

➤⌘ Ars ⌘➤  
**Quatuor Coronatorum**

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



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Ars  
Quatuor Coronatorum

# Ars Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

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

No. 2076

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VOLUME LXI

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FRIDAY, 2nd JANUARY, 1948



THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. Wallace E. Heaton, P.G.D., W.M.; L. Edwards, *M.A., F.S.A.*, P.A.G.Reg., P.M., *as S.W.*; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, P.G.D., J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A., B.L.*, P.A.G.Reg., P.M., Treas.; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.D., P.M., Sec.; *Wing-Commr.* W. I. Grantham, *O.B.E., M.A., LL.B.*, P.D.S.B., P.M., D. of C.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., I.G.; *Rev.* H. Poole, *F.S.A.*, P.A.G.Chap., P.M.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and E. H. Cartwright, *D.M., B.Ch.*, P.G.D.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. S. H. Love; G. W. Bullamore; J. W. H. Hawes; F. D. Lane; H. W. Johnson; S. Finnis; A. L. Bridgett; C. M. Rose; J. W. Lanagan; T. W. Marsh; F. Durham; F. C. Taylor, P.G.D.; F. A. Greene, P.A.G.Supt.W.; A. Strachan; J. S. Ferguson; C. F. Sykes; W. C. Hills; G. Hutchinson; H. E. Gill; A. E. Evans; J. Hughes; A. M. Cann; H. Johnson; A. F. Cross; W. L. Harnett; S. E. Ward; A. J. Thomas; H. A. Hartley; F. E. Gould; S. Chapman; J. Stroud; L. E. C. Peckover; F. J. Bryant; P. Paneth; G. H. Smith; H. R. Smith; F. V. Hazell; A. Atkinson; R. Prickett; E. Worthington; H. Attwooll; H. J. Harvey; H. J. Crawford; S. E. Baker; F. E. Cooper; B. Foskett; J. D. Daymond; H. P. Healey; W. E. Ames; F. Bradshaw; L. Humphries; W. H. Carter; J. R. Dashwood; W. Bunch; and J. W. Chetwin.

Also the following visitors:—Bros. C. King, Lodge 988; E. A. Bridgett, Lodge 2579; V. Walker, Lodge 227; W. H. Fulton, Lodge 2533; C. H. Press, Lodge 1744; F. C. Fortham, Lodge 2750; H. E. Cohen, Lodge 6106; H. Lewis, Lodge 2700; H. J. Ram, Lodge 201; R. F. Cumberland, Lodge 4241; and J. Baxter, Lodge 3525.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, P.G.D., Pr.G.M., Bristol, P.M.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Chap., 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.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwickshire, P.M.; *Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C., F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.D., Cheshire; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, P.M.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; G. S. Knocker, *M.B.E.*, P.A.G.Supt.W.; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B.; *Cmdr.* S. N. Smith, *D.S.C., R.N.*, P.Pr.G.D., Cambs.; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*; S. Pope, P.Pr.G.Std., Kent; and N. Rogers, P.Pr.G.D., Lanes., E.D.

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Eleven Lodges and thirty-three Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

## PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE

The Committee agreed upon the following

## REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1947

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

in the Chair.

### RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT

For the Year Ending 31st October, 1947

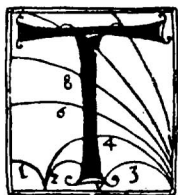
RECEIPTS					EXPENDITURE			
		£	s.	d.				
Cash in hand ... ..	...	434	15	11	Lodge ... ..	...	30	3 11
Sale of Investments ... ..	...	986	3	0	Salaries, Rent, Rates and Taxes	...	999	15 6
Lodge ... ..	...	72	9	0	S.C.S. Fund ... ..	...	169	0 0
Subscriptions ... ..	...	1795	19	7	Lighting, Heating, Telephone,	...		
Cash in Advance and un-	un-				Insurance, Cleaning, Car-	...		
appropriated ... ..	...	114	12	11	riage and Sundries	...	127	13 7
Medals ... ..	...	9	19	6	Printing and Stationery	...	1322	10 5
Binding ... ..	...	69	2	7	Medals ... ..	...		10 6
Sundry Publications ... ..	...	320	1	6	Binding ... ..	...	51	5 0
Interest and Discount ... ..	...	39	12	2	Sundry Publications	...	128	8 3
Publication Fund ... ..	...	24	19	7	Library ... ..	...	4	18 0
					Postages ... ..	...	188	7 1
					Local Expenses	...		3 16 6
					Cash in hand ... ..	55	4	0
					Cash on Deposit .	786	3	0
							841	7 0
		<u>£3867</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>9</u>			<u>841</u>	<u>7 0</u>
							<u>£3867</u>	<u>15 9</u>

The following paper by Bro. R. J. MEEKREN was read by the Secretary:—

## THE LODGE

### AN ESSAY IN METHOD

BY BRO. R. J. MEEKREN



THE origin and development of the ritual forms of Freemasonry is a subject that has never been seriously and systematically attacked. In the reaction which arose in the 'seventies of last century from the methods, such as they were, of the earlier Masonic writers the pendulum naturally, and I suppose inevitably, went to an extreme in the other direction, and so it came about that anything that could not be established by rigorous historical means was ruled out of court. And not only this, but such evidence as was accepted was so circumscribed that sometimes its plain significance was rejected.

On the whole this reaction was healthy, and its extremes were in their nature temporary—for there are fashions in scholarship as in female dress, though they do not change with quite such bewildering facility. But, and I say this seriously and with emphasis, purely historical means alone can never, in the nature and circumstances of the problems involved, give a satisfying answer to the questions we would ask. Not that for a moment would I belittle the very great importance of what history has to tell us. For example, a point may be adduced in which I have had some concern: the acceptance of the fact that the earliest records in Scotland actually show that there were grades of secrets communicated in the lodges of North Britain as in the south removes at once a serious obstacle that for too long prevented the just appreciation of other evidence. And so also that these records show that the "entering" of Apprentices came at the end of their period of servitude, and not at its beginning, when they were mere boys, similarly cuts the ground away from a whole series of objections to belief in the antiquity of Masonic ritual forms, of which, as a typical instance, the late Bro. Songhurst's contribution to the discussion of Bro. Poole's paper on *Masonic Ritual and Secrets before 1717*, recorded in *A.Q.C.* for the year 1924, may be cited.

But to return to the opening statement, which is intentionally provocative: there have of course been many attempts to deal with the subject in a serious mood. Some of them by Brethren very ill equipped, some by others with a wealth of scholarship, but they have all, so to speak, been forlorn hopes—attempts to carry the position by storm. Most of them have failed because they were based on some preconceived theory, but they have failed more essentially because such attempted *tours de force* are not capable of attaining to the desired end.

The whole subject, as a matter of fact, is still very much in the same state as the science of chemistry was in the seventeenth, or the study of anatomy was in the sixteenth, century. The investigators who laid the foundations of the scientific treatment of these two subjects were hampered and trammelled, both within and without, by a body of tradition and by systems of hypotheses posing as facts. From without by the opposition of the mass of adherents of the "orthodox" schools, and from within by the very fact that their own intro-

duction to the subject was through the same traditional doctrines that their genius led them to question, to test, and here and there to discard, and in doing this to make some discovery, discern some fact, to which others following them would add. It would be easily possible to draw parallels in detail; but, though it might be of some interest, it does not seem to be necessary to do so here.

The subject as a whole is a very large one, and it is also exceedingly complex. And besides this there are special difficulties in the way which have in part been responsible for the almost mediæval isolation of those who have attempted its investigation. Some of these difficulties are obvious and scarcely need to be mentioned. One which presents itself immediately is the problem of dealing with matters that are secret. This, though very great, can by care and ingenuity be largely, though perhaps not wholly, overcome. Then there is the difficulty of obtaining essential information, which is closely connected with the first. But similar difficulties have been an obstacle to the pioneers in every science. Further there is an enormous amount of rubbish still to be cleared away which conceals and smothers what we wish to discover. And there is also the psychological obstruction, very hard to realise or to estimate, that arises from the fact our ritual systems are living, and that we ourselves are subject to the tendencies and influences which have made them what they are, and which are still active and operative and are making them imperceptibly into something else to fit a constantly changing mental, social and economic environment. And then, most surprising of all, there is the purely artificial difficulty created by our refusal or neglect to use means that lie at hand, without which no worthwhile results can ever be obtained.

This last statement must of course be justified. Broadly there are two methods which lie at hand and which have not been used, or at least used only sporadically and with great timidity. There is first the mass of anthropological material waiting to be brought to bear on our problems by the procedure and with the critical precautions that have been evolved for its use. I am very fully aware that this material is under grave suspicion by historically-minded Masonic students, and this is not surprising, for in the main those who have essayed it were not only uncritical but too often not really at home with the facts they sought to use. And more than this, they have almost all of them been attempting to prove some preconceived hypothesis of whence the ritual was derived or of what it really was or ought to be. But this is obviously no logical reason for refusing to use this material. The following remark by Miss Janet Bacon is *à propos* on this point:—

The whirligig of time has brought its revenges, and the historian to-day goes to the tales discarded by his predecessor for a far from contemptible part of his material; folk-lore has become an historical science, and mythology is acknowledged to be instructive, if not literally true.<sup>1</sup>

As a matter of fact Masonic scholarship is merely behind the times in this; in the general field of Anthropology the same phases have already been passed through. I am tempted to make another very pertinent citation which, referring to mythology in general, is equally applicable to the subject of ritual.

. . . religion in general and mythology in particular has suffered much at the hands of would-be rationalists. The really reasonable method of solving such problems is to abjure ingenious guesses, get back to the earliest ascertainable form of the myth and seek to understand it in comparison with other analogous myths.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Bacon: *The Voyage of the Argonauts*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Cook: *Zeus*, vol. i, p. 418.

Masonic ritual is not an isolated phenomenon, without father, without mother, without pedigree, after the order of Melchisedec. Ritual is one of the most universal and pervasive concomitants of human culture ; so much so that very often its very existence is not realized or observed. We feel a wind, but normally we are quite unconscious of the air. Ritual appears to attain to its greatest luxuriance among primitives and savages. Civilization seems generally to loosen its bonds and to attenuate its development, to concentrate it into certain departments of life and to clothe it in ceremonial. And yet even civilized man (if he really exists) does not seem to be able to do without it entirely. But it does appear that, as the level of culture rises, the tendency is to restrict the area of its influence and to loosen the compulsive character of its bonds.

Ritual is a genus, and comprises many species ; Masonic ritual is a variety of one of these species. The study of human anatomy required for its full development the rise of the science of comparative anatomy. We require for the elucidation of the problems connected with the evolution of Masonic ritual a science of comparative ritual—which does not yet exist. But this should be only an incitement to take the first steps towards creating one. An immense amount of material for the purpose has been put on record, and a very considerable part of it is available in books not too inaccessible ; the canons for its use have been developed in comparative mythology and folk-lore, and these are just as scientific as the most rigid methods of history in its strictest sense ; and, this being so, there seems to be no reason why we should fear to adopt them if they promise to yield the results that we seek. But we must religiously abstain from “ingenious guesses”.

The other discipline we require is that of literary criticism, both the lower and the higher. This would naturally be required in the discussion of evidence generally, but I refer especially to the criticism of documents relating strictly to Masonic ritual. It has been employed, it is true, in dealing with the *MS. Constitutions*, and in minute detail. It is therefore all the more singular that it has been so neglected in dealing with our ritual documents. The neglect of it here seems almost a perversity, while the still more complete neglect of the comparative study of Masonic rituals in general would appear to be due to a kind of blindness. Another instance, one must suppose, of the obvious remaining unnoted.

Of course it is to be understood that I speak of what has been published, and is available—more or less—to the student. Of what individuals, or perhaps groups, may have done privately it is impossible to say anything. But the subject is too large to be dealt with by one alone ; as in other branches of knowledge it must be—it can only be—by the intensive and systematic work of many that the desired results are to be obtained.

Now there are existing as many different ritual systems as there are Grand Lodges, Jurisdictions or Obediences. Fortunately, however, at least to begin with, there is no need to deal with them all. But there are three main subdivisions, varieties or types, under which most of the particular systems can be classed, although of these many individual forms are hybrid, and almost all have suffered contamination from other types.

These three varieties are : first, that which is found in most places under the British Empire, which for convenience alone I shall call English. Secondly, that which is found in the United States, which is there usually called the “York” rite, a convenient term, even if its strict propriety may be questioned ; and, thirdly, that which is generally followed by the rest of the Masonic world, which again for convenience I shall call French. As a matter of fact, most European countries derived their modes of working from France, either directly or indirectly. Those of Germany are hard to classify ; there have been so many revisions and reforms, and the contemporary English forms have in a number of cases been followed ; as a result there are, or were, more hybrid forms in that country than

anywhere else. About Scandinavian work I know very little, but from such direct information as I have obtained from Brethren of the Danish and Swedish Obediences, the first three degrees would seem to be of the French type. The Irish forms would appear to be basically the same as the "York" Rite, with much superficial *contamination* from the English type, and with this we might perhaps class the forms followed in Bristol and some old Scottish lodges, though with even more borrowing from the English type; all of which would seem not only natural but also inevitable. The American workings have also borrowed a good deal from England, through the medium of Preston's *Illustrations*, Hutchinson's *Spirit of Masonry* and like frequently republished and widely distributed books. All this is rather dogmatic perhaps, but this is hardly the place to justify it—it would take too much space—so I hope that it will be accepted tentatively for the sake of the argument. The sequel perhaps will do something towards the establishment of the division thus postulated.

### TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

In discussions upon the subject of masonic forms much confusion has often arisen, I believe, owing to the fact that no precise terminology has yet been agreed upon. This has led to misunderstandings as to meaning, and also, one suspects, to vague and imprecise thinking. There are a number of important distinctions that should be made, and kept in mind. I would not like to say that the designations that I have used to mark these distinctions are the most appropriate, and I would never dream of insisting upon them if others were thought to be better; but upon the distinctions themselves I certainly would insist. We have a number of terms in use, as ritual, ceremony, usage, form, work, and the like, which are to a large extent used as if they were synonymous. I propose the following *schema*, which I have used elsewhere, as a set of terms to distinguish several different kinds of thing that are most often vaguely grouped under the name "ritual". The primary and most important distinction is between ritual proper (to which I would limit the term strictly) and ceremonial. Ritual is the nucleus round which the whole complex of ceremonial, formality and instruction arises and evolves. Ritual is distinguished by the notes that it is essential; it cannot, for the purpose of the whole, be omitted or abridged. It always consists in two parts, or, as it might be said, it is dual in character. There is something said and something done. A verbal formula accompanying an action. It is, however, true that the formula may be expanded until it almost overwhelms the action, or conversely it may be so reduced that it can easily remain unobserved if one is not looking for it. In fact, the state of the formula is much less stable than the action; which is also natural considering the ease with which the spoken word may be expanded or modified. I may say here in passing that this distinction between ritual and ceremonial is general, and not based on Masonic usages alone, or even especially. These two parts or aspects of ritual inseparably belong to each other; they are counterparts, each expressing in its own way the basic idea or purpose of the rite or form. The formula puts into words the meaning of the action, while the action is an expression of the significance of what is said. In the later and more sophisticated stages the action is in fact symbolic. Originally it was a good deal more than symbolism—it worked *ex opere operato*; but it would lead us too far afield to go into that here.

In distinction from ritual, ceremony or ceremonial is not essential, it may be elaborated or curtailed at convenience, may even be dispensed with altogether. It, too, however, may consist in both speech and action, but the relationship is quite inessential. Ceremonial consists primarily, and always in the main, in additional forms to enhance the solemnity and to add to the dignity and impressiveness of the ritual proper. Ceremonial may, however, develop where there is no question of ritual in the sense defined.

There are also three or four other convenient terms that may be mentioned. There are certain things that may be regarded as necessary, often enough imposed by external authority, which are neither ritual nor, properly speaking, ceremony, though they may be and often are done formally. The reading of the charges to the Master elect, the formal questions asked of the Candidate, and most of the procedure of opening a lodge are instances. These I call "Forms".

The whole complex of ritual, with its added ceremony and forms, may be designated a "Rite"; and a book, what in French would be a *cahier*, or *rituale* in Mediæval Latin, to avoid confusion I call a "Formulary". There is yet one other accompaniment to ritual frequently found, especially in the more developed and later forms, which should be distinguished, as it cannot be put under any of the previous heads, and that is "Instruction". In Masonic usages the explanations, eulogiums, moralizings and exhortations may be designated by this term, or if preferred, by Explanation. Under this heading the greater part of the catechetical Lectures would be placed.

Perhaps there was really no need in this paper to have given all of the above proposed technical terminology; but, as they represent distinctions that are necessary for definite expression and clear thinking on the whole subject, I do not think it really out of place to give them here, even if some of them are not necessary for presenting what follows.

### USES OF THE WORD "LODGE"

The question next arises as to procedure. A formally logical exposition would be to begin at the beginning and trace the various stages downwards. But unfortunately the beginning is an unknown quantity, and to do this would require that we start from an assumed hypothesis. To avoid this it will be more practical to work from the present backwards so far as we can towards the beginning. This procedure also has the advantage of making the starting point at what will be known, in part, to every Mason. I say in part because, very generally, Masons are familiar only with the usages of their own lodges, while the method to be adopted requires the use of each of the three typical rites. It is to be understood that in the main I shall refer to only one representative variant formulary for the "English" and "York" rites respectively. For the French or European it will be found necessary to use several.

After these preliminaries, which, while perhaps tedious, are not without purpose, we come to the particular subject of the paper. It has been chosen for several reasons. For one, the Lodge is not now regarded by Masons as in itself a secret or mystery. For another, it is a fairly compact and distinct subject: that is, we do not have to take into consideration everything else in the body of traditions, usages and mysteries that is Freemasonry in order to elucidate it. And finally it is an important strategic point from which to make an attack on the problems of the whole complex. The Lodge is intimately and essentially connected with the ritual of initiation, and the latter cannot be comprehensively studied without an understanding of its chief pre-requisite, the place prepared and set apart for its performance.

The term, however, is ambiguous. Like an analogous word, "Church", it is regularly used in two distinct, though related, senses. "Church" also signifies a place of assembly for certain purposes as well as the group of people who there assemble, who have a right there to assemble and which is organized for this purpose. The difference between the two terms in this respect is that while the word *ecclesia* (from which the word Church is derived) means primarily the assembly itself, secondarily the organization of those who form the assembly, and lastly is applied to the place where the assembly is held; while on the other hand, the word lodge, as it has always been used in English, means first, and always in common usage, a place of shelter, a more or less temporary

harborage or dwelling. It is in the sense of a building in which Masons worked, a workshop, an *atelier*, that the term is used in Mediæval building accounts and contracts and like documents. This has so often been brought out that it can hardly be necessary to cite instances. Nor yet that in the Old Charges the word is also used in this same sense, and not in that of an organization. On the other hand, in the Old Catechisms it is with this latter meaning that it is apparently employed, at least to the extent that we are told (in most of them) how many Masons are required to form a lodge. It also appears that the lodge is regarded as a place, but not specifically as a building in which the group concerned assembled. In the extant minutes and other records prior to the Grand Lodge era, the word also appears to refer to the organized group of Masons with a very few exceptions, such as, for example, the Aberdeen reference to the "outfeild Lodge in the mearnes in the parish of negg at the scounes at the poynt of the ness", which is evidently a place but not a building, for earlier in the Statutes it is ordained that "no lodge be held in a house . . . but in the open fieldes except it be ill weather. . . ." <sup>1</sup> From 1716 or 1717 the word has of course been used in both of these senses. This bare summary of well-known facts will be all that is necessary and probably more than is necessary, for all who are likely to read this.

In an English version of the catechetical Lectures now current it is said that a Lodge of Freemasons is "an assemblage of the Brethren met to expatiate on the mysteries of the Craft". This has no counterpart in the European tradition so far as I know, but there is a corresponding statement in the "York" Lectures given as answer to the question "What is a Lodge?" It is said that it is a certain number of Masons assembled under specified conditions, but no purpose is referred to. This, as will appear, is a continuation of the tradition embodied in most of the earlier documents, and at the same time marks a stage of development along the same line as appears in the English lectures. In regard to the latter it may be pointed out in passing that this organized body (the organization is obviously understood) assembles, not to transact any business or engage in any work, but either to learn about or to discuss the matters referred to. A purpose generally nullified by modern practice!

In the official formulary of the *Grande Loge de France* there appears a rubric or preliminary note which begins with the following phrase—I give it for the sake of completeness:—"The Lodge, or better, the Temple . . ." (*La Loge ou mieux le Temple . . .*), and it goes on to describe what must be an ideal hall or chamber arranged and decorated for Lodge meetings, for it hardly seems possible that so elaborate a building could often be provided even by the richest Lodges. The arrangement and decorations however are no more than a presentment of a desirable realization in an actual chamber of the traditional description of the Lodge found in the Catechism. The formulary of the *Grand Orient* has a very similar description of the place desiderated for a Lodge to meet, but it begins "*La salle ou se tient la L., se nomme le Temple.*" But the original description of the Lodge has been dropped, with much else, from the catechetical instructions in this rite.

### CONSECRATION AND DEDICATION

There is another use of the word Lodge, one which is very seldom in our minds, which yet remains obscurely in our formularies, English and American, in reference especially to the inauguration or so-called consecration of a Lodge. It first appears in the dedication of Freemasons' Hall in 1776, an account of which was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May of that year. The forms then used, adapted for the inauguration of particular lodges, were given by

<sup>1</sup> Miller: *Notes on the Early History and Records of the Lodge, Aberdeen*, pp. 59, 63.

Preston in his *Illustrations*, though in which edition it first appeared I am unable to say. It would be of interest to determine the original source of these ceremonies. I imagine, whatever ancient material may have been incorporated and adapted, it was a compilation of the period, arranged in the first place for the dedication of the Hall. It has no counterpart in European usages; for, although there also very elaborate dedication ceremonies have been evolved, these have no resemblance to the English form, and are conceived on entirely different lines.

The ceremony migrated to America, most probably through Preston's work; and, so far as I can discover, it first appears independently in Webb's *Monitor* in 1797. Webb "lifts" it almost *verbatim* from his predecessor, as a good deal else besides, though, to his credit be it noted, he gives a full acknowledgment of his borrowings. Jeremy Cross, one of Webb's disciples, in his *Masonic Chart* reproduces it from his teacher—also with acknowledgment. Since then it has been reproduced again and again in various handbooks, official and unofficial, in both the United States and in Canada.

The point to which all the preceding is leading up to is the use of the word "lodge". We have it naturally in both of the usual senses already discussed, but it also appears with an entirely different meaning, and one which to most Masons has become strange and unfamiliar; it refers to something that is portable, which can be carried in a procession, is veiled, is set in the middle of the lodge-room, and which is in fact the centre of the ensuing ceremony. Of course the reference is well known, yet this significance of the word is the last one we think of when we hear or see it.

It is to be observed that neither in *Preston* nor in the *Gentleman's Magazine* is there the least indication of what "the Lodge" may have been. So far as the accounts go it is as closely veiled in silence as in the ceremony it was by "white sattin". This reserve has led to some curious speculation. In Mackey's *Encyclopædia*, for example, it is said (under "Lodge") that the third use of the word is for an article of furniture, a box or chest made in imitation of the Ark of the Covenant, and it is briefly added that this piece of furniture is used only in certain ceremonies, such as the constitution and consecration of new lodges.

Mackey, however, has always to be taken with some caution unless otherwise confirmed when he deals with the esoteric side of the Craft. He is the upholder of an orthodoxy, that of the "York" rite, strongly tinged with that called ancient and accepted and Scottish. In his time the pundits, the Brahmin caste, of American Masonry—that is, the general body of Lecturers, Grand and otherwise, Custodians of the Work, Committees on Ritual, and the like—were seeking, possibly not really knowing what they were engaged in doing, to root out all the older traditions that did not fit into the logical development of the "Body of Masonry"—as they conceived it.

In this particular case there was no need at all for "ingenious guesses". When Webb reproduced the ceremonial of consecration from Preston he added an explanatory foot-note to the word "lodge". A very brief one, but quite sufficient at the period. It consisted in one word, "Flooring". When later Cross reproduced Webb he at this place incorporated Webb's gloss into the text, which now runs, "Two brethren carrying the Flooring or Lodge." But he also in his turn added a foot-note, again of one word only—"Carpet". This also was sufficiently explicit at the time and place, for to American Masons this would be the Master's Carpet, laid on the floor before him; this was, as in theory it still is, a general combined chart of all the symbols of the three degrees.

It has already been remarked that nothing like this ceremony obtained in Europe, but it does not appear to have been universal even in the British Isles. For Ireland I cannot say, but the only Scottish formulary I have seen which includes the forms for the inauguration of a new lodge says specifically in a rubric, "The Consecration elements are then sprinkled on the Lodge-Room",

and not on the *Lodge*, of which, as a separate moveable object, there is no mention. From all this it would appear that this ceremonial, as it stands, is really of quite modern origin, and I am inclined tentatively to the conclusion, that, as already remarked, it was specially arranged in the first place for the dedication of Freemasons' Hall, and then adapted by Preston for general use on the appropriate occasions. But whether this were so or not it does not follow that no traditional element was incorporated and developed. The processions, and the "Lodge" itself, can hardly be accounted for in any other way, though the carrying of the latter in the procession was, it is hardly to be doubted, something new. Veiling it can naturally be accounted for by the fact that much of the ceremony was public, in the sense that ladies and other non-Masons were present. This, or rather the re-veiling after the "consecration", does not seem to fit, in fact is meaningless, in the generalized ceremony, in which it is usually specifically understood that none but Masons are present.

Now this carefulness to "hele" the *sacrum* called the Lodge from the eyes of the uninitiated and profane seems to have some relation to the explanation of a certain point in the preparation which is given in the "York" catechetical instructions; it is said that upon a certain contingency arising the recipient might "have been conducted out of the Lodge without being able to discover the form thereof." It will hardly be necessary to cite a corresponding statement in English formularies, though it is to be noted that the circumstances to which this last is said to refer are not those supposed in the American Lectures. This is probably an indication that neither explanation is original, especially as there is no parallel to them in European instructions. But they do embody the ancient tradition that this "form" with its concomitants was itself a mystery to be scrupulously concealed from the profane. I would here remark incidentally that this is not an isolated case. No one, I think, can compare the three main types of formulary and instructions in their various stages of evolution and fail to be impressed with the tenacity of group memory for ideas and phrases, and their recurrence in unexpected places apart entirely from their original context and significance.

We can now come to the consideration of what the three typical sets of instructions have to say about the Lodge. We have already noted that the English variant says quite explicitly that it is a group of Masons assembled for a certain purpose, and that the American equivalent says that it is such a group met under certain conditions. This appears to be a development in the explanation of what is implicit in earlier forms, in which, however, it is the forming the Lodge that is the point emphasized. Such changes are normal in the evolution of a rite under changed circumstances.

#### LATER EUROPEAN TRADITION

After considering alternatives I have decided that the most convenient and perspicuous way of dealing with the records is to take them by periods. These periods will be approximately equivalent in the three traditions. The first will be from the present time back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when in the English speaking Masonic world there was much adjustment and re-arrangement consequent on the reconciling the feud between "Ancients" and "Moderns". Somewhat earlier there were changes and reforms in Europe in re-action to the claims of the *hauts grades* and to the after effects of the collapse of the Strict Observance. The second period will be roughly the last seventy years of the eighteenth century, a little less for Europe actually. But precise dating cannot be made, the times given are properly periods, relatively brief perhaps, when there was a quickened *tempo* of change and reform and development. Between these times of change things appear to have been quite fairly static, with no marked changes apparent. The third division will be the indefinite

one from about 1730 to so far back as such records as we have may be supposed to go.

We will begin then with the Grand Orient, though only for completeness, and to show the process of atrophy at work. It is rather marked at the point we are to consider, though it must not be supposed that atrophy is peculiar to France or to Europe. The same kind of thing has happened both in Britain and America, though not, as it happens, in respect of the Lodge. And here it may be remarked that, generally, a great deal of the change and development in the various rites and formularies has been due to some prevailing hypothesis or theory—not of course always and everywhere the same—as to what Masonry was, or should be, and to the *logical* working out of the consequences of such preconceived ideas. Pure reason, without knowledge, has in a multitude of instances played havoc with ancient usages and traditions. Things that did not fit, or could not be fitted into the scheme, whatever it may have been, were either discarded or relegated to an obscure position in the background. But to return to the Grand Orient and its instructions relative to the Lodge, over and above the *desiderata* for a lodge-room earlier referred to. We are told that the Lodge is in length from east to west, in breadth from north to south, and after some explanations the two great pillars of the Temple are mentioned and briefly described. Then the *loge just et parfait*, and the three, five and seven who respectively direct, enlighten and render it just and perfect are spoken of with brief elucidations. And this is all. Though in the second grade the *étoile flamboyante* is spoken of. However, the formulary of this body in 1858 tells us a good deal more. In corresponding places it is here said that the shape of the Lodge is a regular parallelogram, its length *lies* east and west, its breadth north and south, its height is from the zenith to the nadir, that is to say, from the earth's surface to infinity. We are then informed that a lodge is a secret place where Freemasonry shelters itself to conceal its work. This is all told to the Apprentice, but the Companion is further informed that there are three ornaments in the lodge: the mosaic pavement, the flaming star and the tessellated border. There are also six jewels; those called moveable are the S., L., and P.R., and the others are the brute stone, the cubic stone and the tracing board. The apprentice works on the first, the companions try their tools on the second, while the T.B. is of course for the master.

Under the *Grande Loge de France* the formulary now, or at least recently, in existence is not, I believe, very old as it stands, but it is much more conservative. The subject is here introduced by the query, "Where do you work?" Then it is inquired, "How is your lodge constructed?" and we are told that it is a long square (*carré long*) which extends from east to west, of which the breadth is from north to south, its height from the earth to the heavens and the depth from the surface to the centre. It is covered by an azure vault *parsemée d'étoiles* where the sun and moon "circulate". This vault is supported on twelve beautiful columns, but the lodge itself is founded (*fondée*) on three strong pillars, which are W., S., and B., and represented by three great lights placed in the east, south and north respectively. The question follows, "What more is to be remarked in your lodge?" and in answer to this we are told of a porch (*portique*) elevated on three steps; of two bronze columns with capitals adorned with pomegranates, of a brute stone, a cut stone called *la pierre cubique à pointes* (*sic*), a square, compass, level and plumb, a mallet and chisel, a table called the *planche à tracer* and three windows. In the east is the sun and moon, and the lodge is girt (*ceinte*) with an ornament called *la houppe dentelée*. This is all communicated in the first grade. In the second there is no special or significant reference to the lodge, beyond (as we found in the case of the Gr. Or.) a reference to the flaming star, though we are further told that within it is the letter "G", which signifies Geometry. Curiously, too, there is no further mention of the bronze columns in this place.

In Ragon's *Cahiers* of the symbolic degrees, which probably represent very closely the forms followed in lodges under the Grand Orient before the promulgation of the official formulary of 1858 previously cited, we find the following rubric under the heading of "Disposition and Decoration of the Lodge". (This is probably the forerunner of the like notes in later formularies which have been alluded to above.)

MOSAIC PAVEMENT on which is traced, in the middle of the Temple somewhat towards the east, the drawing (*tableau*) of the lodge. At each meeting this mysterious drawing will be traced with chalk, and after the work it will be effaced with a slightly moistened sponge. This is a means of avoiding the expense of a painted *tableau* which might possibly fall into the hands of the profane.

The author then goes on to enumerate the objects to be thus represented :

1. The seven steps of the Temple. 2. The two mysterious columns with their monograms I. and B. Between them, at the height of the capitals, a compass open, the points up. 3. At the left, the *pierre brute*, to the right, the *pierre cubique à pointe* ; between the shafts of the columns the entrance to the Temple is shown. 4. Above the capitals, the P.R. is placed on the left, and the L. on the right. 5. Above these to the left, the moon ; to the right, the sun, and between them the Sq. At the foot of the drawing, the T.B. 6. At the top, *un ciel parsemée d'étoiles* ; the whole surrounded by the *houppe dentelée*, and finally, three windows. In the corresponding rubric for the *Compagnon*, some of the above items are differently placed, and to the implements are added, mallet and chisel, rule and crowbar. It is specially noted that the two columns are not in the second grade surmounted by pomegranates, but by two spheres, and the flaming star now appears in the east, and within it the letter "G".

In the instructions or catechism for the Apprentice the references to the lodge are grouped together in a very long answer to a general demand for explanation. The rough stone, *la pierre brute*, is slightly referred to and is said to represent the apprentice. The two columns are more fully dealt with, and the pomegranates which surmount them are mentioned ; the mosaic pavement is explained as symbolizing the union between Masons of all races, and also the mixture of good and evil in the journey of life. The lodge is further said to be a long square. The orient represents the Master, the sun and moon the Wardens, which is why these three principals are called *lumières*. Their badges of office are explained and are said to be called moveable jewels. These three officers also symbolically represent the three great pillars of W., S and B. In the instruction in the second degree the letter "G" and the flaming star are explained, as also the indented tassel (*houppe dentelée*) and the cubic stone.

This division of the information concerning the lodge is somewhat peculiar, and may have been influenced by the work ascribed to Guillemain de St. Victor. Before dealing with this we may briefly consider some German catechisms. The first is, I think, comparatively quite recent, and is probably based mainly upon Schroeder's rite. It is much attenuated. We are told that the Lodge has three great lights, which a note equates with the "necessary furniture" of the instructions of the *Grosse Landesloge*, and this consists of the H.B., S. and C. It has also three "small" lights, which are said to be three candles set within the form (*umrisse*) of the "long square" (*langlich vierreck*), in the E., W. and S., and these are said to stand for the sun, moon and master of the lodge. The lodge has the form of a right-angled long square, from E. to W., between N. and S., from the earth to heaven and from the surface of the globe to its middle point. It rests on three great pillars, which are W., S. and B. It has two classes of jewels, moveable and immoveable. The first set comprises the S., L. and P.R., because all signs of Free-Masons are formed through or by means of these. The immoveable jewels are the rough or unwrought stone, the cubic stone and

the drawing board or table. This is all that is said in this place. Later on, in the second instruction, it is said that the Fellow (*Gesell*) works on the cubic stone, but there is nothing about the two pillars or the letter "G", as we might have expected. Development or progress has in this case been in the direction of elimination, it would seem.

In the formulary of the *Grosse Landesloge* of about 1830 the catechism of the first grade is very curiously divided, and I know of nothing quite analogous to the arrangement. There is first a group of 39 questions under the heading of general (*allgemein*), then come 24 allotted to the Senior Warden (*erste Aufseher*); 27 to the second *Aufseher*, which develop a fantastic and far from profound time symbolism; 19 are allotted to the Secretary and 18 to the Orator, there are 5 for the Treasurer, 7 for the Director of Ceremonies, and finally a set assigned especially to the Apprentice. Not only is the instruction divided among these officials, but the matter has been arranged so that to some extent (not wholly consistently worked out) each subject is developed progressively from one officer to another. The information about the lodge is distributed between the first, fourth, fifth and last of the above divisions. There appears to be no object in following this arrangement for our purpose, but I give the substance of the relevant answers in the same order as they come in the different groupings.

We are told, then, that the *Freimaurer-Tafel* (which is the French *tapis*, or the old English "flooring") is enclosed in a border, and that the cardinal points are marked. The lodge has as necessary furniture (as has already been noted) the H.B., S. and C. Three Brethren give it form (*gestalt*), five improve it and seven make it perfect. St. John's Lodge is situated in "Josaphat-valc", where never a woman has babbled, no lion has roared, no cock crowed, and no dog barked. This valley is in the promised land between the two peaks of a great mountain; the mountain is Zion and the peaks Zion and Moriah. The lodge has three windows, E., W. and S. It is supported by three pillars, S., W. and B. Its length is from E. to W., its breadth from N. to S., its height is an uncounted number of ellis (*unzählige menge Ellen*), its depth from the outmost circumference of the earth to its centre. It is covered with a heavenly curtain (*decke*) bestrewn with golden stars. Then it has three ornaments, the glittering (or brilliant) star, the lace-trimmed fringe (this is said to be on the curtains or veils in the Holy of Holies) and the mosaic pavement. It has moveable and immoveable jewels, the first being those we have already several times come across, the immoveable are the rough and cubic stones and the drawing board. The cubic stone is for the *Gesell* to sharpen his and the Apprentice's tools. Further, the sun and moon are represented in order to serve as an example to each Freemason *Ritter* (knight), but in what way is not said, and finally the working tools are moralized.

The German formularies—there are many of them—are, as has already been remarked, chiefly derived from the French tradition, or have it as a groundwork, but some of them are really mongrel, owing to successive reformations, which in some cases were much influenced by contemporary English working, but also made in the light of pure theory as to what Masonry should be.

We may now carry the French tradition back to 1780. The set of catechisms already mentioned, those of Guillemain de St. Victor, first appeared in 1781, and from then to 1810 successive editions appeared, on an average, in less than every two years. Even if the editions were small, a very considerable demand is evident, and there can be no doubt that this work had a very considerable influence. De St. Victor has been supposed to have invented largely, but I believe that this is an exaggerated view. He writes as a reformer, and he had a theory—not very tenable—and he probably did make some changes; but changes in order and ascription are not properly inventions, and such modifications have been going on everywhere since 1717 to the present, and the process is by no means at an end. Small, imperceptible changes, unnoticed

for the greater part, but which, accumulating in accord with a prevailing tendency, amount to a good deal in the course of a century, or even in a lesser period.

In the work now under consideration we find, so far as I have discovered, the first re-division subsequent to Prichard of matter concerning the Lodge as between the first and second degrees. And this new arrangement appears, as already noted, to have been in part followed by the formularies of the Grand Orient. It is necessary to remark here, to avoid misapprehension, that I am taking the main line of tradition only. The "problem" works, such as *Les Francmaçons Ecrasés* and others, I am leaving entirely on one side. Their purpose, their provenance, their relation to the actual usages among Masons at the time, all require elucidation before any use can be made of them.

Returning to de St. Victor, in the first instruction the lodge is hardly more than barely mentioned, and all we are told is that three form it, five render it just and seven make it perfect. The three are, the Master and the Wardens; the five are made up by adding two Master Masons, and the seven by the further addition of a *Compagnon* and an *Apprentif*. However, though the Lodge is not mentioned in the connection, three great lights are said to have been seen by the *Recepiendaire*, and these were placed E., S. and W., and it is also said that they represent the Sun, Moon and the Master of the lodge. This curtailment of the instruction in the first grade must be taken as deliberate, as a note appears at the end of the first catechism to the effect that what has been given comprises "absolutely all the questions" for the Apprentices.

In the second instruction we find an apparent inconsistency, as between it and what had already been said. The "perfect" lodge in which the Companion is received consists of only six. A note combats the idea—prevalent it would seem—that it should be seven, as in the preceding grade. The argument is a good example of the application of logic to tradition on the basis of a theory. The six are apparently arrived at by excluding the apprentice who made up the seven. This is backed by an appeal to the fact that there are only six lights placed in this lodge. Those who have examined the series of prints entitled *Assemblée des Francmaçons* will have noticed that in the Apprentice Lodge there are three candles set at the appropriate corners of the *tapis*; while in that of the Masters there are nine, similarly placed in sets of three. There is no print (in the early editions) referring to the second grade, which in all probability hardly had a real existence when they were first designed. I am inclined to believe that when the second grade was eventually fully separated from the first, of which at first it was but a kind of Siamese twin, it appeared a fitting thing to provide the Companion's Lodge with six lights in three groups of two. And this development, proceeding by analogy, thus becomes finally the ground for a logical deduction that the perfect lodge in the second grade consists only of six. But this may have been only an *argumentum ad hominem*. The real solid argument for the number seems to be the fact above alluded to, that the apprentice who made up the number seven would necessarily be "removed", as the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* has it. And this certainly has some show of reason.

After disposing of the number required, this catechism then deals with the two pillars, and after this the questions concerning the lodge are asked. From the answers it appears that the lodge is situated in the valley of Josaphat in a place where reign Peace, Truth and Unity. It is in form a long square of the traditional dimensions, differing only in that its height is said to be *coudées* without number. It is covered with a canopy spangled with stars, and—this is unusual—it is supported by two great pillars only, which are *Sagesse* and *Force*. It has as ornaments the mosaic pavement, the indented (or "laced", if preferred) tassel and the flaming star. It has also the normal jewels, normally ascribed: the brute stone, as elsewhere, for the apprentice to work on, and the cubic stone for sharpening the companion's tools.

As all this has been transferred from the first to the second degree, the symbolic letter "G" has naturally been pushed on into the third, as also the *three* great pillars, W., S. and B. This arrangement was possibly more or less peculiar to the putative author, but it seems to have "caught on" to some extent, though the inertia of tradition has, as it would appear, neutralized a good deal of the remainder.

### AMERICAN TRADITION

We will now take up the Instructions of the American or "York" rite. They are, as is natural, much more homogenous on the whole than the European formularies. Although, as has already been intimated, there is no exact uniformity, every Grand Lodge having its own use. These have all, with perhaps a few exceptions, been revised and modified at various times during the last hundred years or so. In some jurisdictions no great secret is made of this, but in others the spirit of orthodoxy refuses to admit that such a thing is even possible. However, the changes made are for the most part matter of minute detail—a tithing of mint, anise and cummin—of very little consequence from any point of view, and of none at all for the present purpose. Such modifications as are of importance are mostly in reference to the third degree, and betray at once the logical minds and the ignorance of the revisers.

One Grand Lodge stands out as peculiar in a number of respects, and in especial it prides itself on the tenacity of its conservatism. One very old feature is retained, in that the officers stand on the floor of the lodge room in the same relative positions as they once did about the "flooring" or "carpet" (though this has long since been discarded and utterly forgotten), while the C. is conducted round behind them. But it is curious—perhaps even amusing—to note that, as if to balance this archaism, all instruction relative to the Lodge has been eliminated from its formularies.

It may be remarked incidentally that while this "working" is supposed by its adherents to be peculiarly of "Ancient" origin, the set of catechisms arranged by John Rohr in 1812 for the benefit of his Brethren in this particular Commonwealth are definitely "Modern" in character, being roughly a mean between Finch and Browne. These catechisms were printed but never published, being, as a matter of fact, very effectively suppressed. The present formulary presents a "Modern" sub-structure or skeleton clothed with much material from the normal American type of work.

To come to this normal type, which is undoubtedly of "Ancient" derivation, the E.A. is told in the instructions that a Lodge is a certain number of Masons duly assembled with the H.B., Sq. and C., together with a charter empowering them to work. This is a relatively recent addition, of course. The exact number of Masons required is reserved for the third degree. It is further said that our ancient Brethren usually met on high hills or in the lowest valleys, for which a sufficiently inane reason is given, "the better to discover the approach of cowans and eavesdroppers either ascending or descending". To the question, "What is the form of the Lodge?" the more usual answer now is "An oblong", except where some such needless pomposity as "regular parallelopipedon" has been substituted. The lodge has the usual dimensions, which are to denote the universality of Masonry, and to this it is sometimes added that it is also to teach that a Mason's charity should be equally extensive.

This vast fabric is supported by three grand pillars, W., S. and B., which are represented by the W.M., S. and J.Ws. The lodge has as covering a cloudy canopy or starry-decked heaven. The ladder of Jacob's vision is then referred to, and it is said that its three principal rounds are F., H. and C. The lodge has as furniture the H.B., S. and C., and as ornaments the M.P., indented tessellated and B.S. It has three lights placed E., S. and W., but nothing more is said of

them, presumably they are the three burning tapers in a triangular position by the light of which the E.A. discovered the three great lights which in this section appear as furniture. These lesser lights have previously been said to represent the sun, moon and master of the lodge. The lodge has the normal groups of jewels, only the classification has been changed about, and the S., L. and P. (not P.R. in this tradition) are called immoveable. This departure from the normal seems to have arisen before the beginning of the nineteenth century, but apparently was not universally accepted in American jurisdictions until after the Baltimore Convention of 1843, which, by the way, also invented and promulgated two entirely new "due guards". It also advanced a theory of the constitution or organization of the lodge which has led to a good deal of tinkering with the deposit of tradition and is still fecund with further innovations. But, returning to the allocation of the jewels, in some places an attempt to justify or explain it is made, it being said that the immoveable jewels pertain to the principal officers whose stations are fixed, while the moveable ones (which are immoveable everywhere else) were placed in the lodge "wherever the convenience of the moment might direct". Of course the obvious and straightforward reason for the distinction was that the S., L. and P. (P.R.) were portable objects carried on the persons of the principal officers, while the ashlar and drawing board, being drawn or painted on the "flooring", were as patently immoveable as the others were moveable. Finally the lodge is situated due E. and W. in imitation of K.S.T., and this it is said was so placed "to perpetuate the remembrance of that mighty east wind by which the children of Israel were delivered at the passage of the Red Sea". This may be a last faint echo of the wind favourable to Masons.

In the third catechism some additional information is given, not altogether consistent with what was first taught. We are told again of the three great pillars, now grand "Masonic pillars", and they represent the first three "most excellent Grand Masters". The organization of the Craft at the building of the Temple is then referred to, and following this we learn that E.As. held their lodges on the chequered pavement or ground floor of the Temple. The E.A. lodge consisted of seven, one Master and six E.As. The F.C. lodges were held in the M.C., and consisted of five, two masters and three F.Cs. Lodges of M.Ms. met in the S.S. or H. of H. and consisted of three M.Ms. This is the most usual account, I believe; there is another in vogue in which it is said that each class of lodge requires three M.Ms., with the addition of four E.As. or two F.Cs. respectively to form lodges of those grades.

The American formularies of the early nineteenth century were in the main much the same as those of to-day, in spite of the modifications that have been alluded to. In respect of the lodge there is hardly any change. There are two small points worth noting, however. The present-day instructions refer to a lodge or the lodge, but the older ones speak always of *your* lodge. This usage appears in the European tradition, though no particular attention was drawn to it. The other change is in the first question of the E.A. catechism. The most usual modern form is, "Whence come you as an E.A.?" or "As an E.A. from whence come you?" and the answer is, "From the lodge of the holy Saints John of Jerusalem". But the older catechisms—and the phrase is still current in at least one Jurisdiction—is "Whence come you as a Mason?" This is much more nearly in accord with the original tradition, and the change above-noted marks a tendency to depart from it which is still operative, if we may judge from arguments offered here and there as to the real status of the E.A. and F.C.

Before the last years of the eighteenth century there is no evidence but a few references as to the nature of the forms current. The fact that editions of *Prichard* and *J. and B.* appeared in various places may offer some clue, especially as the latter are the more numerous. But there is little doubt that the prevailing mode of working was "Ancient". The healing of the great schism resulted in the main in the complete disuse of that of the "Moderns" where

that may have existed, with the exception already mentioned. This seems natural enough, as there are indications that many, if not the majority, of "Modern" lodges in America had in fact really followed "Ancient" forms without perhaps realizing it. The outcome was just the reverse to what it was in England, where the "Modern" arrangement and phraseology largely prevailed, although of course in certain essentials there was a reversion to what the "Ancients" had so strenuously upheld.

The catechisms printed in 1760 (the *Three Distinct Knocks*, etc.) were professedly "Ancient". They re-appeared with some slight changes in 1762, and in this form were preceded by what purported to be a description of the usages of the "Moderns". This last was a compilation of excerpts from a much reprinted French work of 1745.<sup>1</sup> On the salient points of difference the catechisms were also "Modernized". These catechisms were frequently reprinted under various titles during the next forty years or so, not only in Britain but also in America. In these catechisms we find the F.C. grade is still poverty-stricken, having little in it but consideration of the two pillars of brass, and dissertations upon these would seem to have been *ad libitum*. Much that is now part of the second degree instruction was here briefly treated in the first catechism. But so far as the lodge is concerned we find in the normal connection that it is *made* by a certain number of Masons "met together to work", which should be noted. The number may be three, five, seven or eleven, and reasons are given for each designated number. Then comes the question, "What form is your lodge?" and in answer it is said that it is an oblong square. It is of the usual dimensions, and its depth signifies the universality of Masonry. It is situated E. and W. and is supported by the three great pillars, W., S. and B. These are again referred to, as in the later "York" formularies, in the instructions in the third degree, where the pillars represent the three principal officers. Then it is asked, "Had you any covering in your lodge?" and this is answered, "Yes, a cloudy canopy of divers colours, or the clouds." Finally we are told that a Mason's wind blows east and west. All this, so far as it goes, is close to the "York" instructions. But it also appears to be deficient. This is not surprising, seeing that the original compiler gives warning that he has left out a good deal that he thought unimportant.

### ENGLISH TRADITION

We now at last come to the English tradition, which, as remarked before, I take to be prevailingly "Modern" in arrangement and phraseology. The form of the lodge has apparently been for some reason dropped from the catechisms now current, but in the first narrative instruction it is said that it is a "regular parallelopipedon", it stands on holy ground and is situated due E. and W. Its dimensions also are omitted from the catechism, but in the narrative it is said they are of the normal type. The lodge is supported by the three great pillars, W., S. and B., but, as in the American M.M. catechism, they refer to the first three Grand Masters. The lodge has as covering a celestial canopy of divers colours "even as the heavens". The tendency to "hedge", here exhibited, may be remarked. Jacob's ladder is then mentioned, and after this we are told that "the interior of the lodge is composed of ornaments, furniture and jewels". This statement sounds rather curiously when it is considered. It would seem that it could never have taken this form except in reference to a drawing filled with pictured emblems and symbols. The ornaments are the mosaic pavement, blazing star and the indented or tessellated border. The furniture consists of the V.S.L. (more generalized than the H.B. of America and Germany) with the square and compasses. Then, breaking the sequence, we are told that our ancient Brethren assembled on high hills and (in) low vales, even in the valley of Jehosaphat, and

<sup>1</sup> *L'Ordre des Franc Maçons Trahi*. This will hereafter be cited as *L'Ordre Trahi*.

many other secret places, for all which a reason is offered equivalent to that given in the "York" rite, and as little convincing. The last clause in the account seems to be a gloss incorporated in the text. The jewels are those we have heard of before, perhaps too frequently, and are divided normally. The two stones are now ashlar, and the one called perfect is used by the "experienced craftsman" to try and adjust his jewels on. Presumably these are the S., L. and P.R. explained at length immediately before this. The unwrought ashlar is for the apprentice to work on. The T.B. as usual is for the master to draw his plans upon. The greater and lesser lights are not mentioned here, though they appear elsewhere, and the latter three are there referred to the sun, moon and master—an ascription we have already seen.

One would judge that there has been as little change in the English tradition during the last hundred and thirty years as in the American—that is, in arrangement, content and phraseology. And it is in the latter that the two types most obviously differ. The "York" rite formulas are fundamentally an oral tradition, with obsolete terms and quaint archaisms of speech. It is not exactly vulgar language, but rather basic. The term "vulgar" is of course used in its proper sense. The English equivalents on the other hand smell much of the lamp. They are couched in the rhetorical and somewhat pompous language that was customary in sermons and moral disquisitions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the "York" phraseology is rather that of the seventeenth century. Of course I do not at all mean to say that there are no archaisms in the English formularies, and no rhetorical orotundities in the American. The latter have suffered contamination through the medium of such works as Preston's *Illustrations* and Hutchinson's *Spirit of Masonry*, not to speak of Calcott and Dr. Oliver, but the general effect is as I have said. Rob (he was baptized Rob) Morris, P.G.M. of Kentucky, one of the most admired, and in his day best-abused Masons, writing from England during his first (and last) visit, said the "work" in English lodges sounded to him like a grand collection of elegant literary extracts. I remarked earlier, in reference to the "York" rite, that to describe the form of the lodge as a regular parallelepipedon was a pomposity. It is—in that rite; it is perfectly in keeping in the English working, and this exactly illustrates the difference in style and vocabulary between the two types. The long, or oblong, square (the *carrée long*, the *langlich vierreck*) is all unmodified tradition. Timidity led long ago in America to the mutilation of the old phrase, and the form is now everywhere, so far as I know, called an oblong simply. But with another though connected reference the phrase still persists in some places. The same half-educated fear that unusual or obsolete expressions are somehow incorrect has led to other changes. But on precisely the same grounds the Bible and Shakespeare need correcting very badly.

The pre-Union instructions are represented by Browne and Finch, and also Preston, though his system was so individual that it is almost out of the main line of descent. But all three were compilers, and the first two authors show it quite plainly in a certain lack of cohesion and an effect of agglomeration in what they have put together. I do not think that any one of them invented anything, or even changed anything that they collected, excepting of course such insertions and slight modifications that a compilation necessarily demands; but they did to some extent re-arrange their material, especially Preston, and there are certainly things in his Sections and Clauses to which I have as yet found no parallel.

As between Browne and Finch there is, for our purpose, nothing to choose, and for convenience I will exhibit the former. The natural opening question for the examination is duplicated; first we have "As a Mason from whence came you?" which is reminiscent of the "York" lectures. The answer is "From the west." This is worked out at length in explanation and eulogium, and then comes, "As a Mason generally from whence come you?" This seems a very

naïve differencing of variants found in his sources. The answer to this form of the question is, as in America, "From the holy lodge of St. John"; except that here it is the lodge that is holy, not the saint or saints. Further on we hear of a "just and perfect lodge of Masons", and are then informed that a lodge "is an assemblage of Masons, well met, to expatiate on the mysteries of the Craft": so that the post-Union formula was not new. Then come the statements that the Bible makes a lodge just, and seven or more "regular made" Masons (who are a Master, two Wardens, two F.Cs., and the rest may be E.As.) make it perfect. Some twenty questions later a reason is given for the Hd-wk., which is that a possible recalcitrant "might be led out of the lodge without discovering the form of it." Then, after about forty questions more, we are told of three Great Lights, and these are evidently what were later called Lesser, for they represent the sun, moon and master. It is pretty certain that referring the "Great Lights" to what in earlier forms composed the necessary furniture is a development that emerged about this time. The Great Lights in European tradition have always been the three candles placed about or on the *tapis, tableau* or *tafel*. For though the new ascription was adopted by all English-speaking Masons, conservatism has at the same time retained the older description of "furniture". Preston, so far as I can discover, makes no reference to lights at all, except as a blessing restored, and the H.B., S. and C. are designated furniture. Finch has it both ways, but at the same time he seems to be confused about it, for later on, when he makes a reference to great lights, he plainly has in mind the three candles, or burning tapers, for they enable the E.A., from the N.E. corner, "to discover the form of the lodge". This he calls oblong. Browne, who makes an equivalent statement about this discovery, says that it is a parallelogram.

The lodge, as usual, stands east and west, and on holy ground. It is supported by the three pillars, which have the normal explanation, and they are referred to the three primitive grand masters. It is covered with a celestial canopy of divers colours, and the ladder is mentioned. The "interior part" of the lodge, as in more recent lectures, is composed of ornaments, furniture and jewels. The first two are normal, and are moralized at length. Then (we have seen the device before) in order to introduce the jewels we are told that our ancient Brethren used to meet on the highest hills, the lowest dales, even in the valley of Jehosaphat, or some such secret place. This was so that if a stranger approached the "jewels might be put by", and the next question is introduced by the observation, "As our Antient Brethren were so careful of their jewels at that time," how many and of what sort are they? This arrangement, an attempt at logical progression it would seem, must have been retained through the revisions and experiments at the Union, for we have already come upon it. The jewels thus introduced are as usual, reasons are assigned for the descriptive epithets, moveable and immoveable, and finally, after the original dedication of lodges to King Solomon, we are told at length a mythical tale of how St. John the Evangelist became Grand Master, and how St. John the Baptist was his perfect parallel, so that lodges were dedicated to both saints, as they still are in America. Towards the end of the catechism, and this would seem to be its normal place, the favourable wind is mentioned, and is referred to the passage of the Red Sea.

#### THE TRADITION IN THE 18TH CENTURY

There were many publications dealing, or purporting to deal, with Masonic usages which appeared both in England and France from about 1730 till the end of the century. Some that appeared in England after 1760 are merely translations, more or less faithful, of works previously published in French. Some others were much influenced by the French works. For example, *The Master-Key to Free-Masonry* is an abridgement of *Le Secret des Francs Maçons*; the first and descriptive part of *J. and B.* is made up almost entirely of scraps from

*L'Ordre Trahi*, pieced together out of their original context into a narrative. Some other works, from both countries, are problems. Of these last, one strongly suspects, some were pure imagination, though for what purpose published is very uncertain. Others make one wonder whether there was another stream of tradition of which we otherwise know nothing. Personally I do not think so, but the doubt arises.

Some works were republished more or less frequently, others appeared but once, and they are naturally the most rare. A few, four at most—one might almost limit it to two—were republished over and over again, under their original titles and under new ones. These two were Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* and *L'Ordre Trahi*, mentioned above. Prichard's work under the original and other titles was the most frequently published of any such work. It was translated into most European languages and repeatedly re-published in most of them. In France, however, it appeared only once, in 1738. Apparently the *Catechisme* and *Le Secret des Francs Maçons* of 1744 and their combination with additions in 1745 as *L'Ordre Trahi* satisfied all demands. From 1760 on Prichard lost favour to some extent in England under competition with the *Three Distinct Knocks* under this and several other titles, while in France the same thing occurred to *L'Ordre Trahi* with the advent of the *Recueil Precieux de la Maçonnerie Adonhiramite*.

There are two other French publications that may be worth mentioning, *Le Maçon Démasqué* of 1743 and *Le Sceau Rompu* of 1745. The first was republished in 1751: this is the only edition I have seen, and it is possible it was "improved". The second work appeared only once, but I am inclined to think, nevertheless, that it had some influence. Coming soon after its predecessor, the *Catechisme*, it might seem that the author tried to bring some order into the material embodied. It is rather curious that the earlier production should have had so much favour when this relatively systematic arrangement was still-born. Another account, earlier it would seem than all the above, must be mentioned, though the exact date of its first appearance is uncertain. It is, I think, the same as the *Réception d'un Franc-Maçon*, supposedly of 1737, but is said to have been first published in a Parisian journal by the order of Herault, Lieutenant of Police, after a raid on certain lodges. *The Gentleman's Magazine* published what purported to be a translation received from a French correspondent in 1737. It was republished in France as an addendum to the *Réception Mystérieuse* in 1738, and again in the *Almanach des Cocus* in 1741. It was again published in England under the title of *Masonry Further Dissected*, and absurdly enough fathered on Prichard. This document is a very sketchy account of the discoveries that were alleged to have been made by the Parisian Police, and dwells on such features as would naturally strike a non-Mason. So far as it goes it seems to refer to ceremonies similar to those described in the publications of a few years later. The only bearing it has on the present inquiry is that it shows that a diagram or drawing of some kind was in use. It is said that there was *une espace d'écrit sur le plancher où l'on a crayonné une espece de representation sur deux colonnes de debris du Temple de Salomon*. This is a very blind description. The English translation ran: "a sort of ring on the floor in which they draw with a pencil upon two columns a sort of representation of the ruins of Solomon's Temple", but the original hardly warrants the suggestion that the marked-out space was circular.

In the *Catechisme* the questions that refer to the higher grades are mingled without any apparent reason or plan with the general instructions. Some questions have different answers according to the grade of the examinant. The matter dealing with the lodge has to be sorted out of this confusion. I will mention each item in the order in which it occurs. There are three great lights which "signify" the sun, moon and master. The examinant has been in a lodge, regulated (or regular) and perfect, which is called the Lodge of St. John. This is situated in the valley of Josaphat, but it is added, "or as others answer", it

is on the summit of a great mountain and in the depth of a great valley, where no cock has crowed, no woman chattered, no lion roared ; in a word, where all is tranquil as in the valley of Josaphat. There is a contradiction in the statement that the lodge is both on a mountain and in a valley ; it is not an alternative. I think the curious statement is due to misapprehension of what was said in an original that was not in French, and almost as certainly English. The lodge is founded on three columns, *la Sagesse, la Force et la Beauté*. Its form is a *Quarré-long* and of the usual dimensions ; it is covered with *un Dâis céleste, parsemée d'Etoiles d'or*, and it has three windows, E., S. and W. The number of persons to compose a lodge are three to form it, five to compose it and seven to render it perfect. These are the master, two wardens, two Companions and two *Apprentifs*. There are three ornaments, which are normal, and six jewels or "precious things". These are divided as usual ; the *pierre brute* is for the apprentices, the *pierre cubique à pointe* is to sharpen the Companion's tools. Finally, at the very end it is said that it is asked of a stranger seeking admission, "From whence come you ?" to which question the answer is "From the Lodge of St. John." This is followed by a form of salutation, such as is found in the earlier documents, but in a simpler phraseology. Actually, in spite of the fact that it exhibits in places a fair amount of development in explanations and incipient moralities, the *Catechisme* is of the same kind as the other examinations and catechisms, and, but for the bulk of the extraneous descriptive matter and comment added by the compiler and his predecessors, would probably have been so classed long ago.

In the three instructions of the *Sceau Rompu* the material, very much the same as that found in the *Catechisme*, has been systematically divided between the three grades, and though the division is peculiar in some respects it is in regard to the lodge quite normal, with the exception that the questions relative to the ornaments come in the second grade. In the first instruction we hear of the lodge, just and perfect, composed of a master, two wardens, two companions and two apprentices ; it is formed by the first three named and one each of the two lower grades ; the "forming" being in distinction from the "composing" of a perfect lodge ; and it is governed by the first three. Three great lights have been seen, and are referred as usual to the sun, moon and master. The lodge is situated in the Valley of Josaphat, or some hidden place. In form it is a long square, and is *des pieds, des toises et des coudées sans nombre* in height. Its other dimensions are as usual. It is covered with a celestial canopy adorned with stars (*orné d'Etoiles*). It is sustained by three *grands pilliers*, not columns as elsewhere, and these have the normal ascription. The ornaments do not appear in this connection ; the jewels are normal ; nothing more is said of the two stones than that they are for the apprentices and companions respectively. The lodge is dedicated to St. John, and the Crusade hypothesis is given as a reason for this, the *Chevaliers Maçons* uniting with the *Chevaliers de St. Jean de Jerusalem* in Palestine. There are three fixed lights (*lumières fixés*) which are evidently three windows.

In the second instruction the two pillars of the porch are remarked and described, and also the winding stair with three, five and seven steps, these numbers being referred to what the apprentice was told of the governing, forming, and rendering a lodge *juste et parfait*. In the middle chamber (it is distinctly unusual in the European tradition for the Companion to be entering the middle chamber) a great light was seen. In this a letter "G" was perceived. Somewhat later the mis-placed ornaments appear, and these are normal for France, mosaic pavement, flaming star, and lacy or indented tassel.

These three catechisms present a number of problems, one of which is whether the author was influenced by Prichard. There are many things strongly reminiscent of the *Dissection*, but many differences. If it was so influenced it was

not through that extraordinary attempt at translation, *La Réception Mystérieuse*. So far I am inclined to hold that the author of the *Sceau Rompu* had before him a MS. of a variant version of the instructions (which themselves are a compilation) that were presented by Prichard in his famous or notorious work, and that the said author knew both French and English very well, and was sufficiently versed in the Masonic terminology used by French Masons of the period to use the accepted equivalents of the English terminology. However, this is another point that needs careful investigation.

Perhaps it may not be really necessary to cite Prichard, as his work is so well known and is now so accessible through the work of Bro. Knoop and his colleague.<sup>1</sup> However, for completeness I will as briefly as possible note what he has to say about the lodge. It may first be remarked that this information all comes from what may be called the prose source of the compilation; the other material in contradistinction is characterized by verbal jingles and doggerel verse. I may also remark that not for a moment do I suppose that Prichard did the compiling. Another important thing to be noted is that in the *Dissection*, as in the *Sceau Rompu* and *L'Ordre Trahi*, the second "Part" is still no more than the merest, undeveloped, sketch of a degree.

From the answer to the first question we learn that the Mason comes from the Lodge of St. John. The lodge in which he was made was a just and perfect lodge, and this consists of seven or more. The seven are, a master, two wardens, two F.Cs. and two E.As. A lodge may also be "made" (but presumably not just and perfect) by five only. In this case the number is made up by one F.C. and one E.A., so that, as it would seem, all grades are to be represented. We have seen this idea worked out more than once already. The form of the lodge is a long square. Its length, breadth and depth are as usual. Its height is "Inches, Feet and Yards innumerable as high as the heavens." It stands "Upon Holy ground, or the highest Hill or lowest Vale, or in the Vale of Jehosaphat, or any other secret place." It is situated due E. and W. It is covered with "a cloudy Canopy of divers colours, or the clouds." Its furniture includes what are later called ornaments, being the mosaic pavement, the ground floor of the lodge; blazing star, the centre; and the "Indented Tarsel", the border round it. The jewels are six; the moveable are as usual, and the immoveable are the "Trasel Board" for the master to draw his designs upon, rough ashlar for the "Fellow-Craft to try their Jewels upon and the Broached Thurnel for the Enter'd Prentice to learn to work upon." Three pillars give support as usual, and are normally ascribed. Three lights, not specially qualified, are mentioned. A note says they are three large candlesticks. They are referred as usual to the sun, moon and master-mason. It is asked if there are any fixed lights in "your Lodge" and it is said that there are three, E., S. and W. Another note informs us that these are three windows, "supposed (tho' vainly) to be in every Room where a Lodge is held, but more properly the four Cardinal Points according to the antique Rules of Masonry." This is quite intriguing, but the seemingly absurd suggestion may echo some earlier half-remembered and misunderstood tradition. All reference to the two brazen pillars is transferred to the incipient F.C. part. In this there is only one thing that bears on our subject, and that is a curious statement that the door of the Middle Chamber was so high that "a Cowan could not reach to stick a Pin in." A cryptic utterance that might repay further investigation. Lastly, in the Master's Part, there is a reference to a square pavement, and a porch and a dormer. They are said to be the Master's jewels, or the Master Jewels (according to different early editions), and are slightly explained. These appear later with extended explanation, though no longer as jewels, for they have in the later instances become the ornaments of a master's lodge.

<sup>1</sup> Knoop and Jones: *Early Masonic Catechisms*.

## SOME PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

Before proceeding to the earlier documents, the substance of which must be assigned to the loosely organized Craft before the initiation of the eventually successful experiment of a Grand Lodge, it may be well to consider the evidence now before us and see to what conclusions it points.

Perhaps the first thing that strikes us is that in some sense every particular lodge is universal. The travelling Mason comes from the Lodge of St. John, but he comes to the Lodge of St. John. This tradition is continuous and found everywhere from the earliest intimations of the usages of the Craft to the present day. Only in England since the labours of the Lodge of Reconciliation were concluded, and partly in France, since what may be called, in ecclesiastical phrase, the formal act of apostacy by the Grand Orient, has it been rejected. In European Masonry generally every lodge is still entitled "the Lodge of St. John" under such and such a particular designation. In America every lodge is dedicated to the "holy Saints John", and this dedication is referred to every time a lodge is opened or closed. The traditional dimensions of this lodge, which is our lodge, call obviously for the explanation that Masonry is universal. But which preceded which? Were these dimensions devised to express symbolically the idea of universality, or did the symbolism emerge from some earlier conception? I might quote a dictum from Speth's *Builders' Rites and Ceremonies*. He says: "it is an axiom of folklore that custom persists and explanation changes." And the expression of this principle could easily be reinforced from many other authorities. A traditional usage and a traditional formula are equally customs, and governed by the same rule. In running traditions down to their origins—or as near to origins as we can hope to go—explanations must be set on one side; they are too easily changed, modified, developed and discarded. And truly, if they were not changeable, decay and death would be close at hand: it is the ability to adapt itself to its environment that marks the living organism, and in an institution such as Freemasonry adaptations are phenomenalized in the assignment of new meanings to old forms.

The Cloudy Canopy or starry decked heaven, together with the sun and the moon, also appear fittingly in this symbolism of universality. So obviously, indeed, that the question of the origin of their introduction has never been raised. The wind that blows east and west also seems naturally to belong, but it has been with difficulty that anything has been made of it, and in the American tradition it has simply been dropped and forgotten. But it is evidently a relic of the past, or it could hardly have persisted as it has, disconnected and incapable of any but the most banal interpretation in our peculiar system of ethical teaching.

The original Great Lights, the three extra large candles in extra tall candlesticks and the three great pillars we cannot make much of at this stage. They evidently have an importance, and their inter-relationship, which obscurely appears here and there, should be investigated. It would be too much to attempt to do it here.

From the material collected from the three main lines of tradition down through the last two hundred and fifty years or so, we can observe a rather indefinite development in ideas concerning the lodge. The flat statements in later English and American instructions that it is a certain number of Masons assembled under definite conditions, or for a definite purpose, show a quite different conception from that which appears, not too clearly perhaps, in older statements, which, however, have not been wholly superseded in form, even though the significance of the form is seldom apprehended. I refer specifically to the statement that the lodge is *made* or *formed* by a certain number of Masons. In this the European formularies tend to be the more faithful to the older tradition. So far as I know, none of them contains an unequivocal assertion

that the group of five, seven or more Masons *are* the lodge, although I daresay that the conception may exist. At first sight the older formula may seem to be equivalent to the later ones; but there is a real difference between saying that the group *is* the lodge and that the group *forms* the lodge. Of course, we agreed in the beginning that the term "lodge", from meaning a temporary shelter for carrying on the works of masonry, came naturally and almost inevitably to mean the organized group of masons using it, whether the organization was temporary or permanent. Yet the point here is, that as we go back to the earlier accounts we do not find this definitely and clearly expressed, but instead a statement that can quite properly bear, and indeed in its primary signification does bear, a quite different interpretation. To make, or to form, in this connection are ambiguous terms. As has been remarked, the older expression has not been wholly discarded, but it is now understood in the light of the newer alternative definition. The argument is not to be taken as a mere splitting of hairs; in order to work back towards origins we have to try to discover, often by the faintest indications, what the old traditional formulas originally meant to those who used them.

The idea of the lodge as a building or structure of some kind has also been found. But the equation has not been made simply and clearly, as we use it informally among ourselves. In no formal instruction is it said that a building, still less a chamber in a building, is a lodge. What we do find is that the lodge, our lodge, the universal Lodge of St. John, is referred more or less definitely to some great primeval building, and this, in the traditions that have survived, is identified with the Temple of Jerusalem. This conception is most clearly expressed in the various statements that the several grades of Masons met in certain specified parts of the Temple; the Porch, the Middle Chamber and the inmost Sanctuary in English and American rites, or the Middle Chamber to the Masters, and the two pillars to the Companions and Apprentices respectively as is usual in Europe. With these allocations go sundry other references in accord with them, some of which we have seen.

Lastly, there is the quite inconsistent tradition that the lodge was formed on the highest hills or in the lowest valleys, which appears to be the primitive statement. It has been amplified by reference to the Valley of Jehosaphat, and the practical proviso or interpretation, "some other secret place", has been added. In Europe the tendency has been to drop the hills and valleys, and retain only Josaphat vale and its alternative, *quelqu'un endroit caché*, to which, as further explication, it may be added that it is a place where reign peace, truth and union, or some later equivalent, such as "a place enlightened where reign peace, truth and silence". In Germany we found the *Josaphat thal* coupled with a *gross berg*, which is identified with Zion, while the former is described as the Tyropean gorge, or *wady*, long since all but filled by the debris of the successive destructions of the city of Jerusalem. Thus it must be understood, for it is said to lie between the two summits, Zion and Moriah. This is a still more elaborated development of the idea that led to the equation of the traditional location of the lodge with the Valley of Jehosaphat, bringing it, in defiance even of Mediæval geographic identifications, still closer to the site of the Temple on Mount Moriah; for from quite early in the Christian era the Valley of Jehovah's judgment—an indefinite and ideal place of assembly of the nations in the prophesying of Joel—was taken to be the deep valley of the brook Kedron, an equation well known and implicitly accepted until quite recent times. There does not seem to be any other possible reason for the importation of this particular locality except to reconcile in a fashion the archaic tradition with the later—probably much later—identification of the primeval lodge with the Temple of Solomon. But, as will appear later on, the European tradition here is not without earlier warrant.

## THE EARLY RITUAL DOCUMENTS

We now come to the consideration of the earliest documents relating to the forms and usages of the fraternity. Most of them include some matter in the way of explanation or comment, and these notes are in many cases critical and in some even hostile, yet they all appear to be actually based on private memoranda concerning things important for the individual to remember, but under certain circumstances easily forgotten. As transcripts or prints, some of them are relatively late, but, of course, this is no indication of the nature or age of their contents. And here I would again make a protest against the practice, too often followed, of assuming that a document that comes to light later than another of similar character is necessarily a copy or an imitation of its predecessor. This question can be determined only by a careful and critical examination of the contents of each.

These documents have all been included in the very useful work, *Early Masonic Catechisms*, already mentioned, with the exception of the first and main part of the *Essex MS.* There is also another MS. which is apparently lost; this will be referred to later. To the documents in English the earliest French works should be added, for the catechisms therein found are of exactly the same character. The *Sceau Rompu* may be classed with Prichard's work in regard to its stage of development, and the *Catechisme* perhaps in an intermediate position between these two and those in a more primitive state. It is probable that the almost complete neglect of the French variants has been due to the hypnotic effect of the date of their appearance. This method of disposing of evidence is certainly much neater, and can be made with much greater facility than weighing internal evidence, but it has little else to commend it.

There is, in addition, a not inconsiderable number of allusions and references to be found in various places that are important in confirmation of various points, but only one of these bears upon our particular inquiry, and this will be referred to later.

Of the collected documents, besides the *Chesham MS.*, the print entitled *The Grand Mystery Laid Open* may be left on one side, first, as containing nothing bearing on the lodge, and, secondly, because it is in the problem class, like the *Freemason Examined*, and *Les Francs Maçons Ecrasées* and some others. Of the remainder, twelve fall naturally into four groups, the members of each of these groups being evidently either derived from a common original or, it may be, being variants of a common tradition. It must be remembered that the problems of the relationship of these documents are much complicated by the fact that transmission was certainly in some of its links oral, and not entirely (as for instance in the case of the Old Constitutions) by the copying of earlier exemplars. These groups I have called, not I am afraid, on any particular principle, the Graham, Chetwode Crawley, Grand Mystery and Examination, and in what follows they will be treated as single sources. These groups can be most clearly set forth in a tabulation:

Graham Group . . . .	GGr	
<i>Graham MS.</i> . . . .	G	
<i>Essex MS. (b)</i> . . .	E(b)	
<i>Whole Institution of Masonry</i> . . .	WIM	
<i>Whole Inst. of F.M. Opened</i> . . .	WIO	
Chetwode Crawley Group . . . .	CCGr	
<i>Chetwode Crawley MS.</i> . . . .	CC	
<i>Edin. Reg. House MS.</i> . . . .	ERH	
Grand Mystery Group . . . .	GMGr	
<i>Grand Mystery of F.M. discovered</i> . . .	GM	
<i>Institution of F.Ms. MS.</i> . . . .	I	
<i>Essex MS. (a)</i> . . . .	E(a)	

Examination Group . . .	MEGr	
<i>Mason's Examination</i>		ME
<i>Mystery of Free Masons</i>		MFM
<i>Songhurst MS.</i>		SM

The letter groups following each title are those I have used as a convenience in reference. In the documents containing more than one catechism, the lower-case letters, a, b, are used to distinguish them.

Of these groups the first calls for no special comment, as it has been dealt with by Bro. Poole. Nor does the second group, as the relationship and interdependence is obvious. In regard to the third group, I do not at all agree that the *Essex MS.* is without value, nor is it quite a just statement to say it is a "fairly accurate version" of the *Grand Mystery*, which suggests that it is a copy of the latter, or else that the latter is the original from which it derives. The feature pointed out by Bro. W. B. Hextall<sup>1</sup> is in my opinion of the highest importance, though in another connection than our present subject. Bro. Poole, in 1924, pointed out that neither of the two MS. versions were copied from the print. To which I would add definitely, what I take it he meant to imply, that neither MS. could have been copied from the other.<sup>2</sup> I arrived at the same conclusion independently about the same time, and have pointed it out elsewhere, but not knowing until long after that I had been forestalled, Bro. Poole was unfortunately not given the credit that was his due.

Now I think that the fact that this transcript of some pre-existing MS. was made at so late a date as *circa* 1750 is in itself of importance. It shows for one thing that there were other copies or versions of this catechism in existence; it suggests even that it might still have been a valid "examination". There are indications here and there, some even in America, that these early forms were remembered long after the time when, as it is generally assumed, more or less officially approved rites had come into universal use. It appears that the tenacity of the memories of our predecessors of the period is almost always tacitly assumed to be a negligible quantity, and this is very misleading. However, this does not directly bear upon our subject, though it is worth consideration.

The last of the four groups will probably need some explanation. So far as I know, no one but Bro. Kress and myself has drawn attention to the fact that the catechisms in ME and MFM are incomplete and partly corrupt versions of a common original. The defects of each are to some extent supplied by the other. That this relationship has not been seen is doubtless due to the fact that the great difference in presentation, and the added material in each has quite effectively camouflaged it. The proposed emendations so far as they here concern us, will appear as we proceed. The *Songhurst MS.*, included in this group, agrees with the print, MFM, very closely except for one or two minor differences that could easily be errors in copying, but with one variation which in another investigation might be significant, and if so would be of importance. The paper and the handwriting are of the period and so far as they go it could have been made either before or after the publication. I am inclined to think it was a copy. Bro. Songhurst, who found it in 1924 in the pages of an old book (a place where so many documents have been discovered!), did not express himself decidedly at the time, but thought it would be the safest conclusion to take it as a copy. This MS. is now among those the whereabouts of which are unknown. I have cited it at times under the title I have here given it.

The remaining documents, while they have many connecting links with each other and with the four groups, seem each to be an independent variation. Some can hardly be complete, and I do not think that the absence of any

<sup>1</sup> *Early Masonic Catechisms*, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> H. Poole: *Masonic Ritual and Secrets before 1717*, A.Q.C. xxxvii, 10.

particular point in any of them can be regarded as significant in a negative sense. For convenience I append a list of them, and the reference letters used.

<i>Sloane MS. 3329</i>	S (a) and (b)
<i>Dumfries-Kilwinning MS. 4</i>	DK (a) and (b)
<i>Trinity College MS.</i>	TC
<i>The Masons Confession</i>	MC
<i>Dialogue between Simon and Philip</i>	DSP

The *Mason's Confession* has a second catechism, of a burlesque nature and of no consequence here, but there appears to be a number of covert allusions in it that might repay further investigation.

Taking these each to represent a separate tradition, and the four groups as each representing a common original, we have nine sources in all, in English. To these should be added *Prichard* and the *Catechisme* and *Le Sceau Rompu*, though in what follows these will not be cited, as we have already examined what they have to say concerning the lodge. Finally, in regard to certain points, the advertisement respecting Antediluvian Masonry discovered by the late Bro. Sadler offers important confirmatory evidence.<sup>1</sup>

In dealing with our material it will be easier to treat it compendiously, though it would be a more thorough method to take each document separately. However, in a preliminary study this easier way may be permitted to pass.

First then; in regard to the dedication or designation of the lodge. Six of the nine sources name it as of St. John. MC and TC do not mention the subject, and in CCGr it is called of Kilwinning. But it must be noted that the MEGr is divided in opinion; ME itself has St. Stephen, though MFM gives St. John. Six describe the lodge as "perfect" (GMGr, MEGr, MC, S, TC, and GGr) and of these, the first four couple it with the epithet "just", the other two have "full and perfect" and "true and perfect" respectively. DK has the "true lodge of St. John", and CCGr has honourable as the description, but the following question asks, "What makes a true and perfect lodge?" thus connecting it with GGr.

The consensus is almost complete that the number of Masons required should be an odd one. GMGr and GGr say this explicitly, DK and DSP have no reference to the subject, S gives six, but says five will serve. Most of them favour the number seven, though only three actually mention this number; in the others the number must be obtained by addition. According to MC a just and perfect lodge is made by five Fellow crafts and seven Apprentices, which makes up twelve in all if added, but it is probable it should be understood disjunctively, that such a lodge of one grade requires five, and of the other seven.

In all but two of the above the question is put in the form, "What makes . . . a lodge?", the exceptions (S and GGr) have the form "What is . . . a lodge?" The more usual phrase, "What makes . . .", which as we have seen has persisted, is equally susceptible with the term "form" of two meanings: the primary one that the persons spoken of make something that is called a lodge, and the secondary, but quite common usage, that they are themselves the lodge that they make by assembling and organising. So soon as this derived meaning becomes prominent in the minds of those concerned the introduction of the alternative form, "What is a lodge?", is likely to appear. And it may be well to point out again that many of these documents show definite traces of incipient rationalisations and explanations, and these, or similar additions and modifications, gradually expanded and elaborated, eventually transformed these relatively primitive *examinations* into catechetical lectures and instructions. The least modified and sophisticated document is undoubtedly the *Confession* (MC) as it is also the closest to genuine operative tradition.

<sup>1</sup> A.Q.C., xxiii, 325.

Of the place where the lodge is to be formed or placed, two sources, TC and GGr, have nothing to say. In the others the statements are so diverse in form and arrangement that it will be simplest to give what they say in full.

- GMGr. God and the square with five or seven right masons on the highest mountains or lowest valleys in the world (make a lodge).  
 S. (A lodge is), two interprintices, two fellowcraftes and two mast'rs . . . on the highest hill or lowest valley of the world without the crow of a cock or the bark of a dogg.  
 DK. (A lodge should be kept) on the top of a mountain or in the middle of a bog without the crowing of a cock or the barking of a dog.  
 MC. (The lodge is placed) on the sunny side of a hill that the sun may ascend on't as it rises.  
 (The mason word is given) on the top of a mountain, from crow of a cock, the bark of a dog, or the turtle of a dove.  
 CCGr. (The lodge is made) A days journey from a burroughs town without bark of dog or crow of cock.  
 MEGr. (A mason is made) In the Valley of jehosaphat, behind a rush bush where a dog was never heard to bark or a cock crow, or elsewhere.  
 DSP. (The lodge is kept) In the vale of Jehosaphat out of the cackling of a hen, the crowing of a cock, the barking of a dog.  
 (A note says that "all lodges were kept formerly in the open fields.)

It is obvious that the original idea underlying these various statements is that the lodge should be formed in a lonely and deserted place far from the habitation of men. As we have seen, the European tradition has introduced the roaring lion as appropriate, on the hypothesis that the Holy Land was the location of the original Lodge. But a place where a dog never barked, cock crowed, lion roared or woman tattled is quite different from the location without bark of dog or crow of cock. This says nothing of what might have happened in the past, but implies merely the limited and practical proviso that the place chosen was to be so far from house or farm that it was out of hearing of the barking of the watch-dog or the crowing of the domestic cock. The "cackling hen" of DSP is an unintelligent duplication. A dog barking can be heard two or three miles away under favourable circumstances, and a crowing cock can be heard at least a mile on a still morning, but a hen cackling can hardly be heard three hundred yards away.

All the sources, excepting DSP, say that the lodge is situated, or stands, east and west. It must, however, be noted that ME is deficient here also, but as elsewhere I am assuming that MFM correctly supplies an omission in this document. GGr is peculiar in that three of its four variants add "south" to "east and west", which does not seem to make much sense, whether "prechers" or "porches" be offered as an explanation. Three, CCGr, DK and TC, refer this situation to the Temple of Jerusalem explicitly. Three others, GMGr, MEGr and S (a), give Temples simply (In the first group I has holy Temples) and S (b) also has holy Temples added to the "chapel of St. John". GGr refers to churches only, though WIM and WIO give no reason. MC gives kirks and chapels "of old".

Four documents mention the dimensions of the lodge. These are S, DK, DSP and TC, and they touch only on its height, though DSP adds that it is low as the earth. This may perhaps confirm, what otherwise seems very probable, that the superficial dimensions given in the later sources are an expansion of the situation due east and west. S says that "without foots, yards or inches it reaches to heaven". TC has "high as the stars, inches and feet innumerable". DK

divides the matter : the lodge is "inches and spans Innumerable" in height, and it being further asked "How Innumerable?" we have the inconsequent response, "the material heavens and stary firmament".

That the first or primeval lodge was held in the Temple is definitely stated by GMGr, MEGr and CCGr, and all three say also that this was in the porch, the first two adding a reference to the two pillars there set up. In S(b) it is said that the word was first given at the Tower of Babylon, but that the lodge was first called at the holy Chapel of St. John, and this Chapel is spoken of immediately after in connection with all other holy temples. As in S(a) as well as in GMGr and MEGr it has been mentioned in speaking of the first lodge that all (holy) temples stand east and west, it looks as if *the* Temple was especially in mind. And the conclusion follows that the identification was no new thing devised in the post-Grand Lodge era. On the other hand it can hardly be primitive in view of the alternative situation for forming the lodge.

Curiously enough only four sources mention pillars, GMGr, MEGr, DSP and DK. The first two only mention them in connection with the porch, in the reference given above. DK says that three pillars of the lodge are the square, compass and the Bible, while DSP gives the familiar reference to W.S. and B. This silence as to pillars or columns in the majority of the earliest documents, is remarkable in view of their constant appearance later on in all traditions. It may, however, be recalled that in the *Recueil Precieux* of 1781 we find the statement in the general account of the lodge that it is supported by two great pillars, *Sagesse* and *Force*, although in the third instruction we are told the Masters' lodge is sustained by the usual three columns, with the special note that they are triangular in form. It looks as if the two pillars first mentioned in this work are really the pillars of the porch slightly disguised, and if so, then in this recension, in spite of its late date, logic had not yet fully accomplished its perfect work of producing consistency at whatever cost it might entail to ancient tradition.

In regard to the lights in the lodge we find that they are mentioned in all sources, with the exception of TC, though there is a wide difference of opinion as to what they are and even as to their number. As to this, eight say that the lights are three, but S(b) and DK(a) say there are two, and GGr says there are no less than twelve. We are told in MC that there are three lights, the south-east, south and south-west. This, considering what follows, appears to be deficient. The CCGr also places the three lights, but as north-east, south-west and the eastern passage, and they denote, so CC, the Master Mason, the words and the fellow craft. ERH for the last two has warden and setter craft. There seems to be corruption in each form. The original was undoubtedly Master, Warden and Fellowcraft. ME gives no number but states that the lights are the Master, wardens and fellows, so apparently they are three. MFM is deficient at this place. DK(b) says three, that they stand one in the east, one in the west and one in the middle, and that they are respectively, for the master, the fellow craftsmen and the warden. S(a) also says there are three, and that they are the sun, the master and the square. With this goes DSP's account: three grand lights, called the sun, the moon and the master. DK(a) and S(b) give only two. The first in explication says the sun riseth in the east and sets all men to work, and sets in the west and so turns all men to bed. The second light in this case would seem to be darkness! S(b) says simply that there is one to see to go in and one to see to work.

The GMGr, however, says there are three, a right east, south and west, and they represent the three Persons, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The GGr has expanded the number to twelve, and they seem to be divided vaguely into four sets of three. The first set is, as in the GMGr, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; the second the sun, moon and master mason; the third, square, rule and plumb. The fourth seems a make-weight, line, mell and chisel. It is to be

noted that the *Graham MS.* itself, in response to a question as to what these twelve lights may be, very curiously and unexpectedly says, "the first 3 jewells is ffather, son and holy ghost—sun moon master Mason . . ." This is most interesting, and may be important as a clue, for other considerations raise a suspicion that lights, jewels and pillars are interconnected in origin. Outside of this casual reference there are only five of our sources that mention jewels. All of them say explicitly they are three in number (the "four" in ME is a manifest error) and of these the first two, as given below, describe them as "precious".

- GMGr. Square asher, a diamond and a square.
- MEGr. Square-astler, diamond and (common) square.
- S. Square pavement, the blazing star and the danty tassley.
- MC. A square pavement, a dinted ashler and a broached dornal.

On account of their variation here the two exemplars of CCGr are each given :

- CC. Perpendester, a Square pavement and an Broked (brohed or brobed) mall.
- ERH. Perpend Esler a square pavement and a broad ovall.

These variations of an evidently corrupt phrase point not obscurely to an original "broached ornal".

It is necessary here to explain that what I have been using for the MEGr is an emended version of the original form of ME and MFM. In this place by supplying the defect of the latter and correcting the obvious corruption of the answer in ME. On comparing the two catechisms it becomes obvious that the answer to the question about the jewels has dropped out together with the following question, with the result that the answer to the lost question appears as answer to the one that preceded it; an error easily accounted for by careless or perhaps hurried transcription of another document. But ME, alone among all accounts, says that there are four jewels instead of the normal three. Inspection makes it sufficiently clear that the mistake was first made of separating "square" and "astler" and thus making two things out of a substantive and its qualifying adjective. But as in the statement as it now appeared the "square" was mentioned twice, and this being obviously nonsensical, it was distinguished the second time as "common". Just what distinction, if any, the corrector had in mind is hard to say. It is pretty sure that he had no close touch with the operative craft.

The question of the jewels is a very complicated one, and perhaps, although there seems to be a good deal of information about them, no solution that will gain general acceptance is really possible. Whether any of the things grouped as jewels in the different traditions were originally so called, is very doubtful. They cannot all be original unless there were a good many more than three so called. I am personally now inclined to think that the term was not applied to any of them in the first place; but of all the entities explicitly so designated it is more likely that the three testing instruments, the square, level and plumb, would be so distinguished than pavements, drawing boards and stones, rough or wrought. But it may well be that even these necessary implements are not the real originals, and that the first use of the term is hinted at in the curious statement in S in reference to the master's place in the lodge, that the jewel resteth on him first, as in the east he waits the rising of the sun. But, however this may be, it becomes clear that the things that in the earliest sources are spoken of as jewels, are later, somewhat disguised, also called furniture or ornaments, or in some places simply mentioned without any distinguishing classification at all.

The five lists now before us fall obviously into two groups. The emendation of MEGr being provisionally accepted, this and the GMGr agree

almost verbally on a square ashlar, a diamond and a square. The remainder do not agree at all closely as they stand, except on one item, the square pavement, which is given by all three. However, if the emendations suggested above to the two documents in CCGr be accepted, this brings it into conformity in another point with the broached dornal of MC, or broached thurnel as it appears in *Prichard*. This the late Bro. Dring a good many years since resolved into broached urnel or ornal, a kind of fine stone much used in Mediæval times for carving. Broaching being understood as a technical term for roughing out the work. Bro. Dring also equated the obviously corrupt "danty tassley" with dinted or dented ashlar, thus bringing it into conformity at another point with M.C. In this he had been anticipated by Bro. Speth in 1889, though it would seem no one paid any attention to his note.<sup>1</sup> The latter also equated the "square" spoken of in the GMGr and MEGr, with Prichard's *Trasel Board*. But it is more probable that the original was the "square pavement" from which the *Trasel Board* and the French *planche à tracer* were derived by non-operative misunderstanding of a technical procedure.

The nett result of this preliminary consideration is that our documents as a whole point to these so-called jewels comprising a square pavement and two stones, one fully wrought and carefully finished, and the other roughed out, or partly worked. But we will have to return to these mysterious many-named triplicities.

### THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE LODGE

Passing on to complete our survey, we find that the "Form" of the lodge is not mentioned at all except in the notes to DSP, and that document raises more questions than it appears to be able to solve—at present at least. However, some information does appear in the GMGr. This informs us that the master's point or post is at the east window waiting for the rising of the sun to set his men to work. Similarly the Warden is at the west window waiting for the setting of the sun to dismiss the entered apprentices. This involves that idea of a structure, whether real or emblematic—or both together—already faintly suggested in likening the lodge, in respect of its "situation", to churches and temples. We may put beside it the corresponding statement in S cited earlier, where it is said that the east place is the master's place, "and the Jewell resteth on him first and he setteth men to work". And with this may be placed what is said in MC, that the lodge is placed on the sunny side of a hill that the sun may ascend on it when it rises. In TC it is said that the master sits in a chair of bone in the middle of a four square pavement. As a tentative explanation of this designedly cryptic utterance I should refer to the repeated intimation in MC that the square is master.

Who made you a Mason?	. . . the square under God made me a mason . . .
Where's your master?	He's not so far off but he may be found. And the square is offered.
And they <i>set</i> the square, and not <i>hang</i> it, for they're not to hang their master.	

The square held in the master's hand would be sitting in a chair of bone, and the master would be standing on the square pavement, which, later on in this document we are told, is for him to draw his "ground-draughts on".

A puzzling variation appears in MEGr. Here the master's place is south-east, the warden's north-east, and to the fellows is allotted "the eastern passage". The latter, as we have seen, appears in CCGr in connection with the three lights, where it is grouped with the north-east and south-west points of the compass, and this must refer to positions or places in the lodge.

<sup>1</sup> *A.Q.C.*, ii, 131.

In DK (b) we find that the master "layes" in a stone trough under the west window looking to the east, waiting for the sun to rise to set his men to work. Here again it may be that the reference is to the square—possibly to the compasses—though the stone trough is puzzling. An interpretation suggests itself, but I fear it would (at present) be no more than an ingenious guess. In reference to the lights, this catechism says that the one to the east was for the master, which apparently leads to an inconsistency, seeing that he is supposed to be in the west in his stone trough. But the proper inference is, of course, that this is a figurative statement, while the other speaks of the man who was master.

There are some other references to positions which, on their face, are also quite inconsistent; but at least they all imply some definite form to the lodge, whether that be a real or ideal structure, although there is no straightforward mention of it, such as the long square of later instructions. There is, of course, the appended note to DSP, but if Bro. Knoop is right in his estimate of the limits of its date, these notes would be later than *Prichard*, or even the *Catechisme*. But to these notes we must return later.

That the master's place was south-east is also stated in MC. But whereas in MEGr it would appear that the master, fellows and warden were placed along the east end of the lodge, in that order, in MC, the master being placed in the same corner, the fellowcraft, wardens and entered apprentices stood along the south side of the lodge. For it is said these stand at his left. The Confessor's remark, that "to be particular in shewing" these things "is not worth while", is exasperating. A few words more and the puzzle might have been resolved.

The expression "the eastern passage" implies another passage, or presumably entrance, which might be supposed to be a western one. But in the Confessor's lodge, if he remembered aright, the master, warden or wardens and Brethren being stationed along the south side, the newly-made entered apprentice must have entered from the north to make his formal salutation; his second entrance undoubtedly, after he had withdrawn with his "tutor", as the formalities of this entrance imply that he has already received some instructions.

In this connection it may be remarked that the design used as a frontispiece to Batty Langley's *Builder's Jewel*, reproduced by Bro. Dring in his paper on the evolution of the Tracing Board,<sup>1</sup> shows, hanging on the middle pillar, a large drawing board upon which is the plan of a rectangular building—a longish square—which has its entrance to the north. This entrance is flanked by two detached columns against which appear the letters I and B. Rob Morris published in the *American Freemason*, circa 1855, a wood-cut of an engraved silver medallion showing a design essentially the same, with some additions. The drawing board and plan appear; only the building represented is now an equilateral rectangle—in ordinary parlance, a square. This has an entrance on each of the four sides, but the one to the north is again distinguished by two columns, labelled as in the Langley design. This medallion was said to have

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Dring: *The Evolution and Development of the Tracing or Lodge Board*. A.Q.C., xxix, 243. It was used also in the *Practical Geometry* in 1726. The design was evidently quite a favourite one during the later eighteenth century, but the two instances mentioned are the only ones that show the drawing board with the plan. I have unfortunately lost or mislaid my note of the *Practical Geometry*, but the date of the first edition is given by Bro. Lovegrove (A.Q.C., xi, 134). Bro. Thorpe (A.Q.C., xii, 107) describes a Masonic jug which, he says, had on one side a design "very similar to the Frontispiece of Batty Langley's *Builder's Jewel*, 1741". In vol. xv, 137, he contributed a note in which he says that the same design is used in the *Freemason's Pocket Companions* of 1735 and later.

