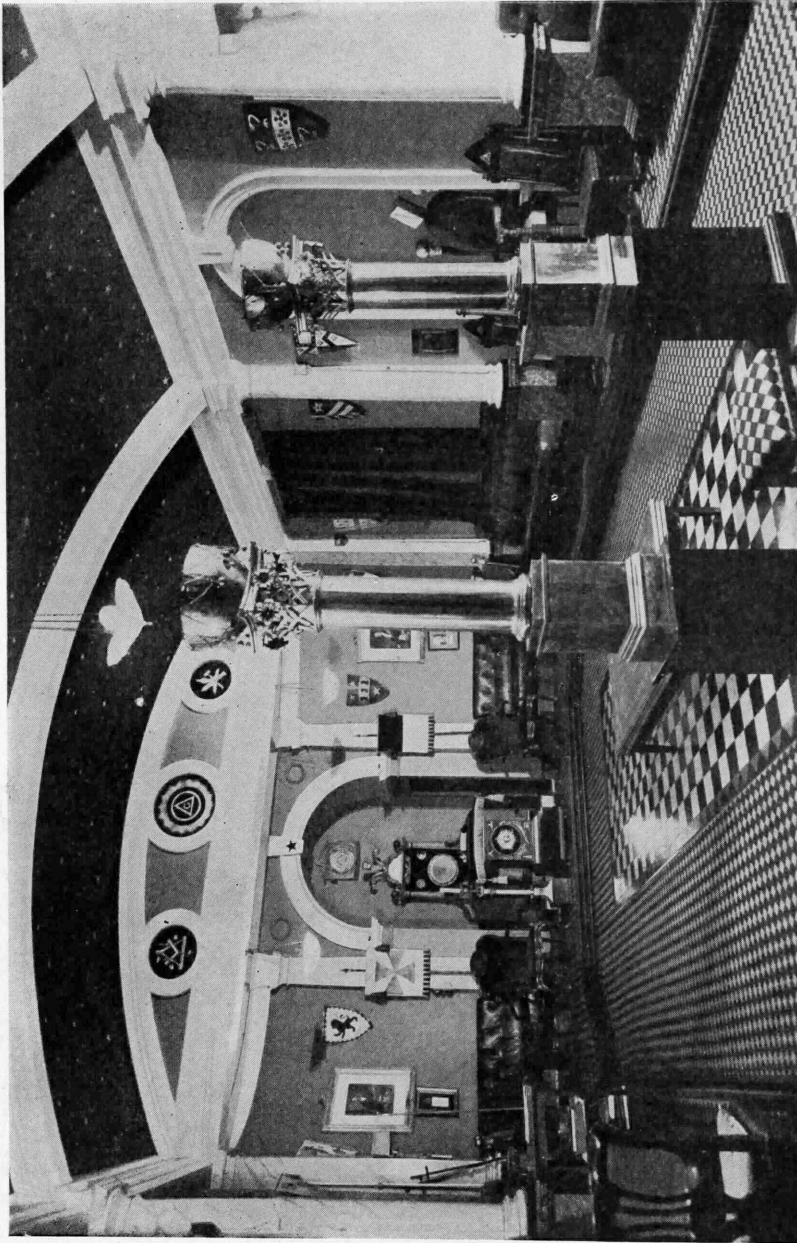
“ Bath ” Furniture—Tracing Board.



"Bath" Furniture—Tracing Board.

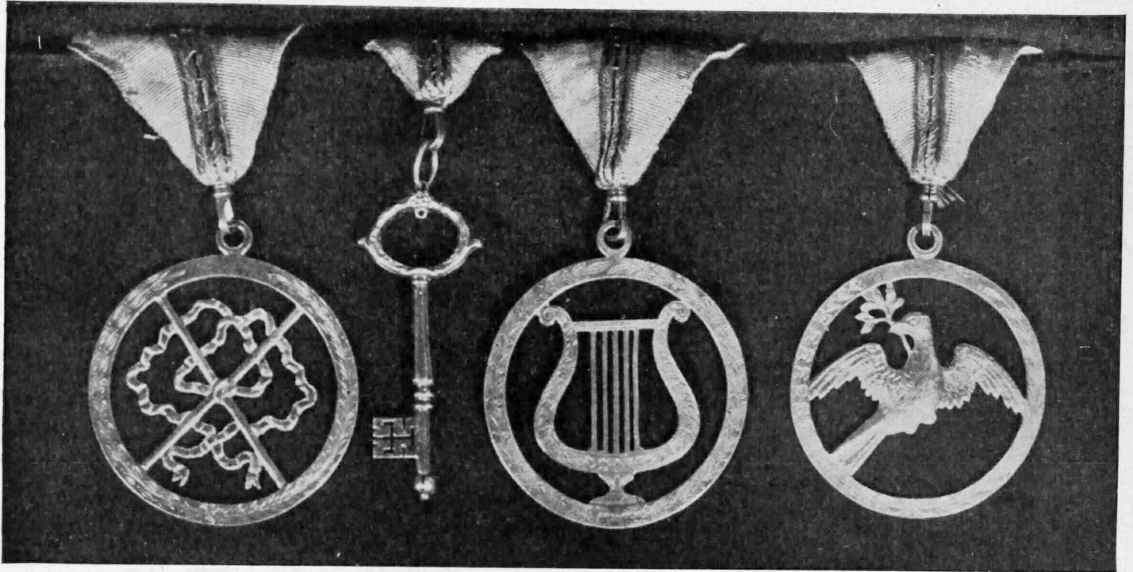


"Bath" Furniture—Combined Tracing Board.

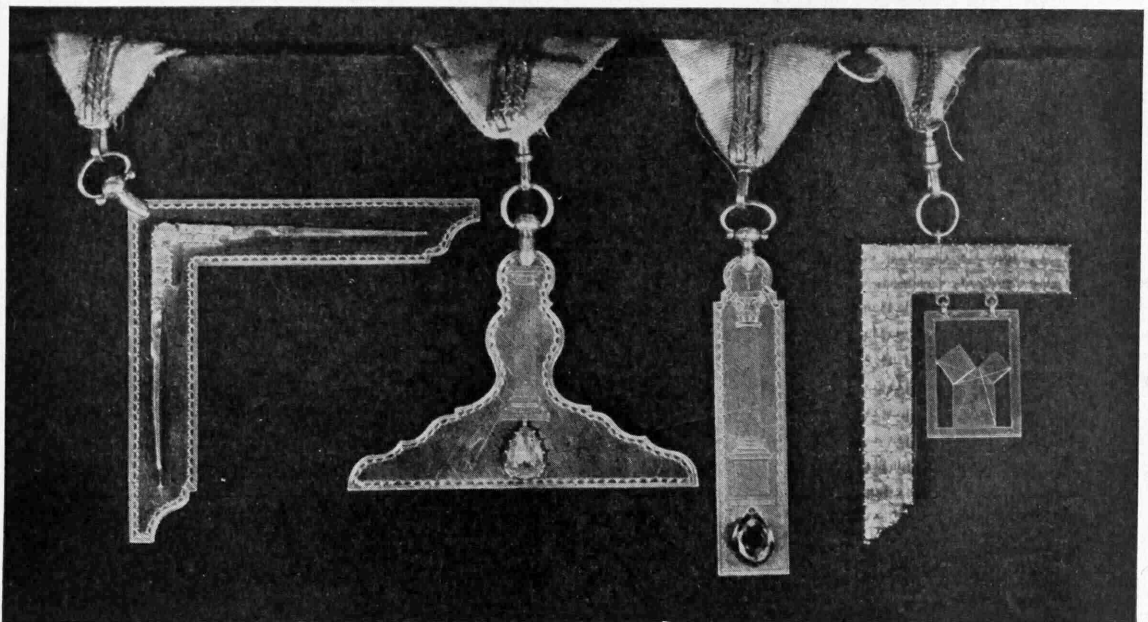


"Bath" Furniture—The Brass Pillars.

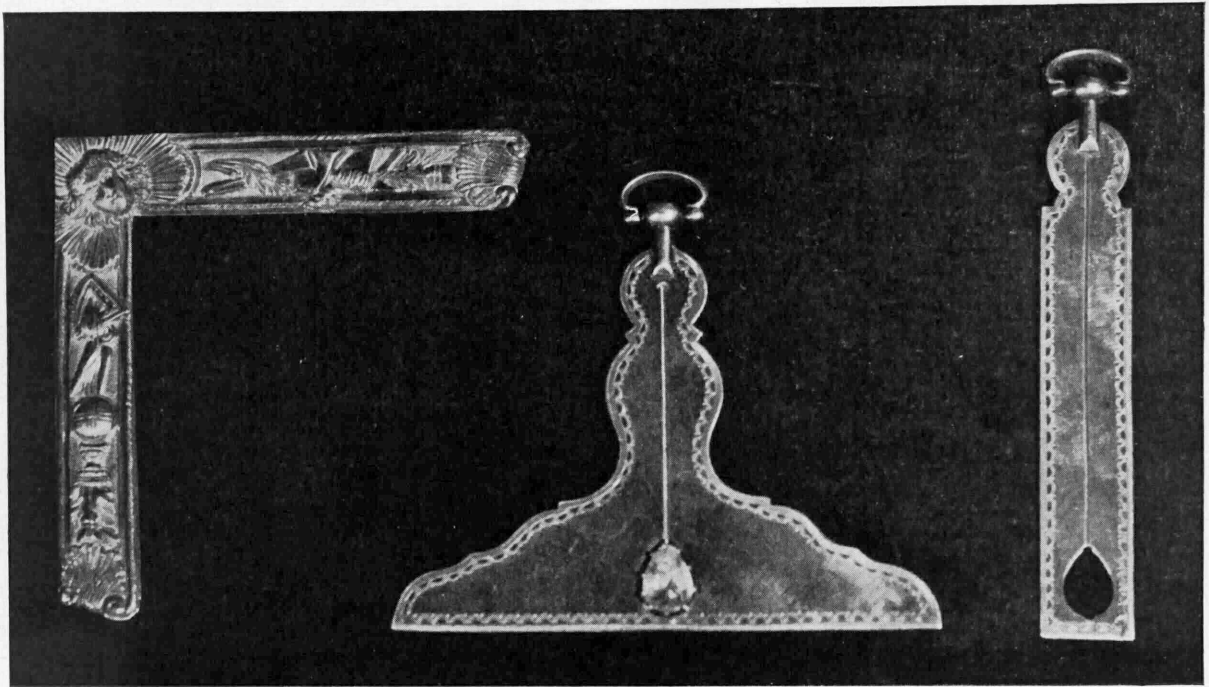




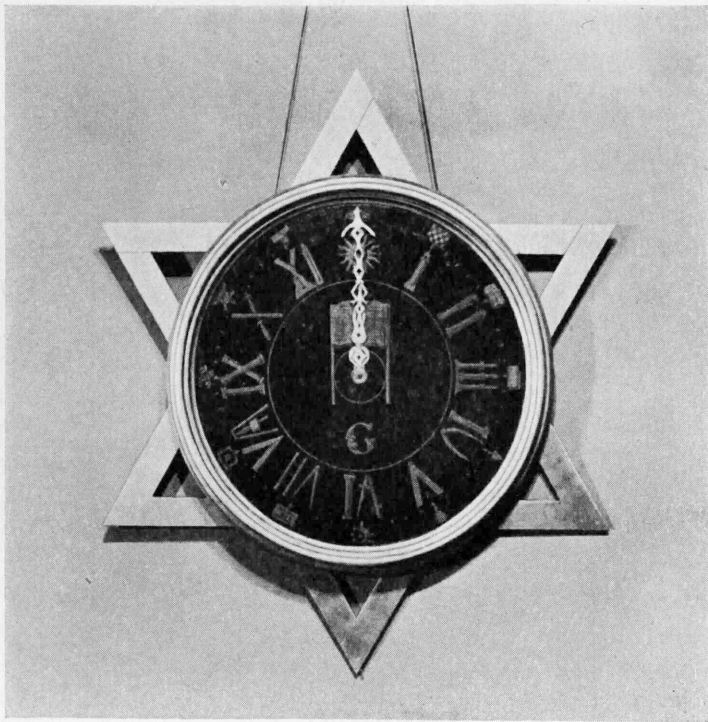
“ Bath ” Furniture—Officers’ Jewels.



“ Bath ” Furniture—Jewels of Principal Officers.



"Bath" Furniture—Silver Working Tools.



"Bath" Furniture—Dial of High Twelve.



“ Bath ” Furniture—Master’s Pedestal, etc.





"Bath" Furniture—Middle Chamber.



“Bath” Furniture—Winding Staircase.



# SENIOR WARDEN'S CHAIR.

Width 3ft.  
Height 6ft. 6ins.  
Height of seat 1ft. 8ins.

Something of a problem is supplied by the chair now used by the Senior Warden. Despite being rather overburdened with the somewhat florid crowning ornament, it is a noble chair of fine proportions. Architectural in design, it shows the influence of the Brothers Adam, and in character may be classed as of the Sheraton School, but somewhat early—about 1780.

The moulded legs are square and carved with the compasses. The rail across the front of the seat is also carved with acanthus leaf scrolls on either side of a central panel which displays the Volume of the Sacred Law with the square and compasses. The square is long and short-armed, whilst the compasses are furnished with a quadrant. The manner in which they are placed—the head in each case being uppermost—is reminiscent of the custom in some old Lodges; for instance, Loyal Lodge of Industry No. 421, at South Molton.

The back is without upholstery, the wood being grained and painted with a "Gothic" type of arcade ornament. The central circular panel is sunk, with the Warden's Level painted in the centre, surrounded by the symbol of Wisdom and Eternity:—the serpent, tail in mouth: it is entwined with ivy. The back supports are fluted columns crowned with Corinthian capitals and balls: but across the fluted columns, just below the capitals and carried right across the chair, is a joint—a most improbable place for a Cabinet Maker to choose. All the ornament on the Chair, thus far, is carved, but the caps are in compo. The semi-circular pediment has a character later than the body of the Chair, as also has the florid, rather rococo top ornament, in the panel of which is again painted the Senior Warden's Emblem.

If my identification be correct, the following extracts from the Minutes of the Bath Lodge are illuminating:—

"Oct. 18. 1768. Paid Br. Davis for the Master's Chair six guineas."

"7 Feb. 1786. Br. Birchall's Bill. Repairing the frame of the Master's Chair, new stuffing the back & seat & covering with crimson silk & worsted Damask."

"7 Oct. 1788. Resolved that an addition be made to the Master's Chair with the Master's Emblem, under the inspection of Br. Birchall."

Since no chairs are mentioned in the list of furniture detailed 26th December, 1785, at the amalgamation of the two Lodges known thereafter as the "Royal Cumberland", I feel that the Chair made by Bro. Davis (a Cabinet Maker and an Initiate of the Lodge in 1763), repaired in 1786 and ornamented in 1788 by Brother Birchall (also a Cabinet Maker), must be our Senior Warden's Chair of to-day, and that the obvious alteration to the upper part of the back is the work of Brother Birchall.

That this was originally a Master's Chair is confirmed by the carved emblems on the lower part; there can be little doubt that the two Levels were painted in after the furniture reached Barnstaple. The "crimson silk & worsted Damask" of 1786 has now been replaced with silk crepe. Probably the original upholstery to the back was confined to the circle. Another pointer, indicating a Master's Chair, is the "all-seeing Eye in the sacred 'Abohut'."

The ornament on the chair is enriched in gold and the whole effect is rich and pleasing.

# CHAPLAIN'S & I.P.M.'S CHAIRS.

Width 2ft. 2ins.  
Height 3ft. 8ins.  
Height of seat 1ft. 7ins.

This fine pair of mahogany chairs are of Hepplewhite character, dating about 1785, beautifully shaped and carved with Anthemion ornament. The only Masonic features are the oval panels above the upholstered backs, in which

are painted the respective symbols. The panels are original and the painting of the emblems may be also, as the I.P.M.'s jewel depicted is of the "Gallows" type. Such evidence as can be found, however, does not bear this out.

The Royal Cumberland minutes for the 18th March, 1788, say:—

"Br. West proposed that two neat Arm Chairs covered in red damask be made for the two Wardens. Seconded by Br. Phillott, and that Bro. Birchall be ordered to deliver a Drawing and Estimate and likewise a Drawing for the Ornament to the R.W.M.'s Chair."

The ornament to the Master's Chair was decided upon 7th October, 1788, but there is nothing further in the minutes about these two chairs, though so strong a coincidence very much points to their originally being used by the Wardens.

#### MASTER'S CHAIR.

Width 2ft. 9ins.

Height 7ft.

Height of seat 2ft.

Of the Regency Period and dating in the 1790s, with its crimson seat and padded arms, black velvet back, with the central Sun in orange silk; the woodwork painted black, and the ornament picked out in gold; crowned with the crest of the Prince of Wales. The whole effect of this superb Chair can only be described as magnificent, wanting only the figure of a Bro. Thomas Dunckerly, in his scarlet coat and powdered wig to complete the resplendent picture.

The ornament throughout is of Compo—a plastic composed of whiting, linseed oil and resin—introduced by the Brothers Adam for the Pompeian ornament so typical of their work, and which rendered possible the light and airy decoration of the Sheraton School.

From clawed feet the legs rise in spiral fluting to Lions' Masks placed just below the front rail of the seat, which has a central panel similar to that on the Senior Warden's Chair, but here the three Great Lights are of a more conventional description. Above the masks are panels occupied by small figures which are typically "Adam". Above them, seated on balls, rise the scroll arms housed into the fluted columns supporting the back, in the centre of which is the silken sun with a framing of gilt compo ornament. This feature may be more correctly described as the "Blazing Star", or "Glory in the Centre", since above are the Sun, Moon, and Seven Stars, whilst beneath is the pair of Compasses and Level on one side, and on the other a Beehive and Bees, of which the number appear to have been nine.

This symbol, long lost from our modern Ritual, is, I believe, still used in the Bath Working as commending "the right employment of time by practical industry—and Brotherly love". Above them all is another lost symbol of the third degree, the "Phoenix", here resting on flames and foliage which may be conventional treatment of the Acacia.

Again, as in the Senior Warden's Chair, the "All-seeing Eye" set in the Triangle is depicted in the Tympanum, in this case formed by scrolls of Acanthus Leaves rising to support the Badge of the Prince of Wales, which appears to be identical with a similar feature in the Master's Chair of Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality, Bristol. Freely spreading Corinthian caps crown the columns, and on each is set a small globe and its tripod.

Which was the "Royal Cumberland" Chair? The conclusion cannot be escaped that the present Senior Warden's Chair was that of the Royal Cumberland. When we place this Chair between the two florid Pillars which were part of the furniture of the Lodge of Virtue, it is very strongly suggested that it was this Lodge that originally possessed the "Master's Chair".

It is of interest to recall that an Initiate of the Lodge of Virtue—Bro. Archibald Ewing—became the third Master of Loyal Lodge, Barnstaple, in 1786, and occupied the Chair for ten years.

JUNIOR WARDEN'S CHAIR.

Width 2ft. 9ins.

Height 6ft.

Height of seat 2ft. 5ins.

This somewhat ungainly chair, with its tremendous length of leg, is much later in character than are those we have already dealt with. Its period is late Sheraton, probably of the first decade of the nineteenth century. That this was originally a Warden's Chair is doubtful; the Plumb-rule on the closed book now standing on the oval back is an undoubted addition, and scarcely enhances the general appearance. The only other emblems are the Square and Compasses, inlaid in the top blocks of the legs. Once again we seem to have a Master's Chair converted to other uses.

The turned legs are reeded, the arms finish with scrolls and house into fluted columns supporting the oval back. The columns are finished with gilt Corinthian caps and balls. Red leather seems to have been the original covering, although the seat at least has been renewed.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this was also a Master's Chair; was it once the property of the Royal York Lodge? No minutes or accounts are available to guide us, but the Royal York was the most prosperous of the Bath Lodges during the early years of the nineteenth century.

SENIOR DEACON'S CHAIR.

The origin of this chair is uncertain. Very likely it came from Bath, but it could be the chair made for the Worshipful Master in 1821 by Bro. George Hearson (Cabinet Maker) at a cost of £8 : 18s. : 11d., and to which in 1829 "two corinthian capitals and gilded & spherical balls" were added. On the other hand, on the 25th June, 1810, Royal Cumberland Lodge bought two "Elbow Chairs" for £2.

The chair is of beech, painted black and enriched with a gilt line. The caps and balls are also gilt.

The remaining paraphernalia is so diverse that it will be more convenient to take them in their order in the Schedule given on page 10.

MASTER'S PEDESTAL.

Height 3ft. 7ins.

This is an interesting piece of furniture of about the same period as the Master's Chair. It is of mahogany, with the south side opening as a door disclosing a nest of drawers, each complete with its drop handle—a really attractive example of the Cabinet Maker's art.

The exterior is painted and marbled, each face decorated with painted symbols.

On the front is the Circle, Blazing Star, and letter "G". Around the circle are sprays of acacia and corn. In the four angles are the Square, Level, Plumb Rule, and P.M.'s. Jewel.

On the north side are two pens in saltire, and on the south two keys in saltire.

The original top (very probable of marble) has been replaced with a wide-spreading mahogany top, supporting the 1843 Cushion, etc.

In 1787, three keys were made for the Pedestal, "for the use of the W. Master and the two Wardens".

KNEELING STOOL.

This piece of furniture is late—about 1820—it is of mahogany, with a slight slope to the front designed for a loose cushion. The legs are turned and finished with brass claw feet.

**TRACING BOARDS.**

The original ownership of the three boards now in use must remain doubtful as, if from Bath, they must have been procured by the Autumn of 1823. whilst, in view of the financial position of the Bath Lodges at the time, the purchase of these boards later than 1820 seems improbable.

They are large boards, each measuring 5ft. 3ins. x 3ft 0½ins. are of the usual "Harris" designs, and it is to be remembered that these were not published until 1823.

Loyal Lodge Minutes say, that on 1st December, 1836, Bro. Davis, a visitor, "presented three boards relating to the degrees in Masonry—Bro. Goaman (a Builder, of Pilton,) was ordered to make a case to preserve them in.

Bro. Davis afterwards joined the Lodge, he was Manager of the Theatre Royal at Barnstaple, and was well known in the west of England, particularly at Taunton and Exeter, and on many occasions he received the formal patronage of the Worshipful Master and Brethren.

On the other hand there is a most interesting Tracing Board, now kept in the Provincial Grand Master's Room, forming the top of a table, the legs of which are decorated in similar character to the Gothic ornament on the Organ, and that painted on the back of the Senior Warden's Chair. That is as far as the front is concerned, but the back and sides are built up of a most astounding assortment of pieces which appear to have come from a screen or other type of furniture, decorated with a Grecian Doric Temple, apparently very well done. Whether this table was an original part of the scheme or not, I am quite unable to determine, but the Tracing Board is most unusual. Several of the symbols depicted have long since disappeared from the modern Lectures, but Royal Cumberland still retain them in their ancient working, and most certainly it was their Tracing Board in 1818.

The "lay-out" on the board is quite different to that usually seen. On a squared pavement, drawn in perspective, stand the two Great Pillars, lettered on their pedestals "B" and "J" respectively. Between them are three smaller columns each bearing a lit candle. Immediately above them is the tablet of the Sacred Law (identical with a marble tablet kept within the Lodge). Still proceeding upwards next comes the Bazing Star, the Point within the Circle and the two Grand Parallels; then the Ladder with, in this case, the Volume of the Sacred Law at the top, completed with the "All seeing Eye, and the radiant Triangle". To the left of these is the Tracing Board, the Pot of Incense (or Manna) and the Sun. On the right are the Second Degree Working Tools, and the Moon, together with Aaron's Rod. The two Ashlors are also depicted.

The four tassels are displaced by the letters T. F. P., the letter J. has been obliterated.

In the main this Board is applicable to the First Degree, but the two Pillars are referred to more particularly in the Second Degree, whilst the "Royal Cumberland" Lecture on the Third Board describes the "Jewels" as being:—"Aaron's Rod" which bloomed, blossomed and yielded almonds; the "Omer of Manna", as a warning against innovation, and the "Tables of Stone" as the rule of our Faith. Amongst the Furniture of the Master Mason's Lodge it includes the "Pot of Incense" as an emblem of a pure heart.

A final confirmatory point is that the "Lodge covered with white satin", shown in the centre of the Plan of York Street Hall at the Dedication, is of proportions to the Table "Lodge" now at Barnstaple.

**SECRETARY'S TABLE.**

This may be the long narrow mahogany side table, with two drawers, now in the Supper Room, it is akin in style to the Chair of the Junior Warden.

## CANDLESTICKS.

Of these Brass Candlesticks, with their silver panels may I re-quote the *Freemason's Quarterly Magazine* for 1843:—

"The candlesticks are especially worth notice, as it is said, that but three sets were ever cast, one for the Grand Lodge of England, another for the Grand Lodge of Prussia and the third set is in this collection. They are of ormolu, of most elegant and delicate workmanship, with allegorical silver plates inlaid; but the counterparts being in the Grand Lodge of England, any further description is unnecessary".

The accuracy of this assertion is subject to doubt, for the fine candlesticks illustrated in Bro. William Sanderson's *History of Britannic Lodge, No. 33*, are so identical, not only in design but also in dimensions, that there can be little doubt that they come from the hands of the same craftsman. The designs of the Panels in the Pedestals are also the same, but whilst those of the Britannic Lodge are of brass, those of Loyal Lodge are of silver.

These very fine examples of the art of the Worker in Brass vary in height so as to maintain the Classical symmetry of the Roman Orders of Architecture they represent. The total height of the "Doric" is 36ins., whilst that of the Corinthian is 40ins. Each is complete in its Architectural details of Entablature, Capital, Shaft, Base, and Pedestal resting on a base of three steps. The silver panels display the following Emblems:—

### DORIC LIGHT.

- Panel 1. Horn, Trumpet, Recorder, & Music Book.
- 2. Two flags in saltire bearing respectively the letters "G" & "B".
- 3. Bow, quiver, and Helmet.
- 4. Globe.

### IONIC LIGHT.

- Panel 1. Compasses, Level, Plumb-rule, & two Mauls.
- 2. Sword, and Astroloid.
- 3. Square, Compasses, and Sector.
- 4. Pen, Protractor, and Cannon.

### CORINTHIAN LIGHT.

- Panel 1. 24ins. Gauge, Compasses, and Clinometer.
- 2. Plumb-rule, and Level.
- 3. Cannon, and Gauge.
- 4. Palette, Brush, and Compasses.

The candle holders rest with four legs on the top of the Entablature, and are ornamented with oak leaves.

## TWO BRASS PILLARS.

Striking in appearance, these two Columns are fine examples of the work of those who follow the Craft of Tubal Cain.

It would be of great interest to know their original setting. The Plan of the York Street Hall shows them in the conventional position in the west, but since their total height is but 5ft. 9ins. their appearance would have been somewhat insignificant unless raised above the floor level: at Barnstaple they stand on painted wood pedestals. Their appearance is not improved thereby, for the Columns themselves have their own Pedestals, also wrought in brass with all their proper mouldings.

The shafts proper are not tapered, but cylindrical, they are  $3\frac{1}{6}$  diameters in height ( $6\frac{1}{3}$  Modules) from the base mouldings to the necking of the Capital which is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  Diameters (5 modules) in height and Corinthian in character, but Lotus flowers and leaves in wrought brass replace the conventional volutes and acanthus leaves.

Above the capital is a brass bowl overlaid with a chain "net" from which are suspended brass balls symbolising the "Pomegranates".

The two 'Pillars' and the three great Candlesticks date about the end of the 18th century.

#### SILVER WORKING TOOLS.

Those that came from Bath are:—

**THE SQUARE.** This delightful little 'Jewel' is of silver with the London Hall Mark 1818, whilst the letters T.H. tells us it came from the hands of Bro. Thomas Harper, Depty. G. Master of the "Ancients". It is beautifully embossed and bears the following inscription:—

"Presented to the Royal York Lodge by Bro. G. G. Brown Mill, M.D.,  
F.R.C.P., of Marlborough Buildings, Bath, and Grand Bay,  
Carriocoa."

**LEVEL & PLUMBRULE.** Both were collar Jewels, and are also the work of Thomas Harper, bearing the London Hall Mark for 1812.

**COMPASSES.** These bear the inscription:—

"Presented to the Royal York Lodge of Perfect Friendship No. 243,  
by Br. G. G. Brown-Mill, M.D."

They are beautifully engraved, bearing the London mark for 1818, the maker being "T.H."

#### SILVER OFFICER'S JEWELS.

Returning to the Bath Minutes for 1785, we find in the entry for 26th September, 1785:—

"The following Jewels & Furniture (late Royal Cumberland) were this evening delivered up to & became the property of this Lodge viz:—  
1. Silver Square,—Level & Plumb,—1. Hall Medal,—1. P.M. Jewel set in Paste,—Treasurer's & Secretary's Jewels,—Bible,—Compass & Square,—3. Hiram's,—Temple for the Jewels,—3. Lodges, etc."

Of all these, the only ones which can be safely identified are the:—

**IMMEDIATE PAST MASTER'S JEWEL.** This is of silver and, as described above, 'set in paste', but there are neither maker's nor date marks, and it may well have been the product of a local Silver Smith. It is of the 'pre-union' "Gallows" type, and nicely proportioned.

**JEWEL of the W. MASTER;** this was supplied by Thomas Harper, (as were the remaining Jewels). The silver square has a chased border, whilst the compasses imposed on the square are cut and the upper part set in paste.

**JEWELS OF S. & J. WARDENS.** T.H., 1817. The border similar to that for the W.M. Each has a paste plumb-bob, and are engraved respectively with the Doric and Corinthian Columns.

**TREASURER'S JEWEL.** T.H., 1816. Is silver cast, moulded and embossed to a fine design. A paste drop within the handle is now missing.

The remaining Jewels are all the work of Thomas Harper, varying slightly in detail and date, but all of similar character being cut from the plate and perforated. The Jewels are enclosed in circles, corresponding with those of Grand Lodge, being engraved with Acacia and Ears of Corn.

CHAPLAIN'S JEWEL. T.H., 1818. In place of the corn and acacia the rays of the Glory are engraved on the Circle.

SECRETARY'S JEWEL. T.H., 1817.

DIRECTOR of CEREMONIES. T.H., 1819.

DEACON'S JEWELS. T.H., 1817. The Dove is cast.

"29. May 1818. Bro. Geary proposed that two Deacon's Jewels be provided for the use of this Lodge according to the new Constitutions."

ORGANIST'S JEWEL. T.H., 1818. The corn and acacia is here replaced by conventional foliage, perhaps Laurel. The Lyre is here five-stringed.

INNER GUARD. T.H., 1818. The loop at the top of the Jewel is here in the form of ribbon tied in a bow; this is the only jewel so fashioned.

TYLER'S JEWEL. The sword is cast, and it is not enclosed by a circle as are the other jewels. There is no Hall Mark so that no definite date can be assigned to it. The only marks are the letters—F.P.J.G. The character is late Georgian.

#### VARIOUS PARAPHERNALIA.

TWO ROCOCO PILLARS. These are two wooden pedestals, square in plan, and 5ft. 1in. in height. They are shaped, and heavily ornamented in compo of French-Chippendale character. The ground work is painted a pale salmon colour, with the ornament gilt. They belong to the late 18th century, and are generally considered to have been the property of the Lodge of Virtue.

TWO GLOBES. One 'celestial' the other 'terrestrial', both are Cary's 1800, and sold by Davis, 149 Tüongate, Glasgow. They now stand on the tops of the Rococo Pillars, but they were the gift of Bro. Charles Geary to Royal Cumberland Lodge. Geary was an initiate of the Lodge of Virtue,—probably in 1800,—but he joined Royal Cumberland Lodge on 7th June, 1803, and was Installed R.W. Master of that Lodge 27th December, 1805. when:—

"The R.W. Master made the Lodge in the most handsome manner a present of a pair of Globes as Ornaments."

THE MIDDLE CHAMBER. This intriguing piece of furniture is generally accepted as having been used in connection with the "winding staircase" in the Second Degree, but the Symbol in the floor and again in the ceiling suggests its possible use in the Royal Arch.

It is a typical "18th century Temple", octagonal in plan, measuring 4ft. 8ins. across, the total height is 9ft. 6ins.

The floor, or platform, rises one step and has a chequered pavement radiating from the centre where a letter "G" is enclosed by the 'Shield of David' within a Circle. This feature is reproduced in the ceiling.

The dome is constructed in canvas, supported by eight slender pillars of Doric character; the dome is painted with anthemion ornament and surmounted by a large gilt ball as a finial.

**WINDING STAIRCASE.** This rises five steps, in each of which is set the appropriate letter in brass. With its wreathed strings and handrails it is an excellent example of the craft of the Joiner. The stairs rise to a height of 3ft. 1in. and if used in conjunction with the "Middle Chamber" would raise the top of that structure to the rather astonishing height of 12ft. 7ins., which inclines me to the Royal Arch theory.

Royal Cumberland Lodge paid a bill, 18th July, 1805. of three Guineas for:—

"painting a Figure and a Winding Staircase."

If this should include the two foregoing items it must have been for the decoration only.

**THE DUNCKERLEY PORTRAIT.** This fine oil painting by Thomas Beach, measuring 3ft. 4ins. x 4ft. 2ins., is the original from which the well known engraving by J. Jones was taken. Thomas Beach was a well known Portrait Painter who is said to have rarely missed a Bath season between the years 1770 and 1801. He painted the portraits of many notabilities, including Mrs. Siddons, and The Grand Master, H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland.

The portrait was painted about ten years before Dunckerley's death and when he was sixty-one. It is a pleasing picture, there is great character in the features and dignity in the bearing of the Sitter. The graceful hands are those of the 18th century Portrait painter, and improbably those of Dunckerley; the scarlet coat, white waistcoat and breeches, powdered wig and deep blue of the regalia lend a highly decorative effect to the room at Barnstaple where it now hangs.

Beach was not a Mason at the time he painted the Portrait, but this defect was soon rectified for:—

"1789 Oct. 6. Thos. Beach Esqre. (not being a Resident) was ballotted for and unanimously elected to be made a Mason——and afterwards regularly made a Mason, and in consideration of his very valuable Present to this Lodge of a Portrait of T. Dunckerley Esqr. P.G.M., it was Resolved that the expence of Making be paid out of the Fund of this Lodge."

The portrait appears to have been painted some time prior to this as on 6th March, 1787. it was:—

"Resolved that Bros. Birchall and Spackman be desired to order a Frame of Bro. Deare for the picture of Bro. Dunckerley, painted by, and presented to this Lodge by Mr. T. Beach, (the price of the frame not to exceed Five Guineas)."

Brother Deare's bill states that the frame was a "Palmira Frame", Gilt in Burnished Gold. On the 9th. October, 1818:—

"Thanks were unanimously voted to our W.P.M. Geary for the great care he has taken of the Portrait of Bro. Dunckerley."

**THE ORGAN,** is labelled "JOHANNES LINCOLN," LONDINI FECIT 1801", (Either he or his son built the Organ for the Pavilion at Brighton). It has one Manual of five octaves and a pedal board of an octave and a half. The pipes in the front case are dummies, behind which are the swell shutters. The stops are:—Dulciana,—Stop Diapason,—Open Diapason,—Flute,—Fifteenth,—Principal,—and Stop Diapason treble.

The Lower Room of the New Masonic Hall, York Street, Bath, was first used 28th September, 1818. when:—

"The New Organ was opened and its soft and beautiful tone added considerably to the effect of the ceremony."

On its arrival at Barnstaple £12. was spent on the repair of the instrument.



FIRING GLASSES. These are all of "waisted" pattern and inscribed "R.Y.L., of P.F., No. 243."

DIAL. Also possibly from Bath is the symbol of "High Twelve" set in the "Shield of David". The Roman numerals on the Dial are composed of Masonic emblems in a most interesting manner.

One of the last occasions on which the Regalia appeared in public was at the opening of the North Devon Railway on the 12th. July, 1854., and of this event the records speak for themselves.

LOYAL LODGE 312. June 28, 1854.  
EMERGENCY

The Lodge was opened in due form and with Solemn Prayer. The W.M. reported that having received an invitation from the Town Council of the Borough to attend in procession the opening of the North Devon Railway he had applied to the D.P.G.M. for a dispensation to enable the Lodge to do so. The W.M. also reported that he had received a dispensation a copy of which is appended in reply to the application and that he hoped most of the Lodges in the Province would send deputations on the occasion.

Bro. Whitefield proposed and Bro. J. Harris seconded "that a Committee be formed consisting of the W.M., Bro. Britton, P.M., Bro. Harris, P.M., Bro. Whitefield, Treas., Bro. Edwards, Org., Bro. Tatham and Bro. Vellacott, Secy., to make all necessary arrangements and to obtain the assistance of the other Lodges in the Province.

The proposition having been agreed to the Lodge was closed in due form and with Solemn Prayer

Confirmed Nov. 6th, 1854

JOHN CHANTER

W. Master.

Loyal Lodge still has in its possession the original Dispensation.

(signed)  
JOHN HUYSHE  
D.P.G.M.



To our Loving Brethren the W. Master,  
the Wardens, Past Masters and Brthren  
of Lodge No. 312. WE JOHN HUYSHE  
Deputy Provincial Grand Master of the  
most Ancient and Honorable Society of  
free and accepted Masons for the County  
of Devon duly authorised by the  
Grand Lodge of England send Greeting

KNOW YE that in pursuance of the power  
to us Committed, and regarding your request to be  
allowed to make a public Masonic Procession on  
The occasion of the Opening of the North  
Devon Railway whenever the same may  
take place  
with the Officers and Brthren of your Lodge No. 312.  
and the Worshipful Masters of the Lodges in the Province  
and Neighbourhood and the Brethren thereunto belonging.

We willing as speedily as may be to comply  
with your wishes and to promote the laudable  
purposes of our most ancient and Honorable  
Institution.

Do hereby authorise and empower you  
to assemble with the Worshipful Master of your  
Lodge and the several Lodges of this Province and  
Neighbourhood and the brethren thereunto belonging

and to make such public procession as aforesaid, provided that nothing be there done contrary to the Rules Regulations and orders of the Grand Lodge of England as contained in the Book of Constitutions (and provided that you do not allow the Masters or Brethren of Lodges No. 380. and 725. or any one of them to be present at and attend the same. Those said two Lodges not having made their due returns to our Provincial Grand Lodge) Given under the Seal of the Provincial Grand Lodge of the said County the 23rd day of June A.D. 1854 A.L. 5854.

By Order of the P.G.M.

The Lodge Minutes are particularly full and give a vivid picture of the occasion.

#### LOYAL LODGE 312

July 12th, 1854.

The Brethren assembled in the Lodge Rooms at 10 o'clock nearly all the members of this Lodge and a great number of visiting Brethren were present. The Lodge was opened in due form and with Solemn Prayer.

The W.M. informed the Brethren of the purpose for which they were assembled and called on the Secretary to read the dispensation.

The Lodge was then adjourned and the Brethren formed in the following Order of Procession.

A Band of Music.

Banner.

A Tyler with a drawn Sword.

Foreign and Visiting Brethren not members of any Lodge in the Province, two and two.

The Brethren of the Lodges attending, two and two the Junior Lodge preceding and each Lodge following its Banner.

The Wardens, Past Wardens and Masters of the Lodges attending.

The Rough Ashlar, carried by an Entered Apprentice.

The perfect Ashlar, carried by a Fellow Craft.

Banner,

of Loyal Lodge 312 carried by Brother Newcombe.

Brother Pearse Tyler of Lodge 312, with a drawn Sword.

A Vase with Corn

borne by a Master Mason.

Two Ewers with Wine and Oil borne by Master Masons.

Bro. Edwards, Organist. Bro. Britton, Superintendent of Works.

Secretary, with Book of Constitutions & Roll.

Director of Ceremonies. { The Volume of the Sacred Law }  
                                  { with the Square and Compasses } Director of  
                                  { thereon borne by a Past Master. } Ceremonies.

Brother the Revd. J. Carwithen, Chaplain of Lodge 312 and

Brother the Revd. John Russell, Past Chaplain.

The Corinthian Light carried by a Master Mason.

Column of the Junior Warden.

Senior Deacon.	{	Bro. List The Junior Warden with the Plumb-Rule. The Doric Light carried by a Master Mason. Column of the Senior Warden. Bro. Harris The Senior Warden with the Level.	}	Junior Deacon.
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The Ionic Light carried by a Master Mason.  
 The Inner Guard carrying the Sword of State.  
 Bro. Chanter the Worshipful Master of Lodge 312 with  
 Two Stewards.

#### THE PROCESSION.

Thus formed started from the Lodge Rooms and thence proceeded to the North Walk and took up its position in the same order in the General Procession, immediately preceding the Mayor and Town Council of Barnstaple. On reaching the Entrance of the Railway Station the whole procession halted. The Masonic Brethren opened to the right and left the full width of the road, facing inwards, and the Mayor, Town Council, and Public Authorities, followed by the Masters and Officers, proceeded up the Avenue so formed, to the Platform; The Brethren and the remainder of the procession following and closing in afterwards. On reaching the Platform Mayor and Local Authorities received the Directors in due form and declared the Railway open; and on this part of the Ceremonial being completed, the Masonic Body advanced to the Middle of the Platform; Corn, Wine and Oil was then strewed and poured forth by the W.M., S.W., and J.W., and the following Invocation pronounced by the W.M.

"May the Almighty Architect of the Universe prosper this  
 "undertaking and as we have emblematically poured forth Corn,  
 "Wine and Oil, on the Completion of a work intended to promote  
 "the general benefit of the district, so that the bounteous hand of  
 "Heaven bless this Town and Neighbourhood with Abundance, and  
 "Conveniences of life, to the latest posterity."

So Mote it be.

The Chaplain Revd. John Carwithen then offered up the following Prayer.

"O ALMIGHTY GOD, great and grand Architect of the  
 "Universe without whom nothing is strong nothing is Holy and  
 "without whose aid all human undertakings are of none effect. We  
 "implore Thee to pour Thy abundant blessings on all who are  
 "assembled on this occasion, and on the work which has this day  
 "been accomplished. May it prove an abiding source of satisfaction  
 "and benefit to the Town and neighbourhood, and to those by  
 "whose aid it has been constructed. Stretch forth Thy hand to  
 "protect and preserve from danger all those who may have occasion  
 "to journey on this line, and above all teach us to use the earthly  
 "blessings we enjoy that we may not withdraw our affections from  
 "those heavenly things which Thou hast prepared in the Grand  
 "Lodge above, for those who love and Serve Thee."

So Mote it be.

The procession was then reformed and returned in the same order in which it arrived; on reaching the market house the Brethren left the general procession and returned to the Lodge.

The Lodge was then resumed in the first degree and the W.M. thanked the visiting Brethren for their attendance on the occasion. The Lodge was then closed with Solemn Prayer.

The Brethren subsequently attended the Banquet in Masonic Costume.

LOYAL LODGE 312.

November 6th, 1854.

PRESENT.

Bro. Chanter	W.M.	Bro. Edwards	Org.
„ Britton	P.M.	„ Whitefield	Treas.
„ J. Marsh	P.M.	„ Vellacott	Secy.
Bro. Pearne Tyler.			

The Lodge was opened in due form and with Solemn Prayer.  
The Minutes of the last Lodges were read and confirmed.

It was moved by Bro. Edwards and seconded by Bro. Whitefield that the best thanks of the Lodge be given to the Worshipful Master, Bro. Chanter for the very able manner in which he carried out the duties of his office on the occasion of the opening of the North Devon Railway.

The Lodge was closed in due form and with Solemn Prayer.  
Confirmed Decr. 4th. 1854.

John R. Chanter  
W.M.

The *Illustrated London News* of 29th July, 1854, devotes a page to illustrations of the event, one of which shows the Masonic procession moving up to the platform. The letterpress says:—

The day was set aside for general rejoicing throughout the whole district; and at Barnstaple, the capital of North Devon, preparations on a large scale had been made by the Mayor and Corporation in honour of the auspicious event. Upon the arrival of the train at Barnstaple Station, a congratulatory address was read by Mr. L. Bencraft, the Town-Clerk, which was ably responded to by Mr. Tite, the Chairman of the Company. The Freemasons of the district in full costume, were assembled on the platform; and corn, oil, and wine having been poured out as an oblation, the Provincial Grand Chaplain offered up a prayer for the prosperity of the undertaking. A procession headed by a troop of the North Devon Mounted Rifles, then formed, which included the Mayors and Town-Councils of Exeter, Barnstaple, Bideford, Torrington, Southmoulton, the Lodge of Odd Fellows and Freemasons, trade unions, railway directors, magistrates and gentry of the county, accompanied by several bands of music, and appropriate flags, banners, and devices. The procession marched through the principal streets of the town, which were spanned by triumphal arches, gaily decorated and crowded with thousands of spectators, who came from far and near to witness the arrival of the first train. The day was remarkably fine, and everything wore a festive aspect. About 1,000 guests sat down to dinner in the new Market-hall, presided over by the Mayor, Mr. Budd.

The Exeter paper "*Trewman's Flying Post*," gives a few further details of interest. The train left Exeter soon after 9 a.m. but on arriving at Umberleigh Bridge—about eight miles from Barnstaple:—

the freemasons removed into the front coaches with the Directors, and were taken on to Barnstaple, while the remaining visitors

were left to await the return of the engine. The object of this arrangement was that the masons might join the procession at Barnstaple in full costume.-----The Bells and cannon of Barnstaple were brought into use. The ordnance belonging to town council was discharged with much solemnity and effect. -----in the Guildhall, toast and spiced ale had been prepared to be pertaken of.-----

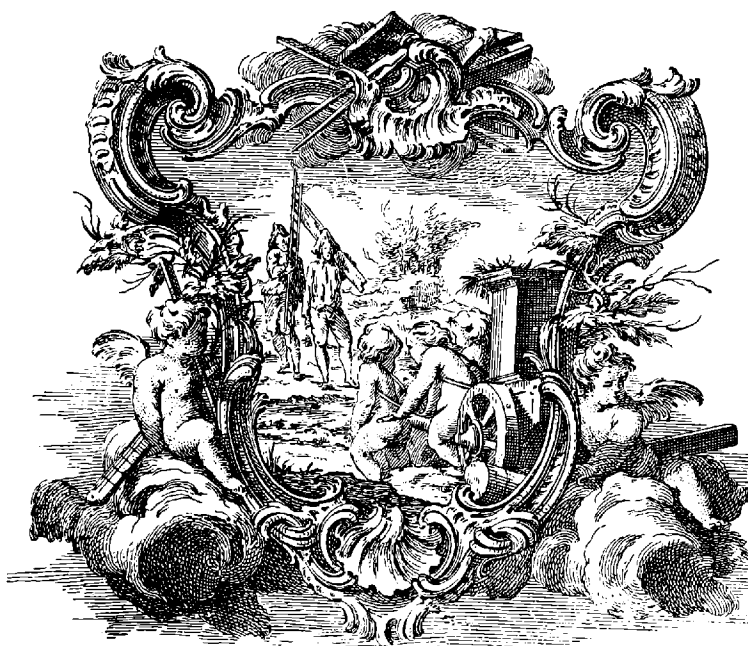
The Dinner was provided at half-past three o'clock-----  
W. Avery Esq. of Bristol Proposed the Worshipful Master, Wardens, Officers, and Brethren of Lodge 312 Barnstaple, and Provincial Masons, and members of other Lodges, who have assisted in the ceremonies of the day-----acknowledged by J. R. Chanter Esq.

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In closing this paper I should mention that there are a few items such as Gavels, Jacob's Ladder, Ashlars, etc., which may have come from Bath, but of this I am more than doubtful.

Although this collection of Furniture and Regalia may not be unique, there can be but few Lodges fortunate enough to be so completely equipped with Antique Furniture of the Georgian Period.

To all who have been interested in this account I give an invitation to visit and inspect for themselves the beautiful Masonic ornaments of Loyal Lodge in the Ancient Borough of Barnstaple, where they will be assured of a warm Fraternal and a hearty Devon Greeting.



## NOTE



*N* *The Masonic MSS. in the Bodleian Library* (see *A.Q.C.*, volume xi.) W. J. Chetwode Crawley quotes on page 30 an excerpt from the *Daily Journal* of 23rd November, 1732, which recounts that there were present at a Communication of Grand Lodge at the Devil Tavern—

“ Rt. Hon. Lord Inchiquin, Rt. Hon. Earl of Sutherland,  
Provincial Grand Master of Ireland . . . ”

(Dring's List 116)

The *Whitehall Evening Post*, of same date, repeats.

(Dring's List 117)

The *Universal Spectator* of 25th November, 1732, corrects—

“ . . . in the Apollo in the Devil Tavern . . . Thomas Hatson,  
Deputy G. M., Lord Southwell late G. M. of Ireland, Lord  
Coleraine . . . ”

(Dring's List 118; he assumes it identical with the foregoing)

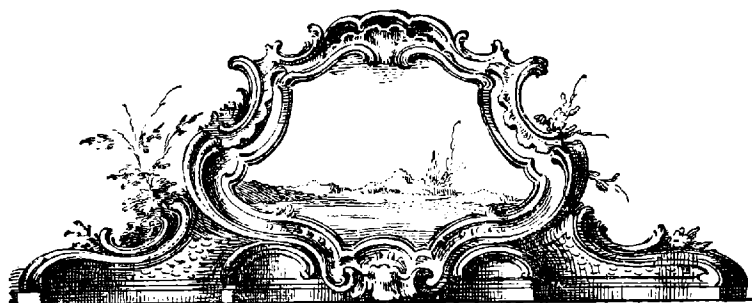
In *The History of The Grand Lodge of Ireland*, by J. H. Lepper and P. Crossle, on page 78 the name is quoted correctly.

Crawley says naturally—“ The Earl of Sutherland is simply impossible.” (The 16th Earl was then aged 71.)

But the reason is that the *Daily Journal* reporter got the news orally, and noted what he thought he heard. He did not recognise “Southwell” pronounced “Suthel”, and imagined it to be “Sutherland”. And he probably wrote down “P.G.M.”, meaning “Past” and not “Provincial”. Hence the *Spectator* says “late”.

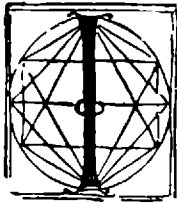
The mistake proves the latter to be correct.

The Southwells take their name from the retiring little cathedral city in Notts., which is always “Southel”. W.E.M.



## OBITUARY.

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It is with much regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**Herbert Biggleston**, of Canterbury, Kent, on 12th January, 1944, aged 70 years. Bro. Biggleston held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1929.

**William Bishop**, of Edinburgh, on 4th January, 1944. Bro. Bishop held the office of Dep. M., Lodge No. 788, and was P.Z. Chapter No. 520. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1930.

**Arthur James Chislett**, of Durban, S. Africa, on 3rd April, 1943. Bro. Chislett was a member of St. Alban's Lodge No. 3906, and of Port Natal Chapter No. 738. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1922.

**Henry David Alexander Christison**, of Sydney, N.S.W., on 25th May, 1943. Bro. Christison had held the office of Grand Director of Ceremonies. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in October, 1920.

**Matthew Herbert Clarke**, of Gravelly Hill, Birmingham, on 5th February, 1944. Bro. Clarke held the office of Grand Treasurer in the Craft and Royal Arch. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1908.

**Robert George Dubery**, of Beckenham, Kent, on 8th April, 1944. Bro. Dubery was a member of Orpheus Lodge No. 1706 and of the Southern Star Chapter No. 1158. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1930.

*Professor* **John William Henry Eyre, M.D.**, of London, W., on 17th February, 1944. Bro. Eyre held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1907.

*Lt.-Col.* **Godfrey Douglas Hindley, M.C., M.A., M.D.**, of London, S.W., on 14th March, 1944, aged 72 years. Bro. Hindley held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1930.

**Ernest Howard**, of Plymouth, on 3rd April, 1944. Bro. Howard was P.M. of Sir Francis Drake Lodge No. 2649, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1927.

**Herbert W. Jackson**, of Boston, Mass., U.S.A., on 3rd December, 1943. Bro. Jackson was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in March, 1905.

**Hendrick Jacobus Malan**, of Pretoria, S. Africa, in 1943. Bro. Malan was P.M. of Lodge No. 50A (N.C.), and J. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1934.

**Ernest John Marsh**, of London, S.W., on 17th March, 1944. Bro. Marsh held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1928.

**C. A. O'Neill**, of Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks., on 13th January, 1944. Bro. O'Neill was P.M. of Ferrum Lodge No. 1848, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1937.

**Robert Burland Oxley**, of Chard, Somerset, in December, 1943. Bro. Oxley held the rank of P.Pr.A.G.D.C. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1939.

*Rev.* **Albert George Henry Pinhorne**, of Ardrossan, Ayrshire, in April, 1944. Bro. Pinhorne was a member of Lodge O and Chapter 1. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1927.

**Thomas Taliesin Rees**, *F.R.I.B.A., F.S.I.*, of Liverpool, in November, 1943. Bro. Rees held the rank of P.Pr.G.S.W. (Cheshire). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1930.

**Arthur Chichele Rixon**, of London, S.W., on 13th October, 1943. Bro. Rixon was P.M. of Mount Moriah Lodge No. 34. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1915.

**Daniel Robertson**, of Falkirk, on 26th November, 1943. Bro. Robertson was a P.M. of Lodge No. 16 and a member of Chapter No. 210. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1922.

**Hugh Evan Smith**, of London, S.W., in February, 1944. Bro. Smith held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1919.

**Reginald William Strickland**, of Sevenoaks, Kent, on 16th November, 1943. Bro. Strickland was a P.M. of Panmure Lodge No. 720 and a member of Knole Chapter No. 1414. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1929.

**Edward Tappenden**, of Hitchin, Herts., on 23rd May, 1944. Bro. Tappenden held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1913, and for many years had acted as our Local Secretary.

**Joseph Turner**, of Harborne, Birmingham, on 12th May, 1944. Bro. Turner held the rank of P.Pr.G.D. and P.Pr.G.Reg. (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1919.

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# Quatuor Coronati Lodge, No. 2076, London.

## PUBLICATIONS.

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COMPLETE SETS OF THE TRANSACTIONS.—A few complete Sets of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vols. i. to lvi., have been made up for sale. Prices may be obtained on application to the Secretary. Each volume will be accompanied so far as possible, with the St. John's Card of the corresponding year.

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### 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.

# 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 LVII. Part 2.

## CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
Proceedings, 24th June, 1944 .. ..	137	Supplemental Note—"The Traditioners" ..	264
Mirabeau's Scheme for the Political Penetration of Freemasonry ..	138	A Unique Masonic Treasure ..	271
Proceedings, 6th October, 1944 .. ..	195	King's College Chapel in Cambridge ..	272
The York Grand Chapter, or Grand Chapter of All England ..	196	The First Masonic Procession in South America .. .. .	280
Proceedings, 8th November, 1944 ..	256	The Triple Tau ..	283
Inaugural Address .. ..	258	Obituary .. ..	284
		St. John's Card ..	285

W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate  
1947

## 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.

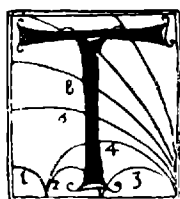
Members of both Circles are requested to favour the Secretary with communications to be read in Lodge and subsequently printed. Members of foreign jurisdictions will, we trust, keep us posted from time to time in the current Masonic history of their districts. Foreign members can render still further 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

SATURDAY, 24th JUNE, 1944



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4.15 p.m. Present:—Bros. F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, W.M.; L. Edwards, *M.A.*, P.A.G.R., P.M., as 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., Secretary; W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., J.D.; and W. J. Williams, P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. S. Pope; J. M. Brydone, P.A.G.D.C.; H. G. Russell; A. E. Evans; H. C. B. Wilson, P.G.D.; E. S. Gregory, P.A.G.Purs.; P. E. Keville; W. Plumb; F. J. Holmes; A. G. Harper, P.G.St.B.; H. O. Dowler; S. J. Bradford, P.G.St.B.; F. A. Greene, P.A.G.Sup.W.; H. Johnson, P.A.G.St.B.; F. Coston Taylor; W. Patrick; W. S. Ives; W. Wilkinson; L. G. Wearing; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; E. V. Kayley; W. H. Arber; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.; H. W. Martin; F. W. Harris; F. L. Edwards; A. Parry; L. J. B. Morris; W. J. Mean; E. W. Barton; F. J. Davidson, and J. Green.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. G. Pope, P.M., Bee Hive Lodge No. 2809; J. V. T. Green, Alpha Lodge No. 384; C. L. Lewis, Pyax Lodge No. 312; W. Pope, L.G.R.; and Sir Claude James, P.G.M., Tasmania.

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.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; D. Flather, *J.P.*, P.G.D., P.M.; D. Knoop, *M.A.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; *Wg. Commdr.* W. I. Grantham, *M.A.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, I.P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks., P.M.; *Col.* O. C. Adams, *M.C.*, P.G.D., P.M.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; H. C. Bristowe, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; G. S. Knocker, *M.B.E.*, P.A.G.Sup.W.; and H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., I.G.

### Upon Ballot taken:—

Bro. *Commander* SIDNEY NEVILLE SMITH, *R.N.*, 28, Newton Road, Cambridge. P.Pr.G.D., P.M. Lodge No. 3532.

Bro. *Lieut.-Col.* HENRY CHRISTOPHER BRUCE WILSON, West Stratton House, Winchester. P.G.D., P.M. Lodge No. 3548.

Bro. HERBERT COULSON BOOTH, Westwood, Ryton on Tyne. Electrical and Mechanical Engineer. P.A.G.D.C., P.M. Lodge No. 1557.

Bro. CLAUDE DICKASON ROTCH, The Albany, Piccadilly, London, W.1. Director of Public Companies. P.G.D., P.M. Lodge No. 3270.

Bro. JOHN RICHARD RYLANDS, Milnthorpe Green, Wakefield. Mechanical Engineer. P.M. Lodge No. 4065.

Bro. SYDNEY POPE, 82, Whitstable Road, Canterbury, Kent. Electrical Engineer. P.M. Lodge No. 1449.

were regularly elected as Joining Members of the Lodge.

Seven Lodges, one Lodge of Instruction and thirty-six Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

Bro. H. C. BRUCE WILSON read the following paper:—

## MIRABEAU'S SCHEME FOR THE POLITICAL PENETRATION OF FREEMASONRY.

BY BRO. LT.-COL. H. C. BRUCE WILSON, P.G.D.



THE question of the extent and character of the influence, if any, exercised by Freemasonry on the various stages of the French Revolution is a contentious subject on which opinion still is and probably will always be much divided. Views are prejudiced not only by sympathy or antipathy to Freemasonry, but also by approval or disapproval of the French Revolution; thus those who regard that Revolution with enthusiasm, as bringing great and permanent benefits to mankind at a relatively insignificant cost, if they be masons, will be predisposed to attribute to masonry a lion's share of what they consider to be the credit; whilst those who regard the Revolution as a damnable manifestation of disorder, hampering rather than helping those developments of which it claims the credit, if they be hostile to Masonry are equally anxious to prove its participation, in order to exhibit it as the villain of the piece. Prejudice is therefore more than usually involved.

The purpose of this paper is to place in the light a document which has never received the attention which it deserves, and which may be of assistance to those who desire to form an opinion of their own without being influenced by the prejudices of others.

Amongst those who seek to present Masonry as the villain of the piece, the name of Mirabeau is frequently mentioned. He is quoted as a member of the Illuminati, and an active agent of the pernicious activities attributed to that Society, as exemplified in what the late Bro. Firminger stigmatised as the "Romances of Barruel and Robison." On the other hand, the fortunate death of Mirabeau at the climax of his career, in 1791, at the early age of 42, has enabled his admirers to preserve his halo and to present him as the hero of a beneficent revolution, bringing great and permanent benefits to mankind; for which purpose, if he made any use of Masonry, it cannot have been otherwise than fully justified on high moral grounds, and creditable to all concerned. A well authenticated document, in which Mirabeau, many years before the Revolution, sets out a plan for the penetration of Masonry, and its use, without the knowledge of the rank and file, for political purposes of a secret and subversive character, is therefore deserving of more, and of more detailed attention, than has been bestowed upon it by the great man's biographers, or by the critics of the so-called romances above mentioned.

After Mirabeau's death, a child stated to be his adopted son was brought up by his sister, under the name of Gabriel Lucas de Montigny. There can be little doubt that Mirabeau was the father of the child, or at least believed that he was its father. Lucas de Montigny was brought up in a sort of cult of the "Great Orator", and succeeded to letters, papers, miniatures, and such other effects as had been preserved. More than 40 years after Mirabeau's death Lucas Montigny commenced the issue of a work entitled *Biographical*,

*literary and political Memoirs of Mirabeau.* This work, composed largely of the printing of letters and papers, comprised in all 8 volumes, which appeared in succession at intervals. The Memorandum with which this paper is concerned is the last item of the 2nd volume. Shortly after the issue of this volume, an anonymous English translation of the first two volumes was issued in England. Whether any of the subsequent volumes were translated into English is immaterial. The single item relating to Freemasonry was lost in the mass of other material; and in due course both the original French edition, and still more the English translation, became scarce. In 1882 the recently founded monthly historical review, the *Révolution Française*, then in its second year of publication, in the 4th number of the 2nd volume, issued in October, 1882, reprinted the Memorandum of Mirabeau under the title of *Les Idées de Mirabeau sur la Franc-Maçonnerie* ("Mirabeau's Ideas on Freemasonry"), with a brief introductory paragraph concluding with the remark that it furnished additional confirmation of the connection between Freemasonry and the French Revolution. The author of these introductory remarks was evidently an admirer both of the Revolution and of Freemasonry, and regards any connection between the two as reflecting mutual credit upon both. A translation of this introduction is given as it appears in Vol. II, No. 4, of the *Révolution Française*, followed by a translation of the Memorandum itself.

#### MIRABEAU'S IDEAS ON FREEMASONRY

It was quite early in his career that Mirabeau joined Freemasonry in France. With his customary insight and dominating intellect, he understood what great assistance in opposition to despotism and in the cause of liberty could be derived from a society whose organisation had existed for centuries and whose members were to be found in every part of the world.

As early as 1777 Mirabeau was setting his mind to the task of making Freemasonry contribute to the great political Revolution which he considered necessary, and which by then appeared to him to be inevitable. Happening to be in Holland at that date, he drew up for a Dutch Lodge, to which he was attached, the draft of a projected organisation. This remained unpublished until 1834, at which date it was printed by Mr. Lucas Montigny, Mirabeau's adopted son, from a manuscript written throughout in the hand of Mirabeau's secretary, but personally revised by the Great Orator himself. Unfortunately this plan of organisation is buried in the miscellany in eight volumes, which Mr. Lucas Montigny published under the title, *Memoirs of Mirabeau, Biographic, Literary and Political*.