Yarker contributed a note to vol. xiv, 138, concerning an old tobacco box on which, he stated, was engraved the same design in its main details, which he minutely describes. He says also (for what it may be worth) that the ornamental scroll work is Elizabethan. Below the design itself appeared the arms of Drummond, and below that the rather incredible date of 1670. If this date really belongs to the design, that is, if all the engraving was done at the same time—and at that time—then the legend of the search made by fifteen fellow crafts must be set back much further than many students would dare to admit.

Other examples are to be found, A.Q.C., xix, 2, and Lepper and Crossle, *Hist. G.L. of Ireland*, vol. i, p. 400, and elsewhere.

belonged to an elderly emigrant from Scotland, who arrived in America very early in the nineteenth century.

### THE LODGE AS A BUILDING

The result of this cursory survey appears to be that some of our sources show an arrangement that is practically the same as was for a time followed generally (as we suppose) after 1730, viz., that the master was stationed in the east, and the warden, or wardens, in the west. In DSP the arrangement is practically identical with the European tradition of much later date, and GMGr is consistent with this, so far as it goes. But, on the other hand, we have these definite indications of what must surely be a much older and more primitive arrangement, in which all those present were placed along one side or end of the lodge, the east in MEGr, and the south in MC. The arrangement that obscurely appears in CCGr would seem to be either corrupt or else transitional, for the master, or at least the light that "denotes" him, is in the north-east, and the warden diagonally opposite to him in the south-west. But the fellows still remain in the eastern passage, as in MEGr; it seems not impossible that south-west is simply a mistake for south-east.

These vague and discordant results are perhaps disappointing, but if we are looking to find an original, definite and consistent archetypal arrangement, we shall, I believe, be doomed to continued disappointment. In a loosely organized traditional system such as Freemasonry always was (and in a sense still is, only that Grand Lodges now take the places relative to each other that particular lodges did before the great experiment was made), such an archetype is impossible and incredible. All we can expect to find are equivalents, and that these equivalents are all circumscribed, so to speak, by a circle the centre of which is an ideal form that the actually existing variants embody each in its own way, but which ideal never actually existed.

The subject of the arrangement of the officers and members of the lodge needs further examination; but all that we are now concerned with are the indications of a structure or form of the lodge. Perhaps I have discussed the matter at greater length than was really necessary for this purpose. I hope, at least, that it has been shown that our sources do indicate by implication that there was such a form, even though they do not speak of it explicitly.

But there is another point in this connection on which something remains to be said. The cryptic statement in GMGr that there are four angles in St. John's Lodge, and that these are bordering on squares, requires some comment. So far as I am aware, only Bro. Klein, in his remarkable paper, *Magister-Mathesios*,<sup>1</sup> has attempted an interpretation of the dark saying. Now, with DSP before us, we have the means of making a tentative explanation. The peculiar "Form" of the "old lodges" that is depicted in the notes appended to this document, hitherto inaccessible, would give some sense to the four angles bordering on squares, that is if we take it as referring to the four re-entrant angles of a cruciform plan. And this might seem to be supported by the hieroglyphic that in the GM print appears to be intended to represent the lodge, a Maltese cross with an equilateral triangle above it. It was this form of the cross that Bro. Klein wove into his argument. Only, unfortunately, we have no assurance that the printer who set up the GM found a Maltese cross in his "copy": it may have been a simple cross, while he may very well have used what he found at hand in his cases. In the two MSS. in this group we find in E the equilateral triangle, but resting on a perpendicular, which again rests on a horizontal—an inverted T it might be called. This occurs in both places where St. John's Lodge is mentioned. In I, in the place where the angles are spoken of, there is first a

<sup>1</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xxiii, p. 107.

horizontal line, then a perpendicular, and over that, but not touching it, the equilateral triangle. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that in each document the same components are used—a triangle, a perpendicular and a horizontal. In the MSS. it is barely possible that we are supposed to construct a cross out of the elements given.

But there is another difficulty. This group agrees with the general consensus of all sources in which the matter is mentioned that the lodge stands east and west. This would be a meaningless assertion in respect of an equal armed cross, such as is given in DSP. About the plan of a church with nave, chancel and transepts forming a Latin cross it would be natural and significant to say that it stood east and west. If then, further discoveries force us to accept a cruciform lodge, it may be assumed that it would be a Latin and not a Greek cross that was original. But at present it is an aberrant tradition. It is not impossible that it is genuine, possible even that it was widely spread, but so far as our present information goes the consensus of statement in the various lines of tradition is that the lodge was square (in the original sense of being rectangular) and longer than broad.

It thus appears that in all traditions that have come down to us, the later as the earlier, the Lodge of St. John, was referred to, or perhaps was rather likened to, a church or temple, at least in so far that it was oriented as such buildings were supposed to be. Nothing is said of it having walls, but it had height, and a covering, roof or ceiling. But though walls are nowhere indicated, it had windows, two or three, either west and east or east, south and west. Doors or entrances also are indicated, and in the earlier sources there seem to have been at least two of these, east and west, and they may even have been originally four, opening to the four cardinal points of the horizon. We may here recall the irrelevant note in *Prichard*, that the three "fixed lights" (a phrase that we have found in later European tradition) were explained as three windows, but were "more properly the four cardinal points according to the antique rules of Masonry." These doors and windows may have been originally undifferentiated openings serving alike for the entrance of right, or true, Masons, and to the light of the celestial luminaries, as for the wind blowing east and west. The plan would seem to have been rectangular, a simple long square, as all but one (or possibly two) sources appear to indicate, at least by implication. And if a cruciform plan was known, which was not an innovation of the period which gave birth to a more developed and centralized form of organization in the fraternity, it would probably have been a development from the simpler form, entirely analogous to, and perhaps in imitation of, the development in plan from a simple parish church to the more elaborate abbey or cathedral.

It is further quite obvious that in later recensions of the instructions the ideal or primeval lodge was fully identified with the Temple of Jerusalem, and the identification worked out in some detail, and indications appear in most of our sources of such an equation. But it is also clear on inspection that what is fully developed in later formularies is less prominent in earlier ones, while in the earliest it is not much more than merely suggested, and the idea has hardly begun to operate in producing modifications in the tradition. That a fraternity of builders should take some famous and superb edifice as the prototype of their place of assembly, and as the *locale* of the origin of their craft, seems natural enough; though we must beware of assuming that what to us seems natural would necessarily so appear to men in different circumstances with a very different set of habitual ideas and prepossessions. Nevertheless many parallels can be found in mythology and folklore for the ascribing of customs or cults to some historical, or pseudo-historical event: so that myths of like or equivalent content are found in which an entirely different set of personages moving upon an entirely different stage do the same things and suffer the same mischances. And so the question is forced upon us whether the ascription of the origin of the Masonic

fraternity to the Temple of Solomon is or is not original. And when the question is raised we can hardly fail to remember indications of other accounts with some of which we have been long familiar. The term "Noachidæ" in *Anderson* is one. The pillars of brick and stone erected by the "wise children" of Lamech. The tower of Babylon, the building of which is alluded to not only in the Old Charges, but also in the old catechisms (S-b), and re-echoed in some of the *hauts grades* and additional degrees. And incidentally, this latter source of information on the primitive usages of the Craft has hardly been touched as yet, but there is much to be learned from them, though what they have to tell us is not always on the surface. And also, not unnaturally, later recensions of these grades are not so informative as earlier ones.

### THE JEWELS

We have now to revert to a further consideration of the entities generally known as "immoveable" jewels. For this purpose I shall use a tabulation from an essay published twenty years ago by Bro. Kress and myself, with some additions and modifications.<sup>1</sup>

Of the fourteen sets in the table, eight are designated as Jewels; three of these simply, two are described as immoveable, two as precious, and one as Master Jewels. Two sets appear under the classification of Furniture and Ornaments respectively, and four have no collective description. Two of these four are taken from the curious skit in the form of an advertisement of the Antediluvian Masons, quoted at length in Sadler's *Inaugural Address*.<sup>2</sup> Another is from some doggerel verse in the letterpress accompanying the engraving of the *Procession of the Scald Miserable Masons*.<sup>3</sup> No. 4 is from Prichard's third part, and in later works appears with little change in application under the title of Ornaments of a Master's Lodge. As given it appears as a triplicity, but I have personally little doubt that the "Porch and Dormer" is another of the many corruptions suffered by the technical term, probably long obsolete even in 1730, the "Broached Ornal". In No. 10, from *Prichard* (C), we have the Ashlar, Diamond and Square that appears in the descriptive part of the *Mason's Examination*, which is classed with it. Perhaps I should say that the letters after Prichard's name simply refer to the order in which the references come in his work. A and B are from the first part and C and D from the third.

It will be observed that items given in the second column of designations in the table are all, with one exception, ashlar, simply or with some qualification. This is ignoring Nos. 4 and 14, which are here defective; and of course I assume that Nos. 11, 12 and 13 are really ashlar in a corrupt form. Indented Tarsel is obviously a "correction" of Danty Tassley, and the emendation first proposed by Bro. Speth, Dantyt (dentyt) assley, is generally accepted. *La houppe dentelée*, as I hope to show further on, is an attempt to render Danty tassley, or some equivalent, into French. The one real exception, No. 3, is at least a stone if not called an ashlar.

Speth also suggested that the dented ashlar was a carefully squared stone, set plumb and level in the working lodge as a test block, and that it may have been indented with the standard of measurement to be used.<sup>4</sup> That it was a test block is apparent from the explanation given in MC, that it was to adjust the square "and make the gages by". It would serve also to adjust or test

<sup>1</sup> *The Builder*, 1946, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, xxiii, p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> In the print of the mock procession of the Scald Miserable Masons that took place 27th April, 1742, among other explanatory letterpress is a variant of the doggerel verse we have already found in Prichard and in ME. Among other differences, the Diamond, Ashlar and Square now appear as Perpentashlar and the Square. Dring (*A.Q.C.*, xxix, p. 252) cites this, but I do not remember any reproduction of the print that shows it. It will be found, of course, in the original.

<sup>4</sup> *A.Q.C.*, ii, 131.

	Source.	Ref.	Date.	Class.	Designation.
1	Confession	MC	1727	Jewels	Square Pavement
2	Prichard (B)	—	1730	Immovable Jewels	Trasel Board
3	<i>Catechisme</i>	—	1744	Bijoux Immovables	Planche à Tracer
4	Prichard (D)	—	1726	Master Jewels	Pierre Brute
5	Advertizement (Antidiluvian)	—		—	—
6	Ch. Crawley group	CCGr	1700	Jewels	Mosaic Pavement
7	Scald Miserables	—	1742	—	Square Pavement
8	Gr. Mystery group	GMGr	1724	Precious Jewels	Square
9	Examination group	MEGr	1723	Precious Jewels	Square
10	Prichard (C) (& Mas. Exam'n)			—	Square
11	Sloane MS.	S	1700	Jewels	Square Pavement
12	Prichard (A)			Furniture	Mosaic Pavem't
13	<i>Catechisme</i>			Ornaments	Pavé Mosaicque
14	Advertizement			—	Square
					Dinted Ashlar
					Rough Ashlar
					Pierre cubique à Pointe
					Porch-Dormer
					Broached Turnel
					Perpendashlar
					Perpentashlar
					Square Ashlar
					Square Astler
					Ashlar
					Danty Tassley
					Indented Tarsel
					Houpe Dentelee
					Blazing Star
					Blazing Star
					Etoile Flamboyante
					Blazing Star

\* Bro. Dring had "brohed"; Bro. Knoop reads "broked" from a photostat; I read "brobed" from a photograph, and Bro. Songhurst agreed that the letter looked more like "b" than anything else. The point is of no consequence here, as we can hardly suppose the word to be anything but a corruption of "broached". "Brohed" could be due to a copyist's omission of a letter "c". The other two readings could be easily accounted for in an oral transmission.

† In the doggerel verse in the first part of ME we have "Astler Diamond and Square".

level and plumb-rule equally well. But that the descriptive term, "dinted" or "dented", as Speth suggested, derived from the indentations of a scale of measurement cut upon it, though possible, does not seem to me to be at all probable. Bro. Dring sought to derive dinted or dented from "perpend", but his argument is indeed forced, as he admitted it might seem. He said that "denting", so far as he had been able to find, was not used technically except in the documents under consideration. But he had overlooked the quotation from Trevisa in *N.E.D.* under "Dent".

"After many manere castynge, hewynge,  
dentyng and planynge."

I have not read Trevisa and so do not know what the context of this excerpt may be; but on the face of it denting seems to be used as a technicality that is naturally to be classed with hewing and planing. In any case, to derive "dented" from "perpend" is to transgress the fairly safe rule that the most difficult reading is to be preferred.

As a matter of fact, wrought stone, for most purposes, after having been worked to size and shape, is finished by a process which literally consists in denting it, either with a broaching comb, if it be soft stone, or if granite or other hard stone, with a bush-hammer, which is essentially the same implement as the so-called claw-tool<sup>1</sup> of the Mediæval craftsman, though the head is differently shaped. A dented stone would therefore be one that had been squared or "moulded" and finished—in speculative terminology a "perfect" ashlar; though, as Dring very justly remarked, this phrase has no operative significance.

As the dented ashlar was thus "perfect", the "broached" stone (whether "urnal" or other) was the rough ashlar; not indeed as a stone as taken from the quarry, or even as rough hewn for a coursed rubble wall, but "roughed out" with a broach. The first process in working a stone is to run a drift round it in the plane of what is to be the finished surface. This being done (it is no job for a tyro), a young apprentice might fitly be set to bring the irregular natural surface down to the level of the drift with mallet and chisel, using a "rule" or straight-edge to test his work as he proceeds. But the non-operatives of the "transition" evidently took "dented" in its common sense of having a marred or broken surface, and therefore rough. And yet in *Prichard* we find—conservatism impossibly retaining the original purpose for the time being—that the rough ashlar is still being used by the Fellow Craft to try their jewels upon, a statement that with the change has become absurd. The jewels to be "tried" are presumably the square, level and plumb-rule, spoken of in the question immediately preceding this under the head of "moveable" jewels. Nevertheless, though the dented ashlar has in this version become "rough", its corrupt form, "danty tassley", is still retained by *Prichard* under the further disguise of an indented "tarsel", envisaged now as an ornamental border round a pavement that, from being squared, has become one of mosaic work.

But danty tassley, or some such form, went abroad. In France, being of course quite incomprehensible, it became in the main line of tradition *la houe dentelée*. Tarsel, if that was the form that emigrated, was interpreted as a tassel, very naturally. I do not think that the French Masons have ever thought of *dentelée* as meaning adorned with lace. A tassel naturally went at the end of a cord or rope, and so two were put at the ends of a "cable-tow", and the indentedness of the whole was taken (not very appropriately it is true—but what else could they do with it?) to signify the knots and convolutions in the cord. But when this version was further translated into German it became, as we saw earlier, the lace trimmed fringe of the Temple veil, and translated back into English in the later years of the eighteenth century it became the ridiculous "lacy tuft". A truly marvellous transformation of a "perfect" ashlar!

<sup>1</sup> *Pied de biche* is the French term for the implement,

But it is not my intention to enter into a comprehensive discussion of the problems suggested by the tabulation of these triplets in a paper already a good deal longer than it was intended to be—and so far the subject has been but barely “broached”, in an altogether different sense of the word. The purpose of thus setting out all the forms of these mysterious objects, so that they can be seen at a glance may be achieved without going so far. I think the mere juxtaposition of the several groups suggests irresistibly that they are intimately connected, and are probably all derived ultimately, by devious ways some of them, from a common original. That original I take to be most closely represented by MC, which, as before remarked, is obviously very close to an unmodified operative tradition. Here we find a floor, or pavement (inferentially marked out in squares for convenience) upon which full sized drawings could be laid down. With this, a test block for the tools of precision, squares, levels and gauges, and also for rules<sup>1</sup> (certainly for simple straight-edges, but also possibly scales for measuring with), and finally a roughed-out stone, brought approximately to square and size. With this as a key it can be seen how underlying each variant, corrupt or emended, the same things are being spoken of, whether labelled jewels, ornaments or furniture. The pavement becomes a drawing board, for non-operatives could understand this, the use of a floor for such a purpose would hardly be known to them and so the traditional ascription would seem an obvious error that required correcting. In the French version of *Prichard* of 1738, the translator of which evidently knew nothing at all of Freemasonry and not too much of the English language, we find that the Trasel Board and the rest of the jewels immovable are rendered as *une planche, une pierre brute et un marteau pointu* and it is said that *la Planche sert au Maître pour dessiner ses plans; la pierre vient à propos pour aiguïser ses instruments; et le marteau pointu est utile à un Apprentif accepté*. It is a good sample of the way this version was made. Apparently, unable to make head or tail of the Broached Thurnel, the translator guessed, as many others have done since, that it was some kind of implement, and as “broached” suggested something pointed he took it to be a Mason’s pick-hammer, *marteau piquer*, still used in France I believe and other parts of Europe, though long obsolete in the British Isles and America, excepting the lighter form of the tool used by slaters. It is clear that this version had no influence in France so far as the immovable jewels were concerned, and very little (if any) in other respects. On the whole it does not seem at all likely that the accepted rendering of the French tradition, *la pierre cubique à pointe* was derived from the Broached Dornal or Thurnel (Turnell and Trunell are other variants) although it takes its place. I am inclined to think that the original from which the French phrase was derived was either an earlier attempt to make sense of the obscure designation, or that it was an alternative technicality; and in this case it might possibly have been “the pointed stone”, or ashlar, meaning of course not its shape, but that it had been worked with a pointed tool—and “point” is a still existing name among granite workers for a broach, a chisel drawn out on all four sides till the edge is only about a quarter of an inch or less in width.

The many ascriptions and descriptions of these two stones are most confusing. But we have before us the stages by which the “dented ashlar” became a “lacy tuft”; the change of a “broached urnal” to a pointed cubic stone, a diamond or a blazing star, a broad oval or a porch and dormer, is no more extraordinary: and if we knew the intermediate steps would doubtless

<sup>1</sup> As these implements were made of wood they were very likely to be knocked out of truth by an unlucky fall or blow. And though there are ways of testing them more accurately, the use of a test block would be most convenient—so much so that one might almost postulate its existence on probability alone. It would be analogous to the master surface plates kept for a like purpose in the older machine shops, and, for all I know, are still kept in those of to-day.

be fairly intelligible. However, I wish to make it quite clear that I do not expect anyone to accept these very tentative suggestions, nor do I build upon them at all. They are offered only as possibilities for consideration in the hope that others may be led to make further inquiry.

### DIAGRAM OR ENCLOSURE

Let us now return to the Lodge, the long square drawn upon the floor of the chamber of assembly. I do not think it has ever been fully realised what an extraordinary proceeding this was. Apparently the "Ancients" maintained it in all its original simplicity: the more sophisticated "Moderns" embellished it with all kinds of devices until it became too onerous a task to keep on drawing it every time it was required, and so the "flooring", the "tracing board," the *tapis* or *tafel* or "carpet", took its place. And in the elaboration of explanations of its contained symbols and emblems the "form" was largely overlooked, or receded into the background. Yet it was this "form", the diagram itself, that was *par excellence* the Lodge. Masons went on speaking of "forming" the lodge without in general realising the implications of their traditional phraseology. Yet the redactor of the *Catechisme* and *Le Secret*, who was responsible for the publication of *L'Ordre des F.Ms. Trahi*,<sup>1</sup> says explicitly in his remarks that "what is properly called *the Lodge*, that is to say the figures 'pencilled' on the floor should be drawn literally (*crayonné à la lettre*) and not painted on a cloth, such as is kept in some lodges for these occasions". And he adds, "This is against the rule". We found Ragon insisting on the same point some sixty years later, while nearly twenty years before the author of the Antediluvian rag listed "tape and jacks, moveable letters and blazing stars" among the reprehensible innovations introduced by "the Doctor . . . and other Moderns". And it may be recalled that the Grand Lodge of Scotland, so late as 1759 expressly forbade the use of such "floors" painted on cloth.<sup>2</sup>

But why should the ultra-conservative upholders of tradition (that is, the particular tradition they had received) be so insistent on the necessity of the lodge being actually drawn, marked out, when it was required?

One would judge from the indications that the design or plan that was drawn was already to some extent elaborated in the earliest days of the Grand Lodge in London, though only the French prints were in evidence as to its details until the publication of DSP: but if Bro. Knoop's tentative dating be correct, this would not be much earlier. Here the "Antediluvians" help us again—there had been complications in 1726, though apparently even then not actually drawn, but represented by movable symbols, cut out of sheet metal, or perhaps cardboard, as was done in some places much later still. On the other hand, in 1760, and doubtless later still, the stern and aggressive upholders of ancient usages were still satisfied with the simple outline or diagram, adding only three parallel lines to represent steps, as was done in the lodge in which the Confessor was made, and at the east end of the long square putting a trapezoid or truncated triangle, in which it appears the Bible was laid. A square and a pair of compasses would be required, and probably a rule or gauge, three candles, and the Wardens would have the level and plumb-rule, and that was all—no furnishings, no altar or pedestals, no fald-stool, not even seats for the assistants.

Personally, I do not think the "Moderns" were the reckless innovators that some have made them out to be. Externally, in legislation, changes and quite new arrangements were made—they had to be, the new kind of organization necessitated it: and undoubtedly, too, there were "improvements", expansions in the way of explanations, moralizings, and "Eulogiums". This, too, was inevitable: but not then, nor indeed until much later, were such matters as these

<sup>1</sup> *L'Ordre des F.Ms. Trahi*, 1745, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Lyon: *Hist. Lodge of Edin.*, p. 195.

part of a fixed formulary. They were optional, and were given according to the knowledge and eloquence of the Master, or the Brother deputed by him to "do the work". Nor were they, then or now, part of the ritual, as for the present purpose that term has been defined.

It is highly probable that, before 1716, London had drawn to itself a multiplicity of variant local traditions from all over the country. Every Mason who came to London to work or live would be the depository, according to his skill and memory, of the tradition in which he had been made. I have long thought that the root of all the disputes and schisms was not the ostensible innovations, but the advent of a new self-constituted authority which was seeking, as all governments do—apparently by a law of their existence—to extend its power. To those who resented the attempts to control lodges that had always been free and independent, sovereign by inherent right, everything that the upholders of the new regime might do would be wrong; and if the usages of the latter differed at all from their own, this was naturally held to be due to innovation as a matter of course; and the fact that in the "regular" lodges—those which submitted to the rule of the Grand Lodge—the element of the instructions, the eloquent exhortations, the rhetorical moralizing and the elaborated explanations (which, though DK and GGr show that this sort of thing was not entirely a novelty) were almost without doubt new in their form and setting, and would seem to the objectors quite sufficient proof of their accusation that the new authority and its adherents had altered the "established usages". Though probably, after the fashion of the English, they were not moved by any theoretical dislike of a more efficient form of control, but by some specific interference with what they conceived to be their own rights and liberties. Everyone judged by his own tradition; there was then no other standard. And, of course, to the naïve upholder of a tradition everything that differs must be wrong—a position not entirely unknown to us to-day.

But with the intercourse between lodges having different usages, and lodges formed of Masons who had been made according to variants existing elsewhere than in London, all kinds of borrowings, interpolations, and modifications of detail must have been rife, and without doubt it all tended towards a homogeneity, local at first, naturally, to the Bills of Mortality, a standardizing of a hybrid tradition; and this would inevitably be more complex and elaborate than any of the forms out of which it arose, and this largely by duplications, and the incorporation of variants originally of the same intent but now receiving new and differentiated interpretations.

But I imagine that the Lodge had had, here and there, elaborations before 1717—for what else, fundamentally, are the ornaments, the immovable jewels and the furniture, but the Lodge itself in a verbal disguise? Here the long square has been equated with the floor or pavement upon which, at the erection of large and stately edifices, the full-sized detail drawings were laid down as a guide for the making of moulds and so on. With this went the standard test block of the working lodge, and to match that another, partly wrought stone. But why these two stones? Did they mark the entrance, or the chief entrance, to the Lodge? Were they intended to represent the two Pillars of the Porch? Or were these Pillars in the first place one of the characteristics of Solomon's Temple that, with the new knowledge of Scripture that came with the first printing of an English version of the Bible, led the Freemasons of the day to substitute the Temple for the Tower of Babylon or other famous building—perhaps even a Gloucester or Lincoln Cathedral, or the Chapel of Roslyn—as the place where first an apprentice was lost and a master found? Then, if the Pillars were glorified representatives of the two stones, what were these originally? Two standing stones? Set up in prehistoric times in some secluded dale or on some eminence? The suggestion is not so fantastic and far-fetched

as it may at first sight seem. Having made it, I may be pardoned a quotation from George Laurence Gomme:—

The senseless and imbecile destruction of ancient monuments has often been commented upon, but the preservation of these monuments has been the subject of but little remark. Who are the preservers—to whom are we students of the nineteenth century indebted for the preservation of prehistoric graves and tumuli, of stone circles and earthworks—of Stonehenge and the Maeshow? How is it that London Stone still stands an object of interest to Londoners and the Coronation Stone an object of interest to the nation? The answer is, that throughout the rough and turbulent times of the past, while abbeys and churches, and castles and halls, have been destroyed and desecrated, these prehistoric monuments have remained sacred in the eyes of the peasantry, have been guarded by unknown but revered beings of the spirit world, have been sanctified by the traditions of ages.<sup>1</sup>

But this is thrown out merely as a provocation—not to argument, but, as I hope, to thought and to the consideration of relevant evidence. I would, however, here enter a *caveat*. I have reached no conclusions upon the matter; it is only that it is in some such direction that the evidence, all of it taken together as a whole, seems to be pointing.

Returning to our specific subject, it would seem very possible that the Irish immigrant Masons, who were the backbone of the original "Ancient" organization, re-introduced a relatively primitive form of the Lodge in their bare diagram chalked out on the floor. But, however this may be, this bare form, the basis of all later elaborations, insistently demands an explanation. The more complex drawings, like a demonstration upon a blackboard, might be—could easily be—taken merely as a makeshift mode of presenting a peculiar set of symbols to be moralized; but simply to draw a rectangle on the floor and call it the Lodge, and then teach that it was so sacred that no profane eye might even be permitted to "discover" it, is so remarkable a proceeding that curiosity at least is aroused as to how it came into existence.

The neophyte entered it. As such hints have come down to us of early procedure, the brethren stood round it, but probably, earlier still it was larger, and they, too, were within it.<sup>2</sup> But the recipient entered it, and within it was made a Mason. That, apparently, was its original function; it was the sacred, the *tabu*, area of initiation—the "holy ground" of later formularies.

Enclosures are a common matter of every-day life, practical things of obvious utility. But anthropologists also know of them in relation to religious observance and ritual. Dangerous enclosures, not even to be approached by the profane without dire risk—often very real. But I know of no parallel for the long square drawn on the floor of a tiled chamber; unless it be the circles and pentagrams of art magic. It seems to be *sui generis*, and yet if we take the insistent and universal tradition among Masons that lodges—at some vague time in the distant past—were used to be formed out of doors, on some high hill or in some deep vale, or simply, as DSP, and the Aberdeen Mark Book, have it, in the open fields; if we take this as something more than a curious bit of

<sup>1</sup> Gomme: *Ethnology in Folklore*, p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> In his paper on the early history of Freemasonry in Austria, Bro. L. de Malczovich has the following, which is apposite here:—

"And now one or two words about the 'Lodge' itself. The room where the brethren assembled was, in those times, adorned with no symbols at all. In whatever room a Lodge could be held, an oblong square was drawn with *chalk* on the floor, within which all the members found room. Later on they drew a smaller quadrangle, *round* which the brethren assembled. Afterwards this quadrangle was *strewn* with *sand*, and symbols temporarily *inscribed*; finally the drawn and painted tracing boards (*tapis*) became fashionable. The rituals were handed down only orally."—*A.Q.C.*, v, p. 19.

information, disconnected with anything else, having no implications—that is, if we take it seriously and give it its due weight (whether accepted or not), it at once offers a reasonable solution to the mystery; what appears so astonishing and inexplicable within four walls, and under a roof, becomes sufficiently natural and obvious under the open sky; and drawn with a sword in the sand or snow, like a protective circle in magic, or cut in the turf, as was done at the *baalteinn* festival, or marked out by stones like the Gorsedd of the Bards, or set out as a foundation with stakes and cords as the sacred enclosure of northern courts was fenced off with white ropes and peeled hazel rods, the oblong square becomes a quite understandable thing—at least from the point of view of the anthropologist and the collector of folklore. And besides this it accounts for the persisting phraseology of the instructions in all Masonic traditions, whatever change in meaning it may have undergone, that seven, six or five, as the case may be, *form* the Lodge.

### FINAL CONCLUSIONS

In the early part of the paper I said that the lodge was an important strategic point to gain in an attack upon the problems concerning the origin and evolution of the ritual. This at least I think has now been justified. As in climbing out of an enclosed and tortuous valley where the turns and bends in the road confuse our sense of direction, and gaining some eminence whence the whole country-side lies spread out before us, so the conception that the lodge was once formed or made out of doors, upon the ground, gives us immediately an orientation in our researches as to the nature and primitive intent of the rites performed therein. The lodge was brought indoors; at first sporadically and occasionally, and then, under changed circumstances, and with the exceptional usage as precedent, this in course of time became the universal rule.

But if the lodge was formed indoors as once in the open fields, it is a fair inference that what was done indoors was as nearly as the changed conditions permitted the same as had originally been done with the sky for ceiling and the horizon for walls. What could not be exactly reproduced would be represented by some obvious substitute; such substitutions are constantly found in the evolution of ritual systems.

The lodge formed indoors would be actually an enclosure within an enclosure, and almost inevitably there would arise some confusion between the two—the room itself and the diagram upon the floor. From such confusion certain displacements could arise. The formal entrance, for example, might be shifted from the lodge to the door of the room, or it might be duplicated, or again the formalities might be divided and part of them taken to the door and part left as they had always been. There are some traces that all three of these possibilities came about at various times and in various places, but I will leave it to the perspicacity of the members of the Lodge to discover these for themselves if they care to do so; the traces are not too faint to be discovered by one who knows what he is looking for.

Again, the lodge formed within a tiled chamber would become what, in their terminology, anthropologists would call a “survival”; something continued by conservatism and habit, but for which under new conditions there is no obvious *raison d'être*. It is a general law in regard to such survivals that they tend to atrophy and decay, and unless some new meaning or purpose be attributed to them they may entirely disappear. An incipient atrophy is evident in the lodge. For one thing it became smaller and smaller as time went on—a small point indeed, but not insignificant. But then, through various stages, a new use was assigned to it, and it was made the frame for a series of pictured symbols, and so finally became a “tracing board”, a chart, to be laid on a table, or placed on an easel or hung upon a wall, so that the devices therein contained might be conveniently pointed out as they were explained and moralized.

But what of these symbols? Much has been written, and more said, of their origin as well of their interpretation. They have been supposed to contain a recondite philosophy, to conceal occult knowledge, even to enshrine mystical teaching. In sundry "high" grades and additional degrees certain not very profound philosophical ideas have been worked out: systems of occultism have been inculcated and even attempts at mysticism are to be found. But while the occultism has been real and definite enough, the mysticism was but the flaunting of borrowed vestures which those who put them on did not know how to wear.

Now as operative masons—mere artisans—could not be supposed to be philosophers or adepts in the occult, it has been advanced, and with confidence and assurance, that Freemasonry was but a disguise for Rosicrucian fraternities, or secret Hermetic schools, whose members directed the speculative Craft from behind the scenes, and provided the symbols in which their teaching was veiled. All history has been ransacked for such organizations, Rosicrucians of course, Templars, Pythagoreans, the Mysteries of Eleusis, of Samothrace, of Dionysos, Adonis, Osiris—anything that was mysterious and of which little or nothing was really known. Taking a certain risk, I will say that there may be a relationship between the ancient mysteries and Freemasonry: but if so, it is assuredly not one of direct transmission, but one of a common and collateral descent from an ancestry indefinitely remote. For the mysteries of Greece and Ionia, with their ruder analogues in Italy, including Rome, were but glorified and civilized developments of exactly the same kind of immemorial, prehistorical, folk rites as survived in western Europe—including the British Isles—well into the last century, and of which not a few traces still remain. And not only the Mediæval Mason, but also the Masons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were men of their time and place, imbued with the same ideas, the same prepossessions and the same superstitions as their neighbours. Put on one side the exceptional men, who by ability or favour obtained official positions, or were appointed architects of important buildings, neglecting even the town and city craftsmen whose culture might be supposed to be greater, more up-to-date—for their period—and consider the country mason, found sporadically almost everywhere, and more frequently wherever stone was a common building material. He certainly was not apart from the life of the community in which he lived and worked. If the folk of the village or hundred celebrated May Day, or Midsummer or Hallow Even, he would not be absent. And if the villagers and folk of the country-side continued rites of an antiquity hardly to be estimated, why should not he, with his fellows, also maintain a primeval ritual, modified and adapted to the circumstances of his craft? It is not a mere speculation, but an inference based on social psychology that such a thing is possible. And it must be remembered, though it seldom is, that the same motives and tendencies that led to the transformation of the supposedly operative Masonry of the seventeenth century into a Speculative system in the eighteenth were equally at work in all preceding periods. No institution can flourish (it may for a while barely survive) unless it adapts itself to changing conditions. When society grows more complex, root ideas are modified to suit the new groups as they emerge and, as it were, crystallize. There may be only one instance—or only one that has survived—in the British Isles, but it has happened often enough elsewhere in the world, that a mythology and its accompanying rites have been modified to fit the special interests of a distinct group or organization—but to follow this would lead us much further than a day's journey from the familiar streets of a Borrowers Towne. I say so much only in order to indicate—it is no more than an indication—an existing background of developments parallel to those that are our present concern, against which we may the better understand them.

Returning then to the symbolism of which the lodge became the frame; those who have supposed borrowings and conveyances from other more recondite organizations seldom, or rather never, tell us plainly what symbols were thus put

into the Speculative system. Here and there however some indirect indication is given. The Freemason borrowed the square and compass; this is demonstrated by the fact that they appear in sundry devices and allegorical designs of three or four hundred years ago. Why the man who used them in his daily avocation should have had to borrow them is not explained. From the same or like sources he has also been supposed to have taken (the wise say conveyed) the interlaced triangles, the pentalfa and sundry other geometrical figures of mysterious import, though these and their like enter constantly, more or less obviously, into all architectural design, and pre-eminently into Gothic design. And even sun and moon and stars were borrowed because they are to be found prominently in engraved plates of occult meaning found in hermetic works and books of Alchemy. The mason may have borrowed them, it is true; it is hard to set limits to possibility.

When we have a series of accounts or descriptions of the same thing we are entitled to use any detail that appears only in one or two of them in attempting to form a comprehensive idea of what is described. It is not an absolute right, obviously, as the unsupported detail may be adventitious or perhaps spurious. The test is that it proves to be consistent with the whole. For an example: there is a series of references and allusions to the ritual of the Need Fire, ranging in date from Charlemagne to well into the last century. Most of them give a descriptive account more or less detailed according to the purpose of the recorder. With variations, naturally, these agree on the purpose and mode of the rite. Almost without exception it is said that the fire was to be kindled on a hill-top or mountain, that all household fires in the locality were to be extinguished, that the fire was to be produced by friction. A number agree that those who actually operated the device for making the fire (in which was much variation) had to be guiltless of serious crime. One account only says that in addition to this requirement the operators had to remove everything made of metal from their persons. This detail is perfectly consistent, for the rite was magical, and as is well known in that "elaborate pseudo-science", as Tylor calls it, anything of metal interferes with magical influence, especially if of iron. Another account informs us that the proceedings began before sun-rise "amid solemn silence". This again fits perfectly, for we frequently find in magical ritual that silence is a *sine qua non*. Yet another observer relates that "words of incantation" were repeated by an old man, who acted as "master of the ceremonies" all the time the fire was being raised. He spoke apparently so no one could distinguish what he said, and he refused later to tell the observer what it was. This too is not only consistent but was to be looked for. If other accounts do not mention the "formula" there are reasons enough for the omission; it might have been taken for granted, or to be of no particular interest, but most probably it would be because the outsider did not notice it. In such rites it is frequently found that where the action is striking and necessarily visible to the assistants, the incantation is purposely kept from their knowledge by being muttered in a low voice or some such way. Conversely, where the incantation is widely known it is the ritual action which is kept secret by being performed apart.

We have a closely parallel set of accounts of the lodge in our earliest sources. They vary, but the variations appear to be equivalents, and they agree in what we must suppose to be essentials. Put together they yield a composite picture, just as a set of abscissæ may give points that appear to lie on or near a curve of a certain order. The answer, for instance, in MEGr to the question "Where was you made?" gives a very curious detail, "Behind a rush bush". Nothing like it appears in any other of our documents, except Prichard's mention of a "shrub that came easily up", and perhaps the reference to a "mossy house". The *Sceau Rompu* indeed speaks of a "branch of acacia", but this could be due to later ideas. This avenue of investigation might prove very exciting, but it cannot be pursued further now. I will say this, however; when

we consider the multitude of rites in which green branches, young trees, bushes, garlands, are not only prominent but a central feature, and this not only the world over, or in western Europe generally, but in the British Isles themselves, we cannot safely assume that such a reference is a late importation.

Let us instead again consider the plain statement from one source that the lodge is set on the sunny side of a hill that the sun may ascend on it when it rises, and with it the other allusions, not so direct but of like effect : as of the master waiting in the east place for the sun rising to set his men to work. When one comes to think of it, considering the circumstances and conditions of life of men engaged in a manual occupation, even much later than the period of which we speak, and the economy in the use of daylight habitual to all except the wealthiest classes before the advent of cheap and powerful artificial illumination, the early morning would be a very probable time for the Masons to assemble. It would also be probable that such assembly would be held on a day that was a general holiday. In the Mediæval period holy days were frequent enough, but after the Reformation most of them disappeared. Yet some persisted ; Yule, Eastertide, Pentecost, All Saints, with Shrove Tuesday and Rogation Days, not to speak of Plough Monday, May Day, Midsummer, St. Martin's Day, and the local holidays for wakes, rush-bearings, well-dressings, and the like. It was quite possible to select a time when there was no work, or when absence from work would not excite remark or cause trouble.

But we have seen that the lodge has been persistently, in all traditions, ascribed to St. John, and the fact naturally suggests that this was originally because St. John's Day was considered to be the proper season for the assembly. Midsummer Day, as Yule tide also, was annexed by the Church : but as festivals they both are far older than Christianity. Later there was some confusion between St. John in Harvest and St. John in Winter, but the summer was much the better time for an out-door meeting. However, the variant in ME, which says that the lodge was of St. Stephen, is not so very far from such a tradition, seeing that St. Stephen's Day is the twenty-sixth of December, the day after Christmas and the day before St. John the Evangelist.

However, while there are some indications that normally the lodge was an annual event, properly speaking, it would yet be very possible, even probable, that other dates were selected, especially for what we should call emergent communications. And it is further most likely that in different districts different seasons had, for local reasons, become customary.

While apparently the Need Fire was often kindled in the evening—most accounts give no indication of the time of day—in one instance it is said that the people assembled at the appointed place before sun-rise. The "wroth" money, in Warwickshire, likewise had to be deposited upon the ancient stone before the sun rose on St. Martin's Day. It might seem to modern town and city dwellers, accustomed to well-lighted streets, that for the Masons to meet and form the lodge while it was yet night would present great difficulties. But the stars, if the sky be not too heavily clouded, give a very considerable amount of light, and besides, for a part of the month the moon is still shining at dawn. An accommodation in the day chosen might, at various times and places, have well been made to take advantage of this.

The folk festivals of Midsummer were begun on St. John's Eve, and without doubt lasted well into the night, if not all night. The masons would be there with all their neighbours as a matter of course. Of all seasons of the year it would for many reasons be the most appropriate for the entering of the year's crop of apprentices who had served, or nearly completed their time. They would have to make a night of it of course—but so also did many people on May Eve—for the green boughs and garlands were brought into the villages at dawn. But however this was, and whatever adventitious circumstances might have been taken advantage of, the masons assembled on some eminence and formed the lodge. They set it

due east and west that the sun, the jewel *par excellence* might ascend upon it, above was the cloudy canopy, and the stars and perhaps the gibbous moon were shining upon it. It was inches, feet and yards innumerable in height, and its entrance was far too high for a cowan to reach to stick a pin into. It was open to all the winds, but especially to the wind that blew east and west. It really does not seem that there was much need to import these celestial bodies as symbols from any occult source, however dignified or venerable it might seem to be. In the (in a sense) degenerate "lodge" of to-day, *composed* (as some in emulation, and otherwise, say) of ornaments and jewels—that is on the modern tracing boards—the sun and moon and stars appear because so, when the lodge was formed, they have always done.

But what of the wind blowing east and west? In the collocation of symbols that veil our peculiar system of morality not much has ever been made of it—nothing much was possible. And yet, save in America, it has always been remembered. Again the early-rising countryman could answer. He could tell how often at earliest dawn there is dead calm, even if the wind has been blowing all night. And then as the light grows there comes a little wind, a quickening breath, that goes towards the rising of the sun. And then, a little later, as the sun appears, a dazzling rim of light on the eastern horizon, the wind comes back again, blowing from east to west.<sup>1</sup>

The phenomenon is easily explained. The sun's rays first strike through and heat the upper strata of the atmosphere, and then as the earth keeps turning to the sun the lower strata are in turn warmed. The line of the upper heating effect is continually moving westerly. The warmed air rising causes a current from both directions, but the observer at a given point feels first the one and then the other. But neither the mason, nor his neighbour the ploughman, would know this—to them the wind blowing from the west towards the dawn was the herald of the sun, and of the great light of another day.

It may be an unwelcome picture that has been drawn, and I doubt not but that the argument has been tedious. As for that I do not see how anything can really be accomplished without a close and, as far as possible, an exhaustive examination of detail; and that, use as we may all the arts and devices at our command, is almost inevitably monotonous and boring—only a lively interest in the subject itself can make it tolerable.

I do not ask anyone to accept the conclusions that have been reached. If another interpretation of the evidence can be offered that is more consistent in itself, and more in conformity with the way in which ideas and institutions evolve, I shall welcome it. I would be far more concerned to maintain the value of the method that has been used. This, put concisely, is to collect everything that may possibly have some bearing on a subject; to consider it altogether and in detail, putting on one side the things that do not fit, but not forgetting them; appraising the weight of the remainder, not rejecting what is dubious but carefully refraining from using it to build upon; and then to see what sort of pattern is suggested by what is left. I am particularly inclined to stress the retention of dubious evidence, for whatever reason it may be so adjudged. There has in the past, it might move one to laughter—or tears—a passion to reject one item of evidence after another until there were no witnesses left to testify, so that only a verdict of "not proven", or better, nothing proven, remained possible. The chances have been calculated, the numerical value runs into millions and billions, against three *entirely untrustworthy witnesses*, without collusion, agreeing in their testimony unless they are telling the truth—it may be only for that once of course. But this holds equally well for what is written as for what is said, though the problem of collusion, in

<sup>1</sup> Since the paper was read I have come across a curious reference to air being "drawn towards day" in Grimms *Deutsche Mythologie* (Teutonic Mythology, trans. Stallybrass, Vol. iv, p. 1518). "Aurora" is also connected etymologically with *aura* (breeze). See also Vol. ii, pp. 745-747.

this latter case of copying, or influence, is perhaps harder to determine. A set of statements concerning a given subject from many different sources do not form a coherent picture by chance, at least not often, once perhaps in an untold number of millions of instances, so that if they do fit in we are entitled to infer that there is some underlying connection between them ; and this may be not only important, but exactly what we may be looking for.

Finally I would emphasize again that only by using all traditions, and avoiding the giving of more weight to our own than to the others, can our researches into the problems of the ritual and its concomitants produce sound and comprehensive results.

#### ADDENDUM

It will, of course, have been observed that the *Wilkinson MS.*, the latest of the ritual documents to be made available to students generally, has not been taken into consideration in the paper. This was simply due to the fact that it had not been published when the paper was written. My first thought was to let my readers see for themselves whether and how far the newly published document accorded with the argument. Second thoughts are said to be best, and I have decided to examine it briefly here. I might add that this decision has been made largely in deference to the opinion of Bro. A. J. B. Milborne, to whom, as often before, I am indebted for many valuable references and comments. Besides, the interval between the submission of the paper and the publication of the *Wilkinson MS.* will now be so great that it would seem strange if no reference to the new document were made.

Following the *schema* used in dealing with the other early sources, we find that according to W (the *Wilkinson MS.*) the lodge is said to be holy, and "of St. John". This appears in the Salutation. It is later said to be true and perfect. Such a lodge is made by seven Masons—a Master, two Wardens, two Fellow Crafts and two Entered Apprentices. But a lodge simply is made by five, as in *Prichard*, and these five are not distinguished by rank or grade. It may be noted that before the general adoption of the interpolated degree of Fellow Craft, the seven required for a true and perfect lodge would be five fellows and two apprentices. Was the lodge unqualified as perfect made by five fellows, omitting the apprentices?

The lodge is situated east and west "as all holy Places are, or Ought to be". The high hills are not mentioned, and the only deep vale is that of Jehosaphat, but to this is appended the bald alternative, "or Elsewhere". Which is rather sweeping. The form is an oblong square, but for this a reason is given that is so far quite new, "the Manner of our Great Master Hiram's grave". This has an importance in another connection as an indication of the existence of the legend or ritual myth of the Master, but like the parallel allusion in DSP the value depends to some extent upon the date assignable to these two documents. Though even if both were later than 1730 they would still afford an important indication that the characteristic form of all these catechisms prior to this date, that of an "examination" on matters all Masons were expected to know, is not necessarily and arbitrarily to be interpreted as lack of knowledge of something more, and still less as evidence of the non-existence of a superior grade.

The equation of the long square with the Master's grave re-appears in the second half of the eighteenth century, and also later still. In the 1767 work of Bérage, *Le plus Secret Mystères du Hauts Grades*, a circle and a "quadrature" are obscurely mentioned as appearing upon the *Tapis* of the Master Architect. The circle is referred to the "immensity of the Grand Architect, who has neither beginning nor end", while the quadrature is said to be *L'espace du quarré long du tombeau d'Hiram*, the place or space of the long square of Hiram's grave or tomb. Once again it is demonstrated how unsafe it is to assume that phrases and ideas that appear in late accounts are inventions or devices of the period. They may well be, as apparently here, an outcropping of some obscure line of tradition.

But to return to the lodge. It is said to be in height, "Feet & Inches Innumerable", but no other dimensions are given, nor is the covering mentioned. It is however supported by the three great pillars, W., S. and B.

The moveable jewels are normal, but those called immovable are in some respects peculiar. The Mosaic Pavement is the first, which Prichard lists as part of the furniture, and later accounts class with the ornaments. The other two jewels are the "dented" ashlar of MC and a "broach urnell" which is neither MC nor Prichard, the doubled dental sound of the corrupt phrase being here dropped entirely. This variant would seem to bear out the suggestion made in the body of the paper that jewels, ornaments and (or) furniture are alternative collective terms for essentially the same things. It also strikingly confirms Dring's brilliant interpretation of the Broached Dornal or Thurnel, and at the same time lends some support to my own objection to his hypothesis that "dented ashlar" is a corruption of "perpendester".

It occurs to me that if the phrase that went to France was in the form "broach urnell", and supposing (perhaps a rather large assumption) that those interested in giving it an equivalent in the French language knew, or could have learned, that there was a kind of fine stone called by this name quarried in Normandy, then the form of the phrase would have suggested a point or spire or a pinnacle of *ierre d'urnal*, and this could well have been envisaged as a pyramid upon a cubical base. However, I feel (at present at least) that it would have been very unlikely that Freemasons in France at that time should have had so much knowledge of trade terminology as this, even supposing that this designation was still current among French working masons and quarrymen. Whether it was or not I have not the means at hand to find out. But at least we have, in this set of jewels, additional confirmation of the term "dented" or "dinted" ashlar, and there will be no further excuse for trying to make out that it is a corruption of some other phrase.

The Blazing Star, which is given in three of the early documents, *Sloane*, the *Catechisme*, and the Antediluvian advertisement, does not appear, but it is to be remarked that, immediately after what is said about the jewels, we are told that the centre of the lodge is the letter "G". In view of the fact that this symbol constantly appears later on as placed within the Star, or *Etoile flamboyante*, and that the Star is always placed in the middle of the diagram or *tapis*, we may, I think, quite legitimately infer that though the description varies, or is deficient, the things described are essentially the same. In *Le Maçon Demasqué*,<sup>1</sup> said by Thorpe to be first published in 1743 (though from the contents I find this not easy to believe) it is explicitly stated that the only difference in the design of the lodges of the apprentices and the Compagnons respectively is that in the latter the letter "G" is inscribed in the Star, and that so inscribing it changes it from the first to the second grade. An earlier reference to this exceedingly exiguous difference between the two degrees is found in the descriptive letter press accompanying the wood-cut of the *Solemn and Stately Procession of the Scald-Miserable-Masons* in the *Westminster Journal* for 8th May, 1742, where in reference to the Letter G, it is said that it is "the Essence of the Fellow-Crafts Lodge; For being placed in the Middle of the Blazing Star, which is the Center of the enter'd 'Prentice Lodge, it then becomes a Fellow-Crafts Lodge". A similar statement is made in the Key to *A Geometrical View of the Grand Procession*, engraved by A. Benoist: "The letter G famous in Masonry for differencing the Fellow-Craft's Lodge from that of Prentices".<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bro. Milborne has furnished me with the following note: "Wolfstieg gives 1751 for the London edition, *Le Maçon Demasqué*, and 1757 for the Berlin edition. He does not give an edition of 1743. I agree that Thorpe must be wrong in this."

The only copy I have seen of this rather rare work was the London edition of 1751, which was (or used to be) in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Both of these designs were reproduced by Chetwode Crawley, *A.Q.C.*, xvii, 129, 140, 144.

The MS. further informs us that three great lights were seen, and these are explained as usual, but there is no reference to the "fixed" lights. The Master is placed in the East, the Warden (or should it be Wardens, seeing that two have been previously mentioned?) is in the West, the fellow Craft in the South and the Entered apprentice in the North.

The key has apparently dropped out, though the receptacle for the secrets, and the material of which the key is made (which can hardly have any other reference) are both mentioned, but separated as if the connection between them had been forgotten. Primarily, the key would be to the lodge. The general consensus of the documents indicates this. It is the key itself that was kept in a bound case, a box of bone or an *arche d'ivoire*—a chest or ark of ivory; and this case or casket has in a number of later sources itself received keys, keys of ivory. But this is an elaboration, which, while natural enough, is not really consistent with the original idea contained in the riddle. And W has gone a stage further along the path of misconception and makes the bone box a repository for the secrets instead of for the key by which entrance could be gained into the Lodge of St. John. In the main line of tradition the secrets were kept under the left breast, or under the "lap of the liver", or in the heart, which last was apparently preferred in Europe generally.

Finally, though not so near the end of the catechism as might seem to be normal, the wind is said to blow east and west.

By the publication of this MS. our indebtedness to Bro. Knoop and his colleagues is still further increased, for it is undoubtedly a very important addition to our knowledge, and will enable us to tie up the various early sources still more closely with each other, and will also, I believe, afford some more clues to their elucidation; but the preceding is all that bears upon the problems now under consideration.

However, there is another matter upon which something more should perhaps be said. I may have dismissed too peremptorily the idea that the "Lodge" in the ceremony of consecration might have been, or should be, an ark or chest. I have to confess that once, now thirty and more years ago, I accepted this hypothesis myself. It was very attractive, for the *cista mystica* appears in many mythologies, and traces of it can be found from western Europe to Mesopotamia and Persia at least, and it is particularly prevalent in the countries round the eastern end of the Mediterranean. It is closely connected with the sacred basket on one hand and with the ship or boat on the other. As a tradition in Masonry it is as legitimate as any other, for all traditions, like a series of benches in a river valley, result from an earlier tradition modified and developed in accordance with the ideas and preconceptions current at the period; and such interpretations and developments may often lead to a modification of the original deposit, as it has in this case. In the paper I have been concerned to follow the main stream in respect of the lodge, and I believe this has been shown to have been continuous and uninterrupted in all three of the main types of Masonic formularies. The treatment has by no means been exhaustive but is, I hope, sufficient.

The Ark hypothesis, as I will call it for brevity, is in effect based on a supposition that an important part of the paraphernalia of a lodge was a mysterious chest, presumably intended to contain still more recondite *aporrheta*. At the same time it is suggested that this ark was itself so sacred that it was proper to veil it from the eyes of the profane. The hypothesis also requires that it came to be designated, at least at times and in certain places, as "the Lodge" simply.

There is no particular difficulty about this last in principle. Nomenclature depends largely on convenience and also on accident, and just as we may speak of a lodge-room as the lodge on occasion, so the chest might have been thus spoken of. Nor is the fact that the diagram (or its substitutes of "flooring" or *tapis*) was also designated the Lodge irreconcilable with the supposition. It would only

have added another special signification to a term which already had more than one, and still has several without leading to confusion. But the trouble is that while all this may have been there is no evidence that it ever was. I am very far from desiring to base an argument upon a lack of evidence for another view. We have had too many instances in this very field of quite unexpected information turning up. But in this particular case even if the "Ark" hypothesis were eventually to be substantiated it would not affect the certainty of the existence of the general tradition that the "long square" was the lodge, and the most we should have to admit would be an alternative tradition running more or less underground parallel to the main stream.

It might be interesting to trace the rise of this theory. Indeed it might be more than interesting, for it is possible it would throw a good deal of light on the way in which new traditions can arise. So far as I have been able to discover there is no indication of the existence of the idea that a *cista mystica* was ever equated with the lodge earlier than the second decade of the nineteenth century. I am inclined to think that Dr. Oliver had a good deal to do with its currency, though I do not suggest (or think) that he invented it. He was not an inventor, but he did embroider not a little.

However, it is quite probable that the idea has a respectable ancestry in point of antiquity, though undoubtedly suffering a "sea change" on its emergence. I would suggest that its chief source is to be found in that equation of the lodge with the Temple which we find adumbrated even in our earliest documents. I see no reason for doubting that this connection of ideas could have occurred to the Mediæval mason, but I believe it would have been the publication of the Bible in an English version that fostered and forced the germinal association. This is merely conjectural of course, for we have no knowledge of the ritual usages of the Craft between 1530 when the Coverdale and Mathews Bibles appeared with the references to Hiram Abi and (let us say) 1710, the approximate date of DK. But there is an apparent, even if not very definite, increase in emphasis in the references to Solomon and his building operations in the Old Charges dated within the above period. But when we come to DK we find this interest fully developed in considerable detail. And while it may well be possible that this document contains only the record of some particular individual opinion, and to have had no currency outside the old Lodge of Dumfries, yet considering the intense interest in religious matters in general and the Scriptures in particular all through the country, we can hardly doubt that such an effort would at least be in harmony with the prevailing ideas among Scottish masons of the time.

There is, however, no further record of such special interest, beyond the somewhat embryonic connections exhibited in the other early sources, until 1760, and even then it is not very definite. But the compiler of the *Three Distinct Knocks*, in one of his comments, implies that in the "Ancient" lodges the Temple and its furniture were discussed, and perhaps there was more on the subject that was formalized than appears in his description of the instructions. Sixteen years later Bérage describes the grade of *Grand Maître Architecte* (and later still the *Récueil Précieux* reproduced the same material under the grades of *Grand Mtr. Architecte*, and *Maître Ecossois*), and the motive of these grades is almost entirely the furnishings and adornments of the Holy Place and the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, including of course the Ark. Incidentally, I find it somewhat hard to believe that the ideas clothed in these grades arose spontaneously in France, considering the general indifference to the Bible and the relative ignorance of its contents common in all Roman Catholic countries. If we could suppose that these *Ecossois* grades were derived ultimately from the *Ecossois* order obscurely alluded to in a note in *L'Ordre Trahi* (1745, p. xii), we might infer tentatively that Scottish exiles had carried to France the ideas and interest in these matters that is exhibited in DK.

About the same time in Preston's system of Lectures (that is if we may suppose that the *Syllabus* of 1820 correctly reflects their original contents), the identification of the lodge with the Temple is developed beyond the original equation of ground plan and siting, and introduces walls constructed of proper materials. And this conception is carried further still in the Warrington Lodge of Lights lectures (III, Sect. iv), which Yarker discovered, and of which he transcribed copies for both Q.C. and G.L. Libraries. The identification with the Temple is not here especially stressed (though in the two succeeding Sections its adornments and furniture are treated at length), but the building of the lodge has become wholly ideal and allegorical.

There seems to be no need, for the present purpose, to cite still later instances of the working out of such ideas. I suggest that the original enclosure—that was the lodge—having been entirely forgotten, the long square gradually came to be regarded as a ground plan, or at most a foundation; and that in this view it was manifestly incomplete and called for the erection of a superstructure. And doing this would turn it into that regular parallelepipedon which later on appears sporadically in some more or less authoritative instructions, although it has never become more than a back-water running beside the main stream of tradition, in which the lodge has continuously been described as a superficies.

But there is still another strand in this complex network of ideas, the lodge chest or ark. Many, perhaps most, of the old permanent lodges possessed them. They were purely practical receptacles for the safe-keeping of the properties and funds of the lodge. There is hardly need to cite instances of the existence of such furniture, but the "lockit kist" of the old Lodge of Aberdeen may be mentioned. Chests of this type were not peculiar to the Masonic fraternity, most Mediæval organizations had them, guilds, municipalities and even parishes. Usually they had two or more locks and keys. There is a town in the Pyrenees that has, or had, a treasury in which the municipal archives and funds were kept, that was fastened with no less than nine locks, and required the presence of nine officials with their keys in order to open it.

That a chest could be given a symbolic signification is shown by evidence cited by Gould (*Hist.* I, p. 235) in his account of the *Compagnonnage*. Among other rather naïve symbolizing we are told that if there is a chest in the room it represents Noah's Ark. If the Hatters in Paris in 1650 could thus symbolize a chest—any chest apparently that might by chance be in the room—the Masons in Great Britain could conceivably in 1700 have, here and there, equated their chest or box with the Ark of the Covenant.

In a letter written to his publishers by Père Simonnet in 1744, a floor-cloth is described, and in this description appears a *Coffre de cinq pieds*, a five-foot chest, "which they call the Ark", it closed with three keys, and in it "are locked up all the ornaments of the Lodge". This letter was in the possession of the late J. E. S. Tuckett, and he contributed a translation of it to the Notes in *A.Q.C.*, xxxii, p. 172. Although appearing as part of the design along with the two pillars, the rude stone and other emblems, yet there is no indication of any symbolic meaning given in the letter. It is obvious that a pictorial representation painted on a cloth or canvas would not have been usable to hold ornaments or anything else, and we can only assume that such a purpose for a real coffer or chest was remembered in the lodge for which this design was made. It might be supposed that if circumstances made it practically unnecessary—as, for example, the complete and exclusive control of the building, or at least the room, in which the lodge assembled—no such receptacle was ever provided, while yet the tradition was sufficiently strong that such an article should be possessed by a lodge to make it seem appropriate to have it represented on the *tapis*. But the information is insufficient to lead to any definite conclusion on the matter. It would seem, however, supposing the floor-cloth did actually exist and as Simonnet describes it, that such a pictured chest was on the way to become purely a symbol. And then,

once the memory of its original practical purpose began to fade away it could hardly, as a symbol, remain a commonplace strong-box (or so at least one would think), and was likely to be identified with something more in keeping with the moral interpretation of the other symbols with which it was included in the design. There were two Biblical identifications lying at hand, Noah's Ark and the Ark of the Covenant. The former is still retained in the "York" rite, though with a rather jejune interpretation, while the Ark of the Covenant, as already noted, had some place in English Craft Masonry. It is referred to in DK, and at the latter end of the eighteenth century receives attention in much the same way in Finch's third Lecture. Certain lodges, also, here and there seem even to have had models, or presumed replicas of it among their paraphernalia or furnishings in the succeeding century—I am not aware of any evidence for this in the eighteenth century.

The Ark of the Covenant was carried into the Royal Arch, naturally enough, though in that Order it is more definitely and significantly employed in Ireland and America than in England. In the work of Bérage, cited above, it has almost as much prominence in the grade of *Grand Architecte*, and, as already remarked, in the later *Recueil Precieux* the same material appears divided between this grade and the *Maître Ecossois*. Later still it is dealt with in a grade called Secret Master. It may be noted also that though undoubtedly in the eighteenth century the Temple was conceived as a building in a pseudo-classical or Palladian style yet even so it remained basically a rectangular structure, and like the Ark of the Covenant (as also Noah's Ark as usually represented) was a regular parallelopiped, just as was the lodge chest with its multiple locks. This may seem trivial, but it must be remembered that in the evolution of symbolism any resemblance whatever, even the most tenuous and superficial may be seized upon and worked into the whole complex concept. For any and every symbol that is more than a bald representation of one thing by another, such as the symbols used in arithmetic and algebra, is a mental structure built up out of a number of associations, resemblances and analogies. And the more of such roots it has the more significant and universal it becomes.

To conclude: the evidence does not warrant any decided opinion as to the age of the "Ark" hypothesis of the Lodge in the Consecration ceremony, or anywhere else, prior to the time when it first appears in definite assertions by individuals after the period of the Union in the early nineteenth century. But no matter how far back new evidence may conceivably carry it, it will still be, at the very most, no more than an alternative tradition of limited distribution. For this is the inevitable inference from the fact that its traces are so few, and (so far) non-existent in the eighteenth century, while there is such a wealth of evidence for the continuous tradition, found everywhere, that the oblong square is the Lodge.

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At the conclusion of the paper, a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Meekren on the proposition of the Worshipful Master, seconded by Bro. L. Edwards. Comments were offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. Heron Lepper, D. Knoop, H. H. Hallett, H. C. Bruce Wilson, E. H. Cartwright, G. W. Bullamore, W. Waples, A. J. B. Milborne, H. C. Booth, and H. A. Hartley.

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Bro. WALLACE E. HEATON said:—

Not often do we get such a complete and comprehensive paper on an important Masonic subject as that which we have had from Bro. Meekren on "The Lodge." Bro. Meekren's name must be added to the list of those writers who have made an exhaustive study of his theme. He has given us additional

facts from "folk-lore and instructive mythology". I should like to express my concurrence with his dictum that, "Historical means alone can never give a satisfying answer to the questions we would ask."

Bro. Meekren has prefaced his work with a glossary of new terms which he would have applied to the component parts of what we generally describe by the word "ritual". Whether his suggestions will find acceptance, time alone can show. This can be said, that students who find them useful will naturally adopt them. For myself, I express no opinion.

For many years to come this paper will be looked upon as an authoritative collection of documents that so far have become available to help us in forming an opinion. On all questions referring to the "Lodge" it should hold the field for many a long day. If I had to give a definition of what "The Lodge" means, after reading this paper, I should say it was "a number of Masons assembled for certain purposes."

I have much pleasure in moving a hearty vote of thanks from Q.C. Lodge to Bro. Meekren for his scholarly and instructive paper.

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Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

I have much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks for the interesting and exhaustive paper.

The form and furniture of the Lodge figure so constantly in English and in French Masonic literature of the eighteenth century that Bro. Meekren's detailed, learned and critical treatment is to be heartily welcomed.

Few attempts have so far been made to relate Masonic ritual and ceremonial to the general principles governing these—to me at any rate—intensely interesting, human phenomena that the portion of the paper dealing with them also calls for our thanks.

If I may say so, I wonder whether Bro. Meekren has read Frere's *Principles of Religious Ceremonials*. If not, I would respectfully recommend this work to his attention.

We know that the word "Lodge" was originally an operative term, but do not always appreciate that it was not applied only to the workshop and meeting place of the Masons, but was also used in the case of other crafts.

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Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

Like everyone here present, I am grateful to Bro. Meekren for the industry and scholarship displayed in writing this paper. Comment is hardly required save as a token of appreciation of his labours.

The author has been careful to quote the documents on which he bases his assumptions; one may or may not agree with the latter, but can have nothing but admiration for the manner in which the former are marshalled into line for the attack. Our personal valuation of some of the documents would be more interesting to us as individuals than in furthering a general increase in our general stock of knowledge; but I may say that *Simon and Philip*, for example, is a witness of whose character I have grave doubts; and I never look over the original manuscript of the *Graham* without the same suspicion recurring, that it actually is a copy of an older document. However, comments such as these are really out of place as an appendage to the paper we have just heard.

The essay, like all good essays on an abstruse subject, is suggestive; and I should like to put on record one or two reflexions it has evoked.

While all the evidence with which this paper deals sprang from one main line of tradition, other lines of tradition of which, as Bro. Meekren rightly points out, we know little or nothing were actually co-existent, and have affected our modern rite; they may be purely Masonic, as in the case of what might be called the "Deacon" tradition appearing in the minutes of the Cork Lodge in 1726; or extra-Masonic, as in the case of the Gentle Craft, the Fraternity of Shoemakers, which seems to have been popular in England down to the days of Charles II. We have much yet to learn from a comparative study of fraternities in Great Britain; they were, I believe, more widespread than is generally supposed, and for the one that has survived in the shape of our own Craft, there were in all probability dozens that became extinct and have left not a trace, except perhaps some symbolism borrowed by the Freemasons, altered to be used in a new setting, and still to be recognised in what I should merely call "ritual". lest I should be caught tripping among Bro. Meekren's tentative sub-divisions of that comprehensive word.

Allow me, in closing, one brief reference to cockcrow and the other conditions indicated in some of the documents as requisites for holding a Lodge in a remote place. Is it possible that the compiler might have been influenced by Motteux and Urquhart's translation of Rabelais? A passage in *Pantagruel*, Book IV, Chap. 62, gives a speculative explanation of the expression which is worth consideration. The other circumstances of "high hills", "remote valleys", and the like, remind me of the conventicles of the Covenanters, practically contemporaneous with the estimated dates of the documents to which I refer, and might be a further argument, if any were needed, in support of their Scottish origin.

Finally, in real gratitude to Bro. Meekren for having made us partakers of some of the store of Masonic erudition available in the Greater Britain beyond the seas, I cordially support the vote of thanks which he is about to receive.

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BRO. DOUGLAS KNOOP writes:—

I congratulate Bro. Meekren on his useful study in comparative ritual, in all that concerns the conception of "The Lodge", but would add that it would have been more useful had it been spaced differently. Although the paper runs to nearly 40,000 words, it does not contain a single break by way of cross-heading or sub-heading, to serve the reader as a sign-post and to assist him in finding his way. I even suspect that in at least one place Bro. Meekren has lost his way in his own paper: on page 25 he refers to *Early Masonic Catechisms* as "the work already mentioned", whereas in his paper as printed there does not appear to be any previous mention of that book. Incidentally, it seems to be the only indication of where reprints of some of the documents quoted can be found. All readers of *A.Q.C.* have not got a first-class Masonic library available to consult, and many would like to know where the various documents can be seen. In this connection, may I refer to what Bro. Meekren, quite wrongly in my opinion, describes as the *Songhurst MS.* The *Songhurst MS.* was the name given by Bro. Hugban to a version of the *Old Charges* purchased in 1906 from Spencer by Bro. Songhurst and subsequently presented by him to the Q.C. Lodge. It is printed in Q.C. Pamphlet No. 2, edited by Bro. H. Poole. Personally, I have never heard of the manuscript discovered in 1924 by Bro. Songhurst, which, I gather, is a copy of *The Mystery of Freemasonry*. Unfortunately, Bro. Meekren does not tell us where its discovery was announced; I cannot find any reference to such discovery either in *A.Q.C.* or in *Misc. Lat.*

Yet another omission from the paper is an exact reference to an article or paper by Bro. Kress and Bro. Meekren dealing with *A Mason's Examination*, in which these Brethren advance the view that these catechisms are incomplete and partly corrupt versions of a common original. These are new claims so far

as I am concerned, and naturally I should like to be able to follow in detail the arguments on which they are based.

In referring on page 8 to the consecration ceremonies given by Preston in his *Illustrations of Masonry*, Bro. Meekren seems to suggest that they originated about 1776, thus entirely overlooking the much earlier version contained in the Postscript to Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723, and there attributed to the Duke of Wharton.

Finally, a word concerning the date of *A Dialogue Between Simon and Philip in Early Masonic Catechisms*. G. P. Jones and I placed this provisionally as circa 1740 for reasons there stated. As the result of comments on our paper on the *Dialogue*, read at Q.C. Lodge in January, 1944, we abandoned our presumptions regarding "Dr. Desaguillier's Regulation" and "Old Masons" and "New Masons", and in our reply (*A.Q.C.*, lvii, 20) stated that we now think that it was set down in writing about 1725.

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Bro. H. HIRAM HALLETT writes:—

I should like to tender my sincere thanks to Bro. R. J. Meekren for having given us such a very interesting and scholarly paper, replete with knowledge on a wide variety of abstruse subjects, which, although all connected with "The Lodge", the title of his paper, I cannot help feeling would have been far better if he had dealt with them separately at different meetings of this Lodge, when each might have been adequately discussed.

Readers of that most interesting magazine, *Miscellanea Latomorum*, which I deeply regret has now ceased to be published, although it has been so admirably carried on ever since the resignation as Editor of Bro. Lionel Vibert, in 1938, by Bro. Col. F. M. Rickard, will doubtless remember that the April and May issues of 1946 contained my article, *The Lodge, covered with White Satin*, in which I attempted to deal with this difficult subject, and the conclusion I tentatively arrived at was that Dr. Oliver was right in saying that the Lodge and the Ark were synonymous terms. I was, therefore, very interested to see that Bro. Meekren admits that this article of Masonic furniture could be designated by either according to special occasions. Although he has now relinquished the "Ark" hypothesis, he has added this qualification: "If the Ark hypothesis were eventually to be substantiated it would not affect the certainty of the existence of the general tradition that the 'long square' was the lodge, and the most we should have to admit would be an alternative tradition running more or less underground parallel to the main stream." Although he has brought forward a great deal of evidence concerning his present hypothesis that an "oblong square" was the Lodge, yet I feel that it does not solve many of the difficulties that arise by adopting it. As Bro. W. B. Hextall years ago said: "Much that is obvious in the way of 'covered with white satin'; 'covered and uncovered'; and 'incense scattered' over it, seems unaccounted for in the case of a trestle-board, and inapplicable to it."

With these few remarks, which I should have considerably lengthened had it not been for ill-health, I would again express to Bro. Meekren my thanks and admiration for his treatment of so many difficult subjects, which, I feel sure, will tend to clarify our thoughts when we have had time to digest them thoroughly.

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Bro. H. C. BRUCE WILSON said:—

I should like to join in congratulating Bro. Meekren on a most interesting paper.

Although on page 7 he modestly refers to his preliminary remarks as "perhaps tedious, but not without purpose", the remarks on the methods of Masonic research are, in fact, very much the reverse of tedious and make important

criticisms on the principles on which such research should be based. Particularly useful is his reminder that Ritual is a genus, and that Masonry is a variety of one of its many species. Some day, perhaps, an author will be found who will work out a Morphology of Ritual in the same manner as Spengler has worked out his Morphology of History. But meanwhile there is a need of detailed comparisons between Masonry and other similar varieties of the same species, which might throw light, from a new angle, on the development of Masonry.

I doubt if Bro. Meekren gives its full value to the method of working forward from a supposed hypothesis. I have myself used this method on more than one occasion, with very satisfactory results. But it is, of course, necessary never to forget that these suggested hypotheses are no more than provisional working hypotheses, unless and until the accumulation of evidence renders them something more definite. The danger of the method is that it produces what Bro. Meekren aptly defines as "hypotheses posing as facts", which are the most fatal obstacles to Masonic research, and exercise a quite remarkable influence over many serious Masonic students.

With regard to the French catechisms of Guillemain de St. Victor, to which Bro. Meekren refers as having first appeared in 1781, I have in my possession, and have had for a good many years, a French MS. of 1778 by Bro. Godard, then Orator of the Frère Jumeau Lodge, which gives, among other things, what purports to be the form of Catechism in a Craft Lodge in France at that time. I have brought the relevant volume of the MS., and it is on the table as an exhibit. Godard's Catechism consists of 208 questions and answers, of which 106 belong to the Apprentice, 53 to the Compagnon, and 49 to the Master Mason; this includes a few which have been inserted later. They follow mostly familiar lines, many being identical with those in use to-day, and others repeating items in the older English catechisms referred to by Bro. Meekren. I have not been able to compare Godard's catechism with that of St. Victor, as I have not a copy of the latter, and I have been ill in the country ever since I received the proof of the paper. But they evidently differ in some details at least; as, for example, Bro. Meekren records that St. Victor has the Master, 2 Wardens, 2 Master Masons, 1 Compagnon, and 1 Apprentice; whilst Godard has the Master, 2 Wardens, 2 Compagnons, and 2 Apprentices, as we have to-day. It must be remembered that about five years before Godard's MS. the Grand Orient effected a Union of the three principal observances in France, very much as United Grand Lodge was formed in England by the Union of the two principal observances a generation later. In France, the "Ancients", the "Moderns", and the New were united to form the "Grande Loge Unique et Grand Orient de France", in which each of the three observances had an equal representation on the Council. The rituals of the three observances would presumably have had some differences which would be reflected in their catechisms. And such a Union must almost certainly have been accompanied by a consolidated catechism, which would have had the approval of the United Grand Orient, whether officially or unofficially. As Godard gives in his MS. the General Statutes and Regulations of this United Grand Orient, he must have been in conformity with it; and the catechism which he gives as in use in France five years after the Union may fairly be taken to represent the catechism approved by the Union.

On page 26 of Volume i of the *Godard MS.* is pasted a tracing board, cut from a printed work; for the 1st and 2nd degrees, illustrating Bro. Meekren's Siamese-twin theory; the print is part of the original MS. On the same print is an illustration of the "houppe dentelée", shown as a cord with one knot on each side and one tassel at each end; whilst as a frontispiece a bordercut from a summons of the Lodge of the Perfect Union of Perseverance & St. Cecilia shows the same cord with three knots on each side and three tassels at each end.

For contrast with this, I have brought down another French MS. of about a generation later, which is also on the table as an exhibit. It is a French

translation in MS. dated 1823 of a work of Jeremy L. Cross, referred to by Bro. Meekren, for the Grand Chapter of the Royal Arch in America, for all Lodges working that rite in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, and New Jersey, printed by John C. Gray at Newhaven in 1820. The translator states that he has omitted such parts as he considers as of only personal or local interest. The two frontispieces and thirty-nine plates are all copied by hand, and very well executed. On pl. 7, facing p. 242, is a representation of the "houppe dentelée", which is also described as the "bordure marquetée", and is represented in the plate as a rectangular lace border with fleur de lys at the four corners surrounding the mosaic pavement. On pl. 9 in the same MS., facing p. 244, the upper object, to which there is no reference in the text, appears to be an oblong chest or box, with a domed top, covered with a veil with four bands of embroidery, the two ends noted as East and West, with an opening in the form of a doorway in the East end—the West end is not visible: this is presumably the "box or chest" known as "the Lodge", carried in procession, placed in the centre of the lodge room, and veiled in white satin, to which Bro. Meekren refers on p. 9 of his paper. On pl. 3 of the same MS. is a quaint illustration of the Brethren meeting "on high hills and in low vales", to which Bro. Meekren refers.

There is very much interesting detail throughout Bro. Meekren's paper, and we shall all look forward to seeing it in print in the *Transactions* and to making ourselves more intimately acquainted with its contents.

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Bro. E. H. CARTWRIGHT said:—

Apparently, Bro. Meekren's principal aim in his most interesting paper is to collate all the descriptions and definitions of the term "Lodge" as used in a Freemasonic connection, in the hope that they—or some of them—may help in solving the problem of the origin of our ritual. The subject, as he says, is large and complex, and one cannot but admire the manner in which he has dealt at considerable length with the material. There are, however, a few minor points in the paper that I think call for animadversion.

Thus, he speaks of the ritual common in the U.S.A. as being derived from the "York" rite. I was under the impression that the "York" rite, in so far as the term connoted something entirely different to, and antedating, the system still practised throughout England, was an exploded myth. I have no first-hand knowledge of American workings, but from what I have gathered about them it seems obvious that they arose from the direct, or indirect, importation of the earlier form of our present system and that—no doubt as the result of constant intercommunication between the countries—it developed in America on the same lines as it did here, though I fancy that in some American jurisdictions it has in recent times been still further elaborated, for a Brother once told me that he had been present at the working of the Second Degree in an American Lodge and that it took three hours. I include "indirect importation" because there are some who maintain that the Craft and its ritual was introduced into America not directly by way of Bristol (formerly the main port of communication) but by the Lodges of Irish regiments which at one time were in America. But, after all, that comes to the same thing, since surely Ireland got its Freemasonry originally from England and that, too, mainly through Bristol, the port of communication with Ireland as it was with America.

Bro. Meekren makes the curious statement that "The Irish forms would appear to be basically the same as the 'York' rite, with much superficial contamination [his italics] from the English type." Clearly, if the "York" rite is a myth, this suggestion is absurd. One would like to know Bro. Lepper's views on this point.

It seems to me that the importation of the ritual into America by way of Bristol — whether directly or indirectly — accounts for the fact that one often hears Brethren who are acquainted with American workings and who for the first time visit a Bristol Lodge, express themselves as struck by sundry “Americanisms” in its working. The Bristol ritual retains certain old-time details which in England generally have disappeared in the course of ceremonial attenuation that had its origin in the metropolitan areas.

Bro. Meekren takes the English tradition to be prevailingly “Modern”. Does he mean by this that at the Union the working of the “Moderns” was followed rather than that of the “Antients”? Surely it is generally agreed that to all intents the forms and formularies of the “Antients” were adopted *in toto*.

Then we come to an interesting detail. Like the old lady whose religiosity was so stimulated and heartened by “that blessed word Mesopotamia”, Bro. Meekren appears to be greatly impressed by that abominable word “parallelepipedon”. He seems to regard it as ubiquitously characteristic of English working. But, in fact, of the many ritual variants now used in England (all of them the same system and differing only in unessentials), that word occurs in only one of them, and in that one it was introduced — no doubt by some would-be clever innovator — at some time between 1844 and 1870. Bro. Meekren says that in a certain connection it is a “pomposity”: I would rather say that in any Freemasonic connection it is a monstrosity. As Bro. Meekren spells it, and as it is generally pronounced by those who use it in Lodge, it is a non-existent word. A parallelepipedon (in English all the vowels are short — though in the original Greek the first “e” is long — and the main stress should fall on the second “e”) is a solid figure of which the common brick is a perfect example. Now the hypothetical Lodge as described in our working is a pyramid of infinite height whose apex is at the centre of the earth and whose cross-section at any point is a rectangular parallelogram, a plane figure. It is this cross-section that is connoted by “the form of the Lodge”, which is, therefore, not a solid figure. In Brown “the form of the Lodge” is said to be “a parallelogram”. That is an imperfect definition since that figure need not be rectangular. In Claret (1838) and in the Oxford ritual it is said to be “an oblong square”, which, though strictly speaking a contradiction in terms, conveys the intended meaning well enough. In the Exeter and Bury rituals it is a “rectangular oblong”, which is unexceptionable. There is one further curious point in this connection. In the O.E.D. besides the ordinary meaning of the word, a secondary meaning is given, namely, “a prism whose base is a parallelogram”. I may be wrong, but I do not think that in a purely geometrical connection the word is ever used in that sense, and, if that be so, I cannot help wondering whether the editor of that section of the dictionary was a Brother accustomed to the one ritual in which the word occurs, who, realising the nature of the figure therein so named, decided to add this as a meaning.

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Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

Folklore is the science which investigates survivals from bygone stages of culture. Freemasonry is such a survival and its scientific investigation is far more likely to produce reliable results than the legal methods dependant on documentary evidence used by the authentic school.

Owing to the paucity or non-existence of early Masonic documents the results of the legal method is stagnation.

If we accept Broach Dornel as a corruption of Broached Ornal, it points to a ritual in use when urnel was a recognised building stone. The folklorist would accept this, but the authenticist requires a copy of the unwritten ritual. My own view is that the broached urnal was a pyramidal stone of the stage used

so freely in perpendicular architecture as capping stones for the numerous pinnacles of that style. The broach was a spire or spike, so a broached stone would be a pointed stone.

I think there is abundant evidence in ritual that we have two traditions which have become merged. In one the working tools are the gavel, trowel and heavy maul which belong to the layer and setter. In the other are the mallet and chisel, the tools of the hewer or mason. So far as I am aware the mason was unknown in Saxon times. His work was done by the layer, setter and carver. The early Saxon churches were of timber and the Christianised ceremonies of the builders are likely to have brought in Noah and Bezaleel.

The open air meeting suggests the folk moot and the man-making ceremonies of primitive peoples. Its boundaries were the Zodiac and the sky was the roof. If a spot was specially marked out, I should expect it to be a square. With the return of the Crusader came the method of preparing stone by the use of the mallet and chisel. The men who used the method were the masons and their workshop was the lodge. This was definitely the oblong building with walls and the infinite dimensions attributed to it I consider to have been taken from the meeting-place of the older guilds.

When the Freemason Company governed the trade the ceremonies of the rough masons and the freemasons may have been made to approximate to one another, and when the ceremonies became entirely speculative they interchanged parts freely.

Unfortunately, even the authentic school take for granted much for which there is no evidence. It is always assumed that the accepted masons and the Freemasons had the same ceremonies, but if anyone cared to assert that the accepted masons were of the Noah tradition, I do not think it could be controverted.

Unless we adopt folklore methods and admit the antiquity of our ceremonies, no advance is possible. The belief in words of power and other forms of magic go back to primitive times, and I have little doubt that originally it was believed that the pretence that a building was K.S.T. had an influence on the structure. The perambulation of the lodge by the candidate and the method of preparation were originally of a protective nature. The ritual is packed with folklore, and without this explanation is an absurdity.

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Bro. W. WAPLES said:—

Bro. Meekren's notes on the word "Lodge" and its application masonically, are, in my opinion, helpful and valuable towards a solution of "that something" termed "The Lodge."

Had it not been for the numerous references to the Dedication of Masons' Halls, Public Buildings and structures *circa* 1776 - 1835, in which the "Lodge" is that "Something" carried by Past Masters in Processions, and used in the dedicatory ceremonials, there may have been considerable speculation as to its place and purpose in Masonic ceremonial.

Numerous references show, however, that whatever its origin its function in Masonry was dedicatory, that is to say—it was that part of a Lodge set aside as Holy Ground, and upon which the drama of Masonry was enacted.

It would appear that wherever it was used in a Lodge room or in the open (*i.e.*—when a public building or structure was to be dedicated), it was upon an "Oblong Square" that the actual ceremonial took place. Bro. Meekren says, "There is a wealth of evidence for the continuous tradition that the oblong square is the Lodge, and with this I agree." In the absence of references by Bro. Meekren I beg to offer a selection.

- (1) *Early English Catechisms* — (Knoop & Jones)  
i.e. — The Dialogue between Simon & Philip (circa 1730-50).  
There is depicted "an ancient form of a lodge and the new form, the caption of which reads:—'This is the new Lodge under the Desagulier's regulation'."

The descriptive matter informs us that "The Lodge as contra, is commonly made with tape nailed to the floor &c."

- (2) In the *Westminster Journal* No. 24 of 8th May, 1742, under the title of "The Freemason's Downfall &c", we find a description of a Lodge —

The true and faithful Masons Lodge  
upon which poor old Hiram made his  
entered prentices — The Masons for want  
of this are forced to make something  
like it with chalk on the floor —  
that is, when they have a Making.

- (3) *The Freemason's Magazine*, October, 1796.  
Tuesday, August 9th, 1796 — Wearmouth Bridge, Sunderland  
p. 235.

The "lodge" veiled with white Satin carried by four of the  
Senior Grand Stewards.

p. 238.

When the Grand Master and all the Masons being in front,  
and having then a full view of the Bridge, a halt was made  
and the Grand Honours given. The gentlemen who were not  
Masons were disposed of at each end of the Bridge. The Tylers  
were placed, and the Grand Lodge formed in the centre.  
The Lodge-lights &c were deposited, Lodge unveiled and  
Masonic business transacted.

p. 303.

Grand honours were given and the Lodge was veiled. The  
procession resumed its order (moved off to the High Street)  
where the Grand Master gave orders to the Senior Warden to  
have the Lodge deposited — it was accordingly placed in the  
Sea Captains Lodge room in the following form.

Tyler of the Lodge

Marshal

Masters bearing the Corinthian and Ionic Lights

The Lodge

Borne by Four Grand Stewards

Master with Doric Light

Two Stewards of the Day

Senior Grand Warden.

When the Lodge, Light, &c were

deposited and secured, and the

Brethren concerned had resumed their

places, the Procession moved off &c. &c.

- (4) *History of South Saxon Lodge* No. 311, 1797.  
from order of Procession:—

The Lodge Board covered with

White Satin carried by four

Royal Arch Masons.

Cross (copying from Webb) and other later American manuals refer to the  
Lodge (or flooring), and generally qualify the flooring as a carpet.

I think the above refer to that "something" which was the dedicated part of a Lodge.

On reference again to *The Westminster Journal* of 8th May, 1742, one finds:—

The Masters Lodge is a representation of the Coffin old Hiram was supposed to lie in, with Cross bones at the feet and a Deaths head on the upper part and the two letters M.B. &c. &c. in the middle part.

In St. John's Lodge No. 80, at Sunderland, there were formerly three old cloths for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd degrees respectively. In 1867, when the new hall was dedicated, the original "Making" Cloth was superseded by a permanent "druggetting" 8ft. x 4ft. The original second degree cloth depicting a winding stair case, and the third degree cloth, corresponding with the Master's Cloth described in *The Westminster Journal*, of 1742, are still in regular use.

Numerous references in the Province of Durham variously describe the Lodge as:—

The Lodge  
The Lodge Board  
The Lodge Boards  
The Ceremonial Board  
The Tracing Boards

and in the R.A. Chapter consecrations, as

The Chapter  
The Floorcloth  
The Ceremonial Board

In the *Freemasons' Magazine*, July, 1796, page 12, is the following:—

The Grand Secretary proclaims the new Lodge three times . . . after which the new Master proceeds to explain the Lodge.

It would be interesting to learn whether such an explanation is extant; if so, much of our surmise would be ended.

My conclusions are, that a comprehensive study of the origin of present day tracing boards would lead through a long transitional period to the time when a representation of the Holy Ground of K.S.I. was chalked upon the floor of the Lodge, and I feel that Bro. Meekren shares the same view.

As regards Bro. Meekren's mention of the "Entering of Apprentices" coming at the end of their servitude, I cannot reconcile this with the records in Durham County. In the Minute Books of the Swalwell Lodge (now Lodge of Industry No. 48) and operative until 1735, and semi-operative until 1775, the Entering of Apprentices was made when the boy was first apprenticed, as witness—

From the Penal Orders — 1725 (or before)

Order No. 4.

When any Mason shall take an Apprentice he shall enter him on the Company's records within 40 days and pay 6d. for registering on penalty of 00.08.04.

Order No. 5.

That Apprentices shall have their Charge given at the time of Registering, or within 30 days &c. &c.

Order No. 6.

If the Master and Apprentice do not show the Indentures to be recorded in the Register Book within three months after date shall pay each 00.02.06.

From the Minute Books 1725-1778.

September 29, 1725. Then Matthew Armstrong and Arthur Douglas, Masons, appeared in ye Lodge of Freemasons and agreed to have their names registered as Enterprentices to be accepted at next Quarterly Meeting paying one shilling each for entrance and 7/6 when they take their freedom.

I am assuming from the above that "Registering" means "Entering."

In conclusion may I say that Bro. Meekren's paper has given me great pleasure and I trust it will be one of more to follow.

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BRO. A. J. B. MILBORNE writes:—

It is over twenty years since I first wrote to Bro. Meekren, and during the passing years we have corresponded at great length, chiefly about ritual origins and development. In later years we have been able to meet very occasionally. At the beginning of our friendship very little had been written on the subject, and many of the MSS. sources, now readily available, were difficult to obtain. Bro. Meekren had made copies of those in the British Museum during a visit to England in 1913. Ten years later he was again in England, and gathered much additional material from the Lodge Library and the Library of the United Grand Lodge. Still later he examined the great collection of the Grand Lodge of Iowa, at Cedar Rapids, and also the archives of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, at Boston. This material formed the basis of our inquiries. My rôle was that of apprentice to master, rather than collaborator, and I gratefully acknowledge the debt I owe to him for his kindly and valuable instruction through the years. Two or three times I have met and talked Masonry with Bro. Meekren, appropriately enough, on the top of a high mountain—Owl's Head, whose eastern side rises precipitously from the waters of the beautiful Lake Memphramagog, and on which, in a natural lodge room formed in the rocky crevices of the summit, Bro. Meekren's Lodge, Golden Rule, No. 5, G.R., Quebec, has met annually on St. John's Day in Summer for nearly a hundred years.

On one occasion I borrowed Bro. Meekren's copy of *Les Francs-Maçons Ecrasés*, and had almost completed a transcript when I obtained a copy from a book dealer in Belgium. On examining my newly-acquired treasure, I noticed that the lion drawn on one of the plates wore a most benign and benevolent expression, while Bro. Meekren's lion was a ferocious-looking brute. This led to the discovery that I had a copy of a hitherto unknown 1747 edition of the work. The late Bro. Vibert was greatly interested, and wrote a note about it in *Misc. Lat.*, Vol. xx, p. 110.

While on the subject of lions, I note that Bro. Meekren mentions that the roaring lion was of Continental origin. It would seem that it roamed about a good deal, for it appears in a Ritual of 1780 used by some Brunswickers serving with the British Forces in America under General Riedesel. When the British surrendered to the Americans, the Brunswick troops were interned at Charlottesville, Virginia, with some British regiments, among which was the 20th Foot. This regiment held an Irish Warrant No. 63 for the "Minden Lodge", and it appears that a number of the Brunswickian soldiers were made Masons in this Lodge. Did the Brethren of the 20th Regiment bring the lion from Ireland, or did they adopt it while serving on the Continent?

The difficulties attending the translation of Masonic ritual from one language to another has also been noted by Bro. Meekren, and this ritual of 1780 is particularly interesting from that point of view, having been translated, presumably orally, from English (with perhaps a little Irish brogue added to give it colour)

into German, and then from German into English for reproduction in the pages of the Transactions of the Irish Lodge of Research, 1934, p. 151. One of the translators seems to have been better acquainted with the French language than the German—otherwise I am unable to account for the Jewel of the Junior Warden appearing in the translated version as “Lead, or Ground Level”.

The Lodge, too, has acquired some peculiar characteristics. Its length is “From morning to evening”. Its width “From midday to midnight”. “3 makes a Lodge, 5 makes it Regular, 7 Perfect, 9 still more Perfect, and 11 Brilliant”. There are three Jewels in the Lodge—“The Hall, the vaulted window, and the square floor”. There are three “outward ornaments”—“Mosaic Floor, Flaming Star, Tesselated Border”—and it is furnished with “The Bible, Compasses, Square, Rule, the Lead, or Ground Level”. The Master stands “In the morning”, and the two Wardens “In the evening”. The notes and translation from German into English were made by the late Bro. Reinhart T. Bailz, Secretary of the Deutschland Lodge No. 3315 E.C., London, and the original article was contributed by C. Kampe and H. Handlow to the Masonic journal, *Das Freimaurer-Museum*, Bayreuth, Vol. vi (1931), pp. 103 *et seq.*

It may be noted here that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Quebec warranted a Lodge in the Anhalt-Zerbst Regiment in 1780, registered on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England (“Moderns”) under the No. 516, re-numbered 425 in 1792. I have been unable to find any further details of this Lodge, but at a meeting of St. Andrew’s Lodge, Quebec, held on August 14th, 1783, “The Worshipful Master informed the Lodge that a Grand Lodge of Emergency was held since our last meeting, that it was for the purpose of conferring Honorary Masonick titles on Major-General Redeasel, Brigadier-General Speight, and Lieutenant Graefe, in order to Entitle them to a seat in the Germanick Grand Lodges” (Graham. *Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in the Province of Quebec*, p. 51). The Anhalt-Zerbst Regimental Lodge does not appear on a list of the Lodges in a Circular issued by the Provincial Grand Lodge dated 7th September, 1784, and the regiment had doubtless returned to its native land with the others in 1783.

I hope that members of the Lodge will note the opportunities for further investigation to which Bro. Meekren has drawn attention. For my part, I have been eagerly anticipating a critical examination of the *Graham MS.*

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Bro. H. C. BOOTH writes:—

I should like to add my thanks to Bro. R. J. Meekren for his interesting paper, *The Lodge*. He has certainly set some problem: What was “The Lodge”? The stone-mason’s workshop; his meeting room, where there was something which could be veiled and carried in processions; the varying numbers of different grades of workmen forming a Lodge; and finally the Spiritual Lodge. What was “The Lodge”?

The trouble is that the farther back you try to get the less is the material you have to work upon.

On pages 25-26 he gives us two lists of documents. I am not familiar with all of them, but with the exception of one or two of the MS. items, which may be *aide-mémoires*, the rest would be generally classed as exposures, and from that very fact are suspect. They were written apparently by men who had only a superficial knowledge of what they were writing about, and from a hazy memory. Generally written for profit from the sale of the same, for the revelation of something *secret* was bound to attract the curious.

We have to fall back on the Old Charges and their local connections, and the one or two MS. Rituals and lectures of pre-Union days.

So far as the early Operative days are concerned, I fully agree with what the late Bro. Songhurst said. The old minutes are short and to the point, as: "June 24th, 1728. Then John Robinson to ye Lodge his having taken Mattw. Bambrough Apprentice for seven years, and promises to shew or produce the Indentures at next quarterly Meeting day."

These apprentices were only boys of 14 years. They would not be at any regular meetings, except perhaps the annual Festival on the 27th December, until they were out of their time, and then became *entered* apprentices or improvers, as they were called 50 years ago, when I finished my indentured apprentice as an engineer; they were not recognised as journeymen. They then *entered* the guild or profession. But at times we have another type of entry, as: "September 29, 1725. Then Mathew Armstrong and Arthur Douglass, Masons, appeared in ye Lodge of Free Masons and agreed to have their Names Registered as Enter-pretices to be accepted next Quarterly Meeting paying One Shilling each for entrance and 7/6 when they take their freedom." Here we have men who have been through an apprenticeship, for they are called Masons. They would have some short ceremony, no doubt like the Apprentice's charge. The Lodge in those days was the business meeting room.

Then we have the arrival of the Speculative, and I quote from a MS. which says: "The following is the manner of Constituting a new Lodge, as practised by his Grace the Duke of Wharton, when Grand Master in the year 1722, according to the antient usages of Masons." It is too long to give the whole of this, so I give quotations from parts as follows:—

"The Grand Master and his officers, accompanied by some dignified clergyman having taken their stations and the *Lodge* which is placed in the centre being covered with white satin, the ceremony of consecration commences." Prayer follows.

"The chaplain or Orator produces his authority (the constitution roll) and the *Lodge* being uncovered and he being properly assisted proceeds to consecrate.

The Deputy Grand Master and Grand Wardens then take the vessels of corn, wine, and oil and the chaplain sprinkles the Elements of consecration upon the *Lodge*. . . . Incense is scattered over the *Lodge*. . . . the honors are given each time . . . The Invocation is then pronounced with the honors . . . The *Lodge* being again covered all the Brethren rise up, solemn music is resumed. . . ."