In bringing it again into the light, we are giving yet one more proof of the correctness of the theory maintained by writers of the close connections which existed between Freemasonry and the French Revolution.

Here follows Mirabeau's work.

#### MEMORANDUM

Concerning the projected formation of an inner society within the Order of F. & M., for the purpose of restoring it to its true principles, and of making its professed objective of the good of mankind into a reality; drawn up by Br. Mi——, called at this present time Arcesilaus, in 1776.

#### PREFACE

All those who have joined the order of Freemasons merely from a desire to satisfy idle curiosity, or from some motive of self-interest, without any definite spiritual light and a definite enthusiasm in their hearts, usually find little but disappointment and not infrequently withdraw from it.

Quite other must be the opinion of those individuals who, after mature consideration, realise the utility and value of a bond whose ramifications are in

every country, and which unites a very great number of enlightened individuals, most of them eminent by their birth, their fortune, and their education, in an institution whose purpose is to influence the mind to the recognition of an universal Creator of all nature, and of the primitive relations of fraternity and equality existing between all men; and in the duty of mutual assistance and labour for the good of humanity which arises therefrom; a duty which is the everlasting theme of all ritual, speech, and action.

Those who have appreciated this must not be deterred, by the inevitable repugnance caused by uncongenial associations, and by the spectacle of the insignificant use hitherto made of such opportunities, as great as they are fair and admirable, from using their every effort to ensure at least the continuance in being of this association; so that, if they personally cannot have the good fortune of witnessing the time when it shall be able to produce the fruits which may rightfully be expected of it, posterity at least may be able to exploit the opportunity of utilising so valuable a vehicle for the realisation of the general good of mankind.

Thus however little the present condition, whether of the Order in general, or of the Lodge in which a brother lives in particular, may be in accordance with the ideas which this enlightenment enables him to form upon the objective of the Order and the scope of his own achievement, he must on no account detach himself from it or dissuade aspirants from entering into it. It may be that in many places nothing is done beyond carrying out trivial charitable duties to those in need; that in others nothing whatever is effected that has any sort of real influence on the affairs of mankind; or even, as indeed happens only too generally, that the merest trifles are the sole aim and result of the employment of great means which, but for the want of light, the petty meanness, the narrow-mindedness, and the selfish impulses of many members, might have been devoted to matters infinitely greater and more conclusive for mankind. But in spite of all this, he should say to himself—This charity among Freemasons, so far as it goes, is something quite worthy and quite decent; what little is effected for mankind, though frequently misdirected, is always of interest and value; and it is an important indication of what the Order can do, if it so resolves, and of what it will do, when the light and love of mankind resulting therefrom shall have been more fully spread abroad; but all this will be at an end and will never be able to eventuate, if, owing to erroneous ideas and a reprehensible lack of patience, the better elements quit the order and thereby produce its gradual dissolution; it is in effect only by maintaining the keenness of Freemasons, and drawing closer the bond which unites them, that the work can be carried out.

If a man's heart be susceptible to the love of mankind, if he be not himself infected with that social plague, with that spirit of cold egoism which considers nothing but its own immediate interests and is incapable of any kind of enthusiasm either for virtue or glory, then those ideas will bind him to the Order, will attach him to its interests and dispose him to preserve its true principles and practices, by adroitly instilling them into others, and especially into young Freemasons, both by their converse and by their example. These ideas and opinions will carry them easily over the trivial dissensions which arise in every lodge, owing to the erroneous measures of almost daily occurrence and the want of light, generosity, wisdom, and virtue of the majority of the members.

The levity and folly of the Athenians did not prevent Demosthenes, Pharion, and other illustrious citizens of that republic from continuing to serve it, even to death. Such was the conception of the greatest men of antiquity of their relation to their country; and such should be the conception of an enlightened Freemason of his relation to the Order.



Nevertheless the enlightenment of men's minds is increasing more and more, as those who have been restricted within the limits of the basest egoism by the tyrannical authority of government are beginning to broaden their outlook and to realise their common interests, in spite of and even as the result of that very pressure of the intolerable incubus which had crushed the resilience of their souls, the time now appears to have arrived when the most enlightened and generous (magnanimous) Freemasons should join together to direct the Order little by little towards the great objective which it is able to realise, of so constituting itself as to be able to make an effective contribution, as and when occasion offers, to the happiness of all men, even of those who are not Masons. It is with this end in view that it will be advantageous to form an inner (association) society (circle) of the most virtuous, benevolent, and enlightened Freemasons, upon the following principles.

#### PRINCIPLES OF THE INNER SOCIETY OF FREEMASONS

Firstly the purpose of this Society shall be to work effectively for the professed object of the whole Order of Freemasons: *the good of all mankind*.

To carry out this purpose it is necessary to comprehend the means essential to success.

No doubt the happiness of each individual is dependant upon the degree of wisdom and virtue with which he has been endowed by the Supreme Architect. No society is able to constrain every individual to be wise and virtuous; such a project would be absurd. But it is quite possible to place the means of acquiring virtue and wisdom within the reach of a larger number of men, and that is one of the results of which the society must never lose sight, and which it may very well achieve if it be resolved to work for it (labour to that end).

Such is the character of wisdom and virtue, that their exercise is consistently advantageous to their possessor; that so many are apparently convinced of the reverse is because these either lack the intelligence to appreciate this truth, or have taken a turn for the bad and become irretrievable before it has been introduced to them.

It is then to the enlightenment of men that we must apply ourselves in order to render them wise and virtuous; and especially the task must be to enlighten them while they are still young.

The first point to be observed by the Society, and one of the cardinal principles on which its regulations will be based, is the careful extension of the scope of knowledge, so far as may be possible, not so much in depth as superficially.

Let me explain myself.

It is emphatically not to scientific research that the Society will devote its attention and its efforts. The rewards which these (this) almost invariably produce(s) are a sufficiently powerful incentive to induce educated persons to engage in them (it).

Nevertheless (although), if members of the Society are able to stimulate useful discoveries, whether collectively or individually, without detriment to more important issues, their action will be not inconsistent with the sense of the Order.

It is rather to the wider diffusion of truth and useful knowledge, already the possession of a certain number, and their extension to the masses, that they should devote their attention. It is by action on these lines that they will make a weighty contribution to the enlightenment (illumination) and improvement of mankind.

It is defective education which is responsible for the ignorance of persons of every class, except a fortunate few, and those who have made learning their

profession. And it is this ignorance which involves youth in error, and many others in a relaxation by which they succumb to a thousand distractions and are rendered incapable of thought or any useful interest for the rest of their lives.

This crazy education produces an aversion to science, and renders its acquisition almost impossible; it prevents nine hundred and ninety nine people out of a thousand from acquiring the habit of reading which induces the habit of thinking, and by providing (supplying) an antidote to boredom provides protection against innumerable (countless) vices and misfortunes (calamities).

To change all this therefore is the task to be undertaken. The society must apply itself to investigate and to stimulate every new discovery (fresh discovery) which may be made on this matter, and to implement and cause to be implemented every one which sound reason combined with experience recognises as suitable for the further dissemination of real and useful knowledge, and for making them accessible to a greater number of men.

So the introduction of reason, good sense and sound philosophy into the education of men of every rank will be the first objective of the society.

Let us now come to the second point. Assuming that men are wise and virtuous, as they can be made by a good education, it is evident that that alone is not enough to ensure their happiness. The wisest and most virtuous of men will be extremely unhappy, if suffering from gout or stone; and none the less so from the fact that the unhappiness of a vicious fool suffering from the same complaints would be even greater.

Now it is true that the suggested society will make no pretence to limit the physical tendencies which the Supreme Architect has introduced into the scheme of his edifice, and by which individuals are often struck down.

But there are other obstacles to that happiness which is available to man, and these obstacles all arise from the government and the law. For instance, is it possible to imagine that a man, however wise and virtuous he may be, can be otherwise than most unhappy, if torn from his family, from his wife, from his children, from the woman he loves, to be sent out to be butchered, say in America?

Or, when he is a serf and bound to the soil in perpetuity, with (and) his wife and children with him; when, instead of being able to work to maintain himself, his family, and his stock, he is obliged to go on forced labour; or if, when he wants to practise some craft which he has learnt, and to set up house (settle down) with the girl he loves, he is unable to do so because he cannot afford the fees for his mastership, for which he is often obliged to strip himself of everything to the last penny, depriving himself of the opportunity of applying it profitably in improving his condition; or when the flimsiest of evidence will suffice to subject him to prison and to torture; in short, is it possible for a wise and virtuous man to be happy, if liable to be oppressed, banished, poisoned, or even put to death by order of some person in authority whom he has happened to displease?

Thus it is despotic power and the results arising from it which constitute one of the great plagues of mankind; and the second great fundamental principle of the society must be *the reformation of the existing system of governments and laws.*

This reformation may be particular or general, gradual or sudden, secret or explosive (manifest).

This last type must be definitely excluded from the plans (programme) of the society, as contrary to the statutes of the Order, and even dangerous to mankind. Periods of disturbance are exploited by ambitious men to cast another net, often drawn more closely, to impose another yoke, often more hard, upon the human race, and to drive those whose only desire was to remedy the present ills into a course of a devastatingly different kind.

Take for example Cromwell, or the present King of Sweden, who has drawn his supporters far beyond the limits of their original intention.

But the society could very well work for the introduction of a gradual improvement in the law and the government, and such a plan is by no means fantastic. It is nevertheless obvious how necessary it must be that this ultimate and sublime project of the society should be kept secret and disclosed only to reliable persons; but its results are stupendous, worthy of the greatest solicitude of the Order, worthy of the Order itself.

If anyone deny the possibility of its realisation, I will reply to him that with patience, perseverance, and secrecy all things are possible.

If a member of the Society find himself in a position to exert influence in public affairs, or even if he be able merely to stimulate those who are in such a position, he will work to remove some fetter from mankind in whatever country or place it may be; a second member will remove another in another place, and so, little by little, by action effected with prudence and good sense, despotic power will find itself confined within limits set by reason and right.

I will quote a remarkable example of recent date of what can be effected by a body which combines discretion with unity of purpose. Although this is an example taken from an institution of the devil, it can at least testify to the power which can be exercised by prudence and patience.

I refer to the Society of the Jesuits; what has it not accomplished? No doubt its object was to sacrifice human liberty on the altars of superstition and despotic power, which in their turn were to be sacrificed to its own ambition. Our intention is exactly the reverse, to enlighten mankind and to make it free and happy. But we must and we can arrive at our objective by the same means; and who shall hinder us from acting in the cause of good, as the Jesuits have acted in the cause of evil?

Besides, we have immense advantages over them. We have no visible uniform or external formality to distinguish us, no ostensible head who can dissolve us. Whenever a storm threatens us, we can go to earth and emerge again at some other place and time. Moreover, we entertain no ambitious or interested ideas, which might give offense. And when we consider that in addition to their means we exercise selection in the admission of our members, and care in moulding them and in instilling into them the sentiments of our Society, it is not possible that we should fail. Pythagoras and his disciples, in that part of Italy called Magna Graecia, formed a society on almost identical lines. We rightly entertain the highest regard for this illustrious Freemason, and we could in this matter take him for a model.

Having thus laid down the principles of this Society, I will venture to sketch certain regulations resulting therefrom; and I hope that Freemasons who may read them will add their comments.

## REGULATIONS OF THE PROPOSED SOCIETY

### FIRST CHAPTER

#### GENERAL REGULATIONS

1st. This Society shall be exclusively grafted upon the Order of Freemasonry, and therefore closely linked with it, and no one shall be admitted to the former without having been first received into the latter.

2nd. Admission to the Society shall be by invitation ceremonies substantially similar to those practised in the other degrees of the Order; the procedure shall be in conformity with the objects of the Society, for which the

original members shall decide the ritual, which, once fixed, shall be unalterable except by general consent.

3rd. There shall be two main degrees: in the first there will be disclosed to the initiate the true objective of the entire Order, *the good of mankind*, and the scheme for its effective operation. He will be given an explanation of the general plan of the Society, and of one of its principles in particular, namely the scheme for the reformation and extension of the education of mankind, and will be impressed with the duty of members to protect with their united strength everyone who is contributing to that end.

In the second degree, to which will be admitted only those who have given conclusive proofs of their zeal for good, there will be disclosed the second principle, namely, the reformation of governments and law, and the establishment of justice and liberty amongst men.

4th. As every member will necessarily be a Freemason, he will be zealous in this order, both because it is an excellent school for the development of public spirit, and also in order to attain to high office in the Lodges, and to cause them to apply all their strength, without their realising it, to support the views of the Society, which are in fact identical with those of Freemasonry. Those Lodges whose direction is in the hands of members of the Society will be called enlightened Lodges.

5th. The Society shall be divided into provinces, after the pattern of the Order, and there shall be a Headquarters in each District, but it shall not exercise any authority. Any major operation, which requires a general concerted effort, will be decided by a majority vote, in the first instance in each Lodge, and then in the Lodges collectively. In addition to this, each Lodge individually, or a group of Lodges co-operating by common consent, will work for the promotion of the objects of the Society in its own neighbourhood, always submitting to Headquarters, a report of what it has done, which will be passed on for information to the other Lodges.

6th. Three members of the highest degree of the Society shall be able to form a Lodge for the reception of others, so that the Society may be extended, always observing the necessary precautions. They will make to Headquarters a report of everything that they do.

## CHAPTER II

### QUALIFICATIONS OF CANDIDATES

1st. It must be a fundamental Rule that under no circumstances must any prince of the blood be permitted to join the Society, even if he be a paragon of the virtues.

If such were not absolutely excluded from the Society, they would inevitably ruin it, as they have ruined Freemasonry. But persons of quality, if they have overcome the prejudices incidental to their class, are most valuable members for the Society, because they regard fidelity to their engagements as a point of honour, and will therefore be more firmly attached to it; also the fear of losing the good opinion of their friends will make them more punctilious in the fulfilment of their duties; last but not least, the assurance which their birth gives them of attaining to positions of the highest distinction, places them in a better position to do effective work for the great objectives proposed; and they need not fear that in obtaining the liberty and welfare of mankind they will be damaging their own interests; apart from the fact that they are often the first victims of despotic rule, they need only turn their eyes to England. Have the nobility there suffered any diminution of their rights or their estate

because they have not the right to commit injustice and oppression? Or has the complete abolition of forced labour rendered their lands less remunerative? No, it has been quite the opposite, for liberty brings advantage to every man, except the despotic ruler and the cruel and unjust.

2nd. The candidate must be possessed either of some substance, or of talents whose exercise will guarantee him against poverty. A state of indigence results in too great a temptation to stick at nothing in order to emerge from it, for a man in such a condition, or liable to fall into it, to be able to be trusted with a scheme of this sort.

3rd. Although punctilious honesty must be an absolute condition with every candidate, it is further especially essential that he should be one who is steady in his private life (affairs). A prodigal spendthrift will lose his fortune, however great it may be, and find himself under the necessity of resorting to all sorts of reprehensible actions to recoup his losses; consequently he will often be in the position of being unable to fulfil his duties to the Society, or even of acting counter to its interests and playing it false.

4th. As prudence is essential, no member will be admitted under the age of thirty years.

5th. He must have taken in Freemasonry at least the first three degrees, and for a period of not less than three years, during which he has constantly participated in the work of one or more Lodges, he must have given proof of his prudence and zeal for the common cause.

6th. In addition to the most scrupulous honesty, it is absolutely essential that a candidate shall possess the quality of constancy, a virile and intrepid outlook, and a susceptibility to the ideas of glory and honour. Not that this Society requires any great sacrifices; if that were so, it would not be possible for it to exist, as its membership is so numerous; but if he lacks courage and constancy, a man cannot be relied upon to adhere to his obligations; and of all characteristics without exception the greatest hindrance to effective action is timidity and weakness, even if a man be otherwise possessed of all sorts of excellent qualities and every talent conceivable.

7th. The candidate must have had some education, have acquired enlightenment and knowledge, and have a liking for reading and the consideration of useful and serious subjects.

8th. Every religious fanatic must be excluded, *ipso facto*, from the Society; not that it is to consist of persons without any religion; God forbid, but it is absolutely essential that whilst each sincerely worships the Supreme Architect in his own fashion, he must scrupulously abstain from condemning in any way those who worship Him in any other fashion, no matter what it may be, so long as it does not enjoin practices obviously opposed to sound morals and the manifest and evident welfare of man(kind).

In short, every candidate must be perfectly tolerant and convinced that a man's religion is a matter between God and himself, and that no third party has any right to intervene against the wishes of those concerned.

Such then must be the qualifications of every candidate, and if the society is to produce the desired results, it must make no exceptions in this matter. Indeed, the whole position must be re-examined when it is a question of passing a Freemason from the first grade into the second grade of this society; and this must be refused if it has not been noted that his zeal for mankind has increased. If that offend him, he may perhaps resign; no matter, for anything that he can say with the object of damaging the society can only redound to its credit. With the second grade it is quite otherwise, and, noble though its principles are, they could be represented by an enemy under an aspect both detestable and dangerous for its members. For which reason very special care must be exercised in their selection.

## CHAPTER III

## DUTIES TO WHICH THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY ARE PLEDGED

## CLAUSE I—GENERAL DUTIES

1st. Members of the society living in the same place must become intimate with each other; that will present no difficulty, as they will all be of good standing.

2nd. By unmistakable signs and words they will be placed in a position to make themselves known to one another; and they may not refrain from disclosing themselves to anyone who has given proof of his membership of the fraternity.

3rd. The society will have no charity fund, because it is unthinkable that any member should ever need it; and if by some unusual mischance such a thing should happen, as all are Masons, whoever found himself in such a position would only have to apply to his Lodge.

Whence it follows that no member of the Society can solicit assistance of this kind from the others. But each will render to the other all services natural between intimate friends, united by the most exalted interests.

4th. Above all they shall undertake collectively whatever offices a brother may entrust to them at his death, either relative to the education and custody of his children or for any other purpose, but without involving themselves in any expense on that account, unless their individual generosity prompts them to do so.

5th. They will so adjust matters that it will be impossible for papers relating to the society ever to fall into outside hands.

## CLAUSE II—DUTIES OF FREEMASONS OF THE LOWER GRADE

In addition to the obligation of secrecy to (from) all comers, and to subjection to the laws of the society and others of a like nature, they will pledge themselves

1st. To labour with all their might for the provision of good education, especially for the masses.

2nd.—To encourage every experiment which may be made to rectify education.

3rd. To encourage all public educational institutions founded on sound principles, and not on the pedantic and prejudicial methods in which youth has hitherto been brought up.

4th. To enlighten their own minds by judicious reading, by interchange of ideas, and by reflection on all questions of public service and especially on education.

5th. For those who are married and fathers of families, to watch over the education of their children, to preserve them from every sort of fanaticism, to mould them mentally as well as physically, to make men of them, to instil into them the sentiments on which the Society is based, and the virtues without which they themselves would not have been admitted.

6th. Mutually to render assistance to one another to the end that the combined effort of the Masonic Lodge to which they belong should be directed to the same end.

## CLAUSE III—DUTIES OF FREEMASONS OF THE HIGHER GRADE

These brethren will engage themselves:

1st. At their entry into this grade, and by every tie that is most sacred, never to leave or become separated from it, under any pretext whatsoever, to whatever degree of fortune they may attain; never to desist from observing

their undertakings; and always to recognise the other members, and never to lose connections with them; for the greater the power and influence to which they may attain, the better will they be situated to carry out the policy of this grade. If a brother be a member of the ruling body of any State, or if he become minister or favourite of a prince, he will use all his influence to further the aims of the Society. He will, with discretion, instil his ideas of love, humanity, and equity into his sovereign. He will restrain him, so far as he is able, from acting harshly, from giving himself up to ruinous luxury, or to unbridled ambition or greed. And he will report to his brethren what he has accomplished in this connection, and so receive from them the reward of the esteem and the praise which he has deserved.

2nd. To abolish, so far as they shall be able, the serfdom of the peasantry, the bondage of men to the soil, the rights of mortmain, and all such customs and rights which debase mankind, and which are atrocious relics of the barbarism of our ancestors.

In explanation of this clause, it must be understood that the Society does not exact any sacrifices of a generosity beyond the ordinary. Such laws are contrary to human nature, and consequently with those the Society could not continue to exist. Thus there is no compulsion on a gentleman to enfranchise all his peasants without compensation; but he will certainly find it much more to his advantage to set them up as small farmers on their own allotment than to keep them always in serfdom.

In England estates which have been reconstituted on this system yield a return very different from what they do in our country, where the peasant is still a bondsman.

3rd. To use every effort to abolish statute labour, on the booms of a fair compensation, the advantage of which to the landowner has already been proved by facts.

4th. To use every effort to abolish all guilds, all masterships, in short, all the constraints placed upon industry; as according to sound morality and law every man must work in order to live, there must be no obstacles to impede him in the performance of that duty.

5th. To use every effort to abolish all the constraints placed on trade, by customs, excise, and taxes of every description, by which the financiers suck the blood of the people, without their realising how much they are giving.

6th. To use their efforts to restrict the huge taxes which the poor are at present obliged to pay.

7th. To do everything to produce a general tolerance of all religious opinions of every sort. Provided that a man is of use to the State, what do his beliefs matter to the law? The example of Holland, England, and the American Colonies illustrate the practical value of this way of thinking.

8th. For this purpose to use every effort to abolish all ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and to diminish the number of ecclesiastics where it is excessive; to strip superstition of all its weapons.

9th. By every means to confine despotism within the narrowest and most just limits. In Germany they will work for the maintenance of the rights of the Commons, the resistance of arbitrary power there, with no concession to sordid interests. As no pronouncement can be made on this matter, and everything depends on circumstances, the brethren will decide among themselves, at their meetings, on the means of fulfilling their duties in this matter. This will form the subject of their closest consideration.

10th. With this end in view, whilst the brethren of the lower Order will read sound works on the education of men of every class, those of the higher Order will read and carefully consider such works as deal with the purpose of the law and administration, will recommend them to one another, and assist one another in searching out whatever may apply to their circumstances.

11th. They will everywhere oppose the unjust acts of those in power, and if they cannot prevent them, they will do their best to unmask them, to proclaim them abroad, and to pillory them in public.

12th. With this object they will use every effort to maintain the liberty of the press, which is the strongest defence that we possess against tyranny and oppression; they will distribute literature of the type which will give offence to despotism; and they will assist the authors of such literature, of course provided that they are persons of ability, and that their work is free from malice and misrepresentation.

13th. In order to give the maximum encouragement to the members of the Society for a zealous activity in the fulfilment of the above-mentioned pledges in all their implications, they will take a solemn oath to assist with all their ability those who, from an excess of zeal in the execution of their pledges, have happened to get into difficulties; the names of those who have suffered for the cause of humanity will be reported to all the brethren; the account of their noble needs will be spread abroad, that they may enjoy the honour which they deserve, and they will be held in high regard by all their Brethren. This must never be omitted, in all the regular communications between the illuminated lodges and headquarters, and in the different provinces.

The above is a sketch of a projected structure, the details of which can be settled afterwards, when it has been started.

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Having read the text of the Memorandum, and bearing in mind that the circumstances and the audience imposed upon the author certain reticences, the general character of the plan therein outlined may be summarised as follows:—

Mirabeau sees Masonry as an exclusive Society, transcending the bounds of nationality, formed of respectable persons of the upper and middle classes, mostly of a shallow and credulous type, bound together by a strong allegiance, professing high moral aims which remain little more than mere platitudes, and wholly engaged in limited activities of a restricted and trivial type, without any serious objective, and without any idea of any such objective; a sort of adult kindergarten, playing at Red Indians, decking themselves with gaudy trappings, twanging their toy bows and shooting paper arrows, and flattering themselves that the clatter of their pint pots effectively reproduces the thunder of the Almighty; and the uniform shallowness of its devotees is guaranteed by the fact that any thinking person, who joins it in the expectation of finding something worthy of serious consideration, is soon disappointed and disgusted by the discovery that its whole content is no more than feeble futility, and withdraws from it as speedily as circumstances permit.

Here then is a great instrument awaiting the use of a small number of ambitious and determined men, who may thereby advance to the assault of existing institutions and the seizure of supreme power, at once screened by the notorious ineptitude of Freemasonry, and assisted by the numbers and influence of its members, who can without difficulty be deluded into enthusiastic support of leaders to whose aims they would be uniformly hostile if they were able to recognise and comprehend them.

The secrecy by which masons set so great store, and to which they solemnly bind themselves with fantastic penalties, which are never enforced, is entirely concerned with certain words and certain mummeries of woven paces and of weaving hands, for the most part meaningless, and whose meaning, if they had any, the members would be neither able nor disposed to comprehend. These verbal and physical posturings can be readily ascertained by any outsider who thinks it worth the little trouble required for the purpose. Thus the mason is devoted, not to the preservation of secrets which might be misunderstood or



misapplied by the uninstructed and popular world, nor of secrets the disclosure of which would cause dangers or disabilities to themselves or their brethren; they are mostly devoted to secrecy for the sake of secrecy; and so the house stands swept and garnished, but empty and awaiting those engaged upon something really secret to enter in and occupy.

Similarly they are devoted to fidelity, not in the realisation of any objective, or in any definite cause, but to fidelity for its own sake; and their fidelity is available for anyone who can profit by such fidelity, if he will comply with certain trifling formalities. Whilst their obedience is no more than a ready acquiescence in the leadership of official superiors in masonry, who are no less blind and fatuous than themselves.

In order therefore to obtain control of this great machine, and to employ it for a definite purpose, it is necessary to form an Inner Society, whose objects and even whose very existence shall be unknown to the rank and file.

For such a cause Mirabeau gives a *pro forma* justification with unblushing cynicism. Masonry, he says, professes to exist for the promotion of the welfare of mankind. Of the ills from which mankind suffers, those which are caused by disease are of course a matter for the physician or the surgeon. But all other ills which stand between man and the realisation of a terrestrial Eden are due to government and the laws. The main objective of the Inner Society therefore will be the "correction" of the present governments and laws. This is of course to be carefully concealed from the rank and file in the Lodges. But this is necessary to enable Masonry to realise its professed object, the promotion of the welfare of mankind, at present miserably travestied by a few very limited and parochial benefactions, and the exercise of convivial good fellowship in small circles of well-fed citizens.

It is of course to be understood that the reconstruction of the whole social and economic systems of the civilised world by Mirabeau and his associates will be the best means to promote the welfare of mankind.

No doubt in every political party there are honest enthusiasts who believe that the policy which they support is the best for the general good, as they conceive it to be. The French Revolution presents many such idealists, though some of them suffered severe disillusionment before the end of the chapter. Mirabeau was not one of those. From start to finish he was a violent egoist, hating the law because it intervened between himself and the satisfaction of his desires. As a destructive force he was in his element; but his so-called constructive plans, as quoted by his admirers, show not only his poverty of any constructive quality, but a lack of understanding of the necessary adaptation of any constructive plan to current developments.

His quotation of the Pythagoreans and the Jesuits as examples and models for his new Inner Society illustrates his lack of understanding of constructive principles. His question as to what should hinder his Inner Society from effecting for their ends, which he calls "the good", what the Jesuits had effected for theirs, which he calls "evil", may be easily answered—The absence of an ideology. He died at the moment most fortunate for his reputation, which has enabled his admirers to give him a permanent place in the Pantheon of History.

It is superfluous to recapitulate the arrangements for his Inner Society, as they are set out clearly in the Memorandum. But a few points may be noted.

The Inner Society is to be recruited from Masons of not less than three years' standing, and with special qualifications of character and opinion. Even then the candidate is recruited into only the lower grade of the Inner Society; and in this he will be concerned only with improvements in education, the political aims of the higher grade not being disclosed to him.

His statement of proposed political reforms is amusing, and is modulated so as not to alarm different shades of opinion. His reference to religious tolerance

quotes as examples three countries only, Holland, England and N. America, in all of which Protestantism is the dominant form; and he then proceeds to advocate measures obviously aimed at the Roman Catholic Church, and certain to be bitterly resisted by it. His support for publications hostile to the government recalls the report that the masses of libels on the monarchy, usually more or less obscene, were reputed to have been paid for by the Duke of Orleans, in some cases at least through the agency of Mirabeau. The Inner Society was to dominate Freemasonry, to keep all the key positions in the hands of its members, and to restrict promotion for all masons outside its ranks.

But whatever we may think of Mirabeau's personality and political activities, the Memorandum is of importance for this reason. We have here a detailed plan to create within Masonry a secret political society, written by a protagonist in the French Revolution as early as 1777, which in many of its features bears a remarkable resemblance to the pictures drawn by Robison and Barruel. Yet there is no probability that either of these authors ever saw or even heard of the Memorandum, which remained buried in Mirabeau's papers in private possession till nearly half-a-century later.

Had the Memorandum appeared under other circumstances, it might have been suggested that it was a forgery, based on a perusal of Barruel or Robison; but it first sees the light in a mass of letters and papers connected with Mirabeau, in the possession of his adopted son, printed without any reference to Freemasonry, and accepted by him as genuine.

It is known and admitted that Mirabeau was active in masonic lodges; and other circumstances suggest that Mirabeau and his associates did carry out such a plan of organising a political secret society within Freemasonry, working for what are usually known as subversive objects.

Whether this secret society was devised or fostered by the Illuminati, to whom Mirabeau is said to have belonged, or whether it was a society of some other name whose activities were wrongly attributed to an innocent philosophical society in Germany, is a side issue. The fact remains that the Memorandum furnishes important additional evidence that such a society did exist, and did function, and that some of its members, who played a certain part in the development of the Revolution, probably obtained assistance and support through their membership of this society.

Is it then fair or correct to say that Freemasonry had an important part, or any part at all, in the development of the French Revolution? The Memorandum illustrates that the answer should be in the negative. The Inner Society proposed by Mirabeau was wholly a political society, intrusive into Masonry, with which it had nothing in common. If members of that political Inner Society took an active part in the promotion of the Revolution in France, they did so as members of that Society, and not as Masons. And if Masons were at any time persuaded to extend assistance or protection to members while engaged in such activities, they were deluded into doing so under a misapprehension; for it is expressly stated that those masons outside of the Inner Society, that is, those masons who were not using masonry as a cloak for other activities, were to be kept in ignorance of the objects and even of the existence of the Inner Society; even the members of the lower grade of the Inner Society were to be kept in ignorance of its real activities.

In conclusion, Mirabeau's picture of Masonry as composed of persons who regarded it as either a Benevolent Society or a Dining Club, does not affect the question. In Masonry such individuals are always to be found; that does not affect the value of Masonry to those who look there for something more, and who succeed in finding it. That Mirabeau did not find it, and did not even realise that it could be found, is not surprising. Masonry is concerned with the building of Temples, and not with demolitions. No doubt there is also an ideal of the demolisher, which has been thus formulated by a modern writer:

"If a stone lies on the top of another in a desert, that is excellent. If the stone has been placed upon the other by the hand of man, that is not so good. But if stones have been placed upon each other and fixed there with mortar and iron, that is evil; that means construction." The value of such an ideal as an ideal may be a matter of controversy, but whatever it is, it is the antithesis of Masonry.

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A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Wilson for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. F. L. Pick, seconded by Bro. L. Edwards; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, J. Heron Lepper, F. R. Radice and A. F. Hatten.

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Bro. F. L. Pick said:—

We are indebted to our newly-joined member of the Lodge, Bro. Bruce Wilson, for the re-publication of this valuable memorandum and concise exposition thereof, which adds considerably to our rather meagre knowledge from a Masonic point of view of this hero or villain of European affairs.

Few contributors to *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* have made more than passing reference to Mirabeau, the principal exception being our late Bro. Firminger in *A.Q.C.*, vol. 1. Bro. Woodford says in his *Cyclopædia of Freemasonry*, "We disown emphatically any connection between Mirabeau and Freemasonry", and Bro. Firminger suggests in the course of his paper that the MS. was not in Mirabeau's handwriting and may have contained extracts from the work of another writer. Notwithstanding the assertion of Lucas Montigny that Mirabeau was admitted into the Craft early in life, Bro. Firminger says, "It may be regarded as very doubtful that Mirabeau was a Freemason".

Bro. Bruce Wilson contraverts these views in the words, "It is known and admitted that Mirabeau was active in Masonic lodges". In view of this conflict of opinion I hope he will add to our obligation to him by including in his paper a short biographical note on Mirabeau, with especial reference to Freemasonry and the Illuminati.

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Bro. L. EDWARDS said:—

I should like to second the vote of thanks which has been proposed. Bro. Bruce Wilson has just presented to us in an admirable fashion a most interesting document and one provocative of many trends of discussion. As to special questions, we can well ask ourselves whether Mirabeau was in fact or in probability its author; whether it was just an intellectual exercise, or whether it was the first step in a scheme intended to be put into practical operation, and, if the latter, whether it remained just an intention or was the forerunner of others; and, if so, what steps. As to general questions, it raises the very important one of the character, purpose and aims of the Craft.

Regarding the special questions, I might hope that Bro. Bruce Wilson in his reply will give us further information on these points, to enlighten at any rate my ignorance on the wide but absorbingly interesting subject of the relationship, if any, between Freemasonry and the French Revolution, bearing in mind the need for supplementing the evidence of written or printed documents by that of acts whether overt or secret.

On the general question, the re-issue by our Grand Secretary of the circular of six years ago on "The Aims and Relationships of the Craft" tempts one, did time permit, to compare and contrast the latter with Mirabeau's memorandum, since there can scarcely be two documents more dissimilar in spirit. Save for the abortive Jacobitism of its early days, an interesting but unimportant phenomenon, it is remarkable how well and how wisely English Freemasonry has avoided not only politics, whether internal or external, but anything savouring in the remotest degree of partisanship. How conspicuously prone, on the other hand, has been Continental Freemasonry to devote itself to political aims and to take on a political complexion. One does not wish unduly to stress the differences in the intellectual make-up of the nations, but it would seem as if there really is something in the composition of the Englishman which enables him in Freemasonry, as in sport, to devote himself unswervingly to the matter in hand, a singularly happy combination of logic and the sense of practical things.

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Bro. R. H. BAXTER writes:—

The paper now before us, by Bro. Bruce Wilson, newly admitted to our inner circle, although admirable in many ways, is rather difficult to comment on. The dangers of political and religious discussion are strongly impressed on us at our initiation, so that they should be avoided at all costs. Much has been written about Mirabeau, and still more about the Order of the Illuminati, of which there appear to have been several varieties. The principles enunciated in the *Memorandum* do not seem to be in any way objectionable, but their practical application seems to have had disastrous consequences. Nearly all authorities seem to be agreed on that point. Our late Bro. Rev. A. F. A. Woodford was especially severe in denouncing the Illuminati and he even repudiated Mirabeau as a Freemason. The late Bro. Firminger, too, in his fine paper, *The Romances of Robison and Barruel*, made many points clear to us, so that it would appear almost that not much more need be said on the subject. Still it is all to the good to have the transcript of the *Memorandum* presented to us in its present form, even if it were not actually penned by the alleged compiler. We certainly have amongst us some students who have made a special study of the French Revolution and its connection with Freemasonry, or at least what passes for Freemasonry on the Continent, that is quite a different thing from our own conception of the Order. It will indeed be interesting to read the comments on Bro. Bruce Wilson's worthy effort. A vote of thanks is sure to be accorded to the author, and I desire to be associated with it.

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Bro. J. H. LEPPER said:—

I am sure every one of the audience will join with me in a double congratulation to the essayist, on having safely entered the gate of the Inner Circle of this Lodge, and of having paid his footing in such a handsome manner. His paper is a most valuable addition to a collection which, I venture to think, includes all the more notable contributions to Masonic research made in the English language during the past fifty years; we accept it with gratitude, and for once I agree with La Rochefoucauld, that gratitude is the expectation of favours to come.

Like all good essays, this one has suggested further trails to be explored. We still have a lot to learn about French Freemasonry in the eighteenth century. The parent sapling planted from England so rapidly split into branches that sought to acquire roots and an independent life of their own, that one has to regard Freemasonry in France as a copse rather than a single tree, and for my own part I have often found it hard to see the wood for the trees, *pace* those who, like my dear friend the late Bro. Tuckett, found no difficulties in the landscape.

Let us consider the situation in 1774.

The Grand Orient had been set up in opposition to the Grande Loge which was far from turning the other cheek to the smiter, and in addition the following bodies claimed independence of both:—

- (1) Three Directories of the Reformed Scots Rite of Dresden, situated with Lyons, Bordeaux, and Strasbourg as their respective headquarters.
- (2) In 1775 the Loge Saint-Lazare at Paris, later known as Loge Contrat Social, assumed the title of Mère Loge Ecossaise of France.
- (3) The Loge Saint-Jéan d'Ecosse of Marseilles, which also claimed to be a Mother Lodge and to have received its foundation from a Scots source in 1751.
- (4) At Metz the Chapitre Saint-Théodore was working the reformed Degrees of Saint-Martin.
- (5) At Arras there was yet another Mother Lodge, La Constance, which claimed to have been constituted by the Grand Lodge of England in 1687.
- (6) At Dunkirk and several other towns Chapters had been erected by the Grand Orient of Bouillon.
- (7) At Paris the Rite of the Philalethes was professed by the Loge Amis Réunis.
- (8) At Narbonne the Rite of the Philadelphes had its home.
- (9) At Rennes another Masonic body was known as the Sublime Elus de la Vérité.

I need not extend the list by mentioning those Masonic groups which had their origin in the Body known as the Emperors of the East and West, and my main purpose in giving the leading names in the catalogue is to suggest that the French Freemason of the eighteenth century was such a convinced believer in the perfectibility of mankind that he followed a continual urge to make perfection still more perfect by narrowing the circle of those admitted to the supreme mysteries of Masonry, or what he was pleased to term the "supreme mysteries". In point of fact, I cannot conceive anything more diametrically opposed to the genius of British Freemasonry, such as we still happily preserve in these islands, insisting on the perfect equality of all members of a Lodge, and the right of each to attain in proper course to the highest rank it can bestow, in return for due service, fidelity, and assiduity.

However, the fact remains that our French Brethren in those days had a different conception of the Craft, and the general tendency was to cull a few of the showiest blossoms in the Masonic garden for the purpose of adorning some private apartment. The usual way was the creation of some new grade.

Already by 1766 the number of so-called Masonic Degrees known and practised in France was amazing. Tschoudi gives a list of some of them in his *Etoile Flamboyante* in 1766, so long a list that it would be hard to accept as truth, did not a manuscript of the year 1760 in the noble Heaton-Card Collection in Grand Lodge Library give a minute description of most of them, if not all.

So the creation of new grades in Masonry for a particular purpose was no new thing in 1776, the year in which Mirabeau drew up his *Mémoire*. In May of that very year Adam Weishaupt in Ingolstadt had laid the keel of his famous Society of the Illuminati, which incidentally was at first christened The Perfectibilists.

Weishaupt's ascending scale of subversiveness was not to be perfected for several years after that, but his general idea of using the Masonic Lodges as a recruiting ground for exponents of his own particular views on national government had already been born, and no doubt displayed to suitable acquaintances. Mirabeau's scheme is so similar that I find it hard to believe that the two men had not met and discussed the matter in Germany.

It was really no new idea. Tschoudi, one of the most sensible writers on Freemasonry in France, in drawing up rules for the governance of his projected Order of Unknown Philosophers, has included the recommendation that neither a reigning monarch nor an ecclesiastic should be admitted thereto, except in very exceptional circumstances. This jealousy or distrust or aversion, call it what you will, that embraced both rulers and clergy is a sure sign of forces at work within the Craft on the Continent that we should rightly consider completely opposed to our conception of Freemasonry.

I found the reference to America in the *Memorandum* interesting. France did not join in the war against England until 1778; but early in the conflict George III hired a number of Hessian troops and sent them across the Atlantic to lose their lives in a quarrel that was none of theirs. This caused a ripple of reprobation throughout liberal-minded Europe, and it leaves its trace here, too.

Bro. Bruce Wilson has done well, I think, to by-pass the French Revolution and the part French Freemasonry played in that upheaval. As he aptly remarks, even to-day none of us can approach the subject without bias of some kind. I content myself with drawing attention to one figure, prominent in both, Philippe Egalité, ci-devant Duc d'Orléans, on whose walls at the Palais Royal as early as 1771 had appeared the placard affixed by an unknown hand in the night, and bearing the legend: "Show yourself, great Prince, and we will set the crown on your head". But Sanson later had the last word about his head. Nor do French Freemasons of to-day hold that same head in any more veneration than then. In this happier land of ours Freemasonry has never lacked a head to be worthy of its heart; and so may it be *in secula seculorum*.

I join most heartily in thanks and congratulations to our Brother Bruce Wilson, of whom we expected much, and we have not been disappointed.

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Bro. F. R. RADICE said:—

I wish to associate myself most cordially with the expression of appreciation to Bro. Bruce Wilson for his paper and to congratulate him on bringing to our notice this document.

Bro. Heron Lepper has commended Bro. Wilson's caution in by-passing the French Revolution, no doubt because even now opinions differ as to the merits and demerits of that shattering event. I am afraid, therefore, that in my remarks I shall be the fool rushing in where angels fear to tread. Let it be my defence that while it may be undesirable in a Lodge to assess the virtues and failings of the principles in question, there can surely be no objection in examining events and facts, tracing their causes and tracing their consequences without attempting to discuss their ethical value.

As regards the authenticity of the document, Bro. Firminger (*A.Q.C.*, vol. 1, p. 64) makes a brief reference to it, stating that it was not in Mirabeau's handwriting, that it embodied phrases from another work of Mirabeau's to which one Mauvillon contributed. He suggests Mauvillon may have been "Arcesilas" in Weishaupt's Order, and that in 1775 that Order had not been started. Frankly this can hardly be regarded as serious criticism. The document was not in Mirabeau's handwriting because it was written by his secretary, though revised by Mirabeau; no doubt Bro. Bruce Wilson will give us his authority for his statement to this effect. As regards the suggestion that Mauvillon may have been "Arcesilas" in the Illuminati, the first paragraph of the *Memorandum* says that Bro. Mirabeau, *i.e.*, a Freemason, was called Arcesilaus. Nothing is said regarding the Illuminati. Thirdly, Bro. Firminger says that Weishaupt's Society did not exist in 1775, but the relevance of this is not obvious. Bro. Wilson gives two dates; 1776, the one in the *Memorandum*, and 1777 in the 6th paragraph. No doubt he will clear up this point and also give us any authority he has apart from this document for Mirabeau's membership in Freemasonry.

On the whole, therefore, there seems no sufficient reason to reject this document as spurious. Its evidence relates to a period in the history of our Fraternity which is not only of great interest but has reference to one of our fundamental principles, the abstention of Freemasonry from all intervention in politics.

Let me first attempt to sketch the background against which our French Brethren of the end of the eighteenth century played their part, be that part blameworthy, as some hold, or innocent, for we shall not be able to obtain a clear view of their action otherwise.

In the course of their debates these men laid down a good many principles and adopted many tenets ethical and political which it would be inadvisable to discuss here to any extent. Unfortunately, as often happens with intellectuals bent on reform in the executive measures they took, they "barked up the wrong tree". In their anxiety to "hamstring" a "tyranny" which probably never was, and certainly, through sheer inanimity, had ceased to be such, the States-General and later the Constituent Assembly proceeded in a series of measures of unparalleled futility, in the opinion of one of the latest and most sober historians, Madelin, who is now regarded as one of the chief authorities on the period, removed all checks on social anarchy and disorder. Conspicuous among these reformers was Mirabeau.

Concurrently with this first revolution, another was boiling up, that of the "Brigands", which was as subversive and destructive as the first was well intentioned and progressive; and which in its executive measures was unfortunately as effective as the first was inane. The leaders of this revolution, whose headquarters seem to have been the Palais Royal, took a pitiless advantage of the administrative errors of the authors of the first revolution; and, while the Assembly debated ponderously and emasculated authority, stormed the Bastille against no opposition worth mentioning, marched on Versailles, rose on the 10th August, seized the supreme power, slew the King and most of the authors of the first revolution, and terrorised the whole nation. I do not think I shall be offending against our canons if I state that the acts of the second revolution horrified the whole world; and all that can be placed to their credit is a horrible executive efficiency which for a time being did impose some sort of order on the general anarchy, and enable France to resist the attack the authors of the second revolution had provoked.

It is against this background that we have to consider the part played by French Brethren like Mirabeau. There is little doubt that the ethical views of the Reformers in the first revolution were largely in accord with the tenets of our Fraternity, and one would expect to find among its authors Free-

masons in their private capacity. But the charge against Freemasonry, made by writers, who do not seem to have had a clear view of the nature of the two revolutions, is that Freemasonry was largely concerned in bringing about the horrors of the second movement. This would involve Freemasonry in a gigantic, subversive plot.

According to Madelin, there is some evidence of combined action among those who drew up the "cahiers" of grievances for the States-General. There is far more evidence that the second revolution was the result of a definite, sinister plot, aimed at the overthrow of good order, the destruction of the educated classes and general plunder and massacre. That Freemasonry as such was in any way responsible for this plot is a view which we cannot accept, even though it is possible that some weaker members were led away.

The arguments adduced by our late Bro. Firminger in his paper on *The Romances of Robison and Barruel* in *A.Q.C.*, vol. 1, p. 31, tend to clear our Fraternity, or at any rate the greater part of it, and Bro. Wilson's researches confirm this conclusion. An additional piece of evidence is that when Danton wanted to achieve prominence in politics he first tried to use Freemasonry, but had to give up the attempt.

Freemasonry suffered severely and was eclipsed until Bonaparte became First Consul. In fact there is no evidence that the large majority of French Brethren in the late eighteenth century did not on the whole remain faithful to their obligation. The mere fact that several attempts are alleged to have been made to penetrate the Brotherhood and to divert it to particular objects, unbeknownst to its members, points to this conclusion.

But the defenders of Masonry have gone too far and proved too much. In this respect let me quote an observation Bro. Heron Lepper made on one of my papers on *The Carboneria*, in *A.Q.C.*, liv, p. 175—"Other writers have traced a continuity of Illuminism in every revolutionary event . . . unproven by any evidence hitherto produced. But is not the converse opinion equally untenable? That Weishaupt and his associates had no influence on the course of the world beyond their own day, and but little in that?"

In their zeal to clear the Society of the responsibility for the horrors of 1792-5 the defenders of Freemasonry have argued that there was not and could not have been a subversive association with sinister aims of its own which organised the powers of evil which broke loose then and on other occasions. It is more in consonance with the traditions of this Lodge to take our Bro. Lepper's wise words to heart and try to find out what fire there was under this considerable volume of smoke. We know enough of the tenets of the Illuminati and their methods to know that they were subversive, especially in view of the social conditions prevailing then. Weishaupt's Society made but little progress until he enrolled Knigge, who suggested the penetration of Freemasonry by Illuminism and its perversion to Illuminist purposes. This attempt came to an end with the exposure and suppression of the Illuminati. Leaving aside for the moment Mirabeau and his design, we find that a similar attempt was made early in the nineteenth century by the *Philadelphes* and *Adelphi* to penetrate not only Freemasonry but all the liberal and patriotic Societies, like the *Carboneria* and the *Tugendbund*, formed in various parts of Europe with the object firstly of combatting Napoleon and secondly of setting up constitutional forms of government. This attempt was directed and possibly conceived by that mysterious body called the *Grand Firmament*. Its methods were similar to those advocated by the Illuminati and its objects similar. This attempt is touched on in my papers on the *Carbonari* and described as fully as it is possible at present in my paper on *The Philadelphes et Adelphi*. It is, therefore, particularly gratifying to me to find now Bro. Wilson bringing evidence of yet another attempt to suborn Freemasonry and corrupt it from within. The date 1776 is significant, for the Illuminati were at work at that time. The



question whether Mirabeau was an Illuminato cannot be answered at present, we can say only that his character and his subsequent conduct make it not unlikely. The plan set forth in the *Memorandum*, translated by Bro. Wilson, was well suited to serve the purpose of a man devoured by unbounded ambition and devoid of scruple.

When the second revolution first became formidable and the Paris mob first became an instrument of power, the several parties of the Assemblies, Constituent and Legislative, tried to use it in order to achieve the objects they favoured as against those of their rivals, and especially the Court. Among these would-be "employers" of the mob Mirabeau was one of the first.

With Bro. Bruce Wilson's estimate of Mirabeau I agree substantially. Mirabeau was a man of great intellectual power, and he cherished great ambition. In 1790 and 1791 he was able to foresee clearly the consequences of the various acts of the Constituent Assembly; he saw clearly the danger of letting loose the dregs of the population. He rose to great eminence in that Assembly and was eventually made its president. Yet his hopes of obtaining power were disappointed. From his early days he eagerly desired power; but I agree with Bro. Wilson that it was not from public-spirited motives. This *Memorandum* would range him among the revolutionaries as early as 1776; yet, when the elections for the States-General were proceeding, Mirabeau did his utmost to secure his election as a representative of the Nobles, and turned to the Third Estate only when his candidature had been rejected. It is true that among the Nobles were some of the most ardent reformers, but Mirabeau's candidature for that Order surely shows that his object was power, by what means it was acquired was immaterial to him.

His utter lack of scruple is proved also by the fact that in 1791, though he foresaw, as already stated, the consequences of the action taken by the Assembly, he did not try to restrain it; on the contrary he egged it on, hoping by these means to force the King to make him a minister and relying on his ability, once in power, to stem the evil he foresaw. At this period he was engaged in a bitter rivalry with La Fayette, and he had recourse to every means to outstrip his rival. And all the time that he was egging on the Assembly to take more extreme measures he was offering his assistance to the Court.

After the night of the 4th August, when all feudal rights were given up and the Declaration of Rights was being discussed, Mirabeau suggested a declaration of duties would be preferable. Yet he did his best to force through the proposals for the confiscation of the clergy's property and the Civil Constitution of the Church. During the following years he played a double game almost throughout. He is said to have been connected with the plotters who brought in the "Brigands", and he is said to have stirred up the mob before the march of the women to Versailles, in order to be able to pose as the King's saviour. He was in touch with the Palais Royal agitators and Camille Desmoulins.

It is very doubtful whether his later opposition to the more advanced proposals was due to any public feeling. It is probable that as the second revolution, that of the sansculottes, progressed he saw that the power was slipping into their hands, and if that occurred his own chance would be gone. According to Madelin, he was primarily a mischievous influence, and his *Memorandum* shows that, despite the claims of those who would number him among the idealists of the Revolution, he was already, 13 years before it broke out, well launched on tortuous and dangerous ways.

Turning now to the question, what evidence can be adduced that Mirabeau's scheme connected with those of the Illuminati and the Grand Firmament, we can note certain points. Weishaupt stated definitely that his Society was intended to imitate the structure of the Jesuitical Order and its

methods in combatting them. It is a coincidence that Mirabeau should refer specifically to the Jesuits (see p. 143). Mirabeau called himself "Arcesilaus". I do not know how far it has ever been customary for Freemasons to adopt classical names; with very few exceptions it was the invariable practice among the Illuminati and the Adelphees. As regards the Adelphees, it would be interesting to see if any connection can be traced between Mirabeau and Colonel Oudet, the founder of the Adelphees and Secretary-General of the Grand Orient of France.

The regulations of the proposed Society are similar in certain respects to those of the Adelphees (see *A.Q.C.*, vol. iv). The organisation is sketched out in Regulations 1, 2, 3, and 5 of Chapter I. Regulation 6 empowers three members to receive candidates; this custom was also in force among the Adelphees. The organisation in two degrees is also similar to that of the Adelphees. The Freemason or Carbonaro was first admitted to the Degree of Sublime Perfect Master and, if he was sufficiently promising, to that of Sublime Elect. Chapter II, Regulations 1 and 2, prescribes that candidates should be of some standing and not poor. The same restrictions are imposed among the Adelphees, Article 2 (Tests) of the Regulations of the 3rd Degree of the Adelphees, Sublime Elect. Thirty years is the age limit for Mirabeau's Society; the Adelphees imposed the same age limit as a qualification for their Officers—Statute for the Second Degree, Art. 6. Without going further into details we can find that the qualifications set forth in Chapter II, Regulations 2, 3, 6, 7, find their counterpart in Article 2, headed "Tests" of the Regulations of the Sublime Elects. The objects set forth in Clauses II and III, especially those in Regulations 10 and 11, are also mentioned in more extreme form *passim* in those of the Adelphees, from which I quote the following:—

#### Statutes of Society of the Adelphees

##### 2nd degree Sublime Perfect Masters

1. The object of the society of the Sub. Perf. Ms. is the spread of natural science, the extension of the rule of patriotism, courage and light, and to comfort and succour honest and unfortunate men.
2. The Sub. Perf. M. . . . . relieve the unfortunate, offer free help, correct vices and excesses of all kinds, pursue the study of the moral sciences, love silence, discretion and loyalty, endeavour to enlighten men by means of appropriate books, wise addresses and exemplary conduct. They look after the education of youth

#### Book of Statutes of Sublime Perfect Masters

##### Decree of Grand Firmament

4. Assemblies will take to heart especially the necessity of gaining an active influence over public opinion in the countries in which they meet.
5. For this purpose they will spread the information given to them and will direct the attention of the public to those administrative and legislative matters . . . . .

##### Further Decree of Grand Firmament

1. The Assemblies will make continuous efforts . . . . . to gain the approval of public opinion for a political development whose object is to obtain for the people a direct and complete influence on legislation.

A final comment—Bro. Bruce Wilson points out that in reference to religious toleration Mirabeau mentions only Protestant countries and advocates measures against the Roman Catholic Church. This was inevitable, as Freemasonry had been banned by the Pope in several Bulls; but an attack on the Church generally was a distinguishing characteristic of the aims of the Illuminati

and the Adelphees, and we know of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, enacted by the Constituent Assembly and strongly supported by Mirabeau, although he realised the fatal results which were likely to, and in fact did, ensue.

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BRO. A. F. HATTEN writes:—

BRO. BRUCE WILSON mentions Dr. Firminger's paper (*A.Q.C.*, vol 1) on *The Romances of Robison and Barruel*. Now our late Brother had delved deeply enough into the archives of this period: his erudition and patience were immense: he showed conclusively that no credence is to be given to any statement of that precious pair; and it is no use relying on them for proof that Mirabeau was a Freemason. Dr. Firminger refers to the subject of the present paper and Lucas Montigny; he states that the MS. was not in Mirabeau's handwriting, and is not satisfied as to its genuineness; and his conclusion is, that on the whole it may be regarded as very doubtful that Mirabeau was a Freemason.

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BRO. H. C. BRUCE WILSON writes in reply:—

I must first express my appreciation of the reception accorded to my paper, and of the comments which have been made upon it. The translation of the *Memorandum*, and of the brief introduction to its reprint in 1882, occupied more than two thirds of the paper, and after allowing for a few introductory words, the comment at the conclusion was necessarily brief, and no more than rather general in character.

As Bro. Edwards says in his comment, the *Memorandum* is "an interesting document, provocative of many trends of discussion". Rather than make a selection of such points myself, I have preferred to await the comments, which are for the most part both interesting and helpful, and to attempt to deal in more detail with such points as are raised in them.

The first point in order of reply must be the question of the authenticity of the *Memorandum*. As I remarked in my general comment, the chief importance of the *Memorandum* is to show that such an attempt at an organised political penetration of masonry was being made at that time; the question of Mirabeau's participation in such an attempt being of secondary importance; and even if Bro. Firminger had been able to produce any satisfactory evidence for his fantastic suggestion that the *Memorandum* was probably the work of Mauvillon in his capacity of a member of the Illuminati, that would not involve any denial of the authenticity of the *Memorandum*; of which more hereafter.

The grounds given for challenging this authenticity are—That the *Memorandum* is not in Mirabeau's handwriting; that it may have contained extracts from the work of another writer; that Bro. Firminger was of the opinion that it is very doubtful that Mirabeau was a Freemason; and that Kenning's *Encyclopædia* emphatically states that Mirabeau was not a Freemason, and that as Bro. Woodford was editor of that work, that is to be considered as his personal opinion. It would follow that Montigny's statement that Mirabeau was a Freemason is untrue, that his evidence is thereby discredited, and that the *Memorandum* and everything connected with it is a fiction. The whole of this appears to be based on the short relevant passage in Bro. Firminger's paper, and a notice of a few lines in Kenning's *Encyclopædia*. Before considering these and what if anything they prove, I propose first to give a translation of Montigny's introduction to the *Memorandum*, which I had not given in my paper, as I thought that the very brief summary given before

the reprint of 1882 would suffice; and also to give a brief description of Mirabeau's methods in the construction of his works, pamphlets, and speeches, on which there is a considerable volume of evidence.

The passage in Montigny's book, immediately preceding the text of the *Memorandum*, is as follows:—

“Before concluding this book” (Book VI of Montigny's work) “we will try to compensate our readers for the gap which we have of necessity left on the subject of the circumstances and connections relevant to the stay of the two fugitives in Holland.

Many passages in the compilation of Vincennes, the prefaces of two works published by Mirabeau in 1784 and 1788 (*Considerations on the Freedom of the Scheldt*, & *Address to the Batavians*) and a mass of letters now in our hands prove that at Amsterdam, at Rotterdam, at Leyden, and at Dordrecht he had formed intimate relations, not only with the learned and the literary, but also with many ordinary persons (*citoyens*) who, being like himself addicted to political studies, were engaged particularly in speculations of an extremely active philanthropy.

In France he had entered early into a Society of Freemasonry. This branch had warranted him to a Dutch Lodge; and apparently either on his own initiative, or in compliance with a request, he formed the intention of proposing an organisation, of which we possess the plan, written not in his hand, for we have in reference to this only a very small number of notes by him, and these not in their final form, but in the hand of a scribe whom Mirabeau employed and of whom he made much use during many years, and who would probably later have made a fair copy of the manuscript in question.

This production is in my opinion undoubtedly the work of Mirabeau; it exhibits his views, his principles, and his style, which is all the more easily recognisable as he never tried to conceal or vary it. Admittedly it is not an elaborate production or a work of special merit; but we are confident that all will be as impressed as we are with the nobility of its aims, the benevolence of its intentions, and the justice of its views. Let us be thankful to the author that though a fugitive and in hiding he voluntarily offered this service to all as a sort of atonement in amends for the wrongs which he had done to individuals; and will appreciate with surprise not unmixed with interest this new evidence of the strong and generous character of this man, so full of emotions good as well as evil, who sought in philanthropic reflections distraction from his domestic distress, his remorse, and impending dangers.”

Montigny thus asserts, chiefly on the evidence of a mass of letters in his possession, that Mirabeau whilst in Holland, in addition to his relations with learned and literary persons, had formed “intimate relations” with many ordinary persons, not only in Amsterdam, where he was staying, but also at Rotterdam, Leyden, and Dordrecht; persons who were, like himself, addicted to political studies, and who were consequently “engaged in speculations of an extremely active philanthropy”. As Montigny adds that he is impressed with “the nobility of the aims, the benevolence of the intentions, and the justice of the views” of the plan outlined in the *Memorandum*, it may fairly be assumed that the meaning of his words is that the numerous not very conspicuous persons engaged in politics, and like himself busy with “speculations of an extremely active philanthropy”, with whom Mirabeau had intimate connections, in the four important Dutch centres mentioned, were very actively engaged in promoting political schemes of the type outlined in the *Memorandum*, which bears a remarkable resemblance to the plan attributed to Weishaupt's Illuminati; a resemblance recognised by Bro. Heron Lepper in his comments. And the words “like himself” suggest that Mirabeau's common interest with them was his participation in such schemes.

The authority for Montigny's statement that Mirabeau had an introduction to a Dutch Masonic Lodge from a French Masonic body of which he

had become a member early in his career is in the mass of letters in his possession referred to above. That Montigny had such a mass of letters in his possession is not to be doubted; the number of such letters which he quotes in his work, either wholly or in part, is very considerable, and constitutes the chief value of the work; and I am not aware that it has ever been suggested that they are not genuine. Montigny refers to Masonry in such terms as suggest that he had little interest in it or knowledge of it, so that he cannot be classed as either a pro-Masonic or an anti-Masonic writer. That pro-Masonic writers are not anxious to acknowledge Mirabeau as a Mason can be readily understood. Having regard to Mirabeau's record, he is not likely to have joined Masonry, or indeed any other such body or association, "uninfluenced by mercenary or other unworthy motive". But having regard to his record it is most unlikely that he would have omitted to attempt to make use of Masonry for his own purposes, as was done by many others at that time. Bro. Radice has reminded us that when Danton wanted to achieve prominence in politics he first tried to use Freemasonry. Danton had a certain crude resemblance to Mirabeau which has caused him to be referred to as "the Mirabeau of the mob"; but he was in capacity much inferior to Mirabeau, and it is most unlikely that Mirabeau would have neglected a possible line of approach which it was worth Danton's while to explore.

There is therefore nothing improbable in the statement that Mirabeau was a Mason, the improbability being rather in the suggestion that he was not. That he was a good Mason in any sense is not of course suggested by anybody; and to imply that it is impossible that anyone once admitted to Freemasonry should thereafter in any respect fail to prove to the world by his life and actions the happy and beneficial effect of that ancient institution is manifestly absurd; there are too many examples to the contrary. The statement that Mirabeau was a Freemason means no more than that he had been admitted to Freemasonry, and was qualified to attend Masonic Lodges. Evidence that he did frequently so attend will be referred to below. That he was planning, early in his Masonic career, to prostitute that institution to other purposes, is amply evidenced by the *Memorandum*, and by the additional information given by Montigny.

It must be remembered that Mirabeau was staying in Holland with the wife of the Marquis de Monnier, whom he had carried off, under the assumed name of M. & Mme. de St. Matthieu. As he was trying to escape from the French police, who were on his track, he had the most urgent reasons for keeping his identity secret; so that, if he had had any previous acquaintances in Holland, it would have been necessary for him to avoid them. Living under an assumed name in lodgings in Amsterdam, as an obscure writer dependant upon his literary work, which was mostly of a minor sort when not definitely revolutionary, and admittedly short of funds, it would have been almost impossible for him to have established close relations with active political groups in four of the principal towns in Holland, unless he had brought with him an introduction in his assumed name to some member or members of such a group in Holland, either in Rotterdam, where he arrived on 26th September, 1776, and which thereafter he frequently visited, or in Amsterdam, which he reached on 7th October, 1776, and where he remained until his arrest on 14th May, 1777. And this fits in with Montigny's statement of an introduction to a Dutch Lodge from a Lodge in France. It is difficult to find any other explanation for his extensive contacts in Holland, and certainly none has been suggested. It may be noted that Montigny says nothing of the *Memorandum* having been written for a Dutch Lodge; and, though he implies that it was intended to be produced in such a Lodge, he admits that he does not know how Mirabeau came to write it. The text of the *Memorandum* suggests that it was written by a Frenchman for Frenchmen; and it was probably designed for future use in France, though circumstances may have caused it to be produced in connection

with a Dutch Lodge in the first instance. It was obviously not intended to be read in open Lodge, as it states that the majority of members are to be kept in ignorance of it, and its perusal must therefore have been reserved for a select few.