What was this Lodge which was placed in the centre, which is covered with White Satin, and on which the consecrating elements are sprinkled?

I quote now from a manuscript ritual which came down to us through Old Swalwell Lodge, a revised copy of an older one that, I believe, originated at York. This is what the late Bro. Yarker saw and called the York Rite.

This ritual begins:—

"To Open the Lodge in the F.D. The Brn. being all clothed the following arrangement of Officers, Ornaments Furniture and Jewels takes place."

Then follows the detailed placing of everything, including the proper positions of the different grades of Brethren.

Finally we have:—

"The Mosaic P., the Blazing S. and the tas. border are represented by a circular board, the ground chequered, the Sun in the centre, with the planets and satellites round it, which with all the other emblems of Science are to be in the E. and the 3 lights in the E. S. & W."

The Mosaic Pavement, the Blazing Star, and the Indented or Tesselated Border are called the Ornaments of a Masonic Lodge, and represent the Ground Work, the Sun, and the Planets and Satellites.

The Bible, Square and Compasses, Tracing Board, Rough Ashlar and Perfect Ashlar, etc., are called the Furniture of the Lodge.

Here we have something in this circular board, with its contents, that could be veiled and also carried in procession, and was referred to as the *Lodge*.

Finally, in Grand Lodge Library is a MS. set of lectures in question and answer form. Watermark 1794, an actual date 1797. The first three parts contain all the questions and answers in *Three Distinct Knocks* and a very great deal more.

In the Third Part, third section, the mystical building of the perfect Lodge is described, with the reasons for every step, and there is no doubt about this. I believe this to be Athol.

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BRO. H. A. HARTLEY said:—

Bro. Meekren is to be congratulated on an excellent paper, and thanked for the enormous amount of work he has put into it. The following criticisms should not, therefore, be thought to minimise the value of his contribution.

I must agree with him that the efforts of some Brethren whose enthusiasm has outweighed their knowledge have tended to bring less well documented research into disrepute, but I must take exception to his statement that some have failed because their attempts were based on some preconceived theory. Where facts are few, it is an accepted principle of scientific method that the creation of a theory is entirely justified provided that it accounts for the known facts, and a theory which cannot be supported by facts is a justifiable working hypothesis until a fact has been discovered which does not fit into the theory. Then, and only then, must the theory be discarded.

Bearing this in mind, there seems to be plenty of room for theories on the form of the Masonic ritual and ceremonial, and I personally was much excited when I heard that Bro. Meekren was going to tread these unfamiliar paths. I was disappointed somewhat, therefore, to find he trod them with rather hesitant footsteps. We are early taught that Freemasonry is a peculiar system of morality, veiled in allegory and illustrated by symbols, and I feel that Bro. Meekren has tended to spend too much time on examining the symbols, while obviously being uncertain as to their authenticity.

I agree with his statement that this field of Masonic research sadly lacks the inspiration such as we see in modern historical methods, and I think it is due to a reluctance shown by workers in this field to leave the well-charted path.

I shall not criticise his paper in detail, but will concentrate particularly on his thesis that "the oblong square is the Lodge".

There is a good deal of confusion as to what is the Lodge, no doubt in large measure due to the fact that the Lodge room itself is so frequently called the Lodge. There can be no doubt that an examination of extant rituals makes it clear that the Lodge is made up of Brethren, and not of furniture and jewels. In his exhaustive analysis of these rituals and catechisms, Bro. Meekren seems to have overlooked a ritual used in several of the older Scottish Lodges, of which my own mother Lodge—Fort William No. 43 S.C.—is a prominent example. The ritual of opening in the first degree contains the following phrases:—

R.W.M.	W.S.W., wherein do Masons meet?
W.S.W.	Within the body of a just, perfect and lawful Lodge.
R.W.M.	Is this a just, perfect and lawful Lodge?
W.S.W.	It is, R.W.M.
R.W.M.	How do you prove to the Brn. that this is a just and lawful Lodge?

- W.S.W. By seeing before me the Great Lights in Masonry, namely, the V.S.L. and S. and C., a Charter or Warrant, from the G.L. of S., and a sufficient number of Brn. present to hold and constitute the same.
- R.W.M. W.S.W., how many O.B.s constitute a Lodge of E.A.M.s ?
- W.S.W. Seven or more, namely, the R.W.M., the S. and J.W.s, the S. and J.D.s, and the I. and O.G.s.

Again, the fact is recognised by all Grand Lodges, for when a new Lodge is consecrated the consecration ceremony is carried out in full, even though that particular Temple may have witnessed the consecration of many earlier Lodges. It is the Founder Members who are consecrated, and they are consecrated because they are the Lodge and will start the Lodge's work.

Bro. Meekren is correct in assuming that Lodges were sometimes or formerly held in the open air. Such meetings were held by my mother Lodge before it received its Charter in 1743, and its Charter does, in fact, empower it to hold a Lodge wherever it pleases, and open-air Lodges have been held as recently as the latter half of the nineteenth century. Singularly enough, they were held in a narrow defile where the O.G. could well defend the only entrance with his drawn sword.

Again, the newly-admitted Brother, when given the Charge in the N.E., is informed quite plainly that he has laid the foundation stone of his Masonic career and is invited "to erect a superstructure . . ." The idea is very widely prevalent that if one departs from the strict letter of the material symbols, that "peculiar system of morality" is, in fact, instruction on how to erect one's spiritual temple, and that surely is what constitutes the Mason's Lodge.

We must be very careful not to take too much inspiration from the French rituals. Anyone who has had a fair amount of work to do in translating French technical literature must have been amazed and amused at the curious nomenclature devised by the French when their own language had not a suitable word. A Masonic ritual from this point of view could well be considered "technical", and a large number of the words used in French rituals are of very doubtful authenticity. The French, moreover, with their love of the flamboyant, are rather addicted to the use of extraneous trappings in their ceremonies, and this can very widely mislead those who come after. An examination of the rituals compiled by such an eminent Freemason as Albert Pike for the first three degrees of the A. and A.S.R. will illustrate the point I wish to make. These were inspired by the French formularies, to use Bro. Meekren's term, and show a theatrical conception of the three Craft degrees which would stagger a simple-minded English Brother who had never heard of these "foreign goings-on".

I must correct Bro. Meekren on one point when he refers to the height of the Lodge "from the zenith to the nadir" as being "from the earth's surface to infinity". As E.A.s we were instructed that the Mason's Lodge was in length from N. to S. and in breadth from E. to W., and the height is from Zenith to Nadir, but the whole thing is quite obviously derived from the astrological conception of the universe. The horoscope is centred on the person concerned, and represents a chart of the heavens above and below him at his moment of birth. Again, we see the Lodge, which obviously in dimensions corresponds with the astrological universe, as being centred on the individual, and the Mason's zenith is, therefore, located in a "celestial canopy of diverse colours", and his nadir is on the other half of the celestial sphere which he cannot see. Any particular part of the earth merely enters into it, because when he was born he was on a part of its surface.

At one point Bro. Meekren points out that the G.L. of S. expressly forbade the use of Tracing Cloths or Boards, and this is quite true. Indeed, the tradition is so strong in many parts of Scotland that Tracing Boards do not figure in many

of the older Lodges, nor are the subject of any lectures, although much of the history included in the English lectures is included in the normal ritual. These old Lodges have always tended to view with a certain amount of scorn the "artificial" nature of many of the devices depicted in the English Lodges, and I have even heard them referred to as "innovations".

I am absolutely in agreement with Bro. Meekren's opinion that although there may be a relationship between the Ancient Mysteries and Freemasonry, it is not of direct descent. This does not seem to be the point at which to introduce a discussion on this very interesting subject, but I would with all respect suggest that undue importance should not be attached to tracing back the origin of the symbols we use. My private belief is that they were introduced comparatively recently and are somewhat jejune in character. In particular they are no part of the Lodge.

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Bro. R. J. MEEKREN writes in reply:—

The members of the Lodge have treated my paper very kindly, and I appreciate it very much. I had really expected more disagreement than appeared, and in a way this has been a disappointment, but I hope that the thesis presented may lead others to take up the subjects in view, and proceed further than I have been able to do.

The evidence adduced in the paper is, I believe, fairly and typically representative of the three main branches of the Masonic tradition in respect of the Lodge, but I would not myself call it exhaustive.

Bro. Heaton mentions my "glossary of terms". I would like to emphasise again that I am quite indifferent whether they are accepted or not as an addition to our technical terminology, so long as in some way the distinctions they have been employed to designate are kept clear. Like Humpty Dumpty in *Through the Looking Glass*, I have made these words mean what I like; though less generous than he, I do not pay them extra. But when, for the sake of any argument, things are divided and distinguished that are usually lumped together, it is often necessary to treat words as algebraic symbols and assign to them limited and defined meanings in order to avoid continual periphrases. And in this connection I would like to say that the definitions of ritual and ceremonial given by Bro. Edwards in his *Prestonian Lecture* (A.Q.C., xlix) are much more in accord with etymology and common usage than are mine. But separate and specific terms were needed, and I did the best I could in selecting them. Nor was the use of the term "ritual" in the restricted sense original, for I here followed the lead of several writers on anthropological subjects.

I also gathered from Bro. Edwards' lecture, and it is confirmed by his present comments, that he is inclined to believe that the material collected by anthropologists and students of comparative religion and mythology, folk-lore and like subjects, can be used with advantage in attempting to solve the problems presented by the Masonic ritual and its concomitants in respect of origin and development. I am very glad of his support here, as also that of Bros. Bullamore and Wilson, for I hold this to be a most important line of advance.

In regard to Bro. Edwards' question, I have not read Frere's well-known work, but simply because I have never had the opportunity to do so, although I am, as I suspect he is too, much interested in Liturgics.

Bro. Lepper's reference to the old translation of Rabelais also interested me very much. But I am personally inclined to doubt that there can be any direct relationship between the passage he cites and the requirement, "without crow of cock". Chanticleer was a bird of good omen all over western Europe; his crowing drove evil spirits away, and he figures not only in folk-tales, but also in mythology. The subject, however, might yield interesting results if it were followed up.

I wonder if Bro. Lepper has ever noticed a number of passages in Urquhart and Le Motteux (I should guess due to the former) where phrases occur that have a very distinct Masonic flavour—I go no further than that. There are seven or eight of them, if memory serves me. For example, in Bk. iii, ch. 43, occurs “by the rule and square of whose advice . . .” and in Bk. iv, ch. 15, “made shift to tope to him on the square”. The curious thing is that in every instance these words are due entirely to the translator—there is nothing corresponding to them in the original.

With Bro. Knoop’s suggestion that the paper needed some sub-dividing I fully concur. When I first looked through the proof it struck me the same way exactly. The printer made things worse by leaving out the heading to the Addendum, which *was* in the “copy”. I may say in apology that I have usually been in the way of putting in sub-heads on the page proofs, when it is more easily seen how they will look. Perhaps I may be permitted to insert a few even yet.

I have also another apology to make, this time in respect of Bro. Knoop’s own work. The paper as first written was nearly half as long again, and was subjected to drastic surgery in revision for the fair copy. The passage in which the first reference to *Early Masonic Catechisms* occurred was excised *en bloc*, and I did not notice until too late that the second mention was thus left in the air.

In regard to what I have called the *Songhurst MS.*, for want of a better name; it seems that this title was ill-advised, being already pre-empted. And I must frankly confess that when I first used it I did not know of the copy of the *Old Charges* so entitled, nor indeed have I even yet ever seen Q.C. Pamphlet No. 2. Bro. Knoop is also quite right, I believe, in saying that no allusion to it has ever appeared in either *A.Q.C.* or *Misc. Lat.* So far as I know, it has never been mentioned in print, save one or two passing references in the *Builder*. It is rather a peculiar situation. It would appear that I am now the only one alive who has seen and examined the document in question. I had naturally supposed that it was in safe-keeping in the archives of the Lodge, and I was greatly surprised when, some few years ago, I made inquiry about it of Bro. Rickard, and found that he knew nothing of it and could find no trace of it. Nor yet of another document—the transcript of the Warrington Lodge of Lights lectures (catechisms), made and presented by the late John Yarker to the Lodge; a companion copy of the one he gave at the same time to the Grand Lodge Library. It seems, therefore, that two documents have been lost or mislaid in the last twenty years or so. Under these circumstances it may be well to put the facts on record. Being in England in 1923 and 1924, I spent as occasion served a good deal of time at 27, Great Queen Street. At the particular time I was there practically every day for some two weeks. The date is fixed by a letter to Bro. Kress. I may explain that I wrote him continued letters, as much for a permanent record for myself as for his information, in regard to the work I was doing and the books and documents of which I was taking notes. Under date of January 24th, 1924, is the following:—

When S. came in he told me that this morning he came into possession of a MS.—perhaps middle of the 18th cent. by the writing, of which the antecedents are unknown. It is at first sight a copy of the *Mystery of Freemasons*, of which there is a copy in the British Museum which I copied in 1912. But there are some slight differences, among which the following may be important: “entered apprentice” which appears in the printed version is in this “entered an apprentice”. I should on the whole be inclined to think it was copied from the published document. S. thinks probably independent. Both opinions of course off-hand.

I had not referred to this correspondence for many years, and I was in truth somewhat surprised to find that I had written the very day the MS. was discovered. It also appears that on one point my memory played me false. I did

remember that Bro. Songhurst had said that there was no reason why it should be assumed that it was a copy of the print. But I had taken the view that it probably was a copy, largely, I think, because I would have liked to think it was independent. And I had forgotten that, after our examination of the document, he had given it as his opinion that it was not a copy, and might be some years earlier than the print. He told me that he had found it in one of a number of old books he had been looking through. These books had been sent by a dealer the day before, and I remember that among them was a copy of Batty Langley's *Practical Geometry*. I pointed out the frontispiece in this to Bro. Songhurst, but he did not seem to think much of it, but mentioned that the same plate was also in the *Builder's Jewel*, and that Dring had reproduced it in his paper on the Tracing Boards. This was all new to me then.

However, after we had spent the best part of an hour over the MS., Bro. Songhurst put it into a large envelope, upon which he wrote, I presume, a description, and remarked that he would have to file and index it. I got the impression that he was not very much interested in it, and generally that he had a very low opinion of all such documents as evidence.

Another point raised by Bro. Knoop concerns the statement made in the body of the paper that the catechisms ME. and MFM. are versions of a common original. So far as I know there has never been any published discussion of this. I have referred to it in the *Builder*, and elsewhere, perhaps rather dogmatically. But in truth the relationship has always seemed to me so obvious, that once it was pointed out anyone with the two documents before him could hardly fail to see it for himself. In 1924 I did make a preliminary draft of a paper that was intended to deal with the relationships between the several items in this group and GMGr. I showed it to Bro. Songhurst, but he seemed to think that it would not be of any particular value or interest, so I went no further with it. But I have found the tabulations of resemblances and differences that I had made very useful on many occasions.

Incidentally, in regard to the *Builder*, it does not seem to be at all known in England, as Bro. Knoop has observed before. Yet it should not be more inaccessible than, for example, *A.Q.C.* is to the average Mason student in North America. The *Builder* should at least be available in Q.C. Reading Room and Grand Lodge Library if not now to be found in Leicester, Manchester and Liverpool and in the libraries of the other Lodges and Associations for Masonic research and study. They all received it as long as it was published.

The question of references was an open one. My plan at first was to give none at all, though as I went on I did not live up to this self-denying ordinance very strictly. If we could write with the same freedom that scholars generally are able to do, things would be much easier. But I do not need to point out that there are extraneous considerations to be taken into account in this case. I hope that upon reflection the members of the Lodge will at the least appreciate my motives for reserve even if they think it unnecessary. The fact that I am not dealing with a restricted period, such as it is not unusual to confine studies of this nature, makes a real difference in the present case. Those of my readers who are familiar with the kind of literature cited in the argument will find ample clues to the source in each case, while for those who are not mere references to title and page would not be, I venture to think, of very much assistance.

In regard to the Consecration ceremonies (they are not ritual in the sense defined), I do not think that it is the same thing as the Constitution. Perhaps the point was not made sufficiently clear in the paper. What Anderson gives is the Manner of Constituting a New Lodge. Preston adds to this a form for consecrating a lodge, which appears to be a modification of the ceremonial arranged for the Dedication of Freemasons' Hall. But the two ceremonials are merely in juxtaposition; they have no organic connection with each other. I take it that when the Manner of Constituting was compiled the *Lodge* (in the ritual

sense) was supposed to be drawn upon the floor in the customary way, and that no idea had then arisen that it stood in any need of consecration.

Finally, I have to confess that that it had slipped my memory that Bro. Knoop and Mr. Jones had changed their first tentative dating of DSP. I do not, however, think that this would have been overlooked had it been of real moment in the argument. So far as it goes the earlier assigned date is more favourable to what I was trying to show than the later one. But I apologise for the oversight.

I am really very glad indeed that Bro. Knoop's comments have afforded an opportunity to make the above clarifications and explanations, especially in regard to the MS. version of MFM discovered by Bro. Songhurst.

Since the above was written I have heard of the deeply regretted death of Bro. Knoop. There seems, however, no reason to make any alteration in what I wrote when he was alive. I personally shall feel the loss of a great scholar, and on certain points a worthy antagonist, very much indeed.

Bro. Hallett's article in *Misc. Lat.* was brought to my attention by Bro. Milborne, and needless to say, I read it with great interest. But I still feel that the evidence so far before us does not indicate an earlier date than the beginning of the nineteenth century for the employment of an ark or chest as a representation (or symbol) of the Lodge. And it seems to me that Webb's *Monitor* is conclusive that in America the "Floor", or painted cloth—which had taken the place of the original diagram—was still held to be the "Lodge" for the purpose of the "consecration" ceremonial.

I quite agree with Bro. Hextall's *dictum*, referred to by Bro. Hallett, that the scattering of incense upon a "Lodge Board" is unaccountable and irrelevant. In fact, I think the scattering of incense is meaningless any way. Incense is intended to be burned. But I think that if it be kept in mind that the board or cloth is a *survival*, a last shadowy representative, of the original enclosure, the incongruity from the historical point of view is removed.

Bro. Wilson's French MSS. seem to be very interesting. I trust he may be able to collate the one that belonged to Bro. Godard with the *Recueil Precieux* of de St. Victor. The catechisms appear to be unusually lengthy for French working. De St. Victor does not mention the *tapis* in any form, but I have little doubt but that it was taken for granted.

It seems from the description given by Bro. Wilson that the designs copied from the *Masonic Chart* of Jeremy Cross must have been modified. In the latter the chequered pavement has a floriated border, not indented, and certainly not at all resembling lace, nor are there fleurs de lys in the corners.

On the ninth plate by count, bearing page number 10, appears a very box-like object. It is intended for a representation of the Tabernacle. Three very flat-looking pillars are shown in the front (marked E.) with what is intended for a curtain, or veil, half drawn back. This, as all the other designs in the book, are not symbols but memnonic emblems; each refers, in its order, to a clause in the "lectures." This particular device is to remind the forgetful Brother of the statement concerning the situation of the Lodge, and the reason given is that the Temple was "so situated", and that that was because Moses thus erected the Tabernacle in the Wilderness. It would appear that the translator did not know "what it was all about" and mistook the design (very pardonably) to represent a box or chest. It would thus be another of the multitude of instances where a symbolism grew up based on misunderstanding.

I am afraid I cannot accept Bro. Wilson's parallel between the Union of the "Ancients" and "Moderns" with the formation of the Grande Loge Nationale, of France, in 1772, which a year later took the title of Grand Orient. The former was a stable union, the latter had hardly been arranged before it began to break up. If one may so describe them, the differences between "Ancients" and "Moderns" were confessional, while those between the old

Grande Loge, the Knights of the East, the Emperors of the East and West, and the Chapters of Rose Croix, were dynastic. Nor can I believe that this united body of a moment had the time, even if it would have had the desire (which I doubt) to revise ritual or catechisms. At the same time I quite believe that Bro. Godard's MS. would have been regarded as sufficiently orthodox in any grouping of French Masons of the period.

After reading what Bro. Cartwright has said I have to confess that I did not realize how completely unfamiliar with the designation "York Rite" my Brethren in England might be. It has, I suppose, the right to exist created by *usus loquendi*, seeing it is a household term among some two million Masons. Surely Bro. Cartwright has forgotten the note to the Regulations in the second edition of Dermott's *Ahiman Rezon*. "They are called York Masons because the first Grand Lodge in England was congregated at York, A.D. 926 by Prince Edwin". The Craft in America was largely of Ancient origin, and inherited *Ahiman Rezon* and all that went with it. There is not, and never has been, any idea of a *modern* derivation from the city of York. This may also clarify my meaning when I said that the Irish forms appear to be basically the same as the "York" working. It is most natural that they should be seeing the original "Ancients" were mainly Irish Masons. But as to the Brethren in Ireland, living next door, it is also natural that they should in the course of a hundred years or so have been influenced by English formularies — the word I used was the Latin *contaminatio*, not contamination, as the printer made me say in the proof. It was for that reason it was italicized. I used that form to convey a nuance of meaning. "Contamination" might easily convey an aura of disapproval, while I wished to make clear that there is nothing to deprecate or disapprove in the process; which is also inevitable whether we approve or not.

It is hard to make clear the difference between the "York" rite and the English working. It is not only differences in arrangement, but the whole texture of the forms of words is different. I am not speaking of the essential differences between the "Ancients" and "Moderns". These were all settled up in 1813, and the Modern Lodges in America followed suit. In Europe the (alleged) innovations of the "Moderns" are still retained in general, except in Lodges deriving from the A. & A.S.R. This rite, coming from America, followed the usage in these matters agreed upon in the International Compact at the Union. But though the whole English speaking Masonic world accepted, and has since followed, the simple and clear-cut requirements then promulgated, there was no overturning of accustomed phraseology or arrangement. In these respects quondam "Ancients" remained Ancient, and "Moderns" likewise remained Modern. But since then there has been that constant process of *contaminatio* (Latin again!) which has, as I see it, produced two quite distinct types of ceremonial and ritual, the English on the one hand, prevailing Modern (in the respects specified), and the "York" or American upon the other, which is basically "Ancient."

I am glad, however, to be in full agreement with Bro. Cartwright on one point — our mutual detestation of "parallelopipedon", or as I take it he prefers "parallelepipedon". This is, indeed, more proper etymologically, but seems to be the less used spelling among those whom one supposes should know — geometricians and lexicographers. I may also explain that I took the Emulation working as the representative of the English type chiefly because (from the outside) it seems to be the most widely known. But I dislike in principle as much as Bro. Cartwright appears to do the aggressiveness of its proponents and followers.

The phrase used in Exeter and Bury is, as Bro. Cartwright says, unexceptionable as a description. It is parallel to that of the Grosse Landesloge, a *rechtwinkligen langlichen Vierrek*, which might be rendered, a right-angly, longish four-corner. Though *Vierrek* is, of course, the ordinary German word for "square". But when we trace our word "square" back through the French to

its source we find it was originally just a "four-side". I contend, though, it is a mere trifle, that it is the modern usage that is incorrect. But I freely admit that it is much too convenient to discard. Still "long square" remains perfectly good, even if somewhat obsolescent English.

The conception of the Lodge as an inverted rectangular pyramid with its apex at the centre of the earth, and its cross-section at the surface a rectangular parallelogram, which Bro. Cartwright has elsewhere set forth (as *A.Q.C.* xlv, p. 93) seems to me perfectly legitimate as an interpretation, though I personally would prefer Preston's ideal structure, with its foundations going down to the centre, and its walls constructed of proper emblematical materials upon the ground plan of (if Bro. Cartwright will forgive me) the long square, and its roof the vault of the heavens. And I suppose that the improvers of Emulation had a like conception when they inserted the pompous Greek terms; though they did not know their Euclid very well or they would have called it "rectangular" instead of "regular", for this prism is just as regular when it is bounded by rhomboids as it is when bounded by rectangles. But all this is personal interpretation, about which there is no orthodoxy—fortunately. My contention is that *all* interpretation must be relatively late. The account of the "Lodge" in the first place was descriptive only; descriptive of the actual enclosure within which the primitive ritual was performed, with its natural and inevitable surroundings cryptically described.

In regard to Bro. Bullamore's comments, I may say that I have followed very closely what he has written and said in the past, and I feel sure that on many points we are in agreement, but if I understand it correctly I do not think I could accept his general position without much modification. That Craft organization, and organizations, might have an influence on esoteric matters, seems not only possible but under certain circumstances highly probable. Where there was hostility or jealousy between rival groups, as for example between the various branches of the Compagnonnage, it might well lead to such deliberate changes as were apparently made by the Grand Lodge *circa* 1730, to exclude those deemed false Brethren or irregular. And separation, however caused, will lead gradually to further differences. But I cannot believe there was ever any clean-cut esoteric division on the basis of the tools used by different sub-divisions of the stoneworkers' occupation. The pick and the axe, and also the adze, preceded the general use of the chisel; and the long chisel, used without hammer or mallet, like an old-fashioned "jumper" rock-drill, was also used for carving in the best period of pointed architecture. But the real ground for my disagreement would be that all differentiation and specialisation in a craft or trade is relatively late, while I am seeking to get behind such later modifications and adaptations to changed and changing economic and social conditions.

Naturally, on the basis that the ritual was invented or devised deliberately, at some particular time—say early in the Mediæval period—it could be quite possible that from the first there were different organisations with differing rites. But I do not think that this is Bro. Bullamore's contention, and in any case I could not accept it; for what I take to be the original ritual, as it can be discerned under the complex of our modern observances, is something that could not possibly have been invented *de novo* in the Middle Ages any more than in modern times. I am not at all dismayed by the fact that the antiquity I would ascribe to the fundamentals of the ritual would go back long before there were, in North Western Europe, any Freemasons, or workers in stone of any kind. But this is not the place to go into that.

Just one thing more. That the "pointed stone" was envisaged in Europe as a cube surmounted by a pyramid is certain. And this could be taken as being a debased derivative of the capping stone of a Gothic pinnacle. If Bro. Bullamore has read Perdiguer he may recall the erection apparently used by the *Compagnons* of the *Enfants de Salomon* for the instruction of their neophytes. From the description (none too clear) it would have been something like a pinnacle, or

perhaps more like a tall carved font-cover, in which every kind of joint and moulding was exemplified. This object, Perdiguier says, was criticised by some — at the time he wrote — on the grounds that such moulding and jointings were no longer in use. I suppose that the object represented in the illustrations in *A.Q.C.* xxiii, pp. 9 & 12, is intended for this exemplar of different kinds of carpentry and joinery. It is something of a mystery, however, in spite of Perdiguier's explanation.

I must thank Bro. Waples for some new evidence, new to me at least, although one or two of the items are familiar enough. But as I have already said, what I offered in the argument was not intended to be exhaustive (had it been within my knowledge to achieve this), but to offer a representative selection. I am, therefore, the more glad to have others bring fresh evidence pointing in the same direction.

The phrase, "Explanation of the Lodge", is still current in the "York Rite", and refers to the equivalent of the Lecture on the First Tracing Board in present-day English working. It is a narrative lecture based on the third section of the catechism of the first degree in the so-called "Webb" lectures. It is regularly given under this designation in my own lodge.

I was well aware, and indeed have been since I first read Gould thirty-five years ago, that in the old Swalwell Lodge the Apprentices were to receive "their Charge" within forty days of the registering of their indentures. It is an exceptional state of affairs and I have never felt inclined even to guess at the reason for the anomaly. For that it is an anomaly I believe, and I think that in my paper on the Aitchison's Haven Minutes (*A.Q.C.*, Vol. iii, p. 147), I made out a reasonable case for the statement to which I alluded early in the present paper. This, of course, referred only to Scotland. Outside of the County of Durham, and the two or three isolated instances and references, such as the initiation of Ashmole and Col. Mainwaring, there is simply no evidence at all for England, so we cannot assert anything, though perhaps it may be allowable to argue that the customs would be alike in the two kingdoms. There are a few indications that "free brothers" might still be found in a stone yard at the end of the 17th century, though Bro. Knoop does not rate them very highly I gather, for apparently he ignored them. But if we tentatively accept them at their face value we could infer that enterings and passings (under whatever designations) were still practised here and there in the English operative craft, *i.e.* trade. Other indications, however, rather point to an undivided rite in which the apprentice out of his time was made a Fellow in one step. Either that, or an amalgamation or telescoping of what had been two steps, such presumably as those practised in Scotland. Personally, I am inclined to the hypothesis that at first — very long ago — the ritual of initiation was one. This from internal evidence. And that later a division was made on account of changing external conditions: those changes that went on in various countries at varying periods, which led to the emergence of an employer class, the members of which sought in different ways to restrict the accession of others to that status and to create a monopoly for themselves.

Bro. Milborne's references to myself I shall pass over. But I will say that whatever small services I have been able to render him have been well worth the effort, and have actually been repaid to me in the same coin — a hundredfold.

The curious incident of the Brunswicker Lodge in captivity in Virginia is interesting. I should be inclined to classify their "work", from the excerpts given, as of a good German vintage of the period. The transformation of the cardinal points sounds very curious in English, but not in German. *Morgenland* is a very usual word for the orient. *Abendmeer* is the Atlantic ocean. The formulary of the Grand National Mother Lodge, *Zu den drei Welt-Kugeln*, has (or had) *Morgen*, *Abend*, *Mittag* and *Mitternacht* instead of the more direct terms, *Ost*, *West*, *Sud* and *Nord*.

Lead, or ground level also seems to be good German. *Blei* is used very much as we use "plumb", and *Bleiwage* (lead-balance) or *Setzwage* are usual words for the level—the instrument. *Grundwage* is apparently a plummet and line, but *das Blei* is used in the same sense.

The "Hall, vaulted window and square floor," are, I am sure, our old friends the Porch, Dormer and Square Pavement. *Die Halle* is "the Hall", but equally it is the "Porch", though *Vorhalle* may also be used. What the original of the "vaulted window" may have been I do not know. *Bogendecke* is a vaulted ceiling, but *Bogenfenster* is usually a bow or bay window. *Bogendach* is an arched roof, and *Dachfenster* is a dormer window (roof window). I have not a formulary of *Zu den drei Welt-Kugeln*, only notes, and it is possible this would give the original of the phrase.

The remainder of Bro. Milborne's remarks do not, I think, call for further notice here.

Bro. Booth's judgment upon the earliest ritual remains seems in the nature of a nemesis upon me. Often as I have referred to and quoted these documents, the present paper is the first time that I have done so without the usual deprecations and disclaimers. It seemed that after the publication of *Early Masonic Catechisms*, with its notes on the various documents, and the very pithy paper on the Masonic Catechism given by Bro. Poole before the Lodge quite recently, that these preliminaries were becoming a mere convention. I would ask a question: Is it customary in courts of law for the justice or magistrate to refuse to hear the evidence of a disreputable or suspected witness? We have to use what evidence is available and make the best of it with such critical skill and experience as we possess. I do not quite understand what Bro. Booth would have us do with it, but I have given the general principles that I follow myself in the next to last paragraph of the paper.

Bro. Booth's sketch of the probable line of development of the ceremonial of Freemasonry (and I take it he is not using the word ceremony in other than its usual colloquial sense) follows a pattern that has been frequently given as a solution of the problem of the origin of the ritual. It was common to many of the founders of the historical school of Masonic research. But none of those who have advanced it have apparently ever seen that it was a pure assumption. No evidence was ever offered in support, its common-place plausibility was taken as its sufficient warrant. But no legal procedure, no business formalities, ever evolved into a ritual pattern, the analogues and parallels of which are only to be found in the survivals of folk custom, and the rites of primitive magic. As I have—briefly—described my method, and my canons for dealing with evidence, it seems to me that here was the proper place for Bro. Booth to have attacked my position and not in subsidiary details. I hope sincerely he will not feel I am taking an unfair advantage of my right of reply if I take this as a text, or at least as an opportunity, to express a certain discontent I have often felt with Masonic research, outside of, and always excepting the purely historic. It seems as if we could never get on, but, as St. Paul put it in quite another connection, we are always to be returning to the weak and beggarly elements. I am not referring to the discussions in Quatuor Coronati Lodge particularly, my complaint is general. In other investigations a body of accepted doctrine is gradually built up, which all concerned can, and do, take for granted. I remember, as a boy, a bright and sardonic-humoured examiner setting a paper in Euclid. He asked for the proof of a theorem, fortunately not too far along in the first book, which he desired should be proved from the ground up, using only the postulates and axioms for reference. Such it seems to me is what we are continually doing in our researches into the origins of the distinctive and most intriguing feature of Freemasonry—its ritual.

Of the three MSS. cited by Bro. Booth, and judging by what is said of them, I should say that the first must be a compilation, based upon Anderson's account of Wharton's procedure in constituting new lodges and the account of

the ceremonial at the dedication of Freemasons' Hall, or more likely from some edition of Preston's *Illustrations*. The one that he says is derived from the old Swalwell Lodge may quite well be authentic, in that it may have been used in one or more Lodges, but is evidently abnormal in respect of the form of the Lodge.

The one dated 1797 has evidently come to light since I was last in England. It sounds interesting, and if it should prove to be a set of "Ancient" lectures of the period it would be important, for there is very little direct evidence about these between 1760 in England, and *circa* 1800 in America.

I trust Bro. Hartley will forgive me if I say that while he in one place credits me with something like omniscience concerning matters ritualistic, he in other places corrects me concerning Masonic formularies I do happen to know. I did not overlook the one used in his Lodge; for one cannot overlook what one has never seen or heard of. But I do have a printed work, purporting to be Scottish, in which the form of opening is almost identical with the quotation he gives, so far as it goes. I classed it, and some others I possess, also apparently published for use in Scotland, under the English type, and I refer to the paper for my reason for using this designation. I did not, however, suppose it was necessary to explain that when I classed certain things together I did not mean they were all alike. A mouse differs in quite a number of anatomical points from a whale, but both are classed as mammals; and no one so far as I know questions the classification.

I am glad to have his confirmation of the statement that the Grand Lodge of Scotland forbade the use of painted floor-cloths. However, David Murray Lyon, who was my authority, does not mention "boards". (*Hist. Lodge of Edin.*, 1873, p. 195). From the excerpt from the records there given it seems quite clear that it was not the *use* of "floors" that was condemned, but that as permanent floorings, painted on cloth, "might be of pernicious consequence to Masonry" they were in consequence "forbid". Lyon indeed goes on to say expressly that "in earlier times" the "symbols peculiar to each degree were usually drawn on the floor of the lodge-rooms", thus indicating that exactly the same usages prevailed in Scotland in this regard as in England.

It is somewhat humorous to find that Bro. Hartley finds so little cogency in my argument that he can say that I *assume* that lodges "were sometimes or formerly held in the open air". However, it is perhaps not fair to take this *au pied de la lettre*; it is so difficult to say what one means exactly, and when one tries particularly to do so the probability is that it will be the more thoroughly mistaken and misunderstood.

I am a little surprised to find that I am understood to reject the use of hypotheses, by Bro. Wilson as well as by Bro. Hartley. But whether their use is to be approved or not, it seems to me that they are inevitable. In any case, my paper began in hypothesis and leads into others, and is ready to bud them all along. I did not draw attention to this, for it did not seem particularly relevant to do so.

One more thing I would like to add in order to prevent, if possible, any misapprehension on the point. My argument led to a primitive outdoor assembly at or about a delimited enclosure of some kind or other. This I called the Lodge. And this I did for the reason that it is so called in all the traditional accounts, from the present day back to the obscurities of the beginning of the 18th century. If my hypothesis—I will call it that—is well founded, and if those of the occupation of stone-workers and builders in stone, or some of them, inherited certain usages and ritual observances from testators unknown (though possibly to be guessed at), then this outdoor enclosure, if it had any designation at all, was *not then called the Lodge*. And as a *sub-hypothesis* I would suppose that the applying the name of the workshed to it was originally part of that system of cryptic descriptions which grew up, naturally enough, in the examination of strangers claiming to be of the craft.

FRIDAY, 5th MARCH, 1948

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HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. Wallace E. Heaton, P.G.D., W.M.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., as I.P.M.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., as S.W.; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, P.G.D., J.W.; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, P.A.G.Reg., P.M., Treas.; *Rev.* H. Poole, *F.S.A.*, P.A.G.Chap., P.M., Sec.; L. Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, P.A.G.Reg., P.M., as D.C.; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; N. Rogers, P.Pr.G.D., Lancs., E.D., as I.G.; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.D., P.M.; and S. Pope, P.Pr.G.Std., Kent.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. F. L. Bradshaw; F. W. Hawes; R. R. Brewis; S. F. Braham; C. M. Rose; C. R. Walker; S. J. Bradford, P.A.G.D.C.; W. Cuffley; H. W. Lemon; J. Vidler; W. E. Ames; F. C. Taylor, P.G.D.; N. G. W. Walker; G. H. H. Townsend; H. E. Mackenzie; J. F. Wood; H. T. Perkins, P.G.D.; W. E. Baker; H. Chilton; J. S. Ferguson; A. F. Cross; F. H. H. Thomas, P.A.G.D.C.; W. W. Myers; L. J. Prince; H. T. Ferrier; B. E. Jones; G. H. Smith, P.A.G.D.C.; W. E. Boynett, P.G.St.B.; H. Liss; E. V. Winyard; L. J. Huxtable; J. J. Gerry; E. Alven; A. M. R. Cann; F. V. Hazell; C. F. Sykes; P. Feldman; L. J. Humphries; R. Hulme; T. A. Caress; M. R. M. Cann; F. J. Bryan, P.G.D.; H. A. Hull; R. C. Hull; B. G. Stewart; S. E. Ward; J. C. Suter; H. E. Cohen; A. H. Hartley; and J. D. Daymond.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. E. J. Chapman, Lodge No. 2789; W. Hogben, Lodge No. 972; E. W. Smith, Lodge No. 211; F. C. Booth and S. Mayes, Lodge No. 6147; G. E. Cohn, Lodge No. 41; and G. Dene, Lodge No. 2809.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, P.G.D., Pr.G.M., Bristol, P.M.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.A.G.Chap., 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.; *Wing-Commr.* W. I. Grantham, *O.B.E.*, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.D.S.B., P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwickshire, P.M.; *Col.* C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. Jenkinson, P.Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.D., Cheshire; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, P.M.; F. R. Radice, *L.G.R.*, P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; G. S. Knocker, *M.B.E.*, P.A.G.Supt.W.; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B.; *Cmdr.* S. N. Smith, *D.S.C.*, *R.N.*, P.Pr.G.D., Cambs.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*; J. Johnstone, *F.R.C.S.*, P.A.G.D.C.; and E. H. Cartwright, *D.M.*, *B.Ch.*, P.G.D.

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Two Lodges, three Lodges of Instruction, and fifty-eight Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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The W.M. presented a testimonial to Bro. *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.D., P.M., late Secretary of the Lodge, in the form of a cheque subscribed by the members of the Lodge.

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Bro. S. POPE read the following paper:—

## MILITARY LODGES AND MILITARY MASONS IN EAST KENT DURING THE 18<sup>TH</sup> AND EARLY 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

BY BRO. S. POPE



GEORGE Parker, sailor, soldier, actor, author and lecturer, was born in 1732 at Greenstreet, near Canterbury, in which city he was educated at the King's School. In his *Praise of Masonry* he says:—

“To those who have to vary the stages of their lives as itinerants, there is hardly a more serviceable or more honourable appellation than that of Free-Mason.”

By the time that George Parker was writing his *Praise* his active service days were over, and he probably had in his mind his peregrinations as actor and lecturer; nevertheless the history of Freemasonry in the 18th and early 19th centuries shows that Masonry was highly appreciated by military men of all ranks and that they took a prominent part in its development; possibly they had a hand in compiling the early ritual, and it is interesting to note that in *Jachin and Boaz* the precision of action observed at one point during the singing of the Fellow Craft's Song is compared with certain military drill of the period. We are informed that when the word “Badge” is reached in the line

“Distinguished by the Badge\* they wear”

\*“Here the whole Lodge strike their Right Hands all at once on their Aprons, keeping as regular Time as the Soldiers in *St. James Park*, when they strike their Cartouch-Boxes”.

A reminder of the Military Lodges which prevailed in Kent during the early part of the 19th century was provided in 1945, when an old Masonic Apron was presented to the Cinque Ports Lodge No. 1206, Sandwich. It was found in the office of a local firm of Solicitors, and is considered to have belonged to the founder of the firm, “Richard Emmerson, a very old and prominent Mason, who was a member of an old Sandwich family going back for several generations”; he was Master of the Cinque Ports Lodge in 1872 and was appointed Provincial Grand Junior Warden the same year; in 1891 he was G.St.Br. of England, and his name appears among the Past Masters of the Lodge until 1906.<sup>1</sup> One of the Barons of the Ancient Court of Shepway Brotherhood and Guestling, selected for the honour of supporting the canopy over King George IV at his Coronation—as was their privilege—was “their esteemed townsman Charles Emmerson Esq.”<sup>2</sup>

The apron is 20 inches square and is made of linen, lined or edged with half-inch black ribbon upon which has been sewn silver tinsel. The design appears to have been originally painted in pale blue and afterwards gilded or painted over; from the varying skill displayed and colouring used it would seem that additional emblems have from time to time been added; the coffin bears the date 1807 and on the flap of the apron is “No. 898”. Bro. Heron Lepper

<sup>1</sup> *Freemasons' Manual for Kent*.

<sup>2</sup> *Gates of the Ancient Port and Borough of Sandwich* (Rev. B. Austin).

informs us that "The Apron is Irish and that Lodge No. 898—(1801-1848)—was the Lodge in Meath's Militia, which afterwards settled in Kells in Co. Meath. The Militia was stationed on the South Coast in Kent for watch duty during Napoleonic times". It would thus appear that this old apron has probably remained in the Sandwich district since it was left there by its wearer, a Military Mason.

This apron is somewhat similar to "A Curious Masonic Apron" described and illustrated by Bro. Dr. D. R. Clark, M.A., F.S.A., Scot.,<sup>1</sup> which he considered "had its origin in the North of Ireland soon after the year 1817". Symbols, with Bro. Clark's explanations, which are common to both aprons are:—

The Dove and Olive Branch: Ladder with Three Steps: a Cross tied with a Knot which "Bro. W. J. Hughan is inclined to refer to the 'Union Bands' as worked in Ireland, Scotland and England early in this Century [19th]. The Rod and Serpent refer to the working of the veils, as still practised in Scotland and Ireland in the Royal Arch, also the Pot of Manna which in the early part of this century [19th] appears to have been commonly employed in the same connection. The degrees of Royal Arch, Ark Mariner, and K.T. (Cock, Lamb, Lights on Triangle, etc.) are clearly defined".

An early newspaper reference to Freemasonry in East Kent concerns a Military Lodge: it appeared in the *Canterbury News-Letter* and reads as follows:

"Canterbury, December 29th, 1753.

Thursday last, being St. John's Day, was celebrated by a body of the Ancient Fraternity of Free-Masons, which belonged to the Earl of Anchram's Regiment of Dragoons in Sandwich, who assembled there, and walked in procession thro' the Town, with an agreeable Sett of music attending them, which gain'd great applause from the spectators etc."

The Earl of Anchram, subsequently 5th Marquis of Lothian (Grand Master of Scotland 1794-5), served for many years in his fathers' regiment, the 11th Dragoons, in which a Lodge was established by the Grand Lodge of England "in Capt. Bell's Troop—while he held a commission in 1756. He commanded successively the 12th Foot, the 4th Regiment of Horse, the 1st Life Guards and finally his original corps, the 11th Dragoons. He reached the rank of General in the army in 1796".<sup>2</sup>

The date of the Warrant of the Lodge "in Capt. Bell's Troop" was 7th February, 1755, and its number was 211; in 1770 the number was 155 and in 1781 it was 124. The Lodge was erased in November, 1782.<sup>3</sup>

"Visitors to the Faversham Lodge, then No. 259, included some of Lord Anchram's Dragoons" and "Thomas Leadbeater, serj. in Lord Anchram's Dragoons", was initiated, passed and raised in 1770.<sup>4</sup> There were members of the Regiment as visitors in 1771, also in 1778, when we find that "visitors included brethren from the 11th Regiment of Light Dragoons". To show that the Faversham Lodge was not transgressing, I will quote the regulations on the subject from Gould's *Military Lodges*.

"No restrictions with respect to the class of persons who might be initiated in a Regimental Lodge were ever imposed by the Grand Lodge of Scotland. But by a law of 1768 the Irish Army Lodges were prohibited from making any townsman a Mason in a place where there was a registered Lodge; and the town Lodges, in a similar way, from initiating 'any man in the Army where there was a warranted Lodge in the regiment, troop, or company, or in the quarters' to which

<sup>1</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Gould's *Military Lodges*, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Lane's *Masonic Records*.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Lodge of Harmony* (G. G. Culmer).

he belonged. The zone of exclusive jurisdiction, or radius within which no military could encroach upon the domain of a town Lodge, was afterwards enlarged, and from the year 1850 no Army Lodge has been allowed to initiate a civilian in any part of the British dominions, when there is a registered Lodge held within ten miles of the place where he resides, or where such Army Lodge then meets.

"The powers of the English Regimental Lodges were not interfered with until after the union of the two Grand Lodges in 1813. Two years later a new code of laws was enacted, from which I extract the following:—

'No military lodge shall, on any pretence, initiate into Masonry any inhabitant or sojourner in any town or place at which its members may be stationed, or through which they may be marching, nor any person who does not at the time belong to the military profession, nor any military person below the rank of a corporal, except as serving brethren, or by dispensation from the Grand Master or some Provincial Grand Master'."

Thomas Dunckerley was a visitor at the Faversham Lodge on 5th March, 1773—Bye Lodge. He also visited again "December 27th, 1774, being Provincial Grand Lodge", when the Prov. Grand Master, Captain Charles Frederick, invested his Officers, all of whom were from the Faversham Lodge. This was the first time a Prov. Grand Lodge meeting had been held within the Faversham Lodge; it would thus appear that Dunckerley's visit in 1774 was in connection with the appointment of Capt. Charles Frederick as Provincial Grand Master of Kent, and that he attended to invest him as such.

"In 1775 there were numerous visitors from the Inniskilling Regiment, including Lord Robert Kerr, Capts. Newsham and Gunn; amongst those who were initiated were the Hon. William Ogilvie, Lord Banff, Horace Churchill Esq., Richard Nevers Esq., and William Porter, surgeon in the regiment."

A Warrant of Constitution for a Royal Arch Chapter in this regiment had been granted by the York Grand Chapter,<sup>3</sup> as, at a meeting in October, 1770, "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 and 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'."

"At one time or other 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."

"When the Inniskillings 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."

<sup>1</sup> Gould's *Military Lodges*, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Lodge of Harmony* (Culmer).

<sup>3</sup> *The York Grand Chapter*, G. Y. Johnson, *A.Q.C.*, vol. lvii.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, discussion by Bro. Pick.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, Bro. J. Heron Lepper.

"It is well known that Warrants issued by the 'Moderns' recognised only the three Craft Degrees, while those of the 'Antients' virtually included from the first the Royal Arch."<sup>1</sup> In spite of this the Inniskillings applied for and obtained a "Modern" Royal Arch Warrant from York. Is it not possible that this travelling Lodge, under the constitution of the "Antients", may have found that, generally speaking, whereas mixing with "Moderns" in a Craft Lodge was seldom possible, they were received with open arms as Royal Arch Masons, which may account for their desire to possess a "Modern" Royal Arch Warrant?

"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 the 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."<sup>2</sup>

The suggestion has been put forward that the spreading of Freemasonry, so far as the British Colonies and Dominions are concerned, may have been carried out by Military Lodges. The activity of the "St. Andrew's Royal Arch Lodge held in the 2nd Regiment of Grays" in spreading Royal Arch Masonry has been noted, and the following, from the *History of the Lodge of Harmony*, No. 133, *Faversham*, demonstrates how that same Lodge assisted in that work in Kent some five years before the First Royal Arch Chapter was chartered in the Province:—

"1778. Visitors from the Royal Scotch Greys Regiment and elsewhere. Expences of a Bye-Lodge held 21st December when seven brethren were exalted to the Super-excellent Degree of a Royal Arch Mason, by the assistance of Bro. Sumpter of this Lodge, and brethren of the Royal Arch Lodge of St. Andrew, held in the Regiment of Royal Scotch Greys. £1-12-6d."

The names of the Brethren exalted at this "Bye-Lodge" were:—

Bros. Robert Lukyn	}	Members of the Faversham Lodge
Julius Shepherd		
John Hall		
John Creswell		
Philip Duly		
James Cantis		Tyler of the Faversham Lodge
James Watson		(Private)

Bro. Sumpter was already a Royal Arch Mason, and he was assisted by "Bros. Beattie, Alexander Leishman (sergeant), & George Penn (Private) members of the Royal Arch Lodge held in the Regiment of Scotch Greys."

These particulars were taken from a few items written in the Craft Lodge Minutes (the Minutes consist of notes written in the margin of the Register of Attendance). The references to Royal Arch Masonry only cover the period 21st December, 1778, to 10th March, 1779.

"This Regiment (Scots Greys) was probably stationed in Faversham or Ospringe for some weeks. Situate on the high road to London (Watling Street), it was a halting place for regiments on the March, and companies were sometimes here for several weeks, especially during the Napoleonic crisis. Many regiments had Lodges connected with them, and it is easily understood how these Masons probably visited Craft Lodges and the exaltations suggested and carried out by dispensation on December 21st, 1781, and the following regular Lodge meetings

<sup>1</sup> *Masonic Facts and Fictions* (Sadler), p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Bro. H. C. Booth in discussions on *The York Grand Chapter, A.Q.C.*, vol. lvii.

on the other dates, 13th January, 1779; five Faversham brethren exalted, the four members of the St. Andrew's Lodge being again visitors; one Faversham brother was exalted 27th January, 1779, and another 10th March, 1779."<sup>1</sup>

Four of the five Faversham Brethren exalted in 1778 afterwards became members of the Chapter of Concord No. 38, Canterbury—probably previous to 1786, when "Bro. Julius Shepherd was appointed G. Superintendent of R.A. Masons for Kent"<sup>2</sup>—but there is no record of a Royal Arch Chapter being formed in Faversham until 1821.

Concerning the Grand Master of Scotland when the Warrant was granted to the Scots Greys, Bro. Gould says:—

"James Adolphus Oughton, a natural son of Sir Adolphus Oughton—one of the Military members of the Lodge at the Horne, 1724—served with the 37th Foot at Culloden, and also (in command of that regiment) at the battle of Minden in 1780, was a Lieutenant-General and Colonel of the 31st Foot. Amidst all his campaigns he cultivated a taste for literature and the fine arts, and in the opinion of Dr. Johnson, there were few men of any profession whose range of general knowledge was more complete."<sup>3</sup>

General (then Lieutenant-Colonel) Oughton was Provincial Grand Master of the Island of Minorca under the "Moderns" in 1752, and became a member of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning at Edinburgh in 1754.

"In 1777, the Lodge 'Scots Greys Kilwinning', in the 2nd or Royal North British Dragoons, having lost their Charter and all their records in the wars, petitioned for a Warrant from the Grand Lodge, which was granted and the Lodge re-constructed by General Oughton—12th March—as the 'St. Andrew's Royal Arch'."<sup>4</sup>

The affiliation of a Regimental Lodge by a Grand Master, who was also at that time commanding the King's forces in Scotland, points out to us the estimation in which Military Masonry was then regarded, and the significance of the event is heightened by the circumstance that the Master of the "St. Andrew's Royal Arch", Colonel William (afterwards 6th Lord) Napier, was in command of the 2nd Dragoons.

Among the visitors to the Faversham Lodge in 1779 were some Dutch prisoners of war from Wye; three of these were initiated, passed and raised in 1797 and one in 1798.

In 1804 there are visitors from the West Middlesex Militia and the 3rd Battalion of the West Yorks Militia. In 1805, 28th May, an emergency Lodge was held to raise a Brother of the West York Regiment ("which marches hence to-morrow").<sup>5</sup> These Military Masons and Dutch prisoners of war were not made members of the Lodge.

As Gould observes, "It is, perhaps, not to be greatly wondered at, that, with very few exceptions, all the vast array of actual records which would have thrown a much-needed light on the proceedings of Army Lodges have disappeared." We have, therefore, to fall back upon the slender evidence afforded by reports of Masonic functions and processions in which Military Lodges took part and the visits paid by Military Masons to civilian Lodges. As is to be expected, these occur more frequently in the records of those Lodges which were under the constitution of the "Antients". The Faversham Lodge, however, appears to have been the exception, for although it was a "Modern" Lodge, perhaps the fact that it started out as "Antient" accounts for its "Traditioner" outlook and for its readiness to co-operate with other Lodges—irrespective of their dependency—which was not common during the controversy of the "Moderns" v. "Antients".

<sup>1</sup> *History of Lodge of Harmony* (Culmer).

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Military Lodges* (Gould).

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *History of Lodge of Harmony*.

## HYTHE

The earliest Minute Book of the Prince Edwin's Lodge, Hythe, available at the time of writing, commences 6th January, 1814; the number of the Lodge at that date was 215 and "The Lodge opened agreeable to the old Institution". As would be expected, its members included a number of military men, most of whom were of necessity members of the Lodge for a short time only. Among items concerning Military Masons there are references to the "Chair Degree".

7th April, 1814: When "Bros. Sunderland, Hasty, Castle, Pickering, Crowther, Laws and Graham passed the Chair". In the Minutes this is also referred to as "taking the Past Master's Degree" or "being advanced to the fourth degree".

18th July, 1821: "The Lodge passed to the second and third degrees when Brothers Tiffin, Castray, Norman and King, also Brother Turner [visiting from 170 Military Lodge, Ashford] and Brother Shallard [visiting from Lodge 389] were initiated into the degree of Past Master or Master in the Chair. . . ."

The "Chair" degree being taken by visiting Brethren explains the appearance of the  $\mathfrak{F}$ , used by 18th century Royal Arch Masons after their signatures, by "Modern" Masons before the formation of Royal Arch Chapters in Kent.

There is a blank page in the Minute Book indicating a break from 6th July, 1815, to 6th October, 1819, on which date Bro. Laws, "of the Royal Staff Corps", who had been initiated in 1814, was "appointed Treasurer until the next St. John's Day". Bro. Williams, also of the Royal Staff Corps, who had been initiated the same year, was among the seven Brethren present, thus showing that this Lodge is in some measure indebted to its old military members for helping to keep the Lodge alive during lean years. The decay of Military Lodges has been attributed to the introduction of the Short Service System, and it will be noted that these two zealous military Masons were in the "Royal Staff Corps" and therefore long service men, despite which it had been necessary for them to seek "light" in a civilian Lodge.

In 1829 "the Order of the Ark" and "the Order of the Mark" were conferred on two military members, Bros. Johnson and Long: it will be noted that the term "Order" is used and not degree, possibly because in 1813 Freemasonry under the Grand Lodge of England had been declared to consist of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch.

## DOVER

We are told that "excluding Military Lodges with Warrants located at Dover, etc., because sojourners only (though during the 18th century they were the means of making Freemasonry known in Great Britain and Ireland, as well as abroad, better than any other medium), there were many static charters issued by the 'Antients' for Kent."<sup>1</sup>

Local newspaper reports and old minute books show that the friendly relationship and mutual support existing between civilian Lodges and the Military Lodges meeting at the Castle was of great assistance in keeping Freemasonry alive in Dover during the period under consideration. In the *Kentish Gazette* we read:—

"Canterbury, June 29th, 1782.

Monday being the Festival of St. John the Baptist, the Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons assembled at the Private Room in Biggin Street, Dover, and afterwards went to the Castle and joined the gentlemen officers belonging to the 59th Regiment

<sup>1</sup> *Masonic Illustrated*, April, 1903.

of Foot, and walked in procession (accompanied with the band) to Bro. Dodd's where an elegant entertainment was provided on the occasion, and the day spent in the utmost harmony and brotherly love".

The Lodge meeting in Biggin Street in 1782 was probably the Lodge of Love and Unity, No. 518 under the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns", the date of whose Warrant was 1779 and which met at the "Private Room in Biggin Street" in that year.<sup>1</sup>

The Lodge in the 59th Regiment of Foot was No. 243, Irish Constitution, 1754-97.<sup>2</sup>

There was another Lodge called Love and Unity, which was named in 1813, its number being 203 under the Constitution of the "Antients"; the Warrant of this Lodge was dated 17th December, 1777, and it met at the Canteen Garrison of Dover in 1777 and at the Swan Tavern, Dover Pier, in 1793; it was erased in 1837.<sup>3</sup>

Bro. Canon J. W. Horsley has given us some notes from the Minute Books of this old Lodge, in which we are told:—

"On March 21st, 1795, 'the diffrant Arch Masons mett for the Quarterly Communication'. On January 8th, 1797, at a Lodge of Emergency, 'Bro. Emanuel Emanuel this evening having been proposed to pass the Chair, passed it accordingly, paying 12s. for the step'."<sup>4</sup>

It is unusual to hear of a Brother having to "pay for the step"; it would appear that either he was not a member of the Lodge, or that the payment was for the Lodge of Emergency. It will have been noted that in 1823, at a meeting of the Prince Edwin Lodge, Hythe, visiting Brethren were among those who "were initiated into the degree of Past Master or Master in the Chair". It would seem that this is what happened in earlier days, when Bro. Sumpter, of the Faversham Lodge, in 1778 assisted to exalt members of his Lodge. Although this was five years before the first Royal Arch Chapter was constituted in Kent, Bro. Sumpter was already a Royal Arch Mason.

## CANTERBURY

There was a Military Lodge in the 17th Regiment of Light Dragoons, No. 285 ("Antient"), the date of whose Warrant of Constitution was 27th November, 1794, which met at Canterbury in 1799.<sup>5</sup> The only civilian Lodge in Canterbury at that time was the Industrious Lodge, No. 326 under the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns", of which no Minute Books survive. The Treasurer's Book, however, shows that Military men were at that time being initiated, passed and raised, but there is no suggestion of any co-operation with Military Lodges. For evidence of that we have to wait until 1806, when Lodge No. 24 under the Grand Lodge of the "Antients" was formed in Canterbury.

Bro. H. Sadler points out that "Unfortunately the earliest lists of members of the 'Antient' Lodges are not now available (probably having been destroyed prior to the Union in 1813), and the Registers seldom contain information as to the former Lodges of founders or joining members."<sup>6</sup> He then tell us that the "Antients" recognised no difference between Irish Masons and members of their own jurisdiction in applications for Warrants, and he quotes the Industrious Lodge No. 31, Canterbury—"Antient" No. 24, Constituted 24th March, 1806.

<sup>1</sup> Lane's *Masonic Records*, also Appendix C.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Freemasonry* (Gould).

<sup>3</sup> Lane's *Masonic Records*.

<sup>4</sup> *Author's Lodge Transactions*, vol. iii.

<sup>5</sup> Lane's *Masonic Records*.

<sup>6</sup> *Masonic Reprints and Revelations*, p. 65.

"A Lodge No. 24 was Warranted by the 'Antients' at Bristol on the 17th October, 1753, but it existed only about ten years, and the petitioners for the above named Lodge were given the dormant number".

We are given the Petition, also

"A List of Brothers wishing to form themselves into a body:—

George Taylor of 207	as	W.M.
Thomas Powell of 522		S.W.
Duke Buckingham of 400		J.W.
Aaron Paris	..	do.
Jacob Hart	..	do.
John Spiers	..	do.
C. Baines	..	do.
James Crawford	..	243.

The Lodge to be holden at the Sign of the Marquis of Granby in Canterbury in the County of Kent. Lodge nights, the second and fourth Saturdays".

A letter of recommendation was "signed in open Lodge 12th March, 1806, by the W.M., S.W., J.W., and Secretary of Lodge No. 266" (now the Lodge of Peace and Harmony, Dover, No. 199) and "the Petition was also strongly recommended by the Irish Lodge No. 400".

"Lodge No. 522, I.C., was then held in the 4th Regiment. The five petitioners next in rotation were members of Lodge No. 400, then held in the 13th Light Dragoons on the Roll of the Grand Lodge of Ireland. Duke Buckingham, the first Junior Warden, is described as Farrier Major, Royal Horse Artillery, Aaron Paris was a confectioner, Jacob Hart a silver smith, Charles Baines and John Spiers were Quartermasters in the Royal Horse Artillery. James Crawford was an old member of No. 243, Chatham, now No. 184. He was a tailor residing in Canterbury, and the first Tyler of Lodge No. 24. After the Union of the two Grand Lodges in 1813 this Lodge became No. 37; on closing up the numbers in 1832 it became 34 and in 1863 was awarded the number it now bears."<sup>1</sup>

The decision of Aaron Paris, Duke Buckingham and Jacob Hart to become "Irish Masons" would appear to have been taken somewhat hurriedly, as the first two signed the yearly accounts of the Industrious Lodge on 13th March, 1806, *i.e.*, eleven days before Lodge No. 24 was constituted, and they probably joined Lodge No. 400, Irish Constitution, with a view of becoming founders of Lodge No. 24. The new Warrant issued actually gave the name of Bartholomew O'Brien as Master, but the first time his name occurs in the Minute Book is "May 8, 1807, Visited by Br. O'Brien from Lodge 400": he joined the Lodge 7th July, 1807, and was Master during 1810, 1811 and 1812.<sup>2</sup> There was a re-arrangement of Principal Officers from that given in the list of founders when the Petition was presented, and the failure of "George Taylor of 207" to occupy the chair of the new Lodge may have been, as will be noted later, due to the state of his health; Duke Buckingham disappears after a year as J.W., but Aaron Paris—who must have received instruction in "Antient" working from his Brethren of Lodge 400—successfully occupied the Chair, for on 28th May, 1807, "a medal was presented by Br. Baines in the presence of the Lodge to our Wor. Master for his Meritorious Integrity in forwarding so flourishing a Lodge in so short a space of time".

Of the four Lodges from which the Petitioners hailed there was only one which could be termed a Civilian Lodge, No. 207, Sheerness. At the end of "Rules, Lodge No. 24",<sup>3</sup> there is a MS. list of members from 1806-1815, in all

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix A. B and C.

87 members, of whom 32 are given as military men. Some of the remainder would seem to have been initiated in Military Lodges, as one reads:—

“1811: William King, Miller, Sturry, from 960, I.C.

1814: Jeams Irving; To (do) with flowers (Florist?), 602, I.C.

And there are others from Lodges under the English and Scottish Constitutions. As these were local men, the probability is that they entered Masonry while serving in the army. A number of members are also entered as “being on Foreign Service”.

The Minute Book makes no mention of the Consecration of the Lodge: the date of the first meeting—called “an occasional Lodge”—was 21st April, 1806,<sup>1</sup> when the under-named Brothers were Installed in Antient and due form as officers of Lodge No. 24, viz.:—

Brother Aaron Paris	Master
.. Thomas Powell	S.W.
.. Duke Buckingham	J.W.

“Present, W.M. and Wardens of Lodge No. 266 under the Ancient Constitution of England, also the W.M. and Wardens of Lodge No. 400 under the Constitution of Ireland”. These were the two Lodges who recommended the petition.

The first Minutes were signed by the Tyler and a little later by the Tyler and Secretary; it was not until 23rd January, 1834, that the Minutes were signed by the W.Master.

Officers were elected “for the ensuing half year” at the meeting preceding that held on St. John’s Day, and they included the following:—W.Master, Senior and Junior Wardens, Senior and Junior Deacons, Tyler and Secretary. In the Minutes of the second meeting we find amongst those present “Jacob Hart T”. Jacob Hart was Treasurer of the Lodge for several years, but there is no mention of his election in the Minutes.

“June 24th, 1806, being St. John’s Day . . . a joint procession took place between Lodge No. 24 and 400 Irish Constitution to St. Peter’s Church from the City Arms, Northgate”.<sup>2</sup>

On September 19th, 1806, “a funerall procession took place at the Decease of Bro. George Taylor, when part of Lodge 400, Irish Constitution, attended the procession to St. Dunstan’s Church-Yard, from his former residence at the Marquis of Granby, Lamb Lane”.<sup>3</sup>

Bro. Sadler tells us “The first Master [George Taylor] is registered as a pavior. His name is not in the register of the ‘Antients’. It is possible he may have been in the Irish Register”. This possibility is strengthened by the attendance of members of Lodge No. 400, Irish Constitution, at his funeral”.<sup>4</sup>

The only mention of a Bro. Taylor at this period in the books of Lodge No. 207, now Adam’s Lodge, No. 158, is “only shown in the Lodge Accounts Book, which says:—January 3rd, 1804, Wor. Bro. John Taylor in the Chair . . .”. If this was “George Taylor of 207” it would account for his position at the head of the petitioners, as none of the others had passed through the Chair. On the other hand, why should John Taylor of Sheerness become George Taylor in Canterbury? It would be interesting to know if the name of John Taylor of Lodge 207 is to be found in the Register of the “Antients”.

The name of Bro. George Taylor is at the head of the list of Petitioners as “W.M.”, but the account of his funeral is the first time his name is mentioned in the Minute Book: it appears again in the list of members at the end of “Lodge 24”.<sup>5</sup> Although it was a common practice at this period to make the proprietor

<sup>1</sup> The Warrant was issued on 24th March, 1806. Appendix C.

<sup>2</sup> Minute Book, Lodge No. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Masonic Reprints and Revelations.*

<sup>5</sup> Appendix.

of the Tavern at which the Lodge met a member of the Lodge, it is not usual to find him occupying a prominent position in the Lodge; one wonders whether the fact that Aaron Paris was made Master of the Lodge was due to the failing health of Bro. George Taylor, or was due to the position he held as proprietor of the Tavern at which the Lodge was to meet. The following month the Lodge moved to the Sign of the Eight Bells.

### THE GERMAN LEGION

Among the Military men who were brought into Masonry in Lodge No. 24 were several members of the German Legion.

On 8th October, 1806, "A Lodge of emergency was held to propose Mr. John Christian Bettacar, Quartermaster in the 1st Regiment of German Legion or German Light Horse. One Guinea being deposited as the usual fee for the above candidate". On 9th October, 1806, he received the degree of an "entered apprentice".

On 14th October, 1806, Bro. Bettacar proposed Mr. Frederick Mayer, Quartermaster in the 2nd Heavy German Legion. On 22nd January, 1807, Mr. John Shefa Miller, Master Sadler in the 2nd German Legion, aged 36 years, was proposed and unanimously approved.

"The most famous of the corps that have borne the name of legion in modern times was the King's German Legion. The electorate of Hanover being in 1803 threatened by Napoleon, and no effective resistance being considered possible, the British government wished to take the greater part of the Hanoverian army into its service. But the acceptance by the Hanoverian government of this offer was delayed until too late, and it was only after the French had entered the country and the army as a unit had been disbanded that the formation of the King's German Regiment, as it was first called, was begun in England. This enlisted not only ex-Hanoverian soldiers, but other Germans as well. In January, 1805, it had become a corps of all arms, with the title of King's German Legion. It served in many campaigns of the Napoleonic wars, but its title to fame is its part in the Peninsular War in which it was an acknowledged *corps d'elite*."<sup>1</sup>

The German Legion was stationed in the Canterbury district.

"Canterbury, March 17th, 1807: It is reported that the whole of the German Legion, Artillery, Cavalry & Infantry will very speedily be embarked for the Continent & this conjecture is strengthened by the departure of Col. Baron Alten and Major Bulow of the Light Cavalry of the Legion, from Headquarters in Canterbury who were called up to London by express on Sunday last. It is added that several regiments of British Heavy Cavalry will also accompany the German Legion."<sup>2</sup>

On 5th May, 1807, "A Lodge of emergency [was] called on the decease of Br. Scotow from Lodge No. 7. A Procession took place at the funeral, at which the undermentioned Brothers were present" [the names of thirteen Brethren follow].

In November, 1807, the Lodge received a visit from Bro. Ebenezer Cohen, "one of the nine worthies"; on 17th December, 1807, it was "Resolv'd that the sum of three pounds together with two pounds collected be sent as a present to our Worthy Br. Cohen of Lodge No. 7, Woolwich".

"In 1792 the Grand Lodge of the Ancients resolved that the Lodges under their jurisdiction should each nominate a Brother, from whom nine 'Excellent Masters' were to be elected annually, whose duty was to visit the Lodges and

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kentish Gazette*, Tuesday, 14th April, 1807.

report to the Grand Chapter or the R.W. Deputy Grand Master. A special medal was provided for their use during office, to be surrendered to their successors. The appointment ceased at the time of the Union in 1813, and the medals were later recalled. In the ancient Minutes of some old Lodges are references to Brethren designated 'Past N.W.'—*i.e.*, 'Past Nine Worthy'."<sup>1</sup>

Lodge 24 was regularly visited by members of Lodge No. 7. This Lodge, "No. 86 in the Royal Artillery, on payment of five guineas 'to the Charity' (in 1788), became No. 7 and is now Union Waterloo, No. 13, Plumstead, Kent."<sup>2</sup>

It would seem that in 1807 this Lodge had artillery mechanics or technicians amongst its members, some of whom may have been employed at Canterbury by the military authorities.

"No. 13, Woolwich" is among the Lodges from which visitors came to Love and Unity Lodge, No. 203, Dover, according to the Minute Books, 1793-1824; among the visitors to Prince Edwin's Lodge, Hythe, in 1815, is No. 13, English Constitution. It will be noted that both these towns were military centres.

### THE ROYAL ARCH

Bro. Sadler has pointed out that "notwithstanding that the Royal Arch was first mentioned by Dermott in the records of the 'Antients', it was not generally adopted by them until some years after it had become exceedingly popular with the 'Moderns'."

We have already noted the assistance given by a Military Lodge under the Scottish Constitution to Faversham Brethren in exalting five of their members, four of whom afterwards joined the Chapter of Concord, Canterbury, which ceased to function after 1803. The Royal Arch next became active in Canterbury when Lodge No. 24 was constituted in 1806; and with "Rules Lodge No. 24" are bound "Rules and Regulations for the introduction to the government of the Holy Royal Arch Chapter", duly signed by Robt. Leslie, Grand Secretary. The following references to the "Chair Degree", the qualification for the Royal Arch, occur in the "Minute Book":—

"June 28th, 1808: This being the day appointed to celebrate the festival of St. John. . . . The Chair being vacant, the following Brothers past." [five].

"Dec. 27th, 1808: The Lodge being opened to celebrate the festival of St. John at the usual time. . . . The chair being vacant the following Brothers past it viz:—" [seven].

There is no further reference to the "Chair" degree, but an indirect reference to the Royal Arch occurs after the two Canterbury Lodges joined in 1819, suggesting that it was still active at that date. It was not until 1877, however, *i.e.*, sixty-four years after the Union of the two Grand Lodges, that another Royal Arch Chapter was formed in Canterbury, when the old jewels, which are considered to have belonged to the Chapter of Concord, were handed over to the Bertha Chapter No. 31, by whom they have been in regular use ever since.

### CERTIFICATES

Two kinds of certificates are mentioned—"Lodge Certificates" or "Private Lodge Certificates", and "Grand Lodge Certificates".

"June 14th, 1810: When Bros. Gregor, Arnett and Munro took their Certificates on the Regt. leaving Canterbury."

"May 16th, 1816: Bro. Thos. Powell requests a private Lodge Certificate in case of being obliged to leave the county in search of work."

"Feb. 14th, 1811: When Br. Ambrose was past as a Fellow Craft and

<sup>1</sup> *Masonic Problems and Queries* (Inman).

<sup>2</sup> *Military Lodges* (Gould).

Raised to the sublime degree of a Master Mason and recd. his Grand Lodge Certificate."

The form of "Private Certificate" is given at the end of "Rules Lodge No. 24" and reads as follows:—

These are to certify  
That the bearer hereof Brother  
. . . . . has conducted himself  
During his abode with us as is becoming  
a Just and Lawfull Brother, as such  
we recommend him to all regular  
Lodges under ye Ancient Constitution  
from No. 24 Guildhall Tavern  
Canterbury.

Given under our hands  
and ye Seal of our Lodge the . . . .  
and of Masonry . . . . . W.M.

Secretary.

So far as we know, the first three Lodges formed in Canterbury were "Modern"; the first was constituted at the Red Lion on 3rd April, 1730, the number on the Roll being 66. Little is known of its members, but we now know the names of "Certain mighty Dons" who—according to the parody of the Mayor's proclamation against the Craft, both of which are quoted in a letter to *The Universal Spectator* of 20th May, 1732—

"Were sent down here in Coach and Six from London,  
By whose arrival we may be all undone."<sup>1</sup> For

"We hear that on Friday last Nathaniel Blackerby Esq., Deputy Grand Master, assisted by Dr. Desaguliers, formerly Grand Master, and other Grand Lodge Officers, constituted a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons at the Red Lyon at Canterbury, at which time several Gentlemen of that City and neighbourhood were admitted members of that most Ancient and Honourable Society."<sup>2</sup>

The number of this Lodge was changed to 58 in 1740 and its erasure occurred on 29th November, 1754. Dissension caused by local politics may have been the cause; it is, however, possible that the "Modern" v. "Antient" controversy may have entered into it, as Thomas Roch—an Irish Cabinet Maker—the fly in the local political ointment—in his book, *Proceedings of the Corporation of C——y* (1760), uses expressions which suggest that he had in some way interested himself in Masonic affairs.<sup>3</sup>

The second Lodge was Warranted on 14th January, 1760, as No. 253 at the King's Head; from 1770 until its extinction in 1773 it bore the number 201. Visitors from Canterbury to the Faversham Lodge in 1763 and 1776 show that some of the members of the King's Head Lodge joined the third Canterbury Lodge, the Industrious, on its formation in 1776.

### "MODERNS" AND "ANTIENTS"

In January, 1807, Bro. John Baker presented to the Lodge twelve goblets engraved with Masonic emblems and "Lodge No. 24", several of which are on loan at the Provincial Grand Museum at Canterbury. We are informed that "as an equivalent compliment his health where drank with the ceremonies of Masonry". The City at this time returned two members of Parliament, one of whom was John Baker, Esq., a member of the Industrious Lodge ("Moderns"). There was a Bro. John Baker, a plumber, who was a member of Lodge No. 24, but, as I have stated before, considering the times and the circumstances, I very

<sup>1</sup> Appendix, also *A.Q.C.*, vol. lvi, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 7/14th April, 1730.

<sup>3</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. lvi, p. 114.

much doubt if it was Bro. John Baker the plumber who presented the goblets.<sup>1</sup> There is no mention in the Minute Book of Lodge 24 of "Modern" Masons until four years later, when we find:—

"July 11th, 1811: . . . It was agreed that in future all Modern Masons should pay the sum of one guinea for being made an Antient Mason."

"Lodge Night, 8th August, 1811.

"The Lodge being met and Duly open'd Mr. Moses Solomon a Modern Mason of Lodge 326 weir remade an Antient Mason."<sup>2</sup>

11th September, 1811: "when Mr. T. Greenland was proposed to become an Antient Mason (he being a Modern Mason) by paying the sum of 1. 1. 0. he was unanimously approved of."

Bro. Greenland was initiated and passed at this meeting and raised at a later meeting.

### WORKING

Lodge "open'd in due form" or "in the 3rd Degree": there is no mention of any ceremony of opening in the second degree.

The Minutes of the first meeting of Lodge No. 24 on 21st April, 1806, state that "the under nam'd Brothers were Installed in Ancient and due form as officers of Lodge No. 24 . . ." From this it would appear that there was a ceremony connected with the installation of the principal officers as well as that of the Master.

In a footnote in *Jachin and Boaz* we read:—

"The Senior and Junior Wardens, Secretary &c. receive the obligation as the Master except the Grip and Word, there being none peculiar to them."

Bro. Aaron Paris, after being succeeded as W.Master by Bro. Cook in 1807, becomes "P.M.", and is probably the first Canterbury Mason to do so, as the degree of Past Master was not recognised by the "Moderns" until 1810,<sup>3</sup> the first mention of it in the Industrious Lodge Treas. Book occurs in that year.

We have noted that the "Antients" held combined meetings of Lodges under the English, Irish and Scottish Constitutions, and this appears to have led to the adoption by Lodge No. 24 of "Intervisiting, a great institution on St. John's Days"<sup>4</sup> amongst Irish Masons and an old custom still observed in Scotland.

"Lodge Night Dec. 27th, 1811.

Visited by a Deputation from Lodge No. — by 3 brethren from the 91st Regiment Artillery."

"24th June, 1813.

Visited by a Deputatiton of Lodge No. — in the 5th Dragoon Guards, Irish Constitution."

"Dec. 27th, 1814.

185

Visited by a Deputatiton from 221 E.C. in the 9th Regt. of Foot."

24

"The above visit was returned by a Deputation from 37 to 221."

After the Union of the two Grand Lodges in 1813 some difficulty appears to have been experienced in changing over to the "New System", and a letter dated 23rd February, 1817, in reply to one from Bro. Gurr, Provincial Grand Secretary stated:—"No one of the Brothers are in possession of the new obligation or of the lectures." This is the first time the Lectures are mentioned. In July, 1820, "Lodge was opened in the first, second and third degrees, Bro. Watson of 215, Faversham, acting as W.M. for our instruction."

<sup>1</sup> The number of the Industrious Lodge, Canterbury, was 326 in 1811.

<sup>2</sup> *A.Q.C.*, vol. lii.

<sup>3</sup> *R.A. Degrees, Manchester Records. Lodge Transactions*, vol. xiii, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> *Freemasonry in Ireland* (Lepper and Crossle).

On June 19th, 1823, "it was proposed by the M. Elect that in taking the chair he should feel most happy provided a Brother would be invited to instruct the Lodge in the New System." This was done, for on 21st August of that year "Bro. Shrubsole of Lodge No. 215 was for his attention to us and willingness at all times to render his services, entitled to become a Hon. Member." Bro. Shrubsole became a joining member of the Faversham Lodge from the Lodge of Sincerity, No. 89, London, in 1919.<sup>1</sup>

Lodge No. 24 was not the only one to whom instruction was given by the Faversham Lodge, for from the Minute Book of the Union Lodge, No. 207, Margate, we learn:—

"30th March, 5825: . . . This being an Emergency on Acct. of the Intention of several brethren to visit the Lodge of Harmony No. 215, Faversham, on Tuesday next for the purpose of enquiries of the said Lodge relative to the new way of opening and closing and other business for the good of Masonry and this particular Lodge."

The effect of the introduction of Irish and other workings on Freemasonry in Kent, apart from the spreading of the Royal Arch, would probably have been greater than it was had it not been for the "revisal" of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent by Capt. George Smith in 1776, who instituted half-yearly meetings on St. John's Days, which afterwards became the "Anniversary" Meeting held on Whit-Monday. At these meetings By-Laws, written by Capt. George Smith and afterwards revised,<sup>2</sup> were read. Freemasonry in Kent centered itself very much on Provincial Grand Lodge, and as the Lodges under the constitution of the "Antients" did not come under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Grand Lodge until after the "Union" in 1813, whatever effect the presence of Irish and other workings had, and whatever their influence may have been on the state of affairs before they came in, it must have been considerably less than it would have been had not the Provincial Grand Lodge been so well established. That the Provincial Grand Lodge was functioning at this period we are reminded by the following announcements in the *Kentish Gazette*, in which a prominent part was taken by William Finch:—

The Ancient and Honourable Society of  
*Free and Accepted Masons,*

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent,  
GRAND MASTER

Will hold their PROVINCIAL ANNIVERSARY  
Meeting, for the County of KENT, on Whit-  
Monday, the 18th inst., at the King's Head Inn, in  
CANTERBURY, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon.

Procession to Church at 11 o'clock, where

A SERMON WILL BE PREACHED,

By the Rev Brother HATT, B.A. and P.G. Chaplain.

Before

Sir Walter J. James, Bart., P.G.M., and the Provincial  
Grand Officers and Brothers of the County.

By order of the Provincial Grand Master,

Rochester, May 10th, 1812. J. GURR, P.G.Sy. and Tr.

Dinner on Table at three o'clock.

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KENT PROVINCIAL MEETING.

ON Whit-Monday.

Order of Procession.

Two Brethren with Jewels, voted them for services  
rendered to the Craft, through the assistance of

<sup>1</sup> *History of Lodge of Harmony* (G. G. Culmer).

<sup>2</sup> Appendix.

Brother Finch's Printed Lectures.

Two Masters of Lodges in disgrace, for speaking disrespectfully of Finch's printed Lectures on Masonry.

Two Brethren carrying in triumph Finch's Books and Prints on Masonry.

Twenty-eight Brethren, two-by-two, in disgrace for breach of *Fortitude*, receiving the chief Instructions from W.F. and then, *Judas* like, betraying their Master.—Four of the above in the Band of Musicians, and four with long white wands.

Six Brethren with Silver Jewels of Office at their neck, disgraced by the Rough Ashlar of *Intemperance*.

The Banner containing a general Challenge for £100, that Finch's Lectures have within these 14 years produced such a wonderful Revolution in the Affairs of Masonry, that 700 out of 800 Lodges now work entirely on his Plan, and on the Ground-work of his Discoveries and Researches.—Proof to be obtained from the Masonic Returns and Grand Lodge Vouchers; and of W. Finch, Freemason's Arms, No. 5, New Cut, Lower Marsh, Lambeth.

N.B. The expenses of the day not to exceed £1.11.6d.

From the *Kentish Gazette* of 12th May, 1812.

The Ancient and Honourable Society of  
*Free and Accepted Masons*

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent,

GRAND MASTER,

Will hold their PROVINCIAL ANNIVERSARY

MEETING, for the County of Kent, on Whit-Monday, the 18th instant, At the *King's Head Inn*, Canterbury, at ten o'clock in the forenoon. Procession to church at eleven o'clock, where a Sermon will be preached By the Rev. Brother HATT, B.A. and P.G. Chaplain, before, Sir Walter J. James, bart., P.G.M. and the Provincial Grand Officers and Brothers of the county.

By order of the Provincial Grand Master,

J. GURR, P.G. Sy. and Tr.

Tickets 12s.

Dinner on Table at three o'clock.

*An advertisement having appeared in this Paper and in the Kentish Chronicle of Tuesday last, immediately under that of the above Masonic Meeting, and which could only have been inserted for the purpose of ridiculing its proceedings, and must have been the production of some disappointed, refractory, or malicious individual, arising from the wild effusions of a disordered brain, J. GURR, G.P. Sy. and Tr. thinks it right to state that no brother but himself is authorised to convene the above meeting.*

*Rochester, May 12, 1812.*

From the *Kentish Gazette* of 15th May, 1812.

The Provincial Anniversary Meeting of the Ancient and Honourable Society of Masons, for the county of Kent, was yesterday held in this City and was numerously attended by the Kentish Lodges: T. Killick, esq., of Gravesend, in the absence of Sir Walter James James, bart., the Provincial Grand

Master, conducted the business of the day. After the opening of the Lodge, a large concourse of Brethren, accompanied by the Band of the 5th Dragoon Guards in full uniform, proceeded to St. Paul's Church, where their Chaplain, the Rev. Brother Hatt, delivered an excellent and impressive discourse on the importance of unity and brotherly love, after which they returned to the King's Head Inn in this city, where a sumptuous dinner was prepared, and the day was concluded with that order and harmony which are emblematic and characteristic of this society.

From the *Kentish Gazette* of 19th May, 1812.

While there is no doubt as to the author of the advertisement, the following incident, which occurred at the previous Anniversary Meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge, has some bearing on the matter.

Provincial Grand Lodge "held on Whitmonday, June 3rd, 1811 . . . at the Royal Hotel, Margate . . . Mr. Finch of notoriety being reported to the Grand Master being in the Lodge Room, a consultation took place as to the propriety of his continuing present, when he was requested to withdraw, *in his absence*, it was Resolved he should not be admitted again."<sup>1</sup>

At these meetings Finch had the opportunity of meeting members of the "Modern" Lodges throughout the Province, and his exclusion must have caused him great disappointment.

We have noted that in 1819 the membership of the two Canterbury Lodges, one a Lodge which had been constituted under the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" and the other under that of the "Antients", had fallen so low that they joined together to form one Lodge which is now the United Industrious Lodge, No. 31. The ups and downs of Freemasonry in the Province of Kent are illustrated by the Lists of Lodges. Of sixteen "Modern" Lodges active in 1789, six are missing in the list dated 1801,<sup>2</sup> viz.: Dover 2, Dartford 2, Sandwich 1, Margate 1. Times were hard, and half-a-century was to pass before there was any sustained improvement. To-day it is hard to realise that in 1860, when the late Earl Amhurst, as Viscount Holmesdale, was appointed Provincial Grand Master of Kent, there were only seventeen Lodges in the whole of the Province, the eighteenth being formed at the end of that year.<sup>3</sup> Of the ten of these which had been formed before the Union of the two Grand Lodges in 1813, five had been constituted under the Grand Lodge of the "Moderns", viz.:—

The Royal Kentish Lodge of Antiquity, now No. 20, Constituted 1723.	
The Lodge of Freedom, Gravesend, now No. 77	1751.
The Lodge of Harmony, Faversham, now No. 133	1764.
The Lodge of Emulation, Dartford, now No. 299	1793.

The Union Lodge, now No. 127, Margate, was warranted 7th November, 1763, and met at Spitalfields; it was erased 7th April, 1784, and reinstated 17th November the same year, it lapsed about 1811.<sup>4</sup> The Minute Books from April, 1792, are in possession of the Lodge, and they record a meeting 21st February, 1811, the next one being 3rd March, 1813, the Master and Wardens being the same at both of these meetings. At the latter meeting five Brethren became quarterly members, four of whom were elected W.M., S.W., J.W. and Secretary respectively, and a motion was carried that "The Lodge be removed to Margate in the County of Kent". The next Minute records a meeting at

<sup>1</sup> Provincial Grand Lodge Minute Book.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix D, Provincial Grand Lodge Minute Book.

<sup>3</sup> "15th May, 1844: It was computed that there were 250 subscribing members to Lodges in the Province." (Minute Book, Union Lodge No. 149, Margate).

<sup>4</sup> Lane's *Masonic Records*.

Margate a week later. No Dispensation appears to have been applied for to remove the Lodge to Margate, but at a meeting on 15th July, 1813, we read :—

“William Henry White Grand Sect<sup>y</sup>. Visiting Brother. Bro. White Expressing the Sentiments of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, Grand Master of Masons, His Intire approbation of our proceedings on the removal of the Union Lodge 169 to Margate and likewise his Mr. White's approbation of our manner of conducting the said Lodge as appeared to him in the Minute and Bye Law Books of this Lodge being in due form”.

A Warrant of Confirmation was issued to the Union Lodge in 1882, and a Centenary Warrant (Special Jewel) 1863.<sup>1</sup>

Four Lodges had been constituted under the Grand Lodge of the “Antients”, viz. :—

“No. 168. This Warrant was originally granted to a Lodge in the City of Bath, Somersetshire, on 9th April, 1771, but was returned to Grand Lodge on 25th September, 1773. It was re-issued on 13th March, 1807, to a new Lodge at Hythe, Kent, being endorsed. ‘Let the within Warrant be Transferred to Brother Abraham Levi, Master, Samuel Hanniford and Simon Gompertz, Senr. and Junr. Wardens, and their Successors, being first duly registered pursuant to the Statute, and to be holden at the Red Lion, or elsewhere, at Hythe,’ &c. This Lodge, which still possesses the old Warrant of 1771, is now ‘The Prince Edwin's Lodge,’ Hythe, No. 125.”<sup>2</sup>

“No. 266. Originally granted to a Lodge at Maidstone, Kent, on the 22nd February, 1791, the Warrant was re-issued in 1801 to a new Lodge at Dover in the same County, endorsed, ‘Transferred and Granted to be held at Dover in the within County of Kent (being first duly Registered pursuant to the Statute in that case made and provided).’”<sup>3</sup>

This was the Lodge of Peace and Harmony, Dover, whose number became 199 in 1813.

Adam's Lodge, No. 158, Sheerness, constituted 1797 (works with a Warrant of 1778).

The remaining Lodge is No. 24, which joined with the Industrious Lodge in 1819 and is now the United Industrious Lodge No. 31.

“New Warrants were in a few instances issued bearing the old Numbers [“Antients”] and containing a reference to the original Lodge to which the Number was first granted. . . .”

“No. 24. Originally granted to a Lodge at Bristol on 17th October, 1753, which ceased to meet about the year 1765. On 24th March, 1806, a new Warrant, bearing this number, was issued to a Lodge at Canterbury, Kent, authorizing ‘The Worshipful Bartholomew O'Brien one of our Master Masons, The Worshipful Thomas Powell his Senior Warden, and the Worshipful Duke Buckingham his Junior Warden, to form and hold a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons at the Marquis of Granby, Canterbury, or elsewhere, in the County of Kent, in virtue of our Warrant No. 24 (heretofore granted under date the seventh day of April, 1755, and held at Bristol), the names and places of abode of all and every members of the said Lodge being first duly Registered with the Clerk of the Peace of the said County pursuant to the Statute in that case made and provided.’”<sup>4</sup> The date quoted here is likewise erroneous, the 7th April, 1755, being the date of the first entry for this Lodge in Vol 2, Letter B, but the members were continuously registered from Vol. 1, Letter A (‘Morgan's Register’), the correct date being 17th October, 1753. The Lodge is now ‘The United Industrious Lodge’, Canterbury, No. 31.”

Concerning the Lodge of Harmony, Faversham, Bro. Vibert, in notes on “Provincial Warrants”, *A.Q.C.*, vol. xlii, p. 134, tells us :—

<sup>1</sup> Lane's *Masonic Records*.

<sup>2</sup> Handy Book to the Lists of Lodges (Lane).

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*

"Lodge of Harmony, Faversham, Kent: No. 133 is another Lodge that to-day possesses two Warrants. . . . This was originally an 'Antient' Lodge, warranted in 1763 as No. 144.<sup>1</sup> This Warrant was never returned, but the Lodge in the next year applied to the 'Moderns' for a Warrant, and they were issued with one with a number 319, under which they are working to-day. The Lodge will be found at p. 136 of Lane. But the Minutes are in the same book, and without break, the same names appear, and the original J.W. is the first Master under the 'Modern' Warrant. The 'Antients' seem to have completely lost sight of their Lodge (*vide* an article in the *Freemason* of 3rd January, 1891, by Bro. Speth). At the Union the Lodge took rank as a 'Modern' Lodge, with consequent loss of seniority."

The introduction of "Antient" Masonry into the Province of Kent may not have influenced the working so much as it probably did in districts where no Provincial Grand Lodge existed; at the same time it is obvious that by extending the scope of the Craft and thereby giving it a greater opportunity of demonstrating that "Masonry is the centre of union between good men and true and the happy means of conciliating friendship amongst those who must otherwise have remained at a perpetual distance", it assisted the Lodges to hold on until conditions improved. From 1760 there has been an ever-increasing number of Lodges in Kent, since which date Freemasonry in the Province has never looked back.

## APPENDIX A

List of the Members of Lodge No. 24, held at Guildhall Tavern, Canterbury, and returned to the Grand Lodge every Saint John's Day.

Date when made or Joind	Name	Profession	Residence	Remarks
	Aron Paris	Confectioner	Canterbury	Left the Lodge
	Tho. Powell	Carpenter	Do	Do
	Duke Buckingham	F.R.H. Artillery	Do	Do
	Charles Baines	Q.M.R.H. Artillery	Do	Do
	Charles Spiers	Do	Do	Do
1806	Jacob Hart	Jeweler & c.	Do	Do
April the 21	George Taylor	Vitualer	Do	Dead
	Thomas Cook	Carpenter		
	Thomas Hammond	Do	Do	Left the Lodge
	George Crawford	Taylor	Do	
26	Andrew Smith	Royal H. Both from Lodge		
	Francis Chambers	Artely. No. 7. E.C. Woolwich		Left the Lodge
May the 31st	Augustus Harrison	Carpenter	Canterbury	Do
	Richard Adams	Bricklayer	Do	
June the 19	John Baker	Plumber	Do	
Octobr. the 9	John Crist. Bettocar	Q.M. King's German Legion		Left the Lodge
11	John Coleman	Traylor		Do
18	Fredick Meyer	Q.M. 2nd Heavy German Legion		Left the Lodge
November 13	Mark Mordica	Dealer & Chapman	Folkestone	
1807 Jan. 22	Charles Gill	Bricklayer	Canterbury	Left the Lodge
	Richard Finch	Carpenter	Do	
February 12	John Shefa Miller	Sadler with 2 H. German Legion		Left the Lodge
	Barnett Nathen	Glass Cutter	Dover	
March 12	Thomas Burnett	Carpenter	Canterbury	
	Jacob Rubens	Dealer & Chap.	Dover	
	Henry, Wm. Chamburg			
	Dedric Amoss	2 H. German Legion	Canterbury	Both left
May the 28	Alfred Sabine	Baker		the Lodge
September 24	John Turmain	Sadler	Margate	
November 5	William Read	Plumber	Canterbury	
19	David Patteson	Royal Horse	Do	
	John Webster	Artillery	Do	
	Philip Nixon			
	James Lowery	All from Royal		
	George Gibbs	foot Artillery	Do	Left the Lodge
	Robus Glendening	from Lodge No. 7. Woolwich		

Secretary.

Master.

S. Warden.

J. Warden.

<sup>1</sup> Lane, 1895. p. 106.

## APPENDIX B

List of Members of Lodge No. 24, held at the Guildhall Tavern, Canterbury, and returned to the Grand Lodge every St. John's Day.

Date when Made or Joind.	Names	Profession	Residence	Remarks
December 10 1808	Robert Oliphant	Royal Artillery	Canterbury	Left
	James Manning	Yeoman	Do	Left
	Hugh Oldham	Royal Horse Artillery	Do	Left
	John Horn	M. Taylor Royal H. Artly.	Do	
January 14	John Holland	Serg. Armr. to 4th Dragoons	Do	Deceased
	Walter Hemans	Royal Foot Artillery	Do	Do
18	Thomas Blomley	Serg. R.A. Drivin	Do	On Service
February 18	Richd. Cockland	Q.M. Royal Artillery	Do	Left the Lodge
	Evan Jones	Yeoman	Do	
March 3	David Moses	Dealer & Chapman	Traveler	Left the Lodge
	Samuel Bentley	Corps. R.H. Artilly	Canterbury	Dead
	Daniel Brown	M. Taylor 78 ? Regt.	Do	Left the Lodge
April the 21	Thomas Friacher ?	Serg. 4 Dragoons	Do	On Service
May 19	John Greenstreet	Boot & Shoe Maker	Do	
July 4	Richd. Mason	Taylor 4 Dragoons	Do	Left the Lodge
7	Bar. Obrian	B Sergeant	Cant	from Lodge No. 400 I.C.
August 18	James Nunnery	Yeoman	Do	
	Willm. Wiltshire	Vitualler	Do	
	Kirby Francis	Plumbers	Do	Declrd. off
	Thos. Blair			
	John Lane			
September 15	Robert Calderwood	Carpenter	Do	
	William Dence	Victualer	Do	
December 19 1809	Barbr. Richd. ?	Sadler	Do	
March 16	Clemment Giles	Dredger	Whitstable	
April 16	Solomon Chappell	Victualer	Canterbury	
	John Gibbs	Dredger	Whitstable	
June 17	Wm. Fairbrass	Do	Do	
July 6	Fairbrass	Do	Do	
	David Wood	Schoolmaster	Do	
Oct. 28	Grigor	Serg. 42nd Gordon Highland		
	Hugh Munro	42nd Regt.		
	John Arnott	42 Regt.		

## APPENDIX C

List of Members of Lodge No. 24/37, held at the Saracen's Head, Canterbury, return'd to United Grand Lodge the 19th of Feby., 1815.

Date when Made or Join'd	Names	Profession	Residence	Remarks
1808 January 14	John Horn	Master Taylor R. H. Artilly.,	Canterbury	
July 7	Bart <sup>u</sup> . O'Brian	Barrack Sergeant	Canterbury	
August 18	Thos. Blair	Plumber	Do	Now Tyler of the Lodge
1811 February 14	Jacob Hart	Jeweler	Do	
August 8	William King	Miller	Do	From 960 I.C.
	Robt. Suthereron	Carrier	Sturry	Do 643 Do
1812 December 28	John Horspool	R. H. Artil.	Canterbury	On Foreign Service
1813 July 8	Charles Williams	Victualer	Do	
Septembr. 9	Moses Harriot	R. H. Artil.	Do	
1814 April 12	Wm. Ladd	Taylor	Do	From late 87 E.C.
	Jeams Irwin	To with Flowers	Do	From 602 I.C.
June 24	Thos. Cook	Steward fr. J.C. Honnywoods		Rejoined from 15 March, 1810
August 11	John Wilson	Paper Maker	Chartham	From 172 I.C.
December 8	Tho. Franc <sup>s</sup> . Smith	Ensign in 26 Reg. of Foot	Canterbury	Left
27	Thos. Powell	Carpenter	Canterbury	Rejoin'd
	John King	Victualer	Do	288 E.C.
	W. Campbell	R. H. Artily	Do	221 I.C. Foreign Service
1815 Jany. 12	Thos. Mottershead	Victualer	Do	
May 11	Evan Jones	Yeoman	Do	Rejoin'd
18	Thos. Inge	Do	Barham	

Letter to "Mr. White" from Wm. Epps, Prov. Grand Sec.

Canterbury, 11 Feby., 1786.

"Dear Sir,

The enclosed list for such Kentish Lodges as have remitted to me you will be pleased to insert in the next printed list and if you can you may say remitted from the P.G. Secretary of Kent.<sup>1</sup>

Of the five items in the list two concern Dover Lodges and are as follows:—

424	Lodge of Love and Unity, Dover, for Registering three new made Brethren viz:—Bros. Grostiff Brockman, John Alleyne, Anthony Reye of do.	0. 15. 0.
	To the Fund of Charity	2. 0. 0.
194	Lodge of True Friendship Dover for being reinstated	5. 15. 6."

#### APPENDIX D

LAWS, RULES / and / REGULATIONS, / for the good government of / The Provincial Grand Lodge, / for / The COUNTY OF KENT: / Together with / the necessary Instructions for the / several Lodges in that County. / By JACOB SAWBRIDGE, Esq., / Provincial Grand Master of Kent. / Printed in the year of Masonry 5789. /

LAWS, RULES / and / REGULATIONS, / for the good government of / The Provincial Grand Lodge / For the County of Kent, &c. /

By virtue of a power invested in Jacob / Sawbridge, *Esquire*, by the Most / Worshipful and Right Honourable / Thomas Howard, *Earl of Effingham, Lord / Howard, Acting Grand Master of Free / and Accepted Masons in England*, bearing / date in August, Anno Lucis 5785, and Anno / Domini 1785, appointing him *Provincial / Grand Master for the County of Kent*; with / full power to make Masons and constitute / regular Lodges as occasions may require; / and also do and execute all and every / such other acts and things appertaining to / the said office, and agreeable to the *Laws, / and Regulations of the Grand Lodge of / England, &c.* He doth hereby constitute / *The Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent* to / consist in the following *Grand Officers*, /

- 1 Provincial Grand Master,
- 1 Provincial Deputy Grand Master,
- 2 Provincial Grand Wardens,
- 1 Provincial Grand Chaplain,
- 1 Provincial Deputy Grand Chaplain,
- 1 Provincial Grand Orator,
- 1 Provincial Grand Treasurer,
- 1 Provincial Grand Secretary,
- 1 Provincial Deputy Grand Secretary,
- 1 Provincial Grand Artist,
- 1 Provincial Grand Record-Keeper,
- 1 Provincial Grand Architect,
- 1 Provincial Grand Seal-Keeper,
- 1 Provincial Grand Master of Ceremonies,
- 1 Provincial Grand Sword-Bearer, and
- 12 Provincial Grand Stewards.

<sup>1</sup> Grand Lodge Library, Prov. of Kent.

BYE-LAWS, / for the good Government of *The Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent* /

ARTICLE I.

This Provincial Grand Lodge shall be / held once in every year, and shall consist / of all present and past Grand Officers, all / present and past Grand Stewards, and the / Masters and Wardens of all the regular / Lodges in the county of Kent. acting under / the authority of the Grand Lodge of England. /

ART. II.

Every Officer of this Provincial Grand / Lodge shall at the time of his appointment, / pay into the hands of the Treasurer. for the / time being, the following sum. /

	l.	s.	d.
Deputy Grand Master	1	1	0
Grand Wardens each	0	15	0
Grand Chaplain, Deputy Grand Chaplain, Grand Orator, Grand Artist, Grand Record-Keeper, Grand Treasurer, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, and Grand Sword-Bearer each		10	6
Twelve Grand Stewards each and a like sum annually	0	7	6

ART. III.

The money arising from this annual / subscription, shall be disposed of only by / the consent of the majority of the members / in Provincial Lodge assembled, except the / expence of jewels, printing and postage of / letters.

ART. IV.

Any Brother belonging to a regular / Lodge, or that has been made under the / Constitution of England, may appear in / this Provincial Lodge, but shall have no / vote in the same.

ART. V.

The Provincial Grand Secretary shall / acquaint the Officers of this Lodge, and / the Masters of every Lodge in Kent. when / and where each Provincial Grand Lodge / is to be held ; at least three weeks before / the time of its meeting.

ART. VI.

Such sums of money as each respective / Lodge is accustomed to pay annually to / wards the *General Fund of Charity*, as / likewise all other sums for building the / Hall &c. bearing date the 29th of October, / 1768, shall now be paid into the hands of / the Provincial Grand Treasurer, in order / that such sums may be paid into the Fund / of the Grand Lodge of England ; and such / Lodges as are not able to attend the / Provincial Meeting are to remit the said / sums to *Mr. Charles Austin* or to *Mr. William Epps*, Canterbury, or to the Grand / Treasurer or Grand Secretary for the time / being.

ART. VII.

That any person who resides in / any town in this country where a Lodge is / held, is proposed as a candidate for / Masonry at any other Lodge in the County, / the Master of that Lodge in which the / proposition is made, is strictly enjoined to / write to the Lodge of the town where the / candidate resides, previous to his initiation / and acquaint them with such proposition, / to prevent any unworthy person from being / made a Mason ; and when a person is pro / posed in any Lodge in Kent and not / approved of, the Master of such Lodge / shall immediately acquaint the Provincial / Grand Master of the circumstance, who / shall direct his secretary to communicate / the same to all the Lodges in the County.

## GENERAL LAWS /

For the Government of  
The Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent.

## ARTICLE I.

All matters are to be determined by a / majority of votes; each member having / one vote, and the Provincial Grand Master / two votes; unless the Lodge leave any / particular thing to the Provincial Grand / Master, for the sake of expedition. The / opinions or votes of the members are to be / signified by each holding up one of his / hands, which uplifted hands the Provincial / Grand Wardens are to count; unless the / number of hands be so equal as to ren / der the counting usless. Nor shall any / other kind of division be ever admitted.

## ART. II.

At the third stroke of the Provincial / Grand Master's hammer (always to be / repeated by the Provincial Grand Wardens) / there shall be a general silence; and he who / breaks silence without leave from the chair / shall be publicly reprimanded; and the / same silence is to be observed whenever / the Provincial Grand Master or his Deputy / shall rise from the chair, and call to order.

## ART. III.

In this Provincial Grand Lodge, every member / shall keep his seat during Grand Lodge / hours and not move from place to place, / except the Grand Stewards, as having more / immediately the care of the Lodge; and / every one that speaks or proposes a question / shall be standing, and address himself to / the chair; nor shall he be interrupted / unless the Provincial Grand Master shall / find him wandering from the question in / debate, when he shall be at liberty to re- / assume the argument.

## ART. IV.

If in this Provincial Grand Lodge any / member is twice called to order for trans / gressing the rules, and is guilty of a third / offence of the same nature, the Provincial / Grand Master shall peremptorily command / him to quit the room for that night.

## ART. V.

There shall be a book kept by the Grand / Secretary, wherein shall be recorded all the / Grand Lodges that are held in this prov / ince, together with the names of the mem / bers and brothers present, and the days / and place of meeting: as also all the / business of this Provincial Grand Lodge, / which is proper to be written.

The Provincial Grand Officers and Stew / ards for the county of Kent are authorized / to wear the honourable and distinguishing / badges of Masonry, of the Grand Lodge of / England; namely, the Grand Officers, / gold or gilt jewels appendant to blue gar / ter ribbons about their necks, and white / leather aprons lined or faced with blue / silk; and the Grand Stewards, gold and / silver jewels appendant to red garter / ribbons about necks, and white / leather aprons lined with red silk.

These grand *insignia* are to be worn / only in the Provincial Grand Lodges of / Kent, Essex, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and / Hampshire, and in the Lodges under the / authority and patronage of the said / Provincial Lodge; except by the Provincial / Grand Master, who is entitled to wear the / same on all occasions.

The following are the Grand Officers,  
viz.:—

Julius Shepherd, Esq.,	<i>Deputy Grand Master ;</i>
Mr. William Cousins,	<i>Senior Grand Warden ;</i>
Johnson Macaree, Esq.,	<i>Junior Grand Warden ;</i>
Rev. A. E. Hammond,	<i>Grand Chaplain ;</i>
Mr. Charles Austin,	<i>Grand Treasurer ;</i>
Mr. William Epps,	<i>Grand Secretary ;</i>
Mr. William Furley,	<i>Deputy Grand Secretary ;</i>
Mr. ——— Saunders,	<i>Grand Artist ;</i>
John Venner, Esq.,	<i>Grand Record Keeper ;</i>
Mr. Robert Reynolds,	<i>Grand Architect ;</i>
Mr. Joseph Royle,	<i>Grand Seal Keeper ;</i>
William Perfect, Esq.,	<i>Grand Orator ;</i>
Mr. Whitaker Saunders,	<i>Grand Master of Ceremonies ;</i>
Mr. Thomas Fowle,	<i>Grand Sword Bearer.</i>

*Grand Stewards.*

- |                         |                          |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Mr. Tho. Hopkins, /  | 2. Mr. Charles Mate, /   |
| 3. Mr. Wm. Cheeseman, / | 4. Mr. Henry Timbury, /  |
| 5. Mr. William Green, / | 6. Mr. Thos. Staines, /  |
| 7. Mr. ——— Suttly, /    | 8. Mr. ——— Clements, /   |
| 9. Mr. ——— Barrett, /   | 10. Mr. James Gardner, / |
| 11. Mr. John Stone, /   | 12. Mr. Philip Duly, /   |

OFFICERS / of / *The Provincial Grand Lodge of Kent*  
From its Revisal, A.D. 1776, to the present / time. /

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*Grand Masters.*

- 1775 Hon. Robert Boyle Walsingham. / 1776 Capt. Charles Frederick. /  
1777-81 Capt. George Smith. / 1785 Colonel Jacob Sawbridge.

*Deputy Grand Masters.*

- 1776-78 Julius Shepherd Esq. ; / 1778-79 George St. lo Man, Esq ;  
1780-81 George Farbrace Esq. ; / 1785-86 George Farbrace Esq. ;  
1786 Julius Shepherd Esq : /

*Grand Wardens.*

- 1775-77 Robert Lukyn, Esq ; *Senior.* / William Sumpter Esq ; *Junior.* /  
1778-79 Mr. Thomas Roberts, *Senior.* / Mr. Henry Swinney, *Junior.* /  
1781 Mr. Thomas Roberts, *Senior.* / Mr. Jacob de Rippe, *Junior.* /  
1786 Mr. William Cousins, *Senior.* / Johnson Macaree, Esq. ; *Junior.* /

*Grand Chaplains.*

- 1777-79 Rev. William Porter. / 1780-81 Rev. Thomas Denward. /  
1785 Rev. William Gunsley Ayerst. / Rev. Anthony Egerton Hammond /

*Grand Orators.*

- 1777-78 George St. lo Man, Esq. ; / 1778 Mr. Thomas Roberts. /  
1781 Mr. George Prentis. / Peter Berry, Esq. ; / William Perfect, Esq. ; /

## Grand Treasurers.

1777-81 Gamaliel Masscott, Esq. ; / 1782 Mr. William Cousins. /  
 1785 Mr. Charles Austin. /

## Grand Secretaries.

1777-80 Mr. Thomas Fuljames. / 1781 Mr. Webster Gillman. /  
 1785 Mr. William Epps. /

## Grand Artists.

1778-79 Isaac Landman, Esq ; / 1780-81 Mr. Robert Bristow. /  
 1785 Mr. Robert Bristow. / Mr. ——— Saunders. /

## Grand Record Keepers.

1777-81 Mr. Daniel Rainer. / 1785 John Venner, Esq :

## Grand Architects.

1777-81 Mr. John Nicholson. / 1785 Mr. Robert Reynolds. /

## Grand Seal Keepers.

1777-81 Mr. John Dominy. / 1785 Mr. Joseph Royle. /

## Grand Masters of Ceremonies.

1777-78 Baron de Micaviney. / 1779 Mr. William Witherage. /  
 1780-81 S. Gramshaw, Esq ; / 1785 Mr. Whitaker Saunders. /

## Grand Sword Bearers.

1777-78 Mr. Henry Swinney. / 1779 Mr. Roger Man.  
 1780-81 Mr. Thomas Fowle. /

## Grand Stewards.

1777-78 Mr. John Creswell. /  
 Mr. John Hall. / Mr. John Solly. /  
 1777-78 Mr. Thomas Roberts. / Mr. Jacob de Rippe. /  
 Mr. Richard Chapman. / George Ares Esq ; /  
 Mr. Henry Thomson. / Mr. William Fulljames. /  
 1779-81 Mr. Luke Eckelstone. / Mr. Thomas Naish. /  
 Mr. George Hopkins. / Mr. William Masters. /  
 Mr. Charles Boncey. / Mr. Edward Goodier. /  
 1780-81 Mr. Ebulus Smith. / Mr. John Wilkinson. /  
 Mr. John Tyson. / Mr. Webster Gillman. /  
 Mr. Robert Bristow. /  
 1781 Mr. George M'Carmach. / Christopher Hayes, Esq ; /  
 Mr. Charles Mate. / Mr. Leonard Thomson. /  
 1786 Sir Narbrough D'Aeth, Bart. / William Hammond, Esq ; /  
 Mr. Charles Mate. / Mr. Thomas Hopkins. /  
 Mr. John Cheeseman. / Mr. Henry Timbury. /  
 Mr. William Green. / Mr. Thomas Staines. /  
 Mr. Thomas Lowen. /  
 1787 Mr. ——— Sully. / Mr. ——— Clements. /  
 1788 Mr. ——— Barrett. / Mr. James Gardner. /  
 Mr. John Stone. / Mr. Philip Duly.

## LIST OF ALL THE KENTISH LODGES

No.	Name	Meet at	Meet on	Con'std.
	Provincial Grand Lodge			
10	Kentish Lodge of Antiquity	Post Office, Chatham	1st & 3rd Mon.	Mar. 1723
14	Fraternal Lodge	Mitre, Greenwich	4th Tuesday	Sept. 1723
97	Lodge of Freedom	Pelican, Gravesend	1st & 3rd Tues.	June 1751
184	Royal Navy Lodge	Three Kings, Deal	1st Monday	June 1762
194	Lodge of True Friendship	Cross Keys Cof-H, Dover	1st & 3rd Tues.	Aug. 1763
207	Lodge of Freemasons	Red Lion, Faversham	Last Tues. month	Aug. 1746
340	Lodge of Friendship	Oxford Arms, Deptford	2nd Thursday	1772
386	True & Faithful Lodge	White Bear, W. Malling	2nd Tuesday	June 1775
404	Industrious Lodge	King's Hd., Canterbury	1st & 3rd Thurs.	Nov. 1776
407	Lodge of United Friendship	Falcon Tav., Gravesend	2nd & 4th Thurs.	May 1777
415	Impregnable Lodge	New Rose Inn, Sandwich	1st & 3rd Wed.	Nov. 1778
423	Lodge of Fortitude	Bell Inn, Maidstone	Th. nst. full Mn.	Aug. 1779
424	Lodge of Love & Unity	Chequer Inn, Dover	1st & 3rd Thurs.	Dec. 1779
439	Lodge of Reformation	Crown Inn, Deptford	2nd Monday	1781
476	Thanet Lodge	Parade Hotel, Margate	1st & 3rd Tues.	Oct. 1785

## ABSTRACT / of the / LAWS / Relating to / The General Fund of Charity. /

The Laws of the General Fund / of Charity having been made at several / different times are of course dispersed in / the Book of Constitutions, and some of / them become obsolete, it was therefore / thought expedient to select such as are / now in force, and as relate to the mode of / petitioning, the authenticating of petitions, / and the extent of relief to be granted to / unfortunate brethren ; as it may prevent / improper persons from applying, and those / who are deserving objects from being / disappointed of relief through any inform- / ality of application. /

## I.

Every Lodge is obliged to contribute / annually, such sum of money as may / suit its circumstances, and be reasonably / expected towards the General Charity. /

## II.

No petitioner can be relieved by the / Committee, unless the petition expresses / his name, and be signed by a majority of / the members of the Lodge to which he / does or did belong, / or by some other con- / tributing Lodge, in open Lodge assembled, certifying, that they have known the / petitioner to have been in reputable, or at / least tolerable circumstances ; with such / other observations as they may think / proper to make. /

## III.

No relief can be granted, unless some / brother who has signed the petition be / present to attest the truth thereof, or at / least that the subscriptions thereto are genuine (except as to country petitions), / but this to be without any prejudice to the / petitioner's renewing his application, the Lodge recommending, and not the object, / being in that case culpable. /

## IV.

No person made a Mason in a private or / clandestine manner for small or unworthy considerations,<sup>1</sup> can act as a Grand Officer, / or as an officer of a private Lodge, or can / he partake of the General Charity.

<sup>1</sup> Petre, G.M., November 24th, 1775, resolved that no person shall in future be made a Mason for a less Sum than Two Guineas.

## V.

A brother being entitled to and receiving / relief from a particular Lodge, is no objec- / tion to his being relieved out of the General Charity. /

## VI.

No person made a Mason subsequent to / the 29th October, 1768., at which time / Regist[e]ring Regulations took place, can be / intitled either to receive charity from the / Grand Lodge, or partake of any other / privileges of the Society, unless his name, / &c. be regularly registered. and the fee / paid. /

## VII.

Every petitioner for Charity, initiated since the 20th day of October, 1768, is to / set forth in his petititon the Lodge where, / and the time when he was made a Mason ; in order that the Grand Secretary may certify / to the Committee, whether the petitioner / has been duly registered or not. /

## VIII.

No brother is to partake of the charity, / until he has been three years a member of / a regular contributing Lodge.

## IX.

No petition for charity is to be presented / to the Committee, unless he hath been / left with the Grand Secretary ten days at least / before the meeting thereof. /

## X.

No petition is to be read, unless the / petitioner attends the meeting in person, except in case of sickness, lameness, / imprisonment, or residence in the country.

## XI.

No brother who has been once relieved, / can petition a second time, without some / new allegation well attested. /

## XII.

The Committee have power to dispose / of any sum not exceeding Five Pounds to- / wards the relief of any distressed brother, / whom they may think a proper object. /

## XIII.

If the case of any distressed petitioning / brother appears to merit more than Five / Pounds, the Committee are to recommend / and refer the same to the next Quarterly / Communication.

## XIV.

It being the intention of the society to / render the charity as extensive as possible /, *foreign* brethren may, after proper examin- / ation, be immediately relieved at the dis- / cretion of the Committee.

## XV.

All other petitions, complaints and / informations respecting the society are / first to be brought before and examined by / the Committee of Charity, who are to / report their opinion thereon to the ensuing / Quarterly Communication.

## XVI.

An extraordinary Committee of Charity is to be held annually in the last week in / July, or first week in August ; with power / to give to any petitioner recommended / agreeably to the laws of the society, any / sum as a temporary relief, not exceeding / Five Pounds : But such Committee are not / to enter into any other business. /

To prevent mistakes in the Recommend- / ations of Petitioners, the following Form / is proposed, but may be varied as circum- / stances require. /

We the undersigned, being the majority of / the members of the held at / in open Lodge assembled, this / Day of 17 do hereby / certify, That the within Petitioner hath been a contributing member of a Lodge for / the space of three Years; and that we have / known him in reputable\* circumstances: / and do recommend him to the Committee / of Charity for relief knowing ‡ the alleg- / ations set forth in his Petition to be true.

\* Or tolerable, as the case is.

‡ Or believing, as may be.

## APPENDIX E

### ATTACK UPON FREEMASONRY AT CANTERBURY, 1732

[*Early Masonic Pamphlets*, D. Knoop, G. P. Jones and D. Hamer.]

A letter in *The Universal Spectator* of 20th May, 1732, refers to attacks in general upon freemasonry, and to one at Canterbury in particular. The Mayor's proclamation is quoted in the letter, also a parody on it in doggerel verse. It was reprinted by Bro. Poole in *A.Q.C.*, xxxiii, 186. Our reprint is from a copy of the paper in the Bodleian (*Rawl. MS.*, C. 136).

To the Editor of the *Universal Spectator*.

SIR,

The Secret of Free Masonry has as much amus'd the Ignorant, as it has disturb'd the Malicious, or weaker Part of the World: tho' both join in the full Cry of idle Invectives against what they are Strangers to, and some uncommon Incidents have appear'd in Parts distant from *London*, in which the *Royal Craft* has suffer'd by Slander, and been misrepresented, not only as Unnatural but Seditious, nay Traiterous and Magical in their Practices, Destructive of (what their highest Ambition is to improve, and in which they have most frequently succeeded) the Peace and Welfare of their Fraternity in particular, as well as Mankind in general: But alas! how unsuccessful have they prov'd in the Metropolitan City of this Kingdom, (where is one of the earliest and noblest Specimens of *Gothick* Masonry and Architecture) so inhospitably receiv'd by one of its chief Magistrates, a Person of great Sagacity and deep Penetration, who endeavour'd *totis viribus*, *Quixote* like, to encounter a formidable Lodge, lately erected there: wherein he suspected Practices against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity, as well as Breaches on Morality: Mysteries he smelt out like those of *Bona Dea* of old *Rome*; into which not being able, as *Clodius* did, to enter and satisfy his Longing, he thought fit *per se*, & *per alium*, to proclaim in the public Streets such an *Arret* against that innocent and useful Society, as has no Parallel for its nervous Stile and most exact Orthography, and as such deserves well to be communicated to the World, as a singular Instance of that warm Magistrate's Genius, Industry, and Zeal for the Security of that Part of the Commonwealth committed to his Care: and the rather, as it was thought absolutely necessary to be publish'd several Market Days, by his Lordship's Deputy, the Cryer.

Whereas a Report runs throu Cyte, Town, and Country, of an unlawful Assembly of a Number of Men that met together at a Tavern<sup>1</sup> in this Cyte,

<sup>1</sup> Red Lion, Canterbury.

and their bound themselves under wicked Obligations, to do something, that may prove of sad Effect, Therefore the Mare of this Cyte desires any Parson that can, to inform him aright. because the whole Truth ought to be known. that such Dark-Lanthorns may be brought to Light.

This notable Proclamation, notwithstanding the indefatigable Diligence of Ecclesiasticks as well as Laicks, to propagate a false Report, injurious to the Honour of several Gentlemen of all Professions in the neighbourhood of this City, answered not the designed End, but at last became only the Object of Ridicule, and was burlesqu'd in the following honest tho' rustick Manner.

O! *Canterbury* is a fine Town.  
And a gallant City;  
It's govern'd by the Scarlet Gown.  
Come listen to my Ditty.

The Mayor by his Cryer maketh Proclamation.  
And thus he begins his Worship's Declaration:

"Whereas a Rumour round this City runs,  
And Country too, that certain mighty Dons,  
Were sent down here, in Coach and Six from *London*.  
By whose Arrival we may all be undone.

O! *Canterbury* Etc.

They say they're come *Free Masons* to create,  
I wish it prove no Plot against our State:  
Their Meeting is within a certain Tavern.  
The Room too is darkned, darker than any Cavern.

O! *Canterbury* Etc.

Now, I having at Heart a super Veneration,  
For this our rich and ancient Corporation,  
Resolv'd like *Old Foresight*, our Ruin to prevent.  
And thus to bring them all to condine Punishment.

O! *Canterbury* Etc.

First, I'll my Mirmidons, my Constables assemble,  
At sight of them this varlet Crew shall tremble:  
For who knows what Plagues their Designs are to bring  
On us at least—If not our Lord the King.

O! *Canterbury* Etc.

Their Magic Arts may prove of sad Effect,  
May blow up Church and Town, but no new ones erect:  
I'll thank and reward who can tell me aright.  
How all these Dark-Lanthorns may be brought to Light."

O! *Canterbury* Etc.

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At the conclusion of the paper, a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Pope, on the proposition of the W.M.; comments being also offered by or on behalf of Bros. J. Heron Lepper, H. C. Booth, N. Rogers, H. C. Bruce Wilson, F. L. Pick, A. J. B. Milborne, L. Edwards, G. Y. Johnson, and G. W. Bullamore.

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The W.M. said:—

It gives me great pleasure to propose a vote of thanks to Bro. Pope on his paper, *The Military Lodges in East Kent*.

The Brethren will remember that all through this period we were expecting a French invasion, and most of our armies at home were constantly being massed

on the East Coast. In consequence, Bro. Pope has come into contact with many Military Lodges not under the jurisdiction of either of the English Grand Lodges.

I am sure we all agree that this paper is a most painstaking piece of work and contains a great deal of material which is valuable as a record, not only of the individual Masons, but the movement of their Lodges.

The paper is a very difficult one to criticise, but I would recall also that the first travelling Lodges were chartered by the Grand Lodge of Ireland very early in the 18th century, about 1732. Ten years elapsed before the Grand Lodge of Scotland followed suit, but it was 1755 before an English Military Lodge was regularly constituted. I am told that, owing to the Act of 1823 against secret societies, most of the Military Lodges died out, but still are of great interest to all Masonic students, and Bro. Pope has added much to our knowledge in this respect.

It is, therefore, with great pleasure that I propose this vote of thanks to him.

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BRO. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

I can do no more than follow the lead of our W.M. in congratulating Bro. Pope on having brought together such a valuable amount of material; and the only way in which I can express my gratitude is by furnishing a few comments on the Lodges mentioned in the paper.

The Lodge constituted 7th February, 1755, as No. 211 in the 11th Dragoons was, so far as I can trace, the first Lodge established by the "Moderns" in a regiment. A close runner-up was No. 255, constituted 15th February, 1755, in the King's Own 8th Regiment. The first meeting place of the latter Lodge was at Maidstone. Thus Kent can claim to have been the cradle of the first Military Lodges constituted by the original Grand Lodge of England.

D. M. Lyon, in his *History of the Lodge of Edinburgh* (p. 162 note), gives the following information about Lodge St. Andrew's Royal Arch No. 158 bis, held in the Scots Greys:—

"There was a Lodge in the Greys at this period (1747), working under a charter which, through the interest of the Earl of Eglinton, had been procured from Kilwinning. The 'Scots Greys Kilwinning' having through the perils of war become dispossessed of its warrant of constitution, Colonel the Hon. William Master of Napier (afterwards 6th Lord Napier), and other officers, the Greys being then (1770) quartered in Edinburgh, petitioned for a charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, compliance with their prayer being urged on these grounds, 'that through the many hazardous enterprises in which they had been engaged in the service of their king and country, they had not only lost their charter but their whole records, and they were still willing to associate together for the true end of Masonry in a regular lodge' to be held in the regiment. The efforts to resuscitate under new auspices this old military lodge were rewarded by the grant of a charter, in which the Lodge was designated 'The St. Andrew's Royal Arch in the Scots Greys or Royal North British Dragoons'. The new Lodge was consecrated by the Grand Master General Oughton at a communication held in Canongate Kilwinning 12th March 1770. Ceasing in subsequent years to make returns to Grand Lodge it was cut off the roll in 1816."

Military Lodge No. 170, Ashford, must have been 170B of the "Antients", which was warranted 31st March, 1801, and not carried forward at the Union in 1813. Bro. Turner was probably a veteran of the cancelled Lodge.

Lodge 389, which sent a visitor, Bro. Shallard, to the same meeting in Hythe, would be the present Lodge of Charity, Plymouth, No. 223.

No. 243, I.C., was warranted in the 59th Regiment, 1st April, 1754. On the 7th March, 1782, the Grand Lodge of Ireland granted the members a duplicate warrant, "the original being much defaced". The Lodge, however, did not retain this new document for very long, for on 4th March, 1784, another duplicate warrant was ordered to William White, Thomas Mulligan, and William Mostyn, "the original being taken by the Spaniards before Gibraltar". This Lodge ceased to make any returns to Dublin after 1797, but may have continued in existence for some years after that date.

St. John's Lodge No. 400, I.C., in the 13th Dragoons, seems to have been a model for other Military Lodges to copy. It was warranted 15th October, 1791, and from that date till 1837 registered no less than 265 names in Dublin. The Irish G.L. Roll states: "Returned Warrant July 24, 1849, with jewels, Lodge furniture, etc, to be sold, and amount received for them to be presented to the Orphan School."

Lodge No. 522, I.C., was warranted in the 4th Regiment of Foot on 20th March, 1786. This warrant, too, was lost by the chances of war on the Continent, and a duplicate was granted on 5th March, 1801. The Lodge registered 171 members up to 1821. In 1823 it sent back its warrant from Barbados, probably as a result of the agitation against Military Lodges which began about this date.

The effect of this agitation is shown more clearly in the case of No. 950, I.C., warranted on 7th February, 1805, in the 2nd Dragoon Guards. It made returns regularly to Dublin until 1828. On 3rd July, 1834, the warrant was returned to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, "the Colonel not allowing them to assemble as Masons. The Grand Lodge regrets the Order under which the members of 960 have been induced to surrender the Warrant and that the sum of 3?/- be received in full" for dues.

St. Patrick's Lodge No. 602 is still very much alive, and never was a Military one. It was warranted on 2nd May, 1782, for Milltown, Co. Antrim, and subsequently moved to Derriaghy, where it still flourishes, and will continue to do so, I hope, for many years to come. I can throw no light on the trade or profession of Jeams Irving, and the entry, "To with flowers", suggests nothing to me as man or Mason from the same county. Irving probably came to Kent in one of the Irish militia regiments which volunteered for service in England during the Napoleonic wars.

Let me conclude by mentioning that the Irish Regulations of 1768 contain the first printed reference to the code governing Military Lodges, but evidence goes to show that this had been in force for some years previous to that date. Incidentally, this code was strictly enforced by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and, indeed, I may say that it is still being enforced; for we still have some Military Lodges under the Irish Constitution working in the British Army, and I am proud to reckon myself an honorary members of three such travelling Warrants.

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Bro. H. C. BOOTH writes:—

I would like to add my thanks to Bro. S. Pope for his paper, which I have read with interest, but my trouble with these Military Lodges and Military Masons is getting them sorted.

I notice on page 79 he refers to the note on the Marquis of Granby Lodge which I gave in my comments on Bro. G. Y. Johnson's paper, *The York Grand Chapter*. In that instance it was not the Military connection that drew it, but that the Three Principals were designated Grand Masters. There is, however, a sequel to that minute in the Marquis of Granby which may interest Bro. Pope.

The Chapter which the 2nd Regiment of Greys helped to form in 1783 continued to work until 27th March, 1787, after which a sudden change took place as can be gathered from the following minute:—

“April 11. A.L. 5791. A.D. 1787. A Chapter of Emergency of the Royal Arch, held in the Granby Lodge, by the Principals and Companions of the Chapter of Fortitude, in the King's 1st Regt. of Dragoon Guards, under a constitution of the Grand Chapter of England, was this night opened in due form, when Brothers George Finch, George Nicholson, William Stott, and Phil. Browne of the Granby Lodge were found worthy of being exalted to that Sublime Degree of Royal Arch Masonry, and paid their Registering Fees. Companion Finch then requested the most excellent Principals of the Chapter of Fortitude that they would be pleased to Transmit to Thos. Dunckerly, Esquire, a Petition (from the new Companions) praying that he would be graciously pleased to Impower them to hold a regular Chapter of the Most sublime degree of Royal Arch Masonry, and also enable them to exalt Companions by Granting them a Constitution by the Stile and Title of the Chapter of Concord, and that the Companions Geo. Finch, Geo. Nicholson, and Will Stott might be appointed Z.H.J., which petition Comp. Dixon promised to transmit.

Explanation, Introduction, and Sections worked according to Order, and the Chapter closed.

Present.

G. Finch	}	Comps.	Thos. Dixon	Z.
G. Nicholson				H.
W. Stott			W. Russell	J.
F. Browne				

Abram. Robinson, Janitor.”

The historian says, “The Military were to the front again, and if the Regiment of the 2nd Greys had wiled them into holding what might be described mildly as an unrecognised Chapter, the First Regiment of Dragoon Guards (No. 27 erased in 1809) under a Constitution of the Grand Chapter of England, brought them into the true R.A. sheepfold.”

“1787, April 19. A Chapter of Emergency of the Royal Arch, held in the Granby Lodge by the Principals and Companions of the Chapter of Fortitude, was this night opened in due form. The most Excellent Z. acquainted the Chapter he had wrote to Thomas Dunckerley Esq. who had been pleased to transmit a Dispensation to Comp. Finch empowering him to open a Chapter and to exalt Companions for Six Months, and until the Warrant of Constitution could be made out; at the same time the most Excellent Z. invested G. French Z., G. Nicholson H., W. Stott J. with their proper Insigns, and named them Principals of the Chapter of Concord, after which Ceremony the Chapter was closed.

Present

Finch	}	Comps.	Dixon	Z.
Nicholson			Russell	H.
Stott			Robinson	J.
			P. Browne, Janiter.	

“After the above was closed, the Chapter of the Royal Arch of Jerusalem, held in the Chapter of Concord, was opened in due form, when Brothers Sample and Thorne were found worthy of being Exalted

to this most Sublime Degree, and paid their Fees accordingly. Introduction and Sections worked, & the Chapter closed.

Present				
Dixon	}	Comps.	Finch	Z.
Russell			Nicholson	H.
Robinson			Stott	J.
			Thorne	E.
			Sample	N.
			P. Browne, Janitor."	

Bro. NORMAN ROGERS said:—

Bro. Pope has ably performed a difficult task in collecting his scanty material into a paper which has so many pleasing features.

On page 89 he quotes the *Manchester Transactions*, vol. xiii, as stating that "the degree of Past Master was not recognised by the 'Moderns' until 1810", and then he goes on to imply that this must have been correct, as the first mention of it occurs in the Industrious Lodge in that year. But all the references in the paper in question are to the Past Master's degree or the Installed Master's degree.

It is true that, in 1809, the "Moderns" Grand Lodge enjoined their members to "revert to the Ancient Land-Marks of the Society", and that, at the Special Lodge of Promulgation set up by them, the meeting held on 19th October, 1810:—

"Resolved, that it appears to this Lodge that the ceremony of Installation of Masters of Lodges is one of the two (? true) Landmarks of the Craft, and ought to be observed."

and that, at the next meeting, a Board of Installed Masters was formed to which Masters of all Lodges in London and its vicinity ("Moderns") were summoned to attend for the purpose of being regularly installed.

But, does it necessarily follow that, because the Ceremony of Installation had been neglected by the "Moderns", therefore there could be no P.M. of the Lodge? All the evidence in the North is against this theory, for the Ceremony of Passing the Chair was practised in Anchor and Hope Lodge, No. 37, as early as 1769, and, at that time, only P.M.'s were eligible for the Royal Arch. Further, in the Lodge of Relief, No. 42, Bury, under date 24th June, 1771, an Inventory shows that the Lodge Jewels were for the R.W.M., P.M., S.W., J.W., Treas. and Secy. (*A.Q.C.*, lviii, p. 90) and the appointment of P.M. as an Officer of the Lodge had gone on from at least 1765 (page 94), though the "constructive" ceremony of Passing the Chair (and, it may be, that of Installation) could not have dated in either of these two "Moderns" Lodges any earlier than 1768. There appears no doubt but that P.M. in Lancashire Lodges was a recognised office in the latter half of the 18th century.

Another point arises when Bro. Pope quotes the Royal Kentish Lodge of Antiquity, now No. 20 (page 8) and the Kentish Lodge of Antiquity, No. 10 (page 13) as having been constituted in March, 1723. What he does not say is that both references are to the Royal Kent Lodge of Antiquity, now No. 20, that it was constituted 28th March, 1723, at the Anchor in Dutchy Lane, in the Strand, and, after being held at seven other places in London, it was removed to the Queen's Head, Chatham, in 1750. It was known as the Kentish Lodge of Antiquity, No. 10, in 1781, and as the Royal Kent Lodge of Antiquity No. 20, in 1819; also, that at one period (1738), according to Lane's *Masonic Records* (p. 15) it was a Master's

Lodge. It has, therefore, been in Kent only 198 years, and not 225, as seems to be implied.

Apart from these two facts, Bro. Pope has given us a very pleasing paper and one which will add to our knowledge of the Craft in the County of Kent.

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BRO. H. C. BRUCE WILSON said:—

May I support the proposal to accord to Bro. Pope our thanks for his paper? The subject of Military Lodges is one on which there is much work waiting to be done; and, as Bro. Pope has said, the material for their history is largely dependent on scraps of information from the minutes of local Lodges.

To construct the history of the Lodge of any regiment it would be necessary to start with a record of the periods of duration of any warrant or warrants which had been held by it. Then to record the various locations of the regiment during those periods, not only of regimental H.Q., but also of all detachments. To trace the movements of every member of the regimental Lodge whose name has been recorded, which can be done from the Muster Rolls preserved at the Record Office, supplemented from any other sources available. And to note particularly the circumstances of the regiment at the time of the granting and the extinction of the warrants.

Until this has been done for a number of the regiments having Masonic Lodges, taken each individually, any estimate of the causes of the growth and decline of Military Lodges, and the contribution made by them to the spread of Masonry, can hardly be more than speculative and provisional.

The Journal of this Lodge would be a most suitable place for recording the Masonic history of individual regiments, if worked out carefully and thoroughly, so far as the surviving material admits. And as the work involved would probably be very considerable in proportion to the results obtained, the recording of casual references to regiments in local Lodge minutes should be of assistance to anyone engaged on such work.

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BRO. FRED L. PICK writes:—

As one would expect, Bro. Pope has given us an interesting and valuable paper on Military Freemasonry in East Kent, especially during the Napoleonic Wars. Many references to Military Lodges in Kent are given in Bro. Lane's *Masonic Records*, but as additional information has no doubt become available since 1894, I would like to emulate Oliver Twist and ask for another appendix giving the fullest possible list of Military Lodges operating in the area. Like a writer in *Masonic Illustrated*, Bro. Pope appears to have regarded some of these Lodges as mere sojourners. For example, the "Antients" issued a Warrant (No. 147) to a Lodge at Bridgnorth, Salop, in 1767. Later, the warrant was issued to a Lodge in the Third North Lancashire Militia at Dover on 13th March, 1812. The regiment (and Lodge) appear at Canterbury and Chatham later in the same year, and in 1814 at Preston, Lancs. The Lodge received a Warrant of Confirmation and Consolidation as a Civil Lodge and adopted the name Unanimity in 1823. It still flourishes at Preston under the number 113.

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BRO. A. J. B. MILBORNE writes:—

To produce a readable paper on the activities of Military Lodges is a task the measure of which I have a full appreciation, and I wish to join in the congratulations which, I am sure, will be extended to Bro. Pope. The foundation of the

Craft in Quebec was indisputably laid by Brethren of military Lodges, and up to the time when the Mother Country ceased to maintain garrisons here there was much intercourse between the military and civil Lodges. The military Lodges cheerfully submitted to the rule of the Provincial Grand Master. Their jurisdiction over military personnel, as provided by the rule quoted by Bro. Pope from Gould's *Military Lodges*, was recognised, and the jurisdiction of the civil Lodges was restricted by Article 14 of the Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Craft in Lower Canada, to be found in what I believe is a comparatively rare publication, *The Mason's Manual*, printed at Quebec in 1818. The article reads: "No other Lodge shall initiate into Masonry any non-commissioned officer belonging to a Regiment or Battalion to which a Military Lodge is attached", etc. I have found but one instance where there was an infraction of these regulations. In 1818, the Super Excellent and Holy Royal Arch Chapter of Free and Accepted Masons held under the sanction of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lower Canada complained to the Provincial Grand Lodge that Brethren of Lodge No. 446, E.R., held in the 68th Regiment, had "admitted members of civilian Lodges into certain degrees of Masonry without such members having first produced the necessary Certificates to them from such Lodges as required by the Regulations of the Grand Lodge of England". What disposition was made of the complaint has not come to light.

Lodge No. 522, I.C., held in the 4th Regiment, was in Quebec in 1796, as appears from a Certificate quoted by Graham in his *Outlines of the History of Freemasonry in Quebec*. The Certificate is dated January 6th, 1796, and was granted to Robert Anderson. It is signed by John Moore, Master; Robert Fleming, Senior Warden; Joseph Kirk, Junior Warden; and Patt. Courtney, Secretary. The seal on the Certificate is inscribed "Select Lodge No. 522. 4th Reg."

Robert Suthereron, or Sutteron, listed in Appendix C, was a member of three Lodges. He was a petitioner for the Warrant of Lodge No. 643, I.C., held in the 6th Regiment, and had formerly been a member of Lodge No. 218, I.C., held in the 48th Regiment, as noted by Bro. S. J. Fenton (*A.Q.C.*, xliv, p. 73).

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Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS said:—

I should like to add mine to the congratulations offered to Bro. Pope on his paper. So many of us nowadays are ex-Servicemen that it could not fail to be interesting; and, in addition, the exigencies of service gave sailors and soldiers so many opportunities of visiting and getting into touch with other Lodges.

The fact that the Inniskilling Dragoons at one time or other appear to have had no less than four Craft Warrants reminds us of the existence in the 17th Foot (the Royal Leicestershire Regiment), within a period of about forty years, of four Warrants from as many different Constitutions.

The mention of the Battle of Minden (1759) recalls the Masonic interest of that Battle, which gave its name to the Lodge held in the 20th Foot (the Lancashire Fusiliers), and after which the Grand Lodge of England resolved that the sum of £50 should be sent to Bro. Major-General Kingsley to be distributed among the soldiers serving under the Duke of Brunswick—himself a member of the "Three Globes" Lodge of Berlin—who were Masons.

Bro. Pope mentions a visit on December 27th, 1814, by a Deputation from a Lodge in the 9th Foot. A Lodge in this regiment was formed in 1803, and after the headquarters, staff, and part of the regiment had been shipwrecked two years later and kept in captivity at Valenciennes until 1814, its working was continued and its minutes kept by the prisoners-of-war. Its last meeting in France was on January 20th, 1814. On September 20th it had a Lodge of Emergency in the

King's Infantry Barracks at Canterbury. On December 8th it met regularly for the "Installation of its New Members, Dedication of Jewels, Furniture, etc.", and the number of its Warrant was changed from 183 to 221. It met again on December 27th,<sup>1</sup> which meeting links up with Bro. Pope's reference.

One is struck by the many Jewish names given in the paper, chiefly of "dealers and chapmen", a common occupation among that people, particularly in seaport towns and military centres. One wonders whether Bro. Jacob Hart, "silversmith", ever exercised his operative craft for the benefit of the speculative, as did Bro. Thomas Harper. It is possible that a reference to the manuscript index of Jewish Freemasons compiled by the late Bro. Morris Rosenbaum, to which I hope shortly to have access, may give further information about these Jewish Brethren.

The appointment of Provincial Grand Artists is interesting. One knows of the appointments, apparently exceptional, to somewhat similar offices of Sir John Soane and the Rev. M. W. Peters, R.A., in Grand Lodge itself. Have there ever been any similar offices in other Provincial Grand Lodges?

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Bro. G. Y. JOHNSON said:—

May I congratulate Bro. Pope on his interesting paper? The Craft owes our Military Brethren a debt of gratitude, as a number of Lodges were formed through their exertions.

In Canterbury, a garrison city, many Military Brethren visited the local Masonic Lodges. If a search were made of the minutes of Lodges held in other garrison cities and towns, I have no doubt that the names of some of the Military Brethren mentioned by Bro. Pope would be found.

In the minutes of the Union Lodge of York, now the York Lodge No. 236, I have traced one such name. On 15th April, 1799, there is the following entry: "Visitor Br. O'Brien of No. 400—13th Light Dragoons". There seems little doubt that this is the Brother who joined Lodge No. 24 at Canterbury in 1807, and was the Master in 1810, 1811 and 1812.

In the early part of the paper, attention is drawn to the Warrant of Constitution for a Royal Arch Chapter granted at York in 1770 to some members of the Inniskilling Dragoons.

The statement is then made that "the Inniskillings applied for and obtained a 'Modern' Royal Arch Warrant from York". The reference given for this is Sadler's *Masonic Facts and Fictions*, page 176, but I have been unable to find the quotation. In any case, this Warrant of Constitution was granted by the York Grand Chapter and had no connection with the Grand Chapter of the "Moderns".

One further point: the title Bye Lodge is new to me; this may be well known in Kent, and, I take it, means an Emergency Lodge.

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Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE writes:—

It must have been of considerable advantage to a soldier Mason to have more than one qualification for visiting any Lodge which happened to be in his neighbourhood; and this may be the explanation of some of the re-makings and passings of the chair.

I have in mind a Dragoon officer after the Union, who was made an Irish Mason in Lodge 400 in 1836, took the three degrees in 1852 in Lodge Perseverance.

<sup>1</sup> *Masonic Magazine*, vol. ix, p. 17.

Bombay, of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and produced an English Royal Arch certificate for endorsement when visiting a Continental Lodge.

I notice, however, that in Appendix E there are references to magic arts and to Masons being magical in their practices; and there is a possibility that here and there was the expectation of obtaining occult knowledge. Such a hope might lead to an effort to find out which body possessed the great secret.

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Bro. S. POPE writes in reply:—

It is very gratifying to me that my paper has called forth so much discussion, and I thank the W. Master and Brethren for their vote of thanks and the many Brethren who have joined in the discussions or sent in their comments.

That such an authority on Irish Masonry—including as it does such a large proportion of Masonry in Travelling Lodges—as Bro. Lepper should consider my paper useful is indeed encouraging.

As Bro. Booth points out it is most interesting to know that Military Masons were eventually instrumental in bringing the Royal Arch Masons in the Granby Lodge under the Constitution of the Grand Chapter of England and I thank him for his most interesting contribution.

The error in referring to the Warrant for a Royal Arch Chapter granted at York in 1770 as a "Modern" Royal Arch Warrant is my own. The first sentence in the paragraph in which this occurs, "It is well-known that Warrants issued by the 'Moderns' recognised only the three Craft Degrees, while those of the 'Antients' virtually included from the first the Royal Arch", is taken from Sadler's *Facts and Fictions* and the reference "12" should have been placed after the word "Arch". The By Lodge at Faversham was an Emergency Lodge, but like Bro. Johnson, I have not met with the term elsewhere.

I have added to the Appendix some lists of Military Lodges and Masons I have come across during the time I have been compiling this paper. The visitors to the Prince Edwin Lodge, Hythe, although not all from Military Lodges, are interesting as they include members of two Whitehaven Lodges. Bro. Lepper's explanation of the presence of Irish Masons in Lodge No. 24 again suggests that these visitors were probably serving in a Militia Regiment from the Cumberland District, at that time stationed at or near Hythe.

Regarding Bro. Rogers' comments on the Degree of Past Master: unfortunately no Minute Book of the Industrious Lodge survives, but there is the Treasurer's Book dating from 1785 in which there is no mention of "P.M." until 1810, from which date the previous year's Master — or as we should term him to-day, the I.P.M. — is designated "P.M." but no others. In 1783 the Chapter of Concord No. 38 was formed by the members of this Lodge, and the list of its members include the following members of the Faversham Lodge who had not been through the Chair:—Charles Plane 1786, Thomas Carr 1788 and Bro. Mein 1797. There is no mention of the "Chair" degree in the Faversham Lodge Minutes until 1820, the first Faversham Chapter being formed in May, 1821. As I have previously mentioned, there is no evidence of mixing in the Industrious Lodge, no mention of degrees other than the three Craft, and I have always considered their practice as appertaining to that of the "Moderns"; however, customs appear to have differed in other parts of the country.

The particulars given by Bro. Rogers concerning what is now the Royal Kent Lodge of Antiquity agree with those given in the history of the Lodge by the late Bro. Whyman, except that the latter gives the date of the Lodge meeting at Chatham as 1748 instead of 1750. Owing to the fire at the Sun Hotel, Chatham, in 1820, all the Lodge's records were lost and its history previous to that date had to be compiled from the records of Grand Lodge.

One can understand the interest of Bro. Milbourne (Canada) in Military Masonry when one reads that "The Royal Artillery at one time boasted 28 Lodges, of which No. 9 is now Albion No. 2, Quebec."<sup>1</sup>

Bro. Milborne will be as fully aware of the association of the name Cornwallis with Freemasonry as are the Masons of Kent.

The Hon. Edward Cornwallis, uncle of Lord Cornwallis, of York Town in the American War of Independence, was the "Founder of three lodges". The first was held in the 20th Foot and it received in December, 1748, a Warrant of Constitution, No. 63, from the Grand Lodge of Ireland. It was granted to Lord George Sackville (Colonel and first Master), Lt.-Col. the Hon. Edward Cornwallis and Captain Milburne. The second was formed at Halifax, Nova Scotia, of which province Edward Cornwallis became the Founder and first Governor.<sup>2</sup>

This was the "First Lodge" in Nova Scotia and was constituted in 1750 under the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts. In 1757 this "First Lodge" was divided into three Lodges, Nos. 2, 3 and 4, each of which obtained a charter from the Grand Lodge of the "Antients". No. 4 was the No. 155, of 26.3.1768, its charter still exists and it adopted the name of St. Andrew about 1780.<sup>3</sup>

A certificate<sup>4</sup> dated at Halifax, Nova Scotia, 7th June, 1932, states that "The Rt. W. Bro. the Rt. Hon. Fiennes Stanley Wykeham Baron Cornwallis, C.B.E., Provincial Grand Master of the Province of Kent, Deputy Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of England, is an Hon. Life Member of St. Andrew's Lodge."

His son, Lord Cornwallis, Provincial Grand Master of Kent, we understand intends to visit Halifax for the Bi-Centenary of the Founding of the Colony of Nova Scotia and he also intends to visit Lodge No. 1, of which his ancestor was a Founder and First Master, should it be meeting during the period of his visit.

The comments of Bro. Edwards, as usual, are interesting. The United Industrious Lodge purchased a silver dagger from Bro. Jacob Hart in 1820; this is on loan to the Provincial Museum, there is no engraving thereon. Unfortunately, there is no information as to where Bro. Baines obtained the jewel he presented to Aaron Paris, the first Master of Lodge No. 24.

Additional information regarding Lodge No. 522, I.C., by Bro. Lepper and Bro. Milborne, and the interest displayed on the subject of Military Lodges, is such that one is led to hope that our knowledge on this subject may be increased by contributions from Brethren working on the lines suggested by Bro. Bruce Wilson.

In conclusion, I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the many Brethren who have allowed me access to their records, or when this has not been possible have obtained abstracts from them and sent them to me. I should also like to thank Bro. Rickard who has given me much assistance.

<sup>1</sup> Gould's Military Lodges.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Information from Grand L. Library.

<sup>4</sup> Prov. of Kent Museum, Canterbury.

## AN OLD IRISH APRON IN KENT



REMINDER of the Military Lodges which prevailed in Kent during the early part of the 19th century was provided in 1945, when an old Masonic apron was presented to the Cinque Ports Lodge, No. 1206, Sandwich. It was discovered in the office of a local firm of solicitors, and is considered to have belonged to the founder of the firm, "Richard Emmerson, a very old and prominent Mason, who was a member of an old Sandwich family going back for several generations". According to the *Freemasons' Manual for Kent*, Richard Joynes Emmerson was W. Master of the Cinque Ports Lodge, No. 1206, Sandwich, in 1872, and was appointed Prov. Grand Junior Warden the same year; in 1891 he was Gd. Std. Br. of England, and his name appears among the Past Masters of the Lodge until 1906.

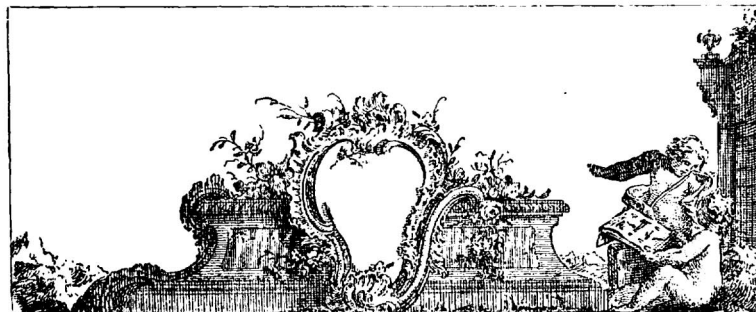
The apron is 20 inches square, and is made of linen, lined or edged with half-inch black ribbon, upon which was sewn silver tinsel. The design appears to have been printed in pale green or blue, for the clouds surrounding the All-Seeing Eye, the scrolls upon the flap, and some of the symbols are or were of that colour; the remainder appear to have been gilded or painted over by hand. Also on the flap is "No. 898".

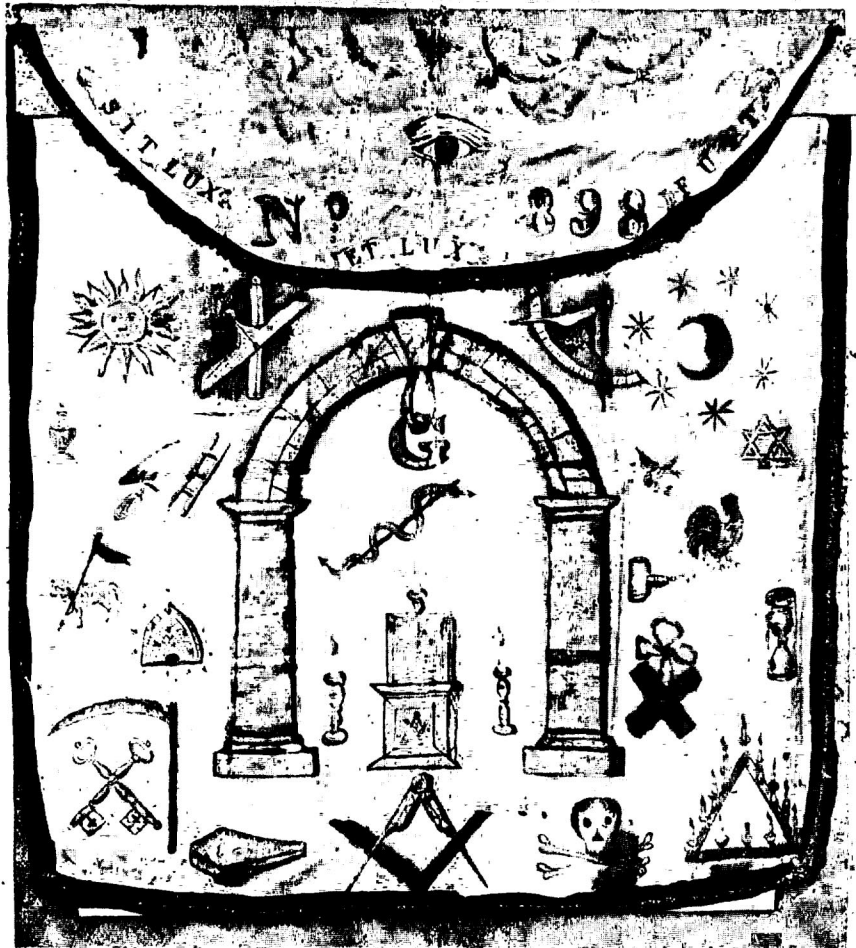
Bro. Lepper informs us that "The apron is Irish and that Lodge No. 898—(1801-1848)—was the Lodge in Meath's Militia which afterwards settled in Kells in Co. Meath. The Militia was stationed on the South Coast in Kent for watch duty during Napoleonic times". It would thus appear that this old apron has probably remained in the Sandwich district since it was left there by its original owner, a Military Mason.

This apron is somewhat similar to "A Curious Masonic Apron" described and illustrated by Bro. Dr. D. R. Clark, M.A., F.S.A., Scot., which, he considered, "had its origin in the North of Ireland soon after the year 1817". Symbols, with Bro. Clark's explanations, which are common to both aprons are:—

The Dove and Olive Branch; Ladder with three steps; a cross tied with a knot, which Bro. Hugan is inclined to refer to the "Union Bands" as worked in Ireland, Scotland, and England early in this century [19th]. The Rod and Serpent refer to the working of the veils, as still practised in Scotland and Ireland in the Royal Arch; also the Pot of Manna which, in the early part of this century [19th], appears to have been commonly employed in the same connection. The degrees of Royal Arch, Ark Mariner, and K.T. (Cock, Lamb, Lights on Triangle, etc.) are clearly defined.

S. POPE.





An Old Irish Apron in Kent.

FRIDAY, 7th MAY, 1948



HE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., W.M.; G. Y. Johnson, J.P., P.A.G.D.C., as I.P.M.; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., S.W.; Lt.-Col. H. C. Bruce Wilson, O.B.E., P.G.D., J.W.; Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, M.A., P.G.Ch., P.M., Chap.; J. H. Lepper, B.A., B.L., P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; Rev. H. Poole, B.A., F.S.A., P.A.G.Ch., P.M., Sec.; L. Edwards, M.A., F.S.A., P.A.G.Reg., P.M., as D.C.; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., I.G.; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.D., P.M.; S. Pope, P.Pr.G.Std., Kent; and E. H. Cartwright, D.M., B.Ch., P.G.D.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. C. K. Hughes; J. E. Messenger, P.G.St.B.; H. Chilton; D. Scott; V. Watson; J. W. Lanagan, P.A.G.P.; F. H. H. Thomas, P.A.G.D.C.; T. W. Kendall; T. W. Marsh; E. A. Braham; J. D. Daymond; C. H. Bourne; H. B. Evans; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg.; A. M. R. Cann; B. E. Jones; H. K. Thorold; F. V. Hazell; J. M. Hughes; H. W. Lemon; H. Attwooll, P.G.St.B.; J. S. Ferguson; E. A. Bridgett; A. L. Bridgett; C. M. Rose; F. L. Bradshaw; E. S. Jacobs; A. H. Gilbard; R. L. Randall; J. Makin; F. C. Taylor, J.G.D.; A. G. Bradley; S. J. Bradford, P.A.G.D.C.; H. Lewis; A. F. Cross; F. M. Shaw; H. Johnson; F. J. Frisby; D. H. Fulton; J. T. Greenfield; C. Newman; H. R. Smith; H. H. C. Prestige; T. Jager; M. R. M. Cann; H. W. Chetwin; E. W. Clapperton; C. M. Roberts; T. H. Muffett; A. F. Hatten; W. E. Boynett, P.G.St.B.; G. D. Hutchins, P.A.G.D.C.; F. G. Marr; E. V. Winyard; N. G. W. Walker; G. R. Nicholson; M. G. Brash; E. E. Traxton, A.G.P.; and F. E. Barber.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. J. Tilley, Lodge No. 4860; J. L. Cross, Lodge No. 2750; C. A. S. Greaves, Lodge No. 2533; B. S. Brame, Lodge No. 3680; and T. Caryll, Lodge No. 2857.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, P.G.D., Pr.G.M., Bristol, P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwickshire, P.M.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. P. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.D., Cheshire; F. L. Pick, P.M.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., I.P.M.; R. E. Parkinson; G. S. Knocker, P.A.G.Supt.Wks.; S. N. Smith, P.Pr.G.D., Cambs.; J. R. Rylands, J.D.; J. Johnstone, P.A.G.D.C.; and N. Rogers, P.Pr.G.D., Lancs., E.D.

The WORSHIPFUL MASTER read the following:—

IN MEMORIAM — DAVID FLATHER

It is a great grief to me to have to report the death of one of our senior Past Masters—Bro. David Flather.

For many years now his health, as well as increasing blindness and deafness, have kept him from activities of any kind; and he died on the 21st April at the age of 83.

Bro. Flather's business life was devoted to steel and its scientific production. As head of a Sheffield firm, and as a member of the Iron and Steel Institute, the Sheffield Metallurgical Association, and other bodies and committees, he has contributed much in this direction. He became a member of the Company of Cutlers of Hallamshire in 1911, and he occupied the responsible and exalted position of Master Cutler in 1926—a year to which he used to look back with particular pleasure and pride.

He was also a Justice of the Peace, and one of the Twelve Capital Burgesses of the Town and Parish of Sheffield.

He was initiated in 1886 in the Hallamshire Lodge, No. 2268, and became its W.M. in 1898, becoming Pr.S.G.W., Yorkshire, West Riding, in 1920, and P.A.G.D.C. (Eng.) in 1922; he was promoted to P.G.D. in 1939. He was a Founder of several Sheffield Lodges, and a member of others.

In the Royal Arch, he was exalted in the Chapter of Paradise, No. 139, and was its First Principal in 1906. In the Grand Chapter, he was given the rank of P.G.St.B. in 1922, and promoted P.G.Soj. in 1939.

He held high offices in the A. & A. Rite, the K.T., the Mark, the Royal Order of Scotland, and other bodies. He was also, in conjunction with Bro. John Stokes (another of

our own Past Masters), one of the agents for the revival of the Hallamshire College, S.R.I.A., of which he was for many years the Secretary.

He joined the Correspondence Circle of this Lodge in 1903, and was elected to membership of the Lodge in 1929, becoming W.M. in the year 1933. His contributions to our *Transactions* were not numerous, but all he wrote was sound and workmanlike; and he did good and useful service by many lectures and addresses to Lodges, many in his own Province.

To the younger generation of members of our Lodge, Bro. David Flather can hardly have been known; but to some of our older members a memory will remain of a most kindly, generous and lovable Brother.

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

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The congratulations of the Lodge were offered to the following members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle, who had been honoured with appointments and promotions at the recent Festival of the Grand Lodge:—Bros. Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, Past Grand Chaplain; and J. Heron Lepper, Past Grand Deacon.

Bros. Sir Chas. McRae, C. W. Tachie-Menson, R. H. G. Tatton, V. J. Bailhache, L. E. Hall, A. Saywell, A. Frost, and B. Marsh, Past Grand Deacons; Major R. C. Lowndes, Deputy Grand Sword Bearer; C. H. Lillie, Past Assistant Grand Superintendent of Works; C. W. Hall, E. R. Harrison, F. W. Harris, W. G. Ibberson, H. W. Langdon, K. C. Marrian, A. E. Collins-Nice, F. Armitage, F. W. Wintgens, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; C. A. Budd, B. Chaikin, W. Fletcher, A. E. Robinson, A. K. Croad, T. L. Elliott, and W. Watts, Past Grand Standard Bearers; E. S. Gregory, W. W. Myers, C. S. Bishop, and F. W. Day, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearers; H. Cherrington, Assistant Grand Standard Bearer; W. A. Stone and H. B. Isaacs, Past Grand Pursuivants.

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The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

From the Grand Lodge Library and Museum—

Cast of the "Hitchin Tile".

Copy of the Geneva Bible.

By Bro. W. G. MITCHELL, of Walkerville, Ontario—

A photograph of an old Apron. (*Presented to the Lodge.*)

By Bro. R. EVAN THOMAS—

Photograph of the carved Overmantel in the Lodge Room in the Masonic Hall, Mold, where the meetings of Sir Watkin Lodge, No. 1477, are held. (*Presented to the Lodge.*)

By Bro. F. M. SHAW—

Photograph of an Oven Door, with Masonic emblems, from 72, West Gate, Mansfield, Notts.; probably c. 1790. (*Presented to the Lodge.*)

By Bro. LEWIS EDWARDS—

A Copy of the *Genealogie of Sainteclaires of Rosslyn*, by Father Richard Augustin Hay, Edinburgh, 1835. This contains the earliest reference to the tradition of the hereditary Grand Mastership of the St. Clairs of Roslin. About 120 copies were printed.

By Bro. H. POOLE—

Medal of the Loyal Britons Lodge, No. 1, 1811.

O: Figure of Britannia, seated. Legend, PROVIDENCE LODGE OF LOYAL BRITONS / N° 1 and below, ESTABLISHED JULY 8 / 1811. R: A Student, seated, among rosebushes, an irradiated eye above. Legend, WE / HAVE BEEN PROSPEROUS / AMITY.

Copper: 54 mm. (*Presented to the Lodge.*)

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Bro. Rev. H. POOLE read the following paper:—

## THE SUBSTANCE OF PRE-GRAND LODGE FREEMASONRY

BY BRO. REV. H. POOLE, F.S.A., P.A.G.C.



THE question of the number of degrees in the Freemasonry of pre-Grand Lodge days was, just before the end of the last century, one of the greatest battle-grounds of the early students of Masonic history; and every one of the "giants" of Masonic research took a hand, advocating opinions ranging from one to three. More especially, those great Masonic scholars, W. J. Hughan and D. Murray Lyon, vigorously maintained a one-degree theory, while G. W. Speth and R. F. Gould equally stoutly insisted on two degrees, though the latter seems to have weakened somewhat at a later date.

But there are two respects in which these students were at a disadvantage as compared with the student of to-day; and one at least of these is so vital that we need hardly consider the arguments which they put forward.

One is the discovery, or rather the recognition, made almost simultaneously by R. J. Meekren, of Canada, and D. Knoop, of Sheffield, that the Entered Apprentice referred to in Scottish documents (the name having perhaps been borrowed by English Masonry in early Grand Lodge days) was *not* the lad of 14 just indentured to his Master, but the same young man at 21 or so when just freed, or shortly to be freed, from his apprenticeship. The evidence is set out fully in Meekren's paper in *A.Q.C.*, liii, 1940; and it will be sufficient here to quote from two paragraphs of the Schaw Statutes of 1598—

Item, that na maister ressaue ony prenteiss bund for fewar zeiris nor sevin at the leist, and siclyke it sall not be lesum to mak the said prenteiss brother and fallow in craft vnto the tyme that he haif seruit the space of vthar sevin zeires efter the ische of his said prenteischip w<sup>t</sup>out ane speciall licenc granttit be the wardenis, dekynis, and maisteris assemblit for that caus. . . . (Lyon, p. 10.)

What status, then, had the Prentice after the first seven years had been served, and before the time, seven years later, when he became a "brother and fallow in craft"? The Statutes do not answer the question directly, but another paragraph later on leaves little doubt—

Item, it sall not be lesum to na enterit prenteiss to tak ony gritter task or wark vpon hand fra a awnar nor will extend to the soume of ten punds vnder the pane foirsaid, to wit xx libs, and that task being done they sall Interpryiss na mair w<sup>t</sup>out licence of the maisteris or warden q<sup>r</sup> thay dwell (*ib.*)

It becomes clear, and Meekren was able to verify the practice from the minutes of the Aitchison's Haven Lodge, which commence in 1598, that the "entering" of the Prentice took place at or near the *end* of his apprenticeship, when he would become very much what we would call a Journeyman, but

restricted as to the amount of work which he could undertake independently, and still without the qualification which would enable him to accept a contract and employ other Masons.

The other advantage which we have to-day over the student of fifty years ago lies in the discoveries of "ritual" documents. Altogether no fewer than four such, of absolutely revolutionary importance, have come to light within comparatively recent times. These are—

The *Edinburgh Register House* MS.—a ritual and catechism, dated 1696 ;

the *Chetwode Crawley* MS.—an almost identical document, of c. 1700 ;

the *Trinity College Dublin* MS.—a short catechism, endorsed "Feb: 1711 " ; and

the *Graham* MS.—a very unusual form of catechism, dated 1726.

Even when L. Vibert gave his Prestonian Lecture on the *Development of the Trigradal System* (1925) and its sequel in the following year, only the second and third of these were known. As the exact date of the second was uncertain, it was easy to underestimate its value ; while the third, on which the writing of the date may not have been contemporary, was commonly regarded with considerable suspicion. All that was available to the early student was a fragment in the Minute Book of the Haughfoot Lodge, dated 1702 : a tantalising scrap which is merely the last few lines of a document which now turns out to agree very closely indeed with the first two of the MSS. listed above, the previous page of the book having been torn out, no doubt owing to its highly esoteric character. It may be added here that up to date probably the most exhaustive treatment of the whole question of degrees is that of A. L. Kress and R. J. Meekren in *The Builder*, vols. xiv and xv (1928-9) ; but even at that date Meekren had not made his discovery as to the Entered Prentice, and the two most important of the MSS. mentioned above had not yet come to light.

The evidence from Scotland is so much more abundant than that belonging to England that it will be best to commence our enquiry there. What we are at the moment attempting to discover is the number of degrees ; and it will be best to have a clear idea of what we mean by a degree. That there were several stages or steps in the career of an Operative Mason is obvious—he starts as an apprentice ; becomes an Entered Apprentice after about seven years, and a Fellow of Craft in yet another seven (though the practice varied considerably) ; and finally he may or may not one day be entitled to call himself Master. But it would be very unsafe to assume that there were corresponding degrees ; and we can hardly do better than adopt the definition, due originally to Gould, of a degree as "A rank secretly conferred with a distinctive ceremony". It must, then, be our business to discover at what stages in his career such rises in status were conferred secretly with distinctive ceremonies.

The Schaw Statutes are silent as to the attainment of the status of Master—indeed, in many cases in Scotland where the Trades were "incorporated", the attainment of this rank was a matter outside the jurisdiction of the Lodge. But they are quite explicit as to the stages of Entered Prentice and Fellow of Craft ; and the relevant passages may be quoted—

Item, that na prenteiss be enterit bot be the samyn ord'  
[notification of the local Warden, &c.] that the day of their enteres  
may be buikit (Lyon, p. 10)

and

Item, that na maister or fallow of craft be ressaunit nor admittit  
w<sup>o</sup>ut the numer of sex maisteris and twa enterit prenteissis, the  
wardene of that ludge being ane of the said sex, and that the day of  
the ressaunyng of the said fallow of craft or maister be ord<sup>r</sup>lie buikit

and his name and mark insert in the said buik w<sup>t</sup> the names of his sex admitteris and enterit prenteissis, and the names of the intendaris that salbe chosin to everie prsone to be alsua insert in their buik. Providing alwayis that na man be admittit w<sup>out</sup> ane assay and sufficient tryall of his skill and worthynes in his vocatioun and craft. (Lyon, p. 10.)

The phrase "maister or fallow of craft" will be dealt with in due course. Meanwhile, the most important passage at the moment is the reference to the "intendaris". For we know something of the purpose and duties of the Intender in a Masonic Lodge, though we have no other reference at so early a date. A hint is given in the *Harris I MS.* of the *Old Charges*, where a scrap of ritual direction has been inserted.

Then let the person which is to be made a Mason choose out of the Lodge any one Mason, who is to instruct him in those secrets which must never be committed to writing, which Mason he must always call his Tutor. Then let the Tutor take him into another room, and show him all the whole mystery, that at his return he may exercise with the rest of his fellow-Masons (*Harris No. I MS.*, c. 1675).

Here, though he has another name, there is no mistaking the man, whose duties are clearly indicated in the *Aberdeen Lodge Statutes of 1670*—

Wee ordaine lykwayes that non of our lodge teach or instruct ane entered printise wntill such tyme as he be perfyted be his Intender wnder the faylzie of being fyned as the company thinks fit, but when his Intender and his Maate gives him over as being taught then any person hath libertie to teach him any thing he forgates but if the entered printise when he is interrogat at our publict meetings forgate any thing that his been taught him in that case he must pay for it as the company thinks fite except he can instruct that he wes never taught such a thing then his intender most pay for him (Miller, *Hist.*, &c., of the *Lodge Aberdeen* (1919), p. 64).

These, or at any rate the second of these, referènces concern only the Entered Prentice, though the Schaw Statutes say nothing about the Intenders for the newly-entered Prentice. But the Aitchison's Haven minutes are quite explicit as to the existence of the intender at entering, and their names are duly recorded. Thus, to quote the earliest example which is quite unequivocal—

2nd Jan., 1600

The quhilk day Andro Pattene was enterit prenteis to Johne Crafurd his maister and hes payit his xx sh for his boukin and payit his gluifis to his admitteris thare namit ar Wilzame Attoun elder Johne Fender Wilzame Attoun of Mussilbrugh Henre Johne Pedden Thomas Petticruif dikine Wilzame Attoun of enterit prenteissis James Petticruif Thomas Faireme Alexander Cubie Johone Petticruif of the quhilk number he has chosin to be his intenders Alexander Cubie and Johone Pettocruif. (*A.Q.C.*, xxiv, p. 36.)

It is worth adding that Alexander Cubie was himself entered prentice on 11th January, 1598, and John Petticruif on 28th May, 1599, while James Petticruif was already entered in 1598. It looks very much as if it was usual, if not an invariable custom, to select the Intenders from among the youngest Masons; and, as we shall see later, in some of the ritual directions which have survived this is laid down.

For the making of a Fellow of Craft, the procedure is laid down: that six full members of the Lodge shall be present, the Warden being one of them,

as well as two Entered Prentices; the Intenders to be chosen from among the Fellows of Craft. Here again the Aitchison's Haven minutes show that the procedure was exactly followed—

28th May, 1599

Upone the quihlk day Johne Low was maid fellow of Craft in ye presence of Johne Fender Warden for ye present Wilzame Aytone elder deacone Thomas Petticrief Johne Crafurd Hendrie Petticrief Wilzam Aytone zounger Georg Aytone all fellowis of Craft also of enterit prentis Richart Petticrief James Petticrief also ye said Johne Low did chuis George Aytone and Wilzame Aytone younger to be his intendars and hes payit xx sh and his gluifis to ye said cumpanie. (*ibid*, p. 35.)

At first sight it would seem that the choosing of Intenders is, by itself, enough to prove that secrets were conferred at the making of a Fellow of Craft. But the presence of two Entered Prentices, not only laid down in the Statutes, but actually carried out in practice, has been a stumbling-block, and led the earlier students to insist that there could have been nothing esoteric in the ceremony. Leaving on one side, for the moment, the purpose of their presence, the hint given in the ritual extract from the *Harris I* MS. recently quoted removes a great deal of this difficulty—"Then let the Tutor take him into another room . . ." Though the *Harris I* MS. is definitely English rather than Scottish (though it has a very near relation among the *Dumfries MSS.*), this procedure, if used at the making of a Fellow of Craft, would, while the instruction was being given, allow of the presence of the Entered Prentices without any secrets being disclosed to those not entitled to them.

That considerable importance was attached to their presence is suggested by a very curious minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh, from which it appears that the composition even of a clandestine meeting was made regular in this respect, and by the very irregular "borrowing" of two Entered Prentices of that Lodge.

December the 27, 1679: Maries Chappell. The quich day Thomas Wilkie, deacon, and Thomas King, warden, and the rest of the brethren convened at that tyme, being represented unto them the great abuse and usurpation committed be John Fulltoun, mason, on of the friemen of this place, by seducing two entered prentises belonging to our Lodge, to witt, Ro. Alison and John Collaer, and other omngadrum, in the moneth of august last, within the sheraffdome of Air: Has taken upon himself to passe and enter sevrall gentlemen without licence or commission from this place: Therfore for his abuse committed, the deacon and maisters hes forthwith enacted that he shall receave no benefit from this place nor no converse with any brother; and lykwayes his servants to be discharged from serving him in his employment: and this act to stand in force, ay and whill he give the deacon and masters satisfaction. (Lyon, p. 106).

It will be best at this stage to attempt to clear up the matter of the presence of the two Entered Prentices at the making of a Fellow of Craft. The *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, which dates from the very end of the seventeenth century, gets over the difficulty by turning them out at the commencement of the ceremony—"First all the apprentices are to be removed out of the company, and none suffered to stay but Masters". This may represent a local, or a speculative, variation in the procedure, or it may be a development of the interval of nearly a century which had elapsed between the Schaw Statutes and the date of this document. The fact that the actual instruction is given "in another room", or with the apprentices removed, eliminates a large part of the difficulty; while both the "salutation" of the newly-made Fellow and the passing round of the word

are done in a whisper—a feature which is difficult to explain except on the supposition that unqualified persons are present. Finally, though the case is a different one, Chetwode Crawley, in a discussion of the degree question at the end of last century, referred to a custom still remembered in parts of Ireland, of conducting the ceremony of Installation of the Master of a Lodge in the presence of Master Masons, these being collected behind the Senior Warden's chair, facing away from the east, and the proceedings being carried out in a whisper.<sup>1</sup> (*A.Q.C.*, x, p. 140.)

So far, no satisfactory solution has been given to the problem of the purpose of the presence of the Entered Prentices: indeed, almost the only solution yet offered is that of Lyon (*op. cit.*, p. 17), who reminds us that one feature of the making of a Fellow Craft was the production of an "essay-piece"—"that na man be admittit w'out ane essay and sufficient tryall of his skill and worthynes in his vocatioun and craft" (Schaw Statutes)—and adds, "and the apprentice's attendance at such examinations could not be otherwise than beneficial to him, because of the opportunity it afforded for increasing his professional knowledge". To this, the obvious answer is that, in the first place, so far as the "essay" was a practical one, it would almost certainly have been done beforehand, and inspected outside the Lodge; and, in the second, if there was any benefit to be gained by the Entered Prentices being present, the attendance of as many as possible would surely have been recommended. If a pure guess is worth recording, it may be suggested that the function of the Entered Prentices was to examine the Fellow-to-be in the secrets which he was supposed to know, before passing into the hands of his new Intenders, who would teach him those of a Fellow Craft.

If this sounds a trifle far-fetched and unlikely, it may only be because we find it so difficult to recover the atmosphere of seventeenth century Masonry. A glimpse may perhaps be had through the Aberdeen Statutes. The Statute relating to the Intender has already been quoted: this, without making a fresh paragraph of it, though the passage opens with capital letters, continues—

WEE ordain lykwayes that non of our number presume to taunt or mock on another at our meetings especiallie wnder the faylzie of amerciment but everie on to Love ane another as brotheres born and allwayes to have a good report behynd ther neyghboures back as his oath ties him. (*A. L. Miller, Hist., &c.*, p. 64.)

A good case can be made for the supposition that what was taught by the Intender consisted largely of "test questions" and their answers, the original and ostensible purpose of which was to enable the Mason to "prove himself" when seeking work away from his native region. Something of the kind is clearly indicated in the Schaw Statutes of 1599, which had special reference to the Lodge of Kilwinning—

Item It is ordanit that all fallows of craft at his entrie pay . . . . And that he be not admittit without ane sufficient essay and pruiſe of memorie and art of craft be the warden deacon and quarter mrs of ye lug, conforme to ye former and qrthrow yai may be ye mair answerable to ye generall warden. (Lyon, p. 13.)

And again,

Item It is ordanit be ye generall warden, That ye warden . . . tak tryall of ye airt of memorie and science yrof, of everie fellowe of craft and everie prenteiss according to ayr of yr vocations; and

<sup>1</sup> In Lodge Leven Saint John, Renton, in 1867, "The Installing Master reads the Charge . . . ; and then, forming a half-circle of past-masters in front of the chair (thus screening himself and the Master-elect from the brethren generally) he seizes the latter by the arm, in the same way as is now done in a Board of Installed Masters, places him in the chair and whispers in his ear the word of an Installed Master. . . . The Lodge was all the time in the first degree. . . ." (*A. S. Macbride, The Installation Ceremony*, 1931, p. 4.)

in cais yat yai haue lost ony point yrof dvier to thame To pay the penaltie as followis for yr slewthfulness, viz, Ilk fallow of craft, xx s., Ilk prentess, x s., and that to be payit to ye box for ane commoun weill zeirlie & yat conforme to the commoun vs and pratik of the commoun lugs of this realm. (Lyon, p. 13.)

Whatever exactly were the tests applied to the Brethren as regards their "art of craft" and of science (a word which, after all, only means "knowledge"), the references to "pruife of memorie" and "airt of memorie" can hardly refer to anything but a knowledge of the "Mason Word" and all that it implies, including any test questions and answers that a Mason ought to know. Is it not possible—the Aberdeen Statute just quoted seems to lend some support to the view—that, just as there was no doubt a measure of "horse-play" at the making of an Entered Prentice or a Fellow Craft, more especially in the "other room", so there was a lot of fun when the questions went round, and the elder Masons were quick to pounce on mistakes and omissions made by the juniors—to be promptly punished "as the company thinks fite", very likely by drinks all round. The more one reads of the ritual scraps and minutes of pre-1717 Masonry in Scotland, the more vividly does this sort of atmosphere permeate the picture: and it is by no means impossible that there was more fun at the passing of a Fellow Craft, when two Entered Prentices—perhaps selected for their proficiency—were turned on to try and "stump" the candidate.

Another matter which requires a few words here, though it will have to come up again for further discussion later, is the repeated reference in the Schaw Statutes to the making of a "master or fellow of craft". There are plenty of references in the code of 1598 to the master, as such, and the meaning of the title is quite clear. Thus—

That na maister sall tak ane vther maisteris work over his haid. . . .  
That na maister sall tak ony ma prenteissis nor thre during his  
lyfetye. . . .  
That all maisteris, Inte priseris of warkis, be verray cairfull. . . .  
(Lyon, pp. 9-11.)

and so on. A master was simply one who was in charge, whether of an apprentice under his instruction or of a contract under which he employed journeymen or fellows, though the notion of being a "master of one's craft" may also have been present. Now, when an Entered Prentice became a Fellow of Craft, he was *potentially* a Master: at any time thereafter he was qualified to take an apprentice or a contract as an employer. Thus, in a sense, he then became a "master or fellow of craft". But actually in practice there does not seem to have been any tendency to interchange the terms. Going again to the Aitchison's Haven minutes (though almost any other Scottish minutes of the seventeenth century would do as well), we find the record of the making of a Fellow of Craft quite unequivocal—

9th Jan., 1598: Robert Widderspone was maid fellow of Craft in ye presens of Wilzam Aytone Elder, Johne Fender being Warden, John Pedden Thomas Pettencrief John Crafurd George Aytone Wilzame Aytone younger Hendrie Petticrief all fellowis of Craft. . . .  
(*A.Q.C.*, xxiv, p. 34)

or again,

1st June, 1601: The quhilk day the Wardene & deconie & brethren of Craft of the Maissones within the Ludge of Atchesones heavin being convenit present findis the personis fellowis of craft efternamit quha wer all lawfullie warnit to vis day. . . . (and a list of those who were fined for absence was appended, followed by a similar list of absent Entered Prentices). (*ibid.*, p. 36.)

It seems quite clear from these entries that there was no intentional "equating" of the two titles; and the sense of the Statutes could undoubtedly be correctly rendered by such a phrase as "Fellow of Craft and therefore potentially Master".

Minutes of several other Scottish Lodges might have been quoted, where we have confined our attention to those of Aitchison's Haven Lodge, but no further light is thrown by any such on the matter with which we are principally concerned. One other document will be quoted—a "Confession", published in 1755 (*The Scots Magazine*, March, 1755/6), purporting to describe the writer's experiences when made a Mason in 1727; the occasion of the publication being his conviction that it was all "superstitious ceremonies, lyes, and idle nonsense". As a detailed description of the procedure of a Scottish Lodge of a date rather over a century later than the period which we have been considering, the whole document is worth careful study. For our purpose, only a very short excerpt will be given—

After the oath, a word in the scriptures was shewed me, which, said one, is the mason-word. . . . [*He also states that another such word is a fellow-craft-word.*] The former is shewn to an entered prentice after he has sworn the oath; and the latter is shewn to one that has been a prentice at least for a year, when he is admitted a degree higher in their lodge, after he has sworn the oath again, or declared his approbation of it. (Knoop, Jones and Hamer, *The Early Masonic Catechisms*, p. 94.)

Apart from the word "degree", of the use of which we have no trace in Masonic documents until after 1717, and the single year instead of seven, this might well have been written by Andro Pattene on the 2nd January, 1600, after his entering in the Aitchison's Haven Lodge. As we shall see very shortly, there was provision in Scottish operative practice for the communication of two degrees at a single session: as we shall see later (but in speculative practice), two steps which had been, so to speak, fused into one, seem to have been expanded again into two: but it is inconceivable that, by 1727, a Scottish Operative Lodge could already have incorporated an adjustment made in the Freemasonry of the south of England between 1723 and 1725, and we are justified in supposing that the *Mason's Confession* represents the practice of the previous century. We are, in fact, irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that in Scottish Operative Masonry during the seventeenth century (and it was a going concern before that) there were two esoteric degrees to be taken: at the first, the person became an Entered Prentice, and at the second he became a Fellow of Craft, fully qualified, if opportunity offered, of becoming a Master. But there is no trace whatever of a "degree" of Master.

There can, by the way, be no hesitation in describing the procedure which we have been considering as operative—that is, as existing solely, or at any rate primarily, for Craft purposes. But, as we shall see, there is evidence for the admission of Speculative, or non-Operative, members as early as 1600; and it seems to have been customary on such occasions to confer both degrees at a single session. The adherents of the "one-degree" theory used to insist that in no known case of English making of the seventeenth century was more than one session referred to. Ashmole wrote in 1646, "I was made a Mason"; while in 1682 he refers to himself as a "Fellow", and nowhere else in his Diary does he give a hint that he was not made a "perfect Mason" at the single visit to the Lodge.

Actually this is exactly what happened in the Aitchison's Haven Lodge in the case of an entrant who was not an Operative Mason, though we have no record of the procedure at so early a date as the minutes quoted earlier—

27th Dec., 1677

The quhilk day Alex<sup>r</sup> Galloway deacon and David Dickson

Wairden with consent of the Maisters hes receaved William Smith Clerk of Musselbrugh enter prenteis and fellow craft. (*A.Q.C.* xxiv, p. 41.)

Such entries were comparatively rare in the Aitchison's Haven Lodge ; but the same procedure was evidently followed in the Lodge of Edinburgh. As early as 1634, in that Lodge.

The quhilk day the Right honirabell my LORD ALEXANDER is admitet folowe off the craft be Heue Forest dken and Alexander Nesbet warden. . . . (Lyon, p. 84.)

Between 1670 and 1680 two Earls and the son of another held office in the Lodge of Kilwinning ; while the membership of the Lodge of Aberdeen in 1670 and that of the Lodge at Dunblane in 1696 were both predominantly non-Operative, though there were several Scottish Lodges whose records show no trace of such admissions. The Scottish Lodges as a whole must be classed as Operative, while their membership or composition was, as we suspect that of the English Lodges to have been, increasingly Speculative, though, up to the critical date, 1717, records have survived of only one Scottish Lodge which can be described as Speculative.

This is the Haughfoot Lodge, which worked in the neighbourhood of Galashiels from 1702 to 1763, and whose surviving minutes yield conclusive evidence of its having been a Speculative Lodge—being thus the earliest continuous records of such a Lodge in existence. We are very fortunate in that, besides the earliest Lodge minutes, we know a good deal about the ritual which it used.<sup>1</sup>

Meetings were held annually on St. John's Day, December 27th ; and, thanks to the custom of checking the list of members at each meeting, and recording the list of absentees to be fined, we know that at the 1702 meeting, when six new members "were duly and orderly admitted Apprentice and Fellowcraft", there were already three members ; and there is no reason whatever for supposing that there had ever been any more. Of these three members, one was the Master, "John Hoppringle of y<sup>t</sup> Ilk" (*i.e.* the Laird of Hoppringle), another was James Pringle, his brother, and the third was Andrew Thomson of Galashiels. The profession or trade of the latter is not stated ; but at this 1702 meeting he was commissioned "to provide a Register book against their next meeting", at which he was elected "Box Master", an office which he held for 15 years. The six members admitted at the 1702 meeting included Sir James Scott of Gala and Thomas Scott, his brother ; "And ther was imposed on them the soumes following to be payed in to the box quh they accordingly each of them for himself *promised to pay viz . . .*", the amounts being £7 2s. and £3 Scots for these two and £1 Scots each for the other four, the last of whom was a "Wright". The fact that they "promised to pay" is of special interest ; for at the 1703 meeting

Andrew Thomson having paid out fourteen shillings, Scotts, for the Register Book, he is allowed the same out of *the first money due to the society* (italics not in the original).

It is quite clear from the above that, apart perhaps for one or more preliminary meetings, the 1702 meeting was the first meeting of a new Lodge ; and by 1717 the membership had reached a total of 39. A few items from the early minutes are thus of special interest and importance. At the 1702 meeting,

Thereafter the meeting resolved with one voice y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>r</sup> shall be ane yearly meiting of those concerned in this Lodge att Haughfoot in all tyme comeing upon St. John's day.

<sup>1</sup> (The extracts given are from W. F. Vernon. *Hist. of Freemasonry in the Provinces Roxburghshire, &c.*, 1893, p. 282ff.)

At the 1703 meeting (which actually took place on 14th January, 1704)---

They also gave power to any five of their numbers to admit and enter such qualified persons as should apply to them, into the society of this lodge, either as apprentice or fellow-craft, and this commission to continue till St. John's day.

Similar resolutions were passed from year to year; and at the 1706 meeting,

John Hoppringle of ilk, reported that since the last St. John's day, by vertue of the commission then granted, John Scott, brother to Sir James Scott of Gala, was orderly admitted to the society of apprentice and fellowcraft at Galashiels, and that he payed then to the Box Master five punds Scotts.

Several similar entries appear; and in 1716 *four* members report their admission of Alex<sup>r</sup> Methven, Chyr., and acknowledge their transgression of the regulation, for which "The meeting fynes each of them in 12 sh Scotts, and ordaine them to be publickly reprimanded by the preses" The fine was later halved.

For the first few years the presiding officer is called "Master Mason", but in 1707 and later the more usual Scottish title "Preses" is used. The terms used for admission at first were "duely and orderly admitted apprentice and fellow Craft" (or equivalent forms); but in 1710 we meet "were admitted into this lodge, and received the word in common form".

There were several "Joining Members" from time to time, and this is of considerable interest, though we know nothing of their previous Masonic history. Thus, at the second meeting,

William Cairncross, Mason in Stockbridge gave in his petition desiring liberty to associate himself with this lodge, which being considered, and he being examined before the meeting, they were fully satisfied of his being a true entered apprentice and fellow craft, and therfor admitted him into their society as a member thereof in all tyme coming, upon his solemn promise in the terms of the society, anent which he accordingly gave.

The above extracts have been given in some detail, as being the earliest known minutes of any Speculative Lodge. But even their interest is small beside what we know of the ritual used by the Lodge. The first page of the Register Book has been cut out; and on the second appear the closing lines of a document which must have been all but identical with the *Edinburgh Register House* MS., of 1696, and the *Chetwode Crawley* MS., of c. 1700. We know, in fact, not only the whereabouts of one Lodge which used this ritual, but also that this was the earliest Scottish Speculative Lodge of which we have any evidence, though from the date (1696) of the *Edinburgh Register House* MS. it seems to follow that at least one other, presumably also a Speculative Lodge, was already at work when the Haughfoot Lodge commenced its work, though at present it would be idle to guess at its whereabouts.

The contents of this ritual will come up for consideration later; meanwhile it is interesting to note the strong resemblance between the procedure under the Commission to "any five members" and the meeting at Warrington in 1646, fifty years earlier, when Ashmole was admitted.

We pass now to a consideration of English Masonry; and here, though we must be careful not to read into what we find any features of Scottish practice which are not there, the ground which we have already covered will prove to be of the greatest assistance, if only in indicating what to look for.

Our earliest Masonic documents are the *Old Charges*, and it is there that we must commence our investigation. Leaving on one side, for the moment, the earlier groups, let us consider the largest—a group consisting of the *Tew, Grand Lodge* and *Sloane Families*—and with the earliest representative, the *Grand Lodge No. 1 MS.*, of 1583. Here, and in almost every subsequent version (except where revision or careless transcription may have altered the text), we find the Charges at the end arranged in two groups. At the end of the first group we read—

These be the Chardges in generall that longeth to evy Freemason  
to keepe both M<sup>rs</sup> and Fellows.

Rehearse, I will other Chardges singular for M<sup>rs</sup> and Fellowes.

The significance of this arrangement is apparent when we realise that the first series—the “charges general”—all relate to simple morality—to be true to God and the Church, to avoid treason, to be true to one another, and so on, besides secrecy, chastity and honesty; while the second series—the “charges singular”—are entirely of an operative character, relating to the acceptance and completion of work, not supplanting other masters, the taking of apprentices, the paying of wages fair both to employer and workman, and so on. Thus, quite strictly, the second series applies *only* to Masters and Fellows, while the first series holds good for *every* Mason, including Masters and Fellows. There can, in fact, be little doubt that the significance of the word “both” might fairly be rendered as “including”, though the first series is intended primarily for the lower grade of Mason. The *Plot Family* agree almost exactly with the wording of the later versions; and the contents of the Articles and Points of the *Regius MS.* are arranged on lines sufficiently alike to make it clear that the purpose of the groups is the same.

It may, then, safely be said that two distinct classes were recognised from the earliest times: one of them having no more distinctive title than “Mason”, and the other, from the sixteenth century, that of “Master or Fellow”; while from early fifteenth century, though the term “Fellow” was used, the distinctive title of the higher class was “Master”.

It is hardly necessary to state that there is no hint of secrets; but if, as we can hardly doubt, the *Old Charges* were read at the making of a Mason, the fact that the Charges were from the earliest times divided into these two groups seems to imply that there were two stages in the career of the Mason at which the document was read to him; or in other words that two ceremonies were undergone before he was a fully-fledged member of the Craft.

Our earliest English references to non-Operative Masonry come from the records of the London Company, which are unfortunately wanting for the period before about 1620, or some twenty years later than the earliest Scottish records. The records of the Company have been exhaustively dealt with by Conder in *The Hole Craft and Fellowship*, and in his paper in *A.Q.C.*, ix, and a few extracts will suffice.

In about 1620 the Company consisted of a Master, a Warden, the Court of Assistants, the Livery and the “Yeomandry”. The youth, presumably of about 14 years of age, was bound as an apprentice under indentures, and “presented” to the Company, when a fee of 2/6 was paid. After seven years he took up the freedom of the Company, coming on the Yeomanry, and paying a gratuity of £1, a “fine” of 3/4, and a clerk’s fee of 6d.—total, £1 3. 10; and he was then called a Master.

From the Yeomanry he was in due course advanced to the Livery, paying a fee of £3, with a fine of £6. Thence he might be *invited* to join the governing body, or Court of Assistants, when he paid a fee of £2.

The first hint of something outside this simple procedure is to be found in the accounts for 1620-1, the second year's accounts which have survived—

At the making masons, viz John Hince John Browne,  
Rowland Everett Evan Iloyde James French, John  
Clarke, & Thomas Rose r<sup>d</sup> of them as apereth by the } ix<sup>l</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>  
Quartg<sup>o</sup> book

presumably therefore paying £1. 6. 8 each. Though not exactly the prescribed sum, this might represent entry to the Yeomanry, were it not that the previous year's accounts show that all except John Browne were already on the Yeomanry, while Rowland Everett must have come on at least seven years earlier, as he had an apprenticeship made free in the year 1620-1.