Montigny's statement that Mirabeau was a Mason is made by one who has no bias whatever on the subject of Masonry, and who claims to derive his information from original letters in his possession, which had descended to him from Mirabeau himself. The most important writers on the subject since the publication of Montigny's work have accepted the statement without question, including Loménie in his monumental work *Les Mirabeau*, which contains an impartial and exhaustive consideration of the material available, running into two thousand nine hundred octavo pages; the terms in which he mentions that Mirabeau was a Mason indicate that he has in mind Montigny's statement. The same appears in the more recent biography by Barthou, which, though less voluminous, is an excellent and well written work. And the authors of these works have gone far more exhaustively into the subject than Kenning's *Encyclopedia*. *The Memorandum* and its introduction are therefore accepted as good evidence by the most competent authorities, and the onus of proof to the contrary rests upon those who suggest it.

As to any proofs antecedent to the publication of Montigny's work, they depend on statements by anti-Masonic writers, who mostly refer to German works on which I can give no opinion, as I have not had an opportunity of examining them. I very much doubt whether the pro-Masonic writers who summarily condemn them are any better acquainted with them than I am. However, the acceptance of Montigny's statement as conclusive by the latest authorities who have specialised on Mirabeau renders the consideration of any previous evidence of no more than academic interest.

But since the publication of Loménie's work another important piece of evidence has become available. After the arrest of Mirabeau and his Sophie in Holland, they were confined in separate places. Whilst they corresponded openly with one another through permitted channels, they were able, thanks to the illegal connivance of individuals, to maintain a secret correspondence, partly in cipher. Sophie's secret letters were afterwards pawned by Mirabeau to a barber from whom he had borrowed money. From him they were later recovered by Montigny, who, after destroying some on account of the extreme impropriety of such portions as were legible, added the rest to his collection of Mirabeau's letters. There they reposed until, about the commencement of the present century, an army cipher expert, Major Bazeries, worked out the key to the cipher used by Sophie, which was rendered more difficult by that lady's irregular and exceptionally vile spelling. A selection of these letters, with a promise of more, was published in 1902 by Paul Cottin, who has made the subject his own; prefaced by an introduction of 260 pages, summarising the information contained in the letters. After referring to the domestic life of Mirabeau and Sophie in their lodgings at Amsterdam, the author continues:—"Not that there were not at times clouds which darkened this clear sky, though they soon dispersed. A member of the freemasons, Mirabeau availed himself of the excuse of their meetings to come home late, forgetting his mistress, who sat waiting for him with a heavy heart." It would appear from this that not only was Mirabeau a Mason, but also that he frequently attended meetings of lodges whilst in Amsterdam; and presumably it was after these meetings that he indulged in his "intimate relations" with "citizens who, being like himself addicted to political studies, were engaged particularly" in what Montigny euphemistically termed "speculations of an extremely active philanthropy"; the nature of which is illustrated by the *Memorandum*, in which, as has already been remarked, Bro. Heron Lepper has noted a similarity to the ideas usually attributed to Weishaupt; though Mirabeau seems to have availed himself of the opportunity

before returning home of indulging in intimate relations of another kind with other persons of less unimpeachable respectability. For at a later date Sophie, protesting her jealousy of one of his latest fancies, asks him to think how jealous she must be now when she was even jealous of the sluts he used to visit at Amsterdam. Some pages later we are told that the French police arranged for his arrest either at Amsterdam or at Rotterdam, which latter place he often visited "on business"; which, as we have been told by Montigny, included relations at that place also with persons "like himself addicted to political studies"; as also in Leyden and Dordrecht. And Sophie also refers to his visits to Rotterdam. Later in the introduction we are told, "She has a hatred of freemasons, of whom she had so much cause to complain in Holland, and sends him a print of a lodge meeting, calling him 'nasty old freemason' (*méchant goujat de franc-maçon*)".

All this is good evidence that Mirabeau was not only a mason, but also during his eight months' stay in Holland frequently attended lodge meetings; and in every way much more satisfactory evidence than the survival of Mirabeau's name on the list of members of a French lodge would be. This evidence was not available when Loménie published his work; and of course not when Kenning's *Encyclopædia* was published. But it had been available for a whole generation when Bro. Firminger wrote his paper; and one has to wonder if he omitted to notice it because it did not agree with his conclusions. Bro. Firminger seems to have followed the example of a certain very distinguished naval commander who had lost an eye in the service of his country, who when his attention was directed to a signal conveying instructions which would have seriously hampered his conduct of the operation on which he was engaged, set his telescope to his blind eye, and, turning it to the direction indicated, remarked "Signal! What signal? I see no signal."

Having so far cleared the ground, let us now proceed to the consideration in detail of the two authoritative statements on which the challenge to the authenticity of the *Memorandum* is based—a short article in Kenning's *Encyclopædia*, edited by Bro. Woodford, and a paragraph in Bro. Firminger's paper on *Robison and Barruel*.

The first reads as follows:—

"Mirabeau. Le Comte. Well known for the part he took in the French Revolution, and some writers have called him a Freemason. He was not, we believe, a Freemason, though he was one of the Illuminati, and as such may have, and very probably did, introduced that mischievous society into France. But we disown emphatically any connection between Mirabeau and Masonry."

This and no more.

The contents of the above may be summarised as follows:—

Some writers have said that Mirabeau was a Freemason.

We do not believe that he was a Freemason.

Mirabeau was one of the Illuminati.

Mirabeau probably introduced that Society into France.

The Illuminati were a mischievous Society.

We assert that there was no connection between Mirabeau and Masonry.

The author of the article affirms that Mirabeau had nothing to do with Masonry; but the only reason he gives is that Mirabeau was a member of the Illuminati and probably introduced that sect into France, and that its doctrines were mischievous. How that disproves the assertion that Mirabeau was a Mason he does not suggest. It is merely an unsupported opinion in an encyclopædia edited by Bro. Woodford. As an example of such magisterial assertions in this work, we may quote the following from his article *Illuminati*. Whilst saying

"We cannot honestly deny that much of the Illuminati teaching was most mischievous and of evil tendency," he adds, "We do not even believe that it had anything to do with the French Revolution, as is so often said; as we think Mounier's remarks in his work *Influence attribuée aux Philosophes, Franc-maçons, &c—sur la Révolution de France* (1801) are perfectly conclusive on the subject".

Those who have read that work will have their faith in Bro. Woodford's judgment rudely shaken. But in this case he does not even rely on statements by Mounier. His reasoning appears to be—Mirabeau was "one of the Illuminati"; the Illuminati was a society "most mischievous and of evil tendency"; that any Mason should belong to any society whose teaching was mischievous and of evil tendency is impossible; therefore Mirabeau cannot have been a Mason. One wonders whether on the same grounds he would have denied that Jacob Mauvillon—whom he curiously calls Jaheb—was ever a member of the Illuminati, as he describes him as a well-known German writer and Mason, and Orator of the Lodge Friedrich zur Freundschaft, 1782. Bro. Woodford's "reasoning" is no more than an assertion in support of which he is unable or unwilling to produce any evidence whatever.

Let us now turn to the relevant paragraph in Bro. Firminger's paper. The text on p. 64, *A.Q.C.*, vol. 1, is available to all, and we will take it in detail. After stating that Mirabeau's adopted son "Lucas Montigny" had said that Mirabeau in early life was admitted to the Craft, he tells us that Montigny has included in his *Mémoires Biographiques* a *Memorandum* entitled *Memoire concernant une association intime à établir dans les Ordres de F. M., pour ramener à ses vraies principes (sic), et le faire tendre véritablement au bien de l'humanité, rédigé par le F. M. I.* (the original has "LE F. LE F. MI"), nommé Arcésilas en 1776. Bro. Firminger's comments on the *Memorandum* which follow may be summarised thus:

- a. That the MS. is not in Mirabeau's handwriting.
- b. That sentences and phrases from it appear in *La Monarchie Prussienne*, a work to which Mauvillon contributed.
- c. That Mauvillon "may have been" Arcesilaus in Weishaupt's Order, but in 1775 Weishaupt had not commenced his Order.
- d. That Starck "asserts that Mirabeau was Leonidas in the Order", but that it had been pointed out that no document is quoted in confirmation of the statement.
- e. That at Berlin Mirabeau certainly cultivated the society of Nicolai, but it is doubtful if the latter ever did more than read the rituals.
- f. That it is little likely that in 1787 he (it is not clear whether this refers to Mirabeau or Nicolai) took any active interest in a Society that had been so severely dealt with.
- g. That M. Montigny in that year was not even in his teens.
- h. That on the whole, it may be regarded as very doubtful that Mirabeau was a Freemason.
- j. That to represent the author of the *Notes to the Court* as a Jacobin is merely ridiculous.

The comment "a." on the handwriting of the *Memorandum* may conveniently be taken last, as it involves more detailed discussion.

b. Bro. Firminger remarks that sentences and phrases from the *Memorandum* appear in *La Monarchie Prussienne*, "to which Mauvillon contributed". He gives no indication of what these sentences and phrases are, or where they are to be found. If the *Prussian Monarchy* were a short pamphlet, it might be not unreasonable to expect us to find these sentences and phrases for ourselves. But it is the most voluminous work under Mirabeau's name,



and even Mirabeau's admirers refer to it as indigestible, and one which no reader could have had the patience to read through. Some of the phrases and sentences in the *Memorandum* are the current political *clichés* of the time, and might very well occur in many works of that period by different authors. We should like to have an opportunity of judging for ourselves what these passages are and what significance if any they have. Bro. Firminger can be very *bien documenté* when he is criticising Robison or Barruel. Why does he not give at least one example of such phrases or sentences, with the reference? The explanation must be that he did not know any of them himself, but had borrowed the general statement from some other writer, whom he discreetly refrains from naming.

On this line of argument it may be noted that the reference to the *coup* of Gustavus III in Sweden, which we find in the *Memorandum*, is repeated, not in exactly the same words, but in the same association of ideas, in Mirabeau's speech on the Veto on 1st September, 1789. This speech was written for Mirabeau by de Casaux, and Dumont says that Mirabeau produced it almost unseen; and, finding it ineffective, cut out about half of it and improvised something of his own instead. The speech as we have it is therefore a blend of de Casaux and Mirabeau, according to Dumont in the proportion of about "fifty fifty". And as this was the only occasion on which de Casaux acted in such a capacity for Mirabeau, the presence of a characteristic idea in the *Memorandum* and in a speech in part improvised by Mirabeau would be an argument in favour of identity of authorship.

But even if such an identity could be shown between any passage or passages in the *Memorandum* and the *Prussian Monarchy*, it could not suggest that Mauvillon was the author of the *Memorandum* except on the assumption that the *Prussian Monarchy* was entirely his work. We know that in those diatribes against Mirabeau after the manner of the *Philippics*, which were consequently referred to as "Mirabelles", it was sometimes stated that Mirabeau contributed nothing to the *Prussian Monarchy* except his name on the title page. This however can be proved to be completely false, on evidence to which I will refer later. And even if it had not been so, in view of the intimacy between Mirabeau and Mauvillon, it would have been perfectly possible for Mauvillon to have seen the *Memorandum*, or the scheme of which the *Memorandum* is an outline, and to have quoted from it in a work written some years later. But Bro. Firminger does even suggest that Mauvillon was the sole author of the *Prussian Monarchy*. His suggestion therefore signifies nothing at all.

c. That Mauvillon may have been "Arcesilaus" in Weishaupt's order. Why? There is no ground for any such suggestion, nor does it ever appear to have been made by anyone else. The argument appears to be, "If Mauvillon wrote the *Memorandum* he was presumably Arcesilaus; and if Mauvillon was Arcesilaus, he presumably wrote the *Memorandum*"—a circular argument intended to give an impression that both were probable, when in fact there is nothing to support the probability of either.

Bro. Firminger adds: "but in 1775 Weishaupt had not commenced his Order". This is put out as if it was a refutation of something stated and now shown to be incorrect; and presumably refers to Robison's statement that Weishaupt founded his Society in 1775; the usually accepted date is 1776. But whether the official date of the founding of the Illuminati by Weishaupt should be 1775 or 1776 is quite irrelevant to the question of whether Mirabeau was a Freemason, or to the authenticity of the *Memorandum*, which does not claim to have been written before 1776.

d. Bro. Firminger quotes that Mirabeau was said to have been called "Leonidas" in Weishaupt's Order, though he adds that no document is referred to in support of such a statement. The purpose of this remark appears to be to suggest that if Mirabeau was Leonidas in Weishaupt's Order, he could not

also have been Arcesilaus, and that therefore he could not be the author of the *Memorandum*. But Bro. Firminger cannot have been unaware that in such societies it is by no means unusual for a member to be known by one name in the exoteric and another in the esoteric. A single example will suffice.

The late S. L. Macgregor Mathers, who cut some figure in Occult Societies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in the particular Society of which he was Prophet, Priest, and King, was at the same time known as S.R.M.D. and D.D.C.F.; the former being the initials of S'Rioghal Mo Dhream, an old motto of the Macgregors, and used by him in "The Outer", and the latter the initials of "Deo Duce Comitante Ferro", his motto in "The Inner"; and both were used by him at the same time, alternatively, according to whether the matter in hand referred to the "Outer" or the "Inner". And many similar examples could be quoted. Whether we admit the list of the degrees of Weishaupt's Order as published in Germany, or whether we reject it, there can be no doubt that that Order must have had at least an "Outer" and an "Inner". And there is nothing impossible, or even improbable, in the suggestion that Mirabeau in the Outer Order of the Illuminati may have been called Arcesilaus, after the founder of the New Academy, whose formula was that he knew nothing, not even his own ignorance, whilst in the Inner he was called Leonidas, after the leader of the small selected band who sacrificed their lives in holding the pass against the hosts of the enemy. Such appropriate classical allusions were more readily appreciated in pre-Revolutionary France than in the present time, and therefore more frequently used. Again, therefore, the only suggestion which could make Bro. Firminger's remark relevant is quite unsound.

e. That whilst Mirabeau at Berlin cultivated the society of Nicolai, it is doubtful if the latter ever did more than read the rituals. Why? Whether Nicolai was ever a Mason, as Robison says he was, or whether he got whatever knowledge he may have had of Masonry only by reading the rituals, is surely quite irrelevant to the question of whether Mirabeau was a Mason.

f. The same comment applies to this. In 1787 Weishaupt's Society had been prohibited and ostensibly dissolved; so of course neither Mirabeau nor Nicolai could openly take any active interest in it. The question as to whether it went underground is ignored. The mutual recriminations of Nicolai and Starck are irrelevant to the subject in hand.

g. That Montigny in that year (presumably 1787) was not even in his teens. What is the point of this irrelevancy? The only reason appears to be that by stating an insignificant and irrelevant fact magisterially and triumphantly an impression is conveyed that another point has been scored against the opponent; a forensic art which Bro. Firminger knows how to employ with effect.

h. Bro. Firminger sums up. "On the whole, it may be regarded as very doubtful that Mirabeau was a Freemason". Why? If Bro. Firminger knew any argument or any supporting fact, why does he not give it to us, instead of a few unsupported and improbable suggestions padded out with irrelevancies. If we are left to the conclusion that Bro. Firminger had nothing to support his opinion except that "the wish was father to the thought", the responsibility rests with him.

j. Bro. Firminger has one final remark to make. "To represent the author of the *Notes to the Court* as a Jacobin is merely ridiculous". Again the relevancy of the remark is not apparent. But what is it intended to mean? Does Bro. Firminger suggest that after reading the *Notes to the Court* one must be convinced that Mirabeau was a Royalist, and had really always been so? Bro. Firminger criticises "More Notes than Text" whilst admitting that he had never read it. I have read through all the *Notes to the Court*—there are 50 of them, some by no means short—and whilst my impression is that they give the best testimony of Mirabeau's ability, and particularly of his

appreciation of the tactical situation, they certainly did not and do not give me the impression that Mirabeau was a Royalist, even during the short period covered by the notes. At the time that Mirabeau wrote his *Notes to the Court* he was of course receiving from the Court a very substantial subsidy; and he was making an attempt to save the monarchy, not because he was reluctant to leave undone what he was being paid to do—a consideration which never troubled Mirabeau at all—nor from any loyalty to monarchy in general or to the royal family in particular, but because he considered that at that time the preservation of some form of monarchy was the best means of arriving at the political situation which he desired.

Probably the best and most concise estimate of Mirabeau's political principle is that given by Barruel, "Mirabeau was in favour of any form of government, provided that he himself was the 'grand modérateur' ". That he was no Royalist is illustrated by the remark attributed to him, that if the King fled from Paris secretly and in disguise, he would himself declare the throne vacant and proclaim a republic; and there is little doubt that he would have so acted had he lived. And his reference to the Royal family as "the Royal cattle" (*bétail*) fairly indicates his mental attitude to the Court. To the Jacobins his mental attitude was probably similar; though he did undoubtedly play in with them also from time to time during his political career. In effect. Mirabeau tried to use both the Court and the Jacobins as and when it suited him; and both the Court and the Jacobins tried to use Mirabeau against each other. It is neither more nor less absurd to call Mirabeau a Royalist than to call him a Jacobin, and *vice versa*. But in the sum of his political activities he contributed much more to the success of the Jacobins than to the success of the Royalists.

The consideration of "a. That the *Memorandum* is not in Mirabeau's handwriting," has been deferred until after that of Bro. Firminger's other points, because it calls for more detailed consideration; which is also rendered the more necessary by the fact that it is the only point which appears to call for any such consideration, and which has seriously impressed more than one of those who have commented on the paper; though Bro. Radice has rightly pointed out that it is stated by Montigny to be in the handwriting of an amanuensis, with annotations by Mirabeau. It is therefore necessary to give some outline of Mirabeau's method of construction both in his printed works and in his speeches, and its effect on the manuscripts of the same.

There are various accounts of Mirabeau's methods, some by contemporaries, though published at a later date. Dumont's account, sometimes quoted, is vitiated by the conceit and jealousy of the author. The best is the account of La Marek, who is an intelligent and impartial critic, and had an intimate understanding of Mirabeau. It is as follows:—

"It was a noteworthy characteristic of Mirabeau, that side by side with the astounding spirit, fluency, and wealth of his ideas, when he spoke so eloquently in the tribune, or when he showed his superiority in conversation, as soon as he took up a pen he worked with the greatest difficulty, and seldom could write a single line without erasures and interpolations. Sometimes indeed this reached such a pass that he was unable to read what he had written, when he would lose all patience and throw the manuscript to his secretary, saying, 'Make what you can of it and let me have a copy'. When he committed this work to Pellenc, the latter introduced alterations, both in transposing the parts of sentences, or in giving more order and clearness in the arrangement of the words and ideas; and Mirabeau nearly always expressed himself satisfied with the changes made. Though in reading it over, he often inserted words and even added new ideas or further developed those already expressed. But it was only with Pellenc that he worked in this way. His other secretary Comps never gave him satisfaction when he attempted to do anything more than make a clean copy of what had been given him to decipher.

This difficulty of writing, or rather this excessive volume of ideas, the careful editing of which was for him such a laborious task, was noticeable even in the most intimate letters which I used to receive from him.

Remarking this strain caused by such work in Mirabeau, whenever there was a question of writing anything, however brief, I reflected that this was undoubtedly a distinguishing characteristic of superior minds, which instead of being satisfied with their ideas as they come, subject them to the test of consideration and comparison, which always requires deliberation in the mental processes.

It has often been said that Mirabeau was not really the author of most of the works published under his name, nor of the speeches delivered by him in the National Assembly. Certain literary men, of more or less repute, have even ventured, after the death of the great orator, to lay claim to a share in his works. I think that this claim is quite untenable. It is true that Mirabeau often lacked the necessary time required for the satisfaction of all his undertakings, and that he was therefore obliged to have recourse to writers to whom he gave a summary of his ideas; and these writers he employed according to the faculties which he had observed in them. Thus he entrusted M. Pellenc with speeches which specially called for analysis and argument, as these were the outstanding qualities of the genius of that individual; whilst M. Dumont, who, as a minister of the protestant church, was used to employing an oratorical manner, prepared those addresses and speeches which required a more ostentatious style. Dumont's production, generally speaking, was weak and shallow; but Mirabeau reinforced it as required. He also employed M. du Roveray for financial matters; the Abbé Lamourette for subjects connected with theology; and various lawyers for matters legal. And before the meeting of the National Assembly, and when Mirabeau was nothing more than a writer, he had also had collaborators for some of his works. It is well known that it was a certain Major de Mauvillon who prepared the materials of the long and indigestible work entitled *History of the Prussian Monarchy*.

But what does all this prove? Would anyone venture on this account to suggest that Mirabeau was not really the author of the speeches and the works which bear the hall-mark of his genius? It must then be maintained that the masters of sculpture are not the authors of the works admired under their names, because the marble was blocked out by artists who were often themselves quite efficient; and that the great painters, including Rubens, who so often availed himself of the brush of his pupils, are not to be considered as the creators of their pictures, because more or less considerable parts of those pictures were worked upon by their pupils. I think that this point when so presented cannot be maintained; and I have wanted to treat it as it deserves, because I have often lost patience with the pretentious claims which I have heard advanced on this subject."

It was the legal material of Mirabeau's speeches which was provided by Duroveray, and not the financial, which was mostly provided by Clavière and Panchoud. But except for this error, La Marck's criticism presents a fair picture of the process.

The perseverance and discipline required for some such system as that prescribed by Balzac for regulating the flow of literary ideas was entirely foreign to Mirabeau's temperament. And he had, moreover, neither the time nor the patience for the accumulation and arrangement of the mass of facts, the effective presentment of a skilful selection of which must form the basis of any book, pamphlet, or speech, however oratorical. He therefore entrusted to others not only the accumulation of the data, but also their preliminary arrangement, reserving for himself the final presentment, in which his special capacity lay. At the same time his share in the result was not limited, as Dumont states, to "nothing but a certain skill in arrangement, bold strokes, biting epigrams, and some flashes of a virile eloquence which had no connection with the Académie Française", as is proved by evidence quoted below. The

process was roughly as follows. The preparation of the work was entrusted to a *faiseur*, who had usually some literary work of his own to his credit, and to whom Mirabeau gave a more or less general outline of what was required, and the angle from which he desired to approach the subject. Mirabeau's ideal of a *faiseur* may be seen in Letter I of the *Secret History of the Court of Berlin* which letter is usually accepted as having been written by Mirabeau to Calonne. Recommending the Abbé de Pxxx in that capacity, he says that he "combines talent of the highest quality with well-trained and profound discretion and inviolable secrecy. You could never select anyone more reliable, more devotedly attached to the idea of gratitude and friendship, more careful to do his best, less eager to share in the glory of others, and more convinced that it should entirely belong to the man who has the wit to plan and the daring to execute. xxxxxx. You can, Sir, with confidence entrust to the Abbé de Pxxx the critical work which should not be left to clerks".

Mirabeau did not have the good fortune to find such an ideal *faiseur*, except perhaps his secretary Pellenc, who also frequently acted as *faiseur* for his speeches; Mauvillon also came near the description, and perhaps Reybaz.

When the work of the *faiseur* was completed, it was submitted to Mirabeau, as well as the larger body of data on which it had been based. Mirabeau went through the whole, annotating and altering it in his own hand. This was then handed over to a secretary to write in, and a copy then made by a *copiste*, which was again submitted to Mirabeau; this process was repeated as often as time and circumstances required. The final copy was generally, but not always, made in the hand of Mirabeau or his secretary; but the speeches were usually written out by a *copiste* for delivery, and would, after they had been delivered, be extended by Mirabeau's extemporary additions, for the published version.

Those who desire more detail and illustrations than space permits here are recommended to refer, not to the petty and partial writers whom Bro. Firminger so often quotes, but to impartial and conscientious specialists like Loménie and Barthou. Loménie's vast research and frequent references are combined with the maximum of impartiality which can be expected from a Frenchman on the subject. Whilst Barthou's less voluminous work, though the author never forgets that he is writing as a Frenchman on one of the most outstanding characters in one of the outstanding periods of French history, gives a full picture of certain aspects of Mirabeau relevant to the discussion of his methods of writing. •

There is however one important source of evidence on Mirabeau's methods of work which must be mentioned here, as it appears to have unaccountably eluded the notice of all writers on the subject. Besides his assiduous cult of Mirabeau, and the large collection of letters and papers, most of which had come down to him from Mirabeau himself, Montigny was also an active and discriminating collector of original letters and documents of French historical interest, not only for the period of the Revolution, but also for the previous centuries. Montigny died in 1852, and eight years later his extensive collection was sold by auction in Paris in 1860, beginning on 30th April. The catalogue of the items sold, which fills a volume of 550 octavo pages, was prepared by Auguste Laverdet, autographic expert; and as it is a sale catalogue by a professional expert in such matters, the description of the items may be taken as scrupulously accurate. No portion of the large collection of Mirabeau letters and papers, so freely and fully quoted by Montigny in his *Memoirs of Mirabeau*, are included in the sale; and their complete absence is referred to by the author of the catalogue in his preface; they were retained by Montigny's son, and were in his possession when Loménie wrote; and were later in the possession of Montigny's grandson, and so referred to by Cottin. But about 45 consecutive lots in the sale of 1860 consist of manuscripts of Mirabeau's writings, for the

most part either wholly or partially in his own hand, or in the hands of secretaries or copyists with many notes and alterations by himself; and these amply illustrate his methods of working described above. Most if not all of the MSS. in Mirabeau's hand appear to have been acquired for the State, as Loménie refers to the majority of them severally as being in the Record Office of the Department of Foreign Affairs. But it would be unfortunate if these have been separated from the MSS. of Mirabeau's works written in other hands, with notes and alterations in Mirabeau's hand, as it is these latter, an examination of which would shed most light on the process of construction.

These also prove that whilst in his speeches he may sometimes have relied largely on the work of the *faiseur*, trusting to the inspiration of the moment whilst delivering the speech for the necessary alterations and improvements, in his written works Mirabeau devoted far more attention to the work of revision than is usually credited to him. Thus in the *Address to the Batavians on the Stadtholderate*, Dumont, in the passage referred to above, states that the address was composed for Mirabeau by De Bourges, who was afterwards furious that Mirabeau had got the credit for its success. But Lot 2102 consists of between 500 and 600 pages, in quarto and in folio, of *minutes et pièces justificatives* for this address, with notes and additions by Mirabeau in his own hand; so that if this bulk of material for the work was assembled by De Bourges, Mirabeau read through the whole of it before it was condensed into its final form, and made his corrections and additions. This completely refutes both the claim of De Bourges and the insinuation of Dumont.

Lot 2081 is a MS. of the same address, with the title of the 2nd Edition, entirely in Mirabeau's hand, 39 quarto pages, bound. This is presumably the MS. of this work, entirely in Mirabeau's hand, to which Loménie refers as being in the Records of Foreign Affairs; and in connection with it quotes the passage from Dumont. But that is evidently the MS. for the revised Second Edition; and it is Lot 2102, of which Loménie is apparently unaware, which provides the evidence of Mirabeau's detailed revision of the mass of material from which the final form of the work was selected and condensed.

Another lot of much interest is Lot 2078, 56½ pages quarto, bound, entitled in Mirabeau's hand "Exact copy of my cipher reports from Brunswick 12. July 1786 to Dresden 16. September". These are Letters II to XXV of the series of 36 letters which form the *Secret History of the Court of Berlin*. The omission of the first and the last eleven letters need not be discussed here. But it must be noted that the whole MS. is in Mirabeau's hand except the last five pages, which are in the hand of Pellenc. Loménie does not appear to know of this MS. It would incidentally be interesting if what Mirabeau describes as an exact copy of his cipher letters were compared with the printed text published anonymously.

Lot 2072, *Discours sur les retours de l'Inde, et reponse à M. Bégouen*, 74 pages quarto, is stated to be in the hand of one of Mirabeau's secretaries, with corrections in Mirabeau's hand. This appears to be the same as the MS. on this subject, not in Mirabeau's hand, but with corrections by him, stated by Loménie to have been amongst Mirabeau's papers, of which an inventory was made after his death. Loménie apparently does not know that it was in Montigny's sale in 1860, or by whom it was acquired. The MS. of another speech, similarly in another hand, with corrections by Mirabeau, also noted by Loménie as having been in the same inventory, does not appear in the Montigny sale.

Lot 2079, Mirabeau's letter to Calonne, is a volume containing a copy in Mirabeau's hand, 70 pages, and another copy in the hand of a secretary, with corrections by Mirabeau. Part of the former is printed by Montigny in his *Memoirs*; and Loménie notes that the whole of it is now in the Foreign Affairs Records, and quotes from it.

Lot 2082 has, with other items, a MS. of the speech on the Royal Assent, some pages of which are in the hand of Pellenc, and the rest in Mirabeau's hand.

One of the most significant items on Mirabeau's method is Lot 2088, the projected speech on the Marriage of Priests. Loménie says that this speech was prepared by Reybaz, and that it is printed in Montigny's *Memoirs* from a text corrected by Mirabeau. But Lot 2088 is a thick bound volume containing 3 copies of this speech in 3 different hands, with notes and corrections in Mirabeau's hand. This illustrates that even the speeches written for him by Reybaz were sometimes at least revised and re-revised by Mirabeau himself. Lot 2103 is a quarto volume of 500 pages, consisting of manuscripts of the speech on *Slavery in America*, with many notes and corrections in Mirabeau's hand. And there are other lots in the hand of others revised by Mirabeau, including items for *The Prussian Monarchy*, which will be referred to separately below.

Enough has been said to show that most if not all of Mirabeau's works were originally in the form of copies made in the handwriting of secretaries or copyists, and then revised by Mirabeau in his own hand; and that sometimes this process was repeated a second and even a third time, the copy in Mirabeau's hand throughout being only sometimes made, and then only as a final copy. The *Memorandum* therefore conforms exactly to the normal type of Mirabeau's MS. And Bro. Firminger's reference to it in terms suggesting that the fact that it is written in another hand throws a doubt on the authenticity of the *Memorandum* is nothing more than a misdirection, suggesting a conclusion which has no ground or justification.

I have left to the end the items in the Montigny sale relating to *The Prussian Monarchy*, as Bro. Firminger's chief argument appears to be that because it is alleged that certain phrases and sentences in the *Memorandum* occur in *The Prussian Monarchy*, "to which Mauvillon contributed", the latter may have been the author of the *Memorandum*. By implication he suggests that we should accept as accurate the view put out by the most extreme of Mirabeau's enemies, as given in the "Mirabelles" already referred to, that Mirabeau contributed nothing to *The Prussian Monarchy* except his name on the title-page. Yet Mauvillon himself, in the preface to his correspondence with Mirabeau, published after the latter's death, attributes the idea and inspiration of the work to him, and testifies to his careful guidance of the work through all its stages. And this is supported by the items in the Montigny sale. Lot 2099 is a quarto volume of about 2,000 pages MSS. on Prussia—Suggested system of Military Law—Administration—Commerce—Agriculture & Production—Religion—Education—Legislation & Government—Scheme of a general code for the use of the Prussian Monarchy—Bibliography—&c., &c.; all with notes by Mirabeau in his own hand. Lot 2100, another 2,000 pages quarto and folio MSS. on Germany—Considerations on the situation of some of the principal States of Germany—Austria—Silesia—Saxony—Bavaria—&c.; also with notes in Mirabeau's hand. Lot 2101 consists of 9 bundles containing from 1,500 to 2,000 pages on Brandenburg—Geography & Population—Agriculture & Natural Products—Manufactures—Commerce—Revenues & Expenditure—Military Matters—Religion, Education, Legislation—Government—&c.; all with corrections in Mirabeau's hand. Lot 2083 is a quarto volume 82 pages MS. "Detailed analysis of a plan for a new Prussian code. By the Count de Mirabeau", entirely in Mirabeau's hand. Lot 2086 is a quarto volume 45 pages MS. "Sketch of the progress of the human spirit in Brandenburg", partly in Mirabeau's hand and partly in another's. Lot 2104 includes, with other MSS. written by or corrected by Mirabeau, a MS., with corrections, of 77 quarto pages, "Historical view of morals, religion, government, population, commerce, finance, science and art of the Germans from the most remote period

to our own time". Finally, Lot 2097, *Prussian Monarchy*, a MS. of 720 pages entirely in Mirabeau's hand; this is presumably the MS. of a part of the work, in Mirabeau's writing, which Loménie mentions as being in the Foreign Office Records.

All this proves that Mauvillon's testimony that Mirabeau had taken an active interest in shaping the work throughout all its stages is no mere formal compliment, but a statement of fact. Loménie, who has looked for passages and ideas characteristic of Mirabeau, notes the influence of his sincere admiration for Frederick II throughout, and quotes a few passages in illustration; including the remarkable exclamation that "if Prussia perishes, the art of government will retrogress towards infancy". Why does not Bro. Firminger give us at least one of the quotations which he alleges to be identical with some passage in the *Memorandum*? Or if, as was probably the case, he was unable to do so because he did not know them, and had borrowed the remark from another writer, without troubling to verify it, why does he not give us the name of the writer so that we can compare the passages ourselves? He cannot have been unaware that it was generally accepted that Mirabeau had in fact some part in *The Prussian Monarchy*, so that even if a whole paragraph in the *Memorandum* appeared *verbatim* in *The Prussian Monarchy*, it would be no evidence that Mirabeau was not the author of the *Memorandum*. If he wished to suggest that Mauvillon was probably the author of the *Memorandum*, the material was easily accessible. Mauvillon's correspondence with Mirabeau is available in French in the British Museum Library; from this it is possible to form a good opinion of his style, a style quite different from that of Mirabeau, of which there are of course very many examples. If Bro. Firminger could quote the alleged passages in the *Memorandum*, and show that they were in the style of Mauvillon; and could further give some explanation why a son of a French father who had settled permanently in Germany before that son was born, who was brought up as a German and had done 5 years' active service in the Hanoverian Regiment of Walmoden before settling down as a German professor of military engineering, should write a memorandum in terms of a Frenchman writing for Frenchmen, he might have produced some excuse for the suggestion that Mauvillon was the author of the *Memorandum*; though even then he would still have to explain how it came to be copied by a copyist frequently employed by Mirabeau, and at a date much anterior to that on which it is usually accepted that Mauvillon and Mirabeau first met. The only explanation can be that Bro. Firminger was aware of the absurdity of his suggestion that Mauvillon may have been the author of the *Memorandum*, but being desirous of discrediting that document put forward the suggestion in the form in which it appears in his paper for the purpose of misleading those who were not so aware; and there are many other similar cases in Bro. Firminger's paper. One wonders what he would have said of Robison or Barruel had he detected them in any similar manœuvre.

It may be suggested from this that I am finding fault with Bro. Firminger's paper and attacking the author. This might be so if his paper were, or were intended to be, an impartial summing up of the evidence on both sides. It is all the more necessary to point out that this is not so, as Bro. Baxter in his comments has said that after reading Bro. Firminger's paper "it would appear almost that not much more need be said on the subject". What needs to be emphasised is that Bro. Firminger's paper is not the summing up of a Judge, but an address from the Counsel for the Prosecution. Viewed as such it is an excellent production, performing with art and ability what Mounier, in his *De l'Influence attribuée aux Philosophes, &c.*, attempts with little of either. One can admire the success with which Bro. Firminger fashions his bricks with odds and ends of clay, with the minimum of straw, and lobs them skilfully at the defendants in the dock; his suggestions, his silences, and



his half-truths, which are so much more effective than direct mis-statements, are in every way admirable. His task is to present the strongest possible case against the defendants, by every possible means, subject only to the qualification that misrepresentation shall not be so obvious as to defeat its own ends; and this task he performs with the greatest ingenuity, wrapping up his suggestions in masses of petty detail, the unsoundness of much of which is trivial in itself, but which merge triumphantly in a cumulative effect, to deal adequately with which would require a paper at least twice as long as his own. Fair play in dealing with the defendants is no part of his task. It is for their case to be presented as strongly as possible by the Counsel for the Defence. And there is no Counsel for the Defence; not because he would have no case, but because nobody has come forward to undertake the task. And so the cause goes by default; and the Jury, having heard the case for the Prosecution, with no Defence and no Summing up, returns an unanimous verdict of guilty on all counts without leaving their seats.

I hold no brief for Robison or Barruel; and their credibility or the reverse has nothing to do with the question of the *Memorandum* or any point arising from it. But before quitting them, a word may be said in mitigation. Barruel was a loyal servant of the Catholic Church, and he approaches the matter from that angle, and makes no pretence of doing otherwise. His accounts of the persecution of priests during the Revolution may be and probably are highly coloured; though probably not more so than most of the narratives of laymen of all parties during the period. At least he was in Paris for part of the time. Although a priest, at a time when clergy as such were frequently massacred, and also the holder of a position in the household of one of the Royal family, when such a position was considered a sufficient reason for trial and execution, he remained at his post so long as his duty required it; in contrast to Bro. Firminger's favourite Mounier, who prudently left his post and slunk away at the first sign of the breaking of the storm which he had helped to raise. Bro. Firminger, on his p. 38, goes out of his way to jeer at Barruel, because he wrote to persuade the French clergy who were in England as refugees to accept Bonaparte's Concordat, which Bro. Firminger himself admits to be reasonable, but says that Barruel could no longer be regarded "as a champion of Bourbon absolute monarchy". Surely it is to the credit of a French priest that he should not reject from narrow political obstinacy an arrangement which he believed to be good for the Church and good for France. Why does not Bro. Firminger reserve his sneer for his favourite Mounier, of whom his biographer says that he has no hesitation in placing him where he belongs, at the head of the Political Weathercocks, and grimly remarks that he returned to France to seek, at the price of an oath contrary to his principles, a sustenance for his family less hard than that of exile. Bro. Firminger quotes Mounier with absolute confidence, saying that "no one was more authorised than he to speak of the men of the earlier stages of the Revolution"; and is apparently ready to vouch for the moral character of St. Germain because "the strictly moral Mounier writes that he had acquaintances who had known St. Germain, and they had assured him that St. Germain had set no example in libertinage". And he repeats more than once that Mounier denied warmly that he was a Mason; though if we read Mounier's glowing eulogy of Masonry, which evinces some technical understanding of the subject, and remembering the depression of Masonry in France at the time, and Mounier's lack of courage, the warmth of his denial almost causes us to pause instinctively to listen for the cock to crow.

Mounier was a provincial lawyer, who became provincially prominent by successfully maintaining against a central government, notorious for its propensity to bark and bolt, the rights of a Provincial Parliament which had survived the most authoritarian period of French Monarchy, but which was not long after

to be ruthlessly and permanently swept away by the Government which Mounier had helped to instal. Arriving in Paris at a critical period, with his easily earned provincial laurels thick upon him, his vanity led him to believe that he could cope with a situation of the realities of which he had no understanding; for whatever may have been Mounier's capacity as a lawyer, as a politician his appreciation of a situation was invariably wrong. Withal a worthy and well-meaning personality, who nursed his conscious integrity as a sort of nest-egg for an output of shell-less and unfertilised ideals. He has made for himself a place in history as the author of the famous "Oath of the Tennis Court"; which he subsequently admitted had had quite a different result from what he had intended. His withdrawal from France was more prudent than dignified or creditable; he was one of the first to emigrate. Those who want a good idea of his career are recommended to read his biography by d'Herisson, the first volume of a projected series entitled *Political Weathercocks*, published about 1891. The author is unsympathetic to his subject, and as a convinced Anglophobe is particularly severe on Mounier's relations with the British authorities whilst in exile. But he is not on the whole unfair; and he has at his disposal Mounier's letters and papers, not previously accessible, from which he quotes very fully and freely. It may be interesting to quote the concluding paragraphs of this work.

"It has been said that, on the day of the sitting of the Tennis Court, he (Mounier) gained a glorious place amongst the founders of our liberties.

I have related how he provided the formula of the famous oath which Bailly read.

Neither of them had the conviction that they had founded anything of the kind, and had they believed it the events which followed were of such a character as to disabuse them.

At the foot of the scaffold, the former Mayor of Paris (Bailly), seized with remorse, made this pregnant remark—"I am dying because of the sitting of the Tennis Court, and not because of the fatal day of the Champ de Mars'.

As for the former President of the Constituant Assembly (Mounier), he had to reckon himself fortunate to solicit permission to live under a military government and the absolute rule of a single individual, the prospect of which in former times he had regarded with abhorrence.

And the fact is that both of them alike had been potent for destroying, and feeble for anything constructive".

And this is Bro. Firminger's favourite authority, of whom he says that no one was more authorised to speak of the men of the earlier stages of the Revolution.

The mention of the "Oath of the Tennis Court" reminds us of Bro. Firminger's remarks on the Count de Virieu. "With all these brave men, from the Directory at Grenoble there was Comte Henry de Virieu, Eques Henricus à Circulis, who fell in the retreat from Lyons. He had represented his Province at the Congress at Wilhelmsbad". And he goes on to say that Barruel states that de Virieu was converted by what he learned at that congress, which filled him "with apprehensions of an approaching catastrophe", so that he "became a very religious man". And that Barruel adds, "It is to this that we owe the zeal he subsequently displayed against the Jacobins". On which Bro. Firminger comments, "Here again we have another offence against the truth. Virieu was always a fervent Catholic, and it was in the year 1782 his acquaintance with Saint Martin became a warm friendship. Mounier, who contradicts energetically the statement that he himself was a Mason, and who was not a Martinist, pays tribute to the moral probity of the Lyons Masons,

and mentions the sound moral effect which Martinism exercised on its disciples, and the services rendered by Martinists in stemming public violence. The witness of Mounier against Robison and Barruel is of the greatest weight, &c.". But Bro. Firminger does not mention the fact that on 13th July, 1789, in the Assembly, this same de Virieu, at a moment of general excitement, demanded that all present should join in reswearing the "Oath of the Tennis Court", that oath which is regarded as one of the landmarks of the Revolution, and whose authors afterwards expressed their regret for the part which they had taken in it. The Assembly did not respond to de Virieu's exhortations. But the results of this sitting contributed substantially to the forward march of the Revolution. Here then we have evidence that in July, 1789, de Virieu was actively assisting the Revolutionary movement. It is also recorded that he subsequently lost his life in opposing it. Barruel notes the change, and attributes it to what de Virieu had seen at the Congress at Wilhelmsbad. What influence if any de Virieu's visit to that Congress exercised on his future conduct may be a matter of doubt; for Mounier himself, who came from the same district as de Virieu, experienced the same disillusion without having attended the Congress at Wilhelmsbad. But change there certainly was, from active assistance of the Revolution to active opposition to it. But Bro. Firminger criticises Barruel's statement as "another offence against the truth", as Virieu "had always been a fervent Catholic", was a Lyons Mason, to whose moral probity as a body Mounier had paid tribute, adding that Martinism in Mounier's opinion exercised a sound moral effect on its disciples, and that de Virieu was a warm friend of Saint Martin of at least 7 years' standing. All this is begging the question, as it only amounts to a plea that de Virieu was not the sort of man who would have assisted revolution. But the awkward fact remains that he did; though the instance quoted above is discreetly ignored by Bro. Firminger, as it may be also in the first of the authorities to which we are referred, "the Marquis de Beauregard's beautiful *Roman d'un Royalist pendant la Revolution*". One has to reflect, which side commits the greatest "offence against truth"? Here we have one who was admittedly an active Mason, a Martinist, a member of the Strict Observance, a Provincial Representative at the Congress at Wilhelmsbad, *e tutti quanti*, deliberately attempting to promote revolutionary action by the Assembly at a critical moment and amid general excitement; and it is a fair assumption that this act was representative of his attitude at that time. We are asked to ignore it on account of his subsequent anti-revolutionary activities, or to accept the plea that whatever he did was done with the best intentions, and that it was not his fault if the results were other than he anticipated. When Judas committed that action which has gained him such unenviable notoriety with posterity, it is obvious that he must have done so in the expectation of results quite different from those which actually occurred. For we are told of how he threw down the thirty pieces of silver—be it noted that he had not expended even one of them—exclaiming, "I have sinned, in that I have betrayed the innocent blood", and went and hanged himself. Possibly he had been impatient at his Master's persistent refusal to politicalise his doctrine, and thought to do him a service by placing him in such a position that he would be forced to take political action; and his expectation of what would follow would have included a vision of himself, as Marshal of the New Kingdom, sweeping the Roman armies out of Asia at the head of more than twelve legions of angels; a worthy and well-meaning objective, and testifying to the great faith of him who conceived it, but unfortunately based on a complete misconception of the realities of the situation; and which has entirely failed to exonerate him from his fair share of responsibility for the Crucifixion which followed, and has not prevented Dante from placing him in the most uncomfortable situation in the very jaws of Satan himself.

When therefore we proceed to the consideration of what part if any was played by French Freemasonry or by individual French Freemasons in the French Revolution, the criterion must be, not mere intentions, laudable or otherwise, but acts and incitements to acts, and the developments resulting therefrom; not excluding the question of whether masonic lodges were used to promote revolutionary action without the knowledge of the majority of their members, and if so, why and how they came to be so used; and also whether individual masons, by the principles inculcated in their lodges, were stimulated to give effect to those principles by action, the result of which was, and was bound to be, very different from what they had intended; thereby making them convenient tools of ambitious men with less integrity and more understanding.

A few more words before saying goodbye to Barruel. He makes no claim to being a contemporary Hansard, and it is neither fair nor reasonable to attempt to criticise him as such. He does not write as a fanatical legitimist royalist, ready to sacrifice the interests of his Church and his country in an attempt to maintain or restore the old legitimate monarchist succession, as Bro. Firminger would have us believe. He writes before all things as a loyal priest of the Catholic Church, with an honest conviction that the Church is the cure, and the only cure, for all human ills; very sincere, very earnest, and full of unshaken conviction; like all such persons animated by zeal for a single remedy, he is susceptible to prejudice; but this prejudice is tempered by a genuine desire to be fair, which is often conspicuously absent from some of the no less prejudiced advocates of the opposite views. He is not without courage, and not without literary capacity; and he has had some personal experience of the men and events of which he treats. He frankly detests whatever is understood by the term Jacobin, which he regards as the principal source of the present troubles. His sincerity is obvious throughout. He writes in an easy and readable style, and some of his observations are understanding and interesting. As an example we may refer to his brief estimate of Mirabeau's guiding principle, already quoted above, "that he was in favour of any form of government, provided that he himself was the 'grand modérateur'";—surely a more accurate appreciation of Mirabeau as a politician than that suggested by Bro. Firminger, when he says that "to represent the author of the *Notes to the Court* as a Jacobin is merely ridiculous". Barruel's work is neither mere "junk" to be consigned to the wastepaper basket, nor mere shaving paper for the razor of the critic, but one which should find a place in the library of everyone who attempts to make a serious study of the French Revolution. It is often said, and most justly, that one of the chief factors of success in war is the capacity to understand and anticipate the probable errors of one's opponents; and those who limit themselves to the literature which agrees with their own point of view will hardly arrive at such an understanding.

It is a curious freak that Barruel's name should have come to be coupled with that of a sceptical egoist who was a Scottish professor of science, as a sort of Great Twin Brethren of the AntiJacobin. Robison is in most respects the direct opposite of Barruel, their only point of contact being their detestation of Jacobinism and their conviction of its noxious character. Robison's style is pompous, diffuse, and tedious; and the only reason for reading his work is to peruse the facts, or alleged facts, which he communicates. Most of these depend on the authority of German works; which Bro. Firminger, having little or no personal acquaintance with them, lumps together in one condemnation as a mass of impudent and calculated falsehood. Having also little or no personal acquaintance with them, though there are available criticisms of a few of them by those who have, I prefer to reserve judgment.

There are, however, certain statements made by Robison on his own personal experience, which are in an altogether different position. Amongst these is the statement that he had formerly in his possession two volumes of

printed discourses delivered by Orators of Lodges, which he subsequently left behind on the continent. Of these discourses he definitely mentions three, one of which he says was delivered by Mirabeau in the Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants at Paris, exhibiting principles of much similarity to those contained in some of his speeches in the National Assembly. Here we have a definite statement by Robison on his own personal experience. There can be no question of his being misled by unreliable authorities whom he had credited from carelessness or misplaced confidence. Either the statement is true in its main facts, or it is a complete, deliberate, and conscious lie. Bro. Firminger deals with Robison's statement as follows:—"As to this we may observe: (1) that when Robison took his Apprentice degree in March, 1770, Mirabeau was twenty years of age, and (2) the order of Chevaliers Bienfaisants came into existence at Lyons in 1778. There was a Lodge Bienfaisance of the Strict Observance at Paris, but that Lodge was not constituted until 10th April, 1781".

Starting with his first argument, where does Bro. Firminger get his information that Robison was initiated in March, 1770? I have failed to find it in Robison's book; and Bro. Firminger's other remarks do not suggest that he had any other source of information upon the subject. A few lines above he refers us to Robison's p. 52, and on his own p. 31 quotes from it, that Robison says that his Mother Lodge at Liège "contained in December, 1770, the Prince Bishop and the greatest part of the Chapter", &c. As it was stated that he was initiated at Liège whilst spending some time there on his way to Russia, it would appear from this that Robison was probably initiated about December, 1770. Mirabeau was born on 9th March, 1749; so that in December, 1770, he would have been aged about 3 months short of his 22nd birthday. At the age of 18 years 4 months he had commenced his service in the cavalry; an account of his chequered career during the next few years, with testimonies of his abilities and his precocity, may be read in Barthou, pp. 23/29; the perusal of which will leave no doubt that there is nothing either absurd or even improbable that in December, 1770, Mirabeau might have been Orator of a Lodge and author of a printed address delivered in that capacity. Mounier, an industrious young lawyer of good professional capacity and respectable habits, with no knowledge of the world outside of his native city, at the age of twenty-five filled the office of King's Judge at Grenoble, an office which his father, a local cloth merchant of no great standing, had purchased for him from his predecessor for a considerable sum; and he is said to have discharged the duties of his important and responsible office with becoming efficiency. It may be noted also that Montigny states that Mirabeau became a Mason early in his career.

So much for Bro. Firminger's first point. His second point is that "the order of Chevaliers Bienfaisants came into existence at Lyons in 1778". Presumably we are intended to be convinced by this that there could not possibly have been a Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants at Paris in 1770, because an order of that name was founded at Lyons 8 years later, and because a Lodge of a similar but not the same name, under the Strict Observance, was constituted in Paris 11 years later. Bro. Firminger was of course well acquainted with Gustav Bord's work, as he quotes it, and comments that it is not always accurate. In his *Etat des Loges existant en France en 1771* (pp. 357/504), Bord gives no less than 21 Lodges in various parts of France called "Parfaite Union", including 3 regimental lodges; and also 3 more called "Union Parfaite". And though this is the most prevalent name, there are other names which are shared by several lodges. Bord's list makes no pretensions to being complete; and the non-appearance of any Lodge in it is no evidence whatever that such a lodge did not exist at any time. There is therefore no justification for the opinion that it was impossible that there should have been a Loge des Chevaliers Bienfaisants at Paris about 1770. Incidentally, Bord records a Lodge

of this name at Montauban at a much earlier date. It is of course possible that Robison, writing from memory of some Masonic addresses which he had had in his possession some years previously, might have confused the name or the place at which any particular one of these addresses had been delivered; but that Robison definitely remembered that Mirabeau was the author of one of these addresses and that its general principles were similar to those expressed by Mirabeau in his speeches at a later date there can be no doubt. Either, then, Robison had seen such a Masonic address by Mirabeau, or the statement by him is a deliberate invention. And even Mounier, whom Bro. Firminger accepts as such a reliable authority, says that Robison in his opinion would not consciously tell a deliberate untruth, though he was easily misled into accepting such statements from others.

To recapitulate. There is no ground whatever for the suggestion that the *Memorandum* is a forgery, or even that it was written for someone other than Mirabeau. The authority for it, Montigny, is neither pro-Masonic nor anti-Masonic, and has little knowledge of or interest in Masonry. He identifies the handwriting as that of one of Mirabeau's regular scribes; and as a collector of autograph letters of much and varied experience he is well qualified to give an opinion on such matters. The comments are in Mirabeau's hand. The fact that it is not in Mirabeau's hand throughout is entirely in accordance with his usual practice, and is in no way an argument against its genuineness, but rather the reverse; it would have been much easier and much more effective for a forger to have made it throughout in Mirabeau's hand. If it were forged, it seems to have been hardly possible for it to have been palmed off on Montigny as genuine; and to suggest that it is an elaborate deception by Montigny himself is both absurd and unwarrantable. It has been accepted as genuine by the best modern authorities; and the only doubts cast upon it are by pro-Masonic writers, who are obviously anxious to find it a forgery, but can produce nothing to support their suggestion except feeble innuendos which vanish at the first touch.

The same applies to the question whether Mirabeau was a Freemason. In addition to Montigny, whose evidence is accepted by impartial critics, there is the evidence in Sophie de Monnier's secret letters to Mirabeau, which are as conclusive as any written evidence can possibly be. If Robison's statement could be proved to be false, it would not affect the position, but merely deprive us of an item of corroborative evidence which we can very well do without. But we may note that Bro. Firminger's arguments against Robison's statement prove on consideration to be weak and inconclusive. We must therefore accept the *Memorandum* as genuine, and as representing a plan, probably not in its final form, intended to be put into practice in Masonic Lodges, with the assistance of Mirabeau, who was himself a Freemason. As has been stated, it is not suggested that Mirabeau was a good Mason; the *Memorandum* alone is ample evidence to the contrary.

Bro. Edwards has raised the question whether the *Memorandum* is to be considered merely as an intellectual exercise; or whether, if it were really intended to be put into practice, any action was taken in the sense of the scheme; and if so, what if any were the outward signs and results of such action.

The composition of such schemes as an intellectual exercise was entirely foreign to Mirabeau's practice and temperament. All memoranda which were written by him or for him were for the purpose of providing a basis for works or speeches, or of developing ideas to be so worked up; though in a few cases they may have remained unused.

On the question whether any action was taken in the sense of the scheme outlined in the *Memorandum*, and the outward signs and results of such action, there is evidence that from the time of his visit to Holland in 1776 to evade

the French Police, Mirabeau was actively interested in the promotion of revolution in that country, and in touch with those engaged in similar activities. Mirabeau's chief motive appears to have been the creation of a situation which would furnish a pretext for the occupation of Holland by French armies, leading to its final incorporation into France; a development in which he hoped to play a leading part.

An appreciation of this is hardly possible without a brief summary of the general trend of parties in that country. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the country was usually referred to as the United Provinces; Holland was only one of these provinces, the wealthiest and most important, and the centre and stronghold of one of the political parties. The name Holland has been more generally applied to the whole country since the creation of the Kingdom of Holland by Napoleon in 1806; but to use it in that sense before that date is confusing, though it was sometimes done, particularly by the French.

From the beginning of their existence as an independent state, the United Provinces were divided into two parties based on two fundamentally different interests. On the one hand, the geographical situation of the country and the economic and strategical considerations arising therefrom rendered its conquest and annexation a prominent part of the programme of whatever power attempted to dominate the continent of Europe; and against the attacks of such a power the United Provinces must be always prepared to defend their independence. For such purpose there was needed a dominant central authority, continued readiness for defence against invasion by land, and protective alliances against the dominant power. The party holding these views was therefore in favour of maintaining the Union and the office of Stadtholder, and with it the leadership of the House of Orange; whence it was usually known as the Orange Party. From the time when France abandoned her periodical invasions of Italy and turned to a policy of continental expansion to the North and East, until after the liquidation of Napoleon's conquests, the threat to the independence of the United Provinces was consistently from France, and France was therefore the enemy. The policy of England on the other hand, being constantly directed to the preservation of the balance of power on the continent, and consequently consistently in opposition to the dominant continental power for the time being, automatically coincided with the policy of the Orange Party; which was consequently anti-French and pro-British. The House of Orange connected itself by marriage with the reigning family of England, which was also opposed to the compulsory Catholicisation of Protestant countries, a prominent feature in the French programme. And the Stadtholder was usually in alliance with Great Britain.

The other party, usually known as the Republican Party, concentrated primarily on the maintenance of the interests of the great commercial towns, the position of the country on the seas, and her overseas trade and possessions, from which she derived the major part of her wealth. Seeing their carrying trade, acquired from the German Hansa towns, progressively passing into British hands, they were generally anti-British, and were in favour of alliance with any power which might deal England a fatal blow; and were consequently pro-French, and usually in alliance with France. And they concentrated on a strong Navy, and neglected the Army. In home policy they advocated the abolition of the office of Stadtholder, and a policy which would have resulted in dissolving the United Provinces into a loose confederation of autonomous states. Although this party made free use of democratic formulæ, it was in the hands of a small oligarchy, who aimed at augmenting their own power by destroying the Stadtholdership and the central government. The oligarchs of the Dutch Republican Party have been likened, not inappropriately, to the oligarchs of Venice. Their strength was chiefly in the commercial interests

in the large cities, where it rested on the middle class and the "intellectuals"; but it made up for its smaller numbers by its greater concentration and facilities for organisation. Its sectional appeal and numerical minority was well illustrated in 1799. Though the old Republican oligarchs had been reinforced by the new Jacobinism, and though the country had for some years been garrisoned by a French army and ruled by a Republican government selected and approved by France, which had carefully replaced all Dutch naval officers suspected of Orange sympathies by reliable Republicans, when the Dutch fleet was ordered to go into action against the British fleet, which was supporting the cause of the Stadtholder, the Dutch crews refused to obey their officers, who were reluctantly compelled to surrender the whole fleet to the British without firing a shot.

The Republican Party in the United Provinces, though it is lauded and idealised *ad nauseam* by most British historians, was usually violently anti-British, and played in with France. It must not however be supposed that this was stimulated by any sort of love for France or confidence in her friendship. It is not undiverting to read, as late as 1702, the printed and published boasts of the Dutch Republicans that they could keep the French army from invading them by the ability of the Dutch fleet to raid and destroy all the French ports, including those on the South Coast, smashing their installations and sinking their ships, and completely destroying their seaborne trade; a boast the complete and invariable futility of which was amply demonstrated on every relevant occasion during two centuries. The study of the policy and principles of the Republican Party, as set forth by themselves, though in parts tedious and platitudinous, is well worth study, if only as an illustration of how men of character and capacity can easily be blinded to realities by an obstinate adherence to formal ideologies not unconnected with their own individual economic and political advantage.

On two occasions the Republican Party had succeeded in gaining control, in 1650 on the death of William II, leaving only a posthumous son, and in 1702 on the death of William III without issue. In each case the period of Republican domination had been terminated by an invasion of the United Provinces by France, under the impression that after a prolonged term of Republican control they were ripe for liquidation, and the consequent immediate restoration of the Stadtholdership by an overwhelming popular movement as an essential condition to the effective defence of the country.

The disintegrating home policy of the Dutch Republican Party and their neglect of the land defences played consistently into the hands of France, which had long regarded the United Provinces as the only serious obstacle to the permanent conquest and absorption of the whole of the Netherlands. An illustration of the methods by which France intended to assimilate the United Provinces is given by the French demands of 1671, as recorded by Puffendorf and quoted in most histories. The Union of the Provinces was to be dissolved, the Confederation retained being no more than nominal. The provinces West of the Meuse were to be under France. Utrecht, Munster, and OberYssel to be under the Elector of Cologne, Friesland under the Duchy of Luneburg, Groningen under the Duchy of Neuburg; all of which could be eaten up by France separately as occasion offered. Holland, the most pro-French, Republican, and anti-Orange of the provinces, with Zealand, was to be under the House of Orange, from which, without the support of any of the other provinces, it would be expelled almost at once. Whilst the acquiescence of the Elector of Brandenburg was to be purchased by allotting to him Gelderland and Zutphen, a bait which he failed to swallow. The complete Catholicisation of the whole country formed part of the scheme.

A third period of Republican predominance appeared likely to commence in 1751, when William IV was succeeded by William V, aged 3 years. Though



the Orange party succeeded in maintaining the Stadtholdership under a Regency, the Republican Party, with its headquarters in the Province of Holland, and a strong backing in the other maritime provinces, showed continual hostility to the Stadtholder and were gradually working towards a *coup*, always with the support and assistance of France. The principles which afterwards developed into Jacobinism, which were growing in France, had spread to the United Provinces, where they were encouraged and propagated by French policy and French agents, and welcomed by the Republican Party as a useful instrument for the destruction of the Stadtholdership. William V grew up without that character and capacity which had distinguished most of his family; and the Orange Party, looking round for continental support, and appreciating the rising power of Prussia, arranged his marriage with a Prussian Princess, a niece of Frederick the Great and sister of his heir, and a person possessing some of the positive qualities which her husband lacked.

Such was the condition of the United Provinces in 1776 when Mirabeau, who had fled from France with his Sophie to escape the French police, decided to take refuge under an assumed name at Amsterdam, the headquarters of the revolutionary and pro-French organisations. At that place there had been established French publishing firms, from which Mirabeau hoped to get literary employment; the kind of literary employment for which he hoped is illustrated by the fact that he commended himself to them as the anonymous author of the *Essay on Despotism*, which had had some success, and which was of a complexion specially favoured by the aforesaid publishing firms; it was indeed through this circumstance that he is said to have been finally tracked by the French Police. We have seen that there is evidence that he intended to use Masonic Lodges for political purposes; that he had an introduction, presumably in his assumed name, from a French Lodge; and that he frequently attended Lodge meetings in Amsterdam, and probably also in Rotterdam, to which he paid frequent visits "on business", and the other cities mentioned by Montigny; his visits to lodges being presumably no more than a means of contacting others engaged in the same political activities as himself. His *Arvis aux Hessois*, written and issued during his eight months' stay in Holland, is one of the most violent revolutionary works which he produced. Though addressed to the people of Hesse Cassel and the other small states which persistently adhered to the Anglo-Hanoverian *bloc*, which barred the French advance beyond the Rhine, its terms were equally applicable to the people of the United Provinces; and there can be no doubt that it was also so intended. And Mirabeau had a more active and a more direct interest in the disintegration of the United Provinces than in that of the Anglo-Hanoverian *bloc*.

Again, the catalogue of the Montigny sale of 1860 gives useful and illustrative evidence. In a collection of memoranda on various subjects, in Mirabeau's hand throughout, bound together in one quarto volume, the titles of three of these memoranda are as follows:—"United Provinces—Holland"; "United Provinces—Confederation"; "United Provinces—Abstract of a plan of revolution in the". Thus Mirabeau wrote in his own hand, and therefore probably in their final state, three memoranda on the United Provinces; one on the Province of Holland, the centre of the pro-French Republican party; then in open defiance of the Central Government; one on the plan for dissolving the Union into a loose Federation of autonomous provinces, the French use for which has been illustrated by the French plan of 1671, referred to above; and one an abstract of a plan for a revolution in the country, presumably of Mirabeau's own devising. There is no indication of the date at which these memoranda were written, whether during Mirabeau's stay in Holland in 1776/1777, or some years later. But they prove conclusively Mirabeau's active interest and participation in fomenting revolution in the United Provinces. There is also another memorandum of 66 quarto pages,

entirely in Mirabeau's hand, entitled *United Provinces*, bound by itself and offered as a separate lot. If these have passed into the Foreign Office Records, it would be most interesting if they could be printed; but they do not appear to have been noticed by Loménie.

After his arrest in the summer of 1777, Mirabeau was for some time firstly in confinement, and afterwards much engaged in family affairs and litigation. Meanwhile the situation in Holland continued to develope. At the end of 1781 the Dutch were obliged to give up the right conferred upon them by the Third Barrier Treaty of 1715 to maintain garrisons in certain towns in the Austrian Netherlands. This was followed some time after by the Emperor's demand to the Dutch for the freedom of the Scheldt. In 1784, when the situation on this matter had become acute, Mirabeau again appeared in the arena with his *Doubts on the freedom of the Scheldt*, published in 1784 in London, as he was then in England; in which he suggests as the best solution the formation of a Free State of Belgium, in the form of a federal republic. It is to be noted in this connection that there was at this time considerable unrest in the Austrian Netherlands; and riots commenced in 1786, which culminated in the revolt of 1789, with a Declaration of Independence in December of that year, and a Proclamation of the Union of the Belgian United Provinces on 11th January, 1790, which lasted little more than a year. Considering the course of events in the Austrian Netherlands from 1784 to 1790, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the reasons usually given were used as pretexts to gain popular support for a revolutionary movement which had already been prepared; and having regard to the fact that Mirabeau in his pamphlet of 1784 had advocated the establishment of an independent Belgian Federal Republic, and that he had also himself drawn up a plan for a revolution in the United Provinces, which would hardly be effective for his purpose without a similar revolution in the Austrian Netherlands, it is a fair assumption that he was actively interested in the matter.

In May, 1784, Mirabeau also visited Holland, ostensibly for the purpose of getting a new edition printed there of a pamphlet by him which had been seized and destroyed in France on account of certain alleged libels which it contained. Having regard to his interest in revolution in Holland, there can be little doubt that he took the occasion of renewing his contact with the local revolutionary groups.

In the latter part of the same year, 1784, the Dutch forced a crisis by placing a Dutch Squadron in the mouth of the Scheldt, and firing on Austrian ships which were sent to test the position. The Emperor collected an army and prepared for action; and when England failed to respond to the Dutch appeal for assistance, the pro-French party turned to France, which also assembled her armies and notified the Emperor that she would take the part of the Dutch. The Emperor then agreed to relinquishing his claim for the freedom of the Scheldt, receiving a cash indemnity and the cancellation of certain relevant terms of the Barrier Treaty. This agreement, guaranteed by France, so strengthened the hands of the French party in the United Provinces that a definite alliance with France was signed two days later. Mirabeau would probably have preferred to let the war break out, and then invade the Austrian Netherlands. He is reputed to have desired the appointment of French Ambassador to the United Provinces; but apart from his habitual debts, loose living, and general unreliability, the French Government did not desire an Ambassador who would probably take the bit between his teeth and force them into a serious war against their judgment. The correspondence between Vergennes and the French Ambassador in Berlin, quoted by Loménie, sheds considerable light on the views of the French Government on Mirabeau; and on the coldness of the French Ambassador at Berlin of which Mirabeau complains so bitterly in his *Secret History of the Court of Berlin*. Mirabeau's

visits to Berlin in 1786, though they had also other motives, were concerned in estimating the probable reactions of Prussia to the approaching crisis in the United Provinces, and the assessing and, if possible, undermining the position of elements in Prussia hostile to the French policy.

The situation in Holland after the conclusion of the French alliance became more acute, terminating in the intervention of Prussia in September, 1787. A Prussian army entered the United Provinces, meeting with practically no resistance except at Amsterdam, which surrendered after a few days. The Stadtholder was restored, and guaranteed by Great Britain; and a defensive alliance was also signed between the United Provinces and Prussia. France had made some show of assisting the anti-Orange *coup*; but on being warned that England had her fleet ready for action and was prepared to defend the cause of the Stadtholder if he was attacked, she decided to remain neutral.

Mirabeau has made it clear by his frequent allusions to the failure of the French Government to seize this opportunity that in his opinion France should on this occasion have declared war on Prussia in the name of the defence of the United Provinces and sent in an army to their assistance, which, if successful, would have placed France in complete control of the whole of the Netherlands. It was the opportunity towards which he had been working; characteristically forgetting that an opportunity is useless or worse, unless one has the necessary means and the necessary resolution to take advantage of it.

A small number of the leaders of the pro-French party were exempted from the amnesty and banished from the United Provinces. They crossed into the Austrian Netherlands, and established their headquarters at Brussels. Their continued intercourse with Mirabeau is evidenced by their publication in 1787, presumably immediately after their expulsion from the United Provinces, of a *Letter on the invasion of the United Provinces to the Count de Mirabeau, and his reply*. In the following year, 1788, Mirabeau published his *To the Batavians on the Stadtholderate*, with the inevitable portrait of John de Witt. A second edition, revised, under the title *Address to the Batavians on the Stadtholderate*, was published in 1790. It may be remarked in this connection that of the two MSS. included in the Montigny sale the volume of 500 to 600 pages of *Minutes et pièces justificatives* in another hand, with corrections and additions by Mirabeau, has the title of the first edition; whilst the MS. of 39 pages 4to, in Mirabeau's hand throughout, has the title of the second edition; proving that, although the author was very fully occupied after 1789, he considered this work of sufficient importance to make a fresh copy in his own hand for a revised reissue of it in 1790.

Mirabeau died in April, 1791; but the French policy towards the United Provinces, for the development of which he had worked, came to its realisation after his death. It may be relevant to refer to this realisation very briefly.

In April, 1792, France declared war on the Empire, and at once advanced columns into the Austrian Netherlands, expecting a rising there which had been prepared by her agents; but this failing to materialise, the French forces withdrew. After their victory at Jemappes on 6th November, 1792, the French army conquered and occupied the whole of the Austrian Netherlands. Their threat to the United Provinces accentuated the growing tension with England, and on 1st February, 1793, France declared war on the King of England and the Stadtholder of the United Provinces. Dumouriez commenced to put into effect his plan for an invasion of the United Provinces, to be followed by an amalgamation of the Belgian and Batavian Republics and their union to France; but political developments caused him to abandon the plan and the French again retreated from the Austrian Netherlands.

In the autumn of 1793 the Prussian Army was withdrawn on account of developments in Poland. And, the Austrian army also having been withdrawn

in the summer of 1794 for the same reason, the French forthwith reoccupied the Austrian Netherlands, which were subsequently annexed to France.

It may be interesting to quote the reference to this proceeding by a modern Dutch historian, an ardent admirer of the French Revolution, and who justifies those Dutchmen who co-operated with the French invader, saying that "they were fighters for a better world", and that "if, in the end, they were defeated, it is not because they were evil, but because they did not understand human nature". After lamenting the corruption of the Directoire, he adds, "One thing saved it from utter decay; the war went on. It was waged by armies inspired by the idealism of 1792 and 1793". And a few lines further on he thus describes the result of the occupation of the Austrian Netherlands in 1794 by the aforesaid armies:—"The country was treated as conquered territory. The French pillaged Belgium of its food, its horses, its leather and its cloth, and made it a dumping ground for its worthless paper money." Finally, in October, 1795, the Directoire issued a decree which united the territory of the Southern Netherlands, *i.e.*, Belgium and the principality of Liège, to France.

Later in 1794 followed Pichegru's winter campaign, in which the Anglo-Hanoverian army, after a retreat which has been likened to Napoleon's retreat from Moscow in miniature, in one of the severest winters on record, evacuated the United Provinces, which were completely occupied by the French army, French cavalry also capturing the Dutch fleet, which was frozen in at its anchorage. The Stadtholder withdrew to England, his office was abolished, and the United Provinces were formed into the Batavian Republic, occupied and controlled by the French, except certain districts in the South, which were annexed by France as compensation. The French-controlled Batavian Republic was used by France as a base for the abortive expedition to Ireland in 1797, and for the invasion and conquest of Hanover in 1803. In 1806 it was formed by Napoleon into the Kingdom of Holland, and his brother, Louis Bonaparte, was made King, with instructions to govern his kingdom in the interests of France only. At the beginning of 1809 Napoleon reminded him with offensive bluntness that he had not made him King of Holland to look after the interests of the Dutch; and announced his intention of annexing part of Holland; and more French troops entered the country. Ultimately Louis Bonaparte abdicated, and almost immediately after the Kingdom of Holland was annexed to France. The French remained in Holland until November, 1813; and only the complete defeat of Napoleon in 1814 saved Holland from the permanent loss of its independence, and from being groomed into an integral part of France, like South Flanders, German Burgundy, and Alsace.

This was the end towards which Mirabeau had worked, from his visit to Holland in 1776 to his death in 1791. Towards this end he made use of Dutch masonic lodges, in conjunction with individual members of those lodges who were working for the ascendancy of their own political party, and were used by France for her own purpose, that of subjugating, exploiting, and annexing the United Provinces and depriving them permanently of their independence and their separate existence. I think that the facts and evidence indicated above fully warrant such a conclusion. To France Mirabeau appears to have been faithful—after his fashion; qualified as it was, it was probably his only loyalty. Masonry he used without scruple or diffidence, and regarded it as fit for nothing else. How far the use of Dutch masonic lodges as caves for such political activities by individuals was due to any weakness in their organisation or control, and where lay such weakness, if any, and how it might have been prevented, are parts of a larger question which is not peculiar to the United Provinces.

Bro. Heron Lepper has called attention to the reference to America in the *Memorandum*, and has noted that France did not join in the war against

England until 1778. Although France had from an earlier date been assisting the Separatists in America by almost every other means, it was not in fact until 1778 that French personnel actually joined the American Separatists, so that French recruiting for service in that war could not have been referred to in 1776, the date of the *Memorandum*. And Bro. Heron Lepper therefore raises the question whether the reference in the *Memorandum* might not be to the Hessian troops used by the British in America.

The use of forced recruiting for service in America as a popular cry for stimulating discontent in France refers, not to the American War of Independence, where the French serving were largely volunteers, but to the previous war in America between France and England, which coincided with the Seven Years' War, and merged with it, though it had a separate origin.

The War of the Austrian Succession had cost France heavy losses in men, and greatly increased her financial difficulties, without securing to her any advantages whatever; and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, which closed that war, had been so unpopular that the expression *Bête comme la Paix* (as stupid as the Peace) had passed into current use. Looking round for some quarter in which to obtain success, the French Government took advantage of disputes arising out of uncertain boundaries in North America to endeavour to establish permanent land connection between their colonies of Canada and Louisiana, the latter more extensive than the modern state of that name. In addition to the advantage of not being wholly dependent on the sea for inter-communication, this would also have the effect of encircling the British Colonies by land, and cutting them off from the territory between the Ohio and the Mississippi and from the uncolonised West, which would thereby be preserved for future penetration and colonisation by France as time and circumstances permitted. Accordingly the French advanced along the right bank of the Ohio, establishing fortified posts and making agreements with the local Indians. The British appreciated the threat and took similar action on the opposite bank; and the inevitably resulting clashes increased until an unofficial state of war existed, both parties defending themselves against the charge of making war without a formal declaration by the contention that they were only protecting themselves against aggression. These hostilities gradually spread to the West; and eventually France attacked and took Minorca in April, 1756, whereupon England declared war in May. The Seven Years' War on the Continent started in August of the same year.

In America for the first year or two the French had some successes. But after that they proceeded to lose practically the whole of their very considerable American possessions; a loss which was confirmed by the Peace of Paris, 1763, which terminated the war; and by a supplementary treaty with Spain only Guadeloupe and Martinique and a few lesser islands being returned to France.

Although much larger forces had been engaged in the war on the Continent, with much larger casualties, and ultimately no permanent advantage, the operations of the continental armies had been conducted in foreign countries, which they consistently plundered, and there had been occasional military successes. But in the American war the proportion of casualties was much higher, very few of the rank and file ever returning to France, except as repatriated prisoners of war, who would bring back accounts of nothing but failure, defeat, and death from disease, for all of which they would, of course, blame the government. Propagandists therefore quoted the service in America as almost a sentence of death; and this impression would be kept alive by the necessity of garrisoning Martinique and Guadeloupe, where regiments were almost wiped out in a few years by fever, requiring continual reinforcements, few of whom ever returned.

Owing to the extensive system of exemptions from military service at that time prevailing in France, the burden of this service fell almost entirely upon the peasants. De Tocqueville has remarked that the French economic writers of the eighteenth century, whilst they vigorously denounced most of the other abuses inconsistent with social equality, were warm supporters of this system of exemptions; and he quotes from one of these, whose name unfortunately he does not mention, "The low pay of the soldier, the manner in which he is lodged, dressed, and fed, and his entire state of dependence, would render it too cruel to take any but a man of the lowest orders".

It need hardly be added that the reference to forced recruiting for service in America was not inserted in the *Memorandum* to appeal to the members of the small circle for whom it was written, who would all belong to the classes which in practice enjoyed exemption from such service, but for its use as a convenient instrument for stimulating discontent among the peasantry, which was regarded as a necessary preparation for revolution.

But whilst the reference in the *Memorandum* is not to the British use of Hessian troops in America against the Separatists during the War of Independence, the remarkable persistence of the "ripple of reprobation throughout liberal-minded Europe" caused thereby is largely due to Mirabeau's propaganda stunt on the subject during his stay in Holland. This mischievous and malevolent misrepresentation of an action which was in no way abnormal and in no way immoral has remained like a dead bluebottle embedded in the amber of History, through the cracks of which it periodically emits its unsavoury odour; and British historians, of undoubted ability and knowledge, appear to be utterly confounded by it, and quaver out an odd mixture of transparent casuistry and abject apology.

Two examples out of very many will suffice. In Dyer's *History of Modern Europe*, an excellent work which had much vogue about 80 years after the Declaration of Independence, but now unjustly relegated to oblivion, the author in his preface states that he "may assert that with regard to opinions he has not servilely adopted those of any author whatsoever". And this is what we get on the employment of Hessian troops in America. "The country had to pay dearly for the degradation of incorporating these foreign hirelings in her armies. Much deeper, however, was the shame of the princes who engaged in this white slave trade and sold the blood of their subjects to fill their own coffers and support their pomp and luxury".

*The Political History of England*, issued in the early part of the present century, aspires to be a standard work, each volume being written by a different historian of eminence, an expert on the period with which he deals. In vol. x we are told that "it became evident that the war required the immediate supply of a far greater number of men than could be spared from the present establishment or could be raised quickly. . . . A proposal made to Catherine of Russia for the hire of 20,000 men was scornfully declined, and the States General refused to sell their Scots Brigade". However, "the petty princes of Germany" were more amenable, and the rulers of Brunswick, Hesse Cassel, and Waldeck "were happy to sell their subjects in return for a liberal payment". And after stating that the King of England had as much right to buy troops as to buy cannon, the historian adds, "It is on the princes who sold the blood of their subjects that the disgrace of these transactions must rest". It is to be noted that he attempts to emphasise this alleged disgrace by contrasting them with the ruler of Russia, who "scornfully declined" a similar proposal; though he must have been well aware that on other occasions Russia accepted such a proposal, and took the payment and supplied the troops. Most other historians comment in the same strain.

It will be of interest briefly to examine this subject: firstly on the general question of the hire of foreign troops, with special reference to France, which

is principally responsible for the charge; and, secondly, the particular case of the hiring of Hessian troops by Great Britain.

The hiring of foreign troops goes back continuously to remote antiquity, but we must here confine ourselves to a brief notice of it in connection with the countries of modern Europe. The hiring out of troops in consideration of a subsidy is by no means exclusively a characteristic of hereditary rulers of the lesser German States, as so many British historians in their apologies seem to imply, nor indeed of hereditary rulers generally. The most extensive, the most organised, and the most mercenary practitioner of this kind was what probably has always been the most endemically republican of all European states, the Republic of Switzerland.

The Swiss in the latter part of the fifteenth century and in the earlier part of the sixteenth century were justly reputed to be the finest infantry in Europe; and contemporary critics were of the opinion that if it was impossible to counter Swiss with Swiss the only other infantry which might be able to stand up to them were Germans. France early employed Swiss, and the Perpetual Alliance of 1474, by which France secured the sole right to hire Swiss troops, on payment of a subsidy to the Cantons, originally only for the life of the French king, was reaffirmed in the "Perpetual Peace" of 1516; though in the interval large bodies of Swiss were used against France, particularly by the Dukes of Milan, to which France was obliged to oppose hired Germans. Unlike the contemporary German Landsknechts, who were mostly recruited from deserters by individual adventurers, without any profit to or connivance from the State from which they came, the Swiss were organised in units from the respective Cantons, whose authorities controlled their hiring and received regular and special subsidies. Normally the troops served as long as their employers fulfilled exactly the financial terms of the contract, but not a moment longer; though so long as the money promised was promptly paid, they usually reckoned to give and did give very good value for it. A good illustration is furnished by the preliminaries to the Battle of Marignano in 1515, when the contingents from some of the Swiss Cantons, about 12,000 strong, deserted their employer, the Duke of Milan, before the battle, as the result of a large cash bribe and a yearly subsidy for each of the Cantons offered by the French. The desperate and bloody attack delivered by the remainder, although heavily outnumbered, before following their example, convinced the French of the wisdom of the "Perpetual Alliance"; and the capture of the Duchy of Milan by the French was followed in 1516 by the "Perpetual Peace" referred to above; and though the increasing use of firearms and alterations in tactical methods soon after made obsolete the tactical formation in which the Swiss had won their successes and their reputation, they remained always good and steady soldiers, and continually figure in the French armies down to the time of the Revolution. That the Swiss Guards who were massacred by the mob at the Tuileries on 10th August, 1792, were not Swiss in name only is illustrated by the fact that the junior officer of the regiment, De Montmollin, who was killed whilst defending the colour, and had only joined the regiment on the previous day, had recently arrived from Switzerland. Other Swiss officers in the regiment had started in other Swiss regiments in the French service before being transferred to the Swiss Guards.

Besides the Swiss regiments in the French service there were many regiments of other foreign nationalities. And at one period of the French Revolution the King was more than once advised to assert his authority in Paris by bringing in his foreign troops, as the French troops could not be relied upon to fire on the Parisians. Amongst those who advocated this course was Mounier, only a few months after he had provided the text of the "Oath of the Tennis Court". A single example of these foreign regiments will suffice. The Regiment La Marck, which had been continuously maintained in the French

service at least from the time of Louis XIV, was a proprietary regiment commanded by the Count de La Marck for the time being, consisting entirely of Germans, recruited in Germany, many of them knowing little or no French; the administrative language of the regiment, and even the words of command, were German. It was an exceptionally smart and efficient regiment, and one of the best in the French service. Prince Auguste d'Arenberg, who as Count de La Marck managed the relations of Mirabeau with the Court, succeeded to the command of this regiment on the death of his maternal grandfather, Louis Count de La Marck, and actively assumed it when of sufficient age; and he was severely wounded in the chest whilst commanding it in India against the British. And this was by no means the only German proprietary regiment in the French service. These German regiments, composed of Germans born and bred in Germany, were serving in the French army during a period when it periodically invaded German territory, plundering and destroying and oppressing the inhabitants and permanently annexing German territory when able to do so. Yet at the same time Mirabeau was shouting and shaking with righteous indignation at the iniquity of the British employing Hessian troops against the American Separatists, loudly declaring with characteristic exaggeration that more than half of the inhabitants of the British American Colonies were of German extraction, whereas in fact not more than one tenth were of German ancestry, and most of these from Wurtemberg and the South Rhineland.

It may be added that the French employment of foreign troops was by no means unique. A single example out of many may be quoted. At the time of the Treaty of Munster, in 1648, the United Provinces had in their service 31 regiments of foreign infantry, including 5 English, 5 French, 3 Scottish, 3 German, and 15 Flemish at that time subjects of Spain: in this case no doubt very necessary for the preservation of the independence of their country against a large and aggressive neighbour. Such examples of the hiring of foreign troops, whether for defensive or offensive purposes, are so numerous that they are accepted as a general practice not calling for any special comment.

As to the hiring of Hessian troops by Great Britain. The Landgravate of Hesse Cassel, the largest part of old Hesse, is a long irregular shaped state lying on the East of the Rhineland, and across the path of armies invading Central Europe from France and *vice versa*. It was one of the earliest and the most consistent champions of the Protestant Cause in Europe; and on this account it was consistently hated by France, and also regarded with disfavour by its suzerain at Vienna. During the seventeenth century, when France had discontinued her periodical invasions of Italy, and concentrated on a policy of expansion to the East and North, the territories lying on her Eastern frontier were the Landgravate of Alsace and German Burgundy, the old Free County; and the Duchy of Lorraine. These were accordingly the first objectives of French expansion to the East, and took the brunt of French invasions, being conquered and occupied, then relinquished, and then reconquered. After Alsace and German Burgundy had been finally annexed to France, the danger came appreciably closer to Hesse Cassel. Turenne's devastation of the Palatinate, in 1676, which is referred to by his admirers as the sole blot on his reputation, showed to Hesse Cassel what it might expect in the future. And as its suzerain the Emperor had been unable to save German Burgundy and Alsace from conquest and annexation by France, there was no very good hope of salvation from that quarter.

The accession of a Protestant king in England, who was also Stadtholder of the United Provinces, afforded therefore a welcome promise of support from a new direction. Throughout Marlborough's wars the army of Hesse Cassel, under the command of its Landgrave in person, served not in the Imperial army under Eugène, but in the army under Marlborough. The Landgrave was one of the generals under his command, and the part taken by him in the



operations culminating in the Battle of Blenheim in 1704, and his charge with his Hessian cavalry at a critical moment of the Battle of Malplaquet in 1709, which helped to convert into a victory what might otherwise have been a reverse, show that Marlborough was able to rely on him. During this war British and Hessian troops fought in the same army under the command of an English general against a common enemy, in the successive campaigns.

With the accession of the Elector of Hanover to the throne of England as George I, the foreign policy of England on the Continent became largely decided by the interests of Hanover; and after the Alliance of Hanover in 1727 the states adjoining Hanover became united to it in a firm alliance. The advantage of that alliance to Hesse Cassel may be illustrated by a brief reference to the Seven Years' War, the last major war in Western Europe before the French Revolution. In April, 1757, three French armies crossed the frontier, and in July, 1757, occupied Hesse Cassel, the Hanoverian and Hessian army, with lesser German contingents, all under the Duke of Cumberland, retiring before them. The lack of discipline in the French army at this time, and the manner in which it plundered and oppressed the countries which it occupied, is graphically described by various French contemporaries. The French government had made no adequate preparations for the army, which was deficient in tents, equipment, rations, clothing, and even boots. The army lived on the country, and plunder and pillage were the order of the day, accompanied by every kind of oppression to which uncontrolled ravaging leads. The officers not only made no attempt to restrain their men, but encouraged them and shared in the spoil. Nor was it likely to be improved when D'Estrées was succeeded in the command of the army by Richelieu, who was familiarly known to the men in his army as "Père la Maraude", of which perhaps the best English equivalent is "Old Plunderguts". Hesse had to endure this treatment throughout the winter, and the French army was loaded and encumbered with loot, and followed by thousands of carts of dealers. The official reports of the Chief of Staff complain that the troops committed every kind of atrocity, and were more ready to plunder than to fight. Richelieu was recalled from his command early in 1758, and shortly after the Hanoverian-Hessian army, having been reinforced by British troops, drove the French out of Hesse, after clearing them also out of Hanover, Brunswick, and other territories. Hesse had only a short respite, for in July, 1758, another French army, intended for Bohemia, attacked the Anglo-Hanoverians and drove them out of Hesse, which was again occupied by the French. Late in October, 1758, the French went into winter quarters on the Main, but in April, 1759, they again advanced through Hesse. By the operations, of which the principal feature was the Battle of Minden on 1st August, 1759, they were again obliged to evacuate Hesse. The battle was largely won by the celebrated charge of 9 infantry regiments, of which 6 were British, against the French cavalry. After that Hesse Cassel had a longer respite of about eleven months. But in July, 1760, it was again invaded and occupied by the French. The attempt to drive them out in February, 1761, failed after some weeks' fighting on Hessian soil, and was not renewed until the late summer of 1762, when after some months' operations the Anglo-Hanoverian army recaptured Cassel on 31st October. By the Peace of Paris, 10th February, 1763, all the territories of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel were restored to him.

Thus during the Seven Years' War Hesse Cassel was three times invaded by the French, who occupied it for more than half the duration of the war, and thoroughly plundered it with every form of oppression; and three times the French were cleared out of it by the Anglo-Hanoverian army, in which the whole force of Hesse was included. And this was not the only period during which it suffered similarly. Unlike the Dutch, the Hessians were unable to rely for protection on the rising power of Prussia, which coveted the territory

of Hesse Cassel, and eventually annexed it. Britain was therefore the chief guarantee for Hessian independence, and the security and integrity of Britain could never be a matter of indifference to the Hessians.

The practice of taking Hessian troops into British pay, with the payment of a subsidy, which was regularly employed in every crisis for over half a century, commenced at the Alliance of Hanover in 1727. Before that date the British Government, always destitute of sufficient troops in every crisis, had been obliged to hire foreign troops, for the protection of British soil, from the Danes and the Dutch. The political events leading up to the rival Alliances of Hanover and Vienna, though of much interest, are too intricate to be detailed here. The key to the situation was Sweden, where England and France on the one hand, and Russia on the other, spent considerable sums in buying political support. Frederick I of Sweden, brother-in-law of the late king and son of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, was obliged to write in 1725 to Townshend for British assistance to pay debts of £50,000, incurred in maintaining his position, without which he might be obliged to abdicate. Although it was necessary for British policy to find the money, it could not be spared from the Civil List, and Parliament could not be asked for it. Townshend then conceived the idea, which he afterwards boasted as having been entirely due to himself, of a treaty for hiring Hessian troops with a subsidy of which £50,000 would actually be paid to the King of Sweden. Newcastle, in reporting the scheme to the King, cynically remarks that they had to find the £50,000 for the King of Sweden, and they might as well pay it with the Landgrave's money; adding that in effect not a penny of the subsidy would go to the Landgrave. Some difficulty was experienced in persuading the Landgrave; but at length he consented. £50,000 of the subsidy was sent direct to the British representative in Sweden, and the balance was absorbed by the cost of the troops to be hired before they were taken into British pay.

The Hessian troops proved excellent in every way, and their hire became a semi-permanent practice of the British Government. It suited admirably both parties. On the Hessian side, it enabled Hesse Cassel, between the periods of war on the Continent, to keep with the colours a body of trained troops whom they would otherwise have been obliged to disband. These troops were often in garrison in England, though they were always returned to the Continent when required for the defence of their own country. On the British side, it enabled the Government to keep the strength of British troops available for the defence of their country continually below the safety line, by supplementing them with foreign troops, always Hessians and sometimes also others, and thus discouraging raids or attempts at invasion provoked by the inadequate defences of the country. There was certainly no shame to the Hessians or their rulers; the shame if any was with the British Government.

Except on the Continent, where they were of course fighting in defence of their country, the Hessian troops hired by Britain were in action only on three occasions during half a century. The first of these occasions was in the Scottish rising in 1745, when Hessian cavalry, commanded by the Landgrave in person, took part in the Battle of Culloden—the "Hanoverian horsemen fiercely riding to and fro" of Aytoun's ballad. It may be noted that while the use of Hessian troops by the King of England in America against revolting colonists caused that "ripple of reprobation throughout liberal-minded Europe" already referred to, which has left its permanent mark on our history, the use of Hessian troops against Scots on Scottish soil left liberal-minded Europe singularly cold. The last of the three occasions was in 1797, when Hessian cavalry formed part of an expedition to the West Indies. Owing to storms only about half of the expedition reached its destination, including the cavalry, but without a single horse. Until remounts could be procured the British cavalry were used dismounted. But the Hessian cavalry protested that their contract

required them to serve only as mounted troops; and their protest was admitted, and they were not used until they had been remounted. So much for Dyer's "white slaves"!

The remaining occasion was the American war of Independence. The number sent to America from first to last, including reinforcements, was nearly 30,000; an important contribution when compared with the absurd smallness of the forces employed by us in some of the decisive phases of the war. The Hessians, including smaller contingents from Brunswick Wolfenbüttel and other lesser states, always played a creditable part in the war; except at Trenton on 26th December, 1776, when through gross negligence a Hessian force allowed itself to be surprised and captured, thereby necessitating the British retreat from New Jersey; an episode which some consider to be the turning point of the War of Independence. Contrary to what might be expected from Pitt's hectic rhetoric, the Separatists showed no resentment to the Hessians, and treated those who fell into their hands with so much consideration that a sufficient number of them volunteered to serve in the ranks of the colonists to enable them to be formed into a separate corps. And on the conclusion of the war about one half of the total number sent out to America voluntarily remained there as colonists.

The most important result of the employment of Hessian troops in America has been singularly neglected. Most histories tell us how Carleton saved Canada. But it is not generally noted that the reinforcements whose timely arrival enabled him effectively to complete that operation consisted principally of the first instalment of hired Hessian troops. Had it not been for the foresight and initiative of the King, who hired the Hessian troops without waiting for the approval of Parliament, which has been so much imputed to him for unrighteousness, the reinforcements would have arrived much too late, and Canada would probably have been drawn into the revolt, from which it could hardly have afterwards been extricated. History books love to impress upon us that the American Colonies were lost to the British Empire by the folly and incapacity of the King and his chosen ministers; though from the opinions and conduct of the opposition there can be little doubt that they would have lost them equally effectively had they been in power. But it was the King, acting promptly without waiting for Parliament, who made it possible to preserve Canada for the British Empire, of which more than a century and a half later it still continues to form part.

Bro. Heron Lepper has reminded us of the multiplicity of masonic or so-called masonic degrees in France during the generation which preceded the Revolution; and this no doubt complicates the consideration of how, if at all, masonry can be said to have helped to promote it. I think, however, that to attribute this multiplicity to a desire to render the perfected more perfect is to be unduly charitable. An examination of the rituals of these numerous organisations, so far as they can be reconstructed—and Bro. Heron Lepper has reminded us that a good deal of material for such reconstruction exists—would probably enable us to place each of them in one of three categories.

The first, and probably the largest, of these categories consists of those degrees or observances which are intended as the thin end of the wedge for the penetration of masonry by some religious or political organisation. Such degrees or observances cannot properly be regarded as part of masonry, but are something extraneous which intrudes into masonry for the purpose of destroying it and wearing its clothes as a disguise. How easily such counterfeits may pass into currency is illustrated by the fact that in one of the comments on this paper the plan outlined in the *Memorandum* is referred to as the creation of another degree in masonry. Whether we regard such an intrusive degree or order as the pearl of great price which is the chief justification of the existence of that lowly organism in which it develops, or whether we regard it as a sty

in the eye of Apollo, marring his divine beauty and misdirecting the shafts of his silver bow, such organisations are not Masonry, and their activities and those of their members as such cannot be debited against Masonry. Though the consideration as to how far the constitution of Masonry renders it liable to be penetrated and misused by such elements is not irrelevant. When we hear Masons approving the introduction of religious or political elements into Masonry on the ground that the ideas proposed are entirely in accordance with the ideals of Masonry, and therefore entirely unobjectionable, it means that they are attempting to favour the introduction into Masonry of the political or religious views and programmes of which they personally approve, whether such attempt is deliberate or excused by self-deception.

The second category consists of degrees or orders whose Masonic content is mere superfluous duplication of pre-existing degrees or orders. They present the same ideas with deliberately different and usually less effective scriptural illustrations. They are generally superficial and futile, though on rare occasions they may rise to a "purple patch". Their object is to provide more titles and more jewels for those Masons who prefer quantity to quality, and to give further scope for ritualistic Alexanders sighing for more worlds to conquer. No doubt the style which reminds us of "the Turk that two and thirty titles hath" is evidence of zeal and much work, and thus a testimony of merit; though it might be suggested that much of such work might have been employed with more advantage to Masonry in less exotic cultures. But for the purpose of estimating the effects of Masonry these degrees and orders are mere negligible superfluities, unless and until they are penetrated by religious or political interests, when they move into the first category and, while ceasing to be negligible, at the same time cease to be Masonry.

The relatively small number of degrees which remains after the removal of the first two categories forms the third category, which alone can properly for our purpose be reckoned as Masonic. A careful comparative analysis of these degrees should enable us to extract and define their highest common factor; and this highest common factor represents French Freemasonry in the generation immediately preceding the Revolution. And in the question of the relation of Freemasonry to the French Revolution it is this, and this alone, whose effect if any on the promotion of that Revolution needs to be considered and estimated.

Sincere and impartial investigation along these lines should give more satisfactory results than triumphant efforts to squash the squirming bodies of Robison and Barruel by piling Mounier on Aimable.

I am much indebted to Bro. Radice for his full and helpful criticism, for the many excellent points which he makes, and for the picture which he draws of the setting. In one respect, however, I would like to differ on a rather fundamental point.

Bro. Radice suggests that the Revolution falls into two distinct revolutions; the first by intellectuals whose intentions were excellent and progressive, but whose practical measures were ineffective; the second revolution that of the "brigands", whose intentions were diabolical and destructive, but who developed "a horrible executive efficiency". In this he agrees with Madelin.

Revolution is generally a phase in a process of development, all the stages of which are intimately connected with and dependent upon those which immediately precede them. But if we are to distinguish two distinct stages in the French Revolution, the first or pre-revolution is not the verbal efflorescence of the "Philosophers" in the eighteenth century, which, as Bro. Radice justly remarks, was the expression of an "anxiety to hamstring tyranny which probably never was, and certainly, through sheer inanimity, had ceased to be as such". It is rather to be found in the domestic work of the great Imperialist French statesman of the seventeenth century who for the purpose of making the monarchy

absolute deliberately emasculated or destroyed every other possible source of effective political action in the country. In consequence France after the death of Louis XIV was a dictatorship without an effective dictator. Most of those changes afterwards attributed to the Revolution were in process of development long before 1789. But the firmness and wisdom required to make the necessary adjustments were completely lacking; and the arrears of these adjustments continued to pile up with an increasing rapidity under an inefficiency surely more worthy of the adjective "horrible" than any efficiency can ever be.

The "Philosophers" were not the cause, but merely the rash of the suppressed fever. They appear on the stage as a sort of Greek chorus, periodically giving platitudinous advice, often expressed with much attractive imagery and meritorious literary form; but they take no part in the action of the drama and their moral maxims, though they may edify the audience, are consistently disregarded by the protagonists. In a time when the urgent cry was for action, wise and firm action if possible, but above all for action, the only response which these personages were able to give was to collect and burn publicly in a heap in the market place the discarded clothing of the defunct, circumambulating the pyre with ceremonial step, clad in their property togas, twanging their archaistic lyres and chanting the Harmodion to the latest setting by Rossini. And to provide the classical parallel which these personages loved, they remind us forcibly of Nero reciting classical compositions to improvised music in the presence of his burning capital. But whereas we can at least admit that the Roman Emperor was moved to artistic expression by the magnificence of the spectacle, the Philosophers were inspired only by the contemplation of their own ineffable moral excellence, which in most cases was no more than a *rococo facade*.

Some of those who have been stigmatised as the "Brigands" were at least realists who appreciated the position and the need for leadership; but their genius was too incomplete and lopsided to enable them to fill the part for which they had cast themselves. Amongst these inadequate postulants for the supreme position the figure of Mirabeau stands out pre-eminent. But that pre-eminence, the halo of which still surrounds his name, was almost entirely due to a single quality, the quality expressed in the well-known description of Cæsar, to whom Mirabeau had not in any other respect the remotest resemblance, "*Qualiter expressum ventis per nubila fulmen ætheris impulsu sonitu*", which Ridley rather tamely translates, "As parts the cloud a bolt by winds compelled, with crack of riven air". There was plenty of *ætheris impulsu sonitus* about Mirabeau; and his thunders continually gathered strength from the echoes which they drew from his audiences. But whereas Cæsar's lightning flashes were directed and controlled, Mirabeau was by contrast like a schoolboy exploding fireworks for the excitement of the roar and the flash, and the long-drawn expression of admiration from the other schoolboys.

Mirabeau had all the dramatic appeal of a successful leader of charges; and though his *Notes to the Court* show that he had a quick and accurate eye for a tactical situation in action, it was chiefly in selecting the spot for a charge that his tactical sense was exercised. And as he came thundering past on his political charges the political infantry standing by waved their hats and cheered. A valuable quality, but as a means and not as an end. It has helped to win battles, but it has also lost them. So Robert of Artois at Damietta in 1249 lost both the battle and the campaign by yielding to the intoxication of a successful charge. So also in 1797 the Russian contingent in Holland aborted the only chance of success, not by lack of courage or initiative, but by inability to check their own impetus. Even the Great Condé, who though overrated had some quality as a commander, so permitted himself to be enticed by the lure of the charge at Dreux in 1562 as to provoke the remark of an acute modern critic, that the first lesson of this battle was that "Commanders-in-chief should not act like cavalry brigadiers". Bazaine was a gallant soldier

and an effective commander in action of anything up to a brigade. But if Mirabeau had had the ill-fortune to get into the supreme position at which he aimed, his name would have been no less unpopular in France than that of Bazaine, and with better cause. And it must not be overlooked that even the most successful charge is entirely destructive. Of constructive capacity Mirabeau had none. With unlimited ambition, immense vanity, and complete absence of any scruple whatever, supported by a ready wit, a good memory, and a sounding voice, he aimed at the highest place, in which he could with immunity disregard the Laws of God and Man, which were a continual inhibition to the free indulgence of his psychological intemperance. But of what else he would do when he got there he had no idea, except that it is more godlike and more spectacular to thunder from the summit of Olympus than to thunder in the Vale of Tempe.

In spite of his vanity Mirabeau seems at moments to have realised his fundamental lack of anything constructive: and he is said to have expressed the fear that he might be remembered only as a "Great Demolisher". And so indeed he was: though fate kindly intervened to prevent him from demonstrating the fact too convincingly.

And Mirabeau was not only a Great Demolisher in his political activities. For his lack of any constructive principle, and of any objective other than the indulgence of his vanity and sensuous love of auto-intoxication, was equally disintegrating in his own person. In the final stage of his career, when he was subsidised by the Court, not even the belief that he and he alone could save the situation exercised the slightest restraint on his disorders. For though La Marck, who was responsible for his relations with the Court, regarded him as a last forlorn hope, and had no confidence in his success, Mirabeau himself had no such distrust in his destiny. Yet, believing that he was the keystone of the situation, he used the subsidies of the Court, not that he might be relieved of financial anxiety to enable him to devote his full energies to the work, but to destroy himself by spending the time needed for rest in extravagant and exhausting indulgence. Though we need not believe all the details painted by his enemies, there can be no doubt that his end was due to his excesses. Instead of the epitaph chosen by himself, that the Monarchy perished with him, we might give him the epitaph of a character in one of Balzac's works, changing only the name: "Honoré Gabriel aimait la quadriole, et Lolotte l'a tué".

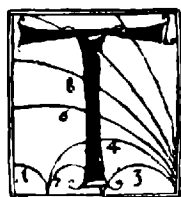
"Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis tempus eget", which in this context may be very freely translated, "That kind of person is no sort of use at a time of crisis when the S.O.S. has sounded".

To conclude with the orthodox formula "Requiescat in Pace" would be both unkind and inappropriate. For repose and peace were foreign to Mirabeau. Rather would he have made the choice of Helena's handmaidens in Goethe's great poem, who refused to follow their leader in accompanying her mistress into the Land of Shades, preferring to remain in the old familiar world, disporting themselves in the Dance of the Elements, until they faded away and were absorbed into those Elements whose daughters they are. But whereas the handmaidens of Helena looked forward to spending the period of their waning existence dancing with the sunbeam and singing with the breeze, the spirit of Mirabeau would rather have chosen to be whirled around in the storm and the tempest, like some fantastic Wildjäger of the upper air, riding on the furious gale, halloing wildly as crash follows crash, and exulting in the exhilaration of the use of a giant's strength like a giant. And probably nothing would have pleased him better than the notion that in the latter days, in the winter of our discontent, when the rising hurricane roars until the houses rock, the elders, huddled over the embers of a dying fire, should admonish their distracted children, and say, "Listen to the voice of the great Mirabeau, calling upon the peoples to rise up and follow him in the name of Liberty".

And whither?

FRIDAY, 6th OCTOBER, 1944.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4 p.m. Present:—Bros. F. L. Pick, *P.C.I.S.*, W.M.; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, P.A.G.R., P.M., as S.W.; G. Y. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, P.A.G.R., P.M., Treasurer; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.S.B., Secretary; F. R. Radice, S.D.; *Lt. Col.* H. C. B. Wilson, P.G.D.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.; and S. Pope.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. H. Chown, P.A.G.St.B.; C. F. Sykes, P.A.G.St.B.; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; W. Wilkinson; B. G. Stewart; J. Johnstone, P.A.G.D.C.; J. F. H. Gilbard; S. E. Ward; Edward Mackie; F. C. Ruddle; Geo. F. Pallett; L. G. Wearing; H. B. Q. Evans; F. Coston Taylor; F. J. Underwood, P.A.G.D.C.; M. Goldberg; A. E. Evans; H. P. Healy; D. L. Oliver; E. Alven; S. C. Fidler; L. J. Humphries; F. W. Harris; J. H. Smith; J. H. Craig, P.G.D.; C. Mullett; Sir Claude James, P.G.M., Tasmania; A. Perry; H. Johnson; A. S. Carter; S. J. Bradford, P.G.St.B.; and E. Eyles.

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Also the following Visitors:—Bros. F. C. Booth, Peckham Lodge, No. 1475; A. H. Horner, Honour and Virtue Lodge, No. 5536; and G. B. Dixon, Shurmur Lodge, No. 2374.

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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.; *Wg. Commdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *LL.B.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, 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, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; G. S. Knocker, *M.B.E.*, P.A.G.Sup.W.; W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., J.D.; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., I.G.; *Commr.* S. N. Smith, *R.N.*, P.Pr.G.D., Cambs; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C.; and J. R. Rylands.

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Bro. *Colonel* Frank Martyn Rickard was elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. J. Heron Lepper was re-elected Treasurer, and Bro. G. H. Ruddle was re-elected Tyler.

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One Lodge, one Chapter and Thirtv-five Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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Bro. G. Y. Johnson read the following paper:—

## THE YORK GRAND CHAPTER, Or GRAND CHAPTER OF ALL ENGLAND

BY BRO. G. Y. JOHNSON, P.A.G.D.C.,  
*Librarian of York Lodge No. 236.*

### INTRODUCTION



THE York Grand Chapter, or Grand Chapter of all England, grew from a humble origin, and on two or three occasions nearly collapsed. Its history may be divided into three parts:—  
(I) Royal Arch Lodge, 1762 to 1764, with one meeting in 1766. All Founders and Candidates were members of the Punch Bowl (Craft) Lodge.  
(II) Royal Arch Chapter, 1768 to 1772, with one meeting in 1776, which issued Warrants of Constitution. Candidates were chiefly members of the York Grand Lodge.  
(III) Grand Royal Arch Chapter or Grand Chapter of All England, 1778 to 1781.

Fortunately the original Minute Books are still in existence. These are:—

(1) Royal Arch Minute Book, from 7th February, 1762, to 6th January, 1776, Quarto,  $7\frac{3}{4}$  ins. by  $6\frac{1}{8}$  ins., 73 lvs. (81 pages being blank), half bound. In the handwriting of the Secretaries.<sup>1</sup> In addition the following has been added later by John Browne, Grand Secretary 1779-1780:—

(A) Title page engrossed "Minute Book belonging the Most Sublime Degree or Order of Royal Arch appertaining to The Grand Lodge of all England held at the City of York, 1762."

(B) List of Members headed "Names of the Royal Arch Brethren as they occur in this Minute Book belonging the Grand Chapter."

(C) "Grand Chapter of all England Rules & Orders of the same."

(D) "The Principia to be Observed by all Regular Constituted Chapters."

(2) Grand Chapter Minute Book, from 8th February, 1778, to 10th September, 1781, Foolscap folio,  $12\frac{3}{4}$  ins. by  $7\frac{7}{8}$  ins., 108 lvs. (170 pages being blank), half bound. In the handwriting<sup>2</sup> of John Browne, Grand Secretary 1779-1780. The first portion was copied from the small Minute Book (see No. 3 below). In addition to the Minutes there is the following information:—

(A) A note stating that this Minute Book was lent by Bro. William Blanchard, the last Grand Secretary, to Bro. Godfrey Higgins<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Minutes of the meeting held on 6th Jan., 1776, are in the handwriting of John Browne.

<sup>2</sup> The Minutes of the three meetings held in 1781 are in the handwriting of William Blanchard.

<sup>3</sup> Author of *Anacalypsis, an attempt to draw aside the veil of the Saitic Isis*, 1836.



and by him transferred to H.R.H. The Duke of Sussex, G.M. Later the Book was deposited at the Grand Lodge of England and in 1872 returned to the York Lodge No. 236.

(B) Title page engrossed "Royal Arch Minute Book belonging the Grand Lodge of all England held at the City of York Beginning 8th February, 1778."

(C) List of Members headed "Names of the Brethren advanced to the Degree of Royal Arch in the Grand Chapter of all England as they occur in the Minute Book."

(3) Small Minute Book,<sup>1</sup> from 8th February, 1778, to 18th January, 1780. Quarto, 7½ ins. by 6¼ ins., 24 lvs. (14 pages being blank), no cover. The Minutes from 8th February, 1778, to 7th March, 1779, are in the handwriting of John Coupland and the Minutes from 11th March, 1779, to 18th January, 1780, in that of John Browne. In addition John Coupland gives the following information:—

(A) "List of Members".

(B) Accounts from 8th February, 1778, to 11th March, 1779.

(4) Account Book,<sup>2</sup> from 29th April, 1768, to 3rd June, 1772, in the handwriting of John Coupland, and from 11th March, 1779, to 20th June, 1780, in the handwriting of John Browne. Quarto, 7½ ins. by 6¾ ins., 20 lvs. (14 pages being blank), paper cover.

#### FIRST KNOWN REFERENCE AT YORK

The first suggestion that the Royal Arch Degree was being worked in the City of York is found in a book published in Dublin in 1744 called *A Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the present decay of Freemasonry in the Kingdom of Ireland*. The author was Fifield Dassigny, M.D., who is not considered a reliable authority. Dassigny states that he is informed that "an assembly of Master Masons" in the City of York whose "qualifications and excellences are superior to others, they receive a larger pay than working Masons." He further states that "a certain propagator of a false system" asserted that he was a "Master of the Royal Arch", which system "he had brought with him from the City of York." This is well known Masonic history, and taken at its face value shows that Royal Arch Masonry was worked at York in or before 1744. There is no evidence at York of this, and the statement must be considered as being of a doubtful character.

#### THE PUNCH BOWL LODGE, No. 259.

During the period 1739 to 1760 there is no trace of any Masonic Craft Lodge being held at York; the last reference to the Old Lodge at York City, which became the York Grand Lodge, is that of a meeting held in 1738 at the White Horse in Coppergate, when a new Lodge was constituted to be held at Halifax.

In the year 1761 a new Craft Lodge was formed in York called the Punch Bowl Lodge No. 259. This Lodge received its Warrant of Constitution from the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns") and took its name from the Inn where the meetings were held. Fortunately the Constitution of this Lodge is still preserved at York, and this states that the Petitioners were "William Brown, John Smith Caddy, Thomas Stainton, & William Spencer, members of the Lodge at Kingston upon Hull"; none of these Brethren became founders of the Punch Bowl Lodge. The Lodge at Kingston upon Hull was No. 252, held at the "Cock, without Mighton Gate." There were eight Founders of

<sup>1</sup> York Grand Lodge MS. No. 21.

<sup>2</sup> York Grand Lodge MS. No. 20.

the Punch Bowl Lodge, all of whom were members of the York Company of Comedians. These actors worked a large Circuit, consisting of York, Newcastle, Leeds and Hull, with occasional visits to Halifax, Beverley, Pontefract, etc. The first meeting of the Punch Bowl Lodge took place on 21st February, 1761, and this event soon led to the revival of the York Grand Lodge. These two Lodges worked side by side in friendship, members of one becoming joining members of the other on a number of occasions.

### THE ROYAL ARCH LODGE

About a year after the Punch Bowl Lodge had been constituted, some of the members, wishing to work the Royal Arch Degree, decided to form a new organization which they called a Royal Arch Lodge. This is one of the earliest instances of a separate organization being formed, as the Degree was generally worked in the Craft Lodges in the old days. No Warrant of Constitution was obtained; in fact none was required, as there was no authority in existence which had the power to issue such a Constitution.

On 7th February, 1762, a Royal Arch Lodge was opened at the Punch Bowl Inn by four members of the Punch Bowl Lodge. Their names were Bridge Frodsham, James Oram, James Granger and Henry Owen, and they were all actors and members of the York Company of Comedians. The first named had been the first Master of the Punch Bowl Lodge.

### PROVENANCE OF THE DEGREE

Where did these actors obtain the Royal Arch Degree? The information available points to Hull, as the Petitioners of the Punch Bowl Lodge were Hull men, and it is known that the King's Head Lodge No. 267 of Hull, which was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns") in 1761, worked the Royal Arch Degree, as "Thomas Fletcher, who afterwards became a very worthy member of the Minerva Lodge, was exalted therein in May, 1762."<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to understand why Lodge No. 267, held at the King's Head, Hull, should have been constituted in October, 1761, when only two years previously Lodge No. 252, held at the Cock, had been set up. The latter Lodge was still in existence, as the members of the Punch Bowl Lodge at York sent 12 Candles to Hull on 7th January, 1762, for which the York brethren paid £1 17s. 0d.<sup>2</sup>

The Founders of the Punch Bowl Lodge, being actors, covered a wide area when on circuit, so the Degree may have been obtained from any of the towns visited, but there is no record of the Royal Arch being worked at any town in the North East Area at this period, with the exception of Hull.

### THE FOUNDERS

Some description of the Founders of the Royal Arch Lodge at York should be given, and fortunately Tate Wilkinson, who made his first appearance on the York stage on 30th April, 1763, and later became the Manager, has left us some amusing descriptions of these early actors in his *Memoirs* and *The Wandering Patentee*.

Bridge Frodsham was the principal member of the Company and a great favourite with Yorkshire audiences; he was known as the York Garrick, and Tate Wilkinson's description is as follows<sup>3</sup>:—

"The abilities of that performer were unquestionable:—He was naturally a good actor in spite of himself; for tho' London improves

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Minerva Lodge No. 250*, by J. R. Ellerby, page 3.

<sup>2</sup> Punch Bowl Lodge minutes.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs of Tate Wilkinson*, 1790, vol. iv., pages 33/4.

and matures, and is the most enviable theatrical situation, yet genius will be found in every rank, soil, and station. Mr. Frodsham had a quick genius, aided by a liberal education: He was son of an ancient family in Cheshire, of the town of Frodsham, ten miles from Chester, being the half way between Wigan and Chester:—But his mind, his understanding, and superabundant good qualities, were all warped and undermined by nocturnal habits; which failings unfortunately were supplied by refreshing pulls at the brandy-bottle in the morning, . . . He was awkward merely from the want of modelling, and worse, by being told, from his drunken inferiors, off the stage, that all he did was right.”

Tate Wilkinson tells an amusing story.<sup>1</sup> It appears that Frodsham was granted a fortnight's holiday and decided to go to London. This created consternation in York, as it was felt that if Garrick once saw Frodsham it would be a sorry day for the York stage, as Frodsham would be certain to receive a London engagement. Frodsham was not only young and vain, but self-opinionated to a superabundant degree. When in London he left his card, “Mr. Frodsham of York”, at Garrick's house with the same ease and facility as if he had been the first gentleman from Yorkshire. Garrick, somewhat amused, decided to see the York actor, who was admitted the next day. Garrick was astonished at the young man's free and easy manner, particularly when discussing Shakespeare's plays, and expected that Frodsham would ask to be given a trial. On hearing that Frodsham had already been to the theatre, Garrick asked if Frodsham approved of the performance, naturally expecting the admiration he usually received. Frodsham replied that it was “vastly clever in several parts”, but that he was not equally struck with the whole performance. Such criticism amazed Garrick, and the interview ended by Frodsham receiving a ticket for the theatre that evening and an invitation to breakfast next morning, when a trial of skill was to take place between the two actors, with Mrs. Garrick as the judge. The next day, breakfast being over, Garrick again expected that Frodsham would plead for a trial or engagement, but Frodsham had no such intention, so Garrick asked him how he had enjoyed the play, adding, “Now, no compliments, speak what you think.” Frodsham replied that he had never been so highly delighted and entertained, particularly as he had already seen Garrick in Hamlet, which character he had been told was Garrick's best, but that he flattered himself that he, Frodsham, played it almost as well and that comedy was Garrick's forte. Now Garrick not only loved but eagerly swallowed flattery, and had it repeatedly given to him by those of the highest rank; so to hear his favourite part adversely criticised by an unknown country actor was almost too much to bear. Frodsham then proceeded to give Hamlet's first soliloquy without any fear, as he did not consider Garrick's Hamlet to be in any way superior to his own; Garrick all the time darting his fiery eyes into the soul of Frodsham, a custom of Garrick's to all whom he deemed subservient, but this had no effect on Frodsham. Garrick's criticism of the speech was that Frodsham had tones, to which Frodsham replied, “Tones, Mr. Garrick, to be sure I have tones, but you are not familiarized to them. I have seen you act twice, Hamlet the first, and I thought you had odd tones, . . . but I dare say I should soon be reconciled to them.” Garrick was so taken aback that he suggested that his theatre was open for Frodsham to act any part he liked, and that if he succeeded they would talk terms. But Frodsham pointed out that he had not come to London to solicit an engagement but to see a few plays, and, judging himself a man not destitute of talents, he thought it only a proper compliment to call upon a brother genius; that he neither wanted nor wished for an engagement, and would not abandon the

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Tate Wilkinson*, 1790, vol. iv, pages 37-45.

happiness he enjoyed in Yorkshire for the best terms that London could afford. After this reply Frodsham made his bow and exit, leaving Garrick thunderstruck and later to give this account of the strangest mad actor he had ever seen.

Bridge Frodsham was the first Master of the Punch Bowl Lodge of York, and on vacating the office on 18th January, 1762, he delivered "a learned and earnest exhortation to the new elected Master, and other Officers . . . to support the dignity, and maintain the harmony of the Lodge."<sup>1</sup> The Brethren decided to have this published; unfortunately no copy of the pamphlet is known to exist. It must have been popular with the Craft, as it was reprinted in the Newcastle *Free-Masons Companion* of 1777. This Charge is well worth reading, and one can picture Frodsham with his flashing eyes and fine elocution giving it full justice.

On various occasions Frodsham wrote verses which were published in the Press.<sup>2</sup> He also delivered lectures on Elocution<sup>3</sup> and on Tones and Gesture.<sup>4</sup> He died at the age of thirty-five<sup>5</sup> at Hull in October, 1768. The newspaper account states that his "uncommon Talents, both as a Tragedian and Comedian, will be long reflected on with Regret by every true Lover of theatrical Merit."<sup>6</sup>

James Oram was an actor in esteem with the public; an unhappy-tempered man, either on or off the stage; a self-tormentor.<sup>7</sup> In May, 1779, Oram had a dispute with the Manager, Tate Wilkinson, who wished to open the Leeds Theatre on Tuesday instead of Wednesday, this being considered a more convenient day for the surrounding district. Oram considered that the change would injure his benefit on the Monday, and behaved so insolently that he was discharged. Wilkinson speaks of Oram's "brutal savage temper, which was with great difficulty tamed."<sup>8</sup> However, a week later one of the members of the Company died suddenly and Oram was re-engaged.<sup>9</sup> A year later Oram was not cast for the part he expected, and Tate Wilkinson states<sup>10</sup>:—

. . . the troublesome man, to my infinite satisfaction, gave me serious warning to quit the stage: He had obtained by strict economy six or seven hundred pounds, which late in life he sunk at 10 per cent. to some friend or friends; and with a benefit granted by me to him at Hull, October 31, 1780, he took his last farewell of that stage; but I gave him a benefit yearly at York till his death, which happened in the summer 1791.

For the credit of York, Oram knew no wants but a better temper: He was truly a self-tormentor. His benefits were particularly supported by the honourable fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons; by that worthy body he was well respected; For though he tired me, as his manager, I should behave very ill if I accused him of more than pettish, troublesome foibles.

James Oram must have been a good actor, otherwise Tate Wilkinson would not have suffered Oram's troublesome ways for so long nor treated him so generously in allowing him a yearly benefit after his retirement. Tate Wilkinson, the proprietor and manager of the York Theatre, was a freemason and member of the York Grand Lodge, but he attended on only one or two occasions. Fortunately some of Tate Wilkinson's Accounts are still preserved at the York Free Library, and these are interesting reading, giving figures for

<sup>1</sup> Punch Bowl Minutes of 18th Jan., 1762.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 10th Apl., 1764, 15th Jan., 1765, & 1st Apl., 1766.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 20th May, 1766.

<sup>4</sup> Newcastle Theatrical Bill of 11th Aug., 1766.

<sup>5</sup> *Memoirs of Tate Wilkinson*, vol. iv, page 34.

<sup>6</sup> *York Courant*, 25th Oct., 1768.

<sup>7</sup> *The Wandering Patentee*, by Tate Wilkinson, 1795, vol. i, page 47.

<sup>8</sup> do do do vol. ii, page 54/5.

<sup>9</sup> do do do vol. ii, page 62.

<sup>10</sup> do do do vol. ii, page 102.

two of Oram's benefits: on 19th January, 1782, the takings were £61 16s. 6d. and on 27th January, 1784, they were £57 7s. 0d. The takings on the other two evenings in the same week as the benefit given in 1782 were £7 19s. 0d. and £9 14s. 6d. This shows that James Oram was a great favourite with the public, however cantankerous Tate Wilkinson may have considered him. Oram's benefit on 27th January, 1784, was by the "desire of the Most Antient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons." Mrs. Cummins, a great favourite with the public, took part, and the Masonic Items consisted of "a Prologue on Free Masonry" by Mr. Cummins, and "an Epilogue on Free Masonry" by Mrs. Smith.<sup>1</sup>

James Granger was an actor and member of the York Company of Comedians. He was one of the founders of the Punch Bowl Lodge, but resigned on 15th February, 1762. He occupied the third chair at the first meeting of the Royal Arch Lodge, but never attended again, although he was still in York, as his name appears in the cast at the Theatre up to 17th April, 1762.<sup>2</sup> After this date he seems to have left the Company.

Henry Owen was an actor and one of the Owen family who appear to have been connected with the stage. Owen joined the Punch Bowl Lodge on 4th January, 1762, the Christian name Henry being given. He attended regularly when the Theatrical Company was in York, the surname only being entered. Owen visited the York Grand Lodge three times in 1762 and his name does not appear again till 1767, when he became a joining member on 9th March, the surname only being entered. On 27th July, 1767, Lewis Owen is marked as a Visitor, but I think that this is another member of the family. In the Royal Arch Lodge minutes no Christian name is given. In the *York Courant* the name of Owen frequently appears amongst the cast at the theatre, but no Christian name is given except on three occasions when J. Owen was given benefits.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Baker, the manager of the York Theatrical Company, died on Easter Sunday, 15th April, 1770, and Tate Wilkinson took over the management. Making various changes, he discharged "the Owens" amongst others, as he considered them insignificant as performers.<sup>4</sup>

### THE THREE MASTERS

In the Minutes of the first meeting of the Royal Arch Lodge the Founders are described as follows:—

Frodsham	P: H	} in the Chairs
Oram	Z: L	
Granger	J: A	
Owen		

It would appear from this that P: H was the First Master, and this is borne out later in the Minutes, as at the meeting of the Chapter held on 3rd June, 1772, the descriptions of the three Masters are changed to S, H: T, and H: A, the same men filling the chairs that had previously held those of P: H, Z: L and J: A. The late Bro. T. B. Whytehead, of York, considered that the initials represented Propheta Haggai, Zerubbabel Legislator and Jeshua Armiger;<sup>5</sup> but the late Bro. W. R. Makins, Assistant Librarian at Grand Lodge, was not satisfied with this interpretation, particularly that Jeshua, the High Priest, should be described as Armiger. In the course of correspondence between Bro. W. R. Makins and Bro. John Yarker, the latter suggested that the rendering should be Prophet Haggai, ZerubbabeL and JeshuA, and that

<sup>1</sup> *York Chronicle*, 23rd Jan., 1784.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 13th Apl., 1762.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 21st May, 1765, 20th Jan., 1767, 17th May, 1768.

<sup>4</sup> *The Wandering Patentee*, by Tate Wilkinson, 1795, vol. i, page 52.

<sup>5</sup> *Origin of the English Rite*, by W. J. Hughan.

the names appearing in the Minute Book were those looking from West to East and reading from left to right. If this solution be correct then Zerubbabel was the First Master, but this is not borne out in the Minutes, as explained above. Bro. W. R. Makins also wrote to Bro. Chetwode Crawley on the subject, and I cannot do better than quote the opinion of the latter:—

“The interpretation of the letters appended to the signatures (*sic*) of the Three Principals would seem to be, in the latter two initial and final letters of the legendary Title Z—L, and J—A. It would follow that the title should be similarly designated in Frodsham’s case and here I am at a loss. Here I am up against a blank wall: the only name in Ezra’s Legend capable of yielding the requisite initials is ParosH, the first named of the People of Israel, Ezra, ii, 3. The Irish or Antients’ Legend lends us no assistance. Its Principals are Josiah (King), Hilkiah (H. Priest), Shapham (Scribe). . . . The suggestion that the names were appended in the order in which they would present themselves to an observer in the West would be valid if the names were supposed to be recorded by such an observer. But these names are signatures (*sic*), not reports or records by an outside party. I presume there is no doubt that the initials are P—H throughout its entries. The worst of it is that there was no central authority. Each itinerant R.A. Degree-giver modified the details to suit himself or his audience. If the Exc. and Super-Exc. Degrees were in favour with Frodsham and his colleagues, I should not be surprised to find that P—H stood for ParosH! These were, and are, concerned with the Exodus and the Tabernacle. No doubt you are aware that the High Priest stood first and signed first in the Antients and the Irish R.A., till the Sixties of the last century, when a burst of loyalty relegated the High Priest to the place of Second Principal, and made the King into First Principal.