Thus the "making masons" referred to in the entry was something quite separate from the ordinary procedure of the Company: it seems to have been open to those who were already in the Yeomanry, and might take place considerably later than their entry; and, moreover, not only were there men in both the Yeomanry and the Livery who were never "made masons" in this sense, but also, as we shall see, men were "made masons" who were not on the Company's books at all.

The word "accepted" in this special sense appears first in 1630, when an entry suggests some enquiry into the status or character of would-be entrants—

17 June 1630  
Pd in goeing abroad & att a meeteing att the hall } vj<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>  
about y<sup>e</sup> masons y<sup>e</sup> were to bee accepted

The picture is completed from the accounts of 1649-50: the fees for the Livery seem then to have amounted to £12, very commonly paid in instalments, as before—

Item recd of Thomas Moore jun<sup>r</sup> in full of his fine for  
coming on the Liuerie and admission uppon Acceptance } iiij<sup>li</sup>  
of Masonry

Item reced of Richard Herneden for the like the sum of } iiij<sup>li</sup>

Both Thomas Moore and Richard Herneden had paid £6 in 1647-8 and £3 in 1649-50 towards their fees for coming on the Livery, thus leaving £3 to be paid; and the fee for "acceptation" then seems to have been £1. Accordingly, the entry continues—

Item Reced of M<sup>r</sup> Andrew Marvin the Present Warden } xx<sup>s</sup>  
for his coming on the accepcon

Item Reced of M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Shorthose for the like } xx<sup>s</sup>

Item Reced of M<sup>r</sup> Henry Stone for the like } xl<sup>s</sup>

Item Reced of M<sup>r</sup> Bevis Piggott for the like the sume of } xl<sup>s</sup>

There is no trace of the last two names in the records of the Company: and it seems to follow that the "accepcon" was open to men who were not members of the Company, and who, on being accepted, paid a double fee of £2.

It is fairly clear from these extracts that, operatively speaking, there were two distinct grades—the Yeomanry and the Livery—to be attained before the Mason was fully qualified to take a share in the administration of the Company, though on attaining the first of these he was called "Master" and was in possession of the freedom of the Company—able to work for whom he pleased, though not, apparently, to accept a contract or take an apprentice. But, moreover, at or about the time of his coming on the Livery, or perhaps earlier, it was open to the member to come on the Acceptation, or to be "made a mason"

in a peculiar sense; and this procedure was also open to men who were not members of the Company.

There is thus clear evidence of a Speculative body working in close relations, though not identical, with the (operative) London Company of Masons; but to estimate its exact significance we are reduced to guessing. We are not, however, likely to be wide of the mark if we suppose that the two stages—the Yeomanry and the Livery—of the Operative body *originally*, at any rate, corresponded to the “Masons” and the “Masters and Fellows” of the *Old Charges*, or to the Entered Prentices and the Masters or Fellows of Craft of Scotland. Whether there was any esoteric feature surviving in the seventeenth century in the admission of members to these two grades, we may perhaps never know: it looks rather as if the esoteric features had been dropped—there would be little need of them in a large city which had its own Masons’ gild whose activities were confined to the city; but that they had been preserved by a sort of “inner circle”. The phrase “making masons” suggests a first step; but it is not impossible that the original esoteric Masonry of the Company had survived, and that something additional was given in the Acception.

The Acception cannot be traced in the Company’s books after 1663-4, but two further references may help to supplement our knowledge of it. One is the entry of 1682 in Ashmole’s Diary—

*March, 1682:*

10—About 5 P.M. I rec<sup>d</sup> a Sumons to app<sup>r</sup> at a Lodge to be held the next day, at Masons Hall London.

11—Accordingly I went, & about Noone were admitted into the Fellowship of Free Masons, Sr William Wilson Knight . . . I was the Senior Fellow among them.

There were p<sup>r</sup>sent beside my selfe . . .

Wee all dyned at the halfe Moone Taverne in Cheapeside, at a Noble dinner prepaired at the charge of the New=accepted Masons.

The other late reference is in the conclusion of the *Antiquity* MS. of the *Old Charges*, which is dated 1686—

William Bray Free-Man of London and Free-Mason.

Written by Robert Padgett Clarke to the Worshupfull Society of Free-Masons of the City of London . . .

The special interest of this reference lies in the fact that neither William Bray nor Robert Padgett appear to have been members of the Company, while the Clerk to that body in 1686 was named Stamp. Moreover, although there is no positive evidence for the fact, it is generally believed that the *Antiquity* MS. has been in the possession of Lodge Original No. 1 from pre-1717 days; and if so, it serves to link up the Acception of early seventeenth century with the foundation of the Grand Lodge in early eighteenth.

A tantalising and not very helpful glance at pre-Grand Lodge Speculative Freemasonry is afforded by the “New Articles” which occur in four copies of the *Roberts* Family of the *Old Charges*, but they contain nothing which can throw light on actual Lodge procedure. There seems to be no reason to doubt the date, 1663, attached to them; and their chief interest lies in the proof which they provide that at a date some half a century before 1717 there had been a move towards a reorganisation of the Craft, apparently on a regional basis. These Articles may, of course, have emanated from London; but the *Roberts* Family is only very remotely related to the *Phillipps* and *Bain* MSS., which almost certainly contain the text of the MS. owned by the Masons’ Company; and, moreover, if the movement originated in London, we would expect to have more than four surviving versions of the document. On the whole, the evidence, though very slender indeed, points to the Cheshire area as the source of this code.

The only other direct evidence as to procedure is to be found in the York Minutes. These are so near in date to 1717 that they may perhaps be considered to carry little weight. But the influence of London events can be seen clearly in the introduction of a Master and two Wardens in 1723, and in the adoption of the prefix "Grand" at the end of the same year; and it may reasonably be supposed that the form which they take before that date is entirely their own, and may belong to a considerably earlier period.

Actually there are six minutes of pre-1717 date; and in every one, as also in all subsequent minutes up to 1729, the formula for the entry of new members is either "sworn and admitted" or "admitted and sworn". Besides this, the "Old Rules" of 1725 refer three times to the "making of Masons"; and among the same rules there is a forfeit prescribed for "Any Brother that shall interrupt the Examination of a Brother", which looks more like a reference to old custom than to an innovation borrowed from London Masonry.

As regards the formula "sworn and admitted", little more can be said than has been said already: that, though it proves nothing, it is quite consistent with a procedure identical, for example, with the admission of the Rev. William Smith at Aitchison's Haven in 1677, or with the "I was made a Free Mason" of Ashmole in 1646.

Our only other information as to English seventeenth century Masonry comes from Ashmole, Randle Holme, Plot and Aubrey. Little light is thrown by these on the matter under consideration. Ashmole's two references, of 1646 and 1682, imply that when he was made a Mason he became, at a single session, one who was entitled to call himself a Fellow; while the page surviving from the records of the Chester Lodge of 1672-5 contributes only the fact that that body could make a free Mason.

Aubrey, in the MS. of the *Natural History of Wiltshire*, says that—

They are known to one another by certayn Signes & Marks and Watch-words: it continues to this day. They have Severall Lodges in severall Counties for their reception. . . . The manner of their Adoption is very formall, and with an Oath of Secrecy.

Finally, Plot (1686), who clearly refers to a speculative Freemasonry,

for here I found persons of the most eminent quality, that did not disdain to be of this *Fellowship* . . .

says that their admission

chiefly consists in the communication of certain *secret signes*, whereby they are known to one another all over the *Nation*. . . .

What does all this amount to? There are certainly few conclusions of any weight that we can draw as regards English Freemasonry. But, with the results of our examination of Scottish Masonry in mind, certain features can probably be stated with some certainty:—

That the "two-grade" structure of the operative body, dating from at least as early as the fifteenth century, survived until well into the seventeenth.

That, whereas in Scotland the seventeenth century witnessed a gradual transition from a purely operative organisation to one the membership of which was increasingly non-operative, such a transition had already in England by the same century resulted in an almost complete cleavage between the two elements.

That, in the only area for which we have detailed records, operative Masonry had perhaps actually dropped its esoteric content, which was carried forward by a speculative body, which later played its part in the erection of the first Grand Lodge in 1717.

That, though the "two-grade" structure was probably not forgotten, it was the speculative practice to do all that had to be done at a single session. This matter will have to be considered in more detail at a later stage.

The above remarks apply almost solely to London; and it must be remembered that such a Lodge as that at Chester in 1672-5, where there was a fairly large number of operative Masons among the membership, is sufficient to suggest that in the provinces the cleavage was less complete; while the Lodge at Alnwick, which must have been in existence for many years previous to 1701, was probably by no means the only surviving Lodge of primarily operative character (though we have no proof that it had any esoteric features).

Let us pass now to the documentary evidence of actual Lodge practice. The earliest and most important of the relevant MSS. is the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, of 1696, which is so nearly identical with the *Chetwode Crawley MS.* and the scrap from the Haughfoot minute book that the three documents can be used to recover their lost original with considerable certainty. From such a composite version we can arrive at certain conclusions—

That there were two stages—Entered Prentice and Fellow Craft or Master—in the making of a "perfect mason", while there appears to be provision for both these stages to be attained at a single session.

That at the first step, or Entered Prentice, *two* "words" were communicated;

That at the second step, another "word" was given (but we are not told what that word was);

That certain "points of fellowship" were associated with the second step.

The next relevant MS. in date, and probably in importance, is the *Trinity College Dublin MS.*, which is endorsed "Free Masonry Feb: 1711". This date, of course, cannot be proved to be correct, though there appears to be no reason, on grounds of calligraphy, etc., to doubt either that the endorsement was of that date, or that the MS. itself was at least as early. It is not, at any rate, a considerably later "fake"; and, that being so, the precision expressed by "Feb: 1711" must carry a good deal of weight as evidence that the collector, Sir Thomas Molyneux, either knew that the MS. was written, or acquired it for his collection, at that date. In what follows, the MS. will be assumed to be not later than 1711.

It consists of a very short catechism, followed by a description of signs used, each accompanied by a word. It is of special interest that it clearly recognises *three* grades of Mason. To the question—

W<sup>t</sup> makes a full, & perfect lodge?

the answer is—

three masters, 3 fellow craftsmen, & 3 enterprentices. (Knoop, Jones & Hamer, *op. cit.*, p. 63.)

The terminology here appears to be Scottish, for we have no evidence of the use of either "fellow craftsman" or "entered prentice" in England; and the text here follows the Scottish practice of distinguishing between master and fellow craft exactly as we have seen in the minutes of Scottish Lodges during the seventeenth century, although in the regulations for their admission they appear to be more or less interchangeable terms.

But the MS. goes further than this, for here the three grades are each given a sign and a word; and the description of the sign attached to the grade of Master indicates that it was with this grade that the "points of fellowship" were associated.

The last of the important recent finds is the *Graham MS.*, a Scottish document of 1726. This contains the earliest known use of the expression "entered passed and raised"; but its chief interest in this connection lies in its introduction of a variant form of the legend of Hiram, the first detailed account



The Hitchin Tile.

L.Kings.

The pillar and caldron.

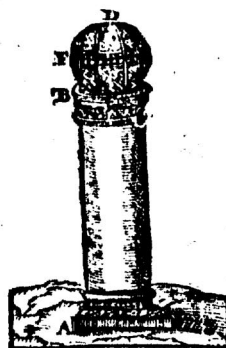
o Cedar

THE FORME OF THE  
PILLAR

nich Ce-  
je fortie

rowes,  
in thye

de postis  
, & wine  
e ranks.  
fifty cu-  
be porch  
in were



A.B. The height of  
a pillar eighteene cu-  
bits: the compass of  
a pillar was twelue  
cubits. D. E. the  
height of the chap-  
iter or round ball vp-  
on the pillar of five  
cubits height. F. In  
the mid: were two  
rowes of pomegra-  
nates: the rest in the  
networke and flower  
delices, or roses.

for the  
of iudg-  
in paue-  
etc, was

seuen for the one chapter, and seuen for the o-  
ther chapter.

18 So he made the pillars and two rowes  
of pomegranates round about in the one grate  
to couer the chapters that were vpon the top.

From the Geneva Bible of 1595.

of which we find in Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, which was printed in 1730. We shall see shortly, in the form of his name, "Hiram Abif", evidence that the Craft had a special interest in Hiram perhaps as early as mid-sixteenth century; we know from the *Book of Constitutions* of 1723 and the *Inigo Jones MS.* of about 1725 that it certainly had such an interest in early eighteenth century; and the evidence of the *Graham MS.* and Prichard's publication seems to prove conclusively that the legend must have been widely current in Masonic circles *a good deal earlier* than the dates of either of these, though, as to how much earlier, we can only guess.

To these documents, all probably Scottish, we have no certain English parallels. The *Sloane 3329 MS.*, of about 1700, *may* be English; but by its contents it is closely related to several Scottish documents, *e.g.*, the *Dumfries No. 4 MS.* of the *Old Charges*, of about 1710. Moreover, in it we find again the terms "fellow craftes" and "interprintices", which rather point to a Scottish origin. Here again, by the way, there is clear reference to a third grade of Master, closely associated with the "points of fellowship" and the word used in the *Trinity College Dublin MS.* It may be added that these two MSS. are otherwise so very dissimilar in character as to suggest that their common features must date from a good deal earlier than the date of either.

Another document which *may* be English is the so-called *Mason's Examination*, which was printed in *The Flying-Post or Post-Master* in April, 1723. This contains a reference to the giving of gloves by the candidate to the members of the Lodge, which we know from Plot to have been an English as well as a Scottish custom. Moreover, the *Mason's Examination* refers to a "reading"—a feature for which there is no evidence in Scotland, while it is the only feature of an English admission of which we are fairly certain. According to this description of the ceremony,

When a Free-Mason is enter'd . . . he is to hear the \* \* \* \*  
belonging to the Society read to him by the Master. . . . (*ib.*, p. 66.)

But the *Mason's Examination* is very closely related to the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*, and, besides its general similarity, has several passages which are all but identical. The terms Apprentice and Fellow are generally used in the text; but "entered Apprentice" is used once, while "entered" is also used of a Mason and of a Fellow. The document implies, though it does not state explicitly, the existence of three separate grades; and, so far as it goes, it seems to agree with the Scottish documents as regards signs, though no words are given as such.

It might be worth while at this point to pause to consider how it comes about that so many Scottish and so few, if any, English documents of the kind have survived. It may, of course, be due to the same retentive spirit which led to the preservation of Scottish minute books, where an English Lodge might have destroyed them once their usefulness had ended. It may be that Anderson's story of the burning of MSS. in 1720 is more true to the facts than some of his statements, and that the valuable MSS. referred to were just such documents. It may be that the English Brethren were more scrupulous about "those Secrets w<sup>ch</sup> must never be Committed to writeing" (*Harris I MS.*), and that there never were as many such documents in England as in Scotland.

Very little can be written or printed about the subject-matter of the Freemasonry which we have been considering. While, on general grounds, there is no reason for supposing that, though no doubt much simpler, it differed in essence from the Freemasonry of the post-1717 period, or even the present day, it can hardly be too strongly emphasised that great caution is needed to avoid reading back into it what was not there.

There is a considerable weight of opinion that the first step or degree was in some way concerned with "Two Pillars". This is to some extent supported by the words which we find associated with the degree, though we do not meet with these until very late in the seventeenth century. The "Two Pillars of Seth", on which the Children of Lamech inscribed the Arts and Sciences discovered before the Flood, figure, but with no special prominence, in all versions of the *Old Charges* from the *Plot Family* onwards—i.e., from late in the fifteenth century; but the only indication among all our documents that they were of special interest is to be found in a question and answer in the *Dumfries No. 4 MS.* (of c. 1710)—

Q where the noble art or science found when it was lost

A it was found in two pillars of stone the one would not sink and the other would not burn. (*ib.*, p. 60.)

In this connection may be mentioned the "Hitchin Tile", which was found at the restoration of Hitchin Church (Herts.), embedded in a portion of the wall, which seems to have been built very early in the fourteenth century and not disturbed. This curious relic, for which we have no parallel, has several features of interest to the Freemason, and we shall have more to say of it shortly; meanwhile, it is not impossible that the two pillars shown at the sides give it a definitely Masonic significance; and if so, its date, c. 1300—1320, adds a profound interest to the discovery.

The pillars, however, which chiefly interested the English Mason during the seventeenth century were those set up at the entrance to King Solomon's Temple; and we are on firm ground in dating this interest earlier at least than the period of Randle Holme the third. For these pillars are usually represented Masonically as surmounted by two spheres; and this variant of the "bowls" of *I Kings*, vii, 41, or the "chapiters" of v. 16, appeared first, complete with woodcut, in the Geneva Bible of 1560. It does not follow that the Craft was not interested in the pillars earlier than that date; nor, for that matter, that it was interested in them so early; and the Geneva Bible went through a vast number of editions. But it can hardly be doubted that Randle Holme's drawing of the Mason's Arms, with the curious feature of the pair of pillars as supporters, is a reference to the pillars of the Temple; and thus the interest of the Craft in those pillars must date from earlier than about 1670—1680.

As regards the second step, we have considerably less evidence, and none of so early a date. What evidence there is, and this consists principally of the words and signs associated with the step, to which reference has already been made, suggests that at the end of the seventeenth century there was a particular interest in Hiram, the Master Craftsman of King Solomon's Temple, and in the manner of his death.

But the interest of the Craft in Hiram can perhaps be carried back even as far as the middle of the sixteenth century. In the 1723 *Book of Constitutions* (p. 11) Anderson is at some pains to explain the name "Hiram Abif", as the result of an incorrect rendering of the Hebrew. Now, the name Hiram Abif first appeared in Luther's translation of the Bible; and it occurs in the Bibles of Coverdale, Matthew and Taverner (of 1535, 1537 and 1539 respectively). But all these Bibles were superseded in 1560 by the Geneva Bible, which was followed in 1568 by the Bishops' Bible; and it seems to follow that the name Hiram Abif must have been adopted by the Craft not much later than mid-sixteenth century—unless, indeed, we are to suppose that in later days the old Bibles were ransacked for archaic material.

That ignorance of Hebrew, as rendered in the old Bibles, was the source of other Masonic usages is proved by the case of the word "giblim", which appears in some of our earlier documents. This word occurs in *I Kings*, v. 18, where it is translated in the Geneva Bible of 1560 as "masons", with the

marginal note, "The Ebrewe word is Giblim, which some say were excellent masons". Following this lead, which is obviously dictated by ingenuity rather than scholarship, our Authorised Version translates the word as "stonesquarers"; and only in our Revised Version do we find the correct translation "Gebalites" or men of Gebal, a town in Phœnicia.

In the light of these facts, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that it cannot have been much later than mid-sixteenth century that some, at any rate, of the esoteric material of Freemasonry took shape, though its substance may well have been earlier still.

There is a further line of thought, on which it is even more difficult to arrive at any conclusions, in the possible influence of superstition or the occult. It has been shown that the Foundation—or Completion—Sacrifice figured largely in the lore of the building crafts in all ages almost up to the present day (see especially Speth's *Builders' Rites and Ceremonies*). In the light of such superstitions, which seem to have been the lineal ancestors of the modern practice of placing coins in the foundations of buildings, is it not possible that the Hitchin Tile may have been especially prepared for this purpose? Speth quotes examples of the practice, where live victims seem to have been used, from English Churches of twelfth or thirteenth, and even as late as the fifteenth centuries (*op. cit.*, pp. 10, 11), and many others may have escaped notice; while there must surely have been more or less continuous tradition of a less barbarous procedure linking the medieval with the modern usage. If this explanation is correct, and the attitude of the figure on the Hitchin Tile and the two pillars at the sides have any significance at all, then the person represented is a "Master or Fellow", and it is by no means impossible that it was intended to represent Hiram himself.

One more remark may be made. Hiram made his earliest appearance in the *Old Charges* in the *Cooke MS.* of c. 1420—

And ye kyngis sone of Tyry was his master mason.

This statement is repeated in the *Plot Family* (late fifteenth century); and in the subsequent revision it was amplified into—

And furthermore theare was a Kinge of another region that men called Iram and he loved well King Sallomon and he gave him tymber to his woorke. And he had a soone that height Aynone and he was a M<sup>r</sup> of Geometry and was chief maister of all his masons and was M<sup>r</sup> of all his Graving and Carving and all other manner of Massonreye that belongeth to the Temple (*Grand Lodge No. 1 MS.*, 1583).

The fact that there is a confusion, and one due no doubt to a misunderstanding of the Hebrew "Abi", may or may not be significant; it is perhaps more so that in no single copy until the latest revision—the *Spencer Family*—is he given his real name; and it has often been suggested that the form "Aymon" (or variant), which could hardly have been the result of a copying error, was used as a disguise for Hiram, as this name had some esoteric significance attached to it.

Let us now try to find a statement of the whole case which will fit all the evidence available; always bearing in mind that the practice may have varied widely in different regions, as well as between operative and speculative. As to the latter, too, it must be remembered that the existence of what was certainly purely Speculative Masonry in Lancashire in 1646 suggests that England may have been half a century or more ahead of Scotland in that respect; and that the fact that in each case the change was probably one of gradual transition seems to indicate that, except perhaps for definite additions, the material content of Operative Masonry must have been substantially carried on into the Speculative

Lodge. The following series of propositions may perhaps be regarded as established:—

1. The *Trinity College Dublin* MS. proves that before 1717 there were three grades—Entered Prentice, Fellow Craft and Master—with, at least, a grip and a word for each.
2. The two degrees worked in the Scottish Operative Lodges during the seventeenth century were both esoteric, and corresponded *in name* with the first two of these, save that the second was commonly referred to as “Fellow Craft or Master”, though actually there was no confusion between the two.
3. A Master’s degree, however, could hardly have existed in Operative Masonry in Scotland, where the status of Master was usually outside the jurisdiction of the Lodge, while that of Fellow Craft conferred full qualification for the president—deacon, warden, preses, or what not.
4. The *Mason’s Confession*, supported by the Rev. Robert Kirk, shows that the two degrees conferred were what have been called “Pillar Degrees”; and there are reasons for believing that the Pillars were of interest to the English Mason at an early date.
5. Scottish minutes show that it was a common practice to confer the two degrees at a single session on Speculative, though never on Operative, candidates.
6. A two-grade system is discernible in English Masonry from the earliest days of the *Old Charges*; yet the English Speculative Masons seem to have done all that was to be done at a single session.
7. The *Edinburgh Register House* MS., which describes two successive ceremonies, makes provision for their being carried out with no interval between.
8. But this “Haughfoot Ritual” (as it may for convenience be called), by giving the *two* words of the Scottish Operative degrees to its *first* step, shows that, though still consisting of two steps, it contains substantially the same material, with the addition of what is really a third degree.
9. It retains, however, the terminology of Scottish Operative practice, calling its first step, Entered Prentice, and the second, Fellow Craft or Master.
10. Both the word and the “points of fellowship” associated with it (especially in the *Trinity College Dublin* MS.) suggest very strongly that this third degree was concerned with Hiram; and the English Mason seems to have been interested in Hiram perhaps as early as mid-sixteenth century.
11. The Haughfoot Ritual was definitely that of a Speculative Lodge; and we may thus say with some confidence that the speculative system, as we meet it at the end of the seventeenth century, consisted of the two operative degrees, combined into a single one, with the addition of one more, though it remained bi-gradal, under the operative terminology.

We may pause here to guess at the significance of this third degree. Its subject-matter is certainly very appropriate for a Master’s degree; and it may be that it was introduced as a “chair” degree—to mark, as it were, the third great occasion in the career of the Mason; or, perhaps more likely, for the benefit of the non-Operative member, who, as such, could never aspire to the crowning title of Master except in some such way. However this may be, it is clear that there was no operative need for such a degree, as, on attaining the status of a Fellow, the mason was qualified to become Master, whether as ruler of a Lodge or as an employer of labour.

Beyond the probability, already referred to, that Hiram was of interest to the Craft before the end of the sixteenth century, we have no evidence as to when this third degree was introduced. The fact that Ashmole refers to himself in 1682 as a Fellow does not prove that he was not a Master, or Master Mason; it is by no means unlikely that, as the term “Fellowship” was so widely used—in London and Cheshire, at any rate—as a distinctive appellation of the Operative Fraternity, to be a Fellow was the goal of the Speculative Mason. This question

of nomenclature will come up for further consideration, as it is likely that it was responsible for some confusion in Masonic history of post-1717 date.

The interesting question remains as to which, if any, of the features of either Operative or Speculative Masonry passed from England to Scotland, or *vice versa*. There do not seem to be any valid reasons for supposing that either country had a monopoly of esoteric matter: we know from the reference to the Intender in the Schaw Statutes that Scottish Operative Masonry was of an esoteric character as early as 1600, and the existence of non-Operative membership in England at least as early as 1620 suggests that English Masonry was also. Moreover, as we have seen, there are grounds—how strong, each student must decide for himself—for supposing that the subject-matter of Scottish Operative Masonry of the seventeenth century was of interest to the English Mason at an earlier date. On the whole, then, it seems likely that the Masonry of the two countries may have been similar in content as well as in character.

But this does not apply to the Speculative addition—the third degree. While there is no trace of speculative working in Scotland before 1696 (the date of the *Edinburgh Register House MS.*), and the earliest known Speculative Lodge in that country seems to have commenced working in 1702, we have evidence of Speculative Lodges at Warrington in 1646 and in London in 1620; and the subject-matter of the Speculative degree was probably of special interest to the English Mason earlier than either of these dates. It is, then, by no means improbable (but one can hardly put it stronger) that the third degree was developed in England; and, to allow for its establishment in both London and Warrington before the middle of the seventeenth century, its origin may well have been in the latter half of the sixteenth, if indeed it was not earlier still.

That it came into Scotland from England, towards the very end of the seventeenth century, is suggested by the fact that, though Scottish operative practice required the presence of six Brethren as a quorum at admissions, the Haughfoot Lodge empowered any *five* of their number to make Masons, thus adopting the number laid down in the *New Articles* and actually present at the Warrington meeting.

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Although we are ostensibly concerned with the character of Masonry before 1717, several good reasons could be given for carrying our investigation beyond that critical date. Actually, it must have been a good number of years before English Masonry settled down to a more or less uniform system and practice. But, moreover, several features appear in the Masonry of the immediate post-1717 period which seem to throw light on the variations which precede that date, and help to make clearer the “status” of the degrees which we know to have been in existence. In particular, two facts appear to be established, which it will be best to state at the outset.

One is that the speculative use of the title “Fellow Craft or Master” for the second step led to the losing sight of the fact that the candidate was, actually, in possession of the first two operative degrees when he had taken the first speculative step—he was then, in fact, in possession of both the words and all the secrets of operative Masonry.

The other is that there was a distinction between the speculative “Master” and the actual “Master of a Lodge”; the inference being that the former was a “chair degree”, which, however, was not recognised as valid as a substitute for the latter.

Scottish Masonry does not help us here; indeed, it is perhaps actually a hindrance, for Anderson, the compiler or editor of the first *Book of Constitutions* (1723), was a Scotsman, and may well have been insufficiently acquainted with the terminology of English Freemasonry, of which he seems to have had no more than two years’ experience. And it is primarily in the *Book of Constitutions* that we meet with the problems.

The book is quite explicit as to the status of the Fellow Craft; he has gone as far as he can go until the time comes to be a Warden or Master of a Lodge. A few quotations will make this clear:—

... that no Master should take an *Apprentice* . . . incapable of learning the *Art*, . . . and of being made a *Brother*, and then a *Fellow-Craft* in due time, . . . that so, when otherwise qualify'd, he may arrive to the Honour of being the WARDEN, and then the *Master of the Lodge*. . . . (p. 51).

The most expert of the *Fellow-Craftsmen* shall be chosen or appointed the *Master*. . . . (p. 52).

The *Candidates*, or the new Master and Wardens, being yet among the *Fellow-Craft*. . . . (Manner of constituting a New Lodge, p. 71).

These extracts make it quite clear that one of two things was the case: either Anderson (as well as those who agreed to the text of the book in Grand Lodge) was unaware of the existence of a Master's degree, which, in that case, was presumably more or less unknown in London; or he was aware of it, but did not regard it as, so to speak, a valid equivalent of the real Mastership—i.e., that of a Lodge. As we shall see, it is by no means unlikely that the Master's degree was very far from being universally known and practised in London; yet the second of these inferences seems the more likely, from several passages where the Mastership of a Lodge is emphasised, as if in contradistinction to a "ritual" Mastership, though there is no reference to such:—

If . . . the Grand-Master and his *Deputy* should be both absent, then the present *Master* of a *Lodge*, that has been the longest a *Free-Mason*, shall take the Chair, and preside as *Grand-Master pro tempore*. . . . (p. 63).

If the Grand-Master die during his *Mastership* . . . [or is prevented by any disability] . . . , the *DEPUTY*, or in his Absence, the *Senior GRAND-WARDEN*, or in his Absence the *Junior*, or in his Absence any three present *Masters of Lodges*, shall join to congregate the *GRAND-LODGE*. . . . (p. 65).

Though slender, the evidence of these passages is probably strong enough to establish the significance attached—primarily from the operative point of view—to the Mastership of a Lodge, and to the absence of any permanent qualification conferred by the occupation of the chair. The suggestion of a superior status for the "past" Master is almost explicitly denied, while any such status for a Master's degree is not even referred to. It is probably safe to say that the point of view is definitely an operative one, with perhaps an intentional opposition to speculative innovation.

This explanation does not, however, serve to explain a passage which has long been a serious *crux*—indeed, one which may well have proved unintelligible or at any rate unworkable from the very outset, for it was altered very soon after. This is an item from Regulation XIII, which defines the functions of, and the type of business to be dealt with by, the Quarterly Communications of Grand Lodge. According to Anderson, these regulations were "Compiled first by Mr. George Payne, Anno 1720, when he was Grand-Master, and approv'd by the Grand-Lodge on St. John Baptist's Day, Anno 1720"; but it does not follow that Anderson has not taken liberties with the text. Regulation XIII says—

At the said *Quarterly Communication*, all Matters that concern the *Fraternity* in general, or particular *Lodges*, or single Brethren, are quietly, sedately, and maturely to be discours'd of and transacted: *Apprentices* must be admitted *Masters* and *Fellow-Craft* only here.

unless by a Dispensation. Here also all Differences, that cannot be made up and accommodated privately, nor by a particular *Lodge*, are to be seriously considered and decided . . .

However we look at it, this is a puzzle. The familiar coupling of Master and Fellow Craft, which may be either English or Scottish, does not occur elsewhere in the book, and suggests that it is a genuine phrase from Payne's Regulations. But it is difficult to assess the significance of the regulation. If the emphasis were on Master, it might fairly represent old Gild practice—the election of Masters on the head meeting days—or possibly even the practice of the Incorporation in a Scottish Burgh. But, elsewhere in the book, at any rate, the emphasis seems to be on the Fellow Craft; and we have no known parallel or precedent for the taking of the authority to pass Fellow Crafts out of the hands of the Lodge. Whatever exactly was done about it in 1720 or 1723, it could not long survive the formation or chartering of Lodges outside London under the jurisdiction of Grand Lodge; and on 27th November, 1725—

A Motion being made that Such part of the 13<sup>th</sup> Article of the Gen<sup>n</sup> Regulations relating to the Making of Ma<sup>rs</sup> only at a Quarterly Communication, may be repealed, And that the Ma<sup>rs</sup> of Each Lodge with the Consent of his Wardens, And the Majority of the Brethren being Ma<sup>rs</sup> may make Ma<sup>rs</sup> at their Discretion.

Agreed, Nem. Con. (Grand Lodge minutes.)

This was duly incorporated in the "New Regulations" of the 1738 *Book of Constitutions* in the somewhat modified form—

The *Master* of a Lodge with his *Wardens* and a competent *Number* of the Lodge assembled in due Form, can make *Masters* and *Fellows* at Discretion. (p. 160.)

There does not seem to be any explanation which will fit all these facts, and it is more than likely that some confusion between the two operative steps and the two speculative steps—by no means identical, though using the same nomenclature, as we have seen—may have led to the passage in Regulation XIII. There can, however, be little doubt that the Freemasonry of 1723 was, in practice, bi-gradal: the repeal of the passage may have been due either to the impossibility of its application to Lodges outside London; or perhaps less likely to the realisation that, as was almost certainly the case, the Speculative Mason was actually a Fellow Craft after he had taken his *first* step.

It has often been suggested (perhaps more especially by Vibert, in his *Prestonian Lectures* of 1925, 6) that at some date soon after 1723 the first (speculative) step was divided into two, when the system became tri-gradal. But, considering the very wide-spread range of the Craft in England—to say nothing of Scotland and Ireland—it is extremely unlikely that there could have been any organisation capable of giving effect to such a project; and the fact that, as has been contended at considerable length in the earlier portion of this paper, the Craft was actually tri-gradal, the first two steps being worked separately by the Operatives, as the second and third were by the Speculatives, make it still more unlikely that such a project was either necessary or, in fact, undertaken. It is far more likely that practice, which differed widely for many years after 1723, gradually settled down to a uniformity such as we know to-day.

In one quarter only, and that, curiously enough, not a Lodge acting under the Grand Lodge, do we know that before the end of 1724 Masons were being made, passed Fellow Craft, and made Masters in three separate steps. This was the *Philo-Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas*, a very select Musical Club consisting only of Masons: if not already Masons at the time of joining, they were "made" by the Club. The record book of this organisation is in the British Museum,

and has been reproduced in full in *Quatuor Coronatorum Antigrapha*, ix: it will be sufficient to quote only the earliest evidence.

The book opens with a long statement relating to the foundation of the Society, in the course of which the dates of "making" of the original members are given. These include William Gulston, Edmund Squire, Coort Knevit and William Jones, who were "Regularly Pass'd Masters" on 25th or 22nd December, 1724. Charles Cotton was made a Mason on the latter date; while Papillon Ball and Francesco Xaverio Geminiani were made on 1st February, 1724/5, and Thomas Marshall earlier. The record proceeds

And before We Founded This Society A Lodge was held  
Consisting of Masters Sufficient for that Purpose In Order to Pass  
Charles Cotton, Esq<sup>r</sup>, Mr. Papillon Ball, & Mr. Thomas Marshall Fellow  
Crafts (18th February, 1724/5). (*Q.C.A.*, ix, p. 8.)

while on 12th March, Charles Cotton and Papillon Ball  
was regularly passed Master

F. X. Geminiani

was regularly passed fellow Craft & Master

and James Murray, who had been "made" at his admission,

was regularly passed Fellow Craft

and we hear no more of his progress. Incidentally, this record serves as well as perhaps any other could do to illustrate the lack of uniformity: if a single body, whether technically a Lodge or not, could on a single evening so vary in the manner in which it conferred degrees on its members, or recorded its proceedings, we must not be surprised if we cannot find a single formula which will cover all the procedure of Operative and Speculative, and of England, Scotland and Ireland, between, say, 1715 and 1735.

Actually, we have little evidence for the period. At York, Drake's well-known speech to the Grand Lodge in 1726 contains the passage (in a context which need not be quoted)—

. . . that three Parts in four of the whole Earth might then be  
divided into E-P-F-C & M-M (Cole's reprint, p. 15)

showing a recognition of three stages, though there is no indication whether any of the three, or their designations, had been borrowed or adopted from the London *Book of Constitutions* of 1723. All we can say positively is that the traditional phrase "sworn and admitted" continued to be used in the York records as it had been from pre-1717 days.

Further afield, and at the same date (1726), we meet with the earliest known use of the phrase "entered passed and raised" in the *Graham MS.*, which is almost certainly Scottish. Though much of the substance of this MS. is closely related to the *Whole Institution*, which was printed in 1725, the remainder is absolutely *sui generis*; and we have no evidence which would prove its original to have been of an earlier date than that of the MS.

Still further afield—in Ireland—and four years later, we meet with an interesting sidelight in Pennell's *Constitutions* of 1730. We cannot say that this work was uninfluenced by Anderson's *Book of Constitutions* of seven years earlier, for Pennell's publication is very little more than a verbatim reprint of Anderson's: but this fact gives added significance to any variations. So when we find, instead of the passage quoted from p. 51, the following—

And no Master should take an *Apprentice* . . . incapable  
of learning the *Art*, . . . of being made a *Brother*, and a *Fellow-  
Craft*, and in due time a *Master*; and when qualify'd, he may arrive  
to the Honour of being *Warden*, then *Master* of a *Lodge* . . . (p. 51.)

we are probably justified in supposing that the tri-gradal system was well established in Ireland by 1730, though we have no means of knowing to what extent outside influence may have been responsible. The fact, by the way, that Smith's *Pocket Companion* of 1734/5, published in Dublin and London, repeats the passage almost verbatim, but omits "and in due time a Master", is decidedly puzzling, but need cause no modification of any conclusion which we draw from Pennell.

There is little to be gained by going beyond 1730 in this investigation, for in that year was published Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*—the first full-scale account of Masonic procedure; and this must have done something, perhaps a good deal, to standardise and unify. Here there is a division into three distinct "Parts"—those, respectively, of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the Master: and yet even here there is an element of confusion, as *two* words are given in the first part, while one of them appears later as the word of a Fellow Craft.

On the whole, the early catechisms, whether MS. or printed, give very little help. In one of the earliest, the *Sloane 3329 MS.*, of c. 1700, in answer to the question, "what is a just and perfect or just and Lawfull Lodge", we have, "two Interprintices two fellow craftes and two Masters", and most of the catechisms have similar contributions to make. We have, however, what it quite possibly a major factor in the situation, in the statement of the *Mystery of Freemasonry*, printed in 1730—

Note. There is not one Mason in an Hundred that will be at the Expençe to pass the Master's Part, except it be for Interest. (Knoop, Jones & Hamer, *op. cit.*, p. 105.)

As the procedure according to this account is bi-gradal, with two words for the Entered Prentice's part, the Note suggests that there were still many Lodges working according to the old operative procedure when admitting candidates. Something of the kind may have been the reason for a remark of Stukeley, which has always been a major problem. Referring to his admission in 1721, he says,

I was the first person made a Freemason in London for many years. We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony.

This remark is from his Diary, made when he may well have been more or less ignorant of the significance of what he said: but later, in his Autobiography, he wrote—

His curiosity led him to be initiated into the mysterys of Masonry, suspecting it to be the remains of the mysterys of the antients, when with difficulty a number sufficient was to be found in all London.

Evidently Stukeley insisted on being given the Master's degree, but had been admitted in a Lodge in which it was not then practised, if, indeed, it ever had been.

An interesting comment on the state of affairs in London at the time of the foundation of the Grand Lodge is to be found in the second edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, the Book of Constitutions of the "Antients", published in 1764—

About the year 1717 some joyous companions, who had passed the degree of a craft, (though very rusty) resolved to form a lodge for themselves, in order (by conversation) to recollect what had been formerly dictated to them, or if that should be found impracticable, to substitute something new, which might for the future pass for masonry amongst themselves. At this meeting the question was asked, whether any person in the assembly knew the Master's part, and being

answered in the negative, it was resolved, *nem. con.* that the deficiency should be made up with a new composition, and what fragments of the old order found amongst them, should be immediately reformed and made more pliable to the humours of the people. (p. xxix.)

We cannot, of course, take this at its face value, for Dermott was at considerable pains to discredit the original Grand Lodge in every possible way. There may, however, as we have seen, have been some grounds for such a statement: it is chiefly interesting in the light of what he says a few pages further on as to the first two degrees, for he makes no suggestion that there were not three—rather that the third had been in some danger of being forgotten.

In considering his remarks on the other two, we must remember that the “Antients” Grand Lodge was inaugurated, in 1751, as a result of dissatisfaction with the existing Grand Lodge, on account of alterations which, it was alleged, that Grand Lodge had made in Masonic ritual. The movement for the rival Grand Lodge seems to have been largely Irish in origin; and the alterations, which certainly had been made, were designed as a protection to the Craft against unqualified students of Prichard. The “Antients” throughout insisted that they alone, but in agreement with Scotland, Ireland and York, preserved unaltered the old traditions of Masonry. In particular, the original Grand Lodge was accused of interchanging the words of the first two degrees:—

Nor is it uncommon for a tyler to receive ten or twelve shillings for drawing two sign posts with chalk &c. and writing Jamaica rum upon one, and Barbadoes rum upon the other, and all this (I suppose) for no other use, than to distinguish where these liquors are to be placed in the lodge (p. xxxiii).

In every surviving document, these words are given as belonging either to a single degree (the first) or to two degrees (first and second); and if they really belonged to a single degree which was, at or about 1723, expanded into two degrees, it is difficult to believe that Irish Masons, less than thirty years later, could either have insisted so strongly on the antiquity of the usage to which they adhered, or have found support in York and Scotland.

A few relevant matters of varied character and date are best dealt with here. One is the “points of fellowship”, which we first meet in the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* (1696), attached to the second of the two steps, *i.e.*, that of the “Master Mason or Fellow Craft”; while in every document of pre-1717 date in which they appear they are associated with the Master’s degree or the third of the words, or both. We would, in fact, be justified in supposing that they belong properly to the Master’s degree, were it not that in the *Mason’s Confession* of 1755, describing Scottish operative two-degree procedure of 1727, the “points of fellowship” occur in the second of these. It is unconceivable that they could have got there unless they were genuinely a part of the traditional operative second-degree: and so we must suppose that when the two operative degrees were combined into a single step, followed by a (presumably speculative) Master’s degree, though the word of the Fellow Craft was moved back to keep company with that of the Entered Prentice, the “points of fellowship” were retained in the second step, which later became a third. There can be little doubt that this is the explanation of the anomaly of the “points of fellowship” belonging to the degree of Master, rather than that of Fellow; and it may perhaps help to account for the association of the titles Master and Fellow.

Another question of interest is, what, if anything, has been lost out of the operative second degree? Something must almost certainly have been omitted from one of the first two degrees when these were conferred at a single session on Speculative candidates, more particularly after the addition of another degree; and when the practice became general of conferring the three degrees separately,

i.e., when the first step was re-converted into two, it is very unlikely that anything which had been omitted was restored. Now we can be almost certain that the selection of a Mark was a part of the business of making a Fellow Craft: this, though never stated explicitly, follows from the relevant clause of the Schaw Statutes of 1598. The example of the Lodge at Dunblane, where the earliest minutes (1696) reveal a great preponderance of non-Operatives, and Marks do not appear at all, shows how easily this feature, when not required, could be allowed to disappear, though at Aberdeen, in 1670, the 38 non-Operative members had their Marks just like the 11 Operatives; in the Haughfoot Lodge, which was actually a Speculative Lodge, they were never used or referred to.

The selection of the Mark, by the way, may not have involved anything of a ritual character; but it is worth mentioning that in both the *Dumfries No. 4* MS. of c.1710 and the *Graham* MS. of 1726 there are traces of a tradition which has been preserved in the "Mark" working of to-day; and it is possible that these may have formed part of a lost feature of the old operative second degree.

Finally, there is the question, To what extent there was any real uniformity of practice in the Freemasonry which we are considering. A categorical answer cannot, of course, be given to this question; but there are a few considerations which go some way to establish a basic uniformity in spite of perhaps very wide variation. Presumably the ostensible purpose of the Mason Word, or of the esoteric features of Masonry, was to provide a mode of recognition between Masons unknown to one another; and naturally every effort would be made to prevent any wide variation in both the word itself and in supplementary matter. Hence we need not be surprised to find the Schaw Statutes in 1598 insisting on "ane sufficient tryall" before, for instance, an entered prentice is passed Fellow Craft; and, though few, there are enough references in Scottish minutes to show that such trials were widely used. As a result, it would probably be safe to say that the range of variation between the catechisms actually used by different Lodges or in different localities would be roughly comparable with that between early MS. catechisms—e.g., the *Edinburgh Register House* MS. and the *Sloane 3329* MS.—all having features quite peculiar to themselves, yet all having a strong family likeness, and almost every one linked to each other one by some shared peculiarity.

There are a few examples in Scottish records of "visiting" Brothers, acknowledged after examination to be in possession of the Mason Word, and admitted: these certainly indicate a measure of uniformity. In the example at Haughfoot, in 1704 (quoted earlier), William Cairncross was "examined before the meeting", and "they were fully satisfied of his being a true entered apprentice and fellow craft, and therefore admitted him into their society as a member thereof".

One of the most interesting episodes of eighteenth century Scottish Freemasonry is recorded in the minutes of the Lodge of Kelso, in 1754, and serves well to illustrate what had no doubt been going on for at least thirty or forty years:—

Kelso, 18th June, 1754.

The Lodge being occasionally met and opened, a petition was presented from Brother Walter Ker, Esq., of Littledean, and the Rev. Mr. Robert Monreith, minister of the Gospel at Longformacus, praying to be passed fellow-crafts, which was unanimously agreed to, and the Right Worshipful Master deputed Brother Samuel Brown, a visiting Brother from Canongate, from Leith, to officiate as Master, and Brothers Palmer and Fergus, from same Lodge, to act as Wardens on this occasion, in order y<sup>t</sup> wee might see the method practiced in passing fellow crafts in their and the other Lodges in and about Edr., and they accordingly passed the above Brothers Ker and Monteith.

Fellow Crafts, who gave their obligation and pay'd their fees in due form. Thereafter the lodge was regularly closed.

Eodem die.

The former Brethren met as above, continued sitting when upon conversing about Business relating to the Craft and the forms and Practice of this Lodge in particular, a most essential defect of our Constitution was discovered, viz., that this lodge had attained only to the two Degrees of Apprentices and Fellow Crafts, and know nothing of the Master's part, whereas all Regular Lodges over the World are composed of at least the three Regular Degrees of Master, Fellow Craft, and Prentice. In order, therefore, to remedy this defect in our Constitution, Brothers Samuel Brown, Alexander Palmer, John Fergus, John Henderson, Andrew Bell, and Francis Pringle, being all Master Masons, did form themselves into a Lodge of Masters—Brother Brown to act as Master, and Brothers Palmer and Fergus as Wardens when they proceeded to raise Brothers James Lidderdale, William Ormiston, Robert Pringle, David Robertson, and Thomas Walker, to the rank of Masters, who qualified and were receiv'd accordingly. (Vernon, *op. cit.*, p. 120.)

This is nearly, if not quite, the only record in Scottish minutes of a change in procedure, though such changes must have taken place. There is, by the way, no reason to suppose that there was any essential difference between the old and the new rendering of the Fellow Craft's degree; but, as we know literally nothing of the details of either, it would be idle to speculate.

On the whole question of the introduction of the third degree into Scotland, a wide variety of opinion has been expressed. The earliest record of the admission of a Master Mason, as such, is in the minutes of Canongate Kilwinning, of March, 1735, though Lyon held that the earliest Speculative Lodge in Scotland, and the first to practice the degree, was the Edinburgh Kilwinning Scots Arms, established in 1729. The same writer states that the Lodges of Aitchison's Haven, Dunblane, Haughfoot and Peebles were unacquainted with the degree until 1760, and that it was not generally worked in Scottish Lodges until the seventh decade of the eighteenth century. We have seen, however, that the Haughfoot Lodge, which began to work in 1702, was a Speculative Lodge; and what we know of its ritual entitles us to say categorically that it provided for the making of Master Masons, and with considerable certainty that it included a Master's degree; while we can add that this ritual had already reached Scotland at least six years earlier, for the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* is dated 1696. The ambiguous nomenclature, in fact, combines with the very commendable reticence of the writers of Lodge minutes, to make it almost impossible to trace the details of the change from the operative two to the speculative three degrees. The Haughfoot minutes and those of Kelso of 1754, just quoted, suffice to give us mere glimpses at an early and a late stage of a process which may well have taken nearly a century to complete.

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At the conclusion of the paper, a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Poole on the proposition of the W.M., seconded by the S.W., comments being also offered by or on behalf of Bros. H. C. Booth, J. Heron Lepper, D. Knoop, F. L. Pick, C. F. Sykes, G. W. Bullamore, A. J. B. Milborne, and R. J. Meekren.

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The W.M. said:—

I am sure that the thanks of all of us are due to Bro. Poole for the careful way in which he has put the evidence before us.

There seems to be some evidence that non-operative Masonry existed from

early in the 17th century and the Minutes of the Haughfoot Lodge prove that this Lodge was purely speculative from 1702 and prior to Grand Lodge period.

At the same time, some general principles should govern the reading of various documents as they may be open to different interpretations, and it would not be wise to conclude that a particular custom in vogue in one district was likely to be in vogue in another. This is particularly true of Scottish Lodges, which are highly individualistic in their workings. It is interesting to note that an Entered Apprentice did not become such until after he had served for seven years.

I have much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Bro. Poole for performing a task which has taken many years of study and much care in preparing a lucid view of the whole field to enable us to form our own opinions on a very vexed question.

Bro. H. HIRAM HALLETT said:—

It gives me very great pleasure to second the vote of thanks to Bro. Poole for having given us such a very interesting Paper; it is indeed a wonderfully enlightening Paper on one of the most difficult problems in Masonry — the number and nature of our Degrees in olden times. I think that Bro. Poole has given the right solution, and he must have devoted a tremendous amount of time and thought to the problem by closely studying a very large number of old manuscripts now known as the *Old Charges* and *Early Masonic Catechisms*. He has certainly clarified my own views on this problem, as doubtless he has those of his hearers, and so on my own behalf as well as theirs I tender to him my very sincere thanks and congratulations.

There is, however, one matter that I trust he will consider, and that is when his Paper is published in our *Transactions* he will render his excerpts into modern English and have them inserted as foot notes.

Bro. H. C. BOOTH said:—

I should like to add my thanks to Bro. Poole for his most interesting paper, a paper on which it is very difficult to make comments except that I agree with practically all he says.

With regard to the "Intender", D. Murray Lyon, in *Freemasonry in Scotland*, p. 18, says: "The minutes of the Lodge of Dunblane (1725) define the duty of 'intender' to be 'the perfecting of apprentices so that they might be fitt for their future tryalls'."

The apprentice, after serving his indentures, became an Entered Apprentice or what we should call an Improver, and not a Journeyman, for he did not receive the full pay of a Journeyman or skilled craftsman, and had to prove later his skill by submitting an essay piece of work.

The minute of the Kelso Lodge of 18th June, 1754, is interesting as showing the gradual spread of the Master's part, and seems to be on a par with the minute of the Banff Operative Lodge of January 7th, 1778, about the status of the Mark Mason and the Mark Master Mason:—

That in time coming, all members that shall hereafter raise to the degree of Mark Mason, shall pay one Mark Scot, but not to obtain the degree of Mark Mason, before they are passed Fellow Crafts; and those that shall take the degree of Mark Master Mason, shall pay one shilling and six pence sterling unto the Treasurer for behoof of the lodge. None to attain to the Degree of Mark Master Mason until they are raised Master. (*Freemasons' Magazine*, March 18th, 1871.)

This shows clearly the relative positions of the degrees of Mark Mason or Mark Man, and Mark Master Mason, to each other and to the operative Craft, every operative Mason or Fellow Craft being obliged to be made a Mark Mason or Mark Man before he could "mark" his work; while the degree of Mark Master Mason was confined to those who, as Masters of Lodges or Master Masons, had been chosen to rule over the Fellow Crafts.

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Bro. J. HERON LEPPER said:—

The mention of the *Trinity College* or *Molyneux MS.* leads me to contribute a short note containing some information which I do not remember having as yet seen quoted in a Masonic connexion.

In Swift's *Journal to Stella*, 28th October, 1712 (Williams's edit., 1948, page 567), we get:—

"I presented Pratt to Lord Treasurer (Harley), and truly young Molyneux would have had me present him too; but I directly answered him that I would not, unless he had business with him. He is the son of one Mr. Molyneux of Ireland. His father wrote a book. I suppose you know it."

Swift here is referring to Samuel Molyneux (1688-1728), *nephew and ward* to Dr. Thomas Molyneux, later Sir Thomas, who collected the manuscript of such interest to Freemasons. See the D.N.B. for the incidents of his life, as well as that of his brother William, Samuel's father.

Samuel, to whom Swift proved so disobliging, probably because he came of a Whig family, was later to achieve fame for researches in optics and astronomy, to be made a Privy Councillor in both England and Ireland, and to be elected F.R.S. in the very year he met Swift in London.

On none of these accounts do I draw attention to him here. My suggestion is that in him we have a possible (but for having learnt caution I should have written that "possible" as "likely") source whereby Dr. William Molyneux in Dublin was informed of how the Brethren in London were delivering the ritual in 1711.

If this conjecture, for so far it is merely a conjecture, ever finds further evidence (such as a comparison of handwritings) to support it, certain implications will follow, chief of which would be the place in which this *aide mémoire*, for so I consider it, was written.

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Bro. DOUGLAS KNOOP, on behalf of himself and G. P. JONES, writes:—

In my Prestonian Lecture for 1938, on *The Mason Word*, there is stated a theory of the Anglo-Scottish origin of Masonic ceremonies. This was re-stated in our *Short History of Freemasonry to 1730* in 1940, and re-affirmed in 1942 in *Masonic History Old and New* (A.Q.C., lv, 296 and 316). Bro. Poole, in a comment on that paper, made it clear that he could not then accept our view: "I am not inclined to agree with Bro. Knoop as to the relationship between Masonry in England and Scotland." Our re-handling of the theory was not published until our *Genesis of Freemasonry* appeared in February, 1948, and in the interval Bro. Poole re-examined the problem, the result being the present paper, finished before the appearance of our *Genesis*. We are not, indeed, completely clear as to Bro. Poole's conclusions; but we cannot understand the statement, in

his introductory note, that they are "almost diametrically opposed" to ours. I do not think we have many conclusions; we set out the facts to illustrate and support our theory, and Bro. Poole seems to do the same thing. Like ourselves, he begins with the Scottish catechisms and then refers to the English *Old Charges*, which probably represent an older form of ceremony. He touches lightly on matters which we treat more fully, the possibility of the Scottish catechisms reaching England and of the English *Old Charges* being taken to Scotland. After reading his *Substance of Pre-Grand Lodge Freemasonry*, we think that his re-examination has led him to change his mind and to adopt the essence of our theory; and while we are glad that he is now in substantial agreement with us, we should, being human, rejoice more if that agreement could have been attributed, at least in part, to our efforts, of which Bro. Poole has been aware for some years, in the publications noted above, to find and state the truth.

We wish that Bro. Poole had been somewhat more cautious than he is; it would, for instance, have been well to recognise that there is no direct evidence before the 1720's for the Hiram legend which he believes to have existed about 170 years earlier. We wish, too, in the interests of readers, less erudite and practised than Bro. Poole, into whose hands his paper may come, that he had been a good deal clearer. In particular we may refer to his use of the term *speculative*, which he never defines. On page 134 he definitely equates it with *non-operative*, but we cannot think that it was always used in this sense. Again, his conception of the term *Master Mason*, both in its origin and in its early usage, requires setting out more clearly. He seems to suggest that it was an early example of a *chair* degree which has since lost its significance, but we cannot find any clear evidence in his paper to support such a view.

We feel with regret that the value of Bro. Poole's paper is further reduced by his failure to give anything like adequate references for the various statutes, Lodge minutes, *Old Charges* and catechisms which he cites, an omission which may well prove maddening to serious students wishing to know of some of these, whether they are to be found in print and, if so, where. We may observe, incidentally, that, if the Hitchin Tile really has the importance Bro. Poole inclines to attach to it, we and other students might have been told more about it. Where was the discovery first announced and described? By whom was it found, and is a reproduction available?

Finally, correction is necessary on one small point. In stating, in the middle of page 131, that there is no evidence of "a reading" in Scotland, Bro. Poole appears to have overlooked an early entry in the Aberdeen Mark Book: "We ordain that the Mason Charter [*i.e.*, the *Aberdeen MS.*] be read at the entering of every entered apprentice." (Miller, *The Lodge, Aberdeen*, p. 21.)

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BRO. FRED. L. PICK writes:—

The latest shot in the twentieth century battle of the giants is a weighty one, and we are grateful for Bro. Poole's valuable and interesting interpretation of the evidence.

We do not yet know how the interest of the Operative Mason in the antediluvian pillars came to be superseded by that of the Speculative Freemason in those of King Solomon's Temple, and it would be interesting to know what (if any) significance our Brother attaches to Slade's *Freemason Examined*, which purports to be based on a ritual of 1708. Bro. Poole's remarks on the appearance of the name "Hiram Abif" in the Bible and its disappearance in 1560 is interesting; doubtless many of the older prints, preserved through years of persecution, would remain in the possession of the Lodges, just as the Authorised Version is found in the majority of English Lodges to-day.

I think there is one earlier instance of the making of Master Masons than the one quoted (Canongate Kilwinning, March, 1735). According to James Smith's *Freemasonry in Galloway* (Dumfries, 1902), three gentlemen were Entered Apprentices in the St. Cuthbert's Kilwinning Lodge, Kirkcudbright, on 3rd February, 1735, Entered Fellows of Craft on 6th February, and made Masters on 7th February. Bro. Smith claims this to be the earliest instance of the making of Master Masons recorded, and says it was *followed* by that of Canongate Kilwinning and another in Glasgow Kilwinning on 1st April, 1735.

The custom of selecting the Intenders from among the youngest Masons would fix indelibly in their minds the lessons they had so recently learned. A similar system among nineteenth century schoolboys is described in Sir Charles Oman's *Memories of Victorian Oxford*. Another incident which may have had a modern parallel is that of 18th June, 1754, in the Lodge of Kelso, which may well have inspired the late Bro. Rudyard Kipling's *The Man who would be King*.

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Bro. C. F. SYKES writes:—

I add my congratulations to those which, I am sure, will be tendered to Bro. Poole for his paper on Pre-Grand Lodge Freemasonry.

An interesting side-light relative to the development of speculative Masonry in Scotland is afforded by the fact that Mr. John Boswell, of Auchinleck, though a non-operative, signed the minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1600; while the Rt. Hon. Mr. Robert Moray was admitted at Newcastle in 1641 by members of this same Lodge of Edinburgh then present with the Scottish Army. It is more than probable that the Scottish Masons at Newcastle were also non-operatives; and, if so, speculative Masons in the Lodge of Edinburgh must have been numerous, for all of them could hardly have been in the Army. It will be noted that both these items of speculative Masonry in the Lodge of Edinburgh antedate our first recorded English speculative, Ashmole in 1646.

In the extract from minutes of 27th December, 1679, Mary's Chapel, the word "omngadrums" occurs: will Bro. Poole enlighten me as to the meaning of this word?

I greatly welcome the paragraph relating to the word "giblim". To my shame I must acknowledge that I was quite ignorant of how "excellent masons" or "stonesquarers" came to be associated with this word, or of its true derivation.

The question of degrees at the time of the Union of 1813 is stated in the Preliminary Declaration preceding the General Laws & Regulations for the Government of the Craft in our *Book of Constitutions*. It reads:—

By the solemn Act of Union between the two Grand Lodges of Freemasons of England in December 1813, it was "declared & pronounced that pure Ancient Masonry consists of three degrees & no more, viz. those of Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, & the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch.

How many knowledgeable Masons to-day are able to endorse this definition of pure Ancient Masonry? Feeling between "Antients" and "Moderns" was not without sharpness in 1813, and it is probable that this description represents a measure of mutual appeasement which left each body with a measure of satisfaction.

However we apply Gould's definition of a degree to our ceremonies, we shall be driven to more than three degrees. In the Craft we shall find a fourth in the Installation of the Master; while in the Royal Arch, Gould's definition must lead to four more.

Bro. G. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

It has always been known that the E.A. was a man and the apprentice a youth so it is not easy to see the reason for the confusion of terms. It may have been due to the separation of the ceremonies and the craft so that the candidate was usually ignorant of the use of masons' tools.

I have not much faith in the view that a degree has been divided or that degrees have been telescoped. The masters would claim the power to confer the three degrees on their candidate, the fellows the two degrees and the entered apprentices could, of course, confer one only. Fragments from the three workings would account for all that has survived. It is safer to say that the craft was trigradal rather than the Lodge.

Bro. Poole states that the acception cannot be traced in the Company's books after 1663-4; but Conder gives an inventory in which one item is a "fair large table of the accepted masons". My own view is that an emasculated acception was used by the Masons Company after the Fire for enrolling the journeymen masons who rebuilt London. Their charters probably gave them no control over church builders and the acception was a method of collecting quarterage. A copy of the Constitutions was issued to a liveryman who summoned a Lodge together and was responsible to the Company for the quarterage. The heavy payments made by certain members such as Strong, which Bro. Conder looks upon as payments of arrears, are more likely to be the quarterage from his Lodge.

A somewhat similar system of government was in use among other London Companies. When the journeymen had their own guild the master was a fellow. If they were free to choose one of themselves as master, he had to come on the livery. An interesting case is that of the Batchelor Taylors. Their master was elected by themselves and the Merchant Taylors gave him the livery and made him responsible for the collection of quarterage. The practice was abandoned on the ground that the Merchant Taylors lost the fee for coming on the livery and gained nothing owing to the neglect to collect the quarterage.

After the rebuilding of London, numbers of accepted Masons continued to meet irregularly and paid no quarterage. Bro. Payne represented a fellow craft Lodge and his regulations were an attempt to regain control through the masters of these irregular Lodges of which the Masons Company, through the acception, were really the head when the alleged Grand Lodge of 1717 was held. Conder has pointed out that the early Lodges usually had one member belonging to the Masons Company.

The Society of Masons was originally, I believe, a religious body. Journeymen trained in the monastic schools were accepted Masons free of the fellowship. After seven years they became fellows while the free masons were the architects and workmen who had taken full vows.

The free masons were said to have been a society for the building of chapels, and as they came into being shortly after the Pope had decreed that every Manor must have a chapel, it looks a reasonable statement. When Henry VIII dissolved the religious guilds the free masons became the London Company of Freemasons. When the London Companies subscribed to the Solemn League and Covenant, renouncing all popery and paganism, they scrapped their name and probably their ceremonies and became the Company of Masons. But during the reign of Philip and Mary they seem to have reverted to the monastic rule temporarily, for the copies of the Constitutions of that date show that the masters were able to keep the vow of celibacy by maintaining concubines, while other rules suggest that the Brethren were under the lesser religious vows.

In the Companionage of France there were very similar, but hostile sects, and I have sometimes wondered if something of this kind prevailed among Masons and layers. We have two sets of working tools, two pairs of pillars, five and six points of fellowship. Noah and Hiram, two versions of the substitute word. The

layers used the gavel and trowel, the Masons the mallet and chisel: we now have the gavel and chisel and have lost the trowel and mallet.

No satisfactory solution of the degree problem is possible without an imaginary linking up of our known facts. The "giants" of the end of the nineteenth century may have suffered from fewer facts, but their discussions would not have been possible had they been of the authentic school.

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BRO. A. J. B. MILBORNE writes:—

It is fifty years since the great battle of the degrees was fought, and my impression is that the great contenders of those days retired from the field without reaching a decision. Gould, later, did change his mind, but he did not take his readers into his confidence and tell them so, with the result that I, at any rate, am at a loss to know what was his final opinion upon the matter. Hughan (*English Rite*, 2nd Edn., p. 24) admitted rather grudgingly that the *Chetwode Crawley* and *Trinity College* MSS. were distinctly in favour of those who maintained there was more than a single ceremony prior to 1717. It is only comparatively recently that the old battle ground has been surveyed, and I welcome Bro. Poole's paper which serves to make clear what is now the accepted opinion on the subject.

In comment on the paper, I venture the opinion that the Schaw Statutes do not distinctly specify that the intenders for Fellowcrafts were to be chosen from the Fellowcrafts, though it is quite clear from the Aitchison's Haven Minutes that that was the established practice. It may be noted also that no Entered Apprentices were present at the meeting of 9th January, 1598, when Robert Widderspoon was made fellow of craft, and the question has raised itself in my mind whether the requirement that two apprentices should be present when a Master or Fellowcraft was received was not something new. The Statutes bear a date only twelve days before the meeting of the Lodge, the year ending on 24th March. Two Entered Apprentices at least were present at later sederunts of the Lodge, when fellows were received.

The Haughfoot Minutes are clear, I think that Entered Apprentice and Fellowcraft were quite distinct steps, even if, in 1702, persons were admitted to them at the same meeting. The commission of five were empowered in 1703 to admit "either as apprentice or fellowcraft" and the same phraseology "apprentice or fellowcraft" is used when the commission was renewed in 1704. In 1705 the phrase is "apprentice and fellowcraft", but in 1706 and 1707 the original "apprentice or fellowcraft" again appears. The applicants petitioned for admittance "both as apprentice and fellowcraft" and there can be no doubt as to the meaning in 1706 when there were more than two applicants. This point is clinched, however, by the Minute dated December 27th, 1707 — "Thereafter the meeting came to a general resolution that in tyme coming, they would not, except on speciall considerations admitt to the society both of apprentice and fellowcraft at the same time but yt ane year at least should intervene betwixt any being admitted prentice and his being entered fellowcraft". (Vernon, *History of Masonry in the Province of Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire*, p. 289.)

I am not yet satisfied as to the meaning of the phrase "entered passed and raised" found in the *Graham* MS. Q.28. "I pass you entered yet I demand if you were raised", refers to two steps only — an entering and raising. Q.24. "I pass, you have been in a Lodge, yet I demand", &c., suggests that the preceding questions were the customary and normal ones put to obtain proof of entering, and that those which followed were additional ones put at the option of the examiner. Is it not possible that the word "passed" here refers simply to the examination?

BRO. R. J. MEEKREN writes:—

The papers contributed by Bro. Poole are always most interesting, and as I have remarked before, I always feel that he and I are following very much the same lines in our investigations into matters ritualistic. I say this again here, because no two people ever see things exactly alike, and as in discussion it is points of difference that are naturally, and properly, brought forward, it might otherwise seem as if instead of substantial agreement I disagreed with him radically. As a matter of fact I do with one particular assumption or postulate that he, in common with practically all other students in this field, either explicitly or implicitly accept as self-evident, to wit, that at some time somebody invented the ritual procedure of Freemasonry. This I regard as a fatal heresay — *Athanasius contra mundum* !

But seriously, I think that this situation arises from the fact that these investigations have in the main been made by students who are primarily historians, and I maintain that by purely historical methods they will continue to remain insoluble. "No doubt", as Gomme says in *Ethnology and Folklore*, "such conclusion may seem a little hard to digest by those whose studies have not allowed them to dwell upon the 'amazing toughness of tradition', and by those who have never wandered out of the paths laid down by chronological history". One might go even further and say that they are not digested at all, for the historian, as a rule, leaves them untouched on the side of his plate !

Bro. Poole's suggestion respecting the function of the two entered apprentices required by the Schaw Statutes at the passing of a fellow of the craft is quite possible, and even plausible. For my own part I have avoided any attempt to find a solution, for there does not seem anything to give us a lead. But generally I should quite expect that there would be more than one reason or purpose, and that Bro. Poole may have hit on one of them. But until more certainty can be reached as to the nature of the passing it will be impossible to assign the root function of the two members of the grade from which the candidate for the fellowship was taken.

I fully agree that what the neophyte was taught by his Intenders consisted of the questions and answers embodied in the form of examination current in that particular lodge, with the informal addition of the interpretation and reference of the answers. The "author" or "tutor" spoken of in several documents, with whom the candidate withdrew, taught him, as I think, the Salutation, and the forms accompanying it, with which the stranger or traveller introduced himself to the Lodge. Perhaps also the gestures and so on employed in drinking healths (of which a glimpse is given us in the *Three Distinct Knocks*) certain survivals of which still persist in some places, so that on his return to the Lodge he could "exercise with his brethren". And I also think that these may form part at least of the "thousand ridiculous postures" he was made to imitate, for so some staid and conventional initiates could well regard them.

The *Mason's Confession* on the face of it refers to two degrees only, and it has naturally been taken to indicate that in the Lodge that "met at D —, about the year 1727" no more than two were known, and also that they would be the old E.A. and F. of C. of the old lodge records of the previous century. It is probable that at D — in 1727 no more was known, or at least practised ; but I have long wondered if we are not here being taken in the insidious snare of the argument from silence. The word "degree", to which Bro. Poole draws attention, and which we do not know to have been used as a Masonic technical term before 1730, would seem to indicate that the later tri-gradal arrangement had become familiar to the Confessor at the time he wrote. And while I take what he tells us about the first degree as representing very accurately, so far as it goes, what he was taught or learned at his initiation, the little he says of the Fellowcraft is very like what we learn from Prichard and the author of *L'Ordre des Francs-*

*Maçons Trahis*, a simulacrum of a degree lacking all ritual procedure. The latter work shows an even less developed stage than the former in spite of being fifteen years later. Bro. Poole, I expect, will object that neither falls within his period and having, as a historian, no faith in the toughness of tradition he will be within his right in doing so. But I, most strongly convinced of its resistent and persistent qualities, no matter how it may be knocked about, trampled on and transplanted, beg leave to continue to doubt.

I cannot pretend to any special knowledge of the *Old Charges*, such as Bro. Poole is acknowledged to have, but at one time I did make a close study of all the references to Masons, Fellows and Masters, and was led to the conclusion that originally they were practically synonymous, or more precisely, that they seemed to refer (not with full consistency) to the same grade or class in somewhat different relationships or connections. I am not convinced that the records of the Accepcon in London do indicate an actual, or an original, two grades over and above the two common to all trades, apprentice and freeman or master of his trade. I am even less inclined to believe that the records of York, Warrington and Chester indicate two esoteric steps, though I freely admit the formal possibility that the procedure in these places could have been that of a "continuing ceremony". For although I have maintained (and would still maintain) that two distinct and separate grades existed in Scotland from the end of the 16th century (at least) and also in London from the end (probably) of the 17th century, I have never lost sight of the possibility that this two step arrangement was not original. I am now more than ever inclined to believe that this possibility is also a probability.

I am not sure that the *Sloane MS.* must necessarily be taken as indicating three degrees. In view of the variations that existed in the use of the terms Master and Fellow or Fellow of Craft, it appears to me no more than a possible inference from the statement concerning the constitution of the Lodge that the distinction between Masters and Fellowcrafts was one of grade and not merely one of function in the Lodge. And while the references to certain grips and so on do appear on their face to support a triple arrangement, it has to be remembered that the document is obviously (at least it so appears to me) a compilation, and represents, in simple juxtaposition, elements from different sources in which differing terms or different modes of expression referred to the same thing, as well as specifically noting actual variations.

That the Craft was interested in Hiram long before 1723 I fully believe, and have so stated elsewhere. Speth I believe was the first to point out (in his clairvoyant way) the significance of the two earliest printed English versions of the Bible. My first information on the subject was from an article in the *Builder* in 1922, by D. W. Williamson, of Nevada, U.S.A. However, I do not think that the interest in the name and title proves anything in regard to introduction of the ritual myth of the primeval Master Mason. In such myths the names of the personages concerned and the place of the action are quite fluid, and change according to locality and period.

It seems very probable indeed that the Hitchin tile was built into the wall as a surrogate or substitute victim, though whether as representing the Master of the legend I do not feel so certain. One instance is difficult to interpret. Incidentally, it is very curious that except in the *Graham MS.* no hint remains in any of our records of such sacrifices; it almost looks as if they had been expurgated in this respect. Even so late a building as the Parish Church of Chelsea, of the Georgian period by its appearance, was thus protected by the builders—not Masons in this case, but bricklayers—for in the early nineteen-twenties a cavity was discovered towards the top of the tower in which two lighted candles had been placed, and built in while still burning.

In dealing with the entries in Dr. Stukeley's diary and his autobiography,

I have often felt that an unwarrantable assumption has generally been made, and that is that his informants were in a position to know that no man had been initiated in London for many years. Whether true or not, there was no one who could have known it—a universal negative is not proved by lack of positive evidence. The other statement that there was difficulty in gathering together a sufficient number is on a different footing. That they could know. Yet here again an unexpressed assumption has been made; and though not in this case an illicit one, it ought to be made explicit, as it is not the only possible one. This assumption is that Stukeley, and his two fellow initiates, Mr. Collins and Capt. Rowe, were made in a regular, or an established Lodge. But suppose that it was a casual Lodge, formed of seven or six Masons brought together for this purpose on this occasion only—a thing quite possible at the time—the difficulty in securing the presence of the requisite number seems perfectly possible and not at all unlikely. I quite admit this is conjectural, but then it fits with my general hypothesis. Bro. Poole's suggestion that the difficulty was due to collecting, not a sufficient number of Masons, but of "Master" Masons, is equally a conjecture, and it fits his general hypothesis. We are, I think, each within his right, as long as we avoid the logical pitfall of later assuming the conjecture to be proved and using it to base a further argument upon, and this he has not done.

In three short paragraphs on page 136, two of them consecutively, Bro. Poole speaks of the introduction of the Master's degree. And this, I suppose, also carries the implication of its invention, concoction or manufacture, by some person or persons unknown. But who was introducing it? Not the Grand Lodge certainly, in the light of Regulation No. XI, and the comment made upon it by Anderson in 1738.

Bro. Poole does not accept the hypothesis that the mystical number of three degrees was completed by the division of the first, the Scottish Entered Apprentice. But which supposition presents the greatest difficulties? The invention of a totally new grade on entirely new lines, or the making of two out of the first? For the latter the internal evidence seems to me conclusive. Take the two earliest accounts that we have of it, the English one of 1730 and the French of 1745 (which, though fifteen years later, seems to be the least developed), and compare them with later versions and note how the original sketch gets filled in and rounded out. But to say that the original first degree was divided is a rather loose way of putting it, and perhaps misleading. At first the Fellowcraft part was merely the duplication of a few points in the first degree, and, as for procedure or ceremonial, there seems to have been almost nothing at all. I cannot see that it would have needed any organisation or authority to propagate it; and if for argument it be supposed that it would have been needed, then the counter question arises, What organisation was required to propagate the hypothetically (invented and) introduced Master's degree? The new second degree, called Fellowcraft, conferred (as apparently it almost universally was for many years) upon the same occasion as the initiation, would have caused no difficulties in intervisitation between the Lodges that had adopted it and those that had not. There would have been no difficulty at all in adopting it in any Lodge, if it seemed desirable. For all it involved was to have the Candidate enter the Lodge a second time, after the mystic letter "G" had been inscribed in the diagram, and then communicating certain matters that would otherwise have been given in the "making", and thereafter calling the new Brother a Fellowcraft instead of Entered Apprentice. But why this procedure should have seemed fitting and proper does not appear, any more than a reason for the invention of our third degree. The two hypotheses each require a different explanation; for mine I suggest that it seemed fitting that full Masonic knowledge should be acquired in three steps instead of two.

All this may seem irrelevant to the discussion of the paper, but I do not think it is really. On the assumption of "introduction" made by Bro. Poole, I do

not see what better arrangement of the facts could be made than that he has so ingeniously and skilfully worked out. Under these circumstances it is obvious that any attempt to reach agreement must be to discuss the basic postulates upon which we base our arguments. And so long as we treat the Masonic ritual as an isolated phenomenon I do not see how we can solve the problems connected with it. Ritual is a universally pervading characteristic of all human culture, from the lowest to the highest. Its origin is probably to be assigned to the level of earliest pre-historic man. It has its own laws of transmission and evolution. As certainly as the kind of evidence used in archæological and anthropological researches permits, primitive ritual was magical in its intention. But, like pictographs that have been conventionalised into letters of an alphabet, it can be and has been continuously adapted to new purposes. It has been elevated to the service of religion, and depressed into drama, dances, and children's games. And so, as I believe, the original primitive ritual of the Masons has been adapted as a vehicle for impressing upon our minds "wise and serious truths" in regard to the conduct of life. The thread upon which the pearls or gems are strung may be of little intrinsic value in itself, but it is a very important part of the necklace. And so it is not without interest to find out where it came from and how it was made.

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Bro. H. POOLE writes in reply:—

I was glad of the very kind reception which was accorded to my paper. There is so much in it which, even now, borders on the controversial, that I expected to meet with a certain amount of criticism—indeed, I would have welcomed this, for it is too much to hope that one can, at one venture, produce a really fool-proof theory for the solution of such intricate problems as the facts present.

I am grateful, too, for several corrections as to the facts. One is from Bro. Pick, who gives me an earlier example of the making of a Master Mason than the one I quoted; another is from Bro. Bullamore, who reminds me of a reference to the Acception of a date later than 1663-4; yet another is from Bro. Knoop, who quotes the reading of the *Aberdeen* MS. at entering. And, as a professional Mathematician for 40 years, I am ashamed to have to admit that Bro. Sykes was able to correct a simple mistake in arithmetic.

Of the constructive comments, perhaps I may put that of Bro. Lepper in the chief place. It is of the highest interest and importance when we are able to discover the provenance of a MS.; and Bro. Lepper has given a hint which may lead to the source of one of the most important of our early documents, and one which it may be possible to follow up.

I am sorry to see Bro. Sykes maintaining that the admission of Robert Moray at Newcastle outdates our first recorded English speculative; for this was certainly not Ashmole, but John Brown (in the Acception, 1620-1), unless I may claim my own old discovery at Kendal—Richard Walker, who, though not a craftsman of the building trades, joined their Company there in 1595.

This brings me to the word "speculative", which Bro. Knoop asks me to define. I think the answer is, quite simply, that it is an exact equivalent of "non-operative", though it brings out the point better, for instance, when speaking of John Boswell in 1600, if we use the latter term. Certainly we use it in this sense to-day, when we say that we are "not Operative Masons, but rather Free and Accepted, or Speculative"; and certainly it has the same sense in the earliest known uses which he quotes in *The Genesis of Freemasonry* (p. 131).

Perhaps a good rule would be to say "non-operative" when speaking of such members of an "operative" Lodge, and to retain the word "speculative" for the Masonry, different in character, where there need be no operatives. There is, however, a danger that the word "speculative" may be confused with

“esoteric”, and for this reason the term “non-operative” may sometimes be safer; for it can hardly be insisted on too strongly that there was an “esoteric” element in “operative” Masonry at least as early as 1600, and probably much earlier.

This, in turn, brings me to Bro. Bullamore’s theory as to the irregular Lodges in London in the late seventeenth century. It is an attractive one; but for at least one reason I cannot accept it as it stands, for (as I suggested in my paper) I am inclined to believe that the Acception may have been, before the middle of that century, a purely speculative body; and, if this was the case, it seems to me most unlikely that such a body would be found controlling Operative Masons, while the (Operative) Masons Company was still a going concern. I am not aware, by the way, that there is any evidence at all for the suggestion.

Bro. Milborne raises a nice point about “entered passed and raised” in the *Graham MS.*, and he may well be right, though we still have the curious “trible voice” to suggest a tri-gradal Freemasonry.

I was rather surprised to read Bro. Knoop’s comment, and I re-read, for the second time, his *Genesis*; and I still find myself in profound disagreement with some of his views. It would take too much space to set out in full the matters on which I disagree; but, among the more fundamental—I do not accept the view that the “Mason Word”, or perhaps we might say “esoteric Masonry”, came from Scotland to England; I do not consider that we have evidence of considerable changes in practice in early eighteenth or late seventeenth century; I do not agree that the *Edinburgh Register House MS.* was an operative document, nor the Haughfoot Lodge an operative one. I can say definitely that I have not changed any of my earlier views: rather, I have developed ideas which I have held for over twenty years, and I have done this by going over again all the available evidence with an all-but open mind, and (if he will forgive me for saying so) without any reference, except possibly for evidence, to his own earlier books.

I think the evidence for the exact status of the “Master Mason” is at present insufficient, though that term is actually only used of the “Master of a Lodge”. But I am rather strongly inclined to think, from what evidence there is, that the Lodge “degree” of Master was of the nature of a chair degree—probably for the special benefit of the speculative—though it did not, in official eyes after 1717, entitle the holder to rank with an actual Master of a Lodge, which seems for some time later to have conferred no permanently superior status. Hence Anderson’s insistence on “present Master of a Lodge”, and his ignoring of any other status above that of a Fellow Craft.

I apologise for the absence, in the proofs of the paper, of references. It was due to my new position as Editor of our *Transactions*, when I found myself wondering whether the modern practice (which I like) of gathering mere references, as opposed to footnote comments, at the end of the text, or the alternative of including them in the text, was perhaps more attractive than our present system; and, in the end, few gained admission at all.

I am sorry that no one told Bro. Knoop about the Hitchin Tile: but, though it is no one’s business to broadcast such information, I have known of it for a good many years, and I might add that I referred to it, though with less emphasis, in my paper on the *Antiquity of the Craft*—a paper which I have reason to suppose Bro. Knoop has read with some care!

I had completed my “reply” up to this point when Bro. R. J. Meekren’s important contribution came in, and, while I do not propose to deal with certain portions of it, there are one or two remarks which I feel I must make.

It is the very “toughness of tradition” which has made me unable to accept the theory that the first ceremony (whatever it included) was turned into two ceremonies at any such date as the end of the seventeenth century. This would indeed have been an “invention, concoction or manufacture, by some person or persons unknown”—and this at a time *before* there was even a single organisation

such as the Grand Lodge of England to authorise its propagation. On the other hand, I regard the Master's degree as something which had grown or developed, probably in England, and probably at least a century earlier. It is difficult to avoid such a word as "introduced": but, after all, like everything else in the Craft, it must have started somewhere and at some time; and to say that it was "introduced" need not imply that some body of Masons got together and simply "invented" it.

Another point which I want to make is one which I perhaps did not emphasise sufficiently in my paper—the wide variety of practice which must have prevailed, for example, in London at about the time of the establishment of the first Grand Lodge. If we remember that there must have been, among those who gathered in Lodges:—

Operative Masons who were only E.A.'s,  
or who were Fellow Crafts,  
or were also Masters of Lodges ;

besides

Non-operative Masons who had only received the E.A. degree,  
or had received the two operative degrees at a single session,  
or had received them in two sessions,  
or had received the three degrees in two sessions,  
or had received them in three sessions—

then the differences between the surviving early "catechisms", or even between these and Prichard (1730) and *L'Ordre des Francs-Maçons Trahi* (1745), do not seem difficult to account for.

Bro. Meekren counters my objection that some organisation would have been needed for the establishment of the division of the first degree into two by the counter-question: What organisation was required to propagate the Master's degree? But the two things were on an entirely different footing. The former, one supposes, could hardly have started much earlier than about 1700, and it has often been stated to have occurred as late as about 1720-1725; while the latter may well have been going on for over a century. That there was something radically *new* about the Master's degree, which only reached the Lodge at Kelso in 1754, seems to me sufficiently proved by the reaction of that Lodge when they heard of it—they "knew nothing of the Master's part".

In conclusion, I cannot pretend that I have cleared up all the difficulties of the subject, nor solved all its riddles. But I do believe that I have offered a "framework", in some respect new, into which, with due regard to those variations in practice which must have prevailed, very nearly all the known facts can be made to fit without distortion.



## INDEPENDENT LODGES



IN the course of "A Letter to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent" (dated 1st March, 1815), "Printed by and for W. FINCH, No. 5, Charlotte Place, New Cut, Lower Marsh, Lambeth", William Finch devotes a section to the subject of Independent Lodges and asserts that 22 London Lodges and 27 Country Lodges "withdrew from the Grand Lodge" (of the "Moderns") "and constituted Independent Lodges of their own". Finch then adds this significant statement:—"For many years after this the standing toast in all these Independent Lodges was 'PROSPERITY TO THE 49 INDEPENDENT LODGES'."

Finch's assertion is suggestive of an independent Masonic organisation exercising influence over Lodges in England and Wales as far afield as Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight in the south, Helston, Cardiff and Liverpool in the west, Wooler in the north, and Lowestoft in the east.

That portion of Finch's letter which deals with the subject of Independent Lodges is reproduced below in the hope that further information may be forthcoming to enable a paper on the subject to be prepared for submission to the Lodge.

Accordingly Brethren who are in a position to contribute information concerning any of the Lodges enumerated in the passage quoted from Finch's letter are invited to communicate with the Assistant Librarian to Grand Lodge, at Freemasons' Hall in London.

The extract is as follows:—

### LIST OF INDEPENDENT LODGES •

In the "MASONIC TELESCOPE" — "THE LECTURES, &c.", I have inserted a long list of the Lodges that seceded from the Grand Lodge, and set up Independent ones of their own; from the first period, 1722, to 1815, with the names of the Masters and Wardens of such Lodges, who manfully and zealously stood up for the rights and liberties of their brethren; also, the names of those brethren who took up their pens publicly in the independent cause; with remarks, &c. In the present letter to your Royal Highness, I shall merely insert the following, as most generally known.

- |     |         |   |   |
|-----|---------|---|---|
| 3.  | Master  | — | ANTHONY SAYER, P.G.M.   |
|     | Wardens | — | <i>John Turner and Mark Glover.</i>   |
| 9.  | Master  | — | GEORGE OWEN, M.D.   |
|     | Wardens | — | <i>Charles Brown and Edward Senex.</i>  |
| 12. | Master  | — | J. BEAL, M.D. & F.R.S.  |
|     | Wardens | — | <i>James Hemming and Thomas Payne.</i>  |
| 19. | Master  | — | THOMAS PAWLET.  |
|     | Wardens | — | <i>Samuel Anderson and Edward Vaughan.</i>  |
| 20. | Master  | — | CHRISTOPHER WREN, Esq. (son to the great<br><i>Sir Christopher Wren, G.M.)</i>                      |
|     | Wardens | — | <i>F. Strong (P.J.G.W. before the establishment of<br/>the Modern Grand Lodge) and Wm. Douglas.</i> |

94. (*This was the famous Lodge, called the Lodge of INDUSTRY, held at the Ben Johnson's Head, Pelham-street.*) R.W.M. — CHARLES MANNING.  
 Wardens — Edward Bloomfield and Samuel Locke.  
 LODGE OF ANTIQUITY — with Brother PRESTON at the head of nearly a hundred Independent Masons.
265. Master — C. CUMMINS.  
 Wardens — Edward Butler and Thomas Handley.
353. Master — HENRY WOLFE.  
 Wardens — Samuel Egerton and Wm. Bennett.
392. Master — ABRAHAM LEVI.  
 Wardens — Joseph Monk and Thomas Clarke.
436. Master — EDWARD COUCHMAN.  
 Wardens — Samuel Booth and Wm. Watson.
249. (*St. Peter's Lodge, as it stood in the last revised list, before the Union.*) Master — W. FINCH.  
 Wardens — A. Frazier and T. Canvill.
- 

I have now before me the engraved List of Lodges, for 1776, and the Freemasons' Calender for 1777, both published by authority of the Grand Lodge; and from which I copy the following list of Lodges, erased, &c. Thus much from their official documents. If we look into the history of Masonry for that time, we shall find that the Independent Lodges were extremely warm against the Grand Lodge; who were at war, not only with the Athol Masons, but with the Grand Lodge at York; likewise with the Lodge of Antiquity, and most of the following Independent Lodges. By these official publications from the Grand Lodge, we find, that out of the 337 Lodges in town and country, then standing on their books, the 54, as below stated, were *erased*, as they term it, from the Grand Lodge; but the fact is, 49 out of these 54 declared for, and obtained their Independence. Thus one sixth part of the Lodges under the Grand Lodge, deserted them; besides many that were luke-warm in the cause, and most of the others scarcely assembled together in sufficient numbers to constitute a legal Lodge.

*Lodges (at that time) erased for not conforming to the Laws.*

#### INDEPENDENT TOWN LODGES.

- |                                     |                                    |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 40. Chelsea, White Swan             | 316. Billingsgate, Gun             |
| 265. Goodman's Fields, Bear         | 41. Bloomsbury, Orange St. 3 Kings |
| 308. Islington, King's Head         | 436. Bow St. Covent Garden         |
| 372. Marybone, Queen's Head         | 332. British Society Lodge         |
| 353. Piccadilly, Union Coffee-Heuse | 159. Chiswell St. Jack of Newbury  |
| 115. Strand, Crown and Anchor       | 71. Coleman St. Star               |
| 392. Water Lane, Tower St. Ship     | 44. Cornhill, Cock and Lion        |
| 32. Barbican, Red Cross             | 270. Doctors' Commons, Horn        |
| 17. Bunhill Row, White Swan         | 12. East Smithfield, 3 Crowns      |
| 402. King St. Soho, Bunch of Grapes | 318. St. George's Fields           |
| 27. Rotherithe, Eleph. Stairs, Swan | 375. Old Gravel Lane, White Swan   |
| 272. Snow Hill, Fountain            | 344. Leadenhall Street, Ship       |
| 303. Strand, Crown and Anchor       | 53. St. Paul's Church Yard, Sun    |

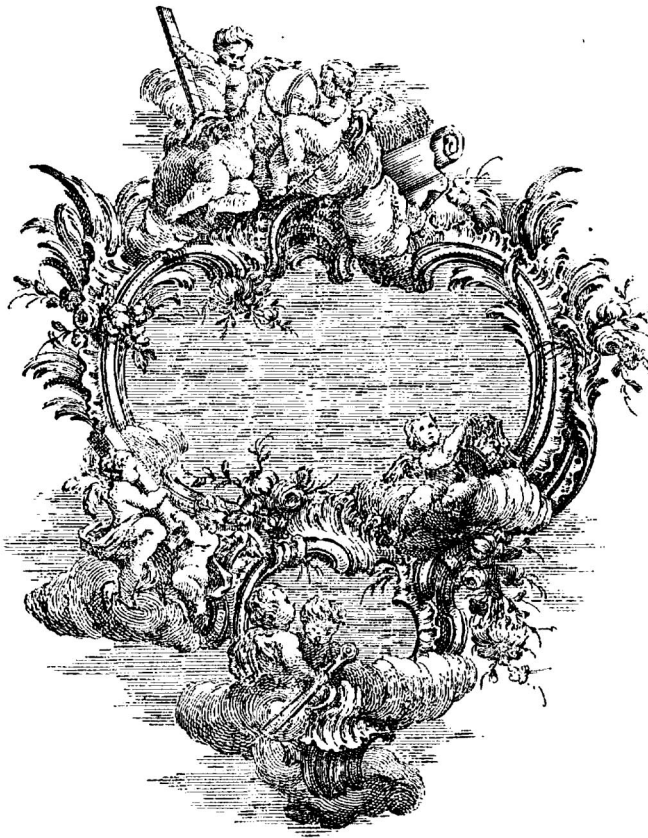
*Out of these 26, 22 withdrew from the Grand Lodge, and constituted Independent Lodges of their own.*

## INDEPENDENT COUNTRY LODGES.

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 234. Portsmouth, King's Arms          | 299. Shoreham, Dolphin                 |
| 244. Stubbington, Hants               | 266. Sittingbourne, Rose               |
| 69. Wolverhampton, Swan               | 395. Warminster, Angel                 |
| 199. Bristol, Thomas St. 3 Queens     | 92. Bristol, Fountain, reinstated 1776 |
| 201. Canterbury, King's Head          | 356. Kingston-upon-Thames, Castle      |
| 148. Cardiffe, Glamorganshire, Bear   | 362. Lewes, Sussex, White Hart         |
| 241. Chippenham, Hart                 | 67. Liverpool, African Coffee-house    |
| 149. Cowbridge, Glamorganshr.         | 348. Mansfield, White Lion             |
| Bear                                  | 294. Milksham, Wilts, King's Arms      |
| 39. West Cowes, Isle of Wight         | 333. Newcastle-under-Line, Crown       |
| 243. Dover, City of London            | 227. Salop, Globe                      |
| 95. Haverfordwest, 3 Cranes           | 198. Windsor, Bell and Castle          |
| 120. Helston, Cornwall, King's Arms   | 212. Wooler, All Saints' Lodge         |
| 151. Loestoffe, Suffolk, Queen's Head | 232. Workington, Green Dragon          |
| 355. Monmouth, Lodge at               | 366. Blackwall, King's Arms            |
| 254. Ross, Herefordshire              | 142. Leeds, Parrot                     |

*Out of these 31, 27 withdrew from the Grand Lodge, and constituted Independent Lodges of their own. For many years after this the standing toast in all these Independent Lodges was "PROSPERITY TO THE 49 INDEPENDENT LODGES".*

IVOR GRANTHAM.



## REVIEWS

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### MOUNT MORIAH LODGE, No. 34 ;

Being a Continuation of the Lodge History published in 1916.

*By F. Howkins, P.A.G.St.B.*

*(Privately printed for Bro. F. Howkins, 20, Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.8.)*

### UNION LODGE, No. 129 ;

Some Chapters from the First 100 Years.

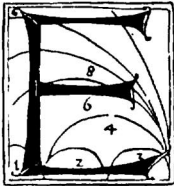
*By Bro. Rev. H. Poole, P.A.G.Chap.*

*(Obtainable from Bro. G. Dennison, 1, Sunnyside, Kendal, Westmorland. 15/-.)*

### THE STORY OF THE GWYNEDD LODGE, No. 5068.

*By Bro. J. L. C. Cecil-Williams, P.A.G.Reg.*

*(Bro. Cecil-Williams, 20, Bedford Square, W.C.1, or Bro. E. E. Roberts, 57, Elgin Avenue, Maida Vale, W.9. 5/-.)*



ACH of these volumes represents a different type of Lodge History.

Bro. Howkins, a generation after the publication of an earlier volume, which gave the story of his Lodge from 1754 to 1915, now brings it up to date by this continuation to 1948. Bro. Poole, giving "most of the features of special interest of our first century", deals chiefly with the ever-interesting period of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century; while Bro. Cecil-Williams gives an account of the original foundation and early history of a quite modern Lodge. Obviously, Bro. Poole's book is of the greatest general interest, but, while the other two chiefly concern their own members, they yet give or suggest points of general Masonic importance. It should be mentioned that all are illustrated.

Not only does Bro. Howkins' chronicle deal with the fortunes of his Lodge during much of two great wars, but it gives some account of the career of a Masonic veteran whose death at the ripe age of 91 the Craft had quite recently reason to mourn. R.W.Bro. S. J. Attenborough was initiated in Mount Moriah in 1884, elected to the Board of Management of the R.M.I.B. in 1889, Grand Treasurer in 1905, and appointed P.G.W. (J.) in 1946. His Masonic career of 65 years saw the number of Lodges under United Grand Lodge more than trebled.

The Gwynedd Lodge was formed further to strengthen by Masonic ties those who had already cultural and national associations in common, its qualification for membership being either North Wales birth or parentage, or residence for not less than five years in the six northern counties of the Principality. Further, the founders all belonged to the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, and "were nearly all members of or intimately connected with one or other of the thirty or forty Welsh churches or chapels in London which conduct their services and proceedings entirely in the Welsh language". In other words, it is a "class"

Lodge, one of many which have been formed in this generation. It is interesting to note how consistently Grand Lodge has always found a place for those of this character—even in the eighteenth century we had the exclusive aristocratic type—side by side with those of a mixed composition. A field for peaceful academic discussion would be the relative usefulness of these “class” Lodges and those on the lines of Kipling’s “Mother Lodge”, with creeds, classes and colours all intermingled, or of an English country Lodge where squire, parson, doctor, publican and greengrocer all sit under the same gavel.

In his introductory remarks, Bro. Poole reminds his readers that the town of Kendal, where No. 129 was and is domiciled, is not without Masonic interest, and, in proof, refers to his article in these *Transactions* (vol. xxxvi., p. 5), where he has stated his view that there is “little doubt that some form of ‘esoteric’ Freemasonry was being worked by the Company of Wrights in Kendal before the close of the sixteenth century”, but does not find any connection between this and the Lodge, which was not formed until 1764. No minute of this date exists; only one initiation appears to have been worked before 1768, nor can much have been done in the Lodge. It is from this latter date that No. 129 began to be active, and from then onwards there was a long series of initiations, with only one break, until 1830. He prints the first By-Laws of 1769, and the new ones of 1789. In 1772-3 a dispute appears to have arisen among the members consequent on the desire of some of them to move from the “Swan” to the “Rose and Crown”. A side-light is thrown on the physical conditions of the working by the allegation contained in the correspondence that the Lodge-room at the former Inn was “only about 3 yards and  $\frac{1}{2}$  squair”, and “was thought too Little to transact buesness of sum perticular parts in working”. The dispute came before Grand Lodge, which recommended that the Grand Secretary should write to both parties requesting that the matter be amicably settled. Exactly what happened after that is not clear, but from the fact that in 1774 the Lodge was “flourishing in harmony at the Rose and Crown” it would appear that the differences were ultimately composed.