It must be pointed out that when Bro. Chetwode Crawley wrote the foregoing he had not seen the actual minutes, or he would not have jumped to the conclusion that the names were signatures, as they are in the handwriting of the Secretary. There is no doubt that the First Master was P.H., and so the solution of the problem appears to be that the three Masters were called “Prophet Haggai, ZerubbabeL, and JeshuA.”

#### THE ROYAL ARCH LODGE, 1762-1766

During the early years of the Royal Arch Lodge held at York the actors were the moving force, and as the York Theatrical Season was held from January to May the Royal Arch Lodge worked only during these months. There were nine meetings held in 1762 and Bridge Frodsham was present at each, whilst James Oram was absent only once; James Granger, on the other hand, attended only the first meeting; whilst Henry Owen was present on five occasions. The minutes of the first meeting are headed “A Most Sublime or Royal Arch Lodge Open’d at the Sign of the Punch Bowl in Stonegate York on Sunday the 7th of Feb: 1762”. It will be noted that the word Lodge is used in place of the present title of Chapter and that the meetings were held on Sundays. These are believed to be the earliest minutes of a Royal Arch Lodge or Chapter in existence.

At this first meeting there were only the four Founders present, but there were four candidates who “petition’d to be raised to the 4th Degree of Masonry Commonly call’d the Most Sublime or Royal Arch”. These four candidates “were accepted & accordingly made” and paid 11/6 “for Advancement to the 4th Degree”, one shilling of which was paid to the Tyler, whose name is not given and who does not appear to have been a member. The

Founders paid nothing, and the expenses of the night, amounting to 7/-, were paid out of the candidates' fees. "An Acc<sup>t</sup> Book for the Lodge" was purchased for 2/-, leaving 33/- to be carried forward. The four candidates were:—

John Burton, who attended the Royal Arch Lodge only three times, all in 1762; he was a joining member of both the Punch Bowl Lodge and the York Grand Lodge, but it is not known where he was made a Mason. It is difficult to state his trade; there were two men called John Burton made freemen of the City in 1739, one a brasscaster, and of the other no trade is given.<sup>1</sup> In 1769 a John Burton, Brazier and Coppersmith in High-Ousegate, advertised in the *York Courant*,<sup>2</sup> and I am inclined to think that this is the freemason. There was also a John Burton of the Scarborough Subordinate Lodge, who was made or joined that Lodge in 1768.<sup>3</sup>

John Palmes, a County Gentleman of good family, who held a high social position in the neighbourhood; he was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in May, 1761, and joined the Punch Bowl Lodge in June of the same year. He was an enthusiastic Mason and was Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge for two years, in 1765 and 1766, being followed a year later in that office by his elder brother, George, who was Grand Master for three years, 1768 to 1770. In 1774 George Palmes died at the age of 47 and John inherited the estates and family seat at Naburn.<sup>4</sup> He married in 1775<sup>5</sup> and died in December, 1783.<sup>6</sup> John Palmes attended every meeting of the Royal Arch Lodge from 1762 to 1764, and the one meeting in 1766. At the revival of the Royal Arch Chapter in 1768 he attended the first meeting and then his name disappears.

John Tasker, "an eminent silk mercer" in Stonegate,<sup>7</sup> who joined the York Grand Lodge at the revival in 1761 and soon afterwards joined the Punch Bowl Lodge; it is not known where he was made a Mason. He was the first Secretary and Treasurer of the York Grand Lodge and held the latter office for twelve years; he was Deputy Grand Master for four years, 1766 to 1770. There was some difficulty in producing the York Grand Lodge Accounts in 1773, and in 1774 Tasker's financial position became public and Assignees were appointed, a dividend being declared in 1774.<sup>8</sup> John Tasker was made a freeman by order in 1747, being described as a linen draper.<sup>9</sup> He commenced business in Coney Street in 1748,<sup>10</sup> was elected Steward at the County Hospital in 1759,<sup>11</sup> and acted as Treasurer for the Lord Mayor's Fund for sufferers in a terrible fire at Honiton in 1765,<sup>12</sup> and at St. John's in Antigua in 1770.<sup>13</sup> He was chosen one of the City Chamberlains in 1766.<sup>14</sup> John Tasker attended the Royal Arch Lodge regularly in 1762, but only two meetings in 1763, and one in 1764; after this his name ceases to appear. John Tasker had a genuine love of the theatre and acted as an intermediary between Tate Wilkinson and a body of York gentry in persuading the former to remain in York and take over the management of the theatre.<sup>15</sup> It was most likely this interest in the theatre that led John Tasker to become a member of the Punch Bowl Lodge and so join some of the actors in their convivial evenings.

<sup>1</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*, Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 26th Sept., 1769.

<sup>3</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. lii, page 236.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 8th Feb., 1774.

<sup>5</sup> *York Courant*, 21st Nov., 1775.

<sup>6</sup> *York Chronicle*, 2nd Jan., 1784.

<sup>7</sup> *York Courant*, 9th Dec., 1766.

<sup>8</sup> *York Chronicle*, 15th July, 1774, and *York Courant*, 19th July, 1774.

<sup>9</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*, Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>10</sup> *York Courant*, 15th Nov., 1748.

<sup>11</sup> *York Courant*, 20th Feb., 1759.

<sup>12</sup> *York Courant*, 24th Sept., 1765.

<sup>13</sup> *York Courant*, 6th Feb., 1770.

<sup>14</sup> *York Courant*, 21st Jan., 1766.

<sup>15</sup> *Memoirs by Tate Wilkinson*, 1790. Vol. iv, pages 58 to 61.

John Dodgson, who was made a Mason in the Punch Bowl Lodge; he attended the Royal Arch Lodge on only two occasions, both in 1762. His occupation has not been traced; most likely he was the John Dodgson who was made a freeman in 1739, being the son of a "merchant taylor".<sup>1</sup> The Punch Bowl Lodge minutes of 15th February, 1762, state that he is "going to London", and there is no mention of him for 18 months, but he visited the Punch Bowl Lodge in August and September, 1763.

The minutes of the first meeting end, "This Lodge was closed till the 14th Inst. by the Master's Directions". The second meeting took place a week later, on 14th February, John Palmes filling the third chair in place of James Granger. Bro. Dodgson, who was leaving York, paid 1/- for a Certificate, and there were again four Candidates who "petition'd to be made Sublime or Royal Arch Masons, were accepted & accordingly Made". These were:—

Thomas Fitzmaurice, an actor, who "was made gratis", the other three Candidates paying the usual fee of half a guinea. Fitzmaurice's principal role in the York Company of Comedians was that of a dancer and he took the part of Harlequin; his name ceases to appear in the cast after the York Season of 1768. Fitzmaurice was one of the Founders of the Punch Bowl Lodge, and he attended both the Craft Lodge and the Royal Arch Lodge regularly, his last appearance at the latter being at the meeting held in 1766.

Ambrose Beckwith, sen., a jeweller and goldsmith trading at the Golden Cup in Coney Street. He was made a freeman by order in 1748<sup>2</sup> and chosen a Commoner for Bootham Ward in 1762.<sup>3</sup> In April, 1763, he was offering a premium on gold money,<sup>4</sup> and in August, 1763, he was advertising his shop in Coney Street.<sup>5</sup> He was elected one of the City Chamberlains in 1768,<sup>6</sup> and made visits to London in 1767 and 1769 to replenish his stocks.<sup>7</sup> He died in September, 1770, "an eminent Goldsmith and Jeweller of this City",<sup>8</sup> aged 43,<sup>9</sup> and his business was sold by his widow in November, 1770, to Hampston and Prince, his journeyman and apprentice.<sup>10</sup> He was the son of Malby Beckwith, sen.,<sup>11</sup> the latter being a Jeweller<sup>12</sup> who died in 1742,<sup>13</sup> and who was a member of the old Lodge in York City, afterwards the York Grand Lodge.

There were a number of Beckwiths in York during the eighteenth century, and it is difficult to trace the various connections. Ambrose Beckwith, senr., was the brother of Malby Beckwith, the woollen draper, but so far I have failed to trace their relationship with Ambrose Beckwith, junr.

Ambrose Beckwith, sen., was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in March, 1761, being the first Candidate after the revival. For the first year he attended regularly, but after that only occasionally, his last appearance being in 1765, and he resigned in June, 1769. He visited the Punch Bowl Lodge and became a joining member in 1761, but this is the only year in which his name appears in the minutes. He was not a regular attender at the Royal Arch Lodge, his last appearance being in October, 1768.

<sup>1</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>2</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 23rd Mar., 1762.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 26th Apl., 1763.

<sup>5</sup> *York Courant*, 23rd Aug., 1763.

<sup>6</sup> *York Courant*, 19th Jan., 1768.

<sup>7</sup> *York Courant*, 18th Aug., 1767, & 15th Aug., 1769.

<sup>8</sup> *York Courant*, 2nd Oct., 1770.

<sup>9</sup> Epitaph in St. Maurice's Church. *History and Antiquities of the City of York*, vol. iii, 1785.

<sup>10</sup> *York Courant*, 20th Nov., 1770.

<sup>11</sup> Epitaph in St. Maurice's Church. *History and Antiquities of the City of York*, vol. iii, 1785.

<sup>12</sup> *York Courant*, 12th Apl., 1743.

<sup>13</sup> Epitaph in St. Maurice's Church. *History and Antiquities of the City of York*, vol. iii, 1785.



John Barker, junr., an Upholsterer, who was made a freeman in 1736.<sup>1</sup> He was the son of John Barker, senr., an Upholsterer trading with his brother Robert at the sign of the Bed in Petergate<sup>2</sup> and served the office of City Chamberlain in 1719.<sup>3</sup> John Barker, jun., attended the Royal Arch Lodge on only five occasions, twice in 1762 and three times in 1763; after this his name ceases to appear. He was made a Mason in the Punch Bowl Lodge in 1761 and visited the York Grand Lodge on numerous occasions in 1761 and 1762, becoming a joining member in December, 1764, his last appearance being in 1765; he either died about this time or else his financial position became involved, as the York Grand Lodge relieved his wife with the sum of one guinea in July, 1766.

Christopher Ackroyd, who attended the Royal Arch Lodge on only two occasions, both in 1762. He was made a Mason in the Punch Bowl Lodge in 1761 and joined the York Grand Lodge in 1762, but resigned in 1764 and rejoined the same year. He was a regular attender up to 1769, when he again resigned; this may have been caused by his financial position, as he became a bankrupt in 1773, when he was described as a Money Scrivener.<sup>4</sup> In the 1781 Directory there is a Christopher Ackroyd listed who is described as "brewer, Walmgate".<sup>5</sup>

The expenses for the evening were:—

	£	s.	d.
Cash pd. the Tyler	0	3	0
By Expences this Night	0	6	6
Pd. for Parchment & wax	0	2	8
Pd. for 3 Rods & a Cord	0	1	8
Paid the Tinnors Bill	0	5	0
Paid for Ribbon	0	2	4½
	1	1	2½

It will be noted that some regalia was purchased, but one wonders what items were included in the Tinnors Bill; the only suggestion that I can make is that it was for some form of headgear for the three Masters. There were no Candidates at the meeting held on 21st February, there being only five members present, the minutes stating "At this Lodge Bro: A. Beckwith, was chose Secretary for the same by the unanimous consent of the Brethren". Each of those present paid 6d. towards the expenses of the night, this being the first payment made by any of the Founders. Another meeting took place on 7th March, but there were only four members present. The next meeting took place on 21st March, when there were nine present, including two Candidates. The minutes state that this was a Royal Arch Lodge "of Immergency". "Brothers Agar & Gunthorpe petition'd to become Sublime or Royal Arch Masons & were accordingly accepted & Made".

Seth Agar was a grocer and confectioner, who lived in Stonegate.<sup>6</sup> The Agars were a well-known York family, Seth's father being Ald. Thomas Agar, who was elected an Alderman and Lord Mayor, both in the year 1744.<sup>7</sup> (Another Thomas Agar was Lord Mayor in 1724, but this was not the same man).<sup>8</sup> Alderman Thomas Agar had been made a Mason in the old Lodge in York City,

<sup>1</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 12th Oct., 1742.

<sup>3</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>4</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 12th Oct., 1773.

<sup>5</sup> *Bailey's Northern Directory*, 1781.

<sup>6</sup> *York Courant*, 10th Mar., 1767, and 31st Jan., 1769.

<sup>7</sup> *York Courant*, 29th Nov., 1743, and 17th Jan., 1744.

<sup>8</sup> *History and Antiquities of the City of York*, vol. iii, 1785.

which afterwards became the Grand Lodge of All England or York Grand Lodge; he died in 1748.<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that Seth Agar came of a Masonic Family and carried on these traditions, as he became the Master of the Punch Bowl Lodge in 1763, and Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge for the year 1767. Seth Agar was obviously one of York's leading citizens. He was made a freeman in 1747,<sup>2</sup> elected a commoner in 1752,<sup>3</sup> chamberlain in 1757,<sup>4</sup> and one of the sheriffs in 1760.<sup>5</sup> He was also Governor of the Merchant Adventurers for three years, 1770 to 1772.<sup>6</sup> His finances became involved, and in November, 1774, a meeting of creditors was called<sup>7</sup> and in 1775 his goods were advertised for sale.<sup>8</sup> This affected his chances of further civic promotion, as he never became an Alderman or Lord Mayor of the City. Seth Agar was one of the main supporters of the York Grand Lodge up to 1773. In the Royal Arch Chapter he was a regular attender up to 1766, but after this his name appears only occasionally; he was elected to the second chair in 1763 and was expelled from the Grand Chapter on 15th February, 1778, no reason being given.

Thomas Gunthorpe was a Druggist and Tea Man, trading in the Pavement,<sup>9</sup> and had been made a freeman by order in 1757.<sup>10</sup> He attended the Royal Arch Lodge on only two occasions, once in 1762 when he was made, and once in 1763 when he was entered as a visitor. Gunthorpe was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in 1761. He attended regularly for a year or so, and then only once or twice a year, his last appearance being in 1766. In 1761 he joined the Punch Bowl Lodge, but did not attend after 1762. Gunthorpe visited the Britannia Lodge No. 139, of Sheffield, on 27th December, 1765, and was described as "Druggist R. Arch".<sup>11</sup>

At this meeting, on 21st March, it was "Order'd that those Members who chuse to continue such shall either appear & pay their Quarterage or Send it by a Bro: otherwise to be Excluded being Members". There were nine present at the next meeting on 4th April and all paid their Quarterage of 1/6 each. "Bro. Granger, Burton & Barker not appearing or Sending according to the Resolutions of the Last Lodge were Excluded being Members". These were the first exclusions from the Royal Arch Lodge. Bro. John Palmes, who had occupied the chair of J: A. in place of Granger for all meetings except the first, was "unanimously chose to fill the same". The expenses of the night were 7/6, and in addition to this Mr. Barker was paid 9/- "for the Candles" and 5/- "for a Cushion".

At the meeting held on 2nd May the expenses are described as "Mrs. Chaddocks bill 4/1". This is the first time that the name of the landlady of the Punch Bowl Inn is given. The last meeting, in 1762, was held on 16th May, when a "Lodge of Imergency" was called "for the chusing of New Officers"; nothing was decided and the Minutes state that "This Lodge was closed till the most Convenient opportunity [*sic*] by order of the Masters in the Chairs".

**1763.** During 1763 five meetings were held, the first being on 16th January, when there were only four members present, an Account of 3/- for the Summonses being paid.

<sup>1</sup> *York Courant*, 12th Jan., 1748.

<sup>2</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 14th Apl., 1752.

<sup>4</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>5</sup> *History and Antiquities of the City of York*, vol. iii, 1785.

<sup>6</sup> *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers*. Surtees Soc., vol. cxxix.

<sup>7</sup> *York Courant*, 15th Nov., 1774.

<sup>8</sup> *York Courant*, 21st Mar., and 29th Aug., 1775.

<sup>9</sup> *York Courant*, 6th Jan., 1761.

<sup>10</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>11</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlv, page 158.

The Punch Bowl Inn had changed hands and John Dalton was now the landlord. He was a Member of the Punch Bowl Lodge, and it was decided that he, "in Consideration of his Attendance & taking Care of the Jewels &c shall be Admitted a Brother of this Lodge the first opportunity [*sic*] without any Expençe to himself Excepting the fee Due to the Tyler". The minutes end with the following note: "the first Sunday in the Next Month is Fix'd upon to Determine whether a Subscription Shall be set on foot or no."

The next meeting was held on 6th February, when there were ten present, including Barker, who is entered as a Visitor, but "was again admitted a Member and paid his Quarterage". The minutes then state "that By the Dimifision of the Chairs P: H: & Z: L: by Brothers Frodsham & Oram, that Bro: Palmes should succeed as P: H. Brother Agar as Z: L:, & Brother Tasker J: A:". Not one of the Actors was now in Office. It was then decided that each Member present should pay 1/- towards the expenses of the night and that the Members of the Royal Arch Lodge should pay Three Shillings Quarterage, making 4/- in all; Visiting Brethren to pay eighteen pence. Bro. Dalton was then "made a Sublime or Royall Arch Mason" and paid 2/- "as per order" and also 4/- Quarterage.

John Dalton was the Landlord of the Punch Bowl Inn, where the Royal Arch Lodge was held. At this time the Punch Bowl Inn was the Masonic House of York, both the York Grand Lodge and the Punch Bowl Lodge being held there. In addition to the Punch Bowl Inn, John Dalton ran "the Filbert Garden at Clifton, which is pleasantly situated upon the Banks of the Ouse, where Gentlemen and Ladies may be accommodated with Coffee, Tea, &c. &c. &c."<sup>1</sup> John Dalton's ventures were not successful, as he became a bankrupt in December, 1770, being described as "late of the City of York, Vintner, Dealer and Chapman".<sup>2</sup>

John Dalton attended all meetings of the Royal Arch Lodge in 1763 and 1764 and also the meeting in 1766, after which his name ceases to appear; he was made a Mason in the Punch Bowl Lodge in 1762 and attended regularly until the Lodge collapsed in 1764. Dalton visited the York Grand Lodge each year up to 1770 and once again in 1779. He was the only Candidate in the Royal Arch Lodge in 1763.

At the next meeting held on 13th March there were nine present, including Gunthorpe, who paid the Visitors' fee of 1/6. Further meetings were held during 1763, on 3rd April and 15th May, but there was nothing of importance at either.

**1764.** The first meeting in 1764 took place on 22nd January, when all the seven members were present and each paid 4/- Quarterage. There were only five present at the next meeting on 4th March and seven at the meeting on 1st April. The fourth and last meeting during 1764 took place on 6th May, when there were seven present. Tasker and Oram are entered as Visitors and paid 1/- Visitors' fee. M. Beckwith is entered as a Member. This is the first time that his name has appeared; he had paid no fees up to this point and paid nothing at this meeting. He may have been made a Royal Arch Mason in some other place, or he may have been made at York and the event not recorded in the minutes.

Malby Beckwith was a Woollen Draper trading in the Shambles, and the brother or half-brother of Ambrose Beckwith, senr., the jeweller and goldsmith. Malby Beckwith was in partnership with William Coton in 1761,<sup>3</sup> but the partnership was mutually dissolved in 1769;<sup>4</sup> and in May, 1770, a partnership

<sup>1</sup> *York Courant*, 19th May, 1767, advertised also in 1768, 1769 and 1770.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 11th Dec., 1770.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 13th Jan., 1761.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 7th Mar., 1769.

was arranged with William Siddal,<sup>1</sup> who was Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge for four years, from 1776 to 1779. This partnership did not last long, as it was dissolved in September of the same year, 1770.<sup>2</sup> Malby Beckwith was made a Mason in the Punch Bowl Lodge in 1761, being the first Candidate, and he became the second Master in 1762. He joined the York Grand Lodge in 1761 and attended regularly for the first year, but after that only once or twice each year, his last appearance being in 1771. He was one of the founders of the Apollo Lodge in 1773, but ceased to attend in 1774. His age is given in 1773 as 34 years.<sup>3</sup>

The minutes end "By order of the Right Worshipfull Masters this Lodge was adjourned till a Convenient Oppertunity". From this there seems to have been some doubt about the continuance of the Royal Arch Lodge, and no meeting took place during 1765, although the York Company of Comedians was still performing in York. This break was caused by the collapse of the Punch Bowl Lodge.

**1766.** However, an attempt to revive the Royal Arch Lodge took place in 1766, and a meeting was held on 16th February, when there were seven present. No Quarterage was collected; 10/9½ had been brought forward, but the whole sum was spent during the evening, and the Royal Arch Lodge was now without funds.

There is no suggestion in the minutes that only members of the Punch Bowl Lodge could belong to the Royal Arch Lodge, but it is interesting to note that up to this point such was the case, although five of the number were members also of the York Grand Lodge. The only members who are known to have passed the Chair in a Craft Lodge were Bridge Frodsham, Malby Beckwith, and Seth Agar, Masters of the Punch Bowl Lodge.

A clear account of the finances of this period is contained in the minutes, of which the following is a summary:—

Receipts	£ s. d.	Payments	£ s. d.
9 Makings at 11/6	5 3 6	Expenses of the night	6 7 3½
1 do gratis	. . .	Tyler	1 19 0
3 Certificates	3 0	Sundry Expenses	1 10 8½
Quarterage	4 6 0		
Visitors' fees	4 6		
	<hr/> 9 17 0 <hr/>		<hr/> 9 17 0 <hr/>

There were eighteen meetings, and the Tyler was paid 1/- for each making, with a minimum of 2/- for each evening. The "expenses of the night" averaged 7/- each meeting; the largest amount for any evening was 11/6, and the smallest 3/-. The sundry expenses have been previously noted.

#### THE ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER, 1768-1776

Another attempt to resuscitate the Royal Arch Degree in York was made in 1768, and this was to prove more or less successful. A meeting was held on 29th April, when there were only three of the old members present; the initiative came from the Candidates and Joining Members. The minutes are headed "A. most Sublime or Royal Arch Chapter". This is the first time that the word Chapter is used; previously the meetings had been called Lodges. The chairs were held by Bros: Palmes P: H., Agar Z: L., and Owen J: A.

<sup>1</sup> *York Courant*, 8th May, 1770.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 18th Sep., 1770.

<sup>3</sup> *Register of the Prov. G. Lodge for Yorkshire.*

The minutes state that "Spencer (and) Lakeland admitted members". These two joining members were:—

William Spencer, M.D., who lived in High Petergate. He was one of the Petitioners of the Punch Bowl Lodge of York, and on the Warrant of Constitution the Petitioners are described as "Members of the Lodge at Kingston upon Hull". Strange to say, Spencer never visited the Punch Bowl Lodge. William Spencer joined the York Grand Lodge on 29th November, 1763, and attended fairly regularly up to the end of 1772, with the exception of 1765 and 1766, when he failed to put in an appearance. In 1772 he was appointed Deputy Grand Master, but in March, 1773, he resigned. He then became one of the Founders and first Master of the Apollo Lodge, constituted by the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns") in July, 1773, and was one of its main supporters. He was appointed Deputy Provincial Grand Master in 1774 and resigned the office in 1780. In the Royal Arch Chapter he attended only occasionally. William Spencer is described in the York Directory of 1787 as "M.D., High-Petergate".<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that at that time there were six M.Ds., and in addition eight Surgeons, in the City. In 1779 Spencer's father, who is described as "Mr. William Spencer, sen. late of Kingston upon Hull", died at York, aged 76,<sup>2</sup> and in 1799 William Spencer, M.D., died "in the 67th year of his age".<sup>3</sup>

Robert Lakeland, an Attorney, who was in partnership early in 1770 with Mr. Roper.<sup>4</sup> In September, 1770, he was chosen Prothonotary.<sup>5</sup> In August, 1770, he was practising alone in Davygate,<sup>6</sup> and in the York Directory of 1787 he is described as "Attorney, Little-Stonegate".<sup>7</sup> In 1780 he was left an estate of £600 per annum by Mrs. Jane Cooke, of Garton upon the Wolds.<sup>8</sup> Whether the lady was a relative or a grateful client I cannot say. In 1790 he "died at Buxton in the 55th year of his age much and deservedly regretted by his family and friends".<sup>9</sup>

Robert Lakeland was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in December, 1766, and was a regular attender. He was appointed Junior Grand Warden in 1771, Senior Grand Warden in 1772, and Deputy Grand Master from 1773 to 1775 and again in 1780. He supported the Royal Arch Chapter for a few years, but from 1778 onwards he attended only occasionally. He was elected to the First Chair of P.H. on the day he joined the Chapter and served in this office for two years.

It is difficult to say where these two Joining Members had received the Royal Arch Degree; William Spencer had connections with Hull, but so far as is known this cannot be said of Robert Lakeland. In the circumstances, Hull seems the most likely place, as it was the only town in the North-East of England where the Degree is known to have been worked at that time.

In addition to the foregoing there were six Candidates who "Petition'd to become Sublime or Royal Arch Masons, they were admitted & Accordingly made—they were also admitted Members". These six Candidates, all Members of the York Grand Lodge, were:—

Robert Consitt, a Peruke Maker in Coney Street, who set up business in York in 1759, having come from or been trained in London.<sup>10</sup> He purchased

<sup>1</sup> *The York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

<sup>2</sup> *York Chronicle*, 25th June, 1779.

<sup>3</sup> *York Chronicle*, 17th Jan., 1799.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 30th Jan. and 20th Feb., 1770.

<sup>5</sup> *York Courant*, 4th Sept., 1770.

<sup>6</sup> *York Courant*, 21st Aug. and 16th Oct., 1770.

<sup>7</sup> *The York Guide*, by W. Wood, 1787.

<sup>8</sup> *Newcastle Chronicle*, 3rd Oct., 1780.

<sup>9</sup> *York Chronicle*, 9th July, 1790, also *Leeds Mercury*, 15th July, and *Newcastle Chronicle*, 17th July.

<sup>10</sup> *York Courant*, 6th Nov., 1759.

his freedom of the City in 1757, being described as a "barber chirurgion",<sup>1</sup> and in 1769 moved into Blake Street, purchasing the business of Thomas Scott.<sup>2</sup> Robert Consitt was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in January, 1766, and was a regular attender. He became Junior Grand Warden in 1769, Senior Grand Warden in 1770, and Grand Secretary for one year only in 1775, his last appearance being in March, 1779. He attended the Royal Arch Chapter regularly up to 1776, his last appearance being in February, 1778; during this period he occupied the three chairs.

John Harrison, a man difficult to trace, as there were a number of men bearing this name, the most likely being John Harrison, Tallow Chandler, who was made a Freeman in 1753, his father having been City Chamberlain in 1746;<sup>3</sup> in the York Directory of 1787 he is described as "Tallow Chandler, Skeldergate".<sup>4</sup> John Harrison was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in November, 1766, and attended regularly up to 1776, when he was struck off the roll, never to be readmitted. In spite of this he visited the York Grand Lodge in February, 1780. He was Junior Grand Warden in 1770 and Senior Grand Warden in 1771. He attended the Royal Arch Chapter regularly up to 1772, but after this his name ceases to appear. He occupied the three chairs.

Thomas Williamson, a Wine Merchant, who died in October, 1776, aged 41, and was in partnership with his younger brother, William.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Williamson was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in January, 1768, and attended regularly up to 1773, when his name ceases to appear. He was Grand Secretary from 1768 to 1770 and Grand Treasurer in 1773. He attended the Royal Arch Chapter regularly up to 1772, and was Secretary and Treasurer from 1769 to 1772.

David Lambert, an Attorney, who was practising in Coney Street, York, in 1767,<sup>6</sup> and moved to Malton some time in 1768, as he was in partnership with Mr. Conyers in Malton in 1769,<sup>7</sup> the latter dying in September of the same year,<sup>8</sup> when David Lambert carried on the practice alone. He was appointed "a Master Extraordinary in the High Court of Chancery" in 1770<sup>9</sup> and died at York in February, 1799, "a gentleman highly respected for his professional abilities and private virtues".<sup>10</sup> David Lambert was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in March, 1766, and attended regularly up to 1768, when he resigned in July. After that he visited once or twice a year, his last appearance being in 1778. He was appointed Grand Secretary in 1767 and 1768. In the Royal Arch Chapter he ceased to attend in 1768; he, however, held the Second Chair of Z.L. during that year, although he had only just been made a Royal Arch Mason.

Ambrose Beckwith, junr., a Goldsmith and Jeweller, trading at the Crown and Pearl in Coney Street.<sup>11</sup> He also had a shop in Harrogate,<sup>12</sup> and advertised his wares in the Press in 1767.<sup>13</sup> He was elected a Common Councilman in November, 1767.<sup>14</sup> He was listed in the Bankrupts early in 1769,<sup>15</sup> and his

<sup>1</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 12th Sept., 1769.

<sup>3</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>4</sup> *The York Guide*, by W. Wood, 1787.

<sup>5</sup> Epitaph in St. Martin's Church Yard, Micklegate. *History and Antiquities of the City of York*, by A. Ward, vol. iii, 1785.

<sup>6</sup> *York Courant*, 24th Mar., 1767.

<sup>7</sup> *York Courant*, 14th Feb., 1769.

<sup>8</sup> *York Courant*, 19th Sept., 1769.

<sup>9</sup> *York Courant*, 27th Mar., 1770.

<sup>10</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 9th Feb., 1799.

<sup>11</sup> *York Courant*, 10th Feb., 1767.

<sup>12</sup> *York Courant*, 18th Aug., 1767.

<sup>13</sup> *York Courant*, 18th Aug., 1767.

<sup>14</sup> *York Courant*, 10th Nov., 1767.

<sup>15</sup> *York Courant*, 17th Jan., 1769.

stock was advertised for sale by the Assignees in January of the same year,<sup>1</sup> and a final dividend was paid in February, 1770.<sup>2</sup> I have been unable to trace his relationship with Ambrose Beckwith, senr.; he may have been either son or nephew, but the two were in direct competition and do not appear to have been particularly friendly, as Ambrose Beckwith, senr., never attended the York Grand Lodge after Ambrose Beckwith, junr., had been made a Mason. Ambrose Beckwith, junr., was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in 1766 and attended regularly up to the end of 1768, when he most likely resigned, as he rejoined in October, 1770, again attending regularly up to March, 1773; he was Junior Grand Warden in 1767. In 1776 the York Grand Lodge granted his wife two guineas to convey her to London, and in 1779 Ambrose Beckwith, junr., was in Gaol at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, as the York Grand Lodge made him an allowance of 6d. per day on 11th January and again on 22nd July of that year. Ambrose Beckwith, junr., attended the Royal Arch Chapter only half a dozen times, the last occasion being in June, 1772.

Francis Consitt, an Engraver and Copper-Plate Printer. In 1764 he was trading at the lower end of Stonegate, near St. Helen's Square,<sup>3</sup> and in November, 1765, he moved to the late Post Office in Coney Street.<sup>4</sup> In the York Directory of 1787 he is listed as "Engraver, St. Helen's Square".<sup>5</sup> He died "at Clifton near this city" in July, 1806.<sup>6</sup> Francis Consitt had a son who distinguished himself "in the memorable engagement off the Nile" in 1798; his Commander appointed him to the Mateship on the spot for his "gallantry and exertions", and later he received a Commission.<sup>7</sup> Francis Consitt was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in April, 1767, and attended regularly; he was Junior Grand Warden in 1775. He attended the Royal Arch Chapter only occasionally, his last appearance being in 1779.

The new Members soon took control of the Chapter, as Lakeland, Lambert and R. Consitt were elected to the three chairs and Thomas Williamson was appointed Secretary, in place of Malby Beckwith; Williamson was also appointed Treasurer, this being the first time that the office of Treasurer is mentioned.

Up to this time the accounts had been kept with the Minutes, but from 29th April, 1768, an Account Book was opened. Each Candidate paid 6/- "for being rais'd to the 4th Degree of Masonry", one shilling of which was paid to the Tyler; but the two joining members paid nothing except that each member present paid two shillings to cover the expenses of the night; as there were eleven members present it must have been a cheerful evening.

Three Rods were ordered to be made by Bro. J. Consitt, who was a Member of the York Grand Lodge. Later in 1770 he attended the Chapter as a Visitor. A Square also was ordered to be made by Bro. A. Beckwith, junr., and as he was a Jeweller, this Square would be a metal one. The "Royal Arch Chapter was Closed by the Masters Directions".

Two days later, on Sunday, 1st May, another meeting of the Chapter took place. There were nine present, including one Candidate. This was:—

Nicholas Nickson, a printer, who took up his freedom of the City in 1754. Davies, in *A Memoir of the York Press*, speaks highly of his abilities. He took over a well-known printing business in Coffee Yard. The former proprietor had been under the patronage of the clerical Whigs of the Cathedral, but Nickson was a supporter of the Tory party in the City, and this may account for Dr. Burton entrusting his great work, *Monasticon Eboracense*, to

<sup>1</sup> *York Courant*, 24th Jan., 1769.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 16th Jan., 1770.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 25th Sept., 1764.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 26th Nov., 1765.

<sup>5</sup> *The York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

<sup>6</sup> *York Chronicle*, 31st July, 1806.

<sup>7</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 8th Dec., 1798.

Nickson, which was published in 1758. By 1767 Nickson had moved to Feasegate,<sup>1</sup> in 1770 he was chosen a Common Councilman,<sup>2</sup> in 1773 he was trading in Thursday Market,<sup>3</sup> and by 1776 he had again moved, this time to Blake Street.<sup>4</sup> Nickson died suddenly at Scarborough in September, 1777.<sup>5</sup> Nicholas Nickson was made a Mason in the Punch Bowl Lodge in January, 1762; he joined the York Grand Lodge in March of the same year, and was a most regular attender right up to June, 1777. He was Junior Grand Warden for two years in 1765 and 1766, and Senior Grand Warden in 1768 and again in 1776. He was Grand Secretary from 1771 to 1774 and Deputy Grand Master in 1777, the year of his death, which by the way is not recorded in the minutes. He attended the Chapter spasmodically up to 1772, and never held office.

At this meeting Henry Owen, the Actor, and one of the four Founders, became a member *pro tempore* and paid 8d. each time he attended. "Bro. Dalton was appointed Sword Bearer during pleasure, and to have one Shilling every Chapter night to be paid out of the Stock, except when a new Brother is made". John Dalton was the landlord of the Punch Bowl Inn, where the Chapter was held. He is not entered as being present at any of the meetings in 1768, but most likely was doing his duty outside the Chapter, the office of Sword Bearer being similar to that of Tyler or Janitor.

Up to this point the Chapter had been without By-Laws. Someone at the last meeting may have been deputed to go into the matter, or one or two of the members may have used their own initiative; in any case the members present decided to pass several rules. To quote the Minutes:—

At this Chapter the following Articles were agree'd upon Viz  
That a Chapter shall be held the first Sunday in every Calendar Month (or oftener in cases of Emergency) to be opened percisely [*sic*] at 7 o'clock.

That every Member shall subscribe and pay into the hands of the Treasurer the first night of each Quarter, the Sum of Two Shillings, and he shall be allow'd to have every regular Chapter sixpennyworth of any sort of Liquor he chouses [*sic*].

That the Fees for Making any Member of the Grand Lodge in York who may upon Ballott be admitted a Royal Arch Mason be five Shillings, and one Shilling to the Sword Bearer; every other person to pay half a Guinea and one Shilling to the Sword Bearer.

That every Visiting Brother shall pay One Shilling each Chapter night and be allow'd to have sixpennyworth of any sort of Liquor he chouses [*sic*].

That no Order made at this or any Subsequent Chapter be revers'd or alter'd but by a greater number of the Members than were present at the making thereof.

It will be noted that the fees for making members of the York Grand Lodge were only half those paid by others; this rule was carried out. The last rule would seem difficult to enforce, and as the attendance at the Chapter generally was small, it was a rule that was likely to be broken.

The next meeting took place on 5th June. There were eight members present, including the two Candidates. These were:—

John Bower, a wine cooper, who purchased his freedom of the City in 1746.<sup>6</sup> He does not appear to have been one of York's principal tradesmen.

<sup>1</sup> *York Courant*, 7th Apl., 1767.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 21st Aug., 1770.

<sup>3</sup> *A Memoir of the York Press*, by R. Davies.

<sup>4</sup> *A Memoir of the York Press*, by R. Davies.

<sup>5</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 16th Sept., 1777.

<sup>6</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.



John Bower was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in February, 1767. He attended regularly until his resignation in May, 1770; after this he visited occasionally, his last appearance being in February, 1773. He never took office. The Royal Arch Chapter cannot have appealed to him, as he never attended again.

Thomas Read Whittaker (Whitaker), a Grocer in Micklegate, who was made a freeman in 1752<sup>1</sup> and elected one of the City Chamberlains in 1760.<sup>2</sup> He advertised in 1763,<sup>3</sup> and again in 1767,<sup>4</sup> as a "Wholesale and Retail Grocer and Teaman". Early in 1769 he was in partnership with a Mr. Driffield, and the firm Whitaker and Driffield traded as Grocers and Haberdashers,<sup>5</sup> but in November of the same year he was again trading in his own name as a Grocer.<sup>6</sup> Thomas Whitaker was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in November, 1767, having previously been rejected in October. He was not a regular attender, and his name ceases to appear after December, 1773. In the Royal Arch Chapter he attended only occasionally, his last appearance being in February, 1771.

In addition to these two Candidates, Bro. John Burnand was proposed but "was refus'd". This was the first time that a Candidate had been found unacceptable.

Bro. Burnand, who does not appear to have been popular, was a member of the York Grand Lodge. He had had a somewhat chequered Masonic career. He was proposed in the York Grand Lodge on 24th June, rejected on 27th July, proposed and rejected on 12th October, and finally accepted on 26th October—all in the year 1767. It seems rather a pity to have allowed him, with such a record, to face another ballot.

"Bro. Thorp of the Lodge at Hull" was proposed and passed N: C:, but he never put in an appearance, and so was never made a Royal Arch Mason in the York Chapter.

Meetings took place on 3rd July and 7th August, but there were only four present at the first meeting and six at the second. The next meeting was held on Wednesday, 17th August, instead of the usual Sunday; there were nine members present, and it was decided to hold future meetings "on the first Wednesday in every month" in place of the first Sunday. Bro. Nickson was paid 3/- for 200 Summonses. No meeting took place in September, and on the 5th October there were only five members present. There was one Candidate at the next meeting held on 2nd November. This was:—

Jacob Bussey, a Roper in the Pavement in 1768.<sup>7</sup> He purchased the Freedom of the City in 1733, being described as a "ropemaker and harister",<sup>8</sup> but appears to have changed his trade, as in 1777 he was carrying on the business of a Pawnbroker at the same address.<sup>9</sup> In 1778 he moved to Manchester, becoming a Mercer and Woollen-Draper in partnership with a Mr. Barlow in the Market-place. He died at Manchester in 1782, his death being "greatly regretted".<sup>10</sup> Jacob Bussey was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in September, 1768. He was a most regular attender, and was Junior Grand Warden in 1772, Senior Grand Warden in 1773, and Grand Secretary from 1776 to 1778. He resigned the latter office on going to Manchester, and the Brethren presented him with a piece of plate and elected him an Honorary

<sup>1</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York.* Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 22nd Jan., 1760.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 21st June, 1763.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 27th Jan., 1767.

<sup>5</sup> *York Courant*, 25th Apl., 1769.

<sup>6</sup> *York Courant*, 14th Nov., 1769.

<sup>7</sup> *York Courant*, 18th Oct., 1768.

<sup>8</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York.* Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>9</sup> *York Chronicle*, 20th June, 1777.

<sup>10</sup> *York Chronicle*, 9th Aug., 1782.

Member in June, 1779, in recognition of his services. In the Royal Arch Chapter he was a regular attender, and was elected to all three chairs in turn.

The Officers were then elected. Bro. Lakeland continued as P H, and as Lambert had left York, Robert Consitt was promoted Z L and John Harrison J A; Bro. Williamson continued in the Offices of Secretary and Treasurer.

The last meeting of the year took place on 7th December, when there were seven present, including Agar, who is entered as a Visitor. He paid 1/- for the evening, whereas the others paid 2/- for their Quarterage. Bro. Dalton, the landlord of the Punch Bowl Inn, resigned the office of Sword Bearer, so Bro. Duke was made a Royal Arch Mason *gratis* and appointed to the office.

Michael Duke was a cordwainer, who was made a freeman of the City in 1758.<sup>1</sup> He was the Tyler and Grand Sword Bearer in the York Grand Lodge, having been made a Mason in August, 1768. Like many Tylers of those days, he occasionally neglected his duties, and was admonished in September, 1773, and discharged in January, 1775, but reinstated in April of the same year. His death was reported at the December meeting of 1776. He is mentioned only once in the Royal Arch Chapter minutes.

At this meeting J. Consitt's bill of 9d. for Rods was paid.

**1769.** There were only four present at each of the meetings held in January, February and March, 1769, Bro. Meek and Bro. Richardson being proposed and passed at the March meeting, and on 5th April the latter was made "a most Sublime or Royal Arch Mason".

Thomas Richardson was a Barber-Surgeon. In the Corporation sale of leases of 1767 he is described as a Barber-Surgeon in the Mint Yard.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Richardson was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in April, 1768, and was a regular attender. He was Senior Grand Warden in 1777. In the Royal Arch Chapter he was a fair attender, and occasionally deputised by taking one of the Chairs.

At the next meeting held on 7th June the attendance dropped to three. This may be said to have been the irreducible minimum, and so affected the Secretary that his Minutes read:—"The Chapter was closed and adjourned to the first Wednesday in July except as is always excepted"<sup>3</sup> in place of his usual "except in cases of Emergency". There were no meetings in July, August or September, but the next meeting held on 18th October was better attended. There were nine present, including two Candidates. These were:—

Matthew Meek, a Hop Merchant in Coppergate, who was in partnership with his brother William.<sup>4</sup> Matthew Meek was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in March, 1768. He held the office of Junior Grand Warden in 1776, and attended regularly until his death, which was reported at the York Grand Lodge meeting in August, 1776. He attended the Royal Arch Chapter only occasionally.

John Atkinson, of Ripon, who had been made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge earlier in the year. Although he was not strictly a member he paid only the reduced fees on being made a Royal Arch Mason.

At this meeting Bro. Morgan was proposed as a Candidate, but he was not made a Royal Arch Mason for some time. The last meeting, in 1769, took place on 28th December, when there were ten present, including two Candidates, Bros. King and Campey, both of Ripon, who were made Royal Arch Masons; they paid 10/6 each as they were not members of the York Grand Lodge. Bro. John Atkinson, of Ripon, the Candidate at the previous meeting, was

<sup>1</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York.* Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 22nd Dec., 1767.

<sup>3</sup> This phrase was used also in the minutes of 7th Dec., 1768, and 7th Mar., 1770.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 18th Mar., 1760.

present, and these three Ripon Brethren then petitioned to have a Constitution granted to hold a Royal Arch Chapter at Ripon, and this was referred "to the next Lodge Night".

**1770.** The first meeting in 1770 took place on 7th February, when there were only four present, no one attending from Ripon. The Petition for a Constitution to open a Royal Arch Chapter at Ripon was presented, and a ballot was taken and passed N.C. The next month, 7th March, another meeting of the Chapter took place, there being five present. Bro. Kedar, of Knaresborough, was proposed and approved. He never attended and so was not made a Royal Arch Mason at York.

The Constitution for the Royal Arch Chapter at Ripon was granted at this meeting and signed in ample form. It was further agreed to make a present of the Constitution. Up to this time there is no suggestion in the Minutes of anything in the nature of a Grand Chapter, but the Brethren had no hesitation in granting the petition for a Constitution, and in doing so were obviously following the lead of the York Grand Lodge. Although the Minutes make no such claim, it seems clear from this point that the Royal Arch Chapter at York assumed the authority of a Grand Chapter.

According to the Account Book, Bro. Peter Christie, who has not been traced, was relieved at this meeting with the sum of 5/-.

There were eleven present at the next meeting held on 21st April, including two Visitors and four Candidates; the two Visitors were Atkinson of Ripon and Pollard of Boroughbridge; both these Brethren were members of the Ripon Subordinate Lodge. Atkinson had been made a Royal Arch Mason in the York Chapter, but it is unknown where Pollard received the Degree. The Candidates were William Bateson, Cowling Ackroyd and Henry Taylor, all of Knaresborough. Bateson, who had been made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge, paid 5/-, the other two paying 10/6 each. The fourth Candidate was:—

William Williamson, a Wine Merchant in partnership with his elder brother Thomas,<sup>1</sup> who had been made a Royal Arch Mason two years previously. In 1769 William Williamson was chosen one of the City Chamberlains.<sup>2</sup> He died on 5th May, 1773, aged 34, and was buried in St. Martin's Churchyard, Micklegate.<sup>3</sup> He was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in October, 1769, and was a fair attender up to his death. He never took office. In the Royal Arch Chapter he attended only occasionally.

The minutes state that these four Brothers were "raised". Up to this point all Candidates had been "made", with the exception of the first meeting on 7th February, 1762, when the four Candidates petitioned to be "raised" and were then "made". The Brethren from Knaresborough then petitioned to have a Constitution granted to open and hold a Royal Arch Chapter at the Crown in Knaresborough, and the petition "was agreed to". At the next meeting held on 21st June, when only four members were present, the Constitution for Knaresborough was sealed and signed.

The election of Principals took place on 21st September, when there were ten present. Robert Consitt "was appointed" P.H., John Harrison Z.L., and Jacob Bussey J.A. The Consitt family was well represented, as besides Robert there were also Francis and John present, the latter as a Visitor. One wonders where he had received the Degree. It is possible that the Minutes are at fault, and that he had been made in the York Chapter, and his name not entered.

<sup>1</sup> Epitaph in St. Martin's Church Yard, Micklegate. *History and Antiquities of the City of York*, 1785, vol. iii.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 17th Jan., 1769.

<sup>3</sup> *History and Antiquities of the City of York*, 1785, vol. iii.

The meetings of the Chapter were being held at the Punch Bowl Inn in Stonegate, but a move was contemplated about this time, as the Account Book has the following entry:—

1770 Sept 20 By Exp<sup>s</sup> at Bro<sup>r</sup>: Kidds when s d  
speaking ab<sup>t</sup>. removing the Chap<sup>r</sup>: 2 7

Bro. Matthew Kidd kept Kidd's Coffee House in Coney Street, but in 1770 he opened the York Tavern in St. Helen's Square, which soon became the leading hostelry in the City, the York Grand Lodge holding their meetings there.

The next meeting took place in October, the date of the month not being given. There were only four members of the Chapter present, but there were also four Visiting Brethren named Proudfoot, O'Brien, Cannon and Burke. All were members of the Inniskilling Regiment of Dragoons and had obtained the Royal Arch Degree previously. These four Visitors made some Petition, as the Minutes state that it was "Agreed to grant a Constitution for the opening & holding a most Sublime Royal Arch Chapter in the Inniskilling Regiment of Dragoons". This incident is confirmed by the following entry in the Account Book: "Parchment for a Constitution granted to the Inniskilling Regiment 9d."

There was no meeting held in November, but according to the Account Book Bro. Nickson's bill of 6/- for 400 Summonses was paid.

**1771.** During 1771 there were five meetings, the first being held on 22nd February, when there were fourteen present, including four Candidates. These were:—

Matthew Kidd, who kept Kidd's Coffee House in Coney Street.<sup>1</sup> In August, 1770, he opened the York Tavern, "a spacious and commodious new Building in St. Helen's Square",<sup>2</sup> which was to be York's principal hotel for many years, and where the York Grand Lodge held their meetings from 1770 onwards. Kidd's venture did not prove a success, as he either went bankrupt or compounded with his creditors, a dividend being declared at the York Tavern on 27th July, 1779, when Matthew Kidd was described as "late of the City of York, Vintner".<sup>3</sup> Matthew Kidd was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge on 30th July, 1770, just before he opened the York Tavern. He attended regularly up to January, 1774, and visited once in June, 1775, this being his last appearance. He attended the Royal Arch Chapter only half a dozen times in 1771 and 1772.

Thomas Bewlay, a shoemaker, who was most likely the brother of Robert, junr., but I have been unable to verify this; he was a Common Councilman and died in 1803 "in the 68th year of his age".<sup>4</sup> Thomas Bewlay was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in 1770, the same day as Robert, and as the name of Thomas precedes that of Robert, he was most likely the elder brother. He attended regularly up to 1774, but in 1776 there was some trouble in collecting his quarterage. This appears to have been settled amicably, as he again became a regular attender, being Junior Grand Warden in both 1778 and 1779; he attended the Royal Arch Chapter only occasionally.

Robert Bewlay, a Land Agent, generally known as Robert Bewlay, junr., as he was in partnership with his father, also called Robert. The practice must have been extensive, as the firm of Messrs. Bewlay advertised frequently in the Press and must have been well known, as no address is given.<sup>5</sup> In May, 1768, Robert Bewlay, junr., gave a donation of £20 to the County Hospital.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *York Courant*, 13th Oct., 1767.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 31st July, 1770.

<sup>3</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 13th July, 1779.

<sup>4</sup> *York Chronicle*, 16th June, 1803.

<sup>5</sup> *York Courant*, many issues in 1767/8/9.

<sup>6</sup> *York Courant*, 17th May, 1768.

He died in January, 1781, and is described as "Receiver General to the Archbishop of this province".<sup>1</sup> Robert Bewlay, junr., was made a M.M. in the York Grand Lodge in 1770 and was one of its main supporters. He was Junior Grand Warden in 1774 and again in 1780, and Senior Grand Warden in 1775. In the Royal Arch Chapter he was not a regular attender. The father, Robert Bewlay, senr., was also a member of the York Grand Lodge, being made in 1761, but he took no great interest in the organization.

Hepworth, no Christian name being given, who was "made a Royal Arch Mason for the purpose of attending on the Chapter", and whose name does not appear again. He is mentioned only once in the York Grand Lodge minutes, when he is described as a waiter.

The next meeting took place on 1st March, there being ten present, including the Candidate William Morgan, who had been proposed eighteen months previously. He was now "raised to the Degree of a Royal Arch Mason". William Morgan, whose occupation has not been traced, was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in 1768, but did not become a member. He, however, visited the York Grand Lodge occasionally, his last appearance being on 27th December, 1770. He never again attended the Royal Arch Chapter.

It was agreed at this meeting that the Chapter should meet quarterly in future, the Minute being as follows:—

Agree'd that the Chapter shall henceforward be held the first Wednesday after Lady Day, Midsum<sup>r</sup>. Michaelmas & Christmas Old Style except in case of Emergency.

The Minutes of the Meeting then end "Closed to the first Wednesday after Lady Day O: S".

At the next meeting held on 10th April there were seven present, including the two Candidates, who both paid 10/6, neither being a member of the York Grand Lodge at this time. They were—

James Wiggins of Leeds, who was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in March, 1771, and became a member in June. He attended only three times in 1772, and resigned in August, 1773. He appears to have rejoined, as from 1776 to 1778 he attended about half a dozen times each year, being marked as a member; he attended the Royal Arch Chapter on only a few occasions.

William Watson, believed to have been a bricklayer, who purchased his Freedom of the City in 1758,<sup>2</sup> and set up business on his own account, as he is described in the York Directory of 1787 as "Bricklayer, Castlegate".<sup>3</sup> It is not known where William Watson was made a Mason. It was proposed that he should be raised M.M. in the York Grand Lodge in December, 1770, but this proposition was rejected. However, he was elected a member in August, 1771; he attended on only a few occasions and resigned in 1774. He showed little interest in the Royal Arch Chapter, as he attended only two further meetings.

At the next meeting on 10th July there were seven present. Bro. Boddy was raised and paid 10/6 for the privilege, as he was not a member of the York Grand Lodge; he never attended again, and I have been unable to trace this Brother. The name of Bro. Webster was also approved, but he never attended and did not become a Royal Arch Mason. This was Jude Webster, Mercer in Bedern, a member of the York Grand Lodge.

The last meeting in 1771 was held on 16th October, but there were only four members present. The Minutes state that "Bro<sup>r</sup>: Patrick McNally was made a Royal Arch Mason Gratis for the purpose of attending the Chapter"

<sup>1</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 16th Jan., 1781.

<sup>2</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>3</sup> *The York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

He paid no fee of any kind, the Account Book entry being "To Bro<sup>r</sup>: Pat: McMally gratis". I can find no trace of either McNally or McMally; he was not a member of the York Grand Lodge and never visited any Lodge in York.

**1772.** Four meetings were held in 1772, the first on 8th January, when there were eleven present. Bros. Kitson, Wiggins of York, and Watkinson were proposed to be made Royal Arch Masons; the two former were approved but the latter was rejected. It is not known where Watkinson was made a Mason. He became a Joining Member of the York Grand Lodge in June, 1771, and attended regularly for nearly a year, his last appearance being in March, 1772. As no Christian name is given in the Minutes, it is impossible to trace this Brother. The only Candidate raised this evening was:—

George Kitson, Wholesale Woollen Draper, who was in partnership with a Mr. Edmonson. The latter died in September, 1769, after which Kitson carried on the business, which is described as being "considerable".<sup>1</sup> He was one of the Trustees for the parish of St. Martin in Coney Street.<sup>2</sup> By 1787 he had moved, as he is described in the Directory of that year as "Wholesale Woollen draper, Colliergate".<sup>3</sup> George Kitson was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in January, 1771, and was a regular attender. He was Grand Treasurer from 1774 to 1780. He attended the Royal Arch Chapter regularly up to March, 1779, and again in 1781; he occupied the second chair in 1778, and was Grand Treasurer in 1781.

The election of officers then took place. The Minutes state:—

On Dimission of the chair PH by Bro R Consitt Bro<sup>r</sup>. Harrison succeeded to the same. Bro<sup>r</sup>. Bufsey to that of ZL and Bro: Beckwith appointed to that of J.A.

The last named was Ambrose Beckwith, junr.

The Accounts show that 2/6 was paid during the evening for the relief of Bro. Chapman. This was Bro. Chapman of the Lodge at Richmond (Yorks.), who also petitioned the York Grand Lodge and received one guinea on 13th January. Chapman never visited either the York Grand Lodge or the Royal Arch Chapter.

At the next meeting held on 8th April there were six present, including Morden, who was a Visitor but paid no Visitor's fee. There is no trace of any Brother called Morden, and one wonders whether this is not a mistake, and that the name should be William Morgan, who had been raised in the Chapter on 1st March, 1771. During the evening six Candidates were proposed, and they were "all admitted" or approved, but no one was raised. Their names were Lund, Coleman, Edmonds, Plater (Playter), Thorney and Willans. Of these, Lund and Edmonds never attended to be raised, and Coleman did not put in an appearance till six years later.

The next meeting was held on 20th May, when there were ten present. Bro. Croft was balloted for, admitted and "rais'd", whilst the Minutes state that Bro. Wiggins of York was also "made a Royal Arch Mason". These two Brothers were:—

John Croft, a wine merchant. In early life he went to Oporto, where he resided for many years, and on his return to England settled in York, becoming a partner in the firm of Messrs. George Suttell and Co., whose vaults were situated in the cloister of St. Leonard's Hospital. He was admitted to the Freedom of the City in 1770, and three years later was elected one of the Sheriffs. He was an author of repute, his earliest effort being "A Treatise on the Wines of Portugal". In one of his publications there is a copy of a York

<sup>1</sup> *York Courant*, 12th Sept., 1769.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 7th Aug., 1770.

<sup>3</sup> *The York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

Corpus Christi pageant play which had been transcribed by him from the original manuscript, then deposited in the city archives. Amongst his other publications were various works on Shakespeare's Plays. John Croft moved in the best society at York. He was eccentric in his habits, but was much respected by his fellow citizens. He died at his residence in Aldwark, York, in November, 1820, at the age of 88, and was buried in York Minster.<sup>1</sup> John Croft first visited the York Grand Lodge in December, 1770, becoming a Joining Member in January, 1771. It is not known where he was made a Mason; he attended the York Grand Lodge regularly for two or three years, but his name ceases to appear after 1773. He never again attended the Royal Arch Chapter.

Wiggins of York, better known as Captain James Wiggins, a Druggist, who purchased the freedom of the City in 1752.<sup>2</sup> He was Clerk to Colonel Thornton's Battalion of Militia in 1759,<sup>3</sup> and later became a Captain. He died in November, 1781<sup>4</sup> "at St. Edmondsbury in Suffolk", when he is described as "late druggist in York, and many years an officer in the 2d regiment of West-York militia".<sup>5</sup> Captain James Wiggins was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in February, 1771, and his name is frequently entered as "Captain Wiggins". He was a fairly regular attender up to 1778, when his name ceases to appear. The minutes state that he was at Hull in September, 1779. He attended the Royal Arch Chapter only four times in all. I have been unable to trace his connection with James Wiggins of Leeds.

The last meeting held in 1772 took place on 3rd June, when there were eleven present, including three Candidates, who had all been previously approved, and each paid 5/- fees. They were:—

John Playter, a cheesemonger,<sup>6</sup> who died in March, 1807, "in the 74th year of his age", and is described as "Mr. John Playter, for the last 40 years agent here to the Cheese-mongers of London".<sup>7</sup> His business must have necessitated his travelling South frequently, as he joined the London Lodge in February, 1782. John Playter was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in February, 1772, but resigned in October, 1773. Some years later, in December, 1780, he joined the Apollo Lodge. He attended the Royal Arch Chapter on only three occasions.

John Thorney, whose occupation has not been traced. He never again attended the Royal Arch Chapter. He was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in January, 1772, and attended only five times; his name disappears after February, 1774. On 22nd July, 1779, he petitioned the York Grand Lodge for relief.

Thomas Willans, a Cutler in the Pavement. He is described in the York Directory of 1787 as "Cutler and Surgeons' Instrument Maker, Pavement".<sup>8</sup> He died "on the anniversary of the 71st year of his age" in 1809, and is described as "a man in whom integrity of principle was united with the religious persuasion of Christian benevolence, and whose memory will ever be rendered dear in the hearts of all who enjoyed his social intercourse".<sup>9</sup> It is not known where Thomas Willans was made a Mason. He joined the York Grand Lodge in April, 1772, but was not a good attender either at the York Grand Lodge or the Royal Arch Chapter.

<sup>1</sup> *A Memoir of the York Press*, by R. Davies, pages 307-310.

<sup>2</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 6th Nov., 1759.

<sup>4</sup> A Capt. Wiggins died in 1796; this was most likely the son of above—*York Chronicle*, 20th Oct., 1796.

<sup>5</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 17th Nov., 1781.

<sup>6</sup> In the *York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787, there is a "John Playter, Coal-Merchant, North Street", but I do not think that this is the same man.

<sup>7</sup> *York Chronicle*, 2nd Apl., 1807.

<sup>8</sup> *York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

<sup>9</sup> *York Chronicle*, 2nd Nov., 1809.

## CHANGE OF TITLES OF THE MASTERS

This meeting of 3rd June, 1772, is of importance, as the names of the chairs are changed and the old titles of PH, ZL, and JA now become S, H: T, and H: A. Whatever difficulty there is in deciphering the old titles, the new ones are simple, but the alteration appears to denote a complete change of Ritual. The Minutes make no comment on the subject, so we get no help there. There were no visitors, and the only member present who had not been raised in the Chapter was William Spencer, who attended only occasionally. What outside forces could have been at work? The only one that I can suggest is that the members of the Inniskilling Regiment may have influenced the change. It will be remembered that a Constitution had been granted to the Inniskilling Regiment, and that four of the members had already been raised in some other Chapter. It is impossible to say what effect this change had on the members of the Royal Arch Chapter at York, but the fact remains that the Chapter ceased to meet for some time.

## FINANCE, 1768-1772

During this period the accounts were kept in a separate Account Book, the following being a summary:—

Receipts	£ s d	Payments	£ s d
7 Raisings at 10/6	3 13 6	Expenses of the night	10 13 7½
12 do at 6/-	3 12 0	Tyler	1 11 6
12 do at 5/-	3 0 0	Sundry Expenses	13 5
3 do gratis	. . .	Relief of 2 Brothers	7 6
Quarterages	4 19 0	Carried forward	2 6 11½
Visitors' fees	8 6		
	<hr/> 15 13 0 <hr/>		<hr/> 15 13 0 <hr/>

There were thirty-one meetings, and the Tyler was paid 1/- for each meeting. The "expenses of the night" averaged about 7/0 each meeting. These expenses gradually increased; in 1768 they averaged 3/1, in 1769 3/9, in 1770 7/7, in 1771 11/-, and in 1772 15/7.

Although there had been six Candidates raised during 1772, and the Chapter appears to have been in a flourishing condition, the meetings suddenly ceased, and no Chapters were held for over three years. This was most likely caused by the formation of a new craft Lodge in York.

## THE APOLLO LODGE

A split took place in the York Grand Lodge in 1773. The first intimation of any secession appears in the minutes of 8th March, 1773, when William Spencer, who had been Deputy Grand Master in 1772, gave notice (by proxy) to discontinue being a member. A petition to the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns") to form a new Lodge in York was signed by nine Brethren, all of whom were or had been members of the York Grand Lodge.

The first meeting of the new Lodge, which was called the Apollo No. 450, took place on 3rd August, 1773, and seven of the Founders of this new Lodge resigned in a body from the York Grand Lodge on 30th August, 1773. Later one or two further resignations were received. This naturally caused grave concern in the York Grand Lodge, and a meeting "on particular Business" was called to discuss the situation, but the minutes of the meeting give no account of what took place. The Royal Arch Chapter was not greatly affected,



as only two of the Founders of the Apollo Lodge were members of the Chapter. These were William Spencer and Malby Beckwith. Later two further members joined the Apollo Lodge, John Playter and John Bower. These four members of the Chapter were not regular attenders.

**1776.** Over three years later an attempt to revive the Chapter took place, but this was not successful. A meeting was held on 6th January, 1776. The minutes are in the handwriting of John Browne, who was not raised in the York Grand Chapter till 7th March, 1779. The information must have been supplied by one of those present, most likely by Jacob Bussey. There were ten present, including two Candidates. The chairs were filled by Jacob Bussey S., George Kitson H.T., and Thomas Richardson H.A. Three Candidates, Bros. John Taylor, William Siddall and John Coupland, were proposed and admitted, but only Taylor and Coupland were present and raised. There is no note of the meeting in the Accounts, so it is presumed that the expenses absorbed the Candidates' fees. No further meetings of the Chapter were held for two years.

John Taylor, whose occupation has not been traced, may have been a working Mason who took up his freedom in 1754,<sup>1</sup> or a butcher who purchased his freedom in 1740, and lived at the corner of Micklegate and Skeldergate, and who sold the house in 1769.<sup>2</sup> John Taylor was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in August, 1771, but did not become a member. He visited on a few occasions, his last appearance being in 1776. He never again attended the Royal Arch Chapter.

John Coupland was a Linen Draper, opposite the Black Swan in Coney Street. In 1768 and 1770 he advertised the business in the Press.<sup>3</sup> He was a man of property, as in 1770 he advertised the moiety of a small estate for sale.<sup>4</sup> In November, 1770, he was chosen a Common Councillor.<sup>5</sup> He must have moved from Coney Street, as in the York Directory of 1787 he is described as "Hardwareman, Pavement".<sup>6</sup> This, however, may have been his son, as a John Coupland was an officer in the York Corps of Volunteers in 1794.<sup>7</sup> John Coupland was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in April, 1796, and with the exception of 1773 and 1774 was a good attender. He was Junior Grand Warden in 1777 and Senior Grand Warden in 1778 and 1779. He was a constant supporter of the Royal Arch Chapter, being Secretary and Treasurer in 1778 and 1779; after this he frequently deputised by filling one of the Chairs.

#### THE GRAND ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER, 1778-1781

The Royal Arch Chapter was revived in 1778 through the initiative of Jacob Bussey, and sixteen of the old members attended on various occasions. The Minutes of the meetings from 8th February, 1778, to 7th March, 1779, were entered originally in a small quarto Minute Book by John Coupland, the Secretary,<sup>8</sup> and have been redrafted in the Foolscap folio Minute Book of 1778-1781 by John Browne, Grand Secretary 1779-1780. Coupland heads the Minutes:—

York Tavern

A Most Sublime Royal Arch Chapter

Open'd 8th Feby. 1778

<sup>1</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York.* Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 23rd May, 1769.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 5th July, 1768, and 2nd Jan., 1770.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 20th Feb., 1770.

<sup>5</sup> *York Courant*, 27th Nov., 1770.

<sup>6</sup> *The York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

<sup>7</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 30th Aug., 1794.

<sup>8</sup> *York Grand Lodge MS.*, No. 21.

whereas John Browne claims the title of "Grand Royal Arch Chapter" and has altered the heading as follows:—

City of York. 8th. February 1778.

In Consequence of Summonses sent to the  
Members of the Grand Royal Arch  
Chapter, the Brethren assembled, and a Most  
Sublime Royal Arch Chapter was opened . . .

This is the only occasion that the wording "Grand Royal Arch Chapter" is used in the headings of the Minutes, the phrase generally used being "Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch" or "Most Sublime Royal Arch Chapter".

The three chairs were held by Jacob Bussey, George Kitson and William Spencer; whilst John Coupland was the Secretary and Treasurer.

The first business of the meeting was the discussion of the former Rules and Orders, and it was decided that the meetings should take place on the first Sunday in every month and that the Quarterage should be 3/-; that on Election of a Brother, should "one Black Ball appear against him he cannot be admitted"; that fees for Raising to the Degree of Royal Arch should be 10/6 for any Member of the Grand Lodge in York and for every other Brother one Guinea, together with 1/- to the Tyler<sup>1</sup> in each case. Four Candidates were proposed: Roger Hayes, Thomas Beckwith, Thomas Kennedy and Richard Garland; they "were severally ballotted for and admitted"; but the only one to be raised this evening was:—

Thomas Beckwith, a Painter of Churches, Houses, Coaches, Signs, etc., who settled in York in 1758 and commenced business in the Pavement. He showed considerable skill in drawing, limning, and had a love of antiquarian pursuits, becoming an expert in heraldry.<sup>2</sup> The business must have prospered, as he was advertising for journeymen in 1769<sup>3</sup> and 1770.<sup>4</sup> He painted his own portrait, which was engraved.<sup>5</sup> He was elected F.S.A. in 1777<sup>6</sup> and moved to Mint Yard, where he died in 1786.<sup>7</sup> Thomas Beckwith was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in March, 1777. He was Senior Grand Warden in 1780, and was a regular attender in both the York Grand Lodge and the Grand Chapter.

In August, 1770, an estate near Ripon, which previously belonged to Thomas Gill, great-uncle to Thomas Beckwith, was advertised for sale, and Thomas Beckwith claimed the title of some Parts, so he had handbills distributed in Ripon setting forth his rights. However, on going further into the matter, Beckwith satisfied himself that the titles were in order and withdrew his objections.<sup>8</sup>

Each member present subscribed 1/- towards the expenses of the night, the cash received being 11/-. According to the Minutes there were only ten present, including the Candidate, so the name of one of those present was most likely not recorded.

During 1778 there were fourteen meetings, the next being held a fortnight later, on 15th February, when there were fifteen present. This was the largest attended meeting held in the York Grand Chapter. Two of the Candidates proposed at the last meeting were raised. These were:—

Captain Roger Hayes, most likely a Captain in the West York Militia, as he was proposed by Captain Wiggins of that Regiment. Captain Hayes

<sup>1</sup> John Browne states "Sword Bearer" in place of Tyler.

<sup>2</sup> *Walks through the City of York*, by R. Davies, pages 239 and 240.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 25th Apl., 1769.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 17th July, 1770.

<sup>5</sup> *The Relics of the Grand Lodge at York*, by T. B. Whytehead. A.Q.C., vol. ciii, plate vi.

<sup>6</sup> *York Chronicle*, 3rd Jan., 1778.

<sup>7</sup> *Walks through the City of York*, by R. Davies, page 241.

<sup>8</sup> *York Courant*, 14th Aug. and 11th Sept., 1770.

(or Hay) was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in June, 1777, his last appearance being in March, 1778. He never again attended the Grand Chapter.

Thomas Kennedy, whose occupation has not been traced. It is not known where Thomas Kennedy was made a Mason. He joined the York Grand Lodge in January, 1778, as a member *pro tem.* and attended five meetings during the year, the last being in March. During these few months he twice visited the Apollo Lodge, which was under the constitution of the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns"), and with whom the York Grand Lodge was not on the most friendly terms. He never again attended the Grand Chapter.

Five Candidates—"Francis Clubley, Revd. John Parker, George Coates, Revd. Wm. Dade and William Powell were proposed to be raised, and were severally ballotted for and admitted". All the foregoing were members of the York Grand Lodge, but three were never raised in the Grand Chapter; these were George Coates, Rev. William Dade and William Powell.

The next item on the Minutes is of a somewhat drastic nature and reads "Resolved that Brother Seth Agar never hereafter be admitted into this Chapter", and I regret to say that this order was faithfully carried out.

Seth Agar had been made a Royal Arch Mason sixteen years previously and was the oldest member present. In the first few years of the Chapter he was a regular attender, but during the period 1768-76 he visited the Chapter only five times and was not a subscribing member. This meeting was his first appearance for nine years. He was Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge in 1767 and had been a person of importance. Bro. Seth Agar's expulsion may have had some connection with his finances, which had become involved in 1774.

The members of the Grand Chapter, the large majority of whom were members of the York Grand Lodge, knew that there was a probability that the members of the Apollo Lodge might form their own Chapter, and were naturally opposed to any members of the York Grand Chapter setting up a rival organization. The Minutes deal with this and had better be quoted in full:—

Then a Motion was made and seconded That the Members do take into Consideration what may be the most likely & Effectual Means of Debarring each other and every succeeding Royal Arch Maceon at York from forming or Opening at any time in this City or Suburbs thereof any other than this Royal Arch Chapter or such as shall be constituted under its Sanction And that a Resolution be made hereupon at the next Chapter to be held the 22d. Inst

William Spencer and John Bower, both of the Apollo Lodge and seceding members of the York Grand Lodge, were present; neither of these Brethren attended the Grand Chapter again. It would have been impossible for them to sign such a declaration, especially as later the members of the Apollo Lodge set up the Unity Chapter.

The cash received from the members present was 18/-. The names of fifteen, including two Candidates, are recorded as being present; three names may have been omitted.

The next meeting took place on 22nd February, when there were nine present. The cash subscribed for expenses was 9/-, so each one present paid 1/-. The Resolution regarding the forming of another Chapter in York had been "made and wrote upon Parchment to be signed by the present and Succeeding Members". The Accounts of 22nd February state that the Parchment cost 2/-; this document unfortunately is missing. As no members of the Apollo Lodge attended, one takes it that all present signed the document. There were no Candidates this evening, but the time was devoted to passing various Rules and Orders. These are printed in Appendix 2.

At the meeting held on 1st March there were twelve present, including four Candidates. These were:—

The Rev. John Parker, Curate of St. Helen's. In 1775 he was presented with the Vicarage of St. Helen's in Stonegate,<sup>1</sup> and in 1778 he was keeping a school at his house in Davygate.<sup>2</sup> He was obviously a popular man, as in 1788 Earl Fitzwilliam presented him to the Rectory of Kirkmeaston, near Doncaster;<sup>3</sup> three years later, in 1791, the Earl of Egremont gave him the living of Tadcaster;<sup>4</sup> and in 1792 he was presented to the Rectory of St. Mary's, Castlegate.<sup>5</sup> Whether he held more than one living at the same time I cannot say, but in those days the practice was quite common. In 1808 he was assisting his son, who had opened a school in Marygate.<sup>6</sup> He died in June, 1815.<sup>7</sup>

The Rev. John Parker had an interesting Masonic career. He was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in February, 1776, and was appointed Grand Chaplain in the same year. He was a member of the Grand Lodge Committee and frequently preached before the members of the York Grand Lodge, one sermon, delivered on 22nd December, 1778, at Rotherham, being published.<sup>8</sup> After the collapse of the York Grand Lodge, he visited the Union Lodge (now the York Lodge No. 236) on several occasions and also attended the Provincial Grand Lodge,<sup>9</sup> but he retained his title of Grand Chaplain of all England. He appears to have taken little interest in the Grand Chapter, as he attended only four times and never held office.

Francis Clubley, Grocer and Confectioner, Coney Street,<sup>10</sup> who was elected one of the City Chamberlains in 1778.<sup>11</sup> He was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in March, 1777, and attended regularly. He was one of the main supporters of the Grand Chapter and attended every meeting—a wonderful record.

John Jennings, an Ale Draper,<sup>12</sup> who was "rais'd to the Degree of Royal Arch, Gratis, . . . as Tyler". He is first heard of as a member of the Moriah Lodge No. 176, a Militia Lodge held under the Grand Lodge of the Antients, which moved to York from Sheffield at the end of 1772. The name is given as John Gennings, and there is a note which states that he was excluded for non-attendance;<sup>13</sup> this I take it means that he did not pay his quarterage. He was made, or remade, a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in January, 1778, to act as Grand Sword Bearer. He petitioned the York Grand Lodge<sup>14</sup> for relief in March and July, 1779, and £4 was lent to him on his note of hand in the latter month. He continued to serve the York Grand Lodge, and his name appears in the last recorded meeting in 1780. In the Royal Arch Chapter his title was changed to Grand Sword Bearer.

Richard Bosomworth, who was "rais'd to the Degree of Royal Arch, Gratis, . . . as Waiter to this Chapter". He had been made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in January, 1778, to act as a waiter. In the Grand Chapter his name is not mentioned again. It hardly seems likely that a man in the humble position (in those days) of a Waiter can be traced, but it appears

<sup>1</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 14th Feb., 1775.

<sup>2</sup> *York Chronicle*, 26th June, 1778.

<sup>3</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 23rd Dec., 1788.

<sup>4</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 16th Aug., 1791.

<sup>5</sup> *York Chronicle*, 26th July, 1792.

<sup>6</sup> *York Chronicle*, 14th Jan., 1808.

<sup>7</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 17th June, 1815.

<sup>8</sup> *York Chronicle*, 12th Mar., 1779.

<sup>9</sup> *York Chronicle*, 24th Oct., 1805.

<sup>10</sup> *York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

<sup>11</sup> *York Chronicle*, 17th Jan., 1778.

<sup>12</sup> *York Grand Lodge MS.*, No. 57.

<sup>13</sup> *Antient Register G.*, vol. 7, fol. 218.

<sup>14</sup> *York Grand Lodge MS.*, No. 57.

that Bosomworth did better than one might have expected, as the Directory of 1787 gives the following information:—"Richard Bosomworth, Innkeeper, Bootham Bar";<sup>1</sup> and so the Waiter became a Landlord.

The Apollo dispute arose once more as "Brother Richard Garland attended to be raised to the Degree of Royal Arch, but he refusing to sign the Subscription Article, could not be admitted but was rejected". Richard Garland was one of the seceders from the York Grand Lodge. He was the first Junior Warden and second Master of the Apollo Lodge, and later became Deputy Provincial Grand Master.

Bros. Thomas Kennedy and Francis Clubley were elected members of the Chapter. The former had been raised at a meeting held on 15th February, but was not present this evening and he never attended again, although the account book shows that he paid 3/- quarterage.

"Bros. Francis Smyth Esqr. and Robert Paul Esqr." were proposed as Candidates. Both these men were county gentlemen and personages of importance; these two are the only Candidates who are distinguished by the title of Esquire and both were raised later.

The quarterages were collected during the evening and eight paid, whilst six paid later. Thus, with the four Candidates, there were now sixteen subscribing members besides the Tyler and Waiter.

The next meeting of the Chapter took place on 5th April, when "Several free and Accepted Masons of the Degree of Royal Arch assembled pursuant to Adjournment". The attendance must have been small, as no list of those present is given and no business was transacted. On the 3rd May there were eleven present, including one Candidate, who was raised. This was:—

Francis Smyth, Esq., a county gentleman and a man of considerable means. He succeeded to the estates of Joseph Buxton at Newbuilding, near Thirsk, in 1766, being the Heir at Law.<sup>2</sup> He also inherited another fortune on the death of Mrs. Frewin Taylor in 1786.<sup>3</sup> He was a man of culture, having been elected a F.S.A. in 1770.<sup>4</sup> He died in April, 1809, "in the 72d year of his age, sincerely regretted by his family and friends".<sup>5</sup> Francis Smyth was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in January, 1778, and judging by his attendance took a deep interest in Masonry. He was Deputy Grand Master in 1779 and Grand Master in 1780. In the Grand Chapter he attended occasionally and held the first chair by right of office in 1780.

The next meeting is of importance, as it is due to the minutes that the present members of the York Lodge No. 236 use an engraving of the Crypt of York Minster on their Summons. Strange to say, there is no note of this meeting in John Coupland's minutes, although he is stated to have been present, so John Browne must have written them from information supplied by Coupland, Jacob Bussey or some other Brother who was present. The Minutes of the meeting are as follows:—

York Cathedral.

27<sup>th</sup>. May 1778.

The Royal Arch Brethren whose Names  
are undermentioned assembled in the  
Ancient Lodge now a Sacred Recefs  
within the Cathedral Church of York  
and then and there opened a Chapter  
of free and Accepted Masons in the  
Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch.

<sup>1</sup> *York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 14th Oct., 1766.

<sup>3</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 2nd May, 1786.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 4th Dec., 1770.

<sup>5</sup> *York Chronicle*, 27th Apl., 1809.

## Present

Jacob Bufsey S.  
 George Kitson H.T.  
 Thos. Richardson H A.  
 John Coupland, Sery & Tr.  
 Francis Consitt  
 Robert Bewlay,  
 Thomas Willans  
 Thomas Beckwith  
 Francis Clubley.

The Chapter was held and then closed in  
 usual form being adjourned to the first  
 Sunday in June Except in Case of Emergency.

There are no expenses of the night in the Accounts, and so the Brethren do not appear to have adjourned to a tavern after the meeting. The next two meetings were held on 7th June and 5th July, but there are no lists given of those present and no business was transacted. There were only six present at the next meeting held on 2nd August. There were no Candidates, but John Hampston and William Blanchard were proposed. At the next two meetings held on 6th September and 4th October the names of those present are not given, and there was no business transacted. The next meeting took place on 1st November, when there were six present, but the only business was that Edward Woolley (Wolley) was proposed as a Candidate. The last meeting, in 1778, was held on 6th December, when there were six present, including one Candidate, who "was raised to the Degree of Royal Arch Maceon". This was:—

John Coleman, or Captain Coulman, as he is called in the York Grand Lodge Minutes. He had been proposed and admitted (approved) in the Royal Arch Chapter over six years before. He was now balloted for again and raised for the reduced sum of five shillings "agreeable to the Old Rule". It is not known where Captain Coulman was made a Mason. He visited the York Grand Lodge once each year in 1768 and 1769, and was elected a joining member in December, 1771. He continued to attend three or four times each year, his last appearance being in April, 1779. He attended the York Grand Chapter only occasionally.

At this meeting three bills were paid:—

Mifs Prestley for 36½ yds. Ribn. .	1	16	6
for Drefsg. the Jewells	—	—	6
Bro. Bufsey for Rodds	—	2	6

Jane and Ann Priestley kept a Milliner's shop close by the Lodge in Stonegate.<sup>1</sup>

**1779.** There were fourteen meetings held during 1779, the first on 3rd January, when there were seven members present, no business being transacted.

On 17th January "A Royal Arch Chapter of Emergency" was held, when there were eleven present, including four Candidates, who were all members of the York Grand Lodge. These were:—

William Siddall, Woollen-draper, and one of York's leading citizens. He took up his Freedom of the City in 1758, being described as a merchant taylor.<sup>2</sup> In January, 1759, William Siddall, on the death of his father, inherited the business situated in Coppergate.<sup>3</sup> He was a patriotic man, as in 1759 he was the Adjutant of the Association for the Security of the City.<sup>4</sup> In January,

<sup>1</sup> *The York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

<sup>2</sup> *Register of the Freemen of the City of York*. Surtees Soc., vol. cii.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 23rd Jan., 1759.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 23rd Oct., 1759.

1760, he moved to the upper end of Coney Street,<sup>1</sup> and was elected one of the City Chamberlains in 1761.<sup>2</sup> In September, 1765, he was elected one of the Sheriffs,<sup>3</sup> and in November "entertained the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and principal Gentlemen of the City and Neighbourhood in the most elegant Manner ever known on the like Occasion".<sup>4</sup> In 1767 he purchased the houses in Coney Street adjoining the Mansion House.<sup>5</sup> In May, 1770, William Siddall and Malby Beckwith, both Members of the York Grand Lodge, entered into partnership,<sup>6</sup> but the arrangement does not seem to have been a success, as the partnership was dissolved in September of the same year.<sup>7</sup> William Siddall was awarded the highest honour the City could bestow by being elected Lord Mayor for the year 1783. He was again Lord Mayor in 1793 and died in office "in the 72d year of his age, as he was preparing to attend Divine Service at the Cathedral."<sup>8</sup>

William Siddall was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in April, 1761, but the Craft made little appeal to him at that time and he did not put in an appearance for a number of years. He rejoined the Grand Lodge in December, 1770, and was raised a M.M. in the same month. He attended only occasionally until he was elected Grand Master for 1776, an office he held for four years, 1776 to 1779. During this period his attendance was excellent and the York Grand Lodge prospered. He was again Grand Master in 1783,<sup>9</sup> the same year in which he was Lord Mayor, and entertained the Brethren at the Mansion House on St. John's Day, 24th June;<sup>10</sup> he was re-elected Grand Master in 1784.<sup>11</sup> In the Grand Chapter he attended on only a few occasions in 1779.

John Hampston, of the firm of Hampston and Prince, Goldsmiths and Jewellers at the Golden Cup in Coney Street. On the death of Ambrose Beckwith, senr., in 1770, John Hampston, one of his journeymen, together with Prince, an apprentice, purchased the business,<sup>12</sup> which was still flourishing in 1787.<sup>13</sup> John Hampston died in January, 1805, "aged 67, much respected, after a very long and painful illness".<sup>14</sup> It is not known where John Hampston was made a Mason. He joined the York Grand Lodge and was made a F.C. on 9th March, 1778. He was a regular attender at both the York Grand Lodge and the Grand Chapter.

William Blanchard, Printer and Publisher of the *York Chronicle*, Coney Street.<sup>15</sup> In 1777 William Blanchard purchased the *York Chronicle* from Christopher Etherington, who had become a bankrupt. Blanchard continued as editor and proprietor of the paper for more than half a century.<sup>16</sup> In 1779 he married Miss Frobisher,<sup>17</sup> who I believe was the daughter of Nathaniel Frobisher, the Bookseller. In 1789 he was elected one of the City Chamberlains.<sup>18</sup> William Blanchard was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in March, 1778, and was a regular attender. On the death of John Browne, the Grand

<sup>1</sup> *York Courant*, 15th Jan., 1760.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 20th Jan., 1761.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 24th Sept., 1765.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 26th Nov., 1765.

<sup>5</sup> *Walks through the City of York*, by R. Davies, 1880.

<sup>6</sup> *York Courant*, 8th May, 1770.

<sup>7</sup> *York Courant*, 18th Sept., 1770.

<sup>8</sup> *York Chronicle*, 30th May, 1793.

<sup>9</sup> *York Chronicle*, 13th June, 1783.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *York Chronicle*, 18th June, 1784.

<sup>12</sup> *York Courant*, 20th Nov., 1770.

<sup>13</sup> *York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

<sup>14</sup> *York Chronicle*, 31st Jan., 1805.

<sup>15</sup> *York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

<sup>16</sup> *A Memoir of the York Press*, by R. Davies, 1868, in which a most interesting account is given of the founding of an early newspaper.

<sup>17</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 30th Mar., 1779.

<sup>18</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 27th Jan., 1789.

Secretary, in 1780 the Minutes of the York Grand Lodge cease; but from the newspaper advertisements and accounts of Masonic meetings we learn that William Blanchard was appointed Grand Secretary;<sup>1</sup> his Minute Book is, however, lost. In the Grand Chapter he was a regular attender, and was appointed Grand Secretary on the death of John Browne. The Minutes of the last three meetings held in 1781 are in Blanchard's handwriting.

Edward Wolley, Attorney, whose firm, under a different name, is still in existence. In 1791 he was Under-Sheriff for the County<sup>2</sup> and his portrait was engraved.<sup>3</sup> In 1810 he inherited the Copley estates and changed his name to Copley by "Royal Warrant", removing from Fulford Grange, York, to Nether Hall, near Doncaster.<sup>4</sup> Edward Wolley was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in May, 1778, and attended fairly regularly. He was Junior Grand Warden in 1782,<sup>5</sup> Senior Grand Warden in 1783<sup>6</sup> and 1784,<sup>7</sup> and became the last Grand Master in 1792. He attended the Grand Chapter regularly.

At this meeting Bro. John Browne was proposed as a Candidate. The Secretary was "desired to wait upon Brothers Bower and Playtor to demand Payment of their Quarterages in Arrear; And if they refuse Payment that the same be taken into Consideration at a future Chapter and no more Summonses to be sent them". There is no further note of this incident in the Minutes. Bower was a member of the Apollo Lodge, and later, on 20th December, 1780, Playtor also joined the same Lodge.

The next meeting of the Chapter took place on 7th February, when there were eleven present, the Candidate being:—

Major Robert Paul of Bilton, a county gentleman. It is not known where he was made a Mason. He joined the York Grand Lodge in December, 1777, and resigned in May, 1779, on going to reside in London. He accompanied "William Siddall Esq the G.M. of all England" on his visit to the Grand Lodge South of the River Trent at London on 9th June, 1779, and is there described as Major Paul.<sup>8</sup> He attended the Grand Chapter on only three occasions.

At this meeting "Brother Josiah Beckwith of Rotherham was proposed to be raised to the same Degree and was ballotted for and admitted". The Accounts show that Mr. Blanchard's Bill of 10/- for printing 500 Summonses was paid on 2nd March. The next meeting, held on 7th March, when there were thirteen present, is of importance, as John Browne "was raised to the Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch and was admitted a Member of this Chapter".

John Browne was an Ecclesiastical Proctor, and having served his clerkship was admitted in May, 1775, to practice in the Archbishop's Ecclesiastical Courts.<sup>9</sup> He died in October, 1780, "in the 26th Year of his Age" and was given a Masonic funeral, the service being performed by the Rev. John Parker, Grand Chaplain. The newspaper account states "By his much lamented Death the Society have lost (though a young Brother) an useful and a valuable Member", a sentiment which was no exaggeration, as the York Grand Lodge rapidly declined after John Browne's death. The account also states that "He hath left the world without a vice to stain his character".<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *York Chronicle*, 13th June and 26th Dec., 1783.

<sup>2</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 2nd Aug., 1791.

<sup>3</sup> *The Relics of the Grand Lodge at York*, by T. B. Whytehead, A.Q.C., vol. xiii, plate viii.

<sup>4</sup> *York Chronicle*, 24th May, 1810.

<sup>5</sup> *York Chronicle*, 14th June, 1782.

<sup>6</sup> *York Chronicle*, 26th Dec., 1783.

<sup>7</sup> *York Chronicle*, 18th June, 1784.

<sup>8</sup> A.Q.C., vol. liii, page 256

<sup>9</sup> *York Courant*, 23rd May, 1775.

<sup>10</sup> *York Courant*, 24th Oct., 1780.



John Browne was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in November, 1778, and was appointed Grand Secretary as soon as he should become a Master Mason. He was an admirable Secretary, and the York Grand Lodge attained to its greatest eminence during his tenure of office. In the Grand Chapter he was appointed Grand Secretary and Treasurer at the next meeting, which offices he held till his death.

From the revival of the Chapter in 1778 John Coupland had been the Secretary and Treasurer, but John Browne had been brought into the Chapter with the obvious intention of becoming the Secretary, and the next minute passed at this meeting was that "the Secretary and Treasurer of this Chapter be Exempt in future from Paying any Quarterage, as a small Compensation for the trouble attending those Offices". As one would expect, at the next meeting held on 11th March, John Browne "was unanimously elected Secretary & Treasurer". There were ten present, and "Brother Josiah Beckwith, Right Worshipful Master of the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham, was raised to the Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch". He was an Attorney, and brother of Thomas Beckwith, the Painter of York.

At the next meeting held on 4th April there were nine present, including the Candidate who was raised Gratis "that he might attend as Temporary Tyler to the Chapter". This was:—

Thomas Jackson, China-man in Coney Street.<sup>1</sup> In 1769 he was chosen a Common-Councilman.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Jackson was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in November, 1769, but did not become a Member. He visited the Grand Lodge once or twice each year up to 1773 and once in 1780, when he acted as Grand Sword Bearer. This is the only time that his name appears in the Grand Chapter minutes.

The Members appear to have considered that a closer connection between the Grand Chapter and the York Grand Lodge was advisable, so it was decided "that this Chapter do take into Consideration at their next Meeting Who in future shall preside as Officers and for what Term". The next Summonses were to be marked "On Particular Businefs". John Browne was not present at this meeting, nor did he attend again till 3rd October. As he was a most regular attender one wonders whether he was ill; during June, July and August he was absent from the York Grand Lodge.

The next meeting of the York Grand Chapter was held on 2nd May, there being nine present, when William Smith was proposed, balloted for, admitted and raised.

William Smith was the landlord of the "York Tavern and Hotel, St. Helen's square",<sup>3</sup> where the York Grand Lodge held their meetings. He most likely followed Matthew Kidd, who had become a bankrupt in 1778 or 1779, and he was succeeded by Francis Pulleyn sometime before 1787.<sup>4</sup>

The matter of the Officers was then discussed, the Minute being

Ordered that in future the Presiding Officers  
of the Grand Lodge of all England shall be Masters  
of this Royal Arch Chapter whenever such  
Presiding Officers shall be Members hereof and  
in Case of Default they shall be succeeded by the  
Senior Members of the Royal Arch Chapter.

The next four meetings were held on 6th June, 6th July, 1st August and 5th September, but there was no business at any of them. At the first there were seven members present, but at the others the Minutes state "Several

<sup>1</sup> *York Courant*, 8th Nov., 1768.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 28th Feb., 1769.

<sup>3</sup> *Bailey's Northern Directory*, 1781.

<sup>4</sup> *The York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

Brethren of the Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch assembled pursuant to Adjournment".

John Browne was present once again on 3rd October, when there were eight present. No subscriptions had been paid for over six months, so "At this Chapter, The Arrears of Quarterages were Ordered to be Collected . . . at three Shillings per Quarter . . ." John Browne soon put this instruction into operation, as the same evening he collected 6/- each from all those present.

No list of attendances is given at the meeting held on 7th November; it was, however, decided that at the next meeting the question of Monthly or Quarterly Meetings should be discussed "and also to fix the Night of the Week".

The last meeting in 1779 was held on 5th December, when there were only seven present. William Siddall was in the first Chair, and this is the last time that he attended the Grand Chapter, although he continued to pay his Quarterage. It was decided to continue to meet monthly, but that meetings should take place on the first Friday instead of the first Sunday. Bro. Leonard Watson was proposed as a Candidate. Quarterage was collected during the evening, and the name of George Kitson was struck off the list of Members for refusing to pay. He had been a regular attender up to March, 1779, and later paid his dues and was readmitted. A new Minute Book had been ordered, as the Accounts show the following item:—"Decem. 5 By Cash paid for a New Book for the Chapter and old Minute Book Re Binding 4s 5d".

**1780.** During the first six months of 1780 the Grand Chapter met eight times, the first meeting taking place on 7th January, when there were nine present, including one Candidate. The three Chairs were held by "Francis Smyth Esqr. S. Thomas Beckwith H.T. Francis Clubley as HA". Francis Smyth was the Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge during 1780, so held the first Chair by right. Thomas Beckwith and Francis Clubley were the two senior members present. The minutes state that "Brother Leonard Watson was raised to the Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch".

Leonard Watson, whose trade or profession has not been traced, died in March, 1799. He was the son of the Rev. Leonard Watson,<sup>1</sup> who died late in 1766 or early 1769, when a public subscription was made for the widow and her five young children.<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Leonard Watson's library<sup>3</sup> and the house situated in Stonegate<sup>4</sup> were sold in 1769, the widow moving to Precentor's Lane, where she set up a shop with "an Assortment of Haberdashery Wares, Soap, Blue, Starch, etc."<sup>5</sup> She was still in business in 1787—"Watson Helen, Haberdasher, Minster-Yard".<sup>6</sup> Leonard Watson was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge in April, 1779, but resigned in January, 1780. He attended the Grand Chapter on only two occasions.

This meeting was held on the first night of the Quarter, and John Browne, the Secretary and Treasurer, collected various back reckonings. Francis Smyth paid 21/- for three quarterages in 1778 and four in 1779; Thomas Beckwith 9/- for three quarterages in 1779; Francis Clubley and William Blanchard each paid 3/- for the fourth quarterage in 1779; Thomas Bewlay and John Playtor, neither of whom is marked as being present, paid 9/- and 12/- respectively, the latter being entered as "Playtor's Qrages in full"; Bro. Leonard Watson paid the usual fee of 11/6 for raising, together with "Subscription 2 Nights 2/-"; so the Secretary collected the sum of 70/6 in January.

A Chapter of Emergency was held on 18th January, the same three Brethren being in the Chairs, and there were present nine in all. The meeting

<sup>1</sup> *York Chronicle*, 14th Mar., 1799.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 14th Feb., 1769.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 15th Aug., 1769.

<sup>4</sup> *York Courant*, 22nd Aug., 1769.

<sup>5</sup> *York Courant*, 30th Jan., 1770.

<sup>6</sup> *York Guide*, by A. Ward, 1787.

was called for the purpose of making "Brother John Hafsall of Conisbrough in the County of York a Royal Arch Maceon in this Grand Chapter free of Expençe". Conisbrough is situated about half way between Doncaster and Rotherham, and in those days was only a large village. John Hassall is a well-known Masonic character, and we shall come across his name later; he was the last Candidate to be "raised" in the Grand Chapter at York.

The next meeting took place on 4th February. John Coupland occupied the third Chair in place of Francis Clubley, and the last name to appear on the list of those present was "John Jennings, G. Sword Bearer". Up to this point his name had not been included. He had been raised on 1st March, 1778, to act as Tyler; from now on his name is included regularly. The only business was that 700 new Summonses were ordered to be printed. These Summonses, according to the Accounts, cost 3/6 and were ordered from Bro. Blanchard, the bill being paid on 20th June. Unfortunately no copy of these Summonses is known to exist. A Royal Arch Chapter of Emergency was held on 11th February, when there were eight members present. The three Chairs were held by Jacob Bussey S., Thomas Bewlay H.T. and Francis Clubley H.A. There was no business transacted, and why a Chapter of Emergency had been called is not clear.

The next meeting was held on 3rd March, when there were eleven members present. The same three Brethren who held the Chairs at the beginning of the year were again in office, that is Francis Smyth S., Thomas Beckwith H.T. and Francis Clubley H.A. At this Chapter a Petition was presented to hold a Royal Arch Chapter at Rotherham. A full account of this is given later in the history of the Subordinate Chapters. "It was thereupon Ordered that a Warrant may pafs agreeable to the Prayer of the Petitioners". It was then decided to order a Seal for the Use of the Grand Chapter, the expense not to exceed half a guinea. It was left to "Brothers Smyth Beckwith and Wolley to form the Design thereof and Brother Hampston to see to the Execution". It should be remembered that Thomas Beckwith was an artist and designer and John Hampston was a goldsmith and jeweller. An illustration of the seal was reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, vol. xiii, plate xi.<sup>1</sup> The Bill for the new seal was paid for on 7th April and cost 10/6. The Accounts show that the following was paid about this time: "April By new Lock & work done at Chapter Reposy. 2s 2d". This may have been for the safe keeping of the new seal, which is now a treasured possession of the York Lodge No. 236.

The next two meetings were held on 7th April and 5th May, but in each case John Browne states that only "Several Brethren" assembled. During the month of May John Browne collected 48/- in Quarterages. The following paid 3/- each for the first quarter in 1780: Blanchard, Clubley, Coupland, Hampston, Smith and Wolley, whereas Willan paid 30/- for 1778, 1779 and 2 Quarters in 1780. The last meeting in 1780 was held on 2nd June and was one of importance, although there were only eight members present. Thomas Beckwith, John Coupland and Francis Clubley occupied the three Chairs.

John Browne, the Secretary and Treasurer, brought forward a scheme for the amalgamation of the finances of "all the different Orders or Degrees of Masonry". The suggestion was that each degree or order should meet one night each Quarter; these are stated to be Entered Apprentice, Fellow Crafts Degree, Master's Degree, Degree or Order of Knight Templar and Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch. The Quarterage to be one Degree 2/6, two Degrees 3/6, three Degrees 4/-, four Degrees 5/6, and the whole five Degrees 7/-. It was decided to ask the York Grand Lodge to call a Lodge of Emergency to discuss the proposition, and that the Grand Chapter would pay the expenses of

<sup>1</sup> The seal was also reproduced in J. R. Riley's *Yorkshire Lodges*.

the meeting. The Order of Knights Templar, which had been introduced into the York Grand Lodge only in 1779 or 1780, was allotted the fourth place and the Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch the fifth. Whether the Royal Arch Degree was considered the superior Degree I cannot say, but it seems likely. The Minutes of this meeting are reproduced in Appendix 3 and give some idea of John Browne's meticulous care and draughtsmanship. It was further suggested that the election of Grand Officers should take place on the Feast of St. John the Baptist instead of on that of St. John the Evangelist.

It was decided to purchase four candlesticks supplied by John Dalton, the late Landlord of the Punch Bowl, for the use of the Grand Chapter, the price to be between  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 2 guineas; the sum actually paid was 2 guineas, according to the Accounts of 2nd June.

George Kitson was readmitted a member of the Grand Chapter on payment of his arrears, which amounted to 21/-. He was the Grand Treasurer of the York Grand Lodge, and as the finances of all the Degrees were to be amalgamated it was essential that the Grand Treasurer should be a member of all the Degrees.

The Grand Secretary gave notice of the resignation of Thomas Willans. He had been raised a Royal Arch Mason on 3rd June, 1772, and his last appearance was on 4th April, 1779; during May, 1780, he had paid 30/- arrears in Quarterage.

About three weeks later the members of the York Grand Lodge were summoned to attend a Lodge of Emergency "on Particular Business". This meeting was held on 20th June, 1780, when there were 17 present, including one visitor; twelve of the number were members of the Grand Chapter, so the latter held the voting power. Robert Lakeland was the acting Grand Master, with George Coates as Deputy Grand Master; the latter was not a member of the Grand Chapter. George Coates, the acting Deputy Grand Master, must have been an old man at this time. He was one of the six members who revived the York Grand Lodge in 1761, and was made a Mason in the York Grand Lodge on 8th December, 1725, so he was at least 76 years old at the time of this meeting.

The scheme for the amalgamation of the finances of the various Degrees, suggested by the members of the Grand Chapter, was passed without opposition; the only alteration being that the Quarterage was raised 6d. all round, that of the 1st Degree being 3/- instead of 2/6, etc. The expenses of this meeting of the York Grand Lodge were paid out of the Grand Chapter funds and amounted to 25/-, including 2/- for the Sword Bearer's allowance.

The Grand Chapter held on 2nd June had been adjourned to the second Monday in September, but John Browne, the Grand Secretary, died in October, and so no further meetings were held in 1780. From the minutes neither the York Grand Lodge nor the Grand Chapter seem to have been one-man concerns, but John Browne's death threw both organizations out of order and neither appears to have recovered.

#### FINANCE 1778-1780

In 1772 a balance of £2 6s. 11½d. had been left in the hands of Thomas Williamson, the Secretary and Treasurer. Unfortunately he died in 1776. Charles Chaloner, a member of the York Grand Lodge, but not a member of the Grand Chapter, had been appointed one of the executors. The Chapter Accounts state: "1778 Jany. 19 By Cash, of Mr. Chaloner 2.6.11½". The next month this amount was paid over to the Grand Chapter. The item in the accounts reads "1778 Feby. 8. To Ballance Recd. of the Executors of Late Bro Thos Williamson pr. Bro. Bufsey 2.7.0".

A summary of the accounts for this period is as follows:—

Receipts	£ s d	Payments	£ s d
Brought forward	2 7 0	Expenses of the night	15 8 0
12 Raisings at 11/6	6 18 0	Tyler	1 19 0
3 do 10/6	1 11 6	Sundry Expenses	5 14 1
1 do 6/-	6 0	Expenses of G. Lodge meeting	1 5 0
Quarterages	19 14 0	Carried forward	6 10 5
	<hr/> 30 16 6 <hr/>		<hr/> 30 16 6 <hr/>

There were thirty-six meetings, and the Sword Bearer or Tyler was paid 1/- each meeting, with the addition of 1/- for each Candidate; these amounts, however, were not always entered in the accounts. The Bill for Expenses of the night was not always recorded and was paid occasionally by those present. These Bills in 1778 averaged 13/- each meeting. in 1779 12/10 and in 1780 only 8/-.

**1781.** An attempt to carry on the Grand Chapter was made early in 1781, and a meeting was held on 12th February, when there were eight present. The three Chairs were occupied by Thomas Richardson S., Thomas Bewlay H.T. and Francis Clubleby HA. Richardson was the oldest member present. In addition to the above, George Kitson, the Grand Treasurer, and William Blanchard, as Grand Secretary, were present; the latter had taken on John Browne's office of Grand Secretary in the York Grand Lodge. There are no known minutes in existence of the York Grand Lodge after the meeting of 26th June, 1780, and the only minutes in the handwriting of William Blanchard are the Grand Chapter minutes of 1781. At this meeting of 12th February

The Grand Treasurer reported to the Chapter that he had called upon Brother J. Consitt for the payment of the arrears due from him to the Grand Lodge, which he refused to discharge: In consequence of such refusal his name was ordered to be erased from the List of the Brethren of the Grand Lodge.

This minute was the sole concern of the York Grand Lodge and had no connection with the Grand Chapter. John Consitt had never been a member of the Grand Chapter. He only once paid a visit to the Grand Chapter, but that was over ten years previously. It has been shown that the members of the Grand Chapter were anxious to work in the closest co-operation with the York Grand Lodge, but this action of excluding a member in another Degree appears to carry co-operation to an extraordinary point.

Two of the principal officers then resigned. The minutes state "Brothers T. Richardson & T. Bewlay gave notice of their intention to decline, in future, attending on the Fourth & Fifth Degrees of Masonry". Thomas Richardson had been a regular attender up to June, 1779, but for nineteen months had not put in an appearance; he was the oldest member. Thomas Bewlay had been a somewhat irregular attender, but he had paid his quarterage when called upon.

During 1781 there were only three meetings held, the next on 28th May, when the Chairs were held by Kitson as S., Coupland as H.T., Clubleby as H.A.; there were only five other members present, including Blanchard, the Grand Secretary, and Jennings and Jackson, who are both described as Grand Sword Bearers. No business was conducted at this meeting.

The last minutes of the Grand Chapter are dated 10th September, 1781; these minutes, however, add little to our knowledge. There were only four present—

Br. Wolley	—	S
Kitson	—	H.T.
Clubley	—	H.A.
Blanchard	—	G.S.

The minutes end by stating that "The Chapter being closed was adjourned as usual".

### CONCLUSION

There are over 150 blank pages at the end of the Grand Chapter Minute Book of 1778-1781, but William Blanchard made no further entries, so it seems unlikely that any more meetings took place, particularly as it is known that the Book remained in Blanchard's possession well into the next century. William Blanchard had been a member of the Grand Chapter only since January, 1779; but during that period he had been a regular attender. His predecessor as Grand Secretary had been John Browne, and one is apt to judge Blanchard by Browne's high standard. By comparison Blanchard was not a great Secretary. If John Browne had not died so young the history of not only the Grand Chapter but also of the York Grand Lodge would have been very different; Browne would have kept the brethren together and further meetings of the Grand Chapter would have taken place.

In the Royal Arch Minute Book of 1762-1776 John Browne made a copy of "The Principia to be observed by all Regular Constituted Chapters of the Degree of Royal Arch", in which he uses the title "Companion" instead of the usual Brother or Member. This is the only occasion that the title of Companion is used in the York Grand Chapter Minute Books or MSS.

It may have been noted that many of the members of the York Grand Chapter took part in the government of the City; this is explained by the size of the Corporation in those days. In addition to 72 Common Councilmen, there were 12 Aldermen, 2 Sheriffs, 24 Gentlemen of the Twenty-four (those who had passed the office of Sheriff, which body was not confined to the exact number of twenty-four), and 6 Chaniberlains; making a total of 116 in all.

A surprising number of the members of the Royal Arch Chapter suffered financial difficulties, and I do not suggest that all those who became so involved have been traced. There seems no reason why this should be peculiar to York, and I wonder whether similar conditions prevailed throughout England during this period.

### LIST OF MEMBERS AND VISITORS

Ackroyd Christopher, Money Scivener  
 Ackroyd Cowling, Ironmonger of Knaresborough  
 Agar Seth, Grocer in Stonegate  
 Atkinson John, of Ripon  
 Barker John, Upholsterer  
 Bateson William, Grocer in High Street, Knaresborough  
 Beckwith Ambrose Sen., Goldsmith & Jeweller at the Golden Cup in  
     Coney Street  
 Beckwith Ambrose, Jun., Goldsmith & Jeweller at the Crown & Pearl  
     in Coney Street  
 Beckwith Josiah, Attorney of Rotherham  
 Beckwith Malby, Woollen Draper in the Shambles  
 Beckwith Thomas, Painter in the Pavement  
 Bewlay Robert, Land Agent without Mickllegate Bar  
 Bewlay Thomas, Shoemaker

Blanchard William, Printer & Newspaper Proprietor in Coney Street  
 Boddy ———  
 Bosomworth Richard, Waiter  
 Bower John, Wine Cooper  
 Browne John, Ecclesiastical Proctor  
*Burke* ———, Inniskilling Regiment  
 Burton John, Coppersmith in High Ousegate  
 Bussey Jacob, Roper and later Pawnbroker in the Pavement  
 Campey ———, of Ripon  
*Cannon* ———, Inniskilling Regiment  
 Clubley Francis, Grocer and Confectioner in Coney Street  
 Coleman (Coulman) Capt. John  
 Consitt Francis, Engraver & Copper-Plate Printer in Stonegate  
*Consitt John*  
 Consitt Robert, Peruke Maker in Coney Street  
 Coupland John, Linen Draper in Coney Street  
 Croft John, Wine Merchant  
 Dalton John, Landlord of the Punch Bowl Inn  
 Dodgson John  
 Duke Michael (Sword Bearer) Cordwainer  
 Fitzmaurice Thomas, Actor  
 Frodsham Bridge, Actor  
 Granger James, Actor  
 Gunthorpe Thomas, Druggist & Teaman in the Pavement  
 Hampston John, Jeweller & Goldsmith at the Golden Cup in Coney Street  
 Harrison John, Tallow Chandler in Skeldergate  
 Hassall John, of Rotherham  
 Hayes, Capt. Roger  
 Hepworth ———, Waiter  
 Jackson Thomas (Tyler), China Man in Coney Street  
 Jennings John (Tyler), Ale Draper  
 Kennedy Thomas  
 Kidd Matthew of Kidd's Coffee House in Coney Street and later at the  
     York Tavern  
 King ———, of Ripon  
 Kitson George, Wholesale Woollen Draper in Coney Street  
 Lakeland Robert, Attorney & Prothonotary  
 Lambert David, Attorney of Malton  
 McNally (McMally) Patrick, Waiter  
 Meek Matthew, Hop Merchant in Coppergate  
 Morgan William  
*Morden* ———  
 Nickson Nicholas, Printer in Coffee Yard, Stonegate  
*O'Brion* ———, Inniskilling Regiment  
 Oram James, Actor  
 Owen Henry, Actor  
 Palmes John, Gentleman of Naburn  
 Parker, Rev. John, of St. Helen's Church in Stonegate  
 Paul, Major Robert, Gentleman of Bilton near York  
 Playter John, Cheesemonger  
*Pollard* ———, of Boroughbridge  
*Proudfoot* ———, Inniskilling Regiment  
 Richardson Thomas, Barber Surgeon in Mint Yard  
 Siddall William, Woollen Draper in Coppergate and later in Coney Street  
 Smith William, of the York Tavern, St. Helen's Square  
 Smyth Francis, Gentleman, Newbuilding near Thirsk

Spencer William, M.D. in High Petergate  
 Tasker John, Silk Mercer in Stonegate  
 Taylor Henry, School Master of Knaresborough  
 Taylor John  
 Thorney John  
 Watson Leonard  
 Watson William, Bricklayer in Castlegate  
 Whittaker Thomas Read, Grocer in Micklegate  
 Wiggins James, of Leeds  
 Wiggins Capt. James, Druggist of York  
 Williamson Thomas, Wine Merchant  
 Williamson William, Wine Merchant  
 Willans (Willan) Thomas, Cutler in the Pavement  
 Wolley Edward, Attorney

#### THE SUBORDINATE CHAPTERS CONSTITUTED BY THE YORK GRAND CHAPTER

Only four Subordinate Chapters were constituted by the York Grand Chapter; three during the period of the Royal Arch Chapter of 1768 to 1772 and one during the period of the Grand Chapter of 1778 to 1781. Very little is known of any of these Subordinate Chapters, but there is sufficient evidence to prove that they existed.

#### THE RIPON CHAPTER

The first Constitution issued by the Royal Arch Chapter at York was granted to the Ripon Brethren.

The Ripon Subordinate Craft Lodge held its first meeting on 15th August, 1769, and two months later, on 18th October, "Atkinson of Ripon", who was John Atkinson, the first Master, attended the Royal Arch Chapter at York and was "made" a Royal Arch Mason. There were three Visitors at the next meeting of the Royal Arch Chapter at York held on 28th December; these were Atkinson, King and Campey, all of Ripon. Bros. King and Campey were proposed, balloted for, passed and made Royal Arch Masons. The three Ripon Visitors then "petition'd to have a Constitution granted to hold a R: A Chapter at Ripon"; this was referred to "the next Lodge Night".

On 7th February, 1770, another meeting of the Royal Arch Chapter at York was held, no one being present from Ripon. The petition to have a Constitution granted "was Ballotted for and pas'd N.C.", and the Officers of the new Chapter were stated to be—

Bros. Atkinson to be P H  
 King ——— Z.L.  
 Campey ——— J.A

The Minutes of the next meeting held on 7th March state: "The Constitution for opening and holding a R.A. Chapter at Ripon was Granted at this Chapter and sined [*sic*] in Ample form it was agreed to make them a present of it, only they paying the Secretary his fee".

Nothing more is known of this Subordinate Chapter except that "Atkinson of Ripon" and "Pollard of Boro: Bridge" visited the Royal Arch Chapter at York on 21st April, 1770; the latter was a member of the Ripon Subordinate Craft Lodge, so there seems little doubt that he was also a member of the Ripon Chapter.



LIST OF MEMBERS

Atkinson John  
Campey ----  
King ----  
Pollard ---- of Boroughbridge

THE KNARESBOROUGH CHAPTER

The Knaresborough Brethren were not long in following the lead of Ripon in forming a Royal Arch Chapter.

The first meeting of the Knaresborough Subordinate Craft Lodge was held on 21st November, 1769, and about four months later, at the meeting of the Royal Arch Chapter at York on 7th March, 1770, Bro. Kedar of Knaresborough was proposed to be made a Royal Arch Mason; a ballot took place and he was approved.

Bro. Kedar never put in an appearance, and this is the last we hear of him in connection with the Knaresborough Chapter. When writing the history of "the Subordinate Lodges constituted by the York Grand Lodge",<sup>1</sup> I was unable to trace the Rev. Charles Kedar, the first Master of the Knaresborough Lodge, but since then I have found that he was the Master of the Free Grammar School of Knaresborough. His salary was "£20 per Annum clear", which I think must have included a house attached to the School premises; for this princely salary "The Master must be a Graduate of Oxford or Cambridge". Bro. Kedar resigned the position on 24th September, 1770, previous notice having been given, as he was "going to accept of some other Preferment",<sup>2</sup> which I trust was better remunerated. The post was not filled at the meeting of the Trustees of the School on 24th September, and another meeting was advertised to take place on 24th October, when a further inducement was offered to the fortunate Candidate—"a good Curacy, near to Knaresborough aforesaid, (now vacant) may probably be annexed, if the Person is well recommended".<sup>3</sup>

At the next meeting of the Royal Arch Chapter at York, held on 21st April, 1770, Bros. Bateson, Ackroyd and Taylor, all of Knaresborough, were proposed and "raised" Royal Arch Masons. The minute then states that:—

The Brethren from Knaresbro Petition<sup>d</sup>  
to have a Constitution granted to be open'd  
and held at the sign of the Crown in  
Knaresbro' w<sup>ch</sup> was agreed to  
Bro: Bateson to be P H  
Cowling Ackroyd Z:L  
Hen: Taylor J:A

These three Brethren were William Bateson, the first S.W. of the Knaresborough Subordinate Craft Lodge, Cowling Ackroyd an Ironmonger, and Henry Taylor a Schoolmaster.

There was no one present from Knaresborough at the next meeting of the Royal Arch Chapter at York, held on 21st June, 1770, when the Constitution was signed. The minute was as follows:—

At this Chapter the Constitution  
for the opening of a Chapter at the  
sign of the Crown in Knaresborough  
was Seal'd and Sign'd Pursuant to  
the Resolution of the last Chapter

<sup>1</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. lii, page 252.

<sup>2</sup> *York Courant*, 18th Sept., 1770.

<sup>3</sup> *York Courant*, 25th Sept., 1770

No member of the Knaresborough Chapter visited the Royal Arch Chapter at York again, and nothing further is known of this Subordinate Chapter.

#### LIST OF MEMBERS

Ackroyd, Cowling, Ironmonger  
Bateson, William  
Taylor, Henry, Schoolmaster

#### THE CHAPTER IN THE INNISKILLING REGIMENT

The only information of a Subordinate Chapter in the Inniskilling Regiment of Dragoons is found in the Minutes of the Royal Arch Chapter at York held in October, 1770; the actual day of the month is not given. There were only eight present, including four visitors; the latter were Proudfoot, O'Brion, Cannon and Burke. It is not known where these Brethren had received the Royal Arch Degree. Three of them, Proudfoot, Cannon and Burke, visited the York Grand Lodge on 27th December, 1770, and are described as of the "Inniskilling Lodge"; the fourth, O'Brion, visited the Apollo Lodge on 24th June, 1785, and is described as "Capt. Obrien, Inniskilling Lodge". Some Petition must have been made by these four Visitors, as the only business of the meeting was that the members of the Chapter—

Agree'd to grant a Constitution for  
the opening & holding a most sublime Royal  
Arch Chapter in the Inniskilling Regiment  
of Dragoons at all seasonable times, and  
when duly congregated to make Royal  
Arch Masons

There is no further mention of the Constitution in the Minutes of the Royal Arch Chapter at York, but the Treasurer's Account Book has the following entry: "1770 Octor. By Parchment for a Constitution granted to the Inniskilling Regiment 9d."

Nothing further is known of this Subordinate Chapter.

#### LIST OF MEMBERS

Burke  
Cannon  
O'Brion Capt.  
Proudfoot

#### THE ROTHERHAM CHAPTER

The Royal Arch Chapter at Rotherham was the fourth and last to be constituted by the York Grand Chapter.

Josiah Beckwith, the "Right Worshipful Master of the Druidical Lodge at Rotherham", was the first member of the Lodge to be raised a Royal Arch Mason; he was proposed in February and raised on 11th March, 1779, in the York Grand Chapter.

Josiah Beckwith, the Antiquarian Attorney, was born in 1734, the son of Thomas Beckwith, Attorney of Rothwell, near Leeds. Josiah went to reside in Masborough about 1777, being elected F.S.A. in the same year. It is uncertain whether he practised law in Rotherham, his real interest being in antiquities; he has the distinction of being included in the Dictionary of National Biography.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately he was declared a bankrupt and moved to London, where he died in 1791 "in the 57th year of his age".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rotherham Lawyers*, by J. H. Cockburn, 1932.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. liii, page 226.

On 18th January, 1780, ten months after Josiah Beckwith had been raised, "John Hassall, of Conisbrough, in the County of York," the first Senior Warden of the Druidical Lodge, was proposed a "Royal Arch Maceon . . . free of Expence . . . and he was accordingly raised to the same Degree".

John Hassall had been instrumental in introducing the Order of Knights Templar into the York Grand Lodge, and so he was most likely raised free of Expense in the York Grand Chapter. He had been initiated in an Irish Lodge and was a well-known Masonic character.<sup>1</sup>

About two months later, at the meeting of the York Grand Chapter on 3rd March, 1780, a Petition was presented to hold a Royal Arch Chapter at Rotherham. No one was present from Rotherham, but fortunately we possess the original Petition,<sup>2</sup> which is in the handwriting of Josiah Beckwith (see Appendix 4), whose signature is followed by a mason's mark formed by an X with both the top and bottom joined and a small diamond superimposed. The Petitioners were Josiah Beckwith, John Hassall and James Simes, who are described as three "Royal Arch Maceons", but it is not known where James Simes was raised. The Petition states that Rotherham is situated forty miles and upwards from York, "within which Distance no Regular Chapter of Royal Arch Maceons is held".

The members of the York Grand Chapter "Ordered that a Warrant may pafs agreeable to the Prayer of the Petitioners", and as the Druidical Lodge had been at "great Expences by Reason of its Establishment", it was agreed that the Warrant should be issued for a payment of One Guinea instead of the full Fees, with the addition of half a Guinea to the Grand Secretary. Returns of the new Chapter were ordered to be sent to York annually, giving an account of the proceedings and the names of the Brethren admitted, so that these could be enrolled by the Grand Secretary, whose fee was one shilling for each new member.

The Warrant of Constitution to open and hold a Royal Arch Chapter at Rotherham was sent about four months later. This delay was most likely caused by the fact that the Grand Chapter had ordered a Seal to be prepared at the meeting on 3rd March, when the Petition was presented. Fortunately there is a copy of this Constitution, which is dated 6th July, 1780 (see Appendix 5), and was issued in the name of the Deputy Grand Master of the York Grand Lodge, Robert Lakeland. No name is given to the new Chapter; the Petitioners are described as Members "of the Druidical Lodge of Ancient York Masons at Rotherham". The three Petitioners were to be "the Right Worshipful Masters of the said Chapter".

A copy of Instructions, or "The Principia to be observed by the Royal Arch Chapter", was forwarded with the Constitution (see Appendix 6). These Instructions state that as soon as the new Chapter is duly formed an account of the Proceedings is to be forwarded to the Grand Chapter at York, that an annual return is to be made, and that an annual contribution should be forwarded "towards the General Fund to be employed to benevolent and Advantageous Purposes". The new Chapter had power to make By-Laws provided these did not interfere with those of the Grand Chapter. The Jewels worn must be those that "appertain to the Order". No man of bad or immoral character nor anyone until he has passed the probationary Degrees is to be admitted. That the Members will "take every Method to forward the true Purpose of Our Order . . . and create Universal Peace and Harmony"; and finally that any matter thought worthy of observation be communicated to the Grand Chapter at York.

<sup>1</sup> For further particulars see *A.Q.C.*, vol. liii, page 219.

<sup>2</sup> There is a copy of the Petition in the York Grand Chapter Minutes of 3rd March, 1780.

The first meeting of the Rotherham Chapter took place on 21st July, 1780, when the Warrant issued by the York Grand Chapter was read. Bros. Beckwith, Hassall and Simes, the three Petitioners, filled the Chairs. Bro. Thomas Chambers and Bro. Peter Burnside were then admitted *gratis*, the former to act as Tyler. The Rev. Matthew Dixon and Bro. William Eastfield Laughton "were advanced to the Degree of Royal Arch Masons.<sup>1</sup> Little is known of Thomas Chambers and Peter Burnside except that the latter petitioned the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" in 1796.<sup>2</sup> Why Burnside was admitted *gratis* is not stated.

The Rev. Matthew Dixon is described as "of Tickhill" and most likely was the vicar there; he later joined the Phoenix Lodge of Rotherham.<sup>3</sup>

William Eastfield Laughton, an Attorney, was born in 1755, being the son of John Laughton of Haworth Grange. In 1782 he was with S. H. Hamer, Attorney, of Rotherham, and in 1786 he was remarried by banns in the Parish Church, possibly because the first ceremony was at Gretna Green. He died in 1792, aged 37.<sup>4</sup>

On 22nd July, 1780, the day after the meeting, Josiah Beckwith wrote to York,<sup>5</sup> stating that both a Royal Arch Chapter and a Lodge of Knights Templar had been held, when the Rev. Matthew Dixon and Bro. Laughton had been "initiated into the Mysteries". Several other Brothers had promised but did not attend. Although the expenses had been very heavy, Bro. Beckwith sent three guineas<sup>6</sup> for the Constitutions out of his own pocket, hoping to reimburse himself later; this was sent by Bro. Hassall. Further, Bros. Dixon and Laughton, the two Candidates, had been elected to the offices held by Bro. Sims and Bro. Burnside.

The next meeting of the Royal Arch Chapter at Rotherham was to have taken place on 14th September, 1780, but no Chapter was held on that date, as only Bro. Beckwith and Bro. Dixon put in an appearance; so at the meeting of the Druidical Craft Lodge held on 22nd September it was decided to hold a Chapter on the fourth Friday in October, and Bros. Broadbent and Holdsworth both desired to "be advanced to the Degree" of the Royal Arch Masons.<sup>7</sup>

The next meeting of the Chapter took place on 27th October, 1780, when "Brothers Broadbent and Holdsworth were advanced", and Bros. James Wilkinson, William Charlton and Anthony Firth desired to be admitted at the next Chapter.<sup>8</sup>

The Rev. Beaumont Broadbent was the vicar of Stainton from 1767 to 1816 and vicar of Maltby from 1779 to 1816; he appears to have been living at the latter place at this time.<sup>9</sup> He later joined the North Nottinghamshire Lodge, when he was described as "being of the Antient Masonry".<sup>10</sup>

William Holdsworth, an Attorney, was born in 1749, being the son of Richard Holdsworth and the brother-in-law of Josiah Beckwith. For many years William Holdsworth had the principal practice in the Great Court Baron of Rotherham.<sup>11</sup>

At the next meeting of the Chapter on 24th November, 1780, Bro. Charlton did not attend, but "Brothers James Wilkinson, Thomas Alderson and Anthony Firth, three M.Ms., were advanced to the Degree of R.A.M."

<sup>1</sup> *York Grand Lodge MS.*, No. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. liii, page 225.

<sup>3</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. liii, page 225.

<sup>4</sup> *Rotherham Lawyers*, by J. H. Cockburn, 1932.

<sup>5</sup> *York Grand Lodge MS.*, No. 100.

<sup>6</sup> This sum was to cover the cost of the Constitutions for both the Royal Arch Chapter and the Knights Templar.

<sup>7</sup> *York Grand Lodge MS.*, No. 80.

<sup>8</sup> *York Grand Lodge MS.*, No. 80.

<sup>9</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. liii, page 219.

<sup>10</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. liii, page 224.

<sup>11</sup> *Rotherham Lawyers*, by J. H. Cockburn, 1932.

James Wilkinson was an Apothecary, and in 1808 joined the Phoenix Lodge of Rotherham. Thomas Alderson is described as being of Aldwork, and Anthony Firth was a Mercer and Draper.<sup>1</sup>

The minutes then state that "Brothers Flint, R.W.M. of the Druidical Lodge, and Brother Charlton desired to be advanced to the same Degree at the next Chapter", and made a request that a Chapter of Emergency should be held on Sunday, 5th December. No doubt the fact that one of the Candidates was the Right Worshipful Master of the Druidical Lodge carried weight, and so an emergency meeting was called and took place on the date requested, when Bros. Flint and Charlton were advanced to the Degree of R.A.M. No Christian name is given for Bro. Flint, but he was most likely James Flint, a Grocer and Tea Dealer. William Charlton was the Landlord of the Red Lion, where the Druidical Lodge of Rotherham was held.<sup>2</sup>

This is the last meeting of the Royal Arch Chapter at Rotherham of which there is any account. On the 19th December, 1780, Josiah Beckwith wrote to the Grand Secretary at York enclosing an Abstract of the Minutes from the first meeting to the "3rd of this Month".<sup>3</sup> This is a slip and should be the 5th. Josiah Beckwith goes on to state that the members of the Rotherham Chapter had forgotten to transmit anything to the Grand Treasurer towards the Fund of Charity, but that at the Chapter on St. John's Day, or at the latest in January, when the fees for Initiation are settled, the Treasurer then appointed will remit the proper fees to the Grand Chapter and also "such Sum as shall be thought proper for the Fund of Charity".