As was the case in many Lodges, the Tyler appears to have worn a special costume, for in 1778 £1 2s. 6d. was paid for his cap, and in 1803 (apparently) £4 8s. 6d. was paid for his suit. Another sartorial item, throwing light on the working of the degrees, was the purchase in 1777 of a pair of drawers for 2s. 0½d.

Quite a number of material souvenirs of the Lodge have survived, and are illustrated in the volume. The fine set of chairs is probably that bought in 1772; two old tracing cloths or boards are still in its possession; it has the certificate of Bro. Sir Michael le Fleming dated 1787; either in its possession or elsewhere there survive pierced or engraved jewels of its members; and it still has a playbill of a local performance bespoken by the Lodge in 1801.

Although no records of a Royal Arch Chapter at Kendal survive before that of the consecration of the Kendal Castle Chapter in 1805, as early as 1789 the Lodge minutes mention the calling of a Lodge of Emergency “for the purpose of taking into consideration the most proper mode and for determining who were to go to Penrith on Sunday the 17th Inst to be exalted to the degree of Royal Arch Masons”, and the Brethren signing the document agreed to bear their share of the expense of exaltation and of “obtaining a chapter”. Further, there are references to “passing the chair”, possibly in some cases to obtain the preliminary Royal Arch qualification.

The *Masonic Year Book* mentions three Provincial Grand Masters of Westmorland, beginning with G. C. Braithwaite, 1788, and ending with Lord Hawke, who was appointed in 1814. Bro. Poole explains and amplifies the story of what he calls the absentee system. For nearly 100 years there was only one Lodge in the county; no record exists of any Provincial Grand Master’s visit to Union during Braithwaite’s rule; an attempt to have le Fleming appointed to that

office failed ; the appointment of the second Prov. G.M., W. M. White, the Grand Secretary, was obviously an absentee one ; and only once during the rule of Lord Hawke does an appeal appear to have been made to him. But shortly after the formation of a Lodge at Appleby, in 1860, a petition was forwarded that the two Westmorland Lodges be united with the Province of Cumberland, and so the united Province of Cumberland and Westmorland was formed.

To conclude on a rather sad note. In his biography of Thomas Dunckerley, Bro. Sadler has related what has been discovered of the story of that great Mason's son, whose conduct embittered his father's later days, and who declined, it is stated, to the position of a bricklayer's labourer, frequently seeking financial assistance from the Lodges. Among the list of Brethren relieved by Union Lodge occurs the name of "Dunckerley of Lodge Fort Marlborough, East Indies", on July 7th, 1789.

LEWIS EDWARDS.

## THE WAKEFIELD CHAPTER OF ROYAL ARCH MASONS, No. 495.

*By J. R. Rylands.*

*(West Yorkshire Printing Co. 25/6)*

In the spring of 1936 the Provincial Grand Chapter of Yorkshire (West Riding) held its Annual Convocation at Wakefield. At that meeting Ex-Comp. J. R. Rylands read a paper in which he gave a short account of the history of the Royal Arch in Wakefield. Thirteen years later there has now been published a detailed history of the Wakefield Chapter of Royal Arch Masons, No. 495, to mark the centenary of that Chapter. This volume, which represents the fruit of more than twenty years of close study and research on the part of Comp. Rylands, is of more than local interest, because in the opening sections the author has touched upon the early history of the Royal Arch, and has indicated some of the possible sources of origin of that degree.

To provide an historical background for the formation of the Wakefield Chapter in 1849, Comp. Rylands has given his readers a sketch of local Masonic conditions in Wakefield during the preceding eighty years. In the course of this sketch, Unanimity Lodge and Chapter hold the centre of the stage. It is, therefore, with feelings of surprise, mingled with an element of regret, that the reader learns that it was a Chapter at Dewsbury—The Three Grand Principles Chapter—to which the Wakefield Brethren ultimately turned for support when petitioning for a Royal Arch Chapter to be attached to the Wakefield Lodge.

In the hundred years which have elapsed since its formation the Wakefield Chapter has experienced the fluctuating fortune common to many other Chapters ; and it is due to an early period of ill-fortune that must be attributed the Chapter's recent failure to obtain a centenary charter.

The Wakefield Chapter was consecrated on July 25th, 1849. Six previous meetings had been held earlier in that year, but no further meeting of the Chapter was held after its formal consecration until March 28th of the following year ; two more meetings were held in 1850, after which there is a gap in the record of meetings until February 3rd, 1863, from which date the records are complete to the present day. In spite of the enthusiasm of its founders, the Wakefield Chapter nearly died in infancy.

The historian of the Wakefield Chapter has devoted many pages to this gap in the records, and has registered disappointment that the recent petition for a centenary charter met with no success. Those who may be inclined to labour under feelings of frustration in cases of this nature may rest assured that the most careful and sympathetic consideration is invariably given to petitions for centenary warrants

and charters, and that no effort is ever spared at the Headquarters of the Craft, to supplement local records from official sources of information preserved at Freemasons' Hall in London, in an endeavour to establish continuity in working on the part of the petitioning Lodge or Chapter. The weakness in the case of the Wakefield Chapter is disclosed by Comp. Rylands himself in that section of his history which shows that in 1864 a member of the Chapter was thanked "for his arduous duties and important services in restoring the Chapter to its present position".

From 1865 for a period of about twenty years the two Royal Arch Chapters then at Wakefield — Wakefield and Unanimity — met, either simultaneously or else in immediate succession, in the same building on the same day, and during much of this period the minutes of both Chapters were recorded in the same handwriting. The tangled record of these joint meetings is too long for quotation in this review; but the interested reader will find much to amuse him in the author's fascinating account of this puzzling epoch in the history of *Royal Arch Masonry in Wakefield*.

The later pages of this volume review the growth and activities of the Wakefield Chapter down to the spring of 1949, and the text concludes with an unusual tribute to those members of the Chapter who since 1930 have played the part of Principal Sojourner.

In the opinion of the present reviewer the most valuable portion of this volume is that section of Chapter III where mention is made of the "Toasts or Sentiments" which were honoured by the Wakefield Brethren at a meeting of their Royal Arch *Lodge* on February 22nd, 1769. Comp. Rylands may be justified in claiming that these "Toasts or Sentiments" constitute the earliest known indication of the nature of the Royal Arch ceremony in the middle of the eighteenth century; but students should not overlook certain pointers which may be discerned in documents of a much earlier date, e.g., the *Graham MS.* of 1726, and a number of Masonic pamphlets and catechisms of that and of the previous year.

In Chapter II of the volume now under review the author mentions 1743 and 1744 as the years of the earliest known references to the Royal Arch in Ireland and in England respectively, and states that there are indications that a Royal Arch degree was worked in Scotland in the early part of the eighteenth century. It is a matter for regret that no authority has been quoted for an assertion which tends to suggest that it is Scotland which can claim pride of place in early allusions to the Royal Arch. The date of the earliest reference to the Royal Arch in Scotland with which the present reviewer is familiar, is 1745, in which year provision was made in the By-Laws of the Lodge at Stirling for a fee of 5s., to be paid for "Exalting Excellent and super Excellent".

In his treatment of the possible origins of the Royal Arch, Comp. Rylands very properly distinguishes between the secrets and the legends associated with this degree; but it deserves to be emphasised that the legend of the vault may be traced back as far as the fourth century of the Christian era, and that this legend was first published in the English language in the year 1659.

This volume has been well produced, but lacks an index. In one of the appendices which follow the text it is a pleasure to find the author's name amongst those of recently elected Honorary Members of the Wakefield Chapter. It only remains for the present reviewer to commend this history with confidence — not merely to Royal Arch Companions, but also to all Brethren interested in the history of "pure Antient Masonry" — and to echo the sentiment expressed in a Foreword from the pen of M.E. Comp. Milbourne E. Clark, Grand Superintendent of the Province of Yorkshire (West Riding):—"May Wakefield Chapter No. 495 continue to flourish and enjoy its present high reputation and prosperity for very many years to come".

## NOTES

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**PRE-1717 YORKSHIRE LODGE.**—The following reference, extracted from the Diary of George Grey, Esq., of Southwick, Counsellor at Law, which is printed in Surtees, *History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, 1820 (Vol. ii, p. 17), seems to have escaped notice hitherto:—

1710

Feb. 20. I was made a Freemason at Beedall.

This would be in 1711, by modern reckoning, and the place mentioned is certainly Bedale, in the N. Riding of Yorkshire.

George Grey, who was a man of considerable local importance, was the elder brother of Zachary Grey, the author of *Hudibras*. He was born in 1680 and died in 1772.

Nothing further is known of his Masonic career: nor are any of his associates known to have been Masons, with the possible exception of John Fenwick, to whom the following extract from the *Newcastle Courant*, of 30th December, 1732, may refer:—

Lodge held at Widow Gray's on the Key . . . when they unanimously chose John Fenwick, Esquire, their Master for the ensuing year, a gentleman of great accomplishment, unblemished character, and plentiful fortune — one of the candidates for Northumberland at the next election for Members of Parliament.

W. WAPLES.

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**Sir Henry Blake, Dist. G.M. of Jamaica.**—In view of the mention of Sir Henry Blake in Bro. J. R. Dashwood's recent paper on Freemasonry in Ceylon (*A.Q.C.*, vol. lix), the following facts may be of interest.

Sir Henry Blake came to Jamaica as Governor in 1889. He was a man of charming personality, and made a very popular Governor, which is shown by the fact that his term of office was extended from the usual four years to eight years. He was an Anglican by religion, and among his many achievements here was the 1891 Exhibition, improvements to main roads and erection of bridges. He was known to be a Past Master of a Lodge under the Irish Constitution, but did not take any interest in the Craft until towards the end of his stay, when, on 1st November, 1897, he became a joining member of the Royal Lodge, No. 207, which is the oldest Lodge in the Island, having in its early days been No. 699 of the Irish Constitution for a period of five years. He must have been present at that meeting to take the obligation required by the Constitutions, being a member of a Sister Constitution. His Patent as District Grand Master is dated 1st June, 1897, but it is evident he could not be installed until he became an English Mason, which he did, as above stated, on 1st November, 1897, or five months after the date of his Patent.

A Special Communication of the District Grand Lodge was summoned for 18th November, 1897, at which he was duly installed and at which no Deputy was appointed. Another Special Communication of the District Grand Lodge was summoned for 13th January, 1898, at which Wor. Bro. Surgeon-General the Hon.

C. B. Mosse, C.B., C.M.G., was appointed and installed by the District Grand Master as his Deputy, and at which he notified his early departure from the Island. There is no record of his having attended any Masonic meetings other than the three times above-mentioned.

The Regular Communication of the District Grand Lodge on 27th January, 1898, was presided over by the new Deputy, who continued to hold that office until 1901. Sir Henry Blake must have left Jamaica between the 13th and 27th January, 1898. On 26th July, 1900, at the Regular Communication, and while he was Governor of Hong Kong, a resolution was passed congratulating him on his good fortune in having left the city of Pekin with his family just before the Boxer rising took place.

Wor. Bro. C. B. Mosse's Patent as District Grand Master is dated 2nd January, 1901, and he was installed on 7th March, 1901. Sir Henry Blake must, therefore, have resigned in the latter part of 1900.

Apparently, Sir Henry Blake must have taken his District Grand Master's regalia with him to England in 1898, and had time there, before he left for Ceylon, to have a three-quarters length photograph taken with it, which was brought to Jamaica when he subsequently visited the Island in 1908, and was copied and painted by a Masonic artist, which portrait now hangs in the Masonic Temple, Kingston.

At this visit he was extended a right hearty welcome, including an address and a public banquet. He was present at the stone-laying ceremony of the New Masonic Temple, the previous one having been destroyed by the earthquake of 14th January, 1907.

When, therefore, Bro. Dashwood writes that Sir Henry Blake "was a mere figure-head as District Grand Master" it will be seen that similar treatment was meted out to Jamaica.

In the same article by Bro. Dashwood is a remark in respect to Lady Blake writing a book against Freemasonry and which "must have been apropos Jamaica". Sir Henry Blake was twice married, first in 1862 to Jeannie, daughter of Andrew Irwin, and secondly in 1874 to Edith, daughter of Ralph Bernal Osborne. As already stated, Sir Henry Blake was an Anglican, but his first wife, Miss Jeannie Irwin, was a Catholic. His second wife was also a Catholic, and he married her before he was knighted. She appears to have exercised by her immense personality a vast influence over his life. I give you a full extract of her obituary taken from the *Handbook of Jamaica* for 1927:—

"Edith, Lady Blake, was born at Newton Anner, County Tipperary, a property which had belonged to her family for many centuries. Her mother, Catherine Isabella Osborne, was a woman of strong intellect, and her father, Ralph Bernal Osborne, had acquired a considerable reputation as being the wittiest member of the House of Commons, and one of its ablest debaters. There was a constant succession of visitors at Newton Anner, and there, throughout her girlhood, she met men of intellectual distinction and art, politics, science, philosophy and literature, and acquired a catholic interest in all branches of knowledge, which remained with her throughout her life. She was a fine horse-woman and well known as a daring rider in the hunting field. She married in 1874 Henry Arthur Blake, a district Inspector of Constabulary, being later appointed, under Gladstone's Coercion Act, with very wide powers for the pacification of Ireland. Holding this position his life was in constant danger from assassination, and from this he was on several occasions saved by his wife's fearlessness. She was a very fine revolver shot, and insisted on accompanying him wherever he went, sitting by him in his jaunting carriage with her revolver ready cocked below the rug, and, similarly armed, she sat

beside him on the bench where he was presiding in court. In all the Colonies of which her husband was Governor (Bahamas, Newfoundland, Jamaica, Hong Kong, Ceylon), she took a deep interest in the welfare of the people, whether Negroes, Chinese or Sinhalese, and anything in the nature of injustice or oppression stirred her to indignation. During the period that Sir Henry was Governor of Hong Kong, a woman was condemned in Canton to the Ling-Chi (death by the thousand cuts), but who was saved from this terrible fate by Lady Blake's writing personally to Li Hung Chang, Viceroy of Quang Tung, and securing her reprieve.

"She published two books, 'Twelve Months in Southern Europe' and 'Freemasonry', both before her marriage; the latter book, containing full details of all the degrees, was compiled from information given her by a Jesuit Priest in Rome. She was also a frequent contributor on a variety of subjects to the 'Nineteenth Century', 'The North American Review' and other reviews. Both in the Bahamas and Jamaica, she formed valuable collections of native Indian remains, pottery and stone implements. These now form the 'Lady Blake Collection' in the museum of the American Indian in New York. She died at Myrtle Grove, Youghal, Ireland, on 18th April, 1926. Her portrait (a photograph from life) is in the History Gallery of the Institute of Jamaica."

It will, therefore, be seen that although she did write a book exposing Freemasonry, it was before her marriage to Sir Henry Blake, and it had nothing to do with Jamaica.

P. L. ABRAHAM,

Djst. G.M., Jamaica.

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**Another Lost MS. of the Old Charges.**—In the *London Chronicle* of 25th November, 1786, appeared the following paragraph:—

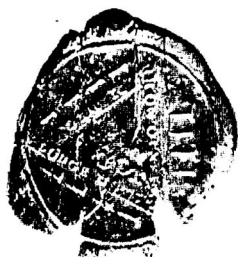
A manuscript has lately been discovered, supposed by the style to have been written about the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, which contains the rise and progress, together with the rules and orders of Free-masonry. By this document the point so long in doubt, "Whether that society consisted of operative workmen, or speculative members;" is entirely cleared up; it being evident, that the society of Free-masons were at that time operative, and had ever been considered to be workmen; and without being such, by the rules there set forth, it was impossible to be admitted into the society.

This can only refer to a copy of the *Old Charges*; and I cannot find that any copy is known to have come to light in about 1786. Thus we have yet another reference to a "missing" version; and I propose (provisionally) to name it the *London Chronicle MS.*, with the number X.15. It need hardly be said that this lost MS. may be one of the known versions, for the rather inadequate data given in the above notice are quite insufficient to allow of any identification.

H. POOLE.

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**Lodge No. 895 in the 71st Regiment.**—In his recent paper on the Military Services and Freemasonry, Bro. S. J. Fenton writes (*A.Q.C.*, ix, p. 11) that the Warrant of



Impression of the  
Seal of Lodge No. 395  
attached to the Regiment  
of 71<sup>st</sup> Highlanders  
taken at the Reconquest  
of Buenos Aires 1886.  
Original in the  
National Historical Mu-  
seum, Buenos Aires



No. 895 in the 71 Regiment is now on exhibition in the Buenos Ayres Museum, having been retained when the entire regiment was captured there in 1806.

Unfortunately, this is not correct. The 1801 Warrant of 895 has never been found. In our Excelsior Lodge minutes of 26th October, 1906, mention is made of the existence in the "Museo Nadonal" of a Certificate dated 10th December, 1802, granted to Bro. John Stewart, of No. 895. This was one of the items discovered by Bro. C. Lewis Edwards in a case of British uniforms and arms (see *Trans.*, Leicester Lodge of Research, 1907-8, p. 98). Other documents discovered consisted of:—

Lithographed summons, with Masonic emblems, reading, "71st Highlanders, Lodge No. 895. Brother, — You are requested to attend your Lodge on . . . the . . . of . . . at . . . o'clock in the evening. Secret'y."

Royal Arch Summons (printed in red), without name or number of Chapter.

Knight Templar Summons, without name or number.

Templar and Knight of Malta Certificate in the Registry of Ireland, as well as copper plate for the engraving of the same.

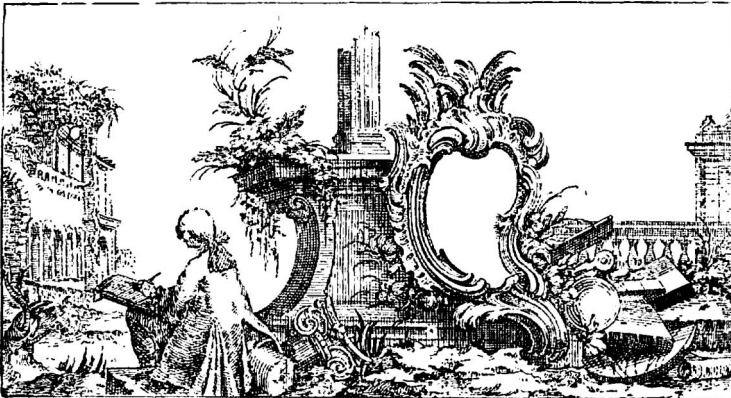
In 1927, there was also discovered in the Museum the seal of the Knights Templar working under the warrant of No. 895.

Later still, in 1931, when H.M.S. Eagle brought the Prince of Wales to Argentine for the British Exhibition, W.Bro. Wing Commander Field had been commissioned by Brethren of his Lodge in Malta, who were Officers in the Regiment directly descended from the old 71st, to search for the missing warrant. Several visits were made to the Museum by Bros. Haxell and H. C. Thompson, but the Warrant was never found.

The silver jewels of the Lodge had previously been discovered as altar decorations in a Chapel near Buenos Aires and purchased by Bro. Admiral the Hon. A. F. Foley (see Bro. T. N. Cranstoun-Day, *The British Lodge No. 334*, 1936, p. 9, and Bro. W. Cowlshaw, *Notes on History of D.G.L. South America, Southern Division*, 1931, p. 81.)

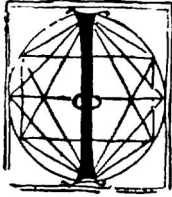
Buenos Aires.

A. S. HALL-JOHNSON.



## OBITUARY

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It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**Walter Henry Arber**, of Chingford, London, E., on the 13th June, 1947. Bro. Arber held L.G.R., and was a member of Dalston Chapter No. 3008. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1944.

**Robert Sword Baird**, of Sidcup, Kent, in March, 1947. Bro. Baird was a member of Lodge No. 104 (S.C.) and of Chapter No. 56 (S.C.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1939.

**George William Bartle**, of Hampstead Way, London, N.W., on the 31st December, 1947. Bro. Bartle 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 May, 1923.

**Fred William Albert Bennett**, of Oxford, in September, 1947. Bro. Bennett held the rank of P.Pr.G.R. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1927.

**Herbert Stanley Bennett**, of Yelverton, Devon. Bro. Bennett held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was P.Z. of Britannia Chapter No. 4099. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1937.

**Harry Blaydon**, of Claygate, Surrey, on 9th May, 1948, aged 79. Bro. Blaydon held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle to which he was elected in October, 1901.

**Robert Blake**, of Hornsey, London, N., on the 20th March, 1948. Bro. Blake held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was a senior member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in October, 1919.

**Albert Henry Bowen**, of Leigh-on-Sea, Essex, on 23rd January, 1948. Bro. Bowen held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in October, 1913.

**William Robert Bundock**, of Muswell Hill, London, N., on the 16th March, 1948. Bro. Bundock was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in June, 1926.

**Colonel Alexander Thomas Cannon**, *O.B.E.*, *T.D.*, of Potters Bar, on 4th May, 1948. Bro. Cannon held L.G.R. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1945.

**George James Clarke**, of Howick, Natal, on 31st October, 1947. Bro. Clarke held the rank of P.Dis.G.D. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1912, and for many years had acted as our Local Secretary.

**Algernon Lionel Collins**, of London, W., on 31st January, 1948. Bro. Collins held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Registrar and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was a senior member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in January, 1902.

**Lionel F. Dunnett**, of West Worthing, on 7th February, 1948. Bro. Dunnett held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1907.

**Harold Earlam**, of Darlington, New South Wales, in 1947. Bro. Earlam held the rank of P.Dis.G.I.W., and was P.Z. of Chapter No. 9. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1929.

**Ernest Arthur Ebbelwhite, J.P., LL.D.**, of Epsom, Surrey, in 1947. Bro. Ebbelwhite held the rank of Past Dep. Grand Registrar in the Craft and R.A. He had been a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle for 50 years, having been elected in January, 1898.

**David Flather, J.P.**, of Maltby, Yorks., on the 21st April, 1948. Bro. Flather held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1903, was elected to full membership of the Lodge in June, 1929, and for many years acted as Local Secretary for the Sheffield District.

**Alfred Percy French**, of Taunton, on the 24th March, 1948. Bro. French held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and P.Pr.G.J. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1928.

**William Albert Gayner**, of Bath, on the 15th April, 1948, aged 81. Bro. Gayner 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 November, 1923.

**Lt.-Col. Alfred George Griffin**, of the Middle East Forces, on 16th January, 1948. Bro. Griffin was a member of Zetland Lodge and Chapter No. 1157. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1917.

**Harry James Harvey**, of London, S.W., on the 24th March, 1948. Bro. Harvey held L.G.R., and was P.Z. of Wessex Chapter No. 3221. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1944.

**Thomas Cann Hughes**, of Lancaster, on 21st May, 1948, in his 88th year. Bro. Hughes was a member of Lodge of Fortitude No. 105. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in May, 1910.

**Major William Jardine**, of Sir Lowry's Pass, S. Africa, on 26th February, 1948. Bro. Jardine was a member of Lodge No. 398 (S.C.), and of Chapter No. 86 (N.C.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1914.

**Alexander Gordon McIntyre**, of Durban, S. Africa, on 19th July, 1942. Bro. McIntyre was a member of Mount Currie Lodge No. 2299. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in October, 1903.

**Thomas George Marsh**, of Lytham St. Annes, Lancs., on 11th March, 1948. Bro. Marsh held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., Kent. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1939.

**Charles Pilleau Mathews**, of Durban, S. Africa, in October, 1947. Bro. Mathews held the rank of P.Dis.G.W., and P.Dis.G.So., Transvaal. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in October, 1910.

**Frank Henry Plummer**, of London, E.C., in January, 1948. Bro. Plummer was a P.M. of Royal Clarence Lodge No. 271 and P.Z. of Shadwell Clerke Chapter No. 1910. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1943.

**Rodolfo Monic Prince**, of Curacao, N.W.I., on 12th January, 1948. Bro. Prince was P.M. of Igualdad Lodge No. 653. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1924.

**Silas Henry Shepherd**, of San Diego, California, on 20th March, 1946. Bro. Shepherd was a P.M. of Lodge No. 122, and a member of Chapter No. 42. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in June, 1914.

**William Henry Mills Smeaton**, of St. Austell, Cornwall, on 28th July, 1947. Bro. Smeaton held the rank of P.Dis.G.St.B., Madras, and P.Dis.G.So., Madras. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1929.

**Major Frank Peter Strickland, Jr.**, of Kansas City, U.S.A., on 18th January, 1948. Bro. Strickland was P.M. of Lodge No. 272. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1937.

**Charles H. Thorpe, O.B.E.**, of Chiswick, London, W., on 4th March, 1948. Bro. Thorpe held the rank of Past Grand Warden and Past Grand Scribe N.(R.A.). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in November, 1911.

**Horace Tennant Thrower**, of Winchmore Hill, London, N., on the 20th December, 1947. Bro. Thrower held L.G.R. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1945.

**Capt. Arthur H. Vince**, of Strathspey, Scotland, on 9th March, 1948. Bro. Vince held the rank of P.Dis.G.W., Jamaica, and P.Dis.G.Sc.N., Jamaica. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in October, 1908.

**Frank Whiddon**, of Sydney, New South Wales, in 1947. Bro. Whiddon held the office of Grand Master. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1946.

**Joseph Thomas Whitehead**, of New Eltham, London, S.E., on 27th February, 1948, aged 77. Bro. Whitehead 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 May, 1907.

**Nevin G. Woodside**, of Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A., on 12th March, 1948, in his 85th year. Bro. Woodside was a member of McKindley Lodge and was a senior member of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in January, 1899.

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# Quatuor Coronati Lodge; No. 2076, London

## PUBLICATIONS.

### ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.

COMPLETE SETS OF THE *TRANSACTIONS*.—A few complete Sets of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vols. i. to ix., 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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Member returning their parts of the *Transactions* to the Secretary, can have them bound in dark blue Canvas, lettered gold. Cases can be supplied; date or number of volume should be specified.

## MEMBERSHIP MEDAL.

Brethren of the Correspondence Circle are entitled to wear a membership Medal, to be procured of the Secretary. Gilt, with bar, pin and ribbon, as a breast jewel, 30/- each.

# Quatuor Coronati Lodge,

No. 2076, LONDON.



## SECRETARY:

The Rev. H. POOLE, P.A.G.Chap.

## OFFICE, LIBRARY AND READING ROOM:

27, GREAT QUEEN STREET, KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C.2.

# →: Ars :← Quatuor Coronatorum

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



EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY THE REV. H. POOLE, P.A.G.Chap.

VOLUME LXI. PART 2.

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W. J. Parrett, Ltd., Printers, Margate  
1950

## 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 2,600 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 examination. His election takes place at the Lodge meeting following the receipt of his application.

The joining fee is £1 1s.; and the annual subscription is £1 1s., renewable each November for the following year.

If joining late in the year suffer no disadvantage, as they receive all *Transactions* previously issued in members.

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

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

Names of new Masonic Works published abroad, together with any printed reviews of

Members should publishing matter of interest bear in mind that every additional member increases our power of doing good by

with us, are urged to add to them. Those, therefore, who have already experienced the advantage of association

member annually to send us our cause to their personal friends, and to induce them to join us. Were each

than we already provide. The new member, we should soon be in a position to offer them many more advantages

Every Master Mason in who can help us in no other way, can do so in this.

and all Lodges, Chapters, and standing and a subscribing member of a regular Lodge throughout the Universe

Correspondence Circle. Masonic Libraries or other corporate bodies are eligible as Members of the

# St. John's Day in Harvest

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THURSDAY, 24th JUNE, 1948

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. E. Heaton, P.G.D., W.M.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P.*, P.A.G.D.C., P.M., *as I.P.M.*; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., S.W.; J. H. Lepper, *B.A.*, *B.L.*, P.G.D., P.M., Treas., *as J.W.*; Rev. H. Poole, *B.A.*, *F.S.A.*, P.A.G.Chap., P.M., Sec.; L. Edwards, *M.A.*, *F.S.A.*, P.A.G.Reg., P.M., *as I.G.*; W. I. Grantham, *O.B.E.*, *M.A.*, *LL.B.*, P.D.G.S.B., P.M.; Col. F. M. Rickard, P.G.D., P.M.; E. H. Cartwright, *D.M.*, *B.Ch.*, P.G.D.; and N. Rogers, P.Pr.G.D., Lancs., E.D.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. E. A. Braham; G. D. Hutchins; A. F. Cross; J. P. Hunter; H. Chilton; F. J. Guest; T. W. Marsh; F. McK. Bladon; A. J. Sharp; F. J. Purkis; J. H. Quinn; H. Johnson; M. R. W. Cann; P. Roebuck; A. M. R. Cann; T. H. P. Rosedale; C. M. Rose; A. E. Evans; G. B. Cotton; A. Hyslop; G. D. Elvidge, A.G.St.B.; J. S. Ferguson; J. D. Daymond; T. Jaeger; E. Winyard; T. H. W. Robinson; H. J. Crawford; F. L. Bradshaw; B. Foskett; W. A. O'Mara; F. W. G. Sloggett; N. G. W. Walker; H. P. Healy; C. Davis; A. E. Mason; and E. Alven.

Also the following visitors:—Bros. J. M. K. Jaeger, 1X, Lodge Absalon, Copenhagen; J. Miller, Lodge 3677; R. A. N. Petrie, Lodge 859; A. D. Owen; and W. J. Jules, Lodge 4200.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Rev. Canon W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A.*, P.G.Chap., P.M.; W. J. Williams, P.M.; D. Knoop, *M.A.*, P.A.G.D.C.; S. J. Fenton, P.Pr.G.W., Warwicks, P.M.; Col. C. C. Adams, *M.C.*, *F.S.A.*, P.G.D., P.M.; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. P. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.D., Cheshire; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S.*, P.M.; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; G. S. Knocker, *M.B.E.*, P.A.G.Supt.W.; *Cmdr.* S. N. Smith, *D.S.C.*, *R.N.*, P.Pr.G.D., Cambs.; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E.*, P.G.D., *J.W.*; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc.*, J.D.; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., I.G.; S. Pope, P.Pr.G.St., Kent; and J. Johnstone, *F.R.C.S.*, P.A.G.D.C.

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Two Lodges, and sixty-seven Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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BRO. NORMAN ROGERS read the following paper:—

## "THE GRAND LODGE IN WIGAN"

BY BRO. NORMAN ROGERS

### SYNOPSIS

- Preface: A history of the town of Wigan.
- Part I: The "Liverpool Rebellion".
- Part II: The Grand Lodge in Wigan to 1902—including a summary of E. B. Beesley's "Wigan Grand Lodge", with newly-discovered minutes omitted from that book.  
Addenda: A Stockport Grand Lodge.
- Part III: Prominent characters, including George Woodcock, Michael Alexander Gage, etc.
- Appendix: The Royal Arch, Knights Templar and Royal Arch Knights Templar Priests; also photographs of original furniture belonging to the Wigan Grand Lodge.

### PREFACE



THE Ancient and Loyal Borough of Wigan is situated in Lancashire, 15 miles S. of Preston, 18 miles N.E. of Liverpool and 18 miles N.W. of Manchester; its population in 1931 was 85,357. It has been identified with a Roman station—the Coccium of Antoninus—and was, in early times, a borough by "prescription", having its privileges restored by Henry I in 1100, and being made a free borough by Henry III in 1246.

It has no less than 9 Royal Charters, dating from 1246, and it is a fact that the Merchant Gild of Wigan was firmly established by 1250. In 1295 the town sent two members to the House of Commons, indicating that it was as important as Preston, Liverpool or Lancaster, whereas Manchester did not send any members.

Various explanations of the name have been given. One is that "wig" is Anglo-Saxon for a "fight" and "en" forms the plural of the noun. Another and probably a better explanation is that "wi" means a church and "biggin" a new building. Certain it is that a church was built there by the Saxons, being replaced by a new building in Norman times. Also, there is no doubt about the Saxon origin of the town, for many of the streets are still termed "gate".

Its oldest town seal dates from the twelfth century and there was a school from at least 1280. Mab's Cross is mentioned as early as 1403, and the legend, which follows the lines of Lady Godiva, but without the horse, was made the basis of "The Betrothed" (1829), by Sir Walter Scott. This cross is still in existence, but it has been moved to the grounds of the Girls' High School.

William Camden in his *Britannia*, published in 1586, calls the town:—  
“Wiggin, called in ancient times Wibiggin . . . in Lancashire they call  
buildings and houses Biggins.”

In 1685 the Rev. Dr. John Clayton published an account of the “Wigan  
experiments” which led to the discovery of the illuminating value of coal gas.

A Charter of 1662 ordains that the Corporation shall consist of the  
Mayor and eleven other Aldermen, a Recorder, two Bailiffs and a Common  
Clerk; but, in 1698, it is described as “governed by a Mayor, Recorder, twelve  
Aldermen and electing Parliament-men. It has two markets on Monday and  
Friday, with three fairs, and is noted for its pit coal, Iron-works, and other  
Manufactures.” It was thus governed by its old Charters down to the passing  
of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, when it was made a Borough.

It was always Royalist and Jacobite, and in 1690 it was the centre of the  
so-called “Lancashire Plot” to restore James II to the English throne; and  
again, in 1715 and 1745, the invading Scots passed through the town. Earlier,  
in 1642, during the Civil War, it was the headquarters of the Earl of Derby,  
whose family had close connections with the local government of Wigan for  
many centuries.

The origin of the Wigan Joke is probably “The Mayor of Wigan, a  
Tale,” by Hillary Butler, which is included in *Poetick Miscell*, published in  
London in 1760.

The Mayor of Wigan is a name  
Repeated oft: some think the same  
More useful, to lay blunders on.

In short, no blunder’s mentioned there,  
But, ten to one, ’twas Wigan May’r.

In 1788 was published in Wigan a work entitled *England Described: or  
The Traveller’s Companion*. It contains an account of the “Harrogate Well”  
which is stated to have been lately discovered in Wigan, and it proceeds to  
describe “Wigan Spaw.” This was abandoned in 1825, owing to the coal  
workings contaminating the water, but the Spa House existed in Harrogate Street  
until 1889, when it was pulled down.

Similarly “Wigan Pier”, which has been the butt of many music-hall  
comedians, was an actuality. The name was given to a wooden structure on  
the canal bank, built to facilitate the loading of coal-barges.

From its geographical position near a good agricultural district, and in  
the centre of a plain stretching from the Pennines to the sea, it is noted chiefly  
as the principal centre of the coal trade in Lancashire. It is situated on a rich  
coalfield, and coal has been the principal industry of Wigan since the sixteenth  
century; but it is also a centre for iron-smelting, engineering, and the manufacture  
of cotton and other textile fabrics; fustians became an important product in  
1788, and pewter-making was a prominent industry during the seventeenth and  
eighteenth centuries.

## PART I—THE LIVERPOOL REBELLION

Prior to the Union of 1813, the “Moderns” Lodges in Lancashire had  
been ruled by successive Provincial Grand Masters, as follows:—

Edward Entwisle (Bolton)	1734—1742
Wm. Ratchdale (Liverpool)	1743—1760
John Smith (Manchester)	1760—1769
John Allen (Bury)	1769—1806
Francis Dukinfield Astley	1807—1825

These Provincial Grand Masters appointed their Provincial Officers from their own Lodges, and the first four ruled firmly but benevolently, taking a personal interest in the private Lodges, to which they allowed a great measure of control. As Lancashire was a hot-bed of various degrees, many of these Lodges appear to have developed "Antient" or, at any rate, "Traditioner" tendencies (*vide A.Q.C. for March, 1945*).

The Lodges which owed allegiance to the "Antients" Grand Lodge were not subject to a Provincial Grand Lodge until after the Union of 1813, although a Provincial Lodge for Yorkshire, Lancashire and Cheshire appears to have been warranted in 1781; it does not seem to have functioned, and its lapsed warrant was re-issued in 1813. Lancashire "Antient" Lodges were governed—if the term "governed" can be used—directly through the Warrant and By-Laws supplied by Grand Lodge, or, in many cases through the oldest Lodge, to which quarrels were referred. It is true that there was a Stewards' Lodge functioning in Manchester, but this appears to have been more concerned with a Fund of Benevolence, and, only occasionally, with adjudication on domestic matters and quarrels. It was not a governing authority in the sense of the "Moderns" Provincial Grand Master and his Provincial Grand Lodge. Nor were there Provincial Grand Lodge meetings, with their concomitant processions and dinners, such as that of the "Moderns" in 1788, which induced the oldest "Antient" Lodge in Manchester (No. 39) to take a "Moderns" warrant, so that the officers and members could join in the festivities. (*Vide Manchester Association's Transactions*, vol. xxxiv, p. 24.)

One can, therefore, understand the dislike and dismay with which the self-governing units of the "Antients" viewed the adoption by United Grand Lodge of the "Moderns" system of Provincial government, and how they viewed the irksome new regulations. There had been smouldering resentment in many country lodges for years prior to the Union of 1813, one of the main reasons in the case of the "Moderns" lodges being the imposition of compulsory contributions for the financing of the projects of Grand Lodge, such as the building of the Freemasons' Hall. Indeed, there are many examples of Lodges being erased for non-compliance with the order of Grand Lodge requiring an account of registering fees and subscriptions to the Hall Fund from October, 1768, one instance being the Sarum Lodge, No. 37, in 1777 and again in 1800.

In distant parts of the country, such as Lancashire, where it took a week for news of the Battle of Waterloo to percolate, it was undoubtedly very necessary that Masonic discipline should be maintained firmly, but with tact and discipline. John Allen had ruled firmly but benevolently from London, dealing himself with matters such as the contributions to Grand Lodge: his Deputies were mainly deputies in name only. His successor, Francis Dukinfield Astley, was much more casual concerning routine and detail, which he largely left to his Deputy, Bro. Daniel Lynch, of Manchester. His method of working was to make use of the Provincial Grand Lodge Officers, who were the Officers of the Provincial Grand Master's Lodge, the Lodge of Unanimity, No. 89, which had been removed from Manchester to Dukinfield for the P.G.M.'s convenience. A number of them descended on a Lodge, occupied the Chairs, and proceeded to deal with any irregularities in that Lodge. It was no wonder that the sturdy, independent Lancashire mason, with his "Traditioner" outlook, resented such interference and openly expressed such resentment. One example—and there are many—should suffice. Social Lodge, then No. 85, in May, 1820, were accused of irregularity and disrespectful conduct towards the Provincial Grand Officers in open Lodge, and were ordered to apologise—in the meantime, being suspended. It was smoothed over, for the Lodge is still working. On 19th January, 1819, they had told the Deputy Provincial Grand Master and his Officers in open Lodge, "We don't work that way."

Though the majority of the Lodges loyally kept the Union, there were

many instances of friction, particularly between 1813 and 1820, an indication that the two sections were not working together in harmony, and resulting in official enquiries. Added to this was the change in procedure, the Royal Arch and other degrees being divorced from the Craft. Tempers were frayed also through the unsettled organisation at Grand Lodge, so that delay ensued in issuing Warrants and Certificates, Royal Arch Warrants in particular being in a state of chaos for many years after the Union. Fuel was added to the fire by variations in ritual and old established usages, all of which provided fertile soil for a belligerent attitude towards constituted authority. There are examples of this belligerent attitude even in the 1880's, such as that at Bury over the "Long" Installation Ceremony (*vide A.Q.C.*, March, 1945).

The first step towards a serious revolt was an apparently innocuous resolution passed at a Provincial Grand Lodge meeting held at the Spread Eagle, Hanging Ditch, Manchester, on 12th October, 1818. It was moved by Bro. M. W. Gage, of Lodge No. 31, Liverpool, and seconded by Bro. Barker, W.M. of Lodge No. 140 (Sea Captains), Liverpool, and carried by a large majority.

"This R.W. Prov. Grand Lodge do submit to the R.W. Grand Lodge of England, United, that when any Lodge hereafter be reduced to any number less than seven, they ought not to be considered as a regular Lodge and consequently their warrant should be declared void and its number placed at the disposal of the United Grand Lodge."

On this being communicated to the Board of General Purposes, the reply was made that the subject had undergone a great deal of consideration and that "it was thought advisable not to depart from that silence on the subject which had been observed in all the Books of Constitution."

Now there had been some considerable domestic trouble in Lodge No. 348, Liverpool, as there had been in many Liverpool Lodges between 1814 and 1818, trouble which had been, in many cases, settled through the intervention of Bro. H. F. James, the Provincial Grand Secretary in Manchester, who was assiduous in his efforts to settle disputes. The resolution quoted above appears to have been an attack on Lodge 348, which had declined in numbers, and, in 1818, had only 10 members.

The Lodge of the instigator of the trouble, Michael Alexander Gage, was No. 31, an "Antients" Lodge, warranted as No. 20 on 9th July, 1753, to meet at the Hampshire Hog, Goswell Street, London. It was transferred by purchase to the Freemason's Tavern, Sir Thomas Street, Liverpool, on 26th September, 1792, and is recorded as meeting at the Freemasons' Hall, Bold Street, Liverpool, in 1800. It became No. 31 on the Register of the United Grand Lodge, and in 1819 returned 42 members, paying 3d. per member to the Province; it is generally referred to as Lodge No. 20/31, and its Liverpool minutes are in existence. One of the reasons behind the trouble was that this Lodge claimed to be the Senior Lodge in Lancashire, and wanted to adjudicate on all quarrels in the lodges in the district, as No. 39 did in Manchester and the surrounding towns. It was suspended on 5th December, 1821, and erased on 5th June, 1822, as Bro. W. H. White states in a letter in Grand Lodge Library, for "Improper conduct and contumacy in publishing manifestos". Although erased, it was placed on the Roll of 1832, with the same number, 31, probably with the hope that it might be revived.

Printed circulars still in existence in Liverpool, the minutes of Lodge 20/31, and letters and documents in Prince Edwin Lodge, Bury, and in Grand Lodge Library take up the story of the Rebellion. Incidentally, the resolution of 12th October, 1818, was sent to the Grand Secretaries, and the late Bro. R. F. Gould stated that a reply was sent on 5th January, 1819, though the Memorial of 26th November, 1821, stated that it was not reported to Grand Lodge.

Then, at another Provincial Grand Lodge meeting, held in Liverpool on

27th September, 1819, Bro. Gage proposed that a memorial (see Beesley's *Wigan Grand Lodge*, p. 127, for a copy of this Memorial) on the matter should be sent direct to the Grand Master, H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex; it was read and approved. The author of this Memorial of 1,250 words was undoubtedly Bro Gage, for the phraseology is similar to him, and he was thanked by his Lodge on 6th October, 1819, for his services in framing it, the resolution of thanks being proposed and seconded by Bros. Lax and Henry Lucas. There is very little doubt that this Memorial never came before Grand Lodge, being either suppressed or destroyed by His Royal Highness on the grounds:

1. That it contained matter relating to the Royal Arch, and outside the scope of the Board of General Purposes.
2. That it was rescinded by resolution of the Provincial Grand Lodge held at Preston on 9th October, 1820.

It is obvious from the minutes of Lodge 20/31 that domestic quarrels began in March, 1820, there being two factions, one led by the W.M. (Page) and Gage (P.M.), the latter making the bullets, and the other by the S.W. (Greetham) and Henry Lucas (P.S.W.). It is also obvious from the Peterloo massacre that in August, 1819, there was a feeling of strong reform abroad among sections of the community.

At the Provincial Grand Lodge meeting at Preston on 9th October, 1820, Bro. James Spence, St. George's Lodge, No. 38, Liverpool, attacked the Memorial, "deprecating certain portions of the language therein contained." Bro. Gage fought back, but the vote in favour of the Memorial being recalled was carried by 73 against 35. It was dead!

Then the fight was taken to the Lodge 20/31, where the members were divided into two camps; the state of affairs here is shown by the report of a Committee on 5th July, 1820:—

Debts, £53 7s. 10½d.; old Debts due by former Members,  
£116 15s. 11d.

"We cannot therefore too strongly recommend to the Brethren who are at present indebted to the Lodge to pay the amounts due as early as possible and a strict observance of the Bye-Laws in this particular which they cannot but be acquainted with, as it is a self evident proposition that the Lodge must fall into debt and injury to its character if it be unable to pay the just demands on it. It is with express regret we notice on the books the numerous marks of expulsion for defalcations of payment during the last year against the names of former members whose talents in some instances would have adorned the order and in others we were glad to meet them as masons and as private friends. And this regret is heightened by the consideration that any of them should have forgotten one of the most sacred rules of Masonry—Justice—by their neglect of so important a duty, as nothing could be more unjust than their occasioning expense to the Lodge by their Grand and Provincial Lodge and other dues, particularly in the refreshment of meetings they attended, thus increasing the House Bill. . . ."

(This is signed by Thos. Page, W.M., M. A. Gage, P.M., the J.W., Treasurer, Secretary, and H. Lucas, P.S.W., and it is typical of Gage's language and barbed verbiage.)

On 18th October, 1820, there was another dispute in the Lodge between Gage and the Senior Warden, R. J. Greetham, who had made a statement to the Preston Provincial Meeting that the opinion of Lodge 31 had not been taken with regard to the Memorial.

At the Lodge meeting a month afterwards, the Senior Warden was censured for commenting on the appropriation of the funds of the Charity Committee in

Liverpool, but in February, 1821, he was thanked for his conduct with reference to the same, as it had led to a system of economy. Now the two factions came openly into conflict. One side, led by Gage, apparently refused to obey the new authority which had been set over them in the shape of Provincial Grand Lodge, the other, led by Henry Lucas, who was afterwards Provincial Grand Secretary for Western Lancashire, wishing to accept the ruling of Provincial Grand Lodge. It is apparent that the key-note of Gage's party, in its opposition to constituted authority was that the United Grand Lodge *Book of Constitutions* (Williams), page 85, stated:—"Every Lodge has an undoubted right to regulate its own proceedings." Lodge 31's insistence on its right to deal with what was called the "improper conduct of our own members", and to ignore Provincial authority, was a major event following upon the prior domestic quarrels. The Gage faction continued to hold the Lodge, but on 27th January, 1821, Henry Lucas addressed a letter to the Grand Secretaries, asking for an investigation of the Board of General Purposes into charges which he preferred against Michl. Alexr. Gage, P.M., and Thos. Page, W.M. of Lodge No. 31. Lucas was Z. of the Chapter at the time, and his charges were of irregularities and the sowing of dissension. He stated that the W.M.'s young mind had been "poisoned by M. A. Gage's turbulent tenets", and followed by requesting the appointment of a Provincial Committee of Enquiry.

Events now moved with much greater rapidity, for the quarrels in the Lodge, which had been frequent (according to the minutes) came to a head on 7th March, 1821, when Bro. Greetham, the Senior Warden, at the Lodge meeting produced a letter suspending the Lodge:—

"At a meeting of the Right Worshipful Grand Master and his Officers for the County of Lancaster held at Dukinfield Lodge on the 6th of March, 1821, members of Lodge No. 31, Liverpool (and who stated that they composed a majority of the attending members of the said Lodge No. 31 and also pledged themselves on their O.B. to the truth of the statements therein contained) alleging that there exists an alarming dissension and gross irregularity in the proceedings of the said Lodge and Chapter whereby harmony is destroyed and the Fraternity in general much scandalised and praying for a suspension of their Lodge and Chapter. Now under the circumstances and relying on the information stated in the aforesaid memorial by virtue of my authority I do hereby order that the Lodge No. 31 and Chapter thereto attached shall stand suspended until the differences now unhappily prevailing be amicably adjusted or the decision of M.W.G. Master and the M.E.G. Chapter be known.

Francis Dukinfield Astley.

P.G.M. for the County of Lancaster.

Dukinfield Lodge, 6/5/1821."

There were disgraceful scenes in the Lodge that night, resulting in half the Brethren leaving, and the other half (Gage's faction) insisting on meeting, and, in fact, passing a resolution to do so, on the grounds that the suspension had been obtained by misrepresentation. It is, indeed, very probable that, if the case had been heard on the spot, and the influence of Gage eliminated, the suspension might have been lifted; subsequent disobedience in holding meetings was interpreted as defiance, thus causing the intervention of the Grand Master.

Preston's *Illustrations*, 15th edition (p. 393), states that "in March, 1821, the Provincial Grand Master despatched a parcel to the Board of General Purposes containing charges preferred by Bro. H. Lucas against Bros. Thos. Page and M. A. Gage, of No. 31", but the Board declined to interfere. Lodge No. 31 did not appeal against the order of suspension, ignoring it by continuing to work.

On 15th May, 1821, the Provincial Grand Secretary intimated to the W.M. that no enquiry by the Provincial Grand Lodge could take place until Lodge No. 31 submitted to the suspension. At this stage it is well to note that most of the letters in the Lancashire File of Grand Lodge Library are from Daniel Lynch, Deputy Prov. G.M.; few are from James, the Prov. G. Secretary, and there is none from F. D. Astley, the Provincial G.M.

On 9th July, 1821, the members of Lodge 31 declined to appear before any Masonic Tribunal "until the Grand Master has furnished us with a copy of the charge exhibited against our Lodge and with the names of our accusers, nor until he has commanded Richard James Greetham to restore the property which he removed from our Lodge under the pretence of committing it to the care of the Provincial Grand Master for safety".

On 30th August, 1821, a printed letter from the W.M., Wardens and Secretary of Lodge 31 was addressed to the Provincial Grand Master alleging unfair treatment and purloining of Lodge books and jewels. It ends with a threat of legal action for the recovery of Lodge books and property.

The Board of General Purposes reported to Grand Lodge that the *Deputy* Provincial G.M. for Lancashire had suspended Lodge No. 31 at Liverpool for "improper conduct and contumacy", and the Quarterly Communication of 5th December, 1821, endorsed the suspension. It is obvious from a letter in the "Lancashire File" from the Grand Secretaries to Lodge 31, dated 3rd December, 1821, that the Memorial which had been sent to the Grand Master, had never reached the Board of General Purposes or Grand Lodge, and that the publication of the proceedings of the Masonic Committee was sufficient to justify the suspension of the Lodge under Art. 6, page 84, of the *Book of Constitutions*.

In the meantime, the malcontents had formed a Committee and sent out to Lodges throughout the country a Memorial<sup>1</sup> dated 26th November, 1821, and addressed from the "Masonic Committee Room, Castle Inn, North, Liverpool". It stressed both their justifiable and imaginary grievances, and was signed by 34 Brethren from 12 Lodges in Liverpool, Wigan, Manchester, Colne and Pilkington (near Manchester). These Lodges were mainly "Antient", but there were some "Moderns" of the "Traditioner" type, practising, in the main, the "Antient" type of ceremony. Again, let us note that no direct appeal against the suspension was received from Lodge No. 31, and summonses to attend the Provincial Grand Lodge were ignored.

On 3rd March, 1822, the Deputy Provincial G.M. (Bro. Daniel Lynch) recommended the erasure of Lodge No. 31 on the grounds of "unmasonic and rebellious conduct". This was followed by Grand Lodge, on 6th March, 1822, summoning the Master and Wardens to the next Quarterly Communication,<sup>2</sup> but the only reply was a note of protest, dated 1st April, 1822, from the W.M. of the Lodge, addressed to the M.W. Grand Master, denying the power and right of Grand Lodge to pass the resolution of suspension, and complaining that they could not prepare the defence as the Lodge books had been taken by Bro. Greetham, S.W.

When Grand Lodge met on 5th June, 1822, information was received that the Lodge had continued its meetings and refused to attend Grand Lodge. It was, therefore, erased, and its Warrant declared forfeited, and 68<sup>3</sup> (Beesley's number=65). Brethren belonging to 12 Lodges, for having signed the Memorial, were summoned to show cause why they should not be expelled from the Fraternity. Of these 68, 26 "not having sent any sufficient excuse or apology,

<sup>1</sup> See Beesley's "Wigan Grand Lodge", page 114, for copy of the Circular.

<sup>2</sup> Grand Lodge (General Purposes) Accounts, 5th June, 1822: "By expenses of Tyler delivering summonses to the several suspended brethren in Lancashire, by order of the Grand Lodge in March and June, £10 2s. 6d."

<sup>3</sup> Both Preston and Gould state 68, assigning 12 to Lodge 31 against 9 mentioned in Beesley's "Wigan Grand Lodge". The three names not in Beesley's list are: Peter Forrest and Henry Howard of Lodge 31 and Thomas Read of Lodge 140.

but on the contrary having transmitted a statement replete with additional insult", were expelled on 5th March, 1823. They belonged to Lodges as follows:—

Liverpool	9
Wigan	16
Colne	1

and a list of them may be obtained from Beesley's *Wigan Grand Lodge*.

According to a letter in Grand Lodge file, Bro. William Meyrick, Grand Registrar, states that 39 of the suspended Brethren were restored by the Grand Master on 5th September, 1822. Three, *i.e.*, Ellis Sommer, George Birch and Michael Layland, were restored on 4th September, 1822; three on 7th March, 1827; and two others on 1st December, 1858, *i.e.*, the suspension of 2 of the 26 was ultimately lifted.

Preston's *Illustrations* (15th edition, p. 393) states that "Lodge No. 31 at Liverpool having violated an essential regulation of Masonry and being found contumacious by the Provincial Grand Master was regularly suspended". In a footnote is printed Art. 6 of the *Constitutions*, 1815-9 (under heading of "Members and their duty"), which prohibits the printing or publication of the proceedings of any Lodge or the names of persons present at such Lodge. The presumption follows that the Editor considered the offence to be of that nature.

The 26 suspended members issued a Printed Appeal to all Lodges on 6th November, 1822, asking for "the sentiments" of the Lodges.

On 29th May, 1823, the Sea Captains Lodge, No. 140, Liverpool, threatened to leave Grand Lodge unless Lodge No. 31 was re-instated, and this Lodge was erased on 3rd September, 1823, for declaring that it was "the fixed resolution of the Lodge No. 140 to separate itself from the Grand Lodge". Other Lodges which were erased for much the same reason were:—

Lodge No. 74, Integrity, Wigan

Lodge No. 521, Friendly, Barnsley

Lodge No. 486, Sincerity, Wigan .. 5th March, 1828

the reason for the last-named being given as "for being in Arrear".

#### THE PROVINCIAL GRAND MASTER

On 7th March, 1822, the M.W. Grand Master suspended the Provincial Grand Master, and placed Bro. Wm. Meyrick, Grand Chancellor, in charge of the Province. He controlled it by the aid of the Deputy Provincial G. M., Bro. Daniel Lynch, of Manchester, who was re-appointed to that office. In the letter of suspension from the Grand Master, the Duke of Sussex stated that the Provincial G. M. was suspended "with a view to remove prejudice and suspicion from the minds of Individuals whose imaginations might be too heated". The Provincial Grand Master took no further active part in Provincial affairs up to the time of his death in July, 1825, at the age of 44 years. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. John Gaskell, husband of the famous novelist.

In a letter dated 25th July, 1825, Thos. Preston, Provincial G. Secretary, notifies the Grand Secretaries of the death of F. D. Astley on the Saturday previous, at the house of a relative in Derbyshire, where he was on a visit. He goes on to say that "he has devoted much of his time to masonic matters, but, of late, he had withdrawn himself from our Lodge, for the Cloud that has so long cast so deep a shadow over this Province was thought by him to have its centre in the Prov. Grand Lodge. The occurrences at Liverpool and their Consequences gave him great uneasiness & he could not divest himself of the thought that the long continuance of his suspension was a serious evil to the County at large."

The next Provincial Grand Lodge meeting was held on the Monday prior to 5th November, 1825, according to a letter from the Provincial Grand Secretary in the Lancashire File, No. 4, in Grand Lodge Library, 56 Lodges being represented. They passed a beautiful resolution of condolence with Mrs. Susan

Astley, the widow, and one wonders, after the lapse of over 120 years, whether in view of two facts:—

1. The Deputy Provincial G. M. was continued in office, with the Provincial Officers, by the Grand Chancellor, during the interregnum; and
2. The will of Francis D. Astley, filed at the Chester Probate Office, disclosed another menage other than the rightful one;

the Provincial Grand Lodge glossed over the true facts, with their tongues in their cheeks, and the M.W. Grand Master was right in his suspension. At any rate, his death provided the opportunity for the Grand Master to divide the Province into two Divisions:—

Eastern, with Headquarters at Manchester, under John Crossley, who was W.M. of the Lodge of Harmony, No. 545, Todmorden, and who, according to a communication in Grand Lodge Library, accepted the Provincial G. Mastership on 13th December, 1825. He died on 10th December, 1830, from apoplexy.

Western, with Headquarters at Liverpool, under Col. Nicholas le Gendre Starkie, who was suggested in a letter by John Crossley, dated 25th July, 1826, and who governed from 1826-1865.

These two altered the old method of appointing Provincial Officers from the Provincial Grand Master's Lodge, and ultimately, under their diplomatic and energetic guidance, a foundation of peace and prosperity was well and truly laid.

#### PRINTED STATEMENT OF THE CASE

(Note: This was posted from Grand Lodge Office to all Lancashire Lodges; an original copy is in the possession of Prince Edwin Lodge, No. 128, Bury. At the Union in 1813, the Province of Lancashire had 1,176 registered members, and, in 1822, there were 67 Lodges to whom the circular was sent.)

#### UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ANTIENT FREE & ACCEPTED MASONS

The M.W. G.M., with the concurrence of the Grand Lodge, feels it necessary, in consequence of various printed papers circulated most unmasonically from Liverpool, to put the several regular Lodges in possession of the following detailed account of the proceedings which have taken place relative to the late Lodge No. 31, not in the way of controversy but as a faithful narrative of events, by which they will be enabled themselves to judge as to the veracity of the statements put forth, and as a warning not to allow themselves to be deluded by ex parte statements, with a communication with Individuals whom the Grand Lodge, for the sake of consistency, as well as for the maintenance of order in the Society, has been under the painful necessity of suspending from their Masonic Privileges for contumacious conduct; the Lodge No. 31 so formerly denominated, was annulled by the Grand Lodge in June last, and its number therefore is no longer to be found upon the Register of the Grand Lodge.

By Command of the M.W.G.M.,

William H. White } G.S.  
Edw. Harper }

Freemasons' Hall, London.  
5th Dec., 1822

SUMMARY .

- 1818, Dec. 28 Board of Gen. Purp.—Communication from Prov. G.S. for Lancs. suggesting for Prov. G. Lodge that some regulation was necessary relative to Nos. of Brethren requisite to remain members of a Lodge in order to continue it as a legal Lodge competent to initiate etc.
- 1819, Jan. 5 Reply from Bd. of Gen Pur.:—Much discussion had been given, in late revision of the laws, but it was a matter of delicacy and difficulty; and they thought it was best not to depart from "that silence on the subject which had been observed in all the Bks. of Constn."
- N.B. No reply or comment, therefore Bd. of G.P. expected decision was respected and agreed to. At the end of 1819 a Memorial from Prov. G. L. was sent to the M.W. G.M. and enclosed in sealed envelope and so delivered to H.R.H. (Copy of this Memorial is in the Printed Paper of Nov. 26, 1821, circulated from Liverpool.) H.R.H. found it contained matter re R.A., which made it impossible to lay it before G.L.—The Prov. G.L. sent word that they considered the Memorial improper and asked for it to be withdrawn. H.R.H. acceded to this and returned it, without informing Grand Lodge.
- 1821, Mar. 26 Bd. of Gen. Pur.—Br. Lucas sent parcel of charges against Bros. Page & Gage, and letter from Prov. G. M. intimating suspension of Lodge 31. Papers sent to Prov. G. M. to investigate.
- N.B. No appeal against Prov. G. M's. suspension nor any notice respecting it received from Lodge 31.
- 1821, Nov. 26. Br. of Gen. Pur.—No communication from any of the parties until Nov. 26; then the Deputy Prov. G. M. intimated the suspension for contumacy & improper conduct in publishing manifesto calling a County meeting without authority from Prov. G. M., refusing to attend his summons, and stating that all papers and documents would be sent soon.—Referred to Grand Lodge & Prov. G. M. ordered to transmit papers at once for next Quarterly Communication.
- 1821, Dec. 3 Br. of Gen. Pur.—A Box of Books & papers relative to proceedings of Lodge 31 was before a special meeting of the Bd. of Gen. Pur., but the great extent of papers made an immediate report impossible in time for the Grand Lodge on 5th December.

Among the papers was a copy of the Printed Paper circulated by Lodge 31 among Lancashire Lodges, detailing some proceedings of the Lodge and of Prov. G. L., and also a copy of a letter to the Prov. G. M. and of the Memorial to the M.W.G.M., the printed papers being a direct violation of the laws of the Craft, p. 64, Art. 6, B. of C. This formed sufficient grounds to continue the suspension of the Lodge, which the Bd. of Gen. Pur. accordingly brought to the notice of Grand Lodge, without giving any opinion on the charges preferred against the Lodge.

On the same day, a communication was sent to the W.M. of Lodge 31 (and a copy to the Prov. G. M.) informing him that the printed paper of Sept. 19th justified continuance of the suspension; also informing him that the statement that the Bd. of Gen. Pur. had prevented the M.W.G.M. from receiving it was totally unfounded—the Bd. of Gen. Pur. not having seen it; also detailing Br. Lucas's charges to the Prov. G. M.

A Sub-Committee consisting of the President, Vice-Pres. and 3 members was appointed to examine the papers.

- 1821, Dec. 5 At the Quarterly Communication, a report of the Bd. of Gen. Pur. was read and approved, and Grand Lodge ordered that Lodge 31 be suspended till next Quarterly meeting, power being given to the Grand Master to restore it previously should he think proper. An intimation was sent to the Lodge 31 and the Prov. G. M.

- 1821, Dec. 15 M.W.G.M. (as W.M. of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2) having received a copy of the Printed Circular sent from Liverpool, dated 26 November, 1821, sent to the Prov. G. M.:—" . . . which paper purports to come from Bros. Thos. Page, W.M., Lodge 31, M. A. Gage, P.M., 31, and 32 other Brethren and Officers of various Lodges in your Province and to give the proceedings or sentiments of a meeting held on 26th November . . . connected to the same letter is the copy of an address transmitted to the M.W.G.M. by Prov. G. L. on Sep. 27, 1819, and also copy of a letter sent by Lodge 31 to the Prov. G. M. under date 30 Aug. last."

The M.W.G.M. views the publication of these matters as a most offensive proceeding and in direct violation of the laws of the Craft. He therefore directs the Prov. G. M. to ascertain whether the individuals whose names appear to that paper, did actually subscribe the original from which it was copied, and also gave their sanction to its publication. And further, you will suspend from their privileges as Masons such Brothers as shall be proved to have so acted and make a Report to H.R.H. that he may take measures requisite in the said affair. (In addition, there were the previous arguments re Memorial to the M.W.G.M., the ignorance of the Bd. of Gen. Pur., the number to constitute a Lodge, and the printed charges etc.)

- 1821, Dec. 20 The Prov. G. M. replied that the letter of the M.W.G.M. had been read at Prov. G. L.
- 1822, Mar. 3 The Prov. G. M. detailed a Report of the Proceedings of Prov. G. L. of Dec. 17th, and of the names of the Brethren suspended for having signed and published the printed paper of Nov. 26th, 1821.
- 1822, Mar. 6 At the Quarterly Communication, the M.W.G.M. announced that no communication had been received from Lodge 31.

A Bro. announced that, since the suspension 3 months ago, two meetings of Lodge 31 had been held in violation of such order, and a summons by J. Smith, Secy., was produced for 7 p.m., in Feby., 1822, at the York Hotel, by order of the W.M.

The W.M. and W's. were then summoned to the next Quarterly Communication to show cause why the Lodge should not be erased and its warrant withdrawn. Meanwhile it was suspended from its functions and only permitted to meet to provide a defence.

Also the 34 Brethren who signed the Printed Paper of Nov. 26, 1821, were suspended until the next Q.C.

- 1822, Mar. 7 The M.W.G.M. appointed the Grand Registrar (Bro. Wm. Meyrick) to act temporarily as Prov. G. M. and a copy of the appointment was sent to Lodge 31 and all Lodges in Lancashire.

1822, April 1 A Note of Protest by the W.M. of Lodge 31 was sent to the M.W.G.M. and others, denying the power and right of Grand Lodge to pass the resolution of March 6th, suspending the Lodge and Brethren ; he complained that they could not prepare their defence without the Lodge books and papers.

The M.W.G.M. ordered that they be sent back, but that they must be returned with the Warrant for the next Quarterly Communication.

1822, June 5 At the Quarterly Communication, an intimation was received from Lodge 31 that it had continued its meetings, and that it refused to attend Grand Lodge until the Prov. G. M. formulated to them his charges in writing, and Bro. Greetham returned the Lodge property. The result was a resolution of erasure and forfeiture of the Warrant, and this was intimated to the Lodge.

Many individuals who were suspended have been restored to their privileges on application, some stating they had been imposed on by Br. Gage under false representations to sign the document of April 1st, 1821, without being allowed to read it, and under an assurance it was not to be published, but to remain in Lodge.

The paper circulated on Sep. 19th was absolutely false in regard to the duplicity of the Board of Gen. Purposes, as it did not act on the charges, but on the printing and publishing, contrary to the General Laws.

Also, Lodge 31 had never made any appeal against the suspension by the Prov. Grand Master.

## PART II — THE GRAND LODGE

In 1920, the Manchester Association for Masonic Research published

“The History of the Wigan Grand Lodge,

by

Bro. Eustace B. Beesley”.

in which he gave “a full copy of the Minute Book”, showing that the last meeting has been held in 1866. Bro. Beesley also traced some of the Furniture and Clothing used by the Grand Lodge, and illustrations of these are included in the book, which is now out of print.

*Part I* deals with the “Events preceding the Establishment”, and contains a history of conditions in Lancashire, the disputes in various Lodges, and the proceedings in Provincial Grand Lodge, with full copies of the minutes of Grand Lodge regarding the expulsion of the recalcitrant Brethren and the erasure of Lodges.

*Part II* commences with “The Magna Charta of Masonic Freedom”, which is given in full on pages 24 to 37 ; it is an exact copy of that which was inscribed in the Minute Book of the Lodge of Sincerity (1823) and which was, presumably, so inscribed in each of the Minute Books of the subordinate Lodges. The Magna Charta was displayed at each meeting of the Grand Lodge, and in 1913, was in the hands of the Provincial Grand Secretary for Lancashire (Western), after which it appears to have been “lost”. It has now been discovered in the Library of Grand Lodge, and hangs in the room of W.Bro. J. Heron Lepper, Grand Librarian.

It is dated 22nd December, 1823, and begins with IN DEO NOSTRUM FIDEM PONEMUS. Briefly, it states that a General Meeting was held at

Liverpool on 21st July, 1823, with the approbation and consent of Lodges Nos. 31, 74, 140, 486 and 521, when such meeting resolved:—

2nd—That . . . various Lodges and Individual Masons have already Seceded from the Union whereby the United Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of England has by inevitable consequence ceased to exist.

3rd—That speedy and effectual measures be adopted in order to re-establish the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of England, according to the Old Constitutions granted by His Royal Highness Prince Edwin at York, Anno Domini Nine Hundred Twenty and Six.

Also, that on 22nd December, 1823, Brother George Woodcock, Esq., of Lodge No. 557, was regularly Proclaimed and Installed according to Ancient Custom Right Worshipful Grand Master . . . He appointed the Worshipful Brother Michael Alexander Gage to be his Deputy, the Grand Assembly then Elected the following Brethren to be Officers of the Grand Lodge for the Year ensuing . . .

It should be noticed that the statement is made that "the Articles of Masonic Union having been violated, the Contract was thereby broken, and the Covenant dissolved, hence it follows that the United Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of England has by inevitable consequence ceased to exist". Also, that the 3rd resolution implies that the Wigan Grand Lodge was not "establishing" a new Grand Lodge, but was "re-establishing" the old Ancient or Atholl Grand Lodge.

The Grand Assembly then exercised its prerogative by appointing all the Officers except the Deputy Grand Master, and emphasised the statement that the United Grand Lodge had "ceased to exist" by reverting to the pre-Union numeration of Lodges. It may be helpful, when reading the minutes, to have the following list of Lodges mentioned therein:—

<i>Union No.</i>		<i>Former No(s)</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Lodge 31	(Antient) Liverpool	20 (A)	Erased 5 June, 1822.
.. 59	Friendship, Manchester	39 (A)	Now No. 44.
.. 74	Integrity, Wigan	54 (A)	Erased, 1823.
.. 140	Sea Captains, Liverpool	115 & 128 (M)	Erased 3 Sep., 1823.
.. 182	Royal Lancashire, Colne	149 & 175 (M)	Now No. 116.
.. 348	Ancient Union, Liverpool	276 (A)	.. 203.
.. 378	Commerce, Manchester	297 (A)	.. 215.
.. 380	Harmonic, Liverpool	299 (A)	.. 216.
.. 442	Merchants', Liverpool	344 (M)	.. 241.
.. 466	Mariners, Liverpool	362 (M)	.. 249.
.. 486	Sincerity, Wigan	402 & 492 (M)	.. 3677.
.. 557	Friendly, Barnsley	466 & 521 (M)	Erased in 1832.
.. 655	Faith, Pilkington	—	Now No. 344.

The Magna Charta was signed by 26 Brethren, headed by:—

Geo. Woodcock, G.M.

M. A. Gage D.G.M.

and among them appear the following Wigan members, the rest being from Liverpool Lodges:—

Ralph Ball	S.G.W.	Lodge 492
T. G. Bennett	P.M.	.. 492
Robt. Bolton	P.M.	.. 492
Law. Marsden	Secy.	.. 492
Richd. Sayer	—	.. 492

It is of interest to know that the box in which the Magna Charta was kept

(illustrated on page 134 of the *Wigan Grand Lodge*) was broken up several years ago, along with many other possessions of the Grand Lodge, when a cupboard belonging to the Lodge of Sincerity, No. 1, was cleared of its contents; these were dispersed and have fallen into the hands of many different persons.

In addition to the Magna Charta, Part II of *The Wigan Grand Lodge* deals with the "Inauguration, Duration, Proceedings & Cessation", and includes copies of advertisements anent the formation, a copy of the Memorial and Address to the Grand Master, illustrations of clothing and furniture, and one of the Certificate, as well as copies of the minutes.

*The Certificate* is almost a faithful copy, both in text and design, of the Atholl Grand Lodge Certificate in use just before the Union. True, the head lines are differently displayed, but the body of the certificate, in English and Latin, varies only slightly; the three pillars and adornments are strikingly similar. It may be of interest to know that the original copper plate from which the certificates were printed is still in existence, being in the possession of W.Bro. James Miller, Treasurer of the Lodge of Sincerity, No. 3677, and an initiate in that Lodge under the ægis of the "Wigan Grand Lodge". Another point of similarity is that the illustration of the Grand Lodge Banner is a reproduction of the frontispiece in Ahiman Rezon of 1807, 1813, &c.

*The Minutes* occupy the major portion of Part II and are those of the following Grand Lodge proceedings:—

22nd Dec., 1823	to	6th June, 1825;
13th Apl., 1838	..	30th Mar., 1845;
13th June, 1858	..	24th June, 1860;
one meeting on 18th July, 1866.		

On page 104 is the following statement:—

"There are not any records after this date of any Meetings of this  
"Grand Lodge, which by this time (1866) had only one Lodge on its  
"Register, viz., Sincerity, Wigan, No. 1."

From the above statement, it will be noticed that there are gaps in the published minutes, possibly because Bro. Beesley had access to one Minute Book only, *i.e.*, the one which is now number 5 of those in the possession of the Lodge of Sincerity, No. 3677. Further, it is stated that the Inaugural and following meetings were held in Liverpool (hence the name "Liverpool Rebellion"), but that all other meetings were held in Wigan, the Grand Lodge Certificate, in fact, designating it as the "Grand Lodge in Wigan". Similarly, the book shows only 4 Grand Masters, ending with Peter Seddon in 1866.

As a matter of fact, all meetings were held in Wigan except the following:

Liverpool	21 July, 1823	Inaugural meeting.
"	22 Dec., 1823	Shakespeare Tavern, Williamson Sq.
"	7 March, 1825	Bro. Jordan's, Suffolk Street.
"	6 June, 1825	" "
Ashton	14 June, 1840	Angel Inn, Ashton.

And a list of Grand Masters in the following pages (*q.v.*) shows that John Mort, Sr., the last Grand Master in 1913, was re-initiated in that year when the Lodge of Sincerity came back into the fold.

Bro. Beesley's record is incomplete, because of the additional evidence which has been discovered. From these two sources it appears as if Bro. George Woodcock did not attend any of the meetings, being proclaimed Grand Master in his absence; Bro. Gage attended some of the meetings up to 6th June, 1825, but he was re-appointed Deputy Grand Master up to 12th April, 1841, signing the minutes to 6th June, 1825, and resigning on 10th June, 1842. Most of the meetings during the first 20 years were devoted to settling the rules, clothing and fees.

That the formation of the new Grand Lodge was previously well-known is quite obvious, for R. F. Gould (Vol. III, p. 12) writes of an actual endeavour "to establish a Grand Lodge for Liverpool and adjacent parts", while Riley, in his *Yorkshire Lodges*, page 58, makes it clear that the formation had become an accomplished fact.

### OTHER DEGREES

It is apparent from the minutes of 16th August, 1842, that there was a "Royal Arch Chapter of Temperance, No. 1" in existence, for a petition was presented to the Grand Lodge "praying the Grand Lodge to form a Royal Arch Grand Chapter for the government of all subordinate Chapters under this Grand Lodge". Appendix "A" gives some of the minutes, but it should also be borne in mind that the subordinate Lodges were working the R.A. and other degrees.

The published minutes show only two entries regarding the Past Master's degree, *i.e.*, on 26th June, 1859, and 25th December, 1859, but there are numerous entries in the newly-discovered minutes. Similarly, there is only one entry of another degree, *i.e.*, on 24th June, 1860, when 5 brethren were "Raised to that Sublime Degree of Knight Templars", whereas there were many other entries. (See Appendix "A".)

### THE MISSING MINUTES

Attention has already been drawn to the fact that there are gaps in the minutes published by Bro. Beesley in his "History of the Wigan Grand Lodge". The "Grand Lodge Waste Book" fills in the gaps from 1845 to 1857, but the minutes for the periods 1826 to 1837 and 1861 to 1865 have not yet come to light. Possibly, these will never be found, for minutes of the Lodge of Sincerity in 1832 and 1833 give the impression that the Grand Lodge had discontinued its meetings, and the first intimation of a revival is in Lodge No. 1's minute book under date 29th January, 1838.

Other minutes in Sincerity books Nos. 2 and 3 bring us to what was apparently the last meeting, *i.e.*, that on 17th December, 1902, after which the record of 14th December, 1904, shows that its functions were taken over by the Lodge of Sincerity, No. 486—its last surviving member, and No. 1 on its list—which has a link with the present Lodge of Sincerity, No. 3677, Wigan.

Some of the missing Grand Lodge minutes are as follows:—

### EXTRACTS FROM A BOOK MARKED:

#### "GRAND LODGE WASTE BOOK, VOL. 5"

Many of the entries in this book appear to be additions to the Wigan Grand Lodge Minute Book as transcribed in *The Wigan Grand Lodge* by Eustace B. Beesley; for example, the first entry is an addition to the minutes on page 90, and reads as follows:—

16 Oct., 1842. The Grand Lodge upon the Craft was adjourned for a time in consequence of a wish being expressed to form a Grand Chapter.

When the Companions of the Royal Arch assembled and opened a Grand Chapter.

When they appointed the Deputy Grand Master

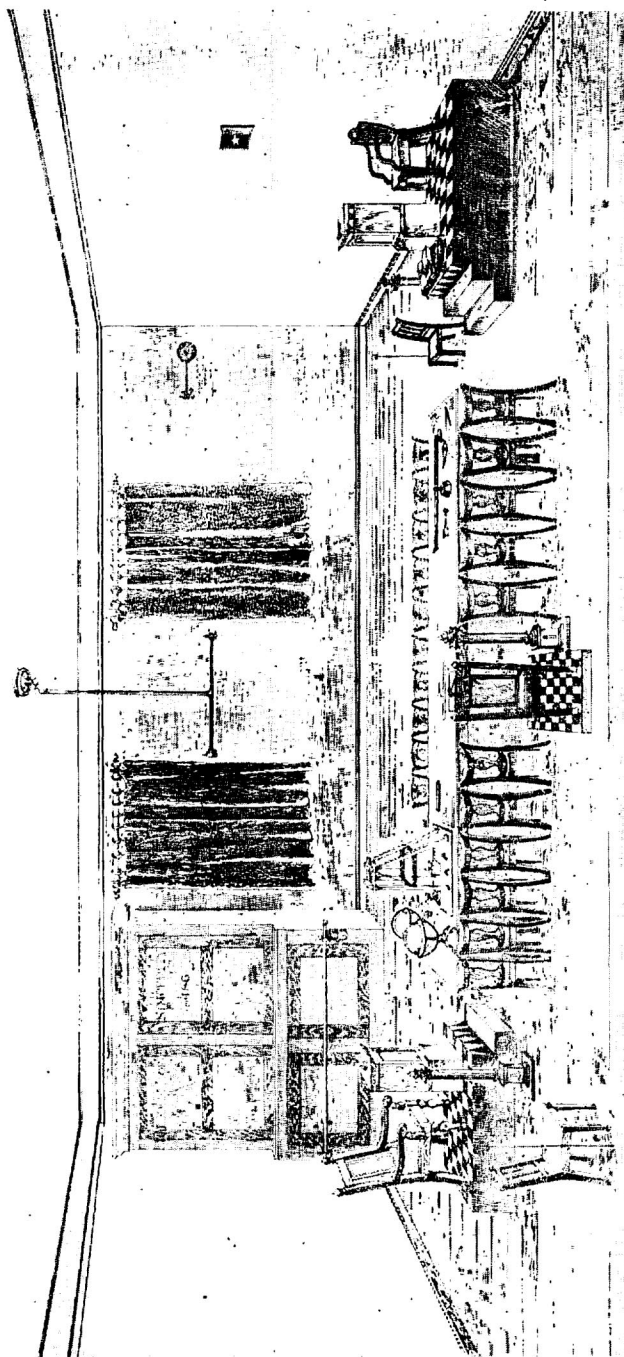
Br. Thomason                      principal Z.

Companion Williams              H.

Do. Burrows                      J.

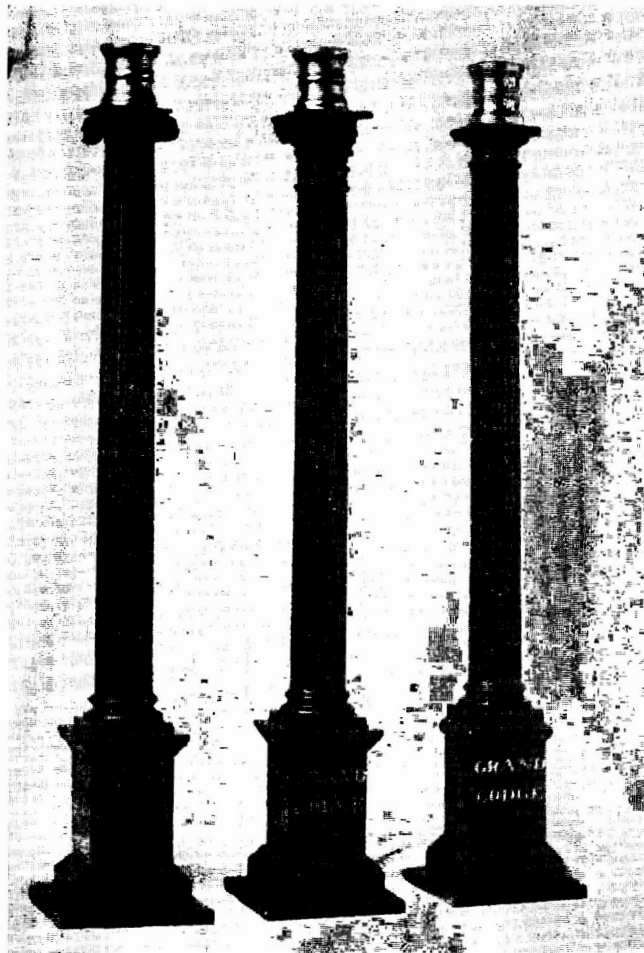
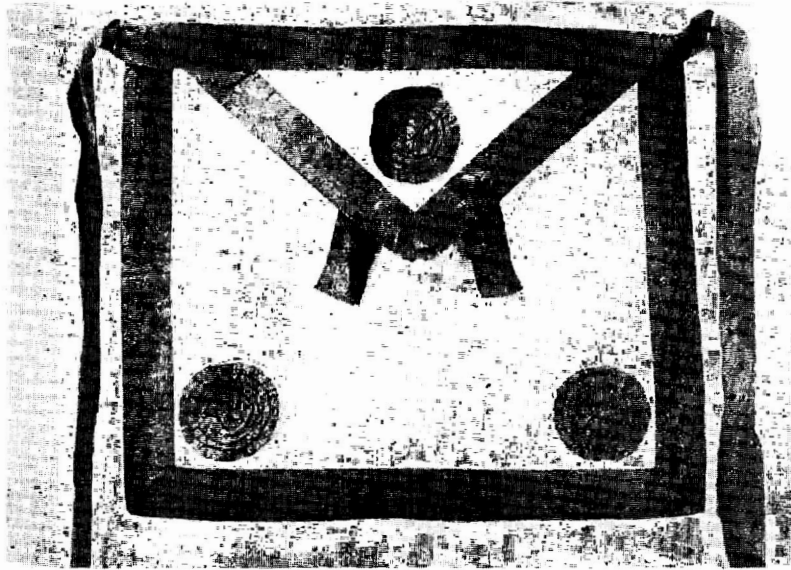
Do. Hesketh Lawson and Daniels, Sojourners.

Comp<sup>ns</sup>. Alker and Bolton, Scribes.

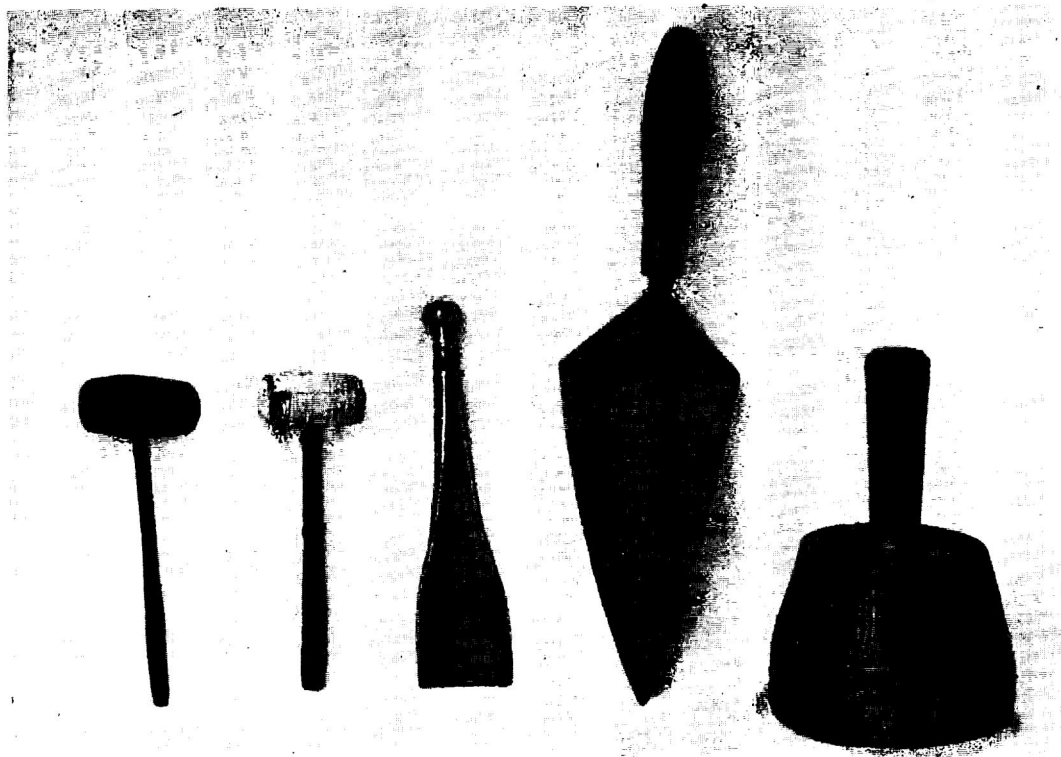
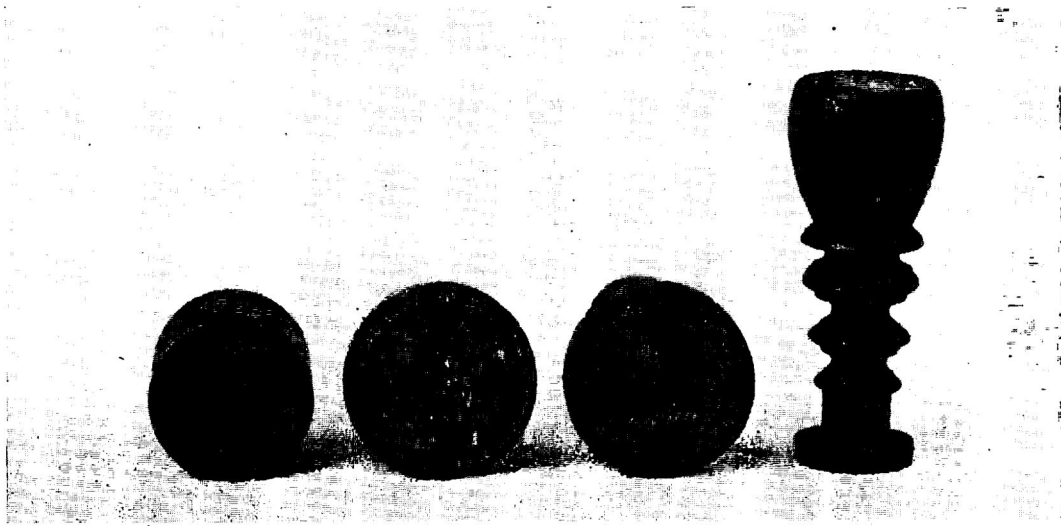


The Grand Lodge in Wigan  
Sketch of the pre-1913 Lodge Room, by W.Bro. Jas. Miller

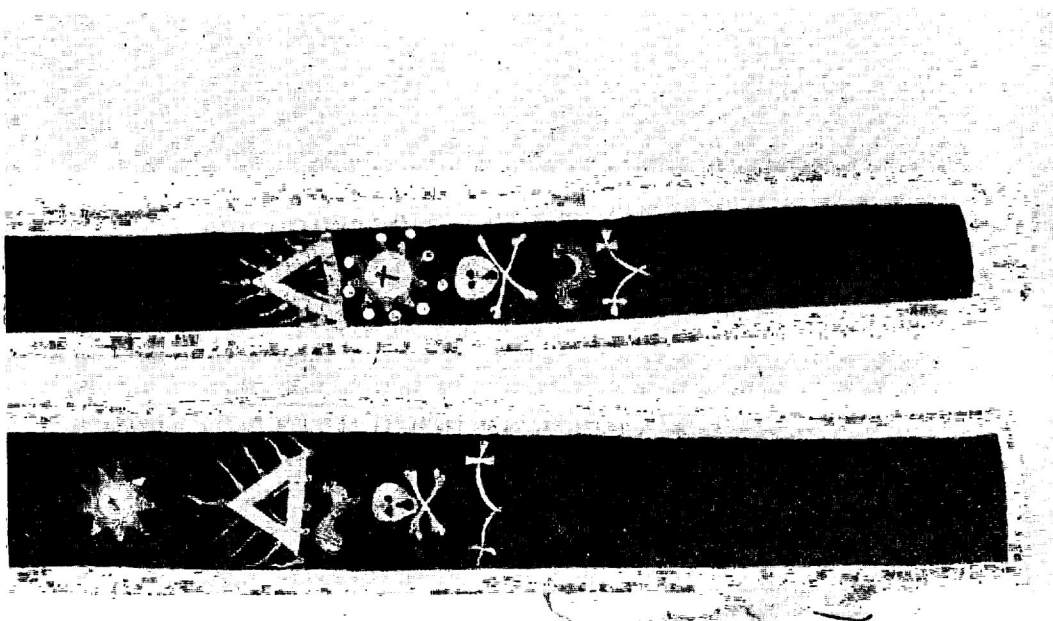
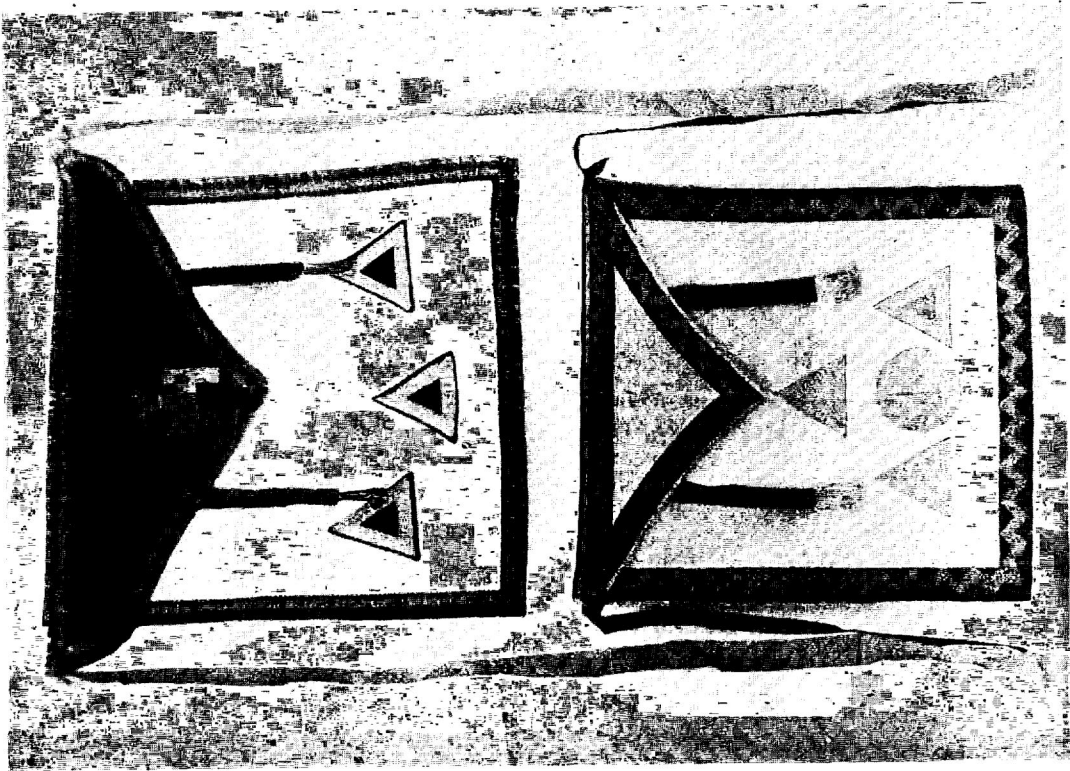
ARS QUATUOR CORONATORUM.



Relics of the Grand Lodge in Wigan



Relics of the Grand Lodge in Wigan



Relics of the Grand Lodge in Wigan

When it was agreed that the Making of a Royal Arch Mason should be for no less a sum than five Shillings including registering and the registering fee to be One Shilling and that to lay untill we can furnish a Certificate plate with the Money.

The Grand Royal Arch Chapter was Closed in Ample Form and Solemn Prayer.

(The minutes then conclude as on top of page 91, but are also signed by John Litler, Deputy G.S., as well as Robt. Bolton, G.S.)

There are also many additions to Beesley's *Wigan Grand Lodge* in the same Waste Book, such as :—

At a Quarterly Meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of England held at the House of Mr. Jno. Dickinson's, Bankes's Arms, Wallgate Street, Wigan, on Monday the 14th of April, 1845.

Wm. Farrimond, Esq., G.M.

Brother Nathan Lomas, S.G.W., G. Master Pro Tempore.

When the Grand Lodge was opened in Ample form and Solemn prayer.

When the Minutes of the two last Grand Lodges were confirmed.

Moved by Br. Nathan Lomas, No. 6, and Br. Lancaster Seconded

That in future the Initiation Money be £1 : 1 : 0, including Registering and Certificate.

Br. Lancaster moved and Br. Lomas Seconded

That Each Brother Pay off his own Grand Lodge Jewel.

When the Grand Secretary received a letter from Br. Isaac Kirk No. 6 concerning the Uniformity in Opening, Closing making passing and raising which was read and pleased the Grand Lodge so highly that a Vote of thanks were voted to him unanimously and the Grand Secretary ordered to send it to him.

When it was agreed that a meeting of delegates of all Lodges for the consideration of the above resolution takes place on Sunday previous to the Grand Lodge meeting at Br. Wm. Hesketh's at Nine O'Clock in the morning of the 21st Sep<sup>r</sup>. next and the Grand Lodge on Monday the 22nd of Sep<sup>r</sup>.

When Br. Wm. Farrimond Esq. was installed and proclaimed Grand Master for the ensuing year according to Ancient custom.

Br. Jno. Glover	D.G.M.
„ N. Lomas	S.G.W.
„ Wm. Williams	J.G.W.
„ R <sup>d</sup> . Arrowsmith	S.G.D.
„ Thos. Leigh	J.G.D.
„ Thos. Alker	G. Treas <sup>rr</sup> .
„ Robt. Bolton	G.S.
„ Thos. Shaw	G.P.
„ Jas. Green	G. Tyler

When the Grand Secretary appointed Br. John Stephens as Deputy for the year ensuing.

When the Grand Lodge was closed in Ample form and Solemn Prayer.

Robt. Bolton, G.S.  
John Stephens, D.G.S.

At a Quarterly meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of England held at the House of Mr. Jno. Dickinson's, Bankes's Arms, on Monday, Sep<sup>r</sup>. 22nd, 1845.

Br. Wm. Farrimond Esq. G.M.

Br. Wm. Williams, J.G.W., Grand Master pro tempore.

When the Grand Lodge was opened in Ample Form and Solemn Prayer.

When the Minutes of the last Grand Lodge was read and confirmed.

Closed in perfect Harmony in Ample form and Solemn Prayer.

At a Quarterly Meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of England holden at the house of Mr. Jno. Dickinsons, Bankes Arms, Wigan, on Dec. 28th, 1845.

Br. Thomas Alker, G. Treasurer, Grand Master pro tempore.

Br. Will<sup>m</sup>. Farrimond Esq<sup>r</sup>., R.W. Grand Master.

When the Grand Lodge was opened in Ample Form and Solemn Prayer.

When the minutes of the last Grand Lodge was read and confirmed.

- 1st. Proposed by Br. Jno. Stephens No. 4. That a Subscription for the Liquidation of the Grand Lodge Debt be raised by Annual Subscriptions to be paid  $\frac{1}{2}$  yearly by March and September and to be paid into the Grand Lodge at the said Meetings and the first half year to commence in March, 1846. Seconded by Brother Andrew McGraw No. 4. Carried unanimously.
- 2nd. Proposed by Br. Jas. Wood Treasurer No. 1, That those that think proper to pay Weekly and Specify what Sum may, and it is requested that Lodges will appoint persons to wait upon them. Seconded by Br. Thos. Shaw, W.M. No. 4. Carried Unanimously.
- 3rd. Proposed by Br. Wm. Lancaster W.M. No. 1. That the Warrants in future be £1:11:6 instead of £2:12:6. Seconded by Br. Jas. Leigh, No. 4. Carried Unanimously.
- 4th. Proposed by Br. Rich<sup>d</sup>. Arrowsmith, S.G.D. That the registering fee be two Shillings and Sixpence instead of Five Shillings. Seconded by Br. Thos. Keating, No. 4. Carried Unanimously.
- 5th. Proposed by Br. Geoffrey Hart, P.M. No. 4. That in case any Society wishing to join this Grand Lodge or any Body of Men wishing to form themselves in a Lodge under this Grand Lodge may if they think proper only pay One Shilling each when registered and the remaining One Shilling and Sixpence in twelve Months from the time of them being so registered and be entitled to all the Benefits and Privileges of the Grand Lodge for the said twelve Months and no Brother or Brethren be compelled to take Certificates. Seconded by Br. Jas. Woods Treasurer No. 1. Carried Unanimously.
- 6th. Proposed by Br. Jno. Stephens No. 4. That each Lodge appoint a Brother to be named a Commissioner for the liquidation of the Grand Lodge Debt and that they have the power to pay it as they think proper to the Liquidation of the said debt but to hold no Monies in their hands after the Meetings of March and September. Seconded by Br. James Hilton, No. 4. Carried Unanimously.

- 7th. Proposed by Br. Will<sup>m</sup>. Lancaster, W.M. No. 1. That when the Commissioners are appointed by the Lodges in March next Quarterly meeting to have the management of All Monies for the Liquidation of the Debts owing by the Grand Lodge that the Commissioners for the two Lodges in Wigan shall and is empowered to receive all the Monies that may arise to the Grand Lodge and the Grand Treasurer is commanded to pay over all Monies he may receive for the Use of the said Grand Lodge immediately to one or both of the said Commissioners and to take his or their receipt for the sum. Seconded by Br. Geo. Daniels, No. 1. Carried Unanimously.
- 8th. Proposed by Br. Jas. Green, No. 1. That each Lodge bring with them the name of the Brother they have appointed signed by the Secretary of the said Lodge and hand it over to the Grand Secretary at the March Quarterly Meeting, 1846, and at the said Meeting the Commissioners shall appoint a Secretary from out of the whole of the said Bodies to keep their Accounts and he shall do it gratuitously. Seconded by Br. Saml. Lines, No. 1. Carried Unanimously.
- 9th. Proposed by Br. Thos. Alker, Grand Treasurer. That the above Resolutions be adopted and acted upon from this date until the March Quarterly Meeting, 1846, when they may be ratified, altered or rejected as the Grand Lodge may think proper at the said Meeting. Seconded by Br. William Lancaster, No. 1. Carried Unanimously.
- 10th. Proposed by Br. Geo. Daniels, No. 1. That the Masters of Lodges No. 1 & 4 be appointed Commissioners and do act in that capacity with full powers untill the Meeting in March, 1846. Seconded by Br. Richd. Arrowsmith, S.G.D. Carried Unanimously.

Br. Robt. Bolton, Grand Secretary, will give up his Salary of twenty Shillings per Year to the Liquidation of the said Grand Lodge Debt from Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1845.

Brother Thomas Green, Grand Tyler, will give up his Salary of twenty Shillings per Year to the Liquidation of the said Grand Lodge Debt from Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1845.

Br. Will<sup>m</sup>. Lancaster, W.M., No. 1 Announced that Lodge No. 1 had agreed to take the same Interest as the Wigan Savings Bank gave from Dec<sup>r</sup>. 31st, 1845, instead of 5 per Cent.

Amounts of Grand Lodge Debts :

To Lodge of Sincerity, No. 1	£78	11	0
„ Br. Page	6	5	0
„ Br. Geo. Daniels	6	12	0
„ „ Thos. Alker, G. Treasurer	2	13	11
„ „ Will <sup>m</sup> . Lancaster	2	3	
„ „ Jas. Green, Grand Tyler	1	0	0
„ „ R. Bolton, „ Secretary	18	6	
	£96	2	8

When Br. Will<sup>m</sup>. Farrimond Esq<sup>r</sup>. was Nominated and Elected Grand Master for the Year ensuing.

When the Grand Lodge was closed in Ample Form and Solemn Prayer.

Robt. Bolton, Grand Sec<sup>ry</sup>.

At a Quarterly Meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of England at Mr. Jno. Dickinson's, Bankes's Arms, on April 5, 1846.

Will<sup>m</sup>. Farrimond Esq<sup>r</sup>. Grand Master.

When the Grand Lodge was opened by Br. Jno. Glover, D.G.M.

When the Minutes of the last Grand Lodge was read and confirmed.

When W. Farrimond Esq<sup>r</sup>. was Installed Grand Master for the year ensuing with Masonic Honors.

And the following Officers elected for the ensuing year :

Br. Jno. Glover	D.G.M.
„ Jno. Siddall	S.G.W.
„ Wm. Williams	J.G.W.
„ Isaac Kirk	S.G.D.
„ Jas. Wood	J.G.D.
„ Thos. Alker	G. Treasurer
„ Robt. Bolton	G.S.
„ Thos. Shaw	G.P.
„ Jas. Green	G. Tyler

When Br. Thos. Leigh, No. 4, preferred a Charge Against Br. Jas. Hart, No. 4, for unmasonic conduct and breaking his Obligation.

When an Investigation was ordered to take place by the present Grand Officers resident in the Borough and the Masters and Wardens of the Lodges in Town.

When the Grand Lodge was Closed in Ample Form and Solemn Prayer.

Robt. Bolton, G.S.

At a Quarterly Meeting of Grand Lodge held at the Bankes's Arms, on Sep<sup>r</sup>. 14th; 1846.

Wm. Farrimond, Esq<sup>r</sup>., G.M.

Br. Kirk, S.G.D. G.M. Pro tempore.

When the Grand Lodge was Opened in Ample Form by Br. Isaac Kirk, G.M. Pro tempore.

When the Decision of the Grand Lodge in the case of Leigh versus Hart was that Leigh Asks Pardon for his conduct or to be suspended for twelve Months and Br. Hart Asks Pardon for his conduct or to be suspended for six Months.

When Br. Thos. Leigh asked Pardon and Br. Hart would not.

When the Lodge was closed in Ample Form and Solemn Prayer.

Robt. Bolton, G.S.

At a Quarterly Meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons held at the House of Mr. Jno. Dickinson's, Bankes's Arms, Wigan, on the 27 Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1846.

Wm. Farrimond, Esq<sup>r</sup>. G.M.

Br. Burrows, P.S.G.W. G.M. Pro Tempore

When the Grand Lodge was opened in Ample Form and Solemn Prayer.

When the Minutes of the last Grand Lodge was read and confirmed.

When Br. Jas Wood was nominated and elected Grand Master for the ensuing year.

When the Grand Lodge was closed in Ample Form and Solemn Prayer.

R. Bolton,	G.S.
Wm. Lancaster	D.G.S.

At a Quarterly Meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons at the House of Mr. Jno. Dickinson's Bankes's Arms, Wigan, on the 28th day of March, 1847.

Wm. Farrimond, Esq <sup>r</sup> ..	G.M.
Br. Siddall, S.G.W.	G.M. Pro. tempore

When the Grand Lodge was opened in Ample form.

When the Minutes of the last Grand Lodge was read, when the election of the Grand Master in Dec<sup>r</sup>. was declared void in consequence of the representations of St. Paul's Lodge when Br. Jas. Wood was Unanimously Elected.

The Master and Wardens of No. 6 moved that the initiation money be 12 shillings instead of twenty One Shillings.

And if Lodges has anything to communicate for the Good of Masonry to the Grand Lodge must send it to the Sec<sup>ry</sup>. of the Grand Lodge on or before the 15th of the Months of March, June, Sep<sup>r</sup>. and Dec<sup>r</sup>.

When the following brothers were elected Grand Officers for the ensuing 12 Months.

Grand Officers for the Ensuing Year, Viz.

Br. James Wood,	No. 1	R.W.G.M.
„ Isaac Kirk,	No. 6	R.W.D.G.M.
„ Ernest Witworth,	No. 6	S.G.W.
„ Wm. Williams,	No. 5	J.G.W.
„ Jno. Stephens,	No. 4	S.G.D.
„ Peter Heaton,	No. 1	J.G.D.
„ Thos. Shaw,	No. 4	G. Treasurer
„ Robt. Bolton,	No. 1	G. Sec <sup>ry</sup> .
„ Wm. Lancaster,	No. 1	D.G. Sec <sup>ry</sup> .
„ Thos. Barton,	No. 1	G. Pursuivant
„ Jas. Green	No. 1	G. Tyler

When the Grand Lodge was closed in Ample form and Solemn Prayer.

Robt. Bolton, G. Secty.

September 26, 1847. At a Meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free Masons.

James Wood, No. 1	R.W.G.M.
Isaac Kirk, No. 6	R.W.D.G.M.
Thomas Barber, No. 6	S.G.W.
William Williams, No. 5	J.G.W.
John Burrows in room of John Stephens, No. 4	S.G.D. (Sick)
Peter Heaton, No. 1	J.G.D.
Thomas Shaw, No. 4	G. Treasurer
John Stephen in room of Robt. Bolton, No. 1	Late Secretary Expelled.
Jas. Fenton in room of William Lancaster, No. 1	D.G. Secretary Dead.
Thomas Barton, No. 1	G. Pursuivant
James Green, No. 1	G. Tyler

When the Grand Lodge was opened in Ample Form and Solemn Prayer.

The following Resolutions were passed at the Grand Meeting  
1st That Br. Robert Bolton was expelled for Defrauding the Society  
out of its Funds by 15 Members out of 16.

At a Quarterly Meeting of the Grand Lodge of Free Masons and  
held at the House Mr. John Dickinson's Banks's Arms, Walgate, Wigan,  
on the 15th Oct<sup>r</sup>, 1848.

List of Officers

Mr. James Wood	G.M.
.. William Williams	D.G.M.
.. John Burrows	S.G.W. No. 1
.. John Megraw	J.G.W. No. 4
.. John Stephens	S.G.D. ..
.. Peter Heaton	J.G.D. No. 1
.. Thomas Shaw	G. Treasurer No. 4
.. John Stephens	G. Sect <sup>y</sup> . ..
.. James Fenton	D.G. Sect <sup>y</sup> . ..
.. Thomas Barton	G. Pt. No. 1
.. James Green	G. T. ..

At a Quarterly Meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and  
Accepted Masons held at the House of Mr. John Dickinson (No. 5) Bankses  
Arms, Walgate, Wigan, on the 2nd of Jan<sup>ry</sup>.. 1848.

Mr. James Wood. G.M.

When they Passed the following Resolution viz. That the Union  
Funeral Fund Ceases and each Lodge govern its own Finances Entire.

John Stephens, G.S.

At a Quarterly Meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and  
Accepted Masons held at the house of Mr. John Dickinson, Bankes's Arms,  
Walgate, Wigan, on the 2nd of April, 1848.

Mr. James Wood, Grand Master.

Resolved 1st That Provincial Grand Lodges Be Adopted and  
held Quarterly at the various houses where Lodges are held Belonging  
to the Order in Rotation according to the Decision of a Majority  
of the Present Meeting.

At a Quarterly Meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free Masons  
held at the House of Mr. John Dickinson, Banks's Arms, Walgate, Wigan,  
on the 15th of Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1848.

James Wood	G.M.
William Williams	D.G.M. No. 5
John Burrows	S.G.W. No. 1
John Megraw	J.G.W. No. 4
John Stephens	S.G.D. No. 4
Peter Heaton	J.G.D. No. 1
Thomas Shaw	G. Treasurer No. 4

When Br. Williams Proposed that Each Brother pay 6d. at  
the Death of A Brother or a Brothers wife and that it become a Law  
as soon as the sence of the Lodges is taken if they are agreeable to  
the proposition.

Br. Williams proposed and Br. Wood Seconded that Each Br. pay 6d. annually for defraing the Expences and liquidating the Grand Lodge Debt to commence in March 1849.

John Stephens, G.S.

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At a Half Yearly meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of England held at the house of Robert Topping, Banks's Arms, Walgate, Wigan, on Sunday, the 22nd of April, 1849.

Mr. James Wood.	Grand Master
William Williams	D.G.M.
John Burrows	S.G.W.
John McGraw	J.G.W.
Richard Barton	S.G.D.
Peter Heaton	J.G.D.
Thomas Shaw	G. Treasurer
John Stephens	G. Secty.

Brother Megraw proposed and Br. Wood Seconded That the Tylors be alowed three Shillings But to spend one shilling for Cleaning and setting out the Grand Lodge. Agreed unanimous.

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There were further Half-yearly meetings on Sundays, 7th October, 1849, and 31st March, 1850, and on Christmas Day, 1850, but they are mere records of the Officers present.

The next meeting was on Sunday, 6th July, 1851, when it was

Proposed by Joseph Barton and Seconded by Richard Barton

That all Officers of the Grand Lodge Neglecting to Attend their Duties at the time appointed by the Grand Master shall Forfeit one Shilling and the Grand Master not attending to Forfeit 2/6 one half hour allowed to Each the proceeds to go to the Grand Lodge Fund all Members not in Office to Forfeit two pence for not attending the Grand Lodge. Carried Unanimously.

A Half-yearly meeting was held on Christmas Day, 1851, and another on Sunday, 11th July, 1852, when it was

“Resolved that there be 3 initiated and the mony Paid into the Grand Lodge Fund. Proposed by Br. Seddon, Seconded by Samuel Linn.”

The Grand Master, James Wood, was fined 2/6 for non-attendance at this meeting.

At the Half-yearly meeting on Christmas Day, 1852, Mr. William Williams was elected Grand Master for 1853, and Peter Seddon, Grand Secretary.

At the July meeting following, the registering and certificate fee was dropped from 2/6 to 1/6.

On 25th June, 1854, the meeting was opened at 3 o'clock and closed at 5 o'clock “in the greatest harmony and Peace no Business of importance was transacted.”

On 25th December, 1854, Peter Seddon was elected Grand Master; he was duly installed at the meeting on 24th June, 1855.

The meeting on 25th December, 1855, was held at the house of Robert Swift, the Rope and Anchor Inn, Scholes, Wigan, and the Grand Officers were again installed for the Half-year.

The Half-yearly meeting on 30th June, 1856, is noteworthy:

"when Richd. Morris Jonathan Slater & James Derbyshire were Made Entered Aprentice Masons for a New Lodge to be Opened at the Rose Bridge Inn"; as was also that on

Christmas Day, 1856:

"when Brothers John Coates and James Swift and Matthew Holding was made Past Masters and Br. Robert Johnson was Duly installed Master of the Lodge of Sincerity No. 1."

On 20th June, 1857, a minute indicates that the Grand Lodge and the Lodge of Sincerity are now combining:

"Moved by Br. A. Heyes Seconded by Br. John Jackson  
That Each Brother Belonging to the Private Lodge Pay 6 pence  
Each towards defraying the Expences of the Grand Lodge. Carried  
Unanimously."

25th December, 1857, was the last Grand Lodge recorded in this book, all other entries being made in the Minute Books of the Lodge of Sincerity, No. 1. There will be found the minutes of Grand Lodge for meetings on:—

25th June, 1855 ;  
24th Dec., 1879 ;  
24th .. 1881 ; and  
24th .. 1886 ;

as well as many other records of meetings.

#### TAIL-PIECE

The Lodge of Sincerity, Wigan, was on the Register of the "Moderns" Grand Lodge from 1786 ; it "declared off" in 1823, was erased for non-payment of dues in 1828, and worked continuously in Wigan as an "unrecognised" Lodge, finally returning to the fold as No. 3677 in 1913, when the Grand Master and 19 other members were "re-initiated" at the first meeting after the Consecration.

Its history from 1786 to date was originally included in this paper, which was then found to be too long ; it will, however, be given at a subsequent meeting.

The main features of this future paper are the effects of the Liverpool Rebellion on the Lodge of Sincerity and its decision to continue its Ancient working during a period of 90 years' "non-recognition", including such degrees as:—

Passing the Chair	—	to 1911 ;
Royal Arch	—	.. 1904 ;
Knights Templar	—	.. 1882 ;
K.T. Priests	—	.. 1862 ;
Red Cross	—	.. 1889 ; and
The Mark	—	.. 1897.

Included in the minutes are further records of the Wigan Grand Lodge meetings down to 1902.

#### THE WIGAN GRAND LODGE

GRAND MASTERS: (1823 to 1902)	Installed:
George Woodcock	22nd December, 1823
William Farrimond	13th April, 1838
James Wood	28th March, 1847
William Williams	24th June, 1853
Peter Seddon	24th June, 1855
John Mort, Sr.	15th February, 1886

# LODGES ATTACHED

## Numbered

No. 1.	Lodge of Sincerity, No. 486, Wigan	15th August, 1838
.. 2.	Antient Lodge No. 20, Liverpool	..
.. 3.	Harmony & Perseverance, Angel Inn, Ashton-in-Makerfield	..
.. 4.	Integrity, Wigan <sup>1</sup>	..
.. 5.	Lodge of Knowledge, Warrington <sup>2</sup>	12th April, 1841
.. 6.	St. Paul's, Bro. John Glover's Theatre and Concert Tavern, Ashton-under-Lyne	16th October, 1843
.. 7.	Rose Bridge	14th July, 1856

## ADDENDA

### A STOCKPORT GRAND LODGE.

The following correspondence, which is entered in the Wigan Grand Lodge Waste Book, appears to disclose the existence of a Grand Lodge in Stockport :—

Wigan, 8th February, 1837.

Letter and Copy of Rules from St. John's Lodge, Stockport, concerning the Secession from the Grand Lodge.

Stockport, Feby. 6th, 1837.

To the W.M. & Brethren of the Lodge of Sincerity, Wigan.

Gentlemen,

About 2 years ago we commenced, being unaware at the time of any other of the same Order in the County, we got a Seal & 1000 of Articles. We were applied to from Manchester when we open'd St. Alban's Lodge there. We are about opening 3 more Lodges, 1 in this month and the other on the 1st Monday in March. We have a very handsome Colour with all the emblems of Masonry inscribed. The reason of us not writing sooner as been in consequence of the W.M. and most of us having been afflicted with this prevailing disorder the influenza. We of St. John's are very glad to find others on the same footing and should like to have a communication as soon as possible, had we known sooner we certainly should have apply'd to you, but by Union & perseverance we rest assured of becoming a very numerous body soon. We have been at considerable expence and a great deal of trouble as the Old Masons have been very much against us, but we have some good staunch Men amongst us that is determined to persevere. We remain, Yours &c., in friendship, Love & Truth,

James Tunstall, Secty.

P.S. We have removed from the White Bear to the Waggon & Horses, Edward Street.

Ruben Hopwood	W.G.M.
Thos. Clayton	D.G.M. Manchester
Paul Jowell	S.G.W.
Joseph Williamson	J.G.W.
Nathan Birchenough	S.G.D.
Thos. Leigh	J.G.D.
James Tunstall	G. Secretary.

<sup>1</sup> Integrity Lodge was evidently working in 1879, as there is a note in the Bye-law Book :—

"Members of Lodge No. 4 to dine with No. 1 St. John's day, June, 1879: Br. Bagnall, Fairhurst, Lynn, Hardman, Hague, R. Lee, Heaton, Barton".

<sup>2</sup> The Lodge of Knowledge met at Thos. Dennis' Union Coffee House, Dorman's Lane, Warrington, and also at Wm. Thomason's Britannia Inn, Scotland Road, Butter Market Street, Warrington.

Please to direct to be left at Mr. Thomas Hildrith's Waggon & Horses,  
Edward Street, Stockport.

Please to let Joshua Collier know that I have been in 15 days. Rubin  
Hopwood gives me respects to them.

"It was agreed upon to send the letter & Copy of their Rules to  
Brother M. A. Gage, Deputy Grand Master, for his consideration, and  
to inform us in what manner to proceed to answer them and to write  
to them to state we have rec'd theirs and have laid before Br. Gage,  
D.G.M. and when we receive his answer will write them again."

Copy of Letter sent to D.G.M.

Wigan, Feby. 8th, 1837.

Right Worshipful Sir,

At the Request of the Master, Officers & Brethren of Lodge 492  
I lay before you a letter from the Members of St. John's Lodge,  
Stockport, who it appears have Seceded from the Grand Lodge, Along  
with their Rules. The Members of 492 don't coincide with the printing  
of their Rules at all but judge that might be arranged when we come  
to have a Meeting if you think it desirable as it won't do to have so  
many Grand Lodges and shall be glad if you will take the matter  
into your Serious consideration and inform me at your Earliest  
Convenience in what manner I must answer them.

I am,

Right Worshipful Sir,

With the greatest Respect

Yours &c.,

Robt. Bolton, G.S.

To Br. M. A. Gage,

D.G.M., Liverpool.

Feby. 9th, 1837.

Wigan, Feby. 9th, 1837.

Sir & Br.,

I received your Letter of the 6th Instant and the Laws of the  
Loyal Independent Order of Free Masons & Laid them before the  
Members of Lodge 492 when they expressed great pleasure at your  
Lodge Seceding from the United Grand Lodge and requested me to  
send them to our D.G.M., M. A. Gage, Liverpool for his consideration,  
and as soon as I receive his Answer will communicate it to you in  
the mean time wishing you all prosperity.

I am, Sir & Brother,

Yours Respectfully,

Robt. Bolton.

To Br. Jas. Tunstall,

St. John's Lodge,

Stockport.

In consequence of the Delay of our D.G.M. I wrote as follows :

Wigan, Feby. 19th, 1837.

Right Worshipful Sir,

I sent a Parcel directed for you by the Wigan Coach on the  
11th Instant containing a Letter & Rules from St. John's Lodge,  
Stockport, along with one from myself, and as I have not received  
your answer, the Master Officers & Brethren of 492 wished me to  
write to you as they are Afraid you have not received it and feel

very Anxious to receive your answer, for when we have met with one another this Last Week the question has been is the Answer arrived and as we feel so warm in the Cause a letter from you by Return of Post would give great satisfaction.

I am,

Right Worshipful Sir,

Yours Respectfully,

R. Bolton, G.S.

Liverpool, 20th Feby., 1837.

Sir,

By desire of Mrs. Gage I write to inform you that Mr. Gage is at present out of town and is not expected to return for a few Weeks. The parcel alluded to in your Communication dated the 19th Instant has been received.

I am, Sir,

Yours Respectfully,

W. J. Clement, Jr.

The only other mention of the matter in the records is the following :—

Sept. 20th, 1837.

Being a Night of Emergency in consequence of Br. Reubin Hopwood of St. John's Lodge, Stockport, concerning a Union with them when a Letter was given to him in Open Lodge.

At the time of this correspondence there were meeting in Stockport the following Lodges :—

St. John, No. 104	
Unanimity, ..	287
Unity, ..	321 (now at Crewe)
Peace, ..	322
Concord ..	323

The records of all these five Lodges have been searched from 1820 to 1840 and no trace of any of the names has been found. The Brethren concerned in the establishment of this Stockport Grand Lodge were evidently accepted by the Wigan Brethren, but they did not formerly belong to Stockport Lodges. But that does not preclude the possibility that they may have belonged to Manchester Lodges. At any rate, they were not registered as Stockport members with the Cheshire Provincial Grand Lodge.

### PART III

#### PROMINENT CHARACTERS

##### 1. *George Woodcock.*

This Brother was nominated on 21st July, 1823, and installed on 22nd December, 1823, as the 1st Grand Master. He must have been a man of some standing, for he is termed "Esq." in the minutes. When he ceased to be Grand Master is not known, as there is a break in the minutes between 1825 and 1838, when Wm. Farrimond is recorded as Grand Master.

Bro. Woodcock was, at the time of his appointment, a Past Master and the Treasurer of the Friendly Lodge, No. 521/557, Barnsley, and Riley in his *Yorkshire Lodges* refers to him as "an Active, intelligent and earnest Mason". At none of the Wigan Grand Lodge meetings is he recorded as being present.

At the Worcester Masonic Exhibition, 1884, there was exhibited on behalf of the Friendly Lodge, No. 1513, Barnsley, the

“Jewel worn by Bro. G. Woodcock, of Barnsley, as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, according to the Old Institutions. Installed at Liverpool, December 22nd, 1823.”

The Friendly Lodge, No. 521, was established in London in 1790, with the number 557. Lapsing in 1815, the warrant was acquired by some Barnsley Brethren for £40; it was consecrated on 9th September, 1816, and Geo. Woodcock was its Treasurer.

On 29th April, 1823, Bro. Geo. Woodcock moved resolutions regretting that the affairs of Lodge 31 (Ancient 20/31, Liverpool) had not received the investigation prayed for, complaining of certain regulations in the *Book of Constitutions* “detrimental to the happiness and well government of the Fraternity” and expressing sorrow at the severe measures Grand Lodge had exercised towards 26 respectable members of the Society. The resolutions further stated that “in consequence whereof and until the aforesaid regulations be amended, this Lodge be disunited and separated from what is commonly called the United Grand Lodge of England.” At the same time they protested that the members “have neither wish nor intention to show any disrespect towards their Brethren, but have the welfare of the Fraternity at heart, and to continue in Brotherly love and Charity with all”. The final resolution was “That this Lodge do now revert to its original name and number, viz.:—The Friendly Lodge, No. 557, as expressed in the Warrant of this Lodge existing before the Union”.

For the resolutions there voted 15, and against 10, so that the meeting was clearly far from unanimous.

On 27th May, 1823, the meeting was held under the old number, *i.e.*, 557, when it was agreed to circulate the resolutions of the previous meeting, and to communicate “with the Masonic Committee, Liverpool, for the good of Freemasonry in general”.

At the September meeting reference was made to efforts of Provincial Grand Lodge and Grand Lodge to get the members to retract, but the reply was given that “their resolutions are unchanged”, and they further signed a pledge to support the Liverpool Brethren.

In December, 1823, those members who opposed the severance declined to pay their subscriptions, and proposed to divide the furniture. The separatists cut themselves adrift and petitioned the Provincial Grand Master for a restoration of rights. A Warrant of Confirmation was granted to them on 11th March, 1824, as Lodge 521, but this Lodge’s existence was not long, for the last Minutes in the Minute Book are recorded as 13th November, 1827.

Friendly Lodge No. 557, on the other hand, continued to work separately for many years. George Woodcock was re-elected W.M. on 27th December, 1824, and the Lodge began to make progress. Woodcock himself retired from the office of Treasurer on 13th February, 1841, and the Friendly Lodge continued as an independent body until about 1861.

There does not appear to have been any connection between the Wigan Grand Lodge and the Friendly Lodge, No. 557, Barnsley, so far as allegiance is concerned. It had been assigned the No. 3, but a letter gave the idea that they did not intend to join, so the No. 3 was given to the next Lodge. Nor does there appear to be any evidence that George Woodcock ever attended as Grand Master of the Wigan Grand Lodge.

## 2. Michael Alexander Gage.

He was a native of King’s Lynn, Norfolk, and was probably initiated in the Lodge of Perseverance, No. 294 (now No. 213), Norwich (“Antients”), his Grand Lodge certificate being dated 23rd January, 1810. He was a petitioner for and first W.M. of the Philanthropic Lodge, King’s Lynn (“Antients”), then

numbered 142 (now 107, being installed on 14th May, 1810. He left King's Lynn in the following year, his demit being dated 11th July, 1811. He appears to have gone to Scotland, as he was admitted a member of Montrose Lodge No. 70 (S.C.) 19th September, 1811, and an Honorary Member of the Patrick Kilwinning Lodge, Glasgow, on 24th September, 1811.

It is doubtful when he first appeared in "Antient" Lodge No. 20/31, as his name does not appear in the list of members for 1810 or 1811. Neither is there any record in the minutes of the Chapter of his "joining". The first record is that he occupied the 1st Principal's Chair on 20th December, 1812, when there was a disturbance in the Chapter, though there is no evidence as to who caused it. On 21st June, 1815, he made an application as W.M. of Lodge No. 20 for a Royal Arch Warrant; on 27th August, 1816, he was first registered as a R.A. mason; and on 28th January, 1818, another application was made for a Warrant, the Chapter commending the R.A. Laws and promising to carry them out, though all subsequent minutes appear to belie this promise. Still another application was made on 10th July, 1818, to Grand Chapter, but again the Warrant was not granted.

On September 27th, 1819, Bro. Gage was present at a Provincial meeting in Liverpool, when he succeeded in obtaining its approval to a Memorial, which was undoubtedly framed by him, as there is the evidence of a Lodge minute of 6th October, 1819.

He was Master of Lodge 20/31 in 1821, and Deputy Grand Master of the Wigan Grand Lodge from 22nd December, 1823, to at least 1841, resigning on 10th June, 1842. Though he states (page 83, "Wigan Grand Lodge") that he had not attended a Lodge meeting for 15 years, yet he was not masonically idle, for, in a note at the end of the printed Bye-laws of Lodge 557, Barnsley, there is evidence that he helped to form a Royal Arch Chapter for that Lodge in 1833.

He must have been in favour with the Provincial Authorities up to 1819, because he assisted the Deputy Prov.G.M., as Prov.S.G.W., to lay a Foundation stone (Beesley's *Freemasonry in Lancashire*, p. 123) and he was Z at the opening of a Chapter of Reconciliation in Liverpool on 28th September, 1819.

The phraseology of the Memorials, the resolutions in Provincial Grand Lodge which led to the Liverpool Rebellion, and many of the letters to Grand Lodge all indicate that Gage was their author, and this is reinforced, by private letters as well as the "Magna Charta", which was entered in every Minute Book and signed by Gage as Deputy Grand Master.

He appears to have been engaged on a dock scheme, and died in Liverpool.

### 3. *John Eden.*

This Brother was the first Grand Secretary and he was expelled for embezzlement and other unmasonic conduct on 23rd June, 1824, after serving for less than 12 months. He was J.W. of Lodge No. 20/31 in 1823; he was also a member of Merchants' Lodge, No. 442 (now No. 241) and, five months before his expulsion from the Wigan Grand Lodge, it is recorded in the annals of the Harmonic Lodge that John Eden, a Broker, was suspended for the space of seven years.

### 4. *Azariah Santley.*

He was a signatory to the Manifesto of 26th November, 1821, and was restored 4th September, 1822; on 7th June, 1823, he was proposed as a subscribing member of Harmonic Lodge, No. 380 (now 216) and installed as Master on 3rd January, 1824. His name does not appear in the lists of the Wigan Grand Lodge.

### 5. *William Hesketh.*

This Brother is most probably the brother of the same name who was initiated in the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 178, Wigan, on 20th February, 1819.

He was the S.W. of Sincerity Lodge in 1839, occupying the Chair of Sincerity the same year, and he is further recorded as J.G.D. in 1840 and S.G.D. in 1842.

6. *Ralph Ball.*

One of those who were expelled, and described as S.W. of Sincerity Lodge, he was W.M. of that Lodge 9 years previously, *i.e.*, in 1814.

7. *Thomas Page.*

This Brother was W.M. of Lodge 20/31 during the period of the trouble, during which he was described as being very young, and being led away by Gage; he was undoubtedly one of those who formed the Wigan Grand Lodge, where he is recorded as being present up to 1841. He was expelled by United Grand Lodge on 5th March, 1823, and petitioned to be restored to his Masonic privileges in 1858 (*Vide F.M.M.*, 1858, Vol. v, pp. 987 & 1088.)

8. *John Robert Goepel.*

This Brother signed the Circular of 26th October, 1821, as S.W. of Lodge 466, *i.e.*, Mariners Lodge, Liverpool. He was expelled by United Grand Lodge on 5th March, 1823, and was the 2nd Brother to petition to be restored to his Masonic privileges in 1858 (*F.M.M. ibid*). He had a son, a dentist, of the same name, who was initiated in the Harmonic Lodge, No. 216, Liverpool, in 1856, and who resigned in 1859, though he was 1st Principal of the Chapter attached to the Lodge in 1877.

9. *James Spence.*

This is the P.M. of St. George's Lodge, No. 38, Liverpool, who was the antagonist of Gage, and leader of the opposition in Provincial Grand Lodge at Preston, on 9th October, 1820, when, by a majority of 38 to 35 the Memorial was re-called. He was accused by Gage of "seizing the books of Lodge 31 and forcibly detaining them," and yet he was a member of the Committee of Enquiry into the complaints against Lodge 31 on 31st July, 1821. Bro. Spence is designated as Prov.J.G.W. in the Grand Lodge minutes of 6th March, 1822.

10. *Richard James Greetham.*

This Brother was one of the two leaders of the opposition against the Page and Gage faction in Lodge 20/31, and on 4th October, 1820, was appointed S.W. of the Lodge, as well as being a member of the Royal Arch of that Lodge. He was accused of breaking open the chest of Lodge 31 and taking the Jewels, Silver, Working Tools, etc.

11. *Henry Lucas.*

This Brother was the other leader of the anti-Gage faction in Lodge 20/31, although he was H when Gage was Z at the opening of a Chapter of Reconciliation, held in Liverpool on 28th September, 1819. He signed the Bye-laws of that Lodge on 2nd June, 1817, as P.S.W. He made the charges to Provincial Grand Lodge against M.A. Gage and Thos. Page, W.M. of Lodge 31, and sent a Petition along with 12 other Brethren of that Lodge, complaining of disunion and irregularities. He was afterwards Provincial G.Secy. for Lancashire (Western).

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Treasures of the Wigan Grand Lodge etc., in the possession of W.Bro. James Miller, Treasurer of the Lodge of Sincerity, No. 3677.

3 Pillars—Grand Master, Senior Warden & Junior Warden.

Original Summons Plate of Sincerity, No. 486.

" " " Integrity, No. 4.

" Plate for Grand Lodge Certificates.

- „ Certificate of Bro. James Miller, Wigan Grand Lodge.
- „ Seals of Integrity Lodge, the Grand Lodge (for Certificates) and the Wigan Union Band.

Original Gavels.

Heavy Setting Maul used in laying Foundation Stone of St. Mary's Catholic Chapel, Wigan, 1818.

Original Cash Box with 3 locks.

„ Chisèl (inlaid) and Trowel.

Two Grand Lodge Sashes (K.T., etc., emblems.)

Royal Arch Apron.

Master Mason's Apron,<sup>1</sup> which Bro. Miller wore ; it was previously worn by his father, maternal grandfather and great grandfather.

#### APPENDIX.

#### RECORDS OF OTHER DEGREES AT WIGAN.

- |   |              |
|---|--------------|
| 1. The Royal Arch   | Appendix "A" |
| 2. Knights Templar  | „ "B"        |
| 3. Royal Arch Knights Templar Priests<br>(3rd Lancashire Union Band.) | „ "C"        |

#### APPENDIX A

#### THE ROYAL ARCH.

The Minute Book begins on Nov<sup>r</sup>. 2nd, 1834, and continues to Jany. 24th, 1847. At the beginning is a "List of Members belonging to the Royal Arch".

- |     |                         |    |
|-----|-------------------------|----|
| 1.  | Jas. Lawson             | M. |
| 2.  | Robt. Bolton            | M. |
| 3.  | Thos. Bullock           |    |
| 4.  | Thos. Alker             | M. |
|     | Jos <sup>a</sup> . Wood |    |
|     | Thos. Johnson           |    |
| 5.  | Jas. Walls              |    |
| 6.  | Thos. Waddington        |    |
| 7.  | Wm. Banks               |    |
| 8.  | Chas. Kerfoot           |    |
| 9.  | Henry Cook              |    |
| 10. | Wm. Lancaster           | M. |
| 11. | Wm. Farrimond           | M. |
| 12. | Geo. Daniel             |    |
| 13. | Wm. Hesketh             |    |
| 14. | Thos. Hesketh           |    |
| 15. | Jas. Green              |    |
|     | Geo. Pilling            |    |
|     | Jno. Hunt               |    |
|     | Jno. Blinkhorn          |    |
| 16. | Jno. Burrows            |    |
| 17. | Jas. Wood               |    |
| 18. | Jno. Litler             |    |
| 19. | Jno. Ramsdale           |    |
| 20. | Saml. Lines.            |    |
| 21. | Thos. Barton            |    |

This list is not dated and the numbers have been entered at a later period.

<sup>1</sup> It is illustrated in Beesley's *Wigan Grand Lodge* as a "Mourning Apron".

## ROYAL ARCH CHAPTER OF TEMPERANCE.

It is obvious from the minute that, by 1834, the Chapter was being opened on a separate evening from that of the Lodge. In 1834, Wm. Lancaster was Z.

The Chapter met on Sundays up to 1836: generally, about an hour was spent on Refreshment, the Chapter being "called off" for that purpose.

25 Jan., 1837. Bro. Wm. Williams from Warrington attended. He also attended on 7th April, 1844, obviously for the purpose of "Instructions".

29 May, .. The ceremony was termed "the 4th Degree or that of the Royal Arch".

In the 1840's, the Chapter met very irregularly, sometimes 18 months elapsing between meetings.

16 Jany., 1842. Three officers were appointed :—

Captain of the First Vale.

.. Second Vale.

.. Third Vale.

13 Oct., 1844. A proposal to form a United Chapter composed of the Chapter of Temperance No. 1 and the Chapter of Integrity No. 4.

7 Dec., 1844. The first meeting of the "United Royal Arch Chapter No. 1 & 4". Meetings to be held alternately; subscription, 1/- per quarter; entrance 2/-; these to go towards a Benefit fund.

2 Sep., 1845. "Brs. Thomas Shaw & John McGraw raised to the Super excellent degree of the Royal Arch."

29 Oct., 1845. "Brs. Stephens & Hilton was raised to the Super excellent degree."

25 Jan., 1846. One Pound allowed for each Funeral.

24 Jan., 1847. The last record in the Royal Arch Minute Book.

## EXALTATIONS IN THE R. A. CHAPTER.

2 Nov. 1834	Barnett Levi Michael Levi
26 July, 1835	Henry Cook
29 May, 1837	Wm. Hesketh
13 Sep., 1840	Geo. Pilling Jno. Hunt Jno. Blinkhorn Geo. Daniels Jas. Green Thos. Hesketh
13 Mar. 1843	Peter Sayse Joshua Wood Thos. Barton
20 Mar., 1843	Jno. Littler John Ramsdale Thos. Barton

A Note in the R. A. Chapter records (not dated) shows :—

The Lodge of Truth at the house of Thomas Stanley, King's Arms, Northgate, Blackburn, every fourth Saturday.

Jno. Green	Master
Jno. Barber	Senior Warden
Henry Forrest	Junior Warden

In a book of "Scriptural Extracts for the use of Royal Arch Masons and Chapters" (Richard Spencer, 314 High Holborn) in which the date 1868 occurs, are written in full the following scriptural extracts:—

Exodus 3 Ch. 1-6  
 „ 4 Ch. 1-4  
 1st Veil Exodus 3 Ch. 13-14  
 Going to Second Veil Exodus 9 Ch. 22-26  
 2nd Veil Exodus 4 Ch. 5-7  
 Going to 3rd Veil Numbers 20 Ch. 7-11  
 3rd Veil Exodus 4 Ch. 8-9

and as the usual R. A. portions of the V.S.L. follow in print, it is obvious that this book was used both in the ceremony of Passing the Veils and the R. A. Exaltation and Installation.

## APPENDIX B.

### KNIGHTS TEMPLAR

Extracts from the Minute Book of the Conclave of Unity, Wigan (1796 - 1858).

---

LAWS and REGULATIONS of the CONCLAVE OF UNITY, held at the Buck i' th' Vine in Wigan in the County of Lancaster, made the thirtieth day of June in the Year of Human Redemption 1797.

---

GRAND CHAPTER of the Royal Encampment of Knights Templars of St. John of Jerusalem, held at Wigan in the County of Lancaster.

WHEREAS by Charter of Compact this our Grand Chapter of the Royal Encampment is constituted the Conclave of Unity with full power when in Encampment assembled to make or Ordain such Laws and Regulations and to constitute and appoint such Officer or Officers as from time to time may appear necessary to promote the Honor of our Order in General and the more perfect Government of this Encampment in particular WE THEREFORE the Knights Companions in pursuance thereof and having no further view than what may tend to the Glory of God and the Good and Welfare of each other and being in open Grand Chapter of the Royal Encampment assembled Do make and ordain the following Laws, Viz.:—

1st. That the Knights Companions of this Encampment shall regularly meet assemble together and attend the Duties of and hold the same Encampment on every last Sunday in the months of September November and January by five of the Clock in the Evening and also on every last Sunday in the Months of March May and July by six of the Clock in the Evening unless prevented by some unavoidable accident.

2d. That the Grand Master and other Officers of this Encampment be chosen and elected on the last Sunday in every Month of January if required by a Majority of the Knights Companions belonging to this Encampment.

3d. That if the Officers or Knights Companions of this Encampment or any one or more of them shall be absent from the same Encampment one quarter of an Hour after the time or any of the times herein before mentioned for him or them to meet assemble together and attend the Duties of the same Encampment as before mentioned; they or he so offending shall for every such Offence forfeit and pay One Shilling as to the Grand Master, Eightpence as to the other Officers each and Sixpence as to the other Knights Companions each, unless cause be given

satisfactory to a Majority of the Knights Companions of the same Encampment.

4th. That no Knight Companion of or belonging to this Encampment shall be concerned in the making or Installing of any person a Knight Templar in a private manner without the consent of the Grand Master or Captain General of this Encampment for the time being on pain of forfeiting two shillings and six pence.

5th. That if any Knight Templar come to this Encampment disordered in Liquor or behaves himself in the same Encampment any ways rudely or indecently he shall for every offence forfeit and pay One shilling and if any Knight Companion or Knights Companions carry on any discourse or make any Noise in this Encampment immediately after called to Order by the Grand Master or Captain General every Knight Companion so offending shall for every Offence forfeit three pence.

6th. That no Knight Companion shall in this Encampment presume to oppose or contradict the Lecturer during the time of Lecture, but if any doubts arise amongst the Knights Companions or with any Knight Companion, it may be proposed in the manner of Masonry between the parts of the Lecture or at the end of the whole before the Encampment is closed.

7th. That no person shall be made or Installed a Knight Templar in our Encampment unless he be a true believer in the Most Holy Ever Blessed and Undivided Trinity, Father Son and Holy Ghost, three persons in one God, co-equal and co-eternal and unless he also be of a good character and decent education, open, generous and of liberal sentiment who has passed through the three probationary degrees of Craft Masonry, has presided as a Master, been exalted in a regular and lawful Chapter to the degree of the Royal Arch and been duly proposed and recommended by two or more Knights Companions of this Encampment ballotted for and approved of; the recommendation, unless on particular occasions, to be at least one Encampment previous to the Ballot and that none be admitted if on the Ballot there appears more than one negative.

8th. That no Knight Companion shall be permitted to visit or attend the duties of this Encampment who is excluded, now or at any time hereafter, from any other Encampment and that no Knight Companion of this Encampment who shall at any time be excluded therefrom after such exclusion be re-admitted a Knight Companion of this Encampment without the unanimous consent of the whole Knights Companions thereto belonging at some Encampment convened for that purpose.

9th. That when and as often as this Encampment shall be held each and every Knight Companion present at such Encampment shall pay sixpence into the Hands of the Grand Master or into the Hands of the Knight Companion by him appointed to collect the same for and towards defraying the Expenses of the same Encampment.

10th. That when the Grand Master is absent the Captain General shall and ought to take his place and that if any Knight Templar shall at any time be, or reputed to be guilty of any base deceitful or unlawful action or Crime tending to the Scandal of this Encampment and against the Laws of God or Man and such report or Crime be proved to the Satisfaction of a Majority of the Knights Companions of this Encampment such Knight Companion so offending shall be excluded this Encampment and the benefit of it and be debarred from entering the same which Exclusion and Offence shall be reported in Writing and sent unto and read up in every Neighbouring Encampment.

11th. That every Forfeiture incurred in or by the Knights Companions of this Encampment shall be paid within three Months from the time such Forfeitures incurred for and towards the Fund of the same Encampment into the Hands of such Knight Companion as the said Fund shall be lodged with for the time being and that if such Forfeiture shall not be paid within that time that the same shall be demanded in Writing from under the Hand of the Grand Master for the time

being and that after such demand if such Forfeiture is or shall be due shall be excluded this Encampment, which Offence and Exclusion shall be reported in Writing and sent unto and read up in every neighbouring Encampment.

12th. That the Secretary of this Encampment for the time being shall draw up in Writing every Offence and Exclusion of the Knights Companions and that the Grand Master for the time being shall sign and cause the same to be sent to every Neighbouring Encampment on pain of each forfeiting two shillings and sixpence.

13th. That if at any time hereafter anything hereinbefore or hereinafter contained shall not be properly understood by the Knights Companions of this Encampment that the determination of a Majority of them shall be final and conclusive to all intents and purposes.

14th. That any other Rules Orders or Regulations for the better Governing this Encampment may be made by the Consent of a Majority of the Knights Companions thereof.

15th. That when and as often as there shall appear upon any Ballot in this Encampment an equal number of Votes or Voices the Grand Master for the time being shall give the decisive Vote or Voice.

16th. That every new admitted Knight Templar of this Encampment shall pay to the Guard thereof sixpence.

17th. That no Knight Companion of or belonging to this Encampment shall leave or desert the same Encampment without giving Notice in writing of such his intention six Months previous to his so leaving or deserting on pain of forfeiting three shillings.

WITNESS our Hands this thirtieth day of July in the Year of Human Redemption One thousand Seven hundred and Ninety seven.

W. Mercer	E. Grand Master
Willm. Lea	C. G.
Thos. Vose	G. S. B.
James Seddon	G. S.
Matthew Seddon	
Thos. Ashton	
Thos. Critchley	
Thomas Fisher	
Michl. Harvey	
John Collins	
Richard Reynolds	Gard Keeper
Edward Glassbrook	

#### A LIST

of the Knights Companions of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, commonly called Knights Templars, forming the Conclave of Love & Unity, Wigan.

1802 of the Institution 684.

		Date of Installation.
William Mercer	G.M.	
James Anderson	C.G.	20.2.98
Thomas Broadbent	G.P.	5.11.01
Robert Bolton	G.S.B.	
Richard Reynolds	Guard	
William Hart	Guard	3.12.01
Edward Glassbrook		28.8.96
Thomas Critchley		28.8.96
James Critchley		25.6.97
Matthew Seddon, Hindley	Dead	

James Seddon, Wigan	Dead	
William Lea		28.8.96
Thomas Ashton		28.8.96
Thomas Vose		25.6.97
Michael Harvey		30.7.97
Thomas Fisher	Dead	28.5.97
John Collins	Dead	25.12.96
William Hilton		
John Sumner		
Richard Tatlock		30.7.97
James Taylor		
Thomas Mawdsley		
Michael Layland		28.8.96
Thomas Moore		18.12.96
John Atkinson		
James Scott		
Enoch Clarke, Hindley	Dead	
James Dickson	Dead	28.8.96
James Telfer		20.2.98
James Nelson	Dead	3.12.01
Thomas Stopford, Holland		5.11.01
John Norris, Parbold		5.11.01
Thomas Bimson, Holland		5.11.01
William Ditchfield, Ince		3.12.01
John Wilson		25.12.01
Ralph Culshaw, Parbold		25.12.01
Thomas Mather, Hindley		28.4.02
Thomas Pye, Lathom		28.8.96
Henry Meadows, Bickerstaff		28.8.96
Richard Topping, inadmissible		28.5.97
John Bretherton		
Christopher Bedford, removed		
Thos. Burrows, Hindley		5.11.01
Richd. Sherrat, removed to a distance		3.12.01
John Daniels		16.9.02
John Alker		16.9.02
James Rowe		16.9.02
Ralph Marclew		16.9.02
Joseph Ormandy, Upholland		11.4.03
Thomas Hardman		17.11.03
Edmund Heathcote		3.4.04
Thomas Ransom		15.4.05
William Acroft	Dead	
Thomas Newsham		28.11.05
Joseph Howard		28.11.05
Ralph Crook		28.11.05
Wm. Yates		8.2.08
George Sutton		8.2.08
Thos. Latham		8.2.08
Caleb Hilton		16.4.09
Robt. Thompson		16.4.09
Saml. Brown		16.4.09
Jno. Jolley		16.4.09
Wm. Hague		16.4.09
Henry Ledbetter		26.4.10
Wm. Cadwell		"
Robt. Bolton (struck out)		"

W. Acton	21.2.13
R. Ball	"
Robt. Marsden	"
Jno. Dewhirst	"
Geo. Cowen	"
Saml. Kelley	"
Thompson Alderson	"
Robt. Bolton	"
W. Ducker	"
Wm. Middlehurst	"
Daniel Lamb	"
Wm. Naylor	21.2.13
A. Parke	10.4.13
Jas. Beans	"
T. Veevers	"
N. Alker	"
J. Critcheley	26.3.15
Jas. Walls	14.4.16
P. Fishwick	9.5.16
Jas. Green	} Made April 16th. 1843
Geo. Daniels	
Jas. Barton	
Jas. Wood	
Wm. Lancaster	
Wm. Hesketh	
Thos. Waddington	
Jno. Burrows	
Jno. Littler	

The Cash Account at the other end of the book shows that some of those who signed the Laws and Regulations of 1797 were "installed on 28th August, 1796, at a cost of 5s. 0d. each", so that the Encampment must have been working at least as early as 1796, if not before.

There appear to have been regular meetings up to 1816: then there is a gap in the book until:—

Sept. 19, 1853. The meeting of Knight Templars was held on the above day but no business of importance was transacted. When the encampment was duly closed, also on the same day, the Past Officers Lodge were opened when Bro. R. Stephen and Bro. Thos. Jackson Past the Chair, and after the closing of the above the Red Cross was duly opened when Richd. Stephen, John McGraw, John Jackson & Rd. Jackson Took the same Degree. (Each paid 1/6.)

From this and other entries it is obvious that meetings must have been held at earlier dates, but the minutes have not been found.<sup>1</sup> Other minutes are:—

March 26th, 1854. At a Meeting of H.K.T. & K. of Malta encampment, the following was the Order of the Officers:

Peter Seddon	H.K.
John Stephen	C.G.
Thos. Dixon	G.M.
John Hatton	D.G.M.
Wm. Williams	S.B.
Richd. Barton	Secy.

<sup>1</sup> There are other minutes from 1843-1853 in Appendix "C".

April 19th, 1857. At a Meeting of H.K.T. & K. of M. encampment held at Mr. Swift, Rope & Anchor, Scholes, Timothy Taylor was admitted to the Degree of H.K.T. & K. of M. encampment.

Peter Seddon	H.P.
John Stephen	C.G.
Robt. Johnson	G.M.

March 7th, 1858. At a Meeting of H.K.T. Encampment Held at the House Mr. Swift Rope & Anchor Scholes When Br. Joseph Brooks was Accepted an H.K.T. and Knight of Malta.

Peter Seddon	H.P.
John Stephen	C.G.
Alexander Heyes	G.M.

These are the last minutes in the book.

### APPENDIX C.

#### THE 3RD LANCASHIRE UNION BAND

In an Exercise Book 8in. x 6½in. belonging to the Lodge of Sincerity, No. 3677, is to be found the following:—

We the Pillars of the first Lancashire Union Band, Manchester Finding many worthy Knights Templars Priests who reside in Wigan and Chorley who are desirous of a Band amongst themselves, in compliance with the requisition we the Pillars of the said Band think it expedient to empower the following Priests, members of Lodges No. 74—298, James Hart, Richard Row, Joseph Marsh, William Bullock, George Cowan, John Foster, William Brumley, Richard Fox, William Miller, or their successors, to establish a band to be known by the name of the 3rd Lancashire Union Band to hold the same from time to time under sanction of their respective Warrants to make such worthy Knights Templars as they shall think proper in testimony whereof we have affixed the seal of our Band and signatures given in our Temple this 6th day of March, 1815, and of Masonry 5815 and of Priesthood 1762.

	Pillars
John Cooper	1st
James Meadowcroft	2nd
John Maguire	3rd
John Tute	4th
James McDonnald	5th
James Hall	6th
Jno. McClelland	7th
David Hayes	Scribe

Attached is a seal in black wax, inscribed round the outer edge "Lancashire Union Band, Manchester", and containing designs of the cross, coffin, sun, moon, mitre, etc. Similar seals are to be found on certificates of this and later periods.

The Royal Arch Knights Templar Priest (R.A.K.T.P.) degree appears to have been very popular in Lancashire during the first quarter of the 19th century. In addition to the Wigan (3rd Lancashire) and Manchester (1st Lancashire) records there were Bands at Rochdale (2nd Lancashire) and Bolton, and a number of hand-written and printed Rituals have survived. Bolton, for instance, has records from 1814 to 1879. The 1st Yorkshire Union Band was formed from Bury (Rochdale) in 1819.—From *Some Masonic Degrees worked at Bottoms*, by R. D. Matthews, 1931.

Other minutes of the Wigan Band are:—

10th March, 1816. The Grand Band open'd at 3 o'clock in the afternoon when 5 Royal Arch Sir Knights Templars received the Priestly Order, viz. Wm. Hampson, Thos. Eccleshare, Rich. Topping, Jno. Wood, Wm. Naylor, when the Encampment was closed in perfect Harmony.

William Bullock	1st Pillar
Jas. Lawson	2nd
Wm. Morris	3rd
Richd. Fox	4th
William Miller	5th
Wm. Thornley	6th
Jas. Hart	7th

8th Sept., 1816. Opened the 3 Lancashire Union Band upon the Priestley Order at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 2 o'clock in the afternoon when Sir Edwd. Fairclough & Sir Robt. Hardacre (of 298) petitioned the Band to be admitted to that most Holy Degree and accepted, when the Encampment was closed in perfect Harmony at 4 o'clock.

There are other minutes of meetings at Chorley (8th March, 1817—2 candidates), at Wigan (April 4th, 1819—4 candidates), but the minutes of this Order in the Minute book then cease for many years.

The next entries are as follows:—

16th April, 1843. A meeting of the Knights Templar, Knights of Malta and Mediterranean Pass, when the following Officers were appointed:

Sir James Lawson	Grand Master
Sir Samuel Linn	Captain General
Sir Thomas Bullock	Grand Marshall
Sir Robt. Bolton	Deputy Grand Marshall
Sir Wm. Lancaster	Standard Bearer
Sir Joshua Wood	sentinel.

and Nine candidates "where made".

Other meetings of the Knights Templar which are entered in this book are:—

7th April, 1844	1 candidate
27th May, 1849	7 ..
13th June, 1852	4 ..
12th Dec., 1852	3 ..
6th March, 1853	1 ..

### *Red Cross of Babylon*

There is only one meeting of this Order recorded in the book:—

8th Aug., 1852. At a Regular Encampment of the Red Cross of Babylon open'd at 7 o'clock in the Evening, when the following were accepted as Cousins in Encampment: Thomas Barton 1/- When the Encampment Closed at 8 o'clock in the Evening.

### *R.A.K.T.P.*

Other meetings of the Royal Arch Knights Templar Priests are recorded on 6th March, 1853, and October —, 1862, the rest of the book being blank.

At the conclusion of the paper, a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. Rogers on the proposition of the W.M., supported by Bro. J. Heron Lepper, comments being also offered by or on behalf of Bros. F. L. Pick, G. W. Bullamore and W. Ivor Grantham.

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The W.M. said:—

I have much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Bro. Rogers for the interesting paper he has given us on the Wigan Secession.

This is one of those papers so stuffed with facts that a critic can offer nothing but his gratitude for the industry and research that have made so many of them available to us in a convenient form. It will be noted that Bro. Rogers has added considerably to the information about the Wigan Lodge that had been published in book form by Bro. Beesley many years ago. We can all learn a lesson from this. No matter how carefully a subject has been investigated, further research may discover further truths. I am sure that Bro. Beesley will be delighted to think that Bro. Rogers has added another wing to the house he built. Bro. Rogers' local knowledge has been well employed in giving us so many details of biography, and social conditions in the Lancashire of 100 years ago.

I thank him on behalf of us all.

---

Bro. LEPPER said:—

Bro. Rogers' paper is particularly interesting as showing some of the difficulties, which not only the United Grand Lodge of England, but also Private Lodges had to face after the Union of 1813.

One of the greatest of these difficulties concerned the Royal Arch. For almost four years, from 1813 to 1817, the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of the "Moderns" did not meet for the transaction of business because the rulers of the Order were engaged in negotiations which ultimately resulted in the amalgamation of the two rival Grand Chapters in 1817. During these four years the Modern Chapters were left without guidance if they happened to be at any distance from the metropolis.

The situation of the Antient Chapters in 1817 was even worse. Most of the Antient Chapters had conferred the degree under their Craft Warrant. They were now faced with the necessity of establishing a Chapter. It is easy to comprehend how distasteful this must have been to some of the old school. But the worst is still to be told. I have good reason to believe that in some of the remote districts of England Modern Chapters remained unaware of the new regulation by which they had to become anchored to a Lodge. I know of one instance in which a Chapter warranted originally in 1788 (No. 59, Penrith), continued to work in its old way under its old Warrant until 1833, when it proceeded to take out a new one. The real tragedy came when this Chapter, in due course, applied for a Centenary Warrant; its seniority dates from 1833 instead of 1788.

A somewhat similar state of chaos occurred between 1835 and 1840, when a new ritual was promulgated and many Chapters in the country were unable to meet regularly for lack of instruction.

I mention these matters not only because they have cost me many a headache in the course of my duties as Librarian, but also as a tribute to the good sense of the English Craft generally, which was able to discount such hindrances to the attainment of true Masonic unity. Have we not had an excellent example of that common sense in the story we have listened to this afternoon? The return of Lodge of Sincerity to the Masonic fold means something much more than the addition of one Lodge to our roll. It is a symbol of that loyalty paid by every Private Lodge in our constitution to the mother Grand Lodge of the world and the leader of Masonic thought throughout the universe.

BRO. FRED L. PICK *writes*:—

Nearly thirty years ago and only six years after the re-admission of the Lodge of Sincerity into the fold, Bro. Eustace B. Beesley presented before the Manchester Association for Masonic Research his account of the Wigan Grand Lodge. In recent years Bro. Norman Rogers has uncovered much additional material which he now presents in his usual attractive manner.

Troubles of the kind which beset Lancashire Freemasonry in the early eighteenth century generally fall under one of two heads — the disturbance of vested interests or the psychological problem. The Wigan disturbances appear to be of the latter type, and a good Public Relations Officer, who would be forthcoming under one name or another to-day, would have solved the difficulty and saved "face" all round.

I cannot help thinking Bro. Rogers is rather hard on poor Francis Dukinfield Astley, who was by no means the absentee he is often described as, and who personally, along with Daniel Lynch, intervened in a very similar dispute in Oldham and laboured with ultimate success to restore harmony. And what had his private life to do with the case? The Grand Master of the day was himself in no position to cast stones.

The hint of the existence of another "Grand Lodge" in Stockport is interesting. Its promoters were not unambitious, but their work must have proved but ephemeral. It is possible that under the stress of the early post-Union years other splinter-bodies were formed in this or other parts of the country, and the publication of this note may inspire others to examine their local records. We look forward with interest to Bro. Rogers' forthcoming paper on the Lodge of Sincerity.

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BRO. G. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

When the Social Lodge in 1819 irregularly and disrespectfully informed the Deputy Provincial Grand Master and his officers, "We don't work that way", they were probably having some form of Reconciliation working thrust upon them in an attempt to obliterate their traditional methods. It helps us to appreciate the wise and tactful manner in which the Duke of Sussex suppressed that Lodge and its working. Having forcibly restored the obligations, our Grand Master witnessed the working given at a Special Grand Lodge by a team not originally chosen by the Lodge of Reconciliation. All notes were destroyed and the warrant withdrawn, so that it could never be given again officially.

It would be interesting to know how many of the Lodges erased for being in arrears had wilfully withheld contributions because all that their quarterage brought them were visits from Grand Lodge officers who found fault with their traditional methods. It must have seemed a poor return for the money to know that trouble could only be avoided by giving up their traditions and adopting a ritual concocted a few years previously.

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BRO. IVOR GRANTHAM *writes*:—

In thanking Bro. Rogers for this paper, let us congratulate him most heartily upon two discoveries of importance—firstly, his discovery of those written records of the Grand Lodge in Wigan still extant which eluded the author of the history of that local Grand Lodge compiled about thirty years ago, and, secondly, the equally meritorious discovery of another unsuspected local Grand Lodge at

Stockport, the eighth Grand Lodge in England of which we now possess documentary evidence. For the information of the general reader, it may, perhaps, be mentioned that these eight Grand Lodges are the so-called Modern Grand Lodge of 1717, the Ancients of 1751, the United Grand Lodge of England of 1813, the Grand Lodge of All England at York of 1725, the Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent of 1779, the Scottish Grand Lodge in London of 1770, the Grand Lodge in Wigan of 1823, and the Grand Lodge in Stockport of 1837. It is much to be hoped that the discovery of further records of the subordinate Lodges of the Grand Lodge in Stockport will one day reward the researches of Bro. Rogers.

In that section of this paper which deals with the Liverpool Rebellion, allusion is made to two Memorials—one of the year 1819, the other of the year 1821. It is, no doubt, with the object of economy that the text of the earlier of these two Memorials has been omitted; but, for the benefit of other students who may wish to pursue this matter further, I would urge Bro. Rogers to inform us in his written reply where the full text of the Memorial of 1819 may be found. In the case of the Memorial of 1821 the requisite information has already been given in an appropriate footnote.

I cordially support the vote of thanks to the author, and much regret that another engagement on St. John's Day in Harvest will deprive me of the pleasure of hearing this paper read in open Lodge.

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Bro. N. ROGERS writes in reply:—

It is, of course, a delight to receive the congratulations of the members of so eminent a Lodge as Quatuor Coronati, and, no less, the small amount of criticism.

Bro. Lepper is too generous in his comments. The example he gives of chaos in administration, following the Union, can be supported by the case of my own Chapter, Concord, No. 37. The minutes date from December, 1767, and are continuous except for small gaps. Three of the candidates who were "Arched" were granted a Warrant on 11th November, 1769, as No. 7 on the roll of Supreme Grand Chapter. Concord Chapter applied for a Warrant only in 1785, and were given the number 45. Again, after the Union of the two Grand Chapters in 1817, they failed to send in their petition for a new Warrant. Working was continued until 1835, when they were told that a new petition would be required. The present Warrant is dated 3rd August, 1836, and the Centenary Warrant was issued only in 1936, being dated back to 1810. The daughter Chapter, Unanimity, No. 42, on the contrary, is officially 180 years old. Bro. Lepper's comment about the new Arch Ritual reminds me that the ritual still in use in Concord Chapter, No. 37, is that obtained from Grand Chapter in 1835, the earliest possible date.

Bro. Grantham has referred to the *two* Memorials of 1819 and 1821. It was never my intention to repeat the information given by Bro. E. B. Beesley in his *Wigan Grand Lodge*, even though that book is now out of print. The Memorial of 1819 is that which was approved by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lancashire in 1819; it was sent direct to the Grand Master, and destroyed by him without its contents being disclosed to the Board of General Purposes. A copy came into the possession of United Grand Lodge, and is given on p. 127 of *The Wigan Grand Lodge*, by E. B. Beesley.

The subject of *The Grand Lodge in Wigan* is not completed, for the history of the remaining Lodge, Sincerity, No. 1, now No. 3677, will be given later (January, 1949). It is not less interesting, for it precedes as well as concludes *The Grand Lodge in Wigan*, and ends, as Bro. Lepper says, in the attainment of true Masonic unity. Would that every story of a minor rebellion could have ended in such a satisfactory manner.

FRIDAY, 1st OCTOBER, 1948

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THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 4.30 p.m. Present:—Bros. Wallace E. Heaton, P.G.D., W.M.; Lewis Edwards, *M.A., F.S.A., P.A.G.Reg., P.M., as I.P.M.*; H. H. Hallett, P.G.St.B., S.W.; *Lt.-Col.* H. C. Bruce Wilson, *O.B.E., P.G.D., J.W.*; J. Heron Lepper, *B.A., B.L., P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer*; *Rev.* H. Poole, *B.A., F.S.A., P.A.G.Chap., P.M., Secretary*; H. C. Booth, P.A.G.D.C., S.D.; J. R. Rylands, *M.Sc., J.D.*; C. D. Rotch, P.G.D., I.G.; W. Ivor Grantham, *O.B.E., M.A., LL.B., P.D.G.S.B., P.M.*; *Col.* F. M. Rickard, P.G.D., P.M.; G. Y. Johnson, *J.P., P.A.G.D.C., P.M.*; and N. Rogers, P.Pr.G.D., Lanes., E.D.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. A. E. Bartlett; J. R. Wilkinson; E. E. Traxton; J. T. Kelley; T. M. Jaeger; F. E. Gould, P.A.G.D.C.; *Dr.* H. P. Bayon; *Capt.* W. F. Spalding; S. J. Bradford, P.A.G.D.C.; L. W. Marsh; H. Chilton; S. F. Braham; E. J. Ridgers; W. E. Richardson; N. G. M. Walker; F. A. Greene, P.A.G.Supt.W.; W. J. Tribe; A. S. Hall Johnson, D.G.D.C., S. America, S.D.; J. Vidler; H. Johnson; H. W. Chetwin; *Sir* H. Kenyon, P.G.D.; C. D. Melbourne, P.A.G.Reg.; J. W. Lanagan, P.A.G.P.; F. M. Shaw; M. R. Wagner; H. N. Thorold; R. F. Cumberland; J. S. Ferguson; G. L. Nicholson; J. F. H. Gilbard; W. E. Boynett, P.G.St.B.; H. J. Crawford; R. G. Bradley; C. M. Rose; F. L. Bradshaw; G. D'O. Hutchins; B. E. Jones; H. W. Johnson; F. V. Hazell; M. R. W. Cann; P. J. Watts; A. F. Cross; A. E. Evans; J. D. Daymond; H. G. Pottinger; A. M. R. Cann; C. E. Cheetham; J. J. Gerry; F. C. Taylor, P.G.D.; and A. Saywell, P.G.D.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. W. Maines, Lodge 1365; *Rev.* G. Whitley, Lodge 5840; T. Savage, Lodge 3680; W. A. Howell, Lodge 2397; and A. E. Flood, Lodge 2032.

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Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. A. C. Powell, P.G.D., Pr.G.M., Bristol, P.M.; *Rev. Canon* W. W. Covey-Crump, *M.A., P.G.Chap., P.M.*; W. J. Williams, 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., F.S.A., P.G.D., P.M.*; B. Ivanoff, P.M.; W. P. Jenkinson, Pr.G.Sec., Armagh; J. A. Grantham, P.Pr.G.D., Cheshire; F. L. Pick, *F.C.I.S., P.M.*; F. R. Radice, L.G.R., P.M.; R. E. Parkinson, *B.Sc.*; G. S. Knocker, *M.B.E., P.A.G.Supt.W.*; *Cmdr.* S. N. Smith, *D.S.C., R.N., P.Pr.G.D., Cambs.*; S. Pope, P.Pr.G.St., Kent; E. H. Cartwright, *D.M., B.Ch., P.G.D.*; and J. Johnstone, *F.R.C.S., P.A.G.D.C.*

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One hundred and seventeen Brethren, one Grand Lodge, eight Lodges, one Scottish Rite Body, and one Consistory were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

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Bro. J. HERON LEPPER read the following paper:—

## FREEMASONRY IN SPAIN UNDER FERNANDO VII

BY BRO. JOHN HERON LEPPER

### PART I

#### EARLY DAYS OF FREEMASONRY IN SPAIN

##### PROLOGUE



**W**HEN some twelve years ago I wrote the first draft of this essay my determination was that it should never go into print for general circulation. My reasons for this self-denying ordinance were twofold: Spain, for whose people I have great admiration and respect, for whose literature I have reverence and love, was at that moment engaged in another dreadful civil war, and it would have ill beseeemed a friend of that nation to appear to take sides in what was a family affair; such was my primary consideration: and the second one was that in the story I had to tell the Craft of Freemasonry appeared to such disadvantage as a fomenter of subversion that no Freemason trained to an observance of the Old Charges could listen to it without sorrow and shame. It seemed to me better therefore to confine what information I had to give to a select circle of students, and I tried to do so by lodging copies of the manuscript in places where they would be available to those who came after me in the same paths of research.

Quite recently, however, I have had cause to alter my opinion, and am now offering the result of my studies to a wider audience in the Craft, in the hope that the story may serve as a warning to any who, in these days when so many suspicions and fears are dividing humanity, might wish our Order to interfere in its corporate capacity on any side of politics in any country under the whole canopy of heaven. It may be taken as a commentary on a text from one of the Old Charges:

Therefore no private piques or quarrels must be brought within the door of the Lodge, far less any quarrels about religion, or nations or state policy . . . and we are resolved against all politics, as what never yet conduced to the welfare of the Lodge, nor ever will.

##### PERSECUTIONS

The first Lodge of Freemasons in Spain was founded on 15th February, 1728, by the Duke of Wharton in his private apartments in Madrid. It subsequently met in the Fonda del Lis, an hotel in the Calle Anche, whence in 1729 its Master, one Labelle, applied to the Grand Lodge of England for a proper constitution, which was granted on the 29th March. This was the first Lodge

constituted by the Grand Lodge of England in a foreign land. It was numbered 50 in the List of 1729, and was not erased until 1768, though probably extinct long before then.<sup>1</sup>

It has often been repeated that because war had broken out with England and because Pope Clement XII had issued the bull *In Eminentissimi* that Felipe V in 1740 promulgated a stern edict against Freemasons, in consequence of which eight members of a Lodge discovered by the Inquisition were sent to the galleys; but according to Bejarano evidence of any such persecution in Spain is lacking till 1751. The story goes that in this year Fratre José Torrubia, Franciscan and Inquisitor, was initiated into Freemasonry after having previously obtained from his superiors permission to take this step. He then, the tale goes on, proceeded to visit Lodge after Lodge in the peninsula with the result that in a short time he was able to supply the Inquisition with the addresses of no less than 971. As England at this period had little more than two hundred Lodges, the story is hard to swallow, and is dubbed a fiction by the great scholar Menéndez y Pelayo.<sup>2</sup> It is certain, however, that the Inquisition, by a decree of 2nd July, 1751, prohibited the Order under penalty of death. The royal decree against it published at the same time merely threatened all public servants who became Freemasons with dismissal from their posts.

According to Bejarano, many of the nobility and intelligentsia found themselves in trouble as a result of these decrees, while others were pardoned on the entreaties of a famous opera singer, Carlo Boschi, better known as Farinelli,<sup>3</sup> who was a great favourite at the Court.

Another tradition states that Mr. Keene, the English Ambassador in Madrid, protected the Order after 1751. I believe this to be a complete fabrication.<sup>4</sup>

Let us now turn from traditions to a sober account of this period given by a priest and Inquisitor, Juan Antonio Llorente, who was one of Joseph Bonaparte's Spanish adherents and had to leave Spain on account of his Liberal opinions when the French were expelled thence. As on the abolition of the Inquisition he had been employed by Joseph to catalogue the documents preserved in its archives, his *History of the Inquisition*, published in French in Paris in 1818, is a work of the highest authority. From it (vol. iv, p. 53) I translate the following extract:—

“Freemasonry was an entirely new target for the Inquisition. Pope Clement XII in April, 1738, issued the bull *In Eminentissimi* in which he excommunicated the Freemasons; in consequence of this Felipe V published in 1740 a royal decree against them, and as a result a fairly large number were arrested and condemned to the galleys.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Logia Matritense No. 1 of the Grand Orient of Spain claimed to be the successor of this Lodge. How the descent was traced I do not know. See Gould III, p. 313; and Mario Méndez Bejarano, *Historia política de los afrancesados* (Madrid, 1912, p. 140), a most valuable source of information to which I shall often have to refer in this essay. I might here point out that Gould's account of early Freemasonry in Spain is based on the authority of Don Rafael Sunyé, and many of the latter's statements of fact have not been endorsed by the results of my own inquiries into contemporary evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Vicente de la Fuente, in *Historia de las Sociedades Secretas Antiguas y Modernas en España, y especialmente de la Francmasonería* (Madrid, 1874, 2 vols.), also ridicules this story, and says all Torrubia did was to translate out of Italian into Spanish a pamphlet attacking Freemasonry (i, 73). One can learn much from de la Fuente's book, though written by an antagonist of the Order.

<sup>3</sup> The suggestion being that Farinelli (1705-86) was himself a Freemason. He had been the rage of London in 1734, and might conceivably have learnt something about the pure well of Masonry at its fountainhead, and he might have interfered on behalf of his persecuted Spanish Brethren, for he was a kindly soul, as young Mozart was to learn later on; but in the absence of any scrap of definite evidence, we shall do well to take the tale as no more than a pretty tradition.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. my paper on the Lodge in Florence, *A.Q.C. LVIII*, 27, for the way in which a British ambassador treated a similar situation in 1738.

<sup>5</sup> This statement conflicts with Bejarano's opinion quoted above.

Benedict XIV renewed the bull of Clement XII in May, 1751, by another, which begins with the words *Providas Romanorum Pontificum*. Fratre José Torrubia, examiner of books for the Holy Office, denounced the existence of Freemasons in Spain, and King Fernando VI published a new decree against them on 2nd July, 1751; its purport was that any who violated this order should be punished as state criminals of the worst kind (*au premier chef*).<sup>1</sup>

Llorente then proceeds to describe the proceedings in a trial held by the Inquisition in 1757. The delinquent was a Frenchman, by name Pierre Tournon, a coppersmith who had been brought by the Spanish government to Madrid to teach the natives his art. He was accused of being a Freemason and of having canvassed his apprentices to become members of the Order. On confessing the facts alleged against him, he was sentenced to a year's detention and then to be expelled from Spain for ever. Llorente gives the evidence in full, and it is worth our attention as showing the Inquisition's point of view.<sup>1</sup>

### A PERIOD OF TOLERATION

The Order continued to be under a ban in Spain until a new and more enlightened king, Carlos III, came to the throne in 1759. All the authorities agree that during his reign numerous Lodges were established in the Peninsula, and that in the year 1767 these formed the Grand Lodge of Spain, with the famous minister Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, Conde de Aranda (1719-98), as Grand Master.

In 1780 this body took the title of Grand Orient.<sup>2</sup> Aranda continued to preside over the Order, even after his disgrace at Court and exile to Jaén in March, 1794. In 1795 he was succeeded as Grand Master by the Conde de Montijo, about whom we shall hear more than a little later on.

I think we should be cautious in regarding Spanish Freemasonry of this period as anything but an exotic cultivated by a select circle of enlightened aristocrats, though in the seaports it may have had a wider appeal to sailors and merchants.<sup>3</sup>

Other landmarks to be charted are: in 1806, according to *Acta Latomorum*, the Chapter of the Royal Order of Scotland meeting at Rouen founded a Spanish Grand Lodge of the Order at Jerez, which proceeding was highly irregular, if it really happened; and de la Fuente asserts that from the accession of Carlos III Cadiz and Barcelona had Lodges supported by a membership of seafaring men. He says that in 1809 the Cadiz Lodge was claiming an existence of fifty years and had 500 members. I suspect that both figures are exaggerated, though the

<sup>1</sup> I have lectured on this trial before the Warwickshire Masters' Lodge and the Lodge of Research of Dublin. A translation of the examination will be found in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review* for 1849, p. 271. It will be enough to note here that Tournon, who was a keen Freemason, had not come across any Lodge meeting in Spain, though he had been on the look-out for one. Fernando VI (1745-59) did much to help home industries. He had harbours at Cartagena and Ferrol constructed by English workmen, and established cloth factories. His minister, the Marques de Ensenada, sent journeymen all over Europe in government pay to improve themselves in their trades. Foreign workers were also encouraged to settle in Spain as instructors, hence the arrival of Tournon. His clash with the Inquisition shows how others of the foreign artizans may have brought a knowledge of Freemasonry into Spain, *sub rosa*. (*Vide Life of Carlos III*, by Fernan-Núñez, Madrid, 1898, vol. i, pp. 88-91.)

<sup>2</sup> According to Bejarano, it held its meetings in the palace of the Duque de Híjar in the Carrera de San Jerónimo in Madrid.

<sup>3</sup> De la Fuente, *Op. cit.*, i, 70, supports this view, which seems borne out by the case of Cadiz. In 1750 the Spanish ambassador in Vienna reported that a document had been found in a German Lodge showing that it was in correspondence with a Lodge in Cadiz which consisted of 80 members. Fuente adds (i, 74) that he has good reason to believe that a Lodge was meeting in Barcelona in 1753. The tradition persisted among the seafarers of Spain, and in the period 1814-33 we are told that the greater number of the officers in the Spanish Navy, all the merchant captains, and many residents in the seaports were keen Freemasons (*op. cit.*, i, 352).

sailors of that port may well have learnt something about the Order by going no farther than their own doorstep, in a manner of speaking, that is to say, from the Military Lodges meeting in Gibraltar.

I deliberately refrain from any suggestion that the Irish Regiments in the service of Spain—and there were several of these in existence throughout the eighteenth century—may have been another channel through which a knowledge of the Craft percolated into the country.

The first French Lodge is said to have been established in Cadiz on 22nd January, 1807 (Gould, iii, 347); and another Masonic invasion of Andalucia took place in August of the same year, when the Grand Lodge of Scotland established the Lodge "Desired Reunion" No. 276, and appointed James Gordon Provincial Grand Master for the district "east of Balbos in Andalusia". The place where this Lodge was founded is not named.<sup>1</sup>

In the years of alliance between the two countries that were soon to begin the influence of this Scottish Lodge in the south of Spain may well have been great. Let us bear this possibility in mind against the time when we shall meet Antonio de la Vega upholding the "ancient rite without any connexion with the modern" in Cadiz.

### PERIOD OF THE FRENCH DOMINATION

The year 1808 saw the French invasion of Spain: the abdication of the miserable King Carlos IV in favour of his son Fernando VII; the abdication of the latter disgrace to kingship in favour of Joseph Bonaparte; the national uprising against the invaders; the alliance with England, and the beginnings of what we call the Peninsular War and the Spaniards the War of Independence. Both sides then tried to make use of Freemasonry for their own purposes.

A tentative list can be offered of some of the Masonic bodies that were operating in Spain during this disturbed period. We shall do well to reserve judgment on the extent of their influence or authority; in some cases both must have been circumscribed by the chances of war.

French Freemasonry invaded Spain with the armies. In December, 1808, according to Gould (iii, 314), or in September, according to Bejarano, a Supreme Council of the Ancient and Accepted Rite was founded at Aranjuez by Guzman, Conde de Tilly.<sup>2</sup> This body was anti-Napoleonic in sentiment. To counteract its influence, in July, 1811, another Supreme Council was founded in Madrid by the Comte de Grasse-Tilly. Of this body Azanza, the Spanish minister of Joseph, became Sovereign Grand Commander.

According to de la Fuente, the first French Lodge formed in Madrid was La Estrella in 1809. Shortly afterwards were founded the Lodges Santa Julia and Beneficencia, the former, says Bejarano, at the instance of Joseph Bonaparte.

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of this Scottish Lodge a little more speculation may be admissible. At Jerez at this period was living a certain James Gordon, scion of a Scots family long established there as wine merchants, the original settler having left his native country because of Jacobite sympathies and adherence to the Roman Catholic religion. James Gordon, in addition to his wine interests, was also a landowner in a big way, and had imported some young farmers from the Lothians to instruct the Spanish peasants in the latest agricultural methods. Their presence there may account for the fact that in 1807 the Grand Lodge of Scotland issued the warrant 276 for the Lodge Desired Reunion, Andalusia, Spain. From the number assigned to this Warrant in the Scots Register it would seem to have been granted as early as 1799, though not issued till 1807, the delay being probably due to difficulties of communication. I put these facts on record without drawing any definite conclusions from them. (*Vide Travels in the South of Spain*, by William Jacob; London, 1811, p. 41.)

<sup>2</sup> Francisco Pérez de Guzmán y Ortiz de Zúñiga, Conde de Tilly, came of a noble family in Estramadura, and was educated in Paris. On returning home he lived in Seville and passed for one of the richest citizens. During the War of Independence he rendered patriotic service in the Supreme Junta. In his private capacity he was a man of good education, full of ambition, and gained himself many enemies by the violence of his temper and turbulence of his behaviour. (Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones*, II, 67.)

who had been Grand Master in France. These three Lodges formed the base whereon was erected in October, 1809, the Grand Orient of Spain, with Azanza as Grand Master.

In addition to those in Madrid there were other French Lodges in Salamanca, Jaén, and two in Seville. These either joined in forming the Grand Orient or were established by it.

It seems indubitable that during the French invasion Spain was divided between two opposing systems of Freemasonry; but when we try to distinguish between them the authorities are found to be much at variance.

Vicente de la Fuente says that the Spanish or patriotic Masonry worked at irregular intervals in Seville and Cadiz, and was in communication with the Grand Lodge of England. French Masonry was supported by the invading armies and also by the *afrancesados*, the Spanish partizans of Joseph, who were as a rule men of advanced Liberal views.

Bejarano, without going into many details, says that the Spanish and French Grand Orients worked against one another as rival institutions, but displayed brotherly love and administered relief to members of the opposing body when wounded or in distress.

Gould emphasizes (iii, 315) that there were four independent governing Masonic bodies in Spain at this date:

- (1) The Grand Lodge of 1767, known since 1780 as the Grand Orient of Spain.
- (2) The Supreme Council of 1808 under Guzman Tilly.
- (3) The Grand Orient of 1809 under Azanza as Grand Master, which amalgamated with
- (4) The Supreme Council of 1811, under Azanza as Sovereign Grand Commander.<sup>1</sup>

One thing should not be forgotten: all through the War of Independence patriotic Spaniards of the old school of Absolutism regarded Freemasons with suspicion and believed them to have French sympathies. Thus the Junta Suprema Central on 12th April, 1809, sentenced a criminal to be hanged, clad for greater shame in a French uniform, as "a Freemason, a traitor, and an accomplice of the French".<sup>2</sup>

In judging the political influence of Freemasonry during the war the words of a famous contemporary eye-witness should be carefully considered. The Conde de Toreno tells us in his *History of Spain* (Book XI) that after the fall of Valencia in January, 1812, Joseph Bonaparte had his emissaries at work in Cadiz the unconquerable trying to undermine the national resistance. He then goes on:

"The means adopted by these agents were twofold: first, to endeavour to control the decisions of the government or to obstruct them; secondly, to influence public opinion by spreading false news, by misusing the liberty of the

<sup>1</sup> In assessing the correctness of this statement, we should not let our judgments be biased by the nonsensical one that immediately follows it, where Gould asserts that Azanza (who had to flee from Spain with Joseph in 1813) was "succeeded as head of the last two bodies by the celebrated patriot Argüelles". As will be shown later in this essay, Argüelles was not initiated as a Freemason till after 1820. The ensuing statement that Riego became Grand Master of the two Supreme Councils in 1819 is political propaganda, not history. In 1819 Riego was still an unknown captain of infantry; in 1870 (when Don Rafael Sunyé composed the romance which Gould copied) he had undergone apotheosis as a national hero, who would make a fine figure as Grand Master of Spanish Freemasonry. In 1870 Spanish Freemasonry was still a gladiator in the arena of politics; and the politician propounding history often allows himself too much latitude in the suppression or distortion of facts. Galiano (*op. cit.*, 402) mentions that Riego had become "President of the Society", that is, Grand Master, in November, 1822, and speaks of it as a recent event.

<sup>2</sup> Bejarano, *Op. cit.*, p. 324.

Press, or by any other expedient that offered itself; for which purpose they at times made use of the Masonic Lodges established in Cadiz.

"The institution of Freemasonry had hardly taken root or become generally known in Spain prior to 1808, for it had been harried by governments and the Inquisition. Neither it nor any other secret society had encouraged the revolt against the French or shared in it, for in that crisis men understood one another's minds as if by enchantment, and neither secrecy nor precise communication was needed when they were by nature in complete concord at the same moment.

"When the French had percolated through the Peninsula, they founded Masonic Lodges in the principal cities, and converted an institution intended for pure benevolence into an instrument that might help their cause. Afterwards they endeavoured to extend the Lodges into localities where the National Government was in control; this project was the more practicable because the liberties established by the Cortes prevented the taking of precautions that might have seemed either too arbitrary or too rigorous.

"Cadiz was one of the places to which the government of the usurper paid most attention in propagating Freemasonry. The chief Lodges were two, and one of these in particular showed itself detrimental (*aviesa*) to the National cause and partial to Joseph's. The Government kept a watch on them, and their influence was limited, because none of the outstanding leaders of the executive nor any of the deputies to the Cortes, except one or two agitators from America,<sup>1</sup> entered these secret societies.

"It should be noted, moreover, that even as these societies did not help to fan the flame of revolt in 1808, so neither did they intervene to help in the establishment of the Constitution and public liberty. This was quite the reverse of what happened in Germany: a difference to be explained by the different situations of the two nations. The latter was ground down and oppressed before gathering power to revolt; whereas Spain revolted in good time before the yoke of the French was firmly fixed on her neck.

"Later on, when another yoke began to oppress Spain in the unlucky year of 1814, we too resorted to the same means and manœuvres as the Germans; and the secret societies then played an important part in repeated attempts made to overthrow the Absolutist Government."<sup>2</sup>

Having examined the evidence about the existence of Freemasonry in Spain during the War of Independence, it remains to be noted that after 1814 the membership of the Lodges was swelled by the arrival home of returned Spanish prisoners who had learnt their Freemasonry in France, and had learnt other things too, less conducive to peace and goodwill.

The outcome of all the foregoing may be summarized to this effect: at the close of the War of Independence there were at work in Spain various

<sup>1</sup> Meaning from the Spanish colonies in that continent.

<sup>2</sup> The Lodges held at Cadiz during the siege seem to have sheltered some strange company, if we accept the report given by de la Fuente (who, of course, is sternly anti-Masonic) that Juan Lozano de Torres was a leading Freemason who held a Lodge in his own house at this period. We are told that this worthy, whose education had been scanty, was initiated in a Lodge in Paris in 1791, and later travelled into England and Switzerland and elsewhere living by his wits. In Cadiz he set up as a watchmaker, and afterwards as a billbroker (*corredor de pólizas*); but had to leave the city because of some misbehaviour. On one occasion he was sent by the Junta Central as Quartermaster-General (*intendente*) to Wellington on his arrival in the Peninsula, and did nothing to relieve the difficulties about transport and rations which were a cause of incessant trouble. Urrutia refers to him as an intriguer from Cadiz, and says that while he was *intendente* in Medellín all the best joints of meat set aside for the military hospitals were diverted to his own kitchen or those of his colleagues in authority. (Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones*, II, 20.) On the 3rd February, 1817, he was made Minister of Grace and Justice, under the Absolutist régime of Fernando, his advancement in life being due to his skill in adulation. (De la Fuente, *op. cit.*, i, 146.) A strange Ministry for one to hold who had been a leading Freemason! *Cosas de España!*

Masonic bodies, known and unknown to us, for the most part owning no central authority, and all restricted to a narrow sphere of influence; and it is doubtful if any of them had had much effect in heightening or lowering National resistance, though Freemasonry had certainly been used by either side as a weapon. Finally, the Craft had come to be practised more or less openly in Spain, for the Inquisition had been abolished by the Constitution of Cadiz in 1812.

Such then was the state of affairs on the departure of the French.

To place in its proper perspective the Masonic history of the next six years we must get an idea of the political and social conditions of Spain during the same period.

In 1812 in unconquerable Cadiz a knot of refugees that was far from being representative of the Spanish people promulgated the Constitution later to cause so much civil war. Founded on advanced Liberal conceptions, it was unsuited to the needs or wishes of the bulk of the population who remained sentimentally attached to their monarchy in all its Absolutism. Fernando returned to Spain in 1814 determined to reign as uncontrolled as any of his Bourbon ancestors, and to abolish that Constitution which he had sworn to observe. On 16th April, 1814, Fernando arrived at Valencia on his return from exile, having held two juntas on the way thither, at neither of which any decision was reached about future policy. When in Valencia he discovered that General Elío and his troops had taken an oath to maintain the King "in the full exercise of his rights". Fernando assumed absolute power, and made short work of getting rid of the Regency. On the 4th May, by the Decree of Valencia, he abolished the Cortes. This was published in Madrid on 11th May, where it was received with applause by a mob gathered under the directions of Montijo. Then, and not till then, did the King make his state entry into the capital. During the celebrations of this unhappy restoration his supporters sang:

Murieron los liberales,  
Murió la Constitución,  
Porque viva el Rey Fernando  
Con la patria y religión.<sup>1</sup>

(The Liberals and Constitution died, so that Fernando may live with our land and our religion.)

The King proceeded to act in the spirit displayed in this party-song. All newspapers but two were suppressed, and the theatres practically closed. Anyone who owned to or was suspected of Liberal opinions had to sing small or be prepared to go into prison or exile. Among the other institutions banned was that of Freemasonry.

No fish was too small for the net of Absolutism.

Pablo Lopez, the "Cripple of Malaga", a tailor who had abandoned his goose and needle to lead a clique of paid supporters to applaud Liberal speakers in the Cortes and hiss their opponents, a weapon of debate employed by both sides, was one of those put on trial for his vociferous services in behalf of the Constitution. He was sentenced to be hanged, but on the intervention of the British Ambassador, Sir Henry Wellesley, the penalty was commuted to ten years of imprisonment. In 1820, when the Liberals came into power, he was released and given a house and pension as a "Recompense from his Country".<sup>2</sup>

Fernán Nuñez, Spanish Ambassador in England, writing home to his Government on 4th July, 1814, gave a lengthy list of proscribed Liberals, including Toreno and Gallardo, of whom we shall hear more, who had found refuge in England, and against whom he had applied for extradition in vain. He then

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Pio Baroja's *Juan Van-Halen*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Villa-Urrutia, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

mentioned others who had betaken themselves elsewhere, and among those residing in Paris he noted the "Abate Andújar, who was famous in Spain as the leading spirit (*promovedor*) among the Freemasons". I regret my present inability to furnish further details about this Bro. Andújar, but think the reference worth quoting as an indication of how the Craft was regarded by Absolutism.<sup>1</sup>

Freemasonry was banned with severity; but I am not prepared to accept all the tales promulgated at this period about Spanish Masons who were hanged on discovery. All persecutions are liable to be multiplied by the imagination of their narrators. Nevertheless, crimes as bad were certainly committed ten years later; nor should we forget that a man might be called a Freemason, and still is in some places, as a term of abuse, even though he had never been inside a Lodge Room in his life; in short, making every allowance for exaggeration, no doubt exists that the Order was proscribed, and the fact was generally known abroad. Thus in 1815 a Lodge meeting in Clonmell wrote to the Grand Lodge of Ireland drawing attention to the oppressed state of the Spanish Freemasons and asking that something should be done about it; of course the only possible answer was returned, that the Grand Lodge of Ireland could not interfere in the affairs of other countries.

However, the British Government did not remain inactive, for towards the close of May, 1815, Sir Henry Wellesley informed Fernando that, if any of the political prisoners were condemned to death for their opinions, the Prince Regent would withdraw his embassy. This protest saved the Cripple of Malaga, and other Liberals less notable and noisy, from the hangman's rope.

Yes, there is little doubt that the Freemasons were persecuted in Spain after 1814, and still less that the Liberals soon had less cause than ever to love the Absolute Monarchy.

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## PART II

### THE MASONIC PLOT

Three actors in the drama about to be played fill such important parts that some description of them must precede the raising of the curtain. Let us first of all consider the King of Spain.

#### FERNANDO VII

His father Carlos IV was a *roi fainéant*, who left the government of the country to his wife and her favourite, Godoy the Prince of Peace, who became immensely unpopular in Court and country alike. Fernando the heir apparent hatched a plot to seize the throne; it was discovered; and though he is said to have appealed to Napoleon for protection, it was really his mother's intervention which saved him from the usual fate of a conspirator. A second conspiracy, that of Aranjuez in 1808, which was a military revolt headed by the Conde de Montijo, had more success, and resulted in the deposition of Carlos. Fernando was proclaimed as King in Madrid. He promptly threw himself into the arms of Napoleon, who persuaded him to abdicate, and he remained a prisoner of state at Valençay till 1814. Napoleon proceeded to treat Spain as a conquered country, and placed his brother Joseph on the throne. Subsequent events are too well-known to need recapitulation.

During the Peninsular War a knot of Spanish patriots in Cadiz drew up a Constitution for Spain, and established a Cortes. As they represented few in

<sup>1</sup> Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones*, III, p. 354.

the country but themselves, it became patent at the end of the war that the country as a whole was indifferent to the idea. Fernando, on his triumphant return in 1814, swore to observe this Constitution; and as promptly broke his oath, and proceeded to rule as an absolute monarch. Historians of all shades of opinion agree in declaring that he ruled badly.<sup>1</sup>

The results of his bad rule will be told at greater length in the pages that follow.

When in 1823 the armies of the Holy Alliance crushed the Constitutionalists and reseated Fernando in the splendour of Absolutism, he swore to grant an amnesty to former political enemies, and as promptly forswore himself. His vengeance was the extremity of cruelty.

Married four times, he had a daughter by his last marriage who later became Isabella II of Spain. In her favour he revoked the Salic law by which no woman could succeed to the throne. This pragmatic sanction was not accepted by his brother, Don Carlos, and his faction. After his death in 1833 civil wars ensued which wasted the country on and off for forty years to come.

His reign falls into four periods:

- (1) 1808-14—Constitutional government of a sort, confined to Cadiz or other districts where the Junta bore weight.
- (2)—1814-20—Absolute rule.
- (3) 1820-23—Constitutional government in name; actually an internecine war of factions.
- (4) Absolute monarchy; no good government; and more internecine war.

I shall refrain from comment and content myself with giving in translation this valedictory to Fernando written by a master of Spanish prose forty years after his death.<sup>2</sup>

"When the constitutional system was re-established in spite of him, he bit on the bullet (*tascó el freno*), dissembled as he knew how to dissemble, conserving the poison of his fury, swallowing his own rage, hiding his intentions behind words that he never uttered save in ridicule or rancour. What a human being, hypocritical and cowardly such as he, may become capable of achieving can be learnt from what Fernando plotted in those three years (1820-23), from the thousand and one mutinies and conspiracies of the royalists supported by him to the final conspiracy of the "hundred thousand sons of Saint Louis" whom France sent to the Trocadero. Thus it was that he recovered what he called in his royal jargon his *rights*, and began those ten years of military executions and persecutions, in which the form of Tadeo Calomarde was seen at Fernando's side, as it were Caiphas set beside Pilate. The sanguinary partnership of these two monsters ended in 1833, the year in which God uprooted from the earth the soul of the king and gave his body to the vaults of the Escorial, where, my belief is, it has not finished rotting even yet.

"But our misfortunes did not finish with this finale. Fernando VII left us heirs worse than himself, if possible; he left us his brother and his daughter who kindled a frightful war. That king who had deceived his father, his masters, his friends, his ministers, his supporters, his enemies, his four wives, his brothers, his people, his allies, the whole world, also deceived Death himself, who thought to make us happy by delivering us from such a demon. The trail of misery and scandal had not yet come to an end for us."

<sup>1</sup> On Fernando's restoration in 1814 the rumour was current among the Constitutionalists that he had been received as a Freemason while resident in France. So his arbitrary government caused the greater indignation as an injury inflicted by a Brother. (De la Fuente, *op. cit.*, i, 144.)