It seems probable that John Hassall was frequently in York at this time, and the last note of one of the members of the Royal Arch Chapter of Rotherham is contained in the Grand Chapter Minutes of 12th February, 1781, when the following entry appears amongst those present "Hafsall G.S.B." These Minutes are in the handwriting of William Blanchard, Grand Secretary, who followed John Browne in that office. John Hassall had been imprisoned for Debt in York Castle during May, 1780. He petitioned the York Grand Lodge<sup>4</sup> and his debts were paid, as he was present at the first meeting of the Rotherham Chapter on 21st July, 1780.

It seems probable that the Rotherham Chapter continued to meet for some years, but there is no direct evidence of this.

And so ends the story of the Royal Arch Chapter at Rotherham.

#### LIST OF MEMBERS

Alderson Thomas, of Aldwork.  
Beckwith Josiah, Attorney.  
Broadbent Rev. Beaumont, Vicar of Maltby.  
Burnside Peter.  
Chambers Thomas (Tyler).  
Charlton William, Landlord of Red Lion.  
Dixon Rev. Matthew, of Tickhill.  
Firth Anthony, Mercer and Draper.  
Flint (Joseph?), Grocer and Tea Dealer.  
Hassall John, of Conisbrough.  
Holdsworth William, Attorney.  
Laughton William Eastfield, Attorney.  
Sims James of Sheffield.  
Wilkinson James, Apothecary.

<sup>1</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. liii, pages 196, 200, 204 and 225.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. liii, pages 199 and 200.

<sup>3</sup> *York Grand Lodge MS.*, No. 80.

<sup>4</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. liii, page 219.

*APPENDIX 1—Sundry Expenses.*

## ROYAL ARCH LODGE, 1762-1766

		£	s	d
1762 Feb. 7	By An Acc'. Book for the Lodge	2	0	
Feb. 14	P <sup>d</sup> . for Parchment & wax	2	8	
do	P <sup>d</sup> . for 3 Rods & a Cord	1	8	
do	Paid the Tinnors Bill	5	0	
do	Paid for Ribbon	2	4½	
Apl. 4	Paid M <sup>r</sup> . Barker for the Candles	9	0	
do	Paid M <sup>r</sup> . Barker for a Cushion	5	0	
1763 Jan. 16	Paid for the Summonses	3	0	
		1	10	8½

## ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER, 1768-1772

1768 Aug. 17	By Bro <sup>r</sup> : Nickson for 200 Summonses	3	0	
Dec. 7	By J. Consitt for 3 Rods		9	
1769 Feb. 1	By a pair Compafses mending		4	
1770 Sept. 20	By Exp <sup>s</sup> . at Bro <sup>r</sup> : Kodd's when speaking ab <sup>t</sup> : removing the Chap <sup>r</sup> :	2	7	
Oct. —	By Parchment for a Constitution granted to the Inniskilling Regiment		9	
Nov. 13	By Bro <sup>r</sup> : Nickson for 400 Summonses	6	0	
		13	5	

## GRAND ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER, 1778-1780

1778 Apl. 5	By Cash paid for parchment	2	0	
Dec. 6	By do paid Mifs Preistley for 36½ y <sup>ds</sup> Rib <sup>n</sup> .	1	16	6
do	By do for Drefs <sup>r</sup> the Jewells		6	
do	By do Bro Bufsey for Rodds	2	6	
1779 Mar. 2	By do Paid M <sup>r</sup> . Blanchard for print <sup>s</sup> . 500 Summons's	10	0	
Dec. 5	By Cash paid for a New Book for the Chapter and old Minute Book Re Binding	4	5	
1780 Apl. —	By new Lock & work done at Chapter Repos <sup>r</sup> .	2	2	
Apl. 7	By a New Seal for the Chapter	10	6	
June 2	By Cash paid Bro <sup>r</sup> . J. Dalton for 4 Candlesticks	2	2	0
June 20	By Note paid Bro <sup>r</sup> . Blanchard for Printing Chapter Summonses	3	6	
		5	14	1

*APPENDIX 2—Rules and Orders passed on Sunday, 22 February, 1778.*

Order'd If any Brother shall betray any Secret Businefs of the Chapter he shall be excluded during Pleasure.

No Brother shall call for Liquor without Leave from the Most Worshipful Masters.

If any Member shall come disguised in Liquor so as to disturb the Harmony of the Meeting, he shall forfeit two Shillings and Six Pence and be debarr'd sitting in the Chapter till the same shall be paid

If any Brother swear or talk profanely in the Chapter he shall for the first Offence be admonished by the Most Worshipful Masters, but if repeated he shall be excluded during Pleasure.

If any Brother speak after the first Knock of the Masters Hammer he shall be admonished And if he repeats it after the Second and third Hammer he shall forfeit One Shilling And if he still persists to break through Order he shall be excluded the Chapter during Pleasure.

That the Royal Arch Rules shall not any of them be alter'd without the Intention thereof be previously notified in the Summonses by expressing "Special Businefs".

*APPENDIX 3—Suggested scheme for the amalgamation of the finances of  
"all the different Orders or Degrees of Masonry."*

1<sup>st</sup>. Night of Quarter. City of York. 2<sup>nd</sup>. June 1780.

The Brethren of the Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch assembled pursuant to Adjournment "Each Member being summoned on Particular Businefs" And the Chapter was Opened in usual form, At which were present,

Tho <sup>s</sup> . Beckwith,	as S.
John Coupland	as H.T.
fran <sup>s</sup> . Clubleby	as H.A.
John Browne	Sec. & Tr.
John Hampston	
W <sup>m</sup> . Blanchard	
William Smith	
Tho <sup>s</sup> . Jackson	as G.Sw. B'.

At this Chapter It was Resolved That the Masonic Government anciently Established by the Royal Edwin and now existing at York Under the Title of "The Grand Lodge of all England" comprehending in its nature all the different Orders or Degrees of Masonry very justly claims the Subordination of all other Lodges or Chapters of free and Accepted Masons in this Realm But that in Itself it ought in no wise to be divided nor to consist of more than one fund That each Members Payments ought to be proportioned according to the Degrees of his Advancement and each Inferior Order should observe due Deference to the Superior That all the Regalia Seals Plates and other Utensils shou'd appertain to the Members in General for the time being, having Regard to the Propriety of their Use and subject to the Rules and Directions extant.

Wherefore in Order to support the foregoing Resolutions, this Chapter do agree that the Expences of a Lodge of Emergency of the third Degree previous to S<sup>t</sup>. John's Day next may be allowed out of the

present Chapter fund in Order to lay before the Members at large the foregoing Resolutions, And if they are assented to the Members of this Chapter unanimously consent to appropriate their fund to the General Use And this Chapter do also recommend it as essential to the above that the following Resolutions do at the said Lodge pass into General Rules and Orders, with such others as may then be deemed expedient.

That the Grand Lodge of all England comprehending five Degrees or Orders of Masonry shall from and after S<sup>t</sup>. John's Day next be assembled five times in a Quarter to wit One Night in the Degree of Entered Apprentice, One Night in the fellow Crafts Degree, One Night in the Masters Degree, One Night in the Degree or Order of Knight Templar and one Night in the Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch: And each Year to consist of four Quarters viz<sup>t</sup>.

1 <sup>st</sup> . Quar <sup>r</sup> .	1. N. of Q — Last Monday in July	Ent <sup>d</sup> . Appren. Lodge
	2. N. of Q — Second Monday in August	Knight Templars
	3. N. of Q — Last Monday in August	fellow Crafts
	4. N. of Q — Second Monday in Septem.	Royal Arch Chap <sup>r</sup> .
	5. N. of Q — Last Monday in Septem.	Masters Lodge.
2 <sup>nd</sup> . Quar.	1. N. of Q — Second Monday in October	Ent <sup>d</sup> . Appr. Lodge
	2. N. of Q — Last Monday in October	Knight Templars
	3. N. of Q — Second Monday in Novem.	fellow Crafts
	4. N. of Q — Last Monday in Novem <sup>r</sup> .	Royal Arch Chap <sup>r</sup> .
	5. N. of Q — Second Monday in Decem <sup>r</sup> .	Masters Lodge.
3 <sup>rd</sup> . Quar.	1. N. of Q — S <sup>t</sup> . John the Evangelists Day	Ent <sup>d</sup> . Appr. Lodge
	2. N. of Q — Second Monday in Janry	Knight Templars
	3. N. of Q — Last Monday in Janury.	fellow Crafts
	4. N. of Q — Second Monday in february.	Royal Arch
	5. N. of Q — Last Monday in february	Masters Lodge.
4 <sup>th</sup> . Quar.	1. N. of Q — Second Monday in March	Ent <sup>d</sup> . Appr. Lodge.
	2. N. of Q — Last Monday in March.	Knight Templars
	3. N. of Q — Last Monday in April	fellow Crafts.
	4. N. of Q — Last Monday in May.	Royal Arch Chap <sup>r</sup> .
	5. N. of Q — S <sup>t</sup> . John the Baptists Day.	Masters Lodge.

And that the Grand Lodge be accordingly summoned One Night in each Quarter for each Degree.

That the Members Quarterages to be payable on the first Night of each Quarter shall be proportioned and paid as follows

Members of only the 1<sup>st</sup>. Degree to pay p Quarter, Two Shillings & 6d  
the 1<sup>st</sup>. and 2<sup>d</sup>. Degree ————— Three Shillings & 6 Pence  
the 3 first Degrees ————— four Shillings.  
the 1<sup>st</sup>. 2<sup>nd</sup>. 3<sup>rd</sup>. and 4<sup>th</sup>. Degrees — five Shill<sup>gs</sup>. and Six Pence.  
the whole 5 Degrees ————— Seven Shillings.

That the Election of Grand Officers and other Annual Matters which have of late Years been made or taken Place on the feast Day of S<sup>t</sup>. John the Evangelist be henceforth made or take Place



Annually on the feast Day of S<sup>t</sup>. John the Baptist agreeable to ancient Custom And that this Day be Annually observed as the Grand feast of the Year.

Then it was Ordered that a Sum not less than a Guinea and half and not exceeding two Guineas be paid Bro J. Dalton out of this Chapter fund for the four Candlesticks he lately sent and left for the Use of the Grand Chapter.

Also that Bro<sup>r</sup>. George Kitson be readmitted as a Member of this Chapter on Payment of his Arrears And that he may thereupon act as Treasurer as well to the Chapter as the other Orders in the Grand Lodge.

Then the Grand Secretary gave Notice that Bro<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Willans intends to discontinue being a Member of this Chapter.

The Chapter was closed and adjourned to the Second Monday in next September Except in Case of Emergency.

*APPENDIX 4—Petition to hold a Chapter at Rotherham  
(York Grand Lodge MS. No. 77)*

To the Brethern of the most worshipful Grand Chapter of all England, held at the Antient City of York.

The Humble Petition of Josiah Beckwith, John Hafsall and James Simes, three Royal Arch Maceons.

Sheweth

That the Places of Abode of your Petitioners, being at and near [Rotherham in the County of York, are at the Distance of Forty Miles and upwards from the City of York, within which Distance no regular Chapter of Royal Arch Maceons is held, that your Petitioners know of.

That several Brethern in the Neighbourhood of Rotherham are [desirous of taking the Degree of Royal Arch Maceons, but cannot conveniently [attend the Grand Chapter at York for such Purpose; nor can your Petitioners [regularly hold a Chapter for the Initiation of Brothers, without a Dispensation [from the Grand Chapter so to do; through Want of which, several worthy [Brothers are deprived of the Advantages of being raised to that Degree.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that the Brethern of the most worshipful Grand Chapter will grant to your Petitioners and their Succesors a Dispensation or Warrant enabling them to hold a Chapter at the Town of Rotherham aforesaid, for the Purpose of making Royal Arch Maceons, and for such other Purposes as are usually expresse in Warrants granted in the like Cases.

And your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

Signed, as well for myself, as on the Behalf of Brothers  
John Hafsall and James Simes

Josiah Beckwith  
Rotherham; 25<sup>th</sup>: February 1780.

*APPENDIX 5—Constitution to hold a Chapter at Rotherham.<sup>1</sup>*

Copy of the Warrant or Constitution to open  
and hold a Royal Arch Chapter at Rotherham

Rob<sup>t</sup>. Lakeland D.G.M.

To all to Whom these Presents shall come Be it known That upon the Humble Petition of Our well beloved and Most Excellent Brothers Josiah Beckwith John Hafsall and James Simes Members of the Druidical Lodge of Ancient York Masons at Rotherham in the County of York We the Most Worshipful Masters and Brethren of the Grand Royal Arch Chapter of all England in full Chapter assembled at the City of York Do hereby grant to the said Josiah Beckwith John Hafsall and James Simes Our Warrant to assemble and hold a Royal Arch Chapter of free and Accepted Masons at the Druidical Lodge in Rotherham aforesaid on such Days and Hours as to them shall seem meet and to admit and advance other suitable Brothers to the same Degrees and to do every Act which appertaineth to a Royal Arch Chapter subordinate to Us so long as they do faithfully observe and keep Inviolable the Ancient Rules and Regulations of Our Sublime and Most Excellent Order And we trust that they will promote the Worship of God and be good and Useful Members And We do hereby appoint Our said Brothers Josiah Beckwith John Hafsall and James Simes to be the Right Worshipful Masters of the said Chapter with full Power for them to Elect other Brothers of the same Order to succeed to the Offices aforesaid And so from time to time Annually for them and their Successors to Elect others to Supply those Offices Requiring neverthelefs And We do enjoin that an Account in Writing of their Proceedings from time to time with the Names of the Brethren by them advanced to the Degrees aforesaid shall be brought or transmitted to Us and Our Successors at York Annually on the feast Day of Saint John the Evangelist or as soon after as may be Given under Our Seal at the Grand Lodge of all England in York the Sixth Day of July Anno Domini One thousand Seven hundred and Eighty.

John Browne; Gr. Secret<sup>y</sup>.

*APPENDIX 6—Instructions to the Chapter at Rotherham.<sup>2</sup>*

Copy of Instructions sent with the afores<sup>d</sup>. Warrant.  
The Principia to be Observed by the Royal Arch Chapter of  
free and Accepted Masons at the Druidical Lodge in Rotherham.

That as soon as the Chapter is duly formed an Account shall be transmitted to the Grand Chapter at York of the Proceedings thereupon And a Return shall be made also Annually of the Proceedings of the Year and of the Names of the Brethren by them advanced to the Degrees of Royal Arch in Order to be duly Inrolled on Record at the Grand Chapter Together with the Sum of One Shilling for each Brothers respective Inrollment in the Grand Chapter as aforesaid And such a Contribution Annually as they reasonably can towards the General fund to be employed to benevolent and advantageous Purposes.

<sup>1</sup> See end of York Grand Lodge Minute Book, 1774-1780. For rough draft see *York Grand Lodge MS.*, No. 79.

<sup>2</sup> See end of York Grand Lodge Minute Book, 1774-1780. For rough draft see *York Grand Lodge MS.*, No. 79. Another copy was made by John Browne at the end of the Royal Arch Minute Book, 1762-1776, in which the title Companion is used.

That they have full Power to make any Bye Laws for their own Government Provided they don't Interfere with the fundamental Ones of the Most Excellent Grand and Royal Chapter.

That their Jewels and Ornaments be such as appertain to the Order of Royal Arch.

That they make no Innovation in the Business of the Chapter And if any Doubts should arise they must always be referred to the Grand Chapter for Decision.

That no Man of bad or Immoral Character be admitted nor any one untill he hath passed the several Probationary Degrees of free Masonry and thereby obtained the Necessary Passport as a Reward of his Services.

That they take every Method to forward the true Purpose of Our Order to promote all the Useful Arts and Sciences and create Universal Peace and Harmony And that every Member do consider it as his duty to lay before the Chapter whatever may tend to such Salutary Purposes.

That any Matter or Thing thought worthy of Observation be communicated to the Grand Chapter at York Who will always be ready to support and forward whatever may be found Useful to the fraternity in General or that Chapter in Particular not repugnant to the Common Welfare.

By Order

York 6. July 1780.

John Browne; Gr. Secret<sup>y</sup>

A hearty vote of thanks was unanimously passed to Bro. Johnson on the proposition of Bro. F. L. Pick, seconded by Bro. J. H. Lepper; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. H. Baxter, W. W. Covey-Crump, W. I. Grantham, H. H. Hallett, H. C. Booth, J. R. Rylands, C. D. Rotch, G. W. Bullamore and E. Hawkesworth.

Bro. FRED L. PICK said:—

The Masonic bodies of York have been as fortunate in their historians as the historians have been in the wealth of material available, and I am happy to propose a vote of thanks to our Bro. G. Y. Johnson for his carefully compiled and interesting account of the York Grand Chapter.

Bro. Johnson indicates that the first suggestion that the Royal Arch Degree was being worked at York appeared in Dr. Dassigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry* of 1744. I would like to ask our Brother's opinion of the suggestion that the Mark of Isaac Scott, who was "received admitted and acknowledged as a Member of this Antient and Hon<sup>ble</sup> Society" on 27th December, 1725, resembles a perpendicular T over a horizontal H (see W. J. Hughan's *The York Grand Lodge, A.Q.C.*, xiii, 14, and R. F. Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, vol. ii, 274).

It is interesting to note that the founders of the Lodge at the Punch Bowl were members of the York Company of Comedians and were largely responsible for the establishment of the Royal Arch Chapter. They were, incidentally, Modern Masons.

The identity of the early Principals or Masters is puzzling. If the initials refer to H., Z., and J., as we know them to-day, the Prophet takes precedence instead of the King, or High Priest, as found elsewhere. Bro. Hughan says, "The first three officers of the Chapter in 1762 were the Master, Senior Warden and Secretary respectively of the Lodge No. 259, which was

granted by the *regular* Grand Lodge, London" (*Origin of the English Rite*, p. 99). It is observed that in the second period of activity the same titles were used, but, in 1772, two years after the apparent assumption of Grand Chapter status, we have the change-over to S., H.T., and H.A.

Of the four subordinate Chapters, three were founded during the period of greatest activity of the Grand Lodge of All England at York, each following fairly closely upon the formation of a subordinate Lodge. The case of the Inniskilling Dragoons is different. At one time or another this Regiment appears to have held some four Craft Warrants; the one in operation in 1770 being an "Antient" Warrant of 1763. As the "Antients" regarded Royal Arch Masonry as "the root, heart and marrow of Masonry", one wonders why the Brethren of the Inniskilling Regiment should think it necessary to obtain a Royal Arch Warrant from York.

I cannot close without complimenting Bro. Johnson on his concise but very descriptive biographical notes which illuminate an already fascinating narrative.

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Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

I have great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to our Bro. Johnson for a paper which must have cost him an infinite amount of hard work and is full of valuable material. Any comments I have to make can add nothing to the structure, but perhaps some of them may be found to suggest new trails to be followed.

First of all, I would implore you when considering Fifield Dassigny to read his book for yourselves before accepting Chetwode Crawley's estimate of the man and his works, which has always seemed to me unduly harsh. As for Dassigny himself, whatever the weaknesses of his character, he was an ardent Freemason, and seems to have been respected by the Lodges that followed his body to the grave. As for his book, I maintain that it is a most valuable document and gives internal evidence that, though Dassigny makes no claim to have been a Royal Arch Mason, he must have known quite a lot about the Degree. What he tells us about it coincides with what we have learnt from other sources: *e.g.*, that it was confined to those Masons who had passed through the Chair of a Lodge; that its distinguishing title was Most Excellent; that there were differences of opinion about the method of conferring it, and so on. If I were speaking in a Royal Arch Chapter instead of a Lodge, I should be prepared to hold forth for some time longer on other passages in the book; but as my remarks could not be printed in any case, the Brethren generally will not be losers by my reticence. This I will say, that in my opinion Dassigny, though he does not say so, had more than a mere hearsay knowledge of the Degree. I would also beseech my hearers to take Dassigny's words in the ordinary common way in their plain meaning, and to think that when he says London or York he means those cities and not some other place in Cloudeuckoo-land. If you read his book in this way it makes very good sense, and you will get some useful information from it.

It is not insignificant that the first recorded meeting of the "Royal Arch Lodge" was held on a Sunday. The Royal Arch is a religious Degree and no doubt the day seemed a suitable one. Anyway, as far back as 1735 Dr. Desaguliers "held a Lodge on Sunday night in the Library", when three Brothers were "made Chapters". (See Bro. Wonnacott's paper, *A.Q.C.*, xxx, p. 190.) And when the Rose Croix Degree, which also is very religious, was brought to Dublin in 1782 it, too, was conferred on a Sunday, in defiance of the Grand Lodge regulation that no Masonic meeting should be held on that day of the week.

Also it is very significant that the Degree should have been exemplified in York by actors, that is by a class of men accustomed to get long speeches by heart and recite them with appropriate action in an agreeable manner. It might make an interesting note to inquire what the early Craft owes to the actors, schoolmasters, and clergy who were active Freemasons.

Now for a suggestion: the tinner's bill for 5/- may well have been for headgear, but my first thought was of certain pieces of metal, from which I will not remove the veil in this place.

The use of the title "Most Sublime or Royal Arch Chapter" for the first time in 1768 might easily be accounted for by the fact that in 1767 in London there had come into existence by the Charter of Compact our existing Grand Royal Arch Chapter. I do not doubt that news of this newly established Body had reached York and suggested the change of name.

The initials of the Presiding Officers in the early meetings set us all a-guessing of course. Here let me quote a famous advertisement that appeared in some newspaper still unidentified on the 9th October, 1753 (See *A.Q.C.*, xxix, p. 18 *et seq.*): "To all Brothers that were made in the Order of the M.L.K.G. of the G. and R.C. commonly called the Royal Arch that a Chapter will be held on Sunday evening next, at the house of Brother John Henrys, the Crown and Anchor, in King-street, Seven Dials. By order of the P.T.H.J.Z.L. and J.A. W.L. Secretary."

It has been suggested that the letters stand for Mother Lodge Kilwinning of the Grand and Royal Chapter; Principal Three, H(agga)I, Z(erubbabe)L, J(eshu)A, which is as it may be. There is no doubt that the High Priest was originally the highest in rank in a R.A. Chapter, for which reason, when I find the letters H.P. or P.H. in conjunction, I incline to think of that cleric.

Just one last suggestion. When the Innskillings applied for a Warrant to hold a Royal Arch Chapter in 1770, they may have wished to get hold of some document as outward and visible sign of their right to confer the Degree in their Lodge. As military Masons they can hardly have failed to have come across the Royal Arch Degree, for it was ordinarily conferred in the Regimental Lodges under the authority of the Craft Warrant. Perhaps they thought a Royal Arch Warrant from York would evoke the envy of other Regimental Lodges. I have no doubt it did.

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Bro. RODK. H. BAXTER *writes*:—

Our Brother Gilbert Yorke Johnson is to be heartily congratulated on his indefatigable exertions to elucidate the early Masonic activities of his native city. The interesting and exhaustive paper on Royal Arch Masonry is a fitting appendix—I do not call it a climax—to his story of the Grand Lodge of All England and its subordinate Lodges. Some Brethren may have questions to ask and criticisms to offer. I have none. But I may be permitted to make a comment on the accepting of the views of Bro. John Yarker as in any way authoritative. Even Bro. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, whose erudition I much admired, may not be correct in his interpretation of the initialled titles of the three Principals. I hope the discussion on the paper now before us may bring forth other suggestions.

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Bro. W. W. COVEY-CRUMP *writes*:—

We are indeed grateful to Bro. Johnson for his interesting and valuable record of the one-time R.A. Grand Chapter at York. He and others have thrown much light on the Grand Lodge there, and its subordinate Lodges; but until now obscurity has prevailed concerning the Chapter, the history of which he has brought to us this evening. For the most part it has comprised

a series of authentic events, which leave no opening for criticism and not much for comment except the conjectures as to the designations of the presiding officers.

Doubtlessly we all know that each R.A. Chapter is governed by three Principals who severally are Masters and collectively are "the Master". Theoretically they are equal in authority, but practically a precedence in rank is acknowledged—the order (in England) of which is Z., H. and J.

But, for some unknown reason, when the York Grand Chapter was constituted its chief officers were designated P. and Z. and J. We may reasonably assume that the initials Z. and J. signified the same then as they do now; and that an order of precedence existed then as now; but what did "P:H" signify, and why was it applied to the *First* Principal? Bro. Johnson seems inclined to agree with our late Bro. Yarker's suggested explanation that at York the prophet Haggai took precedence over the "Prince of the people", a priority subsequently reversed.

But to this I venture to demur. Whether the evidence of Dr. Dassigny in 1744 be accepted or not is immaterial. The R.A. degree worked at York in 1762 seems to have been a then *recent* importation—with antecedents at Hull or elsewhere—and thus we have no right to assume that its ritual and symbolism were identical with (or even similar to) that to which we are now accustomed. That, under the "Antients'" regime in London, the presiding officers at first represented Solomon and the two Hiram's has hitherto been generally postulated; and it readily accounts for the ritual at York being changed in 1772, with the consequences described by Bro. Johnson. But what it had been before then we know not.

Unfortunately Dr. Chetwode Crawley's suggestion—that "P:H" represents the Hebrew name "Parosh"—is open to serious objection, because *Parosh* [Heb. פֶּרוֹשׁ] means *Pulex irritans*; and though some descendants of an unknown person so-named are mentioned (as he says) in *Ezra*, ii, 3, and viii, 3, and also in *Neh.*, vii, 8, the selection of a name having such a signification for an imaginary Principal is obviously unlikely. If "P:H" represented a Hebrew word the title *Pekkah* [Heb. פֶּקֶחַ], meaning "Governor", would be appropriate, as it was applied both to Zerubbabel (*Hag.*, ii, 21) and to Nehemiah (*Neh.*, xii, 26). This alternative, however, is just as devoid of evidential support as is *Parosh*, so I forbear to press it.

The occupations of two members of the York Chapter seem to offer another field for speculation: what was a "money scrivener"; what was an "ale draper"? But I must not extend my comments; and therefore conclude by very cordially supporting the vote of thanks to Bro. Johnson.

Bro. IVOR GRANTHAM writes:—

I have read with much interest Bro. Johnson's useful paper on the York Grand Chapter, and regret my inability to be present in Lodge to listen to the reading of this paper by one who has made such a close study of the records of Freemasonry in York.

The only contribution which I feel able to offer to the discussion which will follow the reading of this paper is the suggestion that the Tinnets' Bill for 5/- in February, 1762, related, not to any form of headgear, but to a breastplate worn by the representative of the High Priest.

Bro. H. HIRAM HALLETT writes:—

I have read the proof of Bro. G. Y. Johnson's paper, *The York Grand Chapter*, with great interest, and I am very glad that he has given us such a fine record of this old Chapter. His paper, however, calls for little comment

except his solution of that long debated problem regarding the right interpretation of the letters P:H, Z:L, and J:A, which designated the three Principals in 1762. Although I think his solution is probably correct, and that he has rightly rejected the old explanation given by the late Bro. T. B. Whytehead that J:A might mean Joshua Armiger, "An armed man", yet he has not referred to that given by Bro. the Rev. F. de P. Castells in his work, *The Organisation of the Royal Arch two Centuries Ago*, published in 1930, viz., Prophet, Haggai; Zerubbabel, Lawgiver; and Joshua, Arch-Priest, or Arch-Prelate, by taking the Latin word, "archon", which means "Chief Ruler". But to quote: "In the ancient Chapters the High Priest was the presiding Officer", and he based his explanation on the assumption that all the titles were originally in Latin.

Again, when these designations were changed, in 1772, to S., H.T., and H.A., Bro. Johnson has suggested that they were thus changed by the influence of four members of the Inniskilling Regiment, who had visited the York Chapter in 1770, and had petitioned for a Warrant for forming a Chapter in connection with this Regiment, because these were the designations given in an unknown Chapter in which they themselves had been made Royal Arch Masons; I do not think this suggestion feasible, for the members of the York Chapter would not readily listen to non-members about making such a drastic change. He has also suggested that the change denoted a change of Ritual, without attempting to throw any light on such an interesting problem. The change, whatever the reason, persisted until 1781, when all records of the York Chapter terminated. I would mention that Hughan, in his noted work *The Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry* has referred to these two sets of designations, and has also quoted a Minute of the York Chapter, dated 1778, in which the new designations were still in use, but he refrained from making any comment on them.

Bro. Castells has also mentioned that "In Kabbalism there were seven Degrees. It is conceivable, therefore, that in early Freemasonry there may also have been seven Mystery Plays which consisted of the following episodes", but I will only quote three: "5: Solomon—King Hiram—the Widow's Son; 6: Josiah—Hilkiah—Shaphan; 7: Zerubbabel—Haggai—Joshua, or Jeshua". It is rather remarkable that No. 5 should have been adopted by the York Chapter, No. 7 by our Grand Chapter, and No. 6 by the Irish Chapter. Our own Grand Chapter was formed in 1767, and doubtless this influenced the York Brethren to add the word "Grand" to their Chapter in 1778.

In conclusion, I should like to compliment Bro. Johnson for the way he has given us so many very interesting details concerning the Brethren who joined the old York Chapter from time to time—a most laborious task at any time, but particularly when he had to make his researches in old newspapers and other records of more than 180 years ago; and I also must congratulate him for setting forth in so able a manner the records relating to Royal Arch Masonry in York at such an early period.

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Bro. H. C. BOOTH writes:—

I have enjoyed reading Bro. G. Y. Johnson's paper on *The York Grand Chapter*. The most interesting point to me is the designation of the three masters in 1762 as P:H, Z:L, and J:A, and some clue to the origin of this would be most interesting, especially as in 1772 they change to S, H:T, and H:A, which is actually a return to the titles of the three Grand Masters who worked the Master's Degree before the R.A. was taken out of the Craft, as given in the *Rite Ancien de Bouillon*, and this was continued to the end of the Grand Chapter in September, 1781.

In the early minutes of the Marquis of Granby Lodge, Durham, it is recorded on the 25th March, 1775, that "Bros. John Coss, John Brown, Alexander Ford, Geo. Dale, Wm. Hennan, Robert Lisle, and William Wans, all belonging to the St. Andrew's Royal Arch, held in the 2nd. Regiment of Greys", visited the Lodge; and on 23rd February, 1783, members of the Regiment held a Chapter of the Super-excellent Royal Arch in the Lodge Room of the Marquis of Granby in Old Elvet, Durham, the Three Principals being designated Grand Masters, and nine members of the Marquis of Granby Lodge were *initiated* into the Order.

A further point of interest is given in the expenses of the evening, 14th February, 1762, "Pd. for 3 Rods & a Cord". It would be very interesting to know if there is any indication of the size of these rods; were they all of equal length, or were they still in the proportions of 3 : 4 : 5, as were the rods of the three Operative Grand Masters? I remember seeing two rods in the museum of York Lodge some years ago, with the name of the owner at the centre and the names of his colleagues at each end. The two rods I saw did not belong to the same set.

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BRO. J. R. RYLANDS *writes*:—

Although Bro. Johnson's excellent paper throws no new light on the Dassigny reference, it is possible that something still remains to be discovered in Yorkshire, if not in York itself, regarding the origins of the Royal Arch as practised in England. In the West Riding the R.A. legend, and presumably the corresponding ceremony, had settled down to something very near to what we have to-day. The position remains, therefore, that at some time between 1740 and 1762 the Royal Arch, in something akin to its present form as regards the legend, made its appearance in Yorkshire.

Bro. Johnson's suggestion that the degree came from Hull does not, I think, conflict with my view that French prisoners-of-war (or other similar contact with France) may have been the means of introduction.

It would appear from the 1762 minute that H was regarded as the First Master or Principal. There is an entry in the Wakefield R.A. minutes, under date 18th August, 1793, where the list of "Bro<sup>rs</sup>. Companions present" is headed:—

John Meggitt	H
John Robinson	J
Rich <sup>d</sup> . Linnecar	Z

The order has, I think, no particular significance in this case; a number of minutes of the period show the usual "Z, H, J." On the other hand, the forms "Z, J, H" and "Z, I, H," occur occasionally, and it would almost appear that H and J were looked upon as equal in status.

Ambrose Beckwith probably had a fair business connection in the West Riding, especially among the county families, and some of his invoices and letters turn up from time to time. There is a receipted account which shows that Mrs. Winn (of Nostell Priory) bought from him a Pair of Gilt Buckles for 10s. 6d. on the 25th August, 1764. The account is receipted by "E. Beckwith for Amb. Beckwith"—probably his or his brother's wife. In a letter concerning Lodge jewels, written to Richard Linnecar of Wakefield on the 9th February, 1766, Ambrose Beckwith includes greetings from his brother Malby and Mrs. Beckwith.

The Tinner's Bill for 5/- would, I think, be for candlesticks or sockets. The Wakefield Lodge paid the same amount in 1766 for "tinsockets for candlesticks". Probably the furnishings of the Lodge were quite unpretentious at first; it was not apparently till 1780 (?) that the Grand Chapter bought four rather more expensive candlesticks from John Dalton.



I wonder if any inference in regard to the ceremonial can be drawn from these candlesticks and sockets? I imagine that quite a number of sockets could be obtained in the 1760's for 5/-. Could it be that many more lights were then in use than is customary at the present time?

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Bro. E. HAWKSWORTH writes:—

I have read Bro. Johnson's paper with considerable interest and profit. It is a monument of painstaking research, not only in its examination of the Minutes and other documents, but also in its strong human element in the insight it presents into the lives of the York R.A. Brethren. Its implications seem of some importance, as they make it clear that not only in its constitutional aspects, but also in its ceremonial ones, the R.A. of the latter half of the eighteenth century was something very different from that of the present day.

It will be noticed that neither "Holy" nor "Jerusalem" are mentioned as part of the title of the degree; all along it was R.A. only, which tends to confirm the opinion held by some students that originally the word "Arch" was used to designate a mason of more than ordinary rank or occupational importance; and Dassigny may have been quite right in his statement that in York there were M.Ms. with qualifications and excellences superior to others, even if in other respects he might be considered an unreliable authority.

The paper discloses no evidence of there having been what is now an essential group of nine officers to form a regularly constituted Chapter, the only ones mentioned being the Three Masters, a Secretary, sometimes a Treasurer, and a Tyler or Sword Bearer. Some of the Masters appear upon the scene without any record of election, and in some cases nothing appears to have been known of their previous masonic history or qualifications—whether some of them had been Master of a Craft Lodge, or had formally "Passed the Chair" to qualify for the R.A. seems doubtful.

Whilst there may have been some similarity to our present Rite in the "legend" and fundamentals, it is difficult to imagine the nature of the ceremony. On many occasions, even if all the members present were officers, undesignated, it would not be possible to carry out our present ritual. Further, in the Craft and in the R.A. there is very little or no reference to the regalia or furnishings now considered necessary for the proper carrying-out of the Ceremonies. There are three notes of Rods being purchased—the two lots of three each may have been staves for the Masters, and the later lot of ten for the members. The ribbon bought, particularly the 76½ yards on December 6th, 1778, may have been used for the making of sashes or collars. Apart from these we learn of only a Cord, a Cushion, a Square, and four Candlesticks, which from the number may have been more for illumination than ceremonial purposes. The "Principia" handed to the new Chapter at Rotherham prescribe that the Jewels and Ornaments be such as appertain to the Order of R.A. (*not H.R.A.M.J.*), but we are left in ignorance as to what they were.

From the Rules passed in 1778 it may be inferred that liquor was consumed during the proceedings of the Chapter, and the reference to the "Knocks" of the Master suggests that the "form of the Chapter" was different from the present one, as it is not likely that the hammer would be knocked on the floor, but rather on a table in front. Evidently all the Three Masters did not knock.

Both Lodge and Chapter had a continuous struggle for existence, and in this had to adopt measures foreign to our ideas. For instance, Bro. Lambert, who was made R.A. on April 29th, 1768, held the Chair of Z.L. in the same year, during which he ceased to attend.

How the subordinate Chapters were able to commence properly, let alone carry on, it is difficult to imagine; if the lists of members are complete, two of them with three, one with four, and even Rotherham with fourteen, would have a struggle.

Our ancient Brethren very strictly conformed to the old masonic precept of committing nothing to writing, hence the old records afford such sparse information, in vivid contrast to our printed Rituals and, in too many cases, the more than ample descriptions of our ceremonies in our Minute Books. We are indebted deeply to Bro. Johnson for making this York history available for so many readers, and giving them so much information about those Brethren who laid so well the foundations of our present structure.

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Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

Although not accepted by Bro. Johnson, the solution put forward by Bro. Chetwode Crawley of the problem of the Three Masters is the only one that is logical. Bro. Whytehead assumes that the description precedes the name in the case of Haggai, but follows it where Zerubbabel and Jeshua are concerned. Bro. Yarker's solution supposes that it was necessary to describe Haggai as a prophet, but that Zerubbabel and Jeshua require no description. Bro. Chetwode Crawley, however, considers that each name was abbreviated in the same manner and thus arrives at Parosh, Zerubbabel and Jeshua. These three would represent the people, the King and the priesthood, affording some analogy to our own system of government.

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Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON *writes* in reply:—

It is very gratifying that so many of the Brethren have commented on my paper.

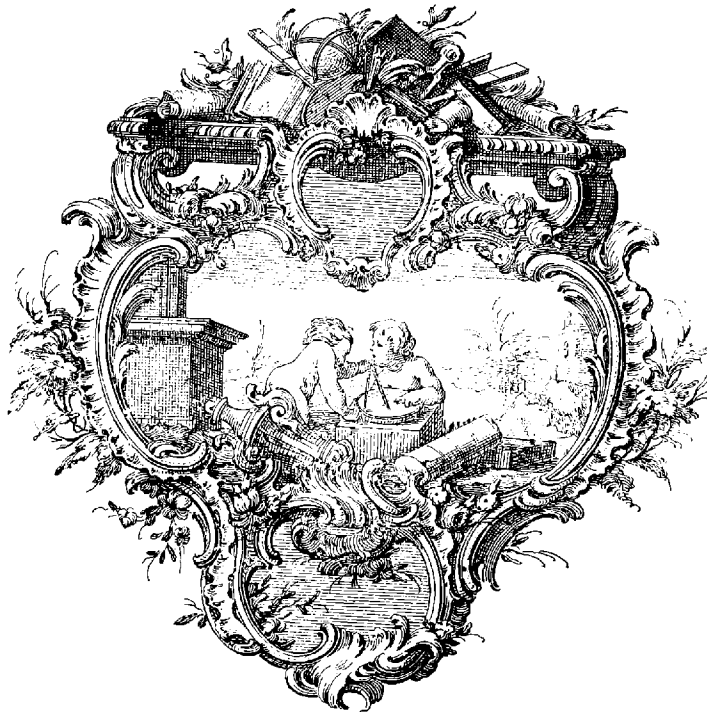
I am sorry that I appear to have done an injustice to Fifield Dassigny; I have re-read his book and agree that it is a most valuable document and that it throws considerable light on the Royal Arch Degree. Nothing would please me more than to be able to produce evidence that the Royal Arch was worked in York before the year 1744, but there are no records of this at York, and it seems unlikely that the York Grand Lodge met for some time after 1738 owing to the troublous times.

Several of the Brethren have made suggestions about the Tinnerns' Bill, all of which are possible. My own comment was made because two Chapters in my Province still use the old gear; these Chapters are, of course, attached to (what were previously) "Antient" Lodges.

The most difficult problem to solve is the question of the initials of the presiding officers, and I am indebted to Bro. J. Heron Lepper for drawing attention to the newspaper advertisement of 9th October, 1753; this is new to me. Bro. W. W. Covey-Crump's remarks are also helpful. Bro. F. L. Pick asks for information about the mark made by Isaac Scott, who was "Received, Admitted and Acknowledged" on 27th December, 1725 (*York G. Lodge Roll No. 7*). I have consulted the original and the mark consists of three parallel lines joined together by a line running at right angles; there is no suggestion of a perpendicular T over a horizontal H. My thanks are due to Bro. H. Hiram Hallett for calling attention to Bro. the Rev. F. de P. Castells' work, *The Organisation of the Royal Arch two Centuries Ago*; this throws further light on the subject. My suggestion that the change of titles in 1772 may have been caused by the members of the Inniskillen Regiment is somewhat weak, but this was the only outside influence that I could trace.

The occupations of some of the members of the York Grand Chapter are interesting. Jacob Bussey is described as a ropemaker and harister, and I have been unable to find the latter in any dictionary, the nearest being Hairester or Hayrester—a worker in Horsehair (*Oxford English Dictionary*); but on looking through the *List of York Freemen* I find that the word is generally spelt hairster, which appears to have been a trade somewhat similar to that of a feltmaker. A Money Scrivener was “one who puts money out on loan for his clients”. An Ale Draper was “a seller of Ale”.

In conclusion I wish to thank all the Brethren for the kind reception they have given to my paper; it is far more than it deserves.



## Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

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WEDNESDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1944.

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 12 noon. Present:—Bros. F. L. Pick, *P.O.L.S.*, W.M.; Lewis Edwards, *M.A.*, P.A.G.R., P.M., as S.W.; G. V. Johnson, P.A.G.D.C., J.W.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Cevoy-Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Chap.; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, P.A.G.R., P.M., Treasurer; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.Swd.B., Secretary; F. R. Radice, S.D.; W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., J.D.; *Wing Commdr.* W. Ivor Grantham, *M.A.*, *O.B.E.*, *LL.B.*, P.Pr.G.W., Sussex, 1.P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C.; S. Pope; and J. R. Rylands.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. L. E. Spence; *Major* A. Gorham; E. H. Webb; F. Mercer; F. C. Taylor; S. J. Bradford, P.G.St.B.; W. Plumb; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.R.; H. J. Harvey; H. Attwooll; S. C. Renny; W. Casasola; E. Alven; B. E. Close; L. G. Wearing; J. E. S. Milligan; *Rev.* C. K. Hughes; F. H. H. Thomas, P.A.G.S.B.; F. Lace, P.A.G.D.C.; H. Bladon, P.G.D.; H. S. Bell; M. Goldberg; F. P. Reynolds, P.G.St.B.; A. F. Cross; D. A. Blair; R. Oliver; B. Foskett; A. F. Hatten; W. A. Crawford; J. D. Daymond; J. Johnstone, P.A.G.D.C.; P. E. Keville; A. S. Carter; and F. W. Harris.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. H. J. Seymour, P.M., Old Emanuel Lodge No. 5399; H. Thrower, L.G.R., P.M., Albert Gate Lodge No. 5475; and H. P. Bayon, P.M., Cavendish Lodge No. 2620.

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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.* H. Poole, *B.A.*, P.A.G.Ch., P.M.; D. Flather, *J.P.*, 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, P.A.G.D.C., S.W.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; G. S. Knocker, *M.B.E.*, P.A.G.Sup.W.; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., I.G.; *Commandr.* S. N. Smith, *R.N.*, P.Pr.G.D., Cambs.; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. B. Wilson, P.G.D.; and C. D. Rotch, P.G.D.

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One Lodge and thirteen Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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W.Bro. *Colonel* Frank Martyn Rickard, P.G.Swd.B., 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. G. Y. Johnson	S.W.
„ F. R. Radice	J.W.
„ W. W. Covey-Crump	Chaplain
„ J. Heron Lepper	Treasurer
„ L. Edwards	Secretary
„ W. E. Heaton	S.D.
„ H. H. Hallett	J.D.
„ S. N. Smith	I.G.
„ G. H. Ruddie	Tyler

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The W.M. proposed, and it was duly seconded and carried:—

“W.Bro. Fred. Lomax Pick, 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 W.M. delivered the following:—

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS

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BY BRO. F. M. RICKARD

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BRETHREN,

It is with perturbation of mind that I address you, for, while I am deeply grateful for the kindness of the members of the Lodge which a year ago prompted the suggestion that I should succeed to this Chair, I am keenly sensible of my own limitations. In all sincerity I fully appreciate and highly prize the honour, which I feel is the culmination and the cope-stone to a fairly long career in Freemasonry.

For many years past the Installation Addresses from so many renowned Brethren have described summaries of the work done by Quatuor Coronati Lodge and have given indications of the work yet to be accomplished. These have included many valuable suggestions with regard to lines of research to be followed, and have pointed the way for those who are interested in the study of Masonic science.

I propose to speak on a rather different theme in narrating the story of the Correspondence Circle and reviewing its progress since its inception. And I would plead the cause of Quatuor Coronati Lodge by pointing out difficulties and mentioning points which have emerged from experience gained as Secretary.

Probably what I am about to say may sound trite to you whose presence here to-day indicates interest in the aims and objects of Quatuor Coronati Lodge. But I would ask you to bear with me because in due course these words of mine should obtain a wider circulation, and I hope will attract attention far and wide, with the result of producing in a very material manner the assistance which is so essential in prosecuting the aims for which our Lodge was founded.

As you all know, Quatuor Coronati Lodge was founded nearly sixty years ago with the intention of promoting Masonic research, printing its *Transactions* and forming a Library and Museum.

As the Lodge was limited in size, and as the printing of the *Transactions* was dependent upon a sufficiently large and stable income, it was decided in March, 1887, to spread all the advantages resulting from the research work done, and for that purpose to establish a Correspondence Circle. Hence the origin of the distinguishing characteristic of our Lodge—the Correspondence Circle—which came into being through the foresight of our first Secretary, Bro. G. W. Speth. The objects and advantages, enunciated at the time, have remained the same, and are fully described on the form of application to become a member.

The scheme received strong support from the very start, and information was received from even distant parts of the world that the aims and objects of Quatuor Coronati Lodge commended themselves.

In the first year 200 members were enrolled, and this number increased by an average of 50 to 100 at each meeting of the Lodge until, in October, 1890, the total of the membership of the Correspondence Circle exceeded 1,000.

But there was a "fly in the ointment". Even in those days difficulty was experienced financially, due to depletion of funds caused solely by arrears; for at the end of 1891 the audit report showed that the matter of arrears appearing each year had become a cause for anxiety. So much so that it was thought necessary to speak seriously; and, as part of that report, the following remarks appeared:—

"Defaulting Brethren may be broadly divided into three classes. There is the Brother who, having subscribed for a year or two, decides to cease doing so, but omits to make his resolve known. As a consequence he continues to receive the publications for a whole year, . . . besides letters calling attention to the state of his account. To these he pays no attention, and is finally struck off the roll, having received one volume of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* for which he has not paid. Or he finally writes that he meant to resign long ago, but omits to send his arrears of dues, and, when written to on the subject, preserves an unbroken silence. The result is the same—a dead loss to the Lodge.

Then there is the new member, who allows a friend to propose him, is accepted and receives the *Transactions* of the year, and a request to forward his dues. It is an astonishing fact that some of these, very fortunately few for the credit of the Craft, never take the slightest notice of the Secretary's letters, and from the moment of election until struck off as defaulters never pay a single penny. It is obvious that with these two classes words of expostulation would be thrown away.

But our appeal is made to the third and larger class, an incomprehensibly large class. These have every intention of paying, and do pay eventually. Meanwhile they receive notice after notice of their indebtedness, running over two or three years sometimes, and stave off the duty of paying till some more convenient moment. Do they ever consider the loss of time and postage of which they are the cause? Do they realise that the uncertainty as to what the income of the year will be must act prejudicially to the interests of the Lodge and of themselves?"

In course of time the membership of the Correspondence Circle increased in numbers—2,000 was reached early in 1895 and 3,000 during 1906. The latter figure would have been reached several years earlier, but for the misfortune that casualties were very heavy, a large portion being due to erasure for non-payment of subscriptions. For a few years the total of membership hovered round about 3,000, rose for a couple of years to about 3,500, and then slowly declined. In 1923 it was calculated that 10,400 had been admitted to membership during the past 35 years. These figures show what the wastage was—over 200 a year.

In 1885 Bro. Speth had pleaded for an increase in numbers to raise the total to 4,000, urging that a large increase was necessary to facilitate the accomplishment of our objects, and pointing out that "every member of the Correspondence Circle, though unable to contribute to our proceedings, may nevertheless assist materially by using his personal influence."

This, indeed, was an instance of the foresight of our first Secretary, but the desideratum unhappily has not yet been achieved. In fact, such a consummation has been balked, and Bro. Speth's words in 1891 are as true to-day as when uttered more than 50 years ago. The failure to increase in numbers has been due very largely to erasure of members after the statutory period; and the failure to expand our efforts has been caused by financial distress due to a deplorably large amount of arrears of subscriptions. Even in early years

the amount of arrears was on an average over £400, sometimes over £500, while in the last three years it has mounted to the terrible sum of £1,000. Brethren I leave to you the obvious inferences. It will suffice to ask—

Ought not Brethren in fairness to remember that their membership actually costs us money in preparing *Transactions* and in postage—and this last to foreign parts amounts to a high figure?

Should an obligation be assumed unless there is an intention to keep it?

Would not a little more consideration on the part of defaulting Brethren avoid the disagreeable result of bad debts?

Is not this state of affairs inconsistent with the spirit of Freemasonry?

Towards the end of 1937 members were informed that for some time past the financial position of the Lodge had given very grave anxiety, and that after long and serious consideration the Committee was forced to the conclusion that only by an increase of the annual subscription would it be possible to carry on the work. This measure had been considered before, but had been deferred in hopes of improvement. However, the change now became imperative, though it caused some diminution in numbers, the effect of which was not fully felt before the war broke out. But since then the unhappy influence of the stressful times caused our numbers to drop very considerably below 2,000, less than half the membership of 30 years ago, and much less than half the minimum that is required for really effective work.

In 1888 was started the appointment of Local Secretaries to act as liaison between Headquarters and Brethren; and in various parts, not only in England, but all over the world, has the number of Local Secretaries increased, with much advantage. A great debt of gratitude is owed to these Local Secretaries, who have done a deal of splendid work for Quatuor Coronati Lodge and have helped so extensively. In addition—I must add—sympathy is extended to them, for, in their efforts to be of assistance to our Lodge, they have had to contend against difficulties such as have been referred to above.

Brethren, these distressing circumstances have been related not in any captious spirit, but because they have been the cause of genuine and serious trouble.

However, there is a silver lining to every cloud. Many Brethren have been very generous in subscribing to our Publication Fund, and thus have materially assisted in helping to maintain the issue of our *Transactions*. There is also a section of our membership who send in subscriptions in advance, thus displaying very commendable interest.

After so many years of declining membership, the last two years have shown an increase—only small, it must be confessed, but perhaps it is an indication that a new generation is rising, to whom we may hopefully look for an increase in numbers and interest.

It is of course necessary to cultivate this new Masonic generation. If Freemasonry is to be farther explored and understood, the assistance of scholars and men of intellect is indispensable, but they must first be induced to take interest in the subject. Zeal without knowledge is like fire without light. And here, Brethren, is one direction in which your assistance is required. The aim of Quatuor Coronati Lodge is to endeavour in every way to advance the important cause of Masonic Research, and so it is incumbent on us all to unite in promoting the study of the history and archæology connected with Freemasonry by throwing light into the dark places.

During its existence of 50 years and more, Quatuor Coronati Lodge, by accumulated labours, has succeeded in clearing up many difficulties, has thrown light on many problems in Masonic history, has collected large stores of literary



material, by discussion has elicited and compared various views on debateable subjects, and has elucidated many obscure points. It is to be regretted that the results of our labours have not been more widely disseminated and become better known and appreciated by Masons generally, and even amongst those who are inclined to be interested. It is astonishing that, notwithstanding the accumulated store of knowledge to be found in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, quite frequently requests have been received from members of our Correspondence Circle, and as often from Masons who are not yet members, asking for information already published in our *Transactions*. Moreover, despite the reasoned arguments put forward by students, many statements about the history of Freemasonry, long since shown to be misleading or utterly false, are constantly repeated even at the present time with all the freshness of a new discovery and the air of profound learning. Though among students popular fallacies have been exploded, it seems that in a larger circle their vitality remains undisturbed. We know that little by little the multitude of unproved assertions will give way before the stronger force of criticism and enquiry; but these fallacies die hard. Here is another direction in which members of the Correspondence Circle can be of assistance to remove the weight of misconception and delusion by spreading knowledge of the existence of Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

I am not suggesting any wide extension of effort, for probably the sphere of activity of each one of us is limited by our public and private avocations, though even in a limited sphere opportunity is frequently rising. Unhappily in several ways has been borne in upon me the conviction that Quatuor Coronati Lodge is better known and better supported outside London, and even abroad, than it is in London. From America has come the hope that "those of you who are inspired with zeal will achieve the purposes of the Lodge; that the Lodge will not fail in its purposes nor falter in its course". From Australia we learned that it was considered that "Quatuor Coronati Lodge has produced a marvellous effect in the development of the Correspondence Circle which was simply a revelation due to the eager spirit of investigation awakened and gratified by the topics dealt with; and, by diffusing among the ignorant knowledge of a highly special subject and educating knowledge from the learned, the Lodge *Transactions* could hardly have been excelled".

Such testimonials are, indeed, incentive to a determination to maintain our course; but it is necessary for us all to be aware of the difficulties besetting our path in order that those difficulties may be overcome.

Brethren, I do hope you will not take my remarks amiss; they have been prompted by lessons learnt from an old, crabbed, crossgrained friend called Experience; and I am anxious to take you into confidence with the desire to enlist not only your sympathy but also your active co-operation in two directions.

Firstly—in the capacity of members already enrolled in the Correspondence Circle, by observing and advocating prompt payment of subscriptions, avoiding the irregularity which in so many cases is a matter of great regret, heedlessly withholding supplies and needlessly hampering the work of the Lodge. The whole evil perhaps is due to procrastination and ignorance of the resulting mischief. But even if unable to be present at our meetings, Correspondence Circle members receive for their share the valuable *Transactions*, incomparable to the small fee required.

Secondly—in relation to Brethren who are not members, by taking every opportunity to point out that the archæology of Freemasonry is quite as interesting as that of any other subject, and that Quatuor Coronati Lodge offers to Brethren of different inclinations opportunity for gratifying a desire for knowledge, and by persuading the Master Mason to interest himself in the archæology and history of the Craft and its symbolism.

Our Correspondence Circle connects us geographically with all parts of the world and enrolls in its ranks Brethren of all grades and attainments. We

have endeavoured to make our work convincing, and there are many who consider that we have done so. We are very desirous of making the Correspondence Circle a bond of union among thinking Masons wherever dispersed. But at the present moment we stand very greatly in need of recruits. If each member of the Correspondence Circle brought in one new member a year—a not unreasonable suggestion—we should be able to look forward hopefully.

It must be confessed that the Correspondence Circle is the very life-blood of our organism, for without the substantial strength the Correspondence Circle affords, we should indeed be a weak body. The modest subscriptions of the members of the Correspondence Circle provide the necessary funds to promulgate the important literary work done by the Lodge. Therefore it lies with the Brethren of the Correspondence Circle to ensure the success of the Lodge; it is for the members of that Circle to make possible an extension of our *Transactions* and other Lodge publications, and to make certain that the good work commenced by our Founders may be continued.

Brethren, we have a task which lacks precise definition, but the end in view is quite clearly defined; and in all earnestness and with great expectation is this appeal put forth.

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At the subsequent luncheon W.Bro. F. L. Pick, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master" in the following terms:—

We have been reminded this afternoon that the Warrant of the Lodge has been for many years entrusted to the hands of very worthy and distinguished Brethren, and I am sure we shall all agree that the present holder of the blue riband of Masonic Research commands the respect and esteem of every member of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle.

Frank Martyn Rickard was born in Madras and educated at Bedford and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, from which he received Her Majesty's Commission in the Royal Regiment of Artillery. After service at Gibraltar and Malta, he passed into the Artillery College, where two years were spent in the study of the scientific and technical branch of artillery. The next period of his service was divided between foreign stations and the Ordnance Factories.

During the war of 1914-18 he was one of the Directors of Inspection in the Ministry of Munitions, being appointed at the end of the war to the command in Queenstown, Ireland, after which he became Chief Instructor at the Artillery College, retiring from the Army with the rank of full Colonel in 1926.

This active career had by no means satisfied Bro. Rickard's *wanderlust*, so in 1927 he set out on his travels, going first to Cape Town and then wandering through Africa until he reached Cairo. He then settled down to masonic work.

Bro. Rickard was initiated in 1894 in the famous old Royal Lodge of Friendship No. 278, Gibraltar, the Mother Lodge of our Bro. R. F. Gould. He joined the Regimental Lodge, "Ubique" No. 1789, of which he became Master in 1906, occupying the Chair twice. During his service abroad he joined Lodges in various parts of the world, and in 1925 was a Founder of the "Old Bedfordian" Lodge No. 4732, of which he served as Secretary for several years, also as Master. He was appointed to London Rank in 1912 and became Grand Sword Bearer in 1921. He is a Vice-Patron of the R.M.I. Girls and a Life Governor of the other charities.

In Royal Arch Masonry our Brother was exalted in Calpean Chapter No. 298 in Gibraltar in 1896; joined "Ubique" Chapter No. 1789, and became First Principal in 1907, serving also as Scribe E. He became Grand Sword Bearer in 1921.

Bro. Rickard was advanced in Mark Masonry in Gibraltar in 1896, later joining "Ubique" Lodge, of which he was Master in 1906, and again served as Secretary. He is a member of the Grand Master's Lodge, of which he served as Master in 1933, and a Founder of the Public Schools Lodge. He joined the Hiram and Croydon Lodges, became Secretary of the latter, and for six years held the Office of Provincial Grand Secretary for Surrey. In 1917 he was appointed P.A.G.D.C. and, in 1924, Past Grand Overseer, and is a Patron of the Mark Benevolent Fund. As a Royal Ark Mariner our Master holds the rank of Past Commander.

He was perfected in Studholme Rose Croix Chapter in 1902, occupying the Chair in 1918, and is now Treasurer. In 1917 he joined Adoniram Chapter and was Sovereign in 1927. He received the 32° in 1926, and for many years supervised the performance of the Intermediate Degrees at the Festivals of King Edward VII Chapter of Improvement.

While serving in Bermuda in 1903, Bro. Rickard became a Knight Templar; since then joined a number of Preceptories, reached the Chair in 1919 and for a year commanded the Grand Master's Bodyguard. His first appointment to Grand Office came in 1922, and in 1940 he was invested as K.C.T. He is a member of the Grand Master's Council.

In the Cryptic Degrees Bro. Rickard joined Dungarvan Council in 1906, passed the Chair in 1918, and was appointed Grand Principal Conductor of Work in 1919. He was a Founder of Public Schools Council and was Treasurer for fifteen years, and he is a member of the Executive Council of the Order. He was admitted to the Red Cross of Constantine in St. Andrew's Conclave in 1906 and passed the Chair in 1917. He now holds the rank of Grand Cross and is on the Executive Council.

In 1906 Bro. Rickard joined the Allied Degrees, passed the Chair in 1913 and became Senior Grand Warden in 1923; whilst in the Royal Order of Scotland he is a Past Provincial Senior Grand Warden. In the Order of Eri he is a member and Grand Cross, also a Grand Officer in the Order of the Secret Monitor and in the R.A. Knight Templar Priest.

My first contact with Bro. Rickard was in his capacity as Recorder-General of the S.R.I.A., which he had joined in 1906, and in 1939, following the death of our lamented Bro. Songhurst, he was elected and installed Supreme Magus of the Society.

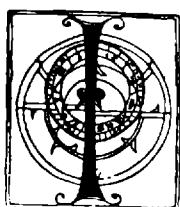
Our Master's connection with the Quatuor Coronati Lodge is long and honourable; he joined the Correspondence Circle in 1908, and became a full member in 1937. He has contributed papers on *Oddfellowship* and *William Finch* and compiled a very valuable card index of Degrees, Masonic and Quasi-Masonic, which contains hundreds of items. In November, 1938, he succeeded our dear friend Lionel Vibert as Secretary. The excellence of Bro. Rickard's work as Secretary of the Lodge and Editor of *Miscellanea Latomorum*, which also he took over from Bro. Vibert, may lead many to underestimate the difficulties under which it has been carried out.

The Lodge has continued to function throughout the most hazardous part of its career, though its permanent headquarters has stood in the forefront of the Battle of London and has on several occasions suffered from blast. Following the outbreak of war and the tribulations of the early years there was an understandable though regrettable decline of membership of the Correspondence Circle, but under Bro. Rickard's steadfast management we have good reason to hope that the tide has turned, as both 1943 and 1944 have produced a net increase in the membership of the Correspondence Circle.

## SUPPLEMENTAL NOTE

TO BRO. J. HERON LEPPER'S ESSAY,  
 "THE TRADITIONERS,"

BY W.BRO. A. J. B. MILBORNE, OF MONTREAL



HAVE received part two of Vol. lvi of *A.Q.C.*, in which your contribution *The Traditioners* appears, and I would like to add my thanks to those which were conveyed to you in Lodge.

I find your theory a fascinating and satisfactory one. It serves to explain many difficulties I have encountered in examining the early stages of the Craft on this side of the water.

I can also supply further evidence to support it.

First, however, may I say that the first meeting of the Craft in Quebec was held on 28th November, 1759. The evidence in support of this statement is not generally known amongst masonic scholars on your side, but it may be found in the *Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Quebec, 1920*, or in the so-called revision of Gould's *History*, published by Scribners. The Minute Book was not discovered until 1919. I enclose a copy of the first Minute.

I am delighted to find in you an admirer of Dunckerley. It is my opinion that it was Dunckerley—he was in Quebec during the operations of 1759—who persuaded the Lodges there to apply to the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns") for a Deputation and who undertook to obtain it for them. I embodied this idea in a masonic play—"1759"—a copy of which I sent to Bro. Crossle.

I understand that the Grand Lodge of Ireland at this period had not issued a Deputation to a Provincial Grand Master, but I do not suppose this would have prevented the Grand Lodge giving consideration to such a request, had it been made.

The Lodges in Halifax had, a few months previously, broken away from the St. John's Grand Lodge of Boston ("Moderns") and obtained a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of England ("Ancients") authorizing the erection of a Provincial Grand Lodge, and I do not doubt that some of the Brethren who participated in the proceedings at Quebec had previously taken part in those at Halifax. Your theory disposes of the difficulty of an "Ancient" or Irish Mason being present at a "Modern" Assembly.

It says much for the personality and persuasiveness of Dunckerley that he was able to get the Quebec Brethren to assent to a Deputation being obtained from the "Moderns" in face of the precedent created in Halifax of obtaining one from the "Ancients".

Bro. Gray, to whom Dunckerley issued the Certificate, was the same person, I believe, who became a member of St. Peter's Lodge, Montreal, in 1768. This was a Lodge warranted by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec in that year, and numbered 223 on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England

("Moderns"). (I should add that both our Canadian historians, Graham and Robertson, give this Lodge an earlier date, but it is clear from the Minutes that the Lodge grew out of the Deputy Provincial Grand Lodge, the warrant for which was not issued until December, 1767.) I have recently examined the complete Minutes of this Lodge, and there is no mention of "healing". It may therefore be reasonably assumed that there were no ritual differences between the Vanguard Lodge No. 254 ("Moderns") and the Quebec Lodges which, because of the original preponderance of your compatriots, undoubtedly worked the "Ancient" ritual.

The clearest support of your views, however, is to be found in a letter written in 1768 by John Gawler (whose letters you have quoted from Sadler's *Dunckerley*) to James Thompson, an active member of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec. I do not remember seeing the original of this letter, but the copy has been in my files for fifteen years, and I do not think there is any reason to doubt its authenticity. Gawler writes:—

"I am sorry to inform you that in London there is a great division amongst the Craft: those under your Grand Master are most universal, and though they call themselves Ancient Masons work the modern way: and those under G. M. Matthews work the ancient way and are called York Masons. The Duke of Beaufort has formally ordered his Lodges not to admit any of the ancient working masons into their Lodges, which has put a great antipathy between them. However, there are many who constantly visit both, and Lodges in the country who derive their authority from the Duke of Beaufort and work after the ancient manner. But with regard to regularity and the speedy relief of the distressed, the Duke's Lodges excel."

In further support the letter of James Thompson to J. B. Peters of Nova Scotia, written in 1785—seventeen years later—clearly demonstrates that the practice you suggest to be common in England was followed in this part of the world. This letter has not been printed, and I enclose a copy. The original is in the archives of the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia. In this letter, Thompson, a "Modern" Mason, and at the time the Secretary of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec, assures his correspondent that "there is not a lodge throughout this Province, but are strangers to what is understood of Modern Masonry. We hold fast to the Old Landmarks." He relates the story, as he knew it, of the dissension in masonic circles in England. He acknowledges that the Grand Lodge of England ("Moderns") adopted certain alterations to distinguish the faithful from the revolvers, "but, notwithstanding, such of them" (*i.e.*, "Moderns", who had conformed to the Grand Lodge's instructions) "as we meet with, we will not admit into our Lodges till they are ushered in in the manner we have been".

In the application of the theory to known facts I have run into a difficulty. Claude Dénéchaud was "healed" from "Modern" to "Ancient" Masonry in St. Paul's Lodge, then an "Ancient" Lodge, in 1800. A Certificate to this effect is to be found in Graham's *History of Freemasonry in Quebec*. We do not know Dénéchaud's mother-lodge, though it was, of course, one of our early ones. If the Quebec "Moderns" were practising the "Ancient" ritual, why was Dénéchaud "healed"?

I think the explanation lies in the appearance in Quebec of the Brethren of Lodge No. 241 ("Ancients"), held in the Royal Artillery; for in the Minutes of St. Andrew's Lodge, Quebec, 14th July, 1785, their presence in the City is mentioned "calling themselves Ancient York Masons, and endeavouring to convince that we are Modern." They had not been successful when Thompson wrote to Peters, but it is possible that conformity with the practices of the "Moderns" was effected in 1790, for in the Minutes of St. Peter's Lodge,

Montreal, of 23rd November, 1790, a communication from the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec, containing regulations, consisting of twenty articles, to be observed by the Lodges, was read. What was in these regulations is not known. If Dénéchaud had been inactive in the Craft from a date prior to 1790, and these regulations had the effect I suggest, then "healing" would be necessary when he joined St. Paul's Lodge in 1800.

This is pure speculation, of course, but, fortunately, Masonry is a speculative science, and Masonic Research would be a dull business if speculation were removed from it.

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I have to thank Bro. Milborne most sincerely for his extreme kindness in going to so much trouble to send me such a long and valuable letter about my paper. My great regret is that this information, so well and fully documented as it is, did not arrive in time to be printed with the other comments. I consider it of such importance that I have asked our Editor to print it as a supplement.

Bro. Milborne has supplied many new facts hitherto unknown to me; for instance, the exact date of the meeting at which Lieutenant Guinnett was elected Provincial Grand Master of Quebec.

We are now presented, moreover, with a fascinating theory. That, before Dunckerley sailed for home in the *Vanguard* in the fall of 1759, he had been commissioned by the Military Brethren to obtain a Provincial Warrant from the Grand Lodge of England. If we consider the circumstances of the time, nothing could be more likely.

The Grand Lodge of England had from an early date adopted the custom of appointing Provincial Grand Masters for districts overseas. The Grand Lodge of Ireland never did any such thing during the eighteenth century; and, when it did finally decide upon appointing such officers abroad in the next century, the Duke of Leinster, then Grand Master, took a lot of persuading before he would consent to what he had considered an encroachment on the prerogative of the Grand Lodge of England. Consequently we have the phenomenon of Irish Lodges in Gibraltar and Coromandel supporting the English Provincial Grand Lodges in those places, just as we find them doing in Quebec in 1760 and onwards.

Our Military Brethren are thus shown to have been indifferent about the Masonic government of the district in which they were stationed, provided they were not subjected to any interference in the way they went about their ceremonies in Lodge. It is on record that any such interference heralded prompt revolt. In the case of Quebec, therefore, a Provincial Warrant from England would have had as much glamour as any engrossed in Dublin.

Consider Dunckerley's circumstances, too, at the time he obtained the Warrant. In addition to having urgent family affairs that demanded his attention, he was a poor man. Unless he had known that Masons of good-will were waiting to receive the document, why should he have gone to the trouble and expense of obtaining it?

All things considered, it seems to me that those who disagree with Bro. Milborne's brilliant suggestion should offer an alternative explanation to account for the welcome the Warrant received on its arrival in Quebec.

Till such dissenters convince me to the contrary, I am "taking off my hat" to Bro. Milborne's theory.

It is hardly necessary to commend to the attention of readers of *A.Q.C.* the arresting documents supplied by Bro. Milborne as evidences of the opinions advanced in his letter.

They form a most valuable commentary on my paper, and I should like to express the gratitude I feel that so much erudition and kindness have been evoked by any labour of mine.

1759.

QUEBEC on the 28th day of November, 1759, and of Masonry, 5759, which was as soon as Convenient after the Surrender of this place to His Brittanic Majestys Arms.

The masters and wardens of the following Lodges Viz: No. 192 in the 47th Regiment No. 218 in the 48th Regiment, No. 245 in the 15th Regiment Dispensation 136 in the 43rd Regiment, Dispensation 195 in the Artillery, all of the Registry of Ireland, and No. 1 of Louisbourg warrant; Mett in form at 6 o'Clock in the Evening when it was Consulted and agreed upon, as there were so many Lodges in this Garrison, that one of the Brethren present of the Greatest Skill and Merritt should take upon him the Name of GRAND MASTER from the Authority of the above Lodges untill such time as a favourable opportunity should offer for obtaining a proper Sanction from the Right Worshipful and Right Honourable the Grand Master of England and in Consequence thereof our True and faithful Brother Mr. John Price Guinnett Lieutenant in his Majesty's 47th. Regiment was unanimously and to the Great satisfaction of the whole Fraternity assembled Proclaimed GRAND MASTER for the Ensuing year, when being properly installed in the Chair he Chose our worthy Brother Thomas Augustus Span, Esq., Captain in the 28th Regiment his Deputy who was thereupon proclaimed as such, and Brothers Huntingford and Prenties were Chosen Senior and Junior Grand Wardens and Brother Paxton Grand Secretary.

Proc. G.L. Que. 1920. p. 10.

1768.

*Extract from a letter written by John Gowler to James Thompson.*

"I am sorry to inform you that in London there is a great division amongst the Craft: those under your Grand Master are the most universal, and though they call themselves Ancient Masons work the modern way: and those under G. M. Matthews work the ancient way and are called York Masons. The Duke of Beaufort has formally ordered his Lodges not to admit any of the ancient working masons into their Lodges, which has put a very great antipathy between them. However, there are many who constantly visit both, and Lodges in the country who derive their authority from the Duke of Beaufort, and work after the ancient manner. But with regard to regularity and the speedy relief of the distressed, the Duke's Lodges excel."

Note. This letter is quoted by Pemberton Smith. I have not seen the original, but I expect it has been copied in James Thompson's letter book.—A.J.B.M.

QUEBEC, 20th June, 1785.

Sir, and R. Worshipful Brother:

I was honored with your favours of the 24th March last, and am sorry, that from the short notice I have of this favourable opportunity, it will not be in my power to answer it as fully, nor correctly as I could wish, but to make up some of the Deficiency the bearer, Daniel Bliss, Esq. our present Sennr. Grand Warden, and Master of St. Andrew's Lodge, will perhaps satisfy in such matters as the bounds of a letter will not conveniently admit, *particularly such as must not be committed to writing.*

To proceed then, I beg leave to inform you, that every Lodge under the Canada Constitution Granted by His Grace the Duke of Beauford are persuaded that, that authority is the only legal one to be had in England, yet a Lodge held here in the Royal Artillery endeavoured to convince them to the contrart, and they are the only Lodge we ever saw under the Title of Ancient York.

Be assured Sir *there is not a Lodge throughout this province, but are strangers to what is understood of Modern Masonry, we hold fast to the old Land marks*, and I think it lamentable there should be any Distinction in our most ancient and universal society, save, that of unanimity, Brotherly Love, and Charity, such as shine most in these Virtues, are the most worthy of being called Masons. It is with sorrow that we can call to remembrance several attempts made in England to sow the seeds of Discord in the Society by those calling themselves, Old York. It is not later than 1779, that through their Insinuations, the harmony of the oldest Lodge in all England was much disturbed, an account of which was communicated to us from our head, and lest it might not come to your knowledge, I must beg leave to insert it here verbatim.

“Committee of Charity, Friday the 29th Jany. 1779.

“It has been represented to this Committee of Charity by Brother William Regger the worshipful Master of the Lodge of Antiquity No. 1, held at the Metre Tavern, Fleet Street, that certain persons, late members of the said Lodge, had withdrawn themselves and joined a Society, calling the Grand Lodge of York Masons, of which James Liddell, a tradesman in York is called Grand Master; and such persons having issued and distributed in the Society, a manifesto, and transmitted to the Grand Secret’y, a notice of their having so withdrawn themselves, and insinuated that they had also withdrawn the constitution of Lodge No. 1.

#### RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY

That in order to prevent any misconception in the Society, with respect to the Power of taking away the Constitution of a Lodge by Individuals, and to undeceive those who, for want of proper information, might be unwarily led to consider the Lodge No. 1 as withdrawn from the Grand Lodge, a notice be printed, and sent with the Grand Treasurer’s lists, to all regular Lodges, acquainting them, that as every Private Lodge is a part of the Grand Lodge, from which the Power of acting is derived, so it is most clear, and certain, that no other authority than the Grand Lodge, can withdraw, or take away that Power: and that, therefore, when even the majority of a Lodge determine to quit the Society, the Constitution of Power of assembling remain with, or vests in the rest of the members, who are desirous of continuing their allegiance: and if all the members of a Lodge withdraw themselves, the constitution is extinct, and all the authority thereby originally granted, reverts to the Grand Lodge.—And whereas it was also represented, and fully proved, to the said Committee, by the Worshipful Master of the said Lodge of Antiquity No. 1, that the same parties who had withdrawn themselves from that Lodge, as before mentioned, had, in defiance of every rule of Justice, Honor and Decency in the deadeast hour of night, by Force, taken away all the Furniture, Jewels, and Books belonging to the said Lodge, which were the joint and equal property of the members at Large; and the minutes of the Grand Lodge, together with other Testimony clearly ascertaining, that the same Party had for upwards of Twelve months past, fomented discord in the Society, as far as the strength of a feeble junta could permit, endeavoured to subvert the Laws and Regulations of the Grand Lodge, and had abused the many instances of Leniency and forberance of the Grand Lodge towards them, by the commission of fresh offences,



which rendered them unworthy of the name of Free and Accepted Mason.—and it appears to the Committee, that the most active Partizans in the outrages before mentioned were,

John Wilson, of Furnwall Inn, Attorney at Law.  
 Samuel Bass, Doorkeeper to the Opera House.  
 Benjn. Bradley, of Clements, same Merchant.  
 James Donaldson, of Caleaton Street, Linen Draper.  
 John Sealy, of Austin Friars, Attorney's Clerk.  
 Thomas Shipton, of St. Thomas's southwork, Fellmonger.  
 Daniel Nants, of Finchurch Street, Merchant's Clerk.  
 Gilbert Buchanan, Merchant's Clerk.  
 Samuel Goddard and | In the Impress service on Board the  
 ——— Lloyd ——— | Nightingale Tender, Tower Wharf.  
 and William Preston, Journeyman Printer.

#### RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY

That the said John Wilson, Samuel Bass, Benjamin Bradley, James Donaldson, John Sealy, Thomas Shipton, Daniel Nants, Gilbert Buchanan, Samuel Goddard, Lloyd and Preston, be expelled this Society; and that their names, Places of abode, and Profession of Trades, be transmitted to all regular Lodges, with an Injunction not to receive or admit them, or any of them, either as members or otherwise; nor to countenance, acknowledge, or admit into their Lodges, any Person or Persons, assuming, calling themselves by the name of York Masons, or by any other Denomination than that of Free and Accepted Masons, under the authority of, or in alliance with, the Grand Lodge of England, of which His Grace the Duke of Manchester is at present Grand Master.

The Resolutions before mentioned were unanimously confirmed in Grand Lodge, on Wednesday the 3rd February, 1779."

It is well known that the York masons have a long time struggled hard to get the above mentioned very old Lodge converted to their Party in order to establish their pretensions to antiquity, and have at last prevailed so far on those of her members above mentioned, as to commit the vile crimes they were charged with, to the scandal of the Royal Craft, and notwithstanding these facts, and their expulsion from the society, they were received by the York masons with open arms, which no man of repute will ever attempt to justify.

With submission I beg leave to observe that the Society of York Masons could not be of any great note even in 1779 while a Tradesman in York was at the head of them, nor did I ever hear of their Grand Lodge being held in London 'till the Brethren of the Artillery here, informed me of it, which surprised me exceedingly, since it was on this Point, the Difference arose in the Society on Electing a Grand Master in the Room of Sir Christopher Wren whose very advanced age rendered him unable to superintend the business of the Society, which on this account was for some time neglected. A party was formed on this occasion who insisted that the Grand Lodge of England ought of right to be held at York, where the first regular Lodge was established by His Royal Highness Prince Edwin, A.D. 926, and not succeeding in this, they withdrew their allegiance from the Grand Lodge of England, and as soon as they could accomplish it, formed a Grand Lodge of their own, assumed the Title of York masons, and gave the name of Modern Masons, to every Lodge and mason over all England that did not adhere to their Part.—*It is true that the Grand Lodge of England have, about that Period, instructed the Lodges under her care, to adopt a certain alteration, in order to distinguish those that stood faithful from the Brethren that have Revolted from their head, and some*

of the Lodges in London continue this mode of practice to this time, nor does the Grand Lodge require them to alter it, so long as they conform to the General Laws and regulations of the Society, *not withstand, such of them as we meet with, we will not admit into our Lodges till they are ushered in, in the manner we have been.*

If the late Duke of Athol was at the head of the York masons, it has been concealed from the World, but admitting he was their Grand Master, he was the first Nobleman they can boast of. All the world knows that this is not the case with our Grand Lodges of England, where Solomon's chair has been filled by three Gentlemen of high merit for the first three years after the Grand mastership of Sir Christopher Wren, and thirty three of the Nobles of England and Scotland, in regular succession from 1717 to the present year, some of the latter have been Grand Masters of both Kingdoms at the same time,—which, if you will allow Scotch Lodges to be Ancient, is of itself a convincing proof of what I have already asserted, and their authority in the course of Sixty eight years for Erecting Grand and Private Lodges has extended in great numbers to the four quarters of the Globe, viz: Eighteen Provincial Grand Lodges throughout the Countries of England, including one at Guernsey, and Twenty four Grand Lodges abroad throughout the World, making in all Forty two Grand Lodges under the Jurisdiction, and in alliance with the Grand Lodge of England. From these short hints I believe no mason will venture to say that the modern Grand Lodge of England (as you are pleased to site them) did arise from a Party faction among the Sons of Hiram.

Your remark on *Royal arch Masonry* is perfectly Just and agreeable thereto, *a Chapter was held here from 1760 until 1778*, when we had information of a Chapter Compact (as it is called) was agreed upon and signed by the Great Personages of Europe in that line of Masonry and fixed in London for constituting the Grand Chapter of this supreme Degree, called the Grand and Royal Chapter of Jerusalem, which required all Chapters prior to 1766, to apply for warrents of Constitution for their better Regulation, as well as to put them on a more respectable footing. On receipt of this information we have apply'd and adjourned from meeting in that Line till we obtained it in 1782, but this Grand Chapter has no connexion with any Grand Lodge whatever.

Some of the Brethren of the artillery here, called on me on receipt of your letter and spoke on the subject of masonry to no great purpose. I show'd them our Warrent for holding a Royal arch Chapter, but could not say anything to the propriety or impropriety of it. I promised them the perusal of the Laws and regulations that accompanied the warrant which have not yet in my power being amongst the Companions, but they shall have it soon.

I trust, Sir, what I have here advanced very imperfectly will not offend, believe me it is not intended. I am a warm friend to true masonry, *was brought to Light in Scotland 30 years ago*, have been a Constant member of a Lodge since, except in my way to this Country, *and never saw a modern Lodge yet*,—and am with the Greatest respect,

Sir and R. Worshipful,

Your sincere Brother and most obedient  
Humble Servant,

(Signed) JAS. THOMPSON,

Past Master,

St. Andrew's Lodge No. 2,  
Quebec.

The R. Worshipful B. J. Peters,  
Gr. Secy. Nova Scotia.

Note. The italics are mine.—A-J.B.M.

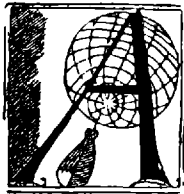




Frontispiece to Dassigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry*.

## A UNIQUE MASONIC TREASURE

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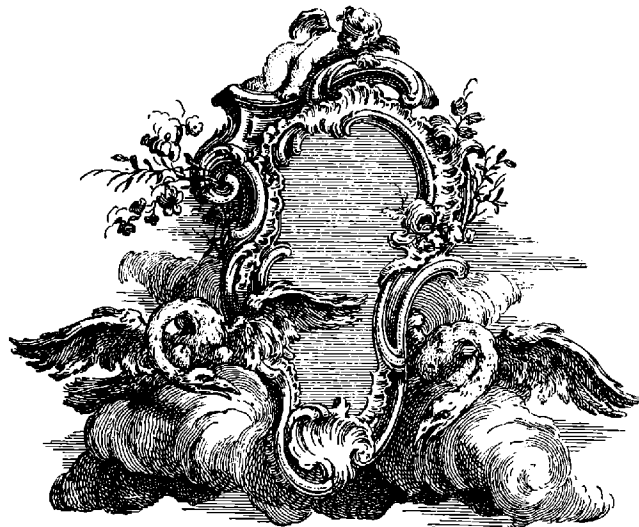
It is well known, one of the rarest of Masonic books is Dr. Fifield Dassigny's *Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the present Decay of Freemasonry in Ireland*, published in Dublin in the year 1744. Apart from the interest this book has in containing the first typographical reference to the Degree of Royal Arch, very few copies were known to exist, and none of them perfect. All lacked the "curious copperplate" which was claimed to be "suitable to the Order and Design".

The United Grand Lodge of England in 1945 acquired a complete and perfect copy of the book, including the copperplate. The latter, whatever adjectives may be used to describe it, is well worth reproduction in *A.Q.C.*, and the permission of the B.O.G.P. has been kindly granted for that purpose.

The plate seems to have been designed by Dassigny in person, and contains his portrait.

This unique volume was discovered by one of our own members, W.Bro. Wallace Heaton, P.G.D., and by him presented to the Library of Grand Lodge, a fitting home for such a treasure.

J. HERON LEPPER.



## KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL IN CAMBRIDGE

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NOTES AS TO THE HISTORY OF THIS BUILDING AND ITS  
FOUNDER, HENRY VI, UNTIL THE TIME OF HENRY VIII

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BY BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS



THIS subject does not seem to have been dealt with in our *Transactions* in any considerable detail. Some time in 1945 I received a letter from W. Bro. G. Reeves-Brown, P.A.G.D.C., and District Grand Secretary of the District Grand Lodge, Punjab. He called my attention to a book entitled *An Account of King's College Chapel in Cambridge*, by Henry Malden, Chapel Clerk, printed at Cambridge in 1769, and to the names of certain Master masons who had worked in the building of the Chapel. Although they had worked under contract with the Crown authorities, they had not been appointed by Patent of a Master Mason of the King; and Bro. Reeves-Brown pointed out that I had not mentioned them in my paper on *Master Masons of the King*.

John Wastell is named in *Medieval Mason* (p. 206), by Knoop and Jones, and also in the *Architectural History of Cambridge University*, by Willis and Clark.

The Library of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge contains the 1st Edition of Malden's book. It seems desirable that some mention of it should appear in our *Transactions*.

Henry VI was the founder of Eton College, of which Bro. Knoop and Mr. G. P. Jones have given a full account of the building operations (see *A.Q.C.*, xlv), and it is stated by Malden that the College was founded in 1446, when the King had been reigning about 25 years.

Malden claimed that King's College Chapel, Cambridge, was founded on the feast of St. James, 25th July, 1446. Both buildings were intended as Educational institutions, and the young King devoted himself to the work of erecting and providing for the completion of the two Institutions.

The whole period of the life of Henry VI was involved in much strife, culminating in the Wars of the Roses, and the King himself was involved to such an extent that it is to be wondered at that any real progress with the building operations was made.

As early as the year 1450 he took a prominent part in the suppression of the rebellion led by Jack Cade and his followers. Shakespeare gives a lively account of this in the play called the *Second Part of King Henry 6th*. The 4th Act of that play deals in a dramatic way with the rebellion and the death of Cade is included in Act IV, scene X.

Malden says that at length, after a series of public misfortunes, Henry VI was murdered in 1471 and, according to the historians of that age, by the Duke of Gloucester's own hands. "Thus did this unfortunate Prince leave the College as well as the Chapel to be finished at the expense of succeeding Kings."

Malden at page 11 quotes at length extracts from the will of Henry VI, giving various details of the Church he desired to be erected at Cambridge.

This "will", which was dated at Eton 12th March, 1447, in the 26th year of his reign, is a most unusual and interesting document. It is not a will in the ordinary sense of that word, but rather a detailed specification of his plans for the establishment of Eton College and the Chapel of King's College at Cambridge.

The latter is the building with which this paper is more immediately concerned.

The only part of the building which was actually erected is that of King's College Chapel as it now stands. It was not completed until the reign of Henry VIII.

The following data will be some guide to the progress made with the work on the Chapel.

Volume 1 of the *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, by Willis and Clark (Cambridge University Press, 1886), prints the material parts of the King's will at pp. 368 ff.

He stated the wages to be paid to the Master of the Works; the Clerk of the Works, to the Chief Mason and the Chief Carpenter and Chief Smith and other employees. After various provisions he appointed William Waynflete (otherwise Wayneflete or Wainfleet), then Bishop of Winchester (of whom he speaks in the highest terms and confidence), that he was to be not only the Surveyor but Executor and Director of his Will and to be privy unto all and every execution of the performing of the King's Will and that his consent in any wise be had thereto. Waynflete died in 1486. Henry VI died in 1471.

The Authors of the *Architectural History* say that Waynflete alone of all the persons named by the King remembered his last and most solemn appeal. Another clause of the Will runs thus:—

"And that my said will in every point before rehearsed may the more effectually be executed I not only pray and desire but also exhort in Christ require and charge all and every of my said feoffees mine Executors and Surveyor or Surveyors in virtue of the aspersion of Christ's blessed blood and of his perfect passion that they having God and mine intent only before their eyes not letting for dread or favour of any person living of what estate degree or condition, that he do truly faithfully and diligently execute the same will and every part thereof as they will answer before the blessed and doleful visage of our Lord Jesus in his most fearful and last doom when every man shall most straitly be examined and deemed after his demerits".

Further pleas in most forcible and earnest phrases follow in the will.

The following abstract of the *History of the Times* will enable us to have some idea of the circumstances.

Henry V died on 6th September, 1422, and was succeeded as King by his infant son, then but an infant in his cradle. In *Henry VI, part 2, scene IX*. Shakespeare represents Henry VI as saying "No sooner was I crept out of my cradle But I was made a King at 9 months old: was never subject long'd to be a King as I do long and wish to be a subject".

He was crowned at Westminster in 1429 and at Paris in 1430.

1446. Eton College founded (*Malden*, p. 7).

1446, 25th July. First stone of King's College Chapel laid (*Malden*, p. 7).

During his life Henry VI began to build, but at his death the work was very far from finished.

1448, 12th March. The Will of Henry VI.

1450. Cade's rebellion overthrown.

1455, 22nd May. Battle of St. Alban's. Henry VI taken prisoner by the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, who pledged their word to him in order to gain his good will that they would hasten the completion of his Church and other building operations in Cambridge and ordered Robert Westerley as overseer of the works to use all possible despatch in getting together by the help of royal letters patent as many stonemasons and workmen of other trades with the view to carrying on his buildings at Cambridge, and especially his Collegiate Church, so that all the workmen might reach Cambridge at the same time.

1461, 4th March. Edward IV succeeded to the throne, having deposed Henry VI.

1470, 3rd October. Flight of Edward IV and restoration for a while of Henry VI, who was released from the Tower by Bishop Waynflete.

1471, 14th March. Return of Edward IV.

1471, June. Henry VI killed in the Tower by or by authority of the Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III).

This murder was done on the night of the return of Edward IV, according to *D.N.B.*, ix, 85.

The tumult of those days may be summarised by the following list of the battles of the Wars of the Roses. This is compiled from Townsend's *Manual of Dates*.

Albans St. (Battles of).

The first, fought on Thursday, 22nd May, 1455, between the houses of York and Lancaster, was the first victory in the Wars of the Roses. The Duke of York gained the day and the Duke of Somerset, who led the Lancastrians, was slain. Henry VI was wounded by an arrow and taken prisoner.

The second battle was fought between Barnet and St. Albans on Shrove Tuesday, 17th February, 1461. The Lancastrians were commanded by Queen Margaret (wife of Henry VI), who gained a complete victory over the Yorkists led by the Earl of Warwick, and rescued Henry VI, who was a prisoner in their hands.

1461, 4th March. Henry VI was deposed by Edward IV.

1461, 29th March. Battle of Towton.

This decisive battle was fought at the township of Towton, near Tadcaster in Yorkshire, between 40,000 Yorkists under the great Earl of Warwick and 60,000 Lancastrians under the Duke of Somerset on Palm Sunday, 29th March, and resulted in the defeat of the latter and the establishment of Edward IV on the English throne.

1464, 8th May. The Lancastrians were defeated at Hexham by the Yorkists.

1469. The Earl of Warwick rebelled against Edward.

1470, 3rd October. Flight of Edward IV.

1470, 6th October. Restoration of Henry VI.

1471, 14th March. Return of Edward IV.

1471, 14th April. Battle of Barnet. There the Yorkists, commanded by Edward IV, gained a complete victory over the Lancastrians, led by the Earl of Warwick (called Warwick the Kingmaker), who fell in the Battle.

1471, 4th May. Battle of Tewkesbury, when the Yorkists again defeated the Lancastrians. Queen Margaret was taken prisoner and the Duke of Somerset and other nobles were captured and beheaded (6th May).

1471, June. Mysterious death of Henry VI in the Tower. The discredit for this is probably rightly attributed to the Duke of Gloucester (afterwards Richard III), who is recorded by Shakespeare as having slain Henry by stabbing him and saying "Down down to hell and say I sent thee thither".

Henry VI was buried at Windsor. His body was at first somewhat obscurely interred at Chertsey, but Windsor Chapel was ultimately chosen.

Thus it has been observed that he was twice crowned, twice deposed and twice buried.



Willis and Clark, in their *Architectural History*, chapter ix, pages 472 ff., state the works done in the time of Edward IV from 1477 onwards.

He died on 9th April, 1483.

His son, Edward V, was with his younger brother murdered in the Tower while a boy of 13 years by order of Gloucester, who then became Richard III. who, on 22nd August, 1485, was in battle slain at Bosworth by Henry, Earl of Richmond (who became Henry VII). Happily the reign of Richard III was but short.

Henry VII succeeded and reigned from 22nd August, 1485, to 22nd April, 1529, when he was succeeded by Henry VIII.

It is abundantly clear from the biography of Henry VI that he was not fit to be a ruler of men. He was unsuccessful in his wars with France and lost the territories which were nominally under his sway there. He was greatly in debt and lacked the funds required for great building enterprises. He suffered frequently from mental weakness.

He was greatly devoted to the work connected with the founding of Eton College and King's College Chapel. It is not surprising, however, that, having regard to the unsettled conditions which prevailed during the greater part of his reign, the work of carrying out his wishes in regard to King's College Chapel was necessarily frustrated by the state of war which was for so many years the distinguishing characteristic of his reign.

For several years after his death very little work was done to the Chapel. Edward IV and Richard III are credited with some expenditure, but no real progress was made until the reign of Henry VII began to draw to its close.

Willis and Clark record (Vol. i, p. 475) "The death of Richard III stopped the work for 24 years, and was not resumed by Henry VII until the year before his death on 21st April, 1509."

Malden prints 5 Indentures which are in effect contracts for the completion of the building. The first is not fully dated, being apparently a draft which was acted upon and is presumed to have been drawn up between 22nd April and 7th June, 1512.

The document referred to commences "This Indenture made the day of                    in the fourth year of the reign of Henry VIII".

Henry VII was notorious for his firm grip upon expenditure. He was regarded as one of the wisest princes of his time.

On 24th March, 1509, Henry VII conveyed a further sum of £5,000 to the College on conditions set forth in a deed printed at length by Willis and Clark and which was drawn up at "Richemount" the last day of March the 23rd year of his reign. That was but a few days before his death on 21st April, 1509.

That deed recited that the work was unfinished and that little or nothing had been wrought or done since the death of his Uncle, Henry VI. He declared that for the weal of his soul and the trust he had in the prayers of his said Blessed Uncle for the great holiness of his life he made that further provision.

This laudable, though belated, intention is pronounced at some length.

The money was probably all spent by the beginning of 1512, when the King's executors made over to the Provost and Scholars a second sum of £5,000 for the work.

On page 481 Willis and Clark print a summary of amounts spent up to 29th July, 1515, making a total equivalent of £160,000 at the value of money when their book was written.

The first Indenture printed in Malden's book was made between Mr. Robert Haccemblen, then provost of the King's College Royal at Cambridge, and the scholars of the same, with the advice and agreement of Mr. Thomas Larke, surveyor of the King's works, and John Wastell, Master Mason of the

said works, and Henry Semerk, one of the Wardens of the same, on the other part.

John Wastell and Henry Semerk contracted to make the vault of the Chapel at the inclusive price for labour and most of the materials at a cost of £1,200.

[It appears from *Willis and Clark*, vol. i, p. 609, that on 7th June, 1512, Henry Semerk made over the whole work and responsibility to Wastell alone. Semerk was to have 20 marks per annum as wages for his work.]

The second Indenture printed in Malden's book was made 4th January in the 4th year of reign of Henry VIII. Thereby John Wastell, master mason of the said works, contracted to build the Finials of 21 Buttresses and one Tower of the Chapel. He was to be paid for each buttress £6.13.4, making a total of £140, and for the Tower £100.

Wastell agreed to keep continually 60 free-masons working upon the same works so soon as it should be possible to call them by virtue of a Commission therein referred to (see *Malden*, pp. 83 and 84).

In the 3rd Indenture, printed by Malden, John Wastell was engaged to do further work to the pinnacles of the Chapel.

There are two other Indentures, printed by Malden, in which the Glaziers agreed to provide for the making and fixing of the remarkable coloured glass windows at prices thereby stipulated.

Willis and Clark print a number of other contracts bearing on the work, but a detailed discussion of all such documents would not be within the limits of this paper.

The Contracts for the windows are printed in Malden's book as the 4th and 5th Indentures, and their dates are 30th April, 1526, and 3rd May, 1526. Malden gives a detailed account of the 24 windows in pages 90 to 96. They were set up in 1527. (*Malden*, p. 25).

How far they have escaped damage by the flight of time, the errors of restorers and the results of the war I do not know.

#### PROGRESS OF THE BUILDING WORK AND THE STAGES OF THE WORK

I am unable to give more than a short account of the work done in the life of Henry VI. He was at first occupied in acquiring the site on which the Chapel was ultimately erected.

According to the Cambridge University *History of King's College Chapel*, the credit of conceiving this great work was the Master Mason Reginald Ely, appointed by a patent of Henry VI to press masons, carpenters and other workmen.

In 1476 John Woolrich had succeeded to the place of master mason.

In the first three Indentures printed by Malden John Wastell appears as the Master Mason. He was joined with a Warden named Semerk, who resigned and left the sole responsibility to John Wastell, but was accepted as being a mason on the job upon terms which are shortly stated in this paper.

As to the identity of John Wastell there is some uncertainty. The first Indenture naming John Wastell was prepared in the 4th year of Henry VIII (about 1512).

In Conder's *Hole Craft*, page 287, a statement is made that in 1520 Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, directed by his will that £132.6.8. shall be spent in making a tombe "before the High Altar as devised by . . . Clerk Master of the King's works at Cambridge and . . . Wassall Free Mason of Bury". This is quoted by Conder from *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1818, including a note "In this case Master Wassall the Freemason was the sculptor".

It seems likely that the difference in the spelling of the name does not sufficiently distinguish Wassall from Wastell.

Wassall the Freemason of Bury (probably St. Edmondsbury) seems to have been a contemporary of the contractor for the College Chapel works.

There seems to be doubt about the statue for which the Duke of Norfolk bequeathed the said sum of money, but such an investigation is beyond the scope of this paper.

The *Gentlemen's Magazine* referred to includes an engraving of a noble lady who was a wife of the said Duke. In that period statues were shifted from one place to another as a result of the suppression of monasteries.

It seems fitting that I should record the dimensions of the Chapel itself, and I take this from *Malden* (pp. 35 and 36).

Lenth from East to West	316 feet
Breadth from North to South	84 feet
Height from ground to the top of the Battlements	90 feet
Height from ground to the top of the Pinnacles is somewhat more than	101 feet
Height from ground to top of any one of corner towers	146½ feet

The dimensions of the inside are:—

The length from East to West contains	291 feet
The breadth from North to South	45½ feet
The height	79 feet

Many other details are given in the same book. It includes an engraving of one side of the Chapel from West to East, showing the 13 Buttresses and the pinnacles and towers supported by them.

As to the architecture of the Building itself, I call attention to an extract from Malden's book, page 78, which is a footnote giving some account of the author's view of some of the architectural features of the building and giving his ideas of the fraternity of Masons.

This roof is so constructed that it has no dependance on the walls between buttress and buttress on either side or between tower and tower at either end of the Chapel: the whole weight of the roof being so supported by the buttresses and towers that if the above mentioned walls should be entirely taken away, the buttresses and towers only remaining, the roof would still continue as firm as it is at this hour.

But what may justly claim an equal degree of wonder is that these large stones (mentioned page 24) in the center of each severy, which may be considered as the key-stones of the vault, might at any time be safely taken out without endangering the vault itself. Hence it appears that this roof is so geometrically contrived, that it would stand firm without either the walls or the key-stones. The mystery of constructing vaults of this kind was the original secret of Free-Masons: of whom John Wastell the Master-Mason, contracted to employ not less than sixty for carrying on the works of this Chapel.—This note I am authorised to add by a Gentleman who has made the Structure of many ancient Gothic buildings, and particularly that of King's Chapel his favourite study.

Of Free-Masons, as they were the builders of the Chapel, I shall beg leave to give the following account.

A set of Foreigners, who called themselves Free-Masons (because none were acquainted with the secrets of their trade except such as

were Free and Accepted Members of their Society), are said to have introduced the art of building with stone into England, about the middle of the seventh century. These were formerly divided into parties or companies. Each company was subject to a Master, a Warden, and other inferior Officers: (names retained among Free-Masons to this day.) They assembled in one common room (called a Lodge), where they consulted about carrying on the works which their Master and Warden had undertaken; for they were chiefly employed in raising Cathedrals, Chapels, and other buildings of the like kind. A company of Free-Masons (as I am led to conclude from the second and third Indentures) to their immortal honour contracted for building different parts of the Chapel. They have left, I am told, in the course of their work, certain marks very well known to all the adepts of their Society. What these monuments of Masonry may be I am unable to declare: but refer my reader, if he is learned in the secrets of that fraternity, to an inspection of every mysterious token about the Building. One thing, however, I shall mention, which has often been observed, that in the South Porch of the Chapel there are **THREE** steps; at the West door **FIVE**; and in the North Porch **SEVEN**. Those are numbers, with the *mystery* or at least with the *sound* of which Free-Masons are said to be particularly well acquainted.

It is observable that, notwithstanding the encouragement Free-Masons received from Henry VI by being employed in erecting his magnificent Chapel, an act passed in the third year of his reign for suppressing their assembly or holding chapters in any part of his dominions, it being the prevailing opinion of those times, that their meetings were held for the sake of making an extravagant addition to the wages of the Working-Masons. But a favourable report being made to his Majesty by some of the Nobility, who had been admitted into the Brother-hood, he afterwards received them into his favour, and shewed them marks of a particular respect. The act remains, I believe, as yet unrepealed. It is, however, probable that the person who was the Architect of the Chapel (see page 20 of Malden's book) was a Member of the Fraternity.

For fuller and in some cases more accurate information about the building as a whole the reader may refer to the relevant pages of Willis and Clark (*Architectural History of Cambridge University*, vol. i).

The poet Wordsworth in a Sonnet on "King's College Chapel, Cambridge" wrote thus:—

"Tax not the royal saint with vain expense,  
With ill-matched aims the architect who planned,  
Albeit labouring for a scanty band  
Of white robed scholars only, this immense  
And glorious work of fine intelligence!  
Give all thou canst; high heaven rejects the lore  
Of nicely calculated less or more;  
So deemed the man who fashioned for the sense  
These lofty pillars, spread that branching roof  
Self-poised, and scooped into ten thousand cells,  
Where light and shade repose, where music dwells  
Lingering—and wandering on as loth to die;  
Like thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof  
That they were born for immortality."

The sonnet makes small account of the large expenditures forced upon their consciences by the powerful exhortations of the originator of the design of the Chapel. It is better thus than if the praise had been given to those subsequent sovereigns who ultimately provided the means for the completion of that famous building where for some years, as many of us have heard at Christmastide, the narration in song and in the Holy Scripture of the history enshrined in the building.

Note as to Freemasons associated with the Building of King's College Chapel (extracted from Malden's book, page 20).

Since I have been mentioning persons employed in this celebrated Building I shall take the opportunity of adding also the names of two artists, who bore a share of the work. These are preserved in the archives of Caius College in the following words:—

“To alle Christen people this psent writyng endented, seeng, redyng, or heryng. John Wurlrich Maister Mason of the works of the Kynges College Roial of Our Lady and Seynt Nicholas of Cambrigge, John Bell, Mason Wardeyn in the same works &c. Written at Cambr. 17 Aug 1476 16 Edw. IV”

#### JOHN WASTELL

The above was a party to various Indentures set forth in Malden's book. They were all written in the reign of Henry VIII, and references are made to them in this paper.

But this is not the first trace we have of John Wastell (or as he is also described as John Wassell).

In Bro. Conder's *Hole Craft*, at p. 287, from which I proceed to quote, it is stated:—

In 1520 Thomas Duke of Norfolk directs by his will that £132.6.8. shall be spent in making a tombe “before the High Altar at Thetford as devised by . . . Clerk Master of the King's works at Cambridge and . . . Wassall Free Mason of Bury was to be the Freemason”.

This statement by Bro. Conder follows closely in *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1818, where an engraving of an effigy of a Woman, presumably a wife of that Duke, is to be seen. It is quite an elaborate work of art. There seems to have been some dispute as to the person so commemorated.

The monument to have been erected at Thetford, if ever erected there, was probably removed to Framlingham in Norfolk as a consequence of the demolition of Thetford Priory, and may still exist at Framlingham.

How long the Master Mason Wastell lived is not stated in any record I have seen.

Being desirous of tracing what was done with the legacy left by the Duke of Norfolk for a tomb at Thetford Priory, I wrote to the Secretary of the Thet Lodge No. 3394 at Thetford, and now express my indebtedness to him for his answer dated 24th October, 1945. He was then Secretary of Thet Lodge, P.P.S.G.W., and Mayor of Thetford, and it seems probable that the available information leaves the facts uncertain beyond the statement made in the *Gentleman's Magazine* before referred to.

## THE FIRST MASONIC PROCESSION IN SOUTH AMERICA

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OME twenty years ago in my paper *The Poor Common Soldier* I drew attention to certain misfortunes that happened to two Military Warrants during the British invasion of Argentina in 1806-07 (*A.Q.C.*, xxxviii, pp. 172-3), and pointed out that this unfortunate expedition had been the means of introducing Freemasonry to that continent.

A recent purchase made for the Grand Lodge Library contains an account, taken from contemporary sources, of what the Spaniards thought of the foreign Fraternity that suddenly made its appearance in their midst, and seems to me to be worthy of a translation for the pages of our *Transactions*. The original Spanish will be found in a book entitled *Montevideo Antiguo*, by Isodoro De-Maria, 2 volumes, Montevideo, 1888. The excerpt I now quote is taken from Vol. i, pp. 47 *et seq.*, and is headed with the title I have given to this note. I need only add that the book contains a chatty series of anecdotes about Old Montevideo, and is almost completely undocumented.

Here, then, is what De-Maria has to say about the Freemasons.

“On 3rd February, 1807, the English troops occupied Montevideo after taking the city by assault in a stern and bloody battle.

“It was during the subsequent period of their occupation and control that the English Freemasons celebrated St. John’s Day in public and with due solemnity in a way hitherto undreamt of by the parishioners of San Felipe y Santiago (*the Mother Church of the city*).<sup>1</sup>

“Our readers will readily imagine the astonishment caused by the sight of such a ceremony, and the comments aroused among the worthy townsfolk by this ‘Gathering (*ocurrencia*) of the English’, as they termed it, advancing through the streets in procession bearing standards and insignia hitherto unknown to the bulk of the spectators. The procession marched from the Barracón de la Marina through the principal streets to the square of the Mother Church in dignity and silence.

“It was such a procession, moreover, as resembled in no respect those in which local Catholics were wont to bear the effigies of their patron saints surrounded by crucifixes, candles, tapers, and torches, when during long droughts they were praying for rain by the intercession of San Felipe y Santiago; and yet by the very novelty of its lay-out the spectacle fettered the attention of all beholders, though none could explain its meaning.

“For the ‘Sons of the Widow’, as we call them to-day, that Masonic ceremony of pomp and display (*relumbrón*) was an important function, embodying so much reverent solemnity that the proceedings

<sup>1</sup> Passage in italics is my addition.

were recorded in the pages of the *Southern Star*, a periodical of the day.

“The weather was cold enough to freeze hell (*de todos los diablos*), and we have no difficulty in picturing what the state of the streets must have been like with the seasonable rain pouring down and the roadway innocent of any paving materials. But nothing could daunt either those who took part in the procession or those who, instigated by curiosity, thronged to watch it from the streets, doorways, windows, balconies, and even roofs, deserting their household charcoal brazier (*brasero*), some muffled up in cloaks of all shapes and kinds, others in woollen shawls, in order to enjoy the sight of this ceremony which was so strange to them.

“One can only conjecture what the common herd thought about the banners with symbols and aprons displaying stars and compasses. Most of the onlookers can only have taken them as being merely ornaments or English fashions, because never in their lives had they heard a word about Freemasonry nor could have imagined what meaning lay behind it all.

“However, as there is no rule without an exception, so in this case a tradition has come down to us that the giving of a certain sign by a Spaniard who was an *initiate of the Order* saved the City Fathers (*Cabildantes*) from being sacrificed in the conflict (*on 3rd February*),<sup>1</sup> when the English soldiers after storming the place advanced in triumph to the City Hall, where the civic authorities had assembled behind closed doors. The council at that time consisted of Don Francisco Juanicó, Don Antonio Pereira, Don Juan Manuel Ortega, Don Antonio de San Vicente, Don Juan Antonio de Bustillos, and Don Lorenzo Vivanco.

“It would be mere guesswork to select one of these names as the person who was the initiated Freemason and repeated from within the Masonic knocks which were given outside on the door by an English officer. It might well have been Juanicó, who had in former days voyaged round the globe as a master mariner (*buen piloto*) and would thus have had opportunities of becoming initiated in some Scottish Rite or another (*algún rito Escocés*).

“One point about which no doubt at all exists in the whole incident is a letter written in August, 1807, by the Council to Colonel Gore Browne, Commandant of the City of Montevideo, which, among other matters, contains the following passage:—

Sir,

On the morning of the assault you entered this city in command of the troops. The Town Council, full of gloomy foreboding in such a dangerous emergency, had assembled in the council chamber, expecting nothing but instant death at the hands of a raging and victorious soldiery who had carried the gates by storm and were advancing inspired with fury by their success. We were saved from the imminent danger of being bayoneted by the prompt action (*grandes esfuerzos*) of a brave and kindly officer, Captain Henry Bowell, later one of the 5th battalion of the garrison, who fortunately appeared at the critical moment and preserved us at risk to his own life.

You, sir, were presented by him to us and received from our hands the sword and insignia of Government, which you had the generosity to return at once to our keeping. You

<sup>1</sup> Passage in italics is my addition.

requested us to go back to our council chamber and placed at its door a guard of honour, you pledged your word for our safety, and guaranteed us from the slightest insult or affront.

"Events such as this were fresh in the minds of the common people, and the more intelligent of them, though completely ignorant of what strange motive power might have shaped them, had been led to form a vague idea of something like mutual protection binding those who had been initiated into the mysteries, and therefore suspected that the procession of Freemasons had a connexion with it, whereby their curiosity was raised to a higher pitch. Perhaps some of those present had heard tales of the Templars in the Old World, or even lacking such knowledge might have had suspicions that something of the same nature was involved.

"This much is certain, that both those who had their suspicions and those who had none, equally excited by the novel spectacle, hustled together in doorways, windows, streets, and squares to see the English pass in a procession that was the first Freemasonry exhibited to the public in our country."

Thus far our friend De-Maria.

Two points stand out in this account of his, the record of the Masonic procession on the 24th June, 1807, and the tradition of Masonic protection having been extended to the City Fathers on the 3rd February. I will merely remark that the latter would not have been needed, for a British army does not make war on the civil population of a conquered city; but all the story is interesting to us as showing that our Order had created a good impression among the Montevideans from the first moment of its appearance there.

Happily, I can illustrate the truth of this last statement by a communication sent me by Bro. H. Daniel, of Montevideo, who wrote concerning Lodge 192 I.C. held in the 47th Foot (1749-1823):

"Lodge 192 must have been out here also, as we have in the Acacia Lodge No. 876 a souvenir of Lodge No. 192 in the form of a Certificate granted to Bro. Miguel Furriol, who was initiated, passed, and raised in that Lodge in Montevideo in 1807.

This certificate was presented to the Acacia Lodge a good many years ago by R.W. Bro. Miguel Furriol 33°, *Deputy Grand Master of the Grand Orient of Uruguay*, and a grandson of the Bro. Miguel Furriol in whose favour the certificate was granted."

Incidentally, the *Southern Star* referred to in the report was *La Estrella del Sur*, a paper published in Spanish for propaganda purposes by the British authorities while Montevideo was in our occupation.

In closing this note I would merely add that the early years of Freemasonry in South America would be good material for an extended paper.

J. HERON LEPPER.

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## THE TRIPLE TAU



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THE origin and meaning of the Triple Tau has long provided a fruitful source of speculation amongst masonic students. The attention of such students is now invited to certain verses in one of the Apocryphal Books of the New Testament—the General Epistle of Barnabas—chapter 8 of which contains these verses:—

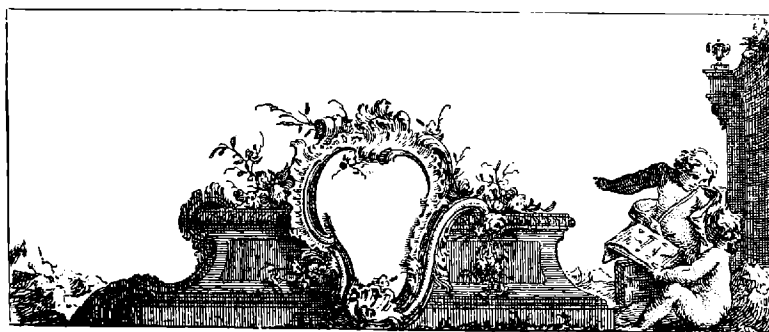
“11. For the Scripture says that Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen men of his house. But what therefore was the mystery that was made known unto him?  
12. Mark, first the eighteen, and next the three hundred. For the numeral letters of ten and eight are I H. And these denote Jesus.  
13. And because the cross was that by which we were to find grace; therefore he adds, three hundred; the note of which is T (the figure of his cross). Wherefore by two letters, he signifies Jesus, and by the third his cross.”

If, as some students feel, the symbol of the Triple Tau is Christian in its origin, the verses quoted above may well explain the composition of that symbol:—

Verse 12	I	H	
Verse 13		T	

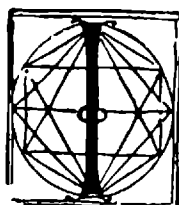
If this explanation of the origin of the Triple Tau is accepted it may well be that the existence of this symbol may be traced back to the fourth century A.D., when the canonical nature of New Testament writings was determined—or possibly even to the lifetime of the twelve Apostles, if the attribution of this Epistle to St. Barnabas can be sustained.

IVOR GRANTHAM.



## OBITUARY

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It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**John Henry Cookson**, of Kendal, on 15th July, 1944. Bro. Cookson held the rank of P.Pr.G.R. (Craft and R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1928.

*Major William Heley Hallsworth*, of Walsall, on 3rd June, 1943. Bro. Hallsworth held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Sword Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1938.

*Sir John Ernest Buttery Hotson*, *I.C.S.*, *K.C.S.I.*, of London, S.W., in May, 1944. Bro. Hotson was a member of Kathiawar Lodge No. 2787 and of St. George Chapter No. 549. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in October, 1910.

*Major Charles Herbert Inwood*, *O.B.E.*, *M.C.*, of Reading, Berks., on 6th June, 1944. Bro. Inwood held the rank of P.Dis.G.D., Bengal, and was P.Z. of Ajmer Chapter No. 2307. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in January, 1925.

**Edward William Marson**, of Harrow Weald, Middlesex, on 25th June, 1944. Bro. Marson was P.M. of Arcadian Lodge No. 2696, and a member of Chapter of Light No. 2721. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1919.

**Frank T. Palmer**, of Cheltenham, on 4th July, 1944. Bro. Palmer was P.M. of Royal Union Lodge No. 246. He was one of the senior members of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in January, 1901.

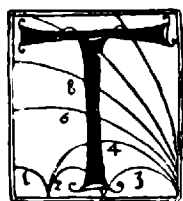
**Thomas Selby**, of Stockton-on-Tees, on 19th September, 1944. Bro. Selby held the rank of Past Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1922, and for many years acted as Local Secretary.

**Charles Henry Slack**, of Leeds, on 18th October, 1944. Bro. Slack held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was a member of Philanthropic Chapter No. 304. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1907.

**A. Von Geusau**, *J.P.*, of Heidelberg, S. Africa, on 16th July, 1944. Bro. von Geusau was P.M. of Heidelberg Lodge No. 2354. He was a senior member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in June, 1897.

**Frank Walker**, of Manchester, on 31st October, 1944. Bro. Walker held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was a member of Tuscan Chapter No. 5127. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1934.

## ST. JOHN'S CARD



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1944:—

*LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.*:—Provincial Grand Lodge of Durham, Sunderland; Provincial Grand Lodge of Sussex, Brighton; Burgoyne Lodge No. 902, London, W.; Victoria Lodge No. 2196, Bridgetown, Barbados; St. Michael's Lodge No. 2253, Belville, Barbados; Hampshire Lodge No. 3538, London, W.; Westminster City School Lodge No. 4305, London, W.; Lodge of Unanimity No. 4327, London, E.C.; Festina Lente Lodge No. 4587, Stockport; Queenswood Lodge No. 4718, London, W.; Lodge of Assiduity No. 4844, London, W.C.; Old Emanuel Lodge No. 5399, London, S.W.; Annuntio Lodge No. 5539, London, W.C.; Cæsarea Chapter No. 5840, London, W.C.; Lotus Lodge No. 5911, London, E.C.; Hindhead Lodge of Instruction No. 5183, Haslemere, Surrey; Gloucestershire Masonic Society, Gloucester; Masonic Fraternity of Delhi, New Delhi, India.

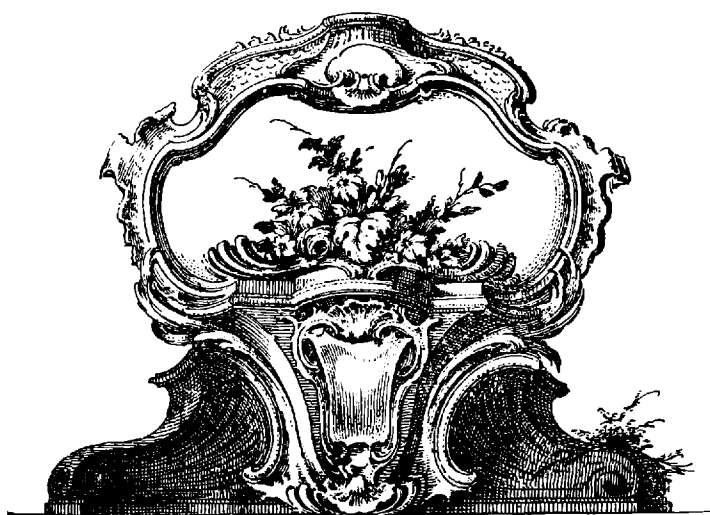
*BRETHREN*:—Gerald Charles Watson Adams, of Chislehurst, Kent, 1242; William Aish, of Watford, Herts., L.G.R.; Robert Burdon Amos, of London, E.C., L.G.R., 1731; James Gordon Anderson, of Esher, Surrey, P.A.G.D.C., P.G.St.B.; Walter Anderson, of Liverpool, P.M. 4881, 1182; Walter Henry Arber, of Chingford, London, E., L.G.R., 3008; William Walter Atkinson, of Hammersmith, London, W., P.A.G.D.C., P.A.G.S.B.; Henry Attwooll, of Mitcham, Surrey, L.G.R., L.G.C.R.; Frank Badham, of Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex, L.G.R., 3095; Sydney George Bailey, of Maldon, Essex, 173, 173; Ernest Baker, of Birmingham, P.Pr.G.St.B. (Worcs.), P.Pr.G.St.B. (Worcs.); Albert Edward Balaam, of Peckham, London, S.E., 2272; Ernest William Barton, of Wembley Park, Mddsx., P.M. 4806, P.Z. 2705; Henry Peter Bayon, of Cambridge, P.M. 2620; Arthur Laurence Belfield, of Moseley, Birmingham, P.M. 3950, H. 3950; John Leslie Berry, M.B., of Burton-on-Trent, Staffs., 2630, 1739; Fred Michael Bishop, of Houston, Texas, U.S.A., 1172, 2; Henry Harold Stephen Bishopp, of Bournemouth, 3180; Dorian Alfred Blair, of Earl's Court, London, S.W., 4650; Brig. Henry Eversley Boak, D.S.O., of Kingston, Ont., Canada, W.M. 578; Leonard Harry Bond, of Harrow, Mddsx., L.G.R., P.Z. 5010; Ernest Boond, of Eltham Park, London, S.E., L.G.R., P.Z. 1558; Jack Hector Booth, of Cheam, Surrey, 1347, 2686; Cyril Alfred Hubert Brady, of Cambridge, 441, 441; James Christie Crombie Brown, of Aberdeen, 688; Richard Wagner Versturme Bunbury, of Naivasha, Kenya, P.Dis.G.S.B., P.Z. 3727; John Austin Burles, of Kenton, Mddsx., W.M. 3522, 2182; George West Byng, of Saltburn-by-the-Sea, Yorks., P.M. 5826, 15; Alastair Malcolm Reid Cann, M.D., of Carshalton, Surrey, 2157, 2157; George William Canter, of Chertsey, Surrey, L.G.R., P.Z. 3733; Alfred Samuel Carter, of Peckham, London, S.E., P.M. 5384, P.Z. 5010; William Henry Upchurch Carter, A.S.A.A., of Hendon, London, N.W., P.M. 1744, P.Z. 834; Joseph Clapman, of Orpington, Kent, 1349, 4258; Percy Walter Clapp, of Penge, London, S.E., W.M. 3221, H. 3221; Rev. Harold Clarke, B.A., B.D., of Bearpark, Durham, 4840, 3568; Dr. Sydney Fletcher Clegg, of Macclesfield, P.M. 325, 295; Bruce Edwin Close, of Ashstead, Surrey, 2466, 2466; Sir Ernest Herbert Cooper, of

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Sir Harold Kenyon, of London, W., P.A.G.D.C., *P.G.St.B.*; Richard Lamb, of Sheffield, 3278; James William Lanagan, of Leyton, London, E., L.G.R., *P.Z.* 5803; Hyman Leonard, of Hove, Sussex, 4150, *4150*; John S. Lewis, of Milford Haven, 4331; Douglas Yetterdahl Lindberg, of Jamestown, N. Dakota, U.S.A., 6; Ernest Richard Lines, of Golders Green, London, N.W., P.A.G.St.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*; Wilfred Harold Lofford, of Plymouth, 202; John Lomax, of Manchester, P.M. 4204; Leonard Edmund Lowe, of Reading, Berks., P.M. 4748, *1037*; Sydney Edward Lucas, of London, W., 6; Richard Lye, of Ashstead, Surrey, 5867, *3585*; Edward Mackie, of Ealing, London, W., A.G.D.C., 2022; *Capt.* Andrew Duncan Macnair, 1731; Frederick Richard Madge, of Plymouth, P.M. 2725, *H.* 2725; David Mann, of Bloemfontein, S. Africa, P.Pr.G.Supt.W. (I.C.); William Percy Mapowder, of Bristol, W.M. 5239, *3108*; Arthur Martin, *O.B.E.*, of Bristol, P.Pr.G.St.B., *P.Pr.G.S.B.*; Sidney Wallis Martin, of Wimbledon, London, S.W., P.M. 3160, *P.Z.* 3411; George Cowper Hugh Matthey, of London, E.C., P.G.D., *P.A.G.So.*; Fred. Mercer, of Colne, Lancs., P.Pr.A.G.S.B., 116; John Ernest Messenger, of Kenton, Mddsx., L.G.R., *P.Z.* 2956; Richard Harvey Frank Metcalfe, of Leamington Spa, Warwicks., 4773, *79 (S.C.)*; John Edward Stevenson Milligan, of St. John's Wood, London, N.W., 5249, *2098*; Ralph M. Morford, of Milford Haven, 266 (Okla. C.); Herbert Ernest Nicholls, of Aylesbury, Bucks., P.M. 1601, *J.* 1589; Franklin Leroy Obenhaus, of Vallejo, Calif., U.S.A., 523, *35*; Penry Raymond Oliver, of London, W.C., P.Pr.Dep.G.R. (Mddsx.), 1987; Thomas Lewis Parsons, of Rochester, Vic., Australia, 75; Henry Subbald Paterson, of St. Margaret's Bay, Kent, P.M. 3806, *P.Z.* 3806; James Paterson, of Woolwich, London, S.E., P.M. 2361, *P.Z.* 1607; Ronald William Paterson, of Woodford Green, Essex, 2898; William Patten, of Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex, P.M. 2184, *P.Pr.G.St.B. (Devon.)*; Frederick Clifford Pawley, of Plymouth, 4276; James William Henry Penrose, of Plymouth, P.Pr.G.D.; Alfred Perry, of Cricklewood, London, N.W., P.M. 2898, *3534*; Walter Plumb, of Hampton, Mddsx., 5675; Gaythorne Robert Hurford Popplestone, of Bristol, P.Pr.G.St.B., 68; Harry Charles Preater, of Swindon, Wilts., P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.A.G.So.*; Alan Edward Pritchard, of Plymouth, 1099; Charles Ernest Purchase, of Kampala, Uganda, 1048; Albert Rabson, of Golders Green, London, N.W., P.M. 5595; Norman Lancelot Rabson, of Kingston Vale, Surrey, 5887; Alexander Joseph Ranger, of Friern Barnet, London, N., P.M. 1950, *P.Z.* 73; *Major* Sidney Cazalet Renny, of Knightsbridge, London, S.W., P.M. 3223, *2696*; John Gidley Roach, of Plymouth, 4276; Albert Edward Roberts, of Sutton-in-Ashfield, Notts., 5288, *2412*; Thomas Harry William Robinson, of London, W., P.M. 1524, *P.Z.* 1524; Leslie Rose, of London, N.W., L.G.R., *4327*; Horace Granville Russell, of Alton, Hants., 5055, *3411*; William John Leslie Ryder, of Newquay, Cornwall, 4604; A. J. Santonna, of Lucknow, India, 3276; Thomas Millner Sapcote, of London, E., P.M. 2632, *P.Z.* 2632; *Major* Douglas James William Sayer, *M.B.E.*, of Sparham, Norwich, 3678, *3678*; Ernest Harvey Shackleton, of S. Croydon, Surrey, 4302, *3692*; John Latimer Shepherd, of Bromley, Kent, P.M. 1986, *H.* 1986; Thomas Sidebottom, of Audenshaw, Lancs., 5712, *300*; Saul Silver, of Plymouth, 189; *Capt.* Robert Sydney Simpson, *M.C.*, *U.S. Navy*, of New York, N.Y., 262 (Mich. C.), *366 (E.C.)*; Johannes Ludovicus Smit, of East Molesey, Surrey, 5862; *Wing Cdr.* Arthur Leslie Smith, of Esher, Surrey, P.M. 3558, *J.* 2698; Henry Clifford Smith, of Halifax, Yorks., P.G.D., *P.A.G.So.*; Peter Brooke Somerville, of Durban, Natal, P.M. 1937, *H.* 1937; John Dewar Sowter, of Stroud Green, London, N., 212, *212*; Richard Arthur Sparling, of Sheffield, 4092; Laurence Elias Spence, of Newcastle, Staffs., 418, *418*; James Warden Stansfield, of Wilmslow, Cheshire, P.M. 4391, *Z.* 4391; Frank Harold Stenning, of Newton Ferrers, S. Devon, W.M. 4709, *J.* 1091; Harold William Stephens, of London, E.C., L.G.R., 12; Bertram Gurney Stewart, of Maidenhead, Berks., L.G.R., *L.G.C.R.*; Robert Frederick Stirratt,

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