<sup>2</sup> Benito Pérez Galdós, *La Fontana de Oro* (Leipzig, 1872, p. 339).

## UNCLE PETER

A sketch must now be offered of an extraordinary character, Eugenio Eulalio Palafox y Portocarrero, Conde de Montijo, uncle of that Eugenia de Montijo who later became Empress of the French.<sup>1</sup> Not many details are known about his private life, but common fame gave him a reputation for versatility and inconstancy; while in his public career it is hard to find a single thread of consistency.

Devoted to the monarchy, the deposition of Carlos IV was his work, when disguised as a peasant under the pseudonym of Tio Pedro, Uncle Peter, he headed at Aranjuez in 1808 the revolt which overthrew Godoy, the Queen's favourite, and demonstrated that a minister chosen by the King must have the approval of the people as well.

During the War of Independence he attracted some attention as a valiant soldier in the field against the French, but also as the instigator of various revolts in various places in order to gain control of affairs either for himself or for his friends. Toreno in his *History of Spain* refers to him as the "restless and turbulent (*inquieta y bullicioso*) Conde de Montijo, whose name was always associated with turmoils and riots (*ruidos y asonadas*)". A member of the Junta of the Grandees of Spain, Montijo, on the 16th April, 1809, attempted to grasp power for himself by stirring up a mutiny in Granada, and would probably have succeeded, if, as usual, he had not lost his courage at the critical moment, when he failed to put himself at the head of the revolted troops. Bejarano<sup>2</sup> has a passage about this incident which I will give in full because of its allusion to another acquaintance we shall make.

"The Conde de Montijo not only distinguished himself among the most intransigent enemies of the French, but also in the group of those most devoted to the person of Fernando VII. To such a point did his incredible loyalty to the Crown reach, that he fought with all his might against the tendency towards democracy, conspired against the Supreme Junta in order to convert it to the Regency, published manifestoes which provoked mutinies in Granada and Estramadura, and finally forced the Junta in May, 1809, to issue a secret order of arrest against him *even if he should take sanctuary*. His house in San Lucar de Barrameda having been vainly invested, he was taken into custody in another way, even though Galiano de Alcalá, who had been briefed to formulate the indictment (*instruir el expediente*), declared he could discover no cause for a prosecution."

The Junta was quite prepared to make an example of Montijo on this occasion, but finally he was released on the entreaties of the British general Doyle after having given an undertaking to leave Granada. In April, 1814, Fernando dispatched Montijo from Daroca to Madrid to find out what the Liberals were planning, and to stir up the mob to make suitable demonstrations of joy when their absolute monarch should decree the abolishment of both Cortes and Constitution. Montijo was a person most eminently equipped to engineer such an ebullition of sentiment among the ragamuffins he had swayed to the same purpose on other occasions, as at Aranjuez in 1808.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The younger brother of Montijo, Cipriano Conde de Teba, was an artillery officer in the army of Joseph Bonaparte, *id est*, the French army. He was wounded at Salamanca and the defence of Paris, and remained in France at the orders of Joseph until the fall of the Empire. He ultimately succeeded his brother, who died childless, as Conde de Montijo. By his marriage with Maria Manuela Kirkpatrick he had two daughters, who became respectively Duchess of Berwick and Alba, and Empress of the French. For curious anecdotes about the mother of Montijo and Teba, vide Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones entre España é Inglaterra durante la guerra de la Independencia*, Madrid, 1911, I, 422.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones*, III, 340.

On the restoration in 1814 Montijo had declared against the Cortes, much to the surprise of those who had looked upon him as a Liberal. Nevertheless, on being sent later as Captain General to Granada,<sup>1</sup> he established there that political secret society, which grew and grew, and ultimately brought about the revolution of 1820, as we shall hear.

However, by 1818 Montijo, for some reason that is not certain, either by pressure from the Throne or through fear of consequences or perhaps the mere tedium of heading a conspiracy, had retired from Granada and from the plot, and was living unmolested elsewhere. By 1819 he was in trouble again, a prisoner in Santiago in the dungeons of the Inquisition, from which the Revolution of 1820 released him.<sup>2</sup>

During the constitutional period (1820-23) Montijo, according to a candid friend, Alcalá Galiano, continued to busy himself with plotting, at first in favour of the most advanced Liberalism, and then in league with the King himself.

He died in a state of idiocy in 1834.

Such was the man who in 1815 established a secret society in Granada, whose Masonic name was Heliopolis.<sup>3</sup>

### ANTONIO ALCALÁ GALIANO

A great deal of the information I have been able to gather about the period now to be examined came from *Recuerdos de un Anciano*,<sup>4</sup> the memoirs of our Brother Antonio Alcalá Galiano, written in his old age, when he had outlived many of the enthusiasms of his youth. Take now as a road-map this sketch of his career.

He was born in the same year as the French Revolution, 1789. His birthplace was Cadiz, and he was the son of a brave naval officer who later died at Trafalgar. Galiano spent the stirring years of the Peninsular War in Cadiz, and supported the promulgation of the Spanish Constitution there in 1812. It should be mentioned to Galiano's credit that many of his distinguished relatives had taken service under Joseph Bonaparte, but he refused advantageous offers of employment made him by Miguel de Azanza, the *afrancesado* Prime Minister, who was an intimate friend of his family. During the Peninsular War Galiano wished to become an attaché to the Spanish embassy in London, and brought family influence to bear to obtain the appointment. However, Fernán-Núñez, the ambassador, who did not want Galiano for some reason, made representations to Sir Henry Wellesley, and cited various anti-British pronouncements made by the young man, and as a result Wellesley brought pressure to bear to prevent his being sent to London. It is worth noting that this period (1812-13) Galiano had acquired the reputation of an anglophobe. He was editing a periodical, *El Imparcial*, which was in opposition to that party in the Cortes which favoured a close understanding with England.<sup>5</sup>

On the restoration of Fernando VII in 1814 and the suppression of the Constitution, Galiano went into violent opposition to the Court party and became an *Exaltado*, an extremist Liberal. Probably owing to the influence of his family, all Absolutists dyed in the grain, he had been given a post in the Spanish Legation in Sweden; but he soon grew dissatisfied with life in the north, and returned to Spain before the end of 1814. On his journey homewards he made a stay in London, where he had a meeting with Bartolomé Gallardo (of whom we shall

<sup>1</sup> In the Junta held at Daroca, 11th April, 1814, Montijo was one of those most against the King's swearing to observe the Constitution. Yet if not head of the Freemasons already, he became so within a few months. (De la Fuente, *op. cit.*, i, 145.)

<sup>2</sup> Baroja *Juan Van-Halen*, p. 75. Montijo was freed by revolted troops, 24th February, 1820.

<sup>3</sup> Baroja *Juan Van-Halen*, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> Edition, Madrid, 1890.

<sup>5</sup> Villa-Urrutia, *Relaciones*, III, 14.

hear more later) and other refugees from Spain, and pledged himself to them to do all in his power to oppose Absolutism and to restore the Constitution of 1812.

On arriving at Cadiz in October, 1814, Galiano could see no means to hand of achieving any effective blow against the rule of Fernando. Just then, too, his family troubles began, worries about money and an unfaithful wife, and for a considerable time these claimed all his attention, to the exclusion of politics.<sup>1</sup>

However, eventually, as the story will disclose, he became a plotter of rebellion, and played a leading part in bringing about the establishment of a Constitutional Monarchy in 1820. On its collapse in 1823 he went into exile with other Spanish Liberals.

Returning in middle age to Spain after the amnesty of 1833, he became a *Moderado*, a term hard to translate in its political sense, for it conveys more implications than a mere moderating of objectives; and it so happened that the shedding of the more extreme of his earlier political views was followed by his receiving the portfolios of several ministries in several governments under several mutually antagonistic premiers of Spain.

He died, still a Minister and still a *Moderado*, in Madrid in 1865, of a stroke brought on by hearing of a fatal riot in which some students had been killed while demonstrating in favour of Liberal ideas of government.

### FREEMASON AND CONSPIRATOR

"Never explain; never apologise", was Tallyrand's advice; Galiano, however, preferred to tender excuses for the deeds of his youth.

"My main fault was my admiration for the liberties enjoyed by the English, and my persuasion that similar ones could be granted in my own country. I had known the English almost from my infancy, had read many of the best authors of that nation, looked upon its customs and laws with admiration and envy, and wished to import them into my native land."<sup>2</sup>

Galiano goes on to tell us that because the Absolutist government was bad for many reasons, being exercised without ability or with regard to justice and animated by a spirit of persecution, the Constitutionals (as he calls his own party) determined to fight it with its own weapons, trickery and violence; in a word, so as to make an end of Fernando's absolute rule, they were ready to adopt any method, however lawless, however violent, that might enable them to snatch power in the state for themselves.

Let us hear his own words about the course they pursued.

"One of the worst but most efficacious of weapons offered itself, efficacious particularly in those days, when it had the attraction of novelty. Of course I am referring to a secret society. There was one of these of ancient ill repute, having been condemned by the Church, and for that reason regarded with horror by the devout, and by others because many recent changes in the world were attributed to its influence. In Spain it was then comparatively a new institution.

To-day it exists openly in several of our cities, but is converted into a harmless and rather silly display of ceremonial, at times being the praiseworthy means of exercising the virtue of charity.

"In the days of the War of Independence the enemies of the Constitution had been wont to attribute to this Society more power than it possessed. . . . The French invaders had established it in Spain, and it contained many Spaniards who favoured the rule of Joseph Bonaparte. Consequently in those early days the Society was looked upon with suspicion by the patriotic. Despite this fact, after Fernando's return to Spain the conspirators against his government

<sup>1</sup> If further details about Galiano's private life in all its misfortune and misconduct at this period are desired, the inquirer can consult Villa-Urrutia, *Fernando VII.* pp. 169-74.

<sup>2</sup> *Recuerdos*, p. 334.

recognized that such a secret society, with its rites and ceremonies, its orders and procedure, containing much symbolism capable of varied interpretations, would serve as a useful screen for their plotting; for who was to distinguish between those who were merely Brethren and those who were conspirators as well?"

It is worthy of remark that Galiano never once alludes by its actual name to the Masonic Brotherhood. He always calls it *The Society*. Notice, too, that he believed the Order to have been introduced by the French. This may be true of the Masonic Lodges known to him, offshoots. I am inclined to believe, of the Ancient and Accepted Rite<sup>1</sup>; but in an earlier part of this essay evidence has been produced to show that Freemasonry had become established, if not deeply rooted, or widely practised, in Spain long prior to the French invasion.

Anyway, Masonry, having been in Spain for some period not precisely fixed, by 1816 had greatly extended its borders there. By a strange chance, while its branches had spread to all the chief cities, its trunk was not in the capital but in Granada. Its founder in this city was the famous Conde de Montijo, the Uncle Peter of the revolt at Aranjuez in 1808, which was the beginning of the downfall of Absolute Monarchy in Spain.

Galiano, in another passage,<sup>2</sup> says that Spanish Freemasonry in his time differed notably from the Society of the same name in other countries, "through being purely political and bound up with the national interests of the land in which it had been established; and because to the ritual and constitutions as practised in other countries it had added something peculiar to Spain and to the function it fulfilled there".

Thus far Galiano: my own view is that while Granada was the centre of political Freemasonry, its authority did not carry much weight outside Andalucía, and that it had at best only provincial importance.

"It is doubtful," says Galiano, "if in its early days the Society had as aim the re-establishment of the Constitution, nothing but false reasoning could reach such a conclusion; but finally it became an association condemnable by both human and divine law, and in the Spain of 1816 it was a weapon of war, with effect, if not objective, to shake, if not overturn the Throne, for it was used to sap the foundations of that Throne."

The Spanish Lodges continued to increase. There was one in Madrid with a membership which, according to our reporter, was distinguished for little but zeal; and of course there was one in Cadiz, a city famous for its hatred of Fernando's government.

"In the last-mentioned place," says Galiano, "it fell to my lot to play a part of some importance." From this we gather that when he returned to Spain in 1814 and settled in Cadiz, he either was a Freemason already or soon became one. Inside two years, at all events, he had attained a position of leadership in some of the activities of the Craft, not the type of activities we as English Masons can approve, as will become patent later. While the Lodge in Cadiz was meeting regularly and frequently in 1817, it was then, to Galiano's mind, mainly occupied with "idle ceremonies; but some of us dedicated ourselves to such pastimes with the determination that they should only form the prelude to much more serious business." The membership was divisible into three classes: the ritualists pure and simple; the plotters of revolt; and yet a third section opposed to violence and desirous of putting off the day for taking sides politically as a corporate body.

<sup>1</sup> If Montijo did indeed claim his authority from this Rite, we can find some excuse for his procedure, deplorable as were its results. Because it is arguable that the A.A.R., as an independent Rite, is not bound *de jure* to a strict observance of the Old Charges in the meaning given to them by that group of Grand Lodges which accepts the connotation laid down by the Grand Lodge of England. I refer more especially to those Charges which forbid the Craft to meddle with politics or religion.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*, 378.

We should remember that up to 1817 the Cadiz Lodge was apparently taking instructions from what might be termed the central office of the conspiracy in Granada.

In the summer of 1817, however, for some reason that remains obscure, the governing body in Granada was moved to Madrid. I have so far been unable to elucidate the circumstances attending this removal, and various explanations given to account for it differ. According to Juan Van-Halen, who should have been well informed, the central controlling body was moved in June to Madrid as a more convenient centre; whereas the story told by de la Fuente is that suspicion having fallen on Montijo his post as Captain-General in Granada was taken from him, and he had to return to the capital. With him all shadow of Masonic authority seems to have gone from Granada.<sup>1</sup>

Then in July, 1817, General Lacy's<sup>2</sup> attempt at revolt in Catalonia failed, and some of the fugitive conspirators took refuge in Gibraltar.<sup>3</sup> While this rebellion had not been planned by the Society, it sympathized with the rebels. Consequently some Brethren from the Lodge at Algeciras went as a deputation to Gibraltar, initiated some of the refugees, and then reported their action to the body in Cadiz. From this procedure we can conclude that Cadiz had succeeded Granada as the centre of the Masonic conspiracy.

The Master of the Cadiz Lodge at this period was Don Joaquin de Frias (17...-1851), then no more than a naval lieutenant, who was to become in the year 1840 Minister of the Marine. According to Galiano, he did not approve of the action taken by the Brethren who had initiated rebels, though he deplored the fate of Lacy, which "he compared with that of Solomon's assassinated Master of the Works, an imaginary personage, whose catastrophe evoked more tears and groans from his eulogizer than did the true and recent event of the death of his comrade-in-arms the General." Nevertheless, many of the Brethren bestowed their blessing on what had been done in Gibraltar, although no formal resolution was passed on the matter. This incident will show the state of Masonry in Cadiz at this date, most of the Brethren, though not all, disposed to go into rebellion at a future period, more or less remote, just as means came to hand.

#### JUAN VAN-HALEN

Then in September, 1817, an event happened to spread terror through all the Lodges of Andalucía. The Lodge in Murcia was discovered by the diligence of a spy, but when the police began to make arrests almost all of its members either remained undiscovered or took flight and escaped. Galiano

<sup>1</sup> Van-Halen states that at the beginning of 1817 a meeting took place in Granada between Juan Manuel Vadillo, representative of the Ancient Grand Lodge, and Montijo, representative of the Ecossais Rite, of which he was the head; and suggests that this may have led to an amalgamation of forces, in consequence of which the central authority was moved to Madrid. The meeting may have taken place, but I doubt if any such results sprang from it.

<sup>2</sup> General Luis de Lacy (1775-1817), son of an Irish father and French mother, was born in San Roque, Andalucía. In his youth he served in the French Army, and became a captain in the Irish Legion under the famous Arthur O'Connor. On the invasion of Spain, Lacy changed sides and rose to be a lieutenant-general in the Spanish Army, but was dismissed by Fernando VII on his restoration. The revolt in Catalonia was prepared by him with, it is said, the connivance of Generals Miláns del Bosch and La Bisbal; and General Castaños, the Captain-General of the province, is said to have been sympathetic to the project. When the revolt failed, Castaños sent Brigadier Llauder (also a Freemason) to arrest Lacy, who was given plenty of time to fly, but delayed too long. Lacy was shot in the fosse of the castle of Bellver, in Palma, Majorca, on 4th July, 1817. He had been a soldier since the age of 14, and was greatly loved by the troops—hence his removal to Majorca for execution.

<sup>3</sup> One such refugee was the famous General Francisco Miláns del Bosch. He was born in Arenys de Mar, Barcelona, about 1753. He went from Gibraltar to Buenos Aires, where he joined the army serving in America. In 1820 he returned to Spain. Died in Montpellier about 1834.

says it was the Madrid Lodge that was discovered. I think that in this case his memory was at fault. A general offensive against Masonry was ordered just at this time, and no doubt the bloodhounds were on the trail of the Brethren in the capital as well as in the cities of the south; but it was in Murcia that the kill took place, so to say.

The Lodge in Granada had founded daughter Lodges in Cartagena, Alicante, and Murcia. The existence of the last mentioned became known to the police, who set a trap, into which walked a young officer, Juan Van-Halen, who was caught and flung into the prisons of the Inquisition in Madrid, and in later years wrote an account of his stay there which did not lose in the telling. What follows concerning him is taken mainly from the biography by Pio Baroja.

Juan Van-Halen was born in San Fernando (Isla de León) in 1788. His family came originally from Holland, and his grandmother, Brigida Murphy, was descended from an Irish family that settled in Spain after the Treaty of Limerick. He began life in the Navy, served against the French, and passed into the service of Joseph Bonaparte on the surrender of El Ferrol. He remained in the French service until 1814, when he was instrumental in betraying three towns in Catalonia to the patriots and was rewarded with a commission in the Spanish Army. On the 8th December, 1815, he was arrested in Jaén on suspicion of being a conspirator and sent to Malaga, where he ran the risk of being shot out of hand by General Elío, one of Fernando's Colonel Kirkes. Here Van-Halen secured an interview with the Conde de Montijo, Captain-General of Granada, who befriended him and allowed him to go to Granada on parole. He was soon pardoned, promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, and given extended leave. In Granada he was made a Freemason, a political one of course. He then joined his regiment, which was in garrison in Murcia, where he made the acquaintance of Romero Alpuente and many other celebrities implicated in the Masonic plot. An active Mason, Van-Halen helped to establish new Lodges in Alicante and Cartagena, and the Murcia Lodge elected him its President. In September, 1817, Van-Halen was arrested at a house in Murcia that he had taken for the purposes of his Masonic labours. He had been travelling through Murcia on business connected with the conspiracy, and in Velez Rubio had met the alcalde, Francisco Benevente, a retired officer, to whom he presented himself as a Mason and was received as such. Benevente introduced him to a Major Antonio Calvo, who proved to be a police spy. This man stole his correspondence and betrayed him; but all that the documents disclosed was the existence of many Lodges, not the names of the members. As is usual in such cases, Calvo was rumoured to be not the only traitor, and suspicions fell on José Manuel Regato, Romero Alpuente, and also on the woman who lived with the last named. Some arrests were made of people compromised by their friendship with Van-Halen, but no evidence could be produced against any but the principal actor, who was taken to Madrid and handed over to the Inquisition. Before the end of April, 1818, Van-Halen's Masonic friends in Madrid had been able to rescue him from the dungeon and smuggle him out of the country, which goes to show that the Inquisition had lost much of its former tenacity and efficiency.<sup>1</sup> The rest of his career does not concern us in the least. As an exile Van-Halen visited England, fought in the Russian Army, and helped to establish Belgian independence. He died in Cadiz in 1864.

### THE LODGE IN MADRID

The Lodge in Madrid in 1817 was, or so rumour said, installed in a Government building opening on the Prado through an alley-way (*Le Monde Maçonnique*, August, 1875). This building has been identified by Baroja as the one that housed the Dirección de Infantería, infantry headquarters; a side-

<sup>1</sup> Galiano tells us (*Recuerdos*, p. 78) that by 1808 the Inquisition in Spain had become so tame that nobody feared it.

light on how Masonry had penetrated the Army. Less credible is the statement, given on the authority of Ballesteros, that it continued to meet in the same place until 1848; if true, there must have been intervals of long years between some of the meetings.

If we care to take gossip as our guide, we hear that in Madrid existed a Masonic Directory, translated from Granada, presided over by a famous lawyer, unnamed, and composed of ten persons. Among these leaders were Colonel Felipe Arco Agüero, one of the five heroes of the Revolution of 1820, described as being young, handsome, black-eyed, elegant, and a great social success in Madrid. He was killed by a fall from his horse when Captain-General of Estramadura. Another was General Mariano Zorraquín, well-educated, brave, affable, and an extremist in politics. He became chief of staff to General Mina in the Catalan campaign of 1823, and was killed at Vich on the 26th May of that year. Also Colonel Salvador Manzanares, who had become an exile before 1820 for his political principles. Later he was to be Minister of State. In 1831 he rebelled, and was assassinated. Also Colonel Patricio Dominguez, later a general in the Carlist War, and his brother Joaquin, captain in the artillery. Manuel Nuñez, fellow-officer and friend of Quiroga, and Eusebio Polo were also members. The last name mentioned is that of Captain Facundo Infante, who was always distinguished for his Liberal ideas. He is said, and let whoever said it bear responsibility for the statement, to have formed a new Masonic Directory with Eusebio Polo, Torrijos, General Juan O'Donjú, and Evaristo San Miguel.<sup>1</sup>

This predicated Directory is said to have carried on a correspondence with the subordinate Lodges. I doubt the fact of its ever having come into being, for Galiano is most positive in asserting that the events of 1817 resulted in breaking the network of Masonry all over Spain for the time being. During 1818 he visited Madrid, and could not find a trace of a Lodge there, whereupon he resigned himself to the thought of going to Brazil as Secretary of Legation to a government which he loathed and wished to overthrow; for there seemed to him to be no hope of any revolution in the near future.

#### ENTER ENRIQUE O'DONNELL

However, by the beginning of 1819 things had once more taken a favourable turn for the conspirators. A large army, intended to fight against the revolting Creoles in the Spanish colonies in South America, had been collected in Andalucía.

Foreign service in America was deservedly unpopular with the troops; and since, as we have seen already, both Constitutionalism and Freemasonry had many supporters in the army, it was comparatively easy for the plotters in Cadiz to spread further dissatisfaction by establishing more and more Masonic Lodges in the regiments. The hopes of the conspirators were increased by the appointment of a new Commander-in-Chief in 1818, the Conde de La Bisbal.

Enrique José O'Donnell y Anatar was born in San Sebastian in 1775 of Irish descent. The first we hear of him is in January of the year 1810, when as an active and valiant young man, rather daring and ambitious of glory, who had won the affections of the Catalans by his adherence to the popular cause and the great bravery he had shown at the first siege of Gerona, he was Commander-in-Chief of the patriot armies in Catalonia. On the night of the 14th September, 1810, by a dashing feat of arms, O'Donnell took the town of La Bisbal by storm, and captured General Schwartz and the French garrison. He was badly wounded and lamed for life leading the assault. The victory

<sup>1</sup> After 1823 Infante had to leave Spain, and went to Peru. He returned home in 1834, fought against the Carlists, and rose to the rank of Colonel. In 1837 he became Minister of War, and died as Governor of the Invalides in Madrid in 1837. (Bejarano, *op. cit.*, p. 163 *et seq.*)

brought him later the title of Conde de La Bisbal, which he himself always spelt del Abisbal. On the defeat and capture of Blake at Valencia in 1812, the Cortes in Cadiz elected O'Donnell one of the five members of the Regency. After the restoration he was appointed Governor of Cadiz and Andalucía, and gave all the signs of having become an extreme loyalist and reactionary. On attempting to set himself up as a censor of morals, though he was separated from his wife and notorious for his mistresses, he became heartily detested by the good people of Cadiz, and no tears were shed on his departure to other employment. However, on his return to the district in 1819 as Governor and Captain-General of Andalucía, he behaved in such a changed and ingratiating way that all thought he had been converted to Constitutional doctrines. For instance, in 1819 he protected a fugitive from the Elio terror in Valencia, though he had received special orders from Madrid to search for and arrest the rebel in question.

"Some years before he had been received Freemason, and later he affiliated to the reformed Spanish Freemasonry," says Galiano.<sup>1</sup>

In politics O'Donnell changed sides so completely and so often that it is hard to credit him with any fixed principles. Galiano's verdict is perhaps the kindest I can quote: "The Conde de la Bisbal was scatterbrained as few men are. An hour after having thought one thing, he would think the direct contrary. Thus he was completely sincere in his violent changes."

After O'Donnell was deprived of his command in Andalucía as a result of events that are about to be described, he appeared to have definitely thrown in his lot with the Court Party; but on being sent out against the rebels in February, 1820, after meeting his brother Alejandro, a declared Liberal, at Ocaña, he put himself at the head of a small force, proclaimed the Constitution in La Mancha, and cut all communications between Madrid and Andalucía. This proved to be a potent factor in securing the ultimate success of the rebellion.

In 1823 he was engaged in another plot, this time in conjunction with Montijo against the Constitution. The Liberals imprisoned him, the French troops released him, and he went to live in France, where he died at Montpellier in 1834.

There were five O'Donnell brothers in the service of Spain at this time, scions of a noble Irish family always distinguished for its bravery. Of these brothers Enrique and Alejandro were, or at one time or another got the repute of being Liberals, Carlos and José were Loyalists. Carlos, from exile in Bayonne during the Constitutional period, wrote to Enrique reproaching him and Alejandro for their politics and challenging them to fight a double duel with him and José. The challenge was not accepted, or the fame of the Kilkenny cats might have been eclipsed by that of the O'Donnell Dons.

During the Carlist wars much O'Donnell blood was offered, ungrudgingly as ever, on either side. Carlos O'Donnell's son, Leopoldo O'Donnell (1809-67), Conde de Lucena and Duque de Tetuan, not only became Prime Minister several times but won fame and titles as a soldier. He increased Spain's Moroccan territory in the war of 1859—a doubtful blessing!

#### MENDIZABAL & CO.

When Galiano returned to Cadiz at the end of January, 1819, he was struck with amazement at the change that had taken place in the situation there. On his journey homewards through Andalucía he had noted a renewal of activity (meaning subversive activity) among the Brethren in the Lodges he visited. The ties of a common object and a common danger were binding all together in a

<sup>1</sup> Cecelia Corpas, spy for Fernando VII. and probable author of the pamphlet by "M.C.", "Précis historique de la rebellion en Espagne" (Paris, 1823), says that O'Donnell was made a Mason in Madrid in a Lodge where the Master was a sub-lieutenant, and that Lacy, Porlier, and Juan O'Donojú were also members of it; moreover, that in Masonry he was known as Brutus II. Add salt to suit your own palate.

stricter union. The culmination came on reaching Seville, where intimate friends informed him that all was being prepared in Cadiz for an immediate rising, in which La Bisbal would lead the whole army to demand from the King the restoration of the Constitution of 1812.

Here and then Galiano met for the first time a celebrity of the future, Mendizábal,<sup>1</sup> not yet famous, not yet a Brother, not yet in any exalted position, for he was no more than a partner in a firm of bankers and army contractors, but already actively engaged in the conspiracy; full of ideas and energy, he was to play a part in gaining success for the plot not much inferior to that of his new acquaintance. Indeed, Galiano goes so far as to say that to the pair of them must be given all the credit of having re-established the Constitution within a year of their first meeting. We need not pause to determine to whom the credit or discredit of the affair should be awarded, nor yet to echo Falstaff's complaint: "Lord, Lord, how subject we old men be to this vice of lying!"; for the fact is certain that on arriving in Cadiz at the beginning of February, 1819, Galiano found that the plot was indeed well advanced, and that La Bisbal was at the head of it.

From February to June, 1819, the conspiracy was brewing at Cadiz, but made little progress. La Bisbal undoubtedly played false with both sides. The Government in Madrid knew that he was intriguing with disaffected elements, but took no action: indeed, there was nothing it could do, lacking another army to face the one assembled in Andalucía.

The authorities in Madrid, as has been said, were far from being in ignorance of the true state of affairs in Andalucía, but were afraid to take any open action. Underhand action they undoubtedly took by working on the general's fears or cupidity, as became apparent later. From the conspirators' point of view also the situation was still unsatisfactory, inasmuch as they could treat with La Bisbal only through go-betweens, probably personal friends of his, a method which left the bulk of the plotters without opportunity to satisfy themselves about his sincerity. These negotiators, says Galiano, were "if not the least zealous, the least impatient, and had more confidence than was justified in the sincerity of the man on whom depended the fate of the plot and of the country".

The system of the Brotherhood was as follows: In Cadiz there was a Lodge of the inferior or common class (which I shall henceforth label with the Irish term Subordinate) with a membership made up of officers and civilians, and also one of the same kind in each of the regiments stationed in the various towns of Andalucía. Over all these authority was exercised by a Chapter, which held its sessions without any esoteric ceremonies in the house of Francisco Javier de Istúriz.<sup>2</sup> Those who formed this Chapter all held extreme political views, though of a Fascist rather than a democratic complexion. Between the Chapter, however, and the subordinate Lodges there existed an intermediate body, which, I fancy, must have been something in the nature of an assembly of Rose Croix or, perhaps,

<sup>1</sup> Juan Álvarez y Mendizábal (1790-1853), of Jewish origin. In 1819 he was a partner in the firm of Beltran de Lys. The eldest son of the house had been shot by General Elío during the terror in Valencia, which would well account for Mendizábal's taking the opposite side in politics. He remained an advanced Liberal all his life. A native of Cadiz, he had spent many years in England, besides an enforced exile there after 1823. He returned to Spain after the amnesty of 1833, and developed from a business man into a statesman and uncompromising opponent of the Carlists. On the 14th September, 1835, he was made Prime Minister, and at once decreed the liberty of the Press and introduced compulsory military service. On the 11th October, 1835, he suppressed all the religious communities, and used their funds to pay off part of the National Debt. When he proposed to extend the franchise and introduced other dangerous Liberal measures, his ministry fell, and was succeeded on the 16th May, 1836, by a Government of Moderados, including the Duque de Rivas, Istúriz, and his old ally in conspiracy, Galiano. In August, 1836, after the revolt of the Sergeants when the Constitution of Cadiz was restored, Mendizábal became Minister of Finance in the Calatravas Ministry.

<sup>2</sup> (1790-1864), who during the course of his life became President of the Senate, the Congress, and the Council of Ministers.

Knights of the East and West or the Spanish equivalent of the French Ecossais, each of which Masonic degrees has at various times in Latin countries claimed authority over those of the Craft. This intermediate body was composed of the most determined (*arrojados y diligentes*) conspirators, and, while not altogether neglecting the symbolic side of Masonry, its real function was to prepare plans for the projected rebellion, even to the length of drafting proclamations to the people, as though the moment were imminent when such documents would have to be pasted on the walls to arouse enthusiasm.

According to Villa-Urrutia,<sup>1</sup> this intermediate Masonic body was known as the *Taller Sublime* (Sublime Lodge), and had been erected expressly for the purpose of preparing the insurrection.

Of this body Galiano was a member; so was Evaristo San Miguel,<sup>2</sup> and these two formed the most active and daring elements in it, though Galiano is careful to disclaim their having held the chief positions or having exercised most influence in bringing about the decisions it took. This assertion does not harmonise with the importance assumed for his own efforts in other passages of his Memoirs. Consistency is the last thing we should demand from a master of statecraft, as he was. Anyway, this intermediate body set itself to spur on its superior, the Chapter, which met under the Presidency of Istúriz and seems to have been all for delayed action. Galiano and his backers were constant attenders at meetings of the subordinate Lodges to keep them in a fitting state of enthusiasm, and on such visits were accorded high honour as supposedly Masters of secrets not shared by the common herd of Freemasons.

By the beginning of June, 1819, it was obvious to the leaders that the revolt could not be much longer delayed. Ships were being collected to embark the troops for America, and General Pedro Sarsfield had arrived at Jerez to take command of the cavalry arm.

La Bisbal at once insisted that this newcomer should be won over to the plot, and declared he would be worth a division in himself.

Pedro Sarsfield, we are told, was a man so reserved (*seco*) as to appear a hypochondriac, and was rumoured to be addicted to drink and opium. Of his political opinions nothing definite was known, except that he was a Freemason and had been the intimate friend of another Ibero-Hibernian, the unfortunate General Luis Lacy—incidentally, it is amazing how many of the Spanish-Irish seem to have been Freemasons—whose execution he was said to have deplored; so, on the whole, it was thought that there might be a good chance of gaining his support for an enterprise that would, in a sense, avenge the death of his old friend.

### SARSFIELD RECEIVES A DEPUTATION

La Bisbal, while insisting that Sarsfield's adherence to the plot must be won, refused to become the recruiting officer in person, and the Masons had to accept both decisions and send other ambassadors to the commander of the cavalry. The Masonic Chapter presided over by Istúriz accordingly chose and dispatched three envoys, two soldiers and one civilian.

The first was a dashing, if somewhat scatterbrained, artillery officer, Don José Grases, in later life a general and governor of Madrid. He had some old acquaintance, if not friendship, with Sarsfield. The second officer, also a gunner, Don Bartolomé Gutierrez de Acuña, had, in the opinion of our informant,

<sup>1</sup> *Fernando VII.*, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Evaristo San Miguel y Valledor, born Gijón 1785, died 1862. In 1819 he was only a major in the infantry. He became Prime Minister during the Constitutional period, and remained a Liberal all his life. He held a portfolio in Espartero's Ministry (1840-43), and became President of the Constituent Cortes in 1854. He is better remembered as the author of the famous Hymn of Riego, the Spanish Marseillaise, to which Republican armies still march to victory, *si Dios quiera*.

acquired a reputation for rather more ability than he actually owned. The civilian member of the embassy was, however, destined to become much more famous than the others in the underground workings of the period. This was José Moreno de Guerra y Navarro, notorious later as one of the chiefs of the Comuneros. Galiano says that he was a scion of a recently ennobled family in Córdoba, and was wont to thrust his birth, as well as his revolutionary ideas, into the ears of all within range of his loquacity. He had read a good deal, though without method, and was particularly proud of his acquaintance with the "Prince" of Machiavelli. The philosophy acquired from this book had made him unscrupulous in the means employed to gain his ends. Daring in speech but cowardly in action, his chief desire was to obtain notoriety; and though possessed of ample private means he was always more prodigal of words than money. Full of strange and unexpected sallies, he was in short a queer fish, is the final summing up of his former friend and fellow-conspirator Galiano, whom we might suspect of being a trifle too candid and uncharitable in this instance.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the deputation of conspirators sent to sound Sarsfield at Jerez, where he had established his headquarters. The failure of the mission was complete, for after having encouraged the ambassadors to make a full disclosure of their business with him the general refused to have anything to do with the plot. Nevertheless, he allowed the visitors to depart in peace and did not place them under arrest, as was his bounden duty, all of which looks as if Sarsfield may have been practising the art of sitting on the fence in a crisis; later when visibility had improved he went full speed ahead to get in line with the forces of law and order.

This failure to secure a famous recruit and the knowledge that their secrets had been divulged to no purpose caused great perturbation among the members of the Supreme Chapter. One person, whom Galiano refrains from naming, went so far as to advocate the removal of Sarsfield by assassination; but the vile proposal found none to support it. To the thinking heads it was now plainer than ever that action of some kind would have to be taken, with all speed, so the intermediate Masonic body, to which allusion has already been made, convoked an assembly of delegates from all the subordinate Lodges, the bulk of which were regimental.

The meeting, which was crowded, took place at night in Cadiz in a large hall, very obscurely lighted. In describing what happened on this occasion, Galiano gives what is almost the only piece of information to be found in the whole of his memoirs about the Masonic ceremonies, as he knew them, for, to his credit be it said, no matter how much he came to disapprove of Freemasonry in his old age, he never betrayed any secret he had learnt in the Lodges. The most important passages in his account I shall translate literally.

"In the ritual and plan (*planta*) of the Society is an individual whose office bears the title of Orator, although he is nothing of the sort, since his function is limited to reading brief documents. I filled this post, by way of prelude to subsequent oratorical performances"—which is Galiano's modest way of alluding to his own great and deserved reputation for eloquence. "I confess that just at that time my fanaticism was afire . . . and being by nature unusually passionate, the place, the nature of the gathering, the imminent danger, the seriousness of the future, all contributed to excite me, and give a frenzied vitality to my words, tones and gestures." I tore into tatters the veil of useless symbolism through which most of the Brethren had already seen, summoned them to revolt, described the tyranny under which we groaned, etc. . . . and as a climax, seizing a drawn

<sup>1</sup> Moreno de Guerra had been born in Córdoba in 1777. In 1814 he had been imprisoned as a Liberal, but was released on condition that he went to reside in Cadiz, where, of course, he joined in the Masonic plot and became a member of the Supreme Chapter. After 1823 he fled to Morocco, where he went on plotting and was condemned to death *in absentia*. In 1826 he came to England, and died just after landing in Liverpool. The circumstances of his death were mysterious, and suggested assassination.

sword<sup>1</sup> which in our Rite had to be and always was upon the table, I cried, 'Swear to carry out this enterprise, and swear it upon this sword, the symbol of honour, which not for any vain purpose is exposed to your eyes in this place!' A unanimous shout of approval that was almost a yell answered my words, and almost everyone present rushed forward in a tumult, and took the oath on the sword in a state of mad enthusiasm not inferior to my own".

### THE PARADE OF EL PALMAR

La Bisbal must have heard of this scene, and perhaps it led him to reconsider his course. At all events, after a conference with Sarsfield, who had behaved in the meantime as though he were not unkindly disposed to the conspirators, and whom it is hard to acquit of having played a double game throughout, though I should like to think that he had turned the blind eye on the plotting of his young officers more from benevolence than cunning, the Commander-in-Chief took his measures so well that on the morning of the 7th July, 1819, at a parade held at El Palmar, a dozen or so of the leaders among the disaffected officers, including the San Miguel brothers and Brigadier Demetrio O'Daly, yet another with the triune qualification of Ibero-Hibernian, Freemason and conspirator, were all arrested and placed in custody. It was a custody, however, so mild and so ineffective to prevent further mischief, that one cannot but wonder whether La Bisbal did not play false by both sides, the conspirators and the Court. After the arrests he appeared ashamed of his action and did not pursue repressive measures. No civilians were molested or prosecuted for having taken part in the plot, and even some of the military well known to have been mixed up in it were left at liberty and without any reprimand.

Fernando had a good nose for scenting stinking fish. La Bisbal was given a high decoration for what he had done to suppress sedition, and promptly relieved of his command in Andalucia.<sup>2</sup>

Sarsfield, after that fateful colloquy with La Bisbal, in which he almost certainly brushed away the latter's indecision and induced him to take the path he did, still continued to conceal his true colours: or he may even have flown false ones, if the story be accepted that in the course of conversations with Acuña, who was now stationed at Jerez, he said that personally he wished the revolt every success and blamed La Bisbal for his delays and lack of decision. Such a statement, if made, must have been meant to give his dupes a false sense of security, for on the night of the 6th July he put both Acuña and Grases under arrest. It was not of long duration, for within a few days they broke prison and escaped to Gibraltar, always a convenient bolt-hole for political fugitives.

Another unpleasant story current about Sarsfield is that he jeered at the officers arrested in the coup at El Palmar on the morning of the 7th July. Let us hope it is not true. Be it noted, in passing, he was promoted Lieutenant-General for his share in suppressing the mutiny.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The sword is still regarded as one of the W.T. in some of the Rites in use on the Continent of Europe. From a rare book by one Terballes, recently acquired for Grand Lodge Library, published in Paris in 1823, though written in Spanish, and entitled *Extracto de diferentes monumentos secretos*, I translate the following passage on page 2: "All the Freemasons in all the Lodges and in every Degree are armed with their swords, because this is the most imposing article of military equipment to attend and protect all religious ceremonies, scientific researches, and the labours of the Initiates."

<sup>2</sup> Felix de Calleja, Conde de Calderon, succeeded La Bisbal as Commander-in-Chief, and was taken prisoner by the revolted troops on the outbreak in January, 1820.

<sup>3</sup> It is hardly to be wondered at that the man who upset this plot has not had a good Press in Spain ever since. Sarsfield, says Pio Baroja, had all the indifference of a foreigner for law and order in Spain. His ideas were all on the side of the Absolutists and reactionaries, so on the outbreak of the Carlist War he was on the point of throwing in his lot with Don Carlos, when he received what he considered to be an affront, and went over to the Queen's party. In 1837, old and misanthropical, without a friend left in the ranks of the Queen's party, he was in command at Pampluna, when he was murdered at Vitoria in a mutiny of his own troops.

## A TRAVELLING DELEGATE OF SEDITION

When the news of these arrests at El Palmar became known in Cadiz there was consternation in the Lodges. Some of the leaders, including Istúriz and Moreno de Guerra, fled, but the vast majority, among whom was Galiano, remained to brave the danger and to build up on the ruins of one plot another which was to have better success.

Though a wild-cat scheme to kidnap La Bisbal, the traitor, was at once set on foot by some half-dozen enthusiasts, it came to nothing: the game seemed up for the time being, and Galiano once again began to think seriously of betaking himself to his legation in Brazil. On the pretext of looking for a ship he went to Gibraltar, where Istúriz and other friends had taken refuge. While he was here news arrived from Cadiz that the shipwrecked plot was once more afloat, and in order to ascertain how far this was true the refugees decided to send emissaries to visit the regimental Lodges in various parts of Andalucía.

Galiano volunteered for this mission which was one of some danger. He first visited Algeciras, where he found the Brethren who had been so enthusiastic two years previously were now so terrified by recent events that they would have nothing more to do with his plot, nor with him either. Thence he made his way to Cadiz, and had great difficulty in gaining entrance to the city, for a sanitary cordon of troops had been established around it because of an outbreak of yellow fever. Once inside the walls he learnt that during his absence the ranks of the conspirators had been strengthened by many new recruits, the most valuable of whom were Mendizábal and Domingo Antonio de la Vega, the latter of whom managed affairs in Cadiz while the former was sowing the good seed of unrest in the various army cantonments, to all of which he had easy access as a contractor to the forces. It should be explained that in September of 1819 all the troops except one battalion had been sent out of Cadiz on account of the yellow fever, and consequently the real strength of the plot had gone from the city, though the brain directing it remained there.

De la Vega was one of the oldest Freemasons in Spain, and had belonged to the Order long before it became political in its aims. Since 1816 he had had no fraternal communication with the new society, and in 1818 had formed in Cadiz a Lodge of his own "of the Ancient Rite without any connexion with the Moderns". These, the exact words of Galiano, seem notable to me, and beget speculations about where and how he obtained his Warrant. Was the Scottish Provincial Grand Lodge of Andalucía still functioning? However obtained, the Warrant did not have an undisturbed existence for long: "By an incredible blunder the house in which this uninfluential and weak body met was raided by the government police, but at a time when no one was there, the only things found being the paraphernalia used for the symbolism and rites".

This incident had little or no importance, except to draw the attention of the conspirators to de la Vega, by whose experience and advice they hoped to profit. They made approaches to him, and in the upshot he became, as has been said, one of the most active leaders of political Masonry.

In the long run Antonio de la Vega was of little service to the plot, but in the early days had his value because of his high reputation (*por la clase de concepto de que gozaba*). He had been unlucky in his profession as barrister and was almost briefless, and being poor and discontented often offended people by his bad temper. He helped on the revolution less by deed than name, for he was popular because of his constant adherence to the cause of liberty having suffered persecution as a supporter of former plots against Absolutism.

After Riego's blow was struck, de la Vega showed himself timid and averse to spreading the news of the revolt through Cadiz, and Galiano insinuates that the reason was his fear of not obtaining one of the high positions for himself in the new state of affairs; and he adds that Vega's vacillation

when Quiroga's troops were approaching the city lost Cadiz for the insurgents.<sup>1</sup>

Galiano, who had to fly for his life as a result of this contretemps, is hardly unprejudiced, and it might not be hard to suggest a more charitable reason for de la Vega's indecision in moments of crisis.

After the revolution had triumphed de la Vega became head of the patriotic debating club in Cadiz, a post of honour but no profit, and was never given any reward by the Constitutional government for his services to the revolution. Truly, an unlucky man, who, I suspect, was too much of an idealist for his day and for his own advantage.

Mendizábal was fashioned of different metal. Scarcely had he been received into the Society when he began to distinguish himself by audacity, activity, and an inventive imagination—"a man without his equal in times of disorder to bring things to a happy outcome by strange paths." The eulogy seems justified. Through his incitement the regimental Lodges resumed the labours interrupted by the arrest of those who had been their leaders; and the regimental Lodges were of course the sinews and thews of the plot.

The one thing now lacking in the machinery of the plot was a general to lead the disaffected troops. There was living at this time, September, 1819, in Seville a man of talent and education, credited as one of the chief Masons in Spain, General Juan O'Donojú. He knew that a conspiracy was afoot and sympathised with the aims of the conspirators, though probably not with the methods they were adopting. Not long before he had been imprisoned on suspicion of being involved in another plot to restore the Constitution, perhaps Richard's plot of the Triangle in 1815.<sup>2</sup>

In 1819 when O'Donojú was sounded by the conspirators he refused to become the ostensible head of the revolt; perhaps he thought it dishonourable to assume the leadership of troops in mutiny, perhaps he had learnt caution from former failures; at all events, he preferred to remain a secret supporter and well-wisher, and did not come out into the open as a leader.

A military leader of some sort had to be found. Again it was Mendizábal who suggested an expedient: simplicity itself. He proposed that the troops should be told that a general, unnamed, would appear at zero hour to lead them, and, further, that he, Mendizábal in person, disguised in an appropriate uniform, would be on hand at the critical moment to play the part. This plan, however, seemed too mad, even to the greatest enthusiasts, so it was decided, and subsequently put into practice in the person of Quiroga, that since a general officer was not available, a conspirator of lower military rank should take over command, with the promise of promotion in case of success.

So the plot went on, Galiano remaining hidden in Cadiz in the house of a Masonic friend, Don José Maria Montero, a young apothecary, and only venturing out at night. While he was living there four people died of yellow fever in the same house. I quote these trifles of detail to show that being an active Mason in Spain in those days meant contemplating death in no mere symbolic manner, and facing it in more ways than before a firing squad.

<sup>1</sup> De la Vega in 1821 became President of the Cadiz Provincial Chapter, which was to share in his own unpopularity.

<sup>2</sup> The statement that connects O'Donojú in the Triangle Plot comes from a tainted source: *Précis Historique de la Rébellion en Espagne*, by M.C. (Paris, 1823). According to Pío Baroja, M.C. was the pseudonym of Cecelio Corpas, Spanish Consul at Bayonne, and intriguer for Fernando in France. (*Vide Baroja Juan Van-Halen*, pp. 70, 76.) Juan O'Donojú, of Irish descent, was born in Seville in 1762. Don Juan and his brother, Don Tomas, who was born in Ireland, began their military careers in the Irish regiment *Hibernia* in the service of Spain, and both rose to the rank of general. In 1821 Don Juan was sent as Captain-General to Mexico, where he signed the treaty with Iturbide that recognised Mexican independence, and died shortly afterwards. The conspiracy known as the Triangle was discovered in Madrid in 1815. Its organiser was Vicente Ramón Richard, who was born in Valencia, fought for Spain during the war, and became afterwards Commissioner for La Mancha. Other famous people, such as Renovales, Juan O'Donojú, and La Bisbal, were said to be implicated, probably merely because they were reputed Freemasons. Richard confessed nothing about his associates at his trial, and was executed in Madrid in 1816.

At the beginning of November it looked as if the time for action had come. The actual directors of the plot in Cadiz had been reduced, by exile or prudence, to Sebastián Fernández Vallesa,<sup>1</sup> young Montero; Olegario de los Cuetos, then only a naval lieutenant, in later years a Minister of State; Galiano himself; and to complete the list two briefless barristers, de la Vega being one of them—a knot of men as ludicrously small and uninfluential as ever changed the destinies of a great nation. However, the army had faith in this Cadiz Directory, and since means of communication were irregular and dangerous the rank and file had no difficulty in persuading themselves that their orders came from people of importance who had command of extraordinary powers, and so the troops continued to support the plot in all good faith, nothing doubting.

The Directory resolved at this juncture that Galiano should make a tour of the disaffected garrisons to see with his own eyes how matters stood. His first visit was to Alcalá de los Gazules, where many of the officers arrested the previous July were still awaiting a court martial. Chief of these in importance was Colonel Antonio Quiroga, later to be much in the eye and ear of Europe. With him Galiano was able to confabulate without any hindrance, for all the officers under arrest were allowed to go to and fro at will inside the town and receive in their quarters whatever visitors they chose; and this state of affairs existed despite the fact that the officer in charge of them had been given strict orders to keep them in seclusion and admit nobody to their prison. Such was the obedience given to the government of Fernando VII, *Cosas de España!*

While Galiano was at Alcalá he stayed in the prison itself, and slept in Quiroga's room. To pile a Pélion of injury upon an Ossa of contempt for the minions of Absolutism he held an emergency Lodge meeting in the town before his departure. In his own words: "In that very same town I initiated an Officer into the Society, dispensing with a few formalities but still observing those I deemed essential, the Lodge room being a small cave in the hill on which the town is built, and my chair a rough ashlar of medium size."

Galiano confesses that he lied like a trooper to his military Brethren about the resources of the Cadiz Directory, and thus confirmed his trusting friends in their determination to revolt. The most important result of the visit was that he fixed on Quiroga as a suitable person to become the leader of the insurgent regiments; and the selection can be said to have proved a success, though in the ensuing campaign it was actually Riego who did most of the leadership and became in the eyes of the mob the hero of the revolution.

Galiano, pursuing his journey of inspection, then directed his way towards Arcos de la Frontera, where the headquarters of the army lay, a place therefore of the greatest importance and most dangerous to visit. He actually arrived within sight of this town, which is also situated on a hill, when he was met by a friend, one Bustillos, an artillery officer, who had been sent out by the Brethren to warn him not to venture into the place; so he departed for Villamartin, where one of the most zealous Lodges sat, and from here he sent out messages convoking an assembly of delegates from all the Lodges within reach—"heading the summons by quoting the highest titles with which I was invested in the Society." A considerable number of delegates gathered at his lodging in response to this call, and on Galiano's suggestion and advice they selected Quiroga to be their leader in the rising.

Galiano then set off on his return to Cadiz via Medina-Sidonia, a town filled with his relatives and friends of the family, none of whom approved of his politics, for which reason he did not enter it, not even to see his young son, who was living there in charge of an old aunt. At some convenient spot in the suburbs he held a Lodge meeting which was attended by all the local

<sup>1</sup> Fernández Vallesa, who acted as travelling delegate to the troops in 1819, was not in the public eye much after the revolution, but attained some eminence in his profession of the law, and died as a magistrate of the Supreme Court.

conspirators. From there he made his way to San Fernando, got through the sanitary cordon by means of a stratagem, and from the latter place drove into Cadiz sitting openly in the wagon that was conveying the royal mails from Madrid, because the local postmaster was among the most ardent supporters of the conspiracy. Postal officials all over Spain were as deep in plotting as the military.<sup>1</sup>

In the meantime Mendizábal had been similarly engaged in other localities, and, according to Galiano, the resurgence of the plot among the troops was almost entirely due to his activities, "confirming the resolute in their designs, lending heat to the lukewarm, giving fresh heart to the disheartened, speeding up the work of the lodges, and strengthening the bonds that united them."

Fernandez Vallesa, in later life Judge of the Supreme Court, followed in Galiano's footsteps as travelling delegate to the military Lodges, and right well did he perform his task, which was to spread the news among the initiated that Quiroga had been selected as leader of the mutineers.

How to raise money to finance the revolt became the next and most serious problem. Galiano had run through his own personal fortune, and could contribute only a trifle to the war-chest; Montero provided 20,000 reals, say £200; and Cuetos exhausted all his credit to raise 1,000 dollars. There was never any thought taken of appealing to the wealthy citizens of Cadiz for funds; it was a poor man's revolution.

Istúriz, who had now returned to Cadiz in ignorance of everything that had been going on in his absence, was asked to contribute to the war-chest by Galiano, who visited him for that express purpose on Christmas Day, 1819, and to do so broke his invariable rule of never leaving the house except at night. He disguised himself for the occasion, but even so was running a dangerous risk, since the streets were thronged for the festival and some enemy might easily have recognised him. He reached Istúriz's house in safety, and the latter, on being told of the most recent developments in the plot, considered it doomed to failure, but out of affection for Galiano contributed 1,000 dollars. The latter carried the money off in a bag hidden under his cloak. He was not strong physically, the coins were heavy in bulk, the bag showed signs of splitting, he was in terror of being recognised and arrested, and so by the time he reached his own door he was in a state of complete collapse.

On the next day, 26th, December, 1819, a message reached Galiano from Mendizábal bidding him come to Jerez without delay, a summons which he obeyed at once, travelling in disguise. On his arrival at Jerez he was welcomed by Mendizábal, full of his own importance and not without reason, who declared that the day of revolt had almost arrived, and that he was now going to take Galiano to Cabezas de San Juan to meet one of the officers who would take a leading part in the rebellion. This person proved to be no other than the famous Rafael del Riego y Nuñez, whose name is still a battle-cry for Republican Spain. In December, 1819, he was only a major in the Asturian Regiment.<sup>2</sup>

### RIEGO AND OTHERS

I have no space here to sketch Riego's career as a patriot, Liberal, conspirator and martyr, much less to weigh the opposing estimates that have been given of his character as a man and as a soldier; it will be enough to record that as a member of the Brotherhood he had played a minor part in the conspiracy betrayed at El Palmar by La Bisbal in 1819, but had managed

<sup>1</sup> Vicente de la Fuente, *Op. cit.*, says that in 1821-2 the Grand Master of Freemasonry in Spain was José Campos, Director-General of Posts. I note this statement without attaching any importance to it, for nothing is more common in the writings of anti-Masons, such as was de la Fuente, than to find an ordinary Master of a Lodge invested with an honour and dignity he never attained, such as a Grand Mastership.

<sup>2</sup> Rafael del Riego y Nuñez, born in the Asturias, 1785; hanged in Madrid, 1823.

to escape arrest, and even had been promoted as a result of it, because two of his intimate friends in the same regiment, the San Miguel brothers, had been among the officers imprisoned on that occasion, and he was given the vacant majority.

Mendizábal thought highly of the services rendered by Riego in reorganising the regimental Lodge or plot, call it which you will, hence the visit to Cabezas de San Juan. The envoys reached this place on the 27th December, a notable date both politically and Masonically. Here Galiano learnt that the plan was for the Asturian troops to leave Cabezas on the night of 31st December—in the outcome Riego did not march till the 1st January, 1820—and push on to the headquarters of the army at Arcos, joining there with another regiment from Villamartin; then to take the staff prisoners, and issue a proclamation in favour of liberty and General Quiroga. The latter, after having been set at liberty by the troops at Alcalá, would march on Medina-Sidonia, where he would be joined by other revolted regiments, and after that to Cadiz, where the loyal garrison would be taken by surprise. Simultaneously Colonel Miguel Lopez de Baños of the artillery, one of the most ardent conspirators, was to collect disaffected troops in the interior of the province and march them to the coast to join with Quiroga's forces.

What actually happened was that Riego marched on the 1st January and surprised Arcos at nightfall, taking the staff prisoners. The other two plans miscarried, Quiroga was held up in San Fernando by the bravery of a young major<sup>1</sup> with a mere handful of loyal troops, and Cadiz did not fall.

The three conspirators, after discussing this plan of campaign in Riego's quarters, separated, Mendizábal returning to Jerez and Galiano to Cadiz. Arriving there he found that Istúriz had been arrested. All the members of the Directory were in despair about this, for though he was not a leader in the new plot, it looked as if his fate might soon be theirs. Galiano enheartened them with the news of the imminence of a mutiny in the army, and assured them that they would be able to free their friend in a few days.

But the days passed and nothing happened. The first two days of January brought no news to Cadiz of any revolt anywhere, and naturally Galiano could hardly contain himself for anxiety. At long last, late at night on the 2nd January, a stranger arrived at Galiano's lodging and said he had a message for him. "I did not know him, never having seen him before in my life, but he gave me the signs by which we recognise one another, and then . . ."

In short, the messenger brought news that the blow had been struck, headquarters surprised, Quiroga set free, and that he was now marching on Cadiz at the head of his troops.

This we may take as the end of the first act of the drama, because, though several anxious months were to pass before the supporters of the Constitution could count on having full triumph, I have neither time nor inclination to detain you with a synopsis of the various marches and skirmishes that conducted them to the gates of Madrid. We have seen how the Spanish Masons won a victory over a despotic government. We must next examine the use they made of that victory; and then, alas! take a glance at how they governed the land when themselves in power.

<sup>1</sup> Luis de Córdoba, later a famous general for the Queen in the Carlist War.

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At the conclusion of the paper, a cordial vote of thanks was accorded to Bro. J. Heron Lepper, on the proposition of the Worshipful Master, seconded by the Senior Warden.

The second portion of the paper will appear in the next volume of the *Transactions*, and the comments offered at this meeting will be printed at the end of that portion.

## THE PHŒNIX LODGE AT PARIS

BY BRO. J. R. DASHWOOD



THE Royal Arch Certificate issued by the Union Lodge of Colombo to Professor Erasmus Rask, discovered by Bro. M. K. Jaeger in the Grand Lodge Museum at Copenhagen, bears an endorsement showing that the Royal Arch activities of the Union Lodge were carried on under the sanction of the Phoenix Lodge at Paris. This naturally led me to investigate the history of this latter body, to try to find out why it should have been acting, apparently, as a Grand Chapter, and the nature of the Rite that it claimed to administer. Further avenues of research opened out, involving Germain Hacquet, the Comte de Grasse-Tilly, the Island of Haiti, from which they both came, and the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, from which that Island seems to have derived the greater part of its Masonry. This paper is written to place on record the facts collected in the course of this search.

To follow the reason why Hacquet and de Grasse-Tilly returned to France when they did requires a knowledge of the outlines of Haitian history. The Island of Haiti, St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, was divided into two unequal parts, the western third being held by the French and the eastern two-thirds by the Spanish; the former is now the Republic of Haiti, and the latter the Dominican Republic. The French developed the western part to a condition of great prosperity by the use of slave labour, but the revolution in France had its repercussions in Haiti, and from about 1791 there were continual insurrections of slaves and mulattos against the white planters. After the declaration of the Rights of Man it was hardly possible for France to oppose the aspirations of the negroes to similar rights, and in 1793 a decree was promulgated abolishing slavery. The planters, whose prosperity was threatened by the manumission of the slaves, and whose interests were in any case Royalist, thereupon invited England to intervene and take over the Colony. Meanwhile, a great negro leader had emerged, in the person of Toussaint L'Ouverture; he took the side of the Republican Commissioners of the Island against the Royalist planters. Appalling barbarities were practised on both sides, but Toussaint himself seems to have been always opposed to cruelty and reprisals. When, in 1793, British troops were sent from Jamaica, Toussaint fought successfully against them with guerrilla and delaying tactics, and the mortality, consequent upon the very unhealthy climate made effective by these delaying tactics, was so high that after some five years of desultory fighting, in which England spent an immense amount of money and lost some 25,000 men, the attempt was finally abandoned and the English troops withdrawn in 1798. Meanwhile, in 1795, the Spanish part of the Island had been ceded to France, and, on the departure of the British, Toussaint was more or less in control of the whole in the name of France. Napoleon, however, determined to depose Toussaint and re-establish slavery, and sent 30,000 troops, under his brother-in-law, Leclerc, to carry out the scheme. Warned of what was intended, Toussaint resisted, and for a time successfully, until he was captured by treachery and deported to France, where he died in prison. This proved a very unwise move on the part of France, for, the restraint of Toussaint's mildness being removed, it released the full barbarity of his subordinate negro generals, and when Leclerc again attempted to

disarm the blacks, the rising was universal and dreadful massacres of the whites ensued. In 1802 Napoleon sent 20,000 reinforcements, but continued guerrilla tactics, and yellow fever, took such a toll of the white troops that France was forced to evacuate the Island in November, 1803.

Masonry had been established on the Island by the Grand Orient of France as early as 1749, but Lodges were also warranted by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania from about 1786 onwards. Masonry must, of course, have been restricted entirely to the whites, since they were completely intolerant and looked upon the mulattos as on a par with the slaves; anything affecting the white population would, therefore, have been immediately reflected in the Lodges. Gould tells us that after the 1791 disturbances a number of French Brethren, refugees from St. Domingo, were granted a dispensation by the Grand Lodge of New York to meet as a Lodge in that city, where a large number of Haitian Brethren found an asylum, including the Provincial Grand Master of the colony. When the reinforcements were sent from France in 1802, many of these former colonists also returned, only to be forced to fly once more the following year, when the Island was finally evacuated.

In spite of the uncertainty of these troublous times, Masonry seems to have had a strong hold in the west part of the Island, for Gould gives a list of no less than nine Lodges warranted by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania alone, amongst which I would draw special attention to two, to which I shall have occasion to refer later, namely, No. 47, "Union of Franco-American Hearts", at Port-au-Prince, founded in 1789, and No. 98, "Perseverance", at Les Abricots, warranted as late as 5th September, 1803. The Minutes of the Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania for 18th December, 1800, show that a Chapter had been formed "under a warrant of Lodge No. 47" at Port Republicain (the revised name of Port-au-Prince); this was sanctioned and approved by the Grand Chapter. Perseverance Lodge No. 98 also had a Chapter, and a Certificate is extant to prove that it was working the Royal Arch in May, 1803, five months before the date of its warrant.

Among the refugees from St. Domingo, de Grasse-Tilly seems to have been one of those who went to New York, while Germain Hacquet went to Philadelphia; the former was a landed proprietor and planter, and the latter a notary. While in the States, de Grasse-Tilly took up the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, then in process of being expanded to 33 degrees ("Rebold and Kloss concur in assigning the year 1801 as that of the creation of the 33°."—Gould, vol. iii, p. 129), while Hacquet entered the Rite of Perfection of 25 degrees at Philadelphia, and received the 25°. De Grasse-Tilly received a Patent from the Sov. Grand Council of the 33° of Charleston, dated 21st February, 1802, appointing him Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of the French Antilles, while Hacquet, four years earlier in 1798, had been appointed, by Pierre Le Barbier Duplessis<sup>1</sup> at Philadelphia, a Deputy Inspector General of the Rite of Perfection. I think there must always have been the likelihood of rivalry between these two, especially as Tilly was an Aristocrat and Hacquet a Bourgeois, and this probably had something to do with the relative positions of the two men in France, and with the non-recognition of Hacquet's "Rite d'York" Royal Arch by the Grand Orient.

Hacquet is said to have returned to St. Domingo (presumably in 1802), only to be forced to leave again in 1803; he was certainly in Philadelphia on November 17th of the latter year, and again on 19th December, when he was present at a meeting of the Grand Chapter and is mentioned in the Minutes,<sup>2</sup> but he must have left very soon afterwards, for he reached Paris early in 1804. Tilly, on the other hand, probably did not return to St. Domingo at all, but was just thinking

<sup>1</sup> Then Grand Secretary of Pennsylvania, and later (in 1807) Deputy Grand Master.

<sup>2</sup> "Present . . . Germain Harguet, 3rd G.M., No. 47." The words "3rd G.M." refer to the Office in which he acted on this occasion in the Grand Chapter, not to any permanent rank; they signify the Guardian of the Third Veil.

of doing so, when the second evacuation took place, and he also went to France instead, arriving there about three months after Hacquet. In Paris, Hacquet founded his Council of Princes of the Royal Secret, 25°, while Tilly, coming later, established a Supreme Council of the 33° for France.

The condition of Masonic affairs in France at this time was terribly confused, and I have not been able to sort out where these events occurred. Gould (vol. iii, p. 124) says:—

“Hacquet had founded on the Paris Lodge of the ‘Triple Union and Phoenix’ a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret”

as if it were a single Lodge; but this is not the case, for the Calendar shows that “la Triple Unité (Ecos.)” was founded on 25th September, 1801, more than two years before Hacquet arrived, whereas Phoenix Lodge was not warranted until 14th June, 1804; moreover, in the Calendar for 1805, soon after Hacquet had founded his Council, the two Lodges appear quite separately and under different Masters, Phoenix being under Hacquet at Neuve St.-Eustache, No. 35, and Triple Union under one Defondeville at Rue Cassette, No. 825. Findel (Murray Lyon’s English edition) is in general agreement with Gould, but shows the two Lodges as separate entities. Lantoiné, in his *Franc-Maçonnerie Française chez elle*, says that Hacquet started his Rite of Perfection in the Lodge “des Sept Ecossais”, while Ragon says it was also in that Lodge that he worked his York-Rite Royal Arch. The Lodge des Sept Ecossais does not figure in the Grand Orient Calendar, but this may be because the Grand Orient refused to adopt either of Hacquet’s Rites, and so the Lodge probably worked without coming on the Register of the Grand Orient. A Lodge “des Sept Ecossais Réunis” was warranted by the G.O. on 4th February, 1809; possibly this is the same Lodge after it had made its peace with the Grand Orient. Both Triple Union and Phoenix were on the G.O. Register (only the latter under the direct rule of Hacquet), and it seems unlikely that he would have deliberately flouted the authority of the G.O. by working forbidden Rites under their warrant, whereas he might well do so in a separate Lodge not on the Register, and at the same time work the recognised degrees in Phoenix.

It is curious that both Gould and Findel should speak of Tilly’s and Hacquet’s authority as derived from New York, for it seems clear that Tilly had his Patent from Charleston, and Hacquet from Pennsylvania; the Grand Librarian of the latter State wrote me the following confirmation:—

“Germain Hacquet . . . was a Past Master of Lodge Union of Franco-American Hearts, held at Port-au-Prince, in the Island of St. Domingo, in 1797, then under the Jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. He resigned and was admitted a member of Lodge La Française L’Amenité, No. 73, December 13, 1797, in Philadelphia, Pa. He withdrew his membership from this Lodge June 2, 1798, and evidently returned to St. Domingo. However, during the year 1798 he was appointed a Deputy Grand Inspector General at Philadelphia by Pierre Le Barbier Duplessis. He became Deputy Provincial Grand Master of the Provincial Grand Lodge of St. Domingo.”<sup>1</sup>

It was, no doubt, in virtue of this appointment as Deputy Inspector General that he established the Rite of Perfection in France, and Tilly, although his Patent was restricted to the French Antilles, used it to establish his Supreme Council of the 33° for France. Gould (*loc. cit.*) tells us that “Hacquet supported Tilly, but refused to enter into any union with him, alleging that the two rites were not identical”.

<sup>1</sup> This Provincial Grand Lodge was set up 9th January, 1802, by the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and Hacquet was the first Deputy Prov.G.M., his principal being Antoine Mathieu Dupotel, also a member of Lodge No. 47, at Port-au-Prince.

Both de Grasse-Tilly and Hacquet became important Officers of the Grand Orient, the former being the Special Representative of the Grand Master, and the latter President of the Grand Chapter, later the Grand Council of Rites. Lantoine says that this post was given to him as a sop to solace him for the rejection of his Rites.

The Warrant of Phoenix Lodge from the Grand Orient was granted on 14th June, 1804, and its number was 496. It seems to have been founded in the first place as a Lodge of Scots Masters, for it is given in the Calendar for 1805 as "le Phénix (Ecos.)"; but it soon began to collect other degrees, and Lantoine (p. 228) transcribes a warrant for the "English and Scotch" degrees issued to them six months later by the "Mother Lodge Constance", of Arras. I have no clue as to what these degrees were, but presumably they were different from the ordinary Scots Master, since the Lodge thought it necessary to obtain a second warrant. The following is a free translation of the transcription:—

To the Glory of the Great Architect of the Universe  
to whom the hearts of the just turn  
In the name and under the authority of the Grand East of London.  
Scottish and English Mother Lodge Constance of Arras  
To all regular Masons in the world to whom these presents come  
**HEALTH                      STRENGTH                      UNITY**

Having received the Petition sent to us by the Scots Lodge Phoenix praying us to grant a warrant to found and set up a Lodge of English and Scottish Masons in the Valley of Paris, having given it due consideration, and wishing to give the Lodge the gratification which it desires and deserves, by the unanimous counsel of our well beloved Brethren

WE, the Master, Officers and Brethren, both initiated and joined, of the Mother Lodge of English and Scottish Masons of the Orient of Arras in the Department of Pas-de-Calais, under the particular name "Constance", have Constituted and do hereby Constitute this first Lodge of the Orient of Paris under the name of the Phoenix Lodge of Scottish and English Masons, by virtue of the powers delegated to us by the Metropolitan Lodge of the Universe set up under the first Grand Lodge of London on the 15th April, 1687, and confirmed by a Charter of Charles Steward on the 6th August following. Such Lodge to be held in accordance with the ceremonies of English and Scottish Masons by our well beloved Brethren Ant-Firmin Abraham, Master and principal Founder, J. Et<sup>ne</sup> Chevalier, S.W. and second Founder, Jean Baptiste Paschal Mejean, J.W. and third Founder. And to this end we give them power to Constitute the said Lodge, to instal the Officers, and take minutes, of which extracts shall be sent to us, of all the transactions which shall be carried out in pursuance of this our Warrant; with the express proviso that they shall not Constitute any other Lodge either in their neighbourhood or elsewhere under penalty of cancellation, and that they shall conform to all general regulations sent to them by this our Mother Lodge.

And we pray and require all Lodges spread over the face of the Globe, and all regular Masons, to recognise the very Worshipful Phoenix Lodge of the Orient of Paris and to give a kindly welcome to the Brethren of the Lodge, with the promise of reciprocal treatment in return.

GIVEN in our Grand Lodge of English and Scottish Masons established in the Valley of Arras, the Grand Master being in the Chair, under the Seal of the Order and of our Building, and countersigned by

our Grand Secretary this 14th day of April A.L. 5804 and 25th Prairial in the 12th year of the Republic.

(Signed)	Delecourt	G.M. for life	
	Magneul	S.G.W.	Perot
	Berton	J.G.W.	Het
	Peugnes		Genaud
	Maussen		Cullens
	Beuf		Cozomb

Registered in the Grand Archives under the number 6, by command of the Worshipful Mother Lodge

Petit Forgois  
Grand Secretary

Sealed and stamped by me, Registrar and Archivist of the Worshipful Mother Lodge

(Signed) Zunoh

And on the back is written:—

Inspected by us, the Representative of the M.W.G.M., the Grand Officers, and the Members of the Scots Grand Lodge of France, who approve and ratify this Warrant of Constitution in open Grand Lodge this 17th day of September A.L. 5804 and 26th Brumaire of the year 13.

(Signed)	Degrasse-Tilly	Representative of the Grand Master
	Hacquet	President of the Grand Lodge
	Thory	Grand Secretary
	Bailhache	First Expert
	Vidal	Secretary of Committee

By command

(Signed) Abraham  
Piron

Inspected by us in the Grand Lodge of General Purposes of the Grand Orient of France in accordance with the Declaration of the Grand Orient of 5th October of this year empowering the Worshipful Phœnix Lodge of English and Scottish Masons to enjoy such titles and prerogatives as it derives from the day of its Constitution, charging the said Lodge to conform to the Statutes and Regulations of the Grand Orient.

Given in the Grand Lodge of General Purposes, in open Lodge, this 11th day of December, A.L. 5804.

(Signed) Roettiers de Montaleau  
Representative of the Grand Master

[Lantoine considers that the "Charles Steward" mentioned in this warrant is intended to be the Young Pretender, Charles Edward, and is very scornful of a statement as anachronistic as it is apocryphal.]

In the Calendar for 1807, the Phœnix Lodge is shown as having a Chapter, which no doubt means a Chapter of the 18°; all this time it is still labelled "Ecośs". But in 1814 it is suddenly shown as "au R. a. et ac.", and in 1819 it had acquired a Council of the 30°. About this time Hacquet ceased to be Master of the Lodge, and yet the Lodge seems to have chosen this moment to change over to Hacquet's Rite of Perfection, for the 1821 Calendar shows it as

"au R. de Heredom", and the following year it had a Consistory of the 25°, which it later surrendered, and the 1824 Calendar shows it working only up to the 24th degree, with a special footnote:—

"Le Consist.: du Rite d'Hér.: du Phœnix est réuni au G. Consist.: des Rites près le G. O.: de Fr.: par fusion opérée le 2° jour du 9° mois 5823." (The Masonic year began in March, so this date is 2nd November, 1823.)

Although Hacquet seems to have relinquished the Chair of the Lodge, which he had held continuously from its foundation, either as *Venerable d'Honneur* or as *Venerable en exercise*, he probably continued to be the Head of the Rite of Perfection, and certainly continued to be the Head of the York Rite, as we shall see from the Certificates. Gould points out that during Napoleon's Empire, the Craft in France was markedly "Imperial"; that on the restoration of Louis XVIII in May, 1814, almost all the Imperialists who were Officials of the G.O. became conspicuous by their absence, and the Craft became effusively Royalist; that during the "Hundred Days" it was once more violently Imperial, and after Waterloo another hurried switch round was necessary. It would appear that Hacquet successfully emulated the Vicar of Bray, for he continued in office as President of the Grand Council of Rites, and in 1817 we find that he had had conferred upon him the rank of Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis. After 1819 he drops out of the list of Grand Officers, just as he ceases to be Master of the Phœnix Lodge, but he reappears in 1822 as "First Grand Expert",<sup>1</sup> an office which he held until 1825. Whether he died at this time, or if the death of Louis XVIII in 1824 affected his favour with the higher Masonic powers, I have not been able to discover.

According to Besuchet, of the many Lodges founded in Paris about the year 1804, Phœnix Lodge was the only one still in active existence when he wrote in 1828, and it seems to have continued to work until about 1843, for Clavel's *Almanach Pittoresque* for 1844 shows it still on the Register, but with a blank where the Master's name should have appeared, implying that it was in abeyance, while the *Almanach* for 1845 omits it from the list. Besuchet also says that Phœnix Lodge, "alone in France", had a Royal Arch Chapter of the York Rite, but it is very doubtful if this is true in view of the statement that the Lodge "des Sept Ecosais" worked it from 1804, and in view of the Lodge-number on an extant Certificate of 1807.

As regards the nature of the Royal Arch Rite, there is, I think, no question that it was imported by Hacquet from Pennsylvania into St. Domingo in the Lodge Union of Franco-American Hearts No. 47. A Grand Chapter had been formed in Philadelphia on 23rd November, 1795, under sanction of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, and having the Grand Master *ex-officio* as First Grand Principal, and I have little doubt that Hacquet acquired the Rite when he was in Philadelphia about 1797-98, and that on his return to St. Domingo he introduced it into Lodge No. 47, where it may have been working for some months before the Grand Chapter took cognisance of it in December, 1800, and gave it official sanction. As mentioned earlier, Lodge Perseverance No. 98 at Les Abricots also worked the degree at least as early as 1st May, 1803, of which date there is a most interesting Certificate in the collection of Bro. A. I. Sharp. I had hoped to be able to reproduce this Certificate, and had received Bro. Sharp's permission to do so, but unfortunately he has temporarily mislaid it, nor is my transcript of it sufficiently accurate to be used without being checked against the original.

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the Hacquet of 1822 was the son of the original Hacquet, for Sir William Sidney Smith's Certificate of 4.4.1818 (see *A.Q.C.*, xxvii, p. 68) is signed both by Hacquet, senior, as H.P., and by "Hacquet fils", who had then attained to the 30°.

Ragon, who was himself a member of the Phoenix Chapter, is not very reliable when he professes to account for the origin of the Royal Arch: he propounds several different theories according to his mood at the moment, one of his less attractive ideas being that it was invented by the Jesuits in England; however, on the degrees of the Rite we may presumably trust his evidence, since it is first-hand: he tells us that it was known as the York Rite (in one instance he calls in "*Improprement appelée Rite d'York*"; I do not know why), and consisted of four degrees—Past Master, Mark Master, Super-Excellent Mason and Holy Royal Arch: in fact, if we subtract the Past Master, which always seems to have been inseparable from the Royal Arch at this period, it must have been very similar to the present-day Scottish Royal Arch, consisting of the Mark, the Veils and the R.A. The extant Certificates bear out Ragon's description, though I think perhaps it is doubtful if the Past Master part was worked in the Chapter, the Abricots Certificate speaks of the Candidate having "passed the Chair in the said Lodge", *i.e.*, in the Lodge in which the Chapter was held.<sup>1</sup> As regards the date when the Rite was introduced into Phoenix Lodge, I am inclined to think that Ragon is again unreliable: he writes:—

"A Chapter of the Royal Arch, York Rite, was established at Paris in the Phoenix Lodge in 1817 by Bro. Hacquet, High Priest, and in it I was exalted, as is proved by the Certificate issued to me on 1st October, 1818, and registered in the Archives under the number 37."

I find it difficult to believe that Hacquet, having brought the Rite to Paris in 1804, and having been continuously Master of the Phoenix Lodge, should not have introduced the Rite there for 13 years; I think that either Ragon has made a clerical error for 1807, or else, having only been exalted himself in 1818, he does not like to think of the Chapter having been in existence so many years earlier. It is fairly certain that in the quotation given above he has falsified the date of the Certificate. The original document is in the possession of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge,<sup>2</sup> and it is dated, not, as he asserts, 1st October, 1818, but "the first day of the month Bul", and the month Bul was April, not October. October would be either Har or Zis. The Quatuor Coronati Museum has another Certificate,<sup>3</sup> issued to Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith and dated three days later, "the 4th day of the 2nd month (bul) 1818"; clearly the "2nd month (bul)" could not be October: the year began in March, and the second month was April. Moreover, it looks as if (for what purpose I cannot guess) Ragon had been trying to prepare false evidence, for in addition to this Certificate, which is type 1 and is obviously complete and genuine, the Q.C. Museum contains another Certificate-form of type 2,<sup>4</sup> filled up with Ragon's particulars, but not signed; I believe this to be filled up in Ragon's own handwriting, and it contains two significant differences: first, it bears the number 37, as mentioned by Ragon, which the genuine Certificate does not, and secondly, it gives the date, spelled out in full, as "*le premier Jour du huitieme Mois dit Bul*", which looks like a deliberate attempt to reconcile Bul with October.

Reverting to the date when Phoenix began to work the York Rite, Bro. Sharp possesses another Certificate of type 1, issued to Charles Louis Nicolas Bernard Levavasseur Precourt on 2nd February, 1807, by "Chapter No. 2 at Paris"; no name of the Chapter is given, but the number 2 suggests that there

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that in a list of members of Lodge No. 47 at Port-au-Prince, out of a total of 64 names, four are shown as R.A., 38 as P.M., only ten as M.M., three as F.C., and nine as E.A., clearly showing that the Lodge must have conferred the constructive P.M. degree. The paucity of R.A. is surprising, but, as Hacquet is given as P.M., it is probable that many put P.M. who might have written R.A.

<sup>2</sup> See also *A.Q.C.*, xxi, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, xxvii, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> See *A.Q.C.*, xxi, p. 34.





was in 1807 also a Chapter No. 1 in being. Whether either No. 1 or 2 could be Phoenix, there is no evidence to show; if Ragon and Lantoine were right in saying that Hacquet practised his rejected rites in Lodge "des Sept Ecossais", then that Lodge would, one imagines, be No. 1. This No. 2 Certificate, in place of the usual representation of the obverse and reverse of a Mark Token, has on one side a double circle containing the English words, "Friendship for ever", and on the other a circular painting of a dog; I am inclined to suspect that these are a kind of cryptogram of the name of the Chapter; "L'Amitié toujours fidèle" suggests itself, but there is no such name in the Grand Orient Register. The explanation, however, may be the same as suggested for the absence of the Lodge "des Sept Ecossais"—Hacquet may have worked the R.A. at this time in a Chapter not under the Grand Orient. This Certificate, like all the Phoenix Certificates, is signed by Hacquet as High Priest, and it is of interest to note that it also contains the signature of Thory.

It is only fair to Ragon to say that there is no direct evidence that Phoenix was working the Royal Arch before 1817, for the earliest Certificate I have seen bearing the name of that Lodge is Ragon's own, of 1818.

The earliest Type 2 Certificate so far known is dated 27th March, 1821: it is in Bro. Sharp's collection, and is here reproduced by his permission. These Certificates are on an engraved form, with only the individual particulars filled up by hand, whereas the Type 1 Certificates were all hand-written and hand-drawn, and all differ in detail from one another.

The Grand Orient Calendar for 1807 gives the name of a Lodge founded on 2nd March, 1806, as "Royal Arch", but in view of the rejection of the Rite by the Grand Orient, it seems doubtful if, as early as this, it can have been intended to work the rite, although there is no doubt that later Lodges holding from the Grand Orient did work both the Royal Arch and the Rite of Perfection: in fact, Phoenix clearly worked both. We have seen that Lodge Constance acted as a "Mother Lodge" to Phoenix in the matter of the English and Scottish degrees, and similarly Phoenix in turn became the Mother Lodge of Union Lodge of Colombo in the Royal Arch degree: it would be interesting to know whether any other cases are known in which Phoenix so acted.

Although the Grand Chapter of Pennsylvania was not formed until 1795, there are very much earlier references to the degree there, which it may be of interest to mention here. Jerusalem Chapter No. 3, at Philadelphia, is said to have been formed "anterior to 1758"; whatever the actual date of its beginning, I think it very unlikely that in the early days it had any separate existence, but merely that the Craft Lodge No. 3 worked the degree under its ordinary warrant. The following extracts are from the Lodge Minutes as given in a book in the Grand Lodge Library on the Royal Arch in Pennsylvania:—

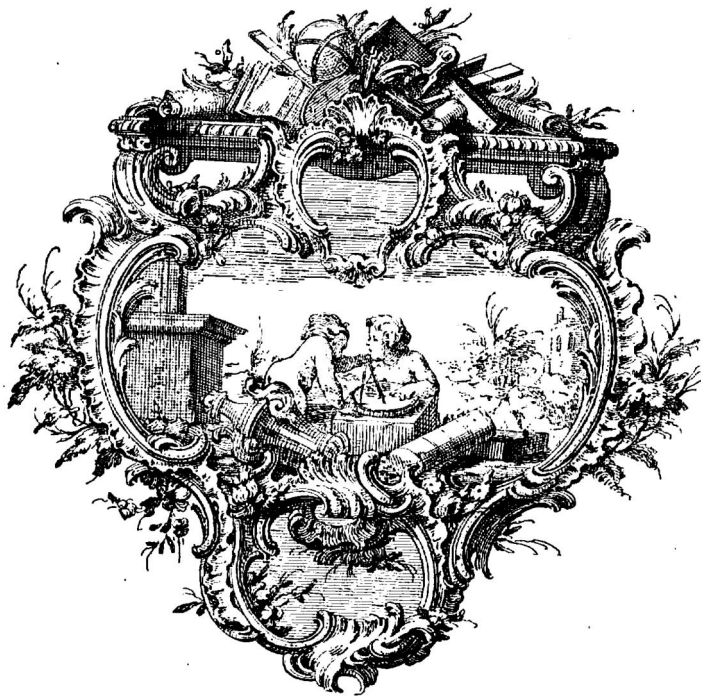
"27th December 1773. St. John's Day. . . . Installed our Master . . . The brethren of the Royal Arch belonging to our Lodge, No. 3, and all the rest of the brethren present, are unanimous in their opinion of our late Worshipful Master, Alexander Kidd, that he has merited and is worthy of the dignity of the Royal Arch being conferred upon him.

"22nd June 1775. The brethren present returned their thanks to our Worshipful Master for his good behaviour and diligence during the time of his being Master of this Lodge, and we the Royal Arch Masons, and the rest of the body, think him worthy of being admitted to that honor."

After the Grand Chapter had been formed, a code of regulations was drawn up and adopted on 5th March, 1798, from which I take the following extracts:—The preamble says that Ancient Masonry consists of four degrees, of which the

first three are Apprentice, Fellow-Craft and Master, and a Brother, having served as Master, may be admitted to the fourth degree, the Holy Royal Arch. By-law 2 defines a quorum for a Chapter as six. By-law 3 gives the qualification for candidature as P.M. or having passed through the Chair by dispensation: and in 1801 a Chapter was censured for having exalted a Candidate who had been passed through the Chair without a dispensation from the Grand Master, even though it had been done with the unanimous approval of the Craft Lodge. The By-laws contain no reference to the Mark, but evidently it was taken for granted as an integral part of the Royal Arch, for when, in April, 1806, the Master of Lodge No. 70 wrote to the Grand Lodge asking for information with regard to opening a Mark Lodge and making Mark Masons, it was resolved to send him a copy of the Regulations of the Grand Holy Royal Arch Chapter.

The presiding Officers of the Grand Chapter were called collectively "Grand Chiefs", and individually High Priest, King and Chief Scribe, and the other Officers, in order of seniority, were Scribe, Treasurer, R.A. Captain, 1st, 2nd and 3rd Grand Masters, and Steward. The three Grand Masters were the Guardians of the Veils.



## THE ASSEMBLY ON THE HILL

BY BRO. BRUCE W. OLIVER



HERE must be few indeed of the readers of *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* who did not derive both profit and pleasure from Bro. R. J. Meekren's excellent paper, *The Lodge* (*A.Q.C.*, lxi, p. 3). One of the many points with which he dealt was the location of the early meetings held "on the highest mountains or the lowest valleys". Most of us must have smiled when, for the first time, we met this quaint and apparently fanciful description, and considered it more as a picturesque embellishment of the text than as a statement of fact. Bro. Meekren's interpretation is logical, and I find it convincing when compared with the age-old practice of the tinnerns of my native county of Devonshire.

First, may I quote from Bro. Meekren's paper:—

"A Lodge is two interprentices, two fellow crafts and two masters . . . on the highest hill or lowest valley of the world without the crow of a cock or the bark of a dogg. . . ."

"a days journey from a borough town . . ."

Bro. Meekren comments:—

"It is obvious that the original idea underlying these various statements is that the Lodge should be formed in a lonely and deserted place far from the habitation of men. This implies merely the limited and practical proviso that the place chosen was to be so far from house or farm that it was out of hearing of the barking of the watch dog or the crowing of the domestic cock."

Most mediæval trade guilds were of men employed in the towns and cities where those of the freedom could quickly and easily assemble in the hall of the guild. But men practising the Mason's craft were not only widely scattered over the countryside, but they constantly moved on from one job to another, often considerable distance apart. Yet the craft was strictly controlled, both as regards apprenticeship, qualifications, and employment. Meetings to make regulations and enforce discipline were obviously necessary. To attend such assemblies the craftsman might have to travel great distances, and might gather in great numbers such as no ordinary guildhall could accommodate. A suitable spot in open country equidistant from a number of centres would, therefore, appear to be perfectly suitable, besides enjoying the advantages of absolute privacy. Although this is reasonably credible, I know of no record of such an assembly, and the trade organisations of the towns whose records are preserved provide no example, since the same needs did not arise.

In the case of the tinnerns of Devon and Cornwall, not only are records available, but we have circumstances having some similarity with the Masons, in that men were scattered, working in different places over a wide area; again, it was a craft of great antiquity, practised in a remote area, where ancient customs were likely to be preserved. It, too, was a skilled craft requiring strict discipline and regulation.

From the *View of Devonshire in MDCXXX*, by Thomas Westcote, and a number of valuable papers printed in the *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, can be gleaned the following information on the Stanneries of Devon and Cornwall, and of their assemblies meeting on the bleak hills of Dartmoor and Cornwall.

Tinning in this area dates from remote antiquity, and it is possible that by Saxon times they were formed into some type of organisation, bound to certain duties and enjoying considerable privileges. Originally, one body controlled the whole area when their assemblies were held on Hingston Down, just to the west of the Tamar. Soon after the Norman Conquest the two counties were separated. Each was divided into four districts, having their own Stannery Courts and sending representatives to the Stannery assembly or Parliament for the County.

From the Norman Conquest, and probably earlier, the tin mines were an appendage of the Crown in the charge of an officer named the "custos" or keeper. Later the head under the King was named the "Warden", and his deputy the "Vice Warden". The powers claimed as ancient custom and confirmed by charters granted by King John and by Edward I were considerable. A petition to the first Parliament of Edward III shows them to be:—

Right to take turf and wood for smelting their tin.

That they were quit of all manner of tallages, tolls, and charges.

They should have the "the cognizance of all manner of pleas arising within the said Stannery".

"The said Tanners do daily dig and claim to dig in every species of land as well as in other lands, and destroy houses, meadows, and woods, and divert and turn the course of waters, running as well to mills as elsewhere throughout the whole County to the great destruction and disherison of the said Commonalty, since the said lands, meadows, and woods which are digged by the said Tanners, never bear herbage, nor any sort of fruit, wherefore several of the said Commonalty are wholly ruined, and disinherited, and their ruin and disherison by the cause aforesaid, is daily increasing.

"Also the said Tanners and the Officers of the said Stannary take cognizance of all manner of pleas at the suit of the said Tanners, and of all others who claim to be Tanners as well without as within the Stannary, and make attachments and excessive distress as well without as within the Stannary, for they wrongfully claim all the County of Devon to be their Stannary; and the said distresses, be they never so wrongfully taken, they detain without allowing any deliverance of them to be made; and they do these things by color of their franchise aforesaid, to the great ruin and disherison of all the Commonalty aforesaid."

The Stannery prison was in the Castle at Lydford, and the ill-repute of Lydford justice was forcibly described by Browne:—

"I oft have heard of Lydford Law,

How in the morn they hang and draw,

And sit in judgement after."

The dungeon in which the prisoners were placed is still to be seen as a great pit, entirely below the level of the ground, into which they were lowered through a hatch in the floor.

When Cornwall was cut off and four Stanneries established in Devon, their tanners' Parliament, as the assembly was named, was held on Crockentor, in the heart of Dartmoor. Rising to a height of some 1,300 feet, it is a rocky hill, littered with granite boulders, and although the approach from the modern road which

passes closely is not difficult, even to-day it has the appearance of a wild and remote spot. I like the description of Thomas Westcote, who wrote in 1630:—

“ When sundry causes of deep consequence do concur together among them, the lord Warden doth summon a Parliament, whereunto are elected and sent out of each of the four courts and precincts of the Stannery, twenty four burgesses or jurats ; who enact statutes, and ordinances, and constitute laws and orders concerning such occasions as are in question. For the keeping of which high court of Parliament there is a very ancient and fair place, appointed only for this meeting, erected long time before any tin works were wrought, and is continually repaired and maintained at the founder’s charge, seated in an open fresh air, with a very large prospect on every side. If you will have the place and site rightly described and named, it is a high rock which we call Tor, and there is our word tower, in the forest of Dartmoor, named Crockentor, subjected to the furious assaults and violence of all winds and weather, blasts and storms, and tempests ; affronting and bearing up against all ; neither yielding to, nor shrinking from any ; as not fearing their fury, nor hellish malice of undermining gunpowder moles ; near unto which there is neither house, refuge, nor shelter by divers miles ; the borough of Tavistock being nearest, and yet ten miles distant.

“ All which laws and statutes thus there made, enacted and published, and by the lord Warden, ratified and confirmed are in full force for all causes inter tinner et tinner, life and limb excepted.”

The earliest documentary evidence is found in the Black Book of the Exchequer, when, in 1197, William de Wrotham was appointed Custor of the Stanneries of Devon, in the place of Geoffery Fitz Peter, Justiciary of England. On the 19th January, in the following year, Wrotham held an enquiry, when the ancient laws and customs were examined and embodied in elaborate regulations.

In the *Survey of Devon*, by Risdon (about 1640), we get further detail of this fascinating place of assembly:—

“(There) is a high rock called Crocken-Tor, where the parliament for Stannery causes is kept ; where is a table and seats of moorstone, hewn out of the rocks lying in the force of all weather, no house or refuge being near it.”

The “furniture” of table and chairs is mentioned by a number of other writers. Since this place was so long in use, and high officers of the King attended there, it is credible that such were roughly fashioned out of the many boulders lying so conveniently to hand. They have long since disappeared, but the place of assembly can still be identified in the comparatively flat area on the top, bounded by crags which afford some protection and complete privacy from the approaching slope of ground. The spot is a natural amphitheatre, and boulders on the rising sides would have provided seats for the hundred or more men who assembled there. The “table” and “chairs” were removed towards the end of the eighteenth century and broken up for building purposes, although the table is said to be preserved at Dunnabridge Farm. One stone chair is described as having four or five steps leading up to it, and overhead there was a large flat, thinnish stone. The table is stated to be 8ft. by 6ft. and four to six inches thick. Polwhele wrote:—

“ On this Tor, not long since, was the Warden’s or presidents’ seats for the jurors, a high corner stone for cryer of the court, and a table, all rudely hewn out of the rough moor stone of the Tor.”

The four Stannery Courts of Devon were at Chagford, Ashburton, Plympton and Tavistock, each town being an approximate distance of ten miles from Crocken Tor, situated in an area full of relics of human occupation from the dawn of history. There are stone rows, hut circles and clapper bridges within a mile or so, together with ancient trackways, of which the bridges are evidence.

In 1725 Thos. Pearce published his *Laws and Customs of the Stanneries*, with copies of some of the ancient charters and proceedings of the Tinnars Parliament. He gives in full the charter of Edward I, "being the first charter for erecting the tinnars of Cornwall and Devon into a corporation". He also quotes the proceedings at several of the Parliaments on Crocken Tor. The earliest given is of the second year of Henry VIII:—

"DEVON. The Great Court of our Sovereign Lord the King in his Duchy of Cornwall, holden at Crockerntorre in the county of Devon, before Thomas Deneys, Knight in the place of Henry Merney, Warden of the Tinnars under our sovereign Lord the King, in the county of Devon, the 24th day of September, in the second year of the reign of King Henry VIII."

Then follow the names of the Jurats, twenty-four for each Stannery, excepting Chagford, which was represented on this occasion by twenty-two Jurats, and continues:—

"Which said Jurats as are aforesaid Elect, Sworn, and Tried, with the assent and consent of all the Tinnars of the aforesaid County of Devon, do Enact, Affirm, Ordain, and by these Presents Establish, that as well all Statutes now new made, as all other Statutes before this time here made and affirmed, . . . do and shall henceforth wholly remain in full strength and effect, as hereafter more plainly appeareth."

Sixteen enactments follow, of which the following extracts may be quoted:—

"First, Be it affirmed and enacted from henceforward, by Authority of this present Court, that all Tinnars keep their Tin Works as hereafter followeth, that is to say, yearly between the Feast of St. Peter Avincula and the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel next following, to renew, or cause their Head-weares, Side Bounds, Water lets and Tail of every Tin Work that now is, or hereafter shall be; . . .

If a Tinner failed to register at the Parliament, it was enacted that he could still pitch his tin working before the Feast of All Saints "next following after the Feast of St. Michael", provided he warned the owner of the land; he was to:—

"take the said owner . . . of the said pitch by the arm, showing him with a loud Voice, that he may hear him, the case of his Pitch."

and caused it to be recorded at the Stannery Court, of which the Bailiff was to make proclamation.

The various enactments commence with such forms as:—

"We agree, constitute and ordain . . .  
We present and affirm our ancient custom to be" . . .

Regulations were also laid down for the summoning of the courts:—

"We present and affirm, that by our customs the Stannery-Stewards ought to keep their Courts from three weeks to three weeks, and not within . . . and we agree, constitute, and ordain that every

Stannery Steward, at the end of his general Court, before he adjourn the same, shall appoint and cause to be proclaimed, the Day and Place of his next general Court . . . .

And we etc etc, that the head Bailiff shall cause every general Court to be called in the usual Market Towns, at least ten days before the day of the Court."

From the foregoing we learn that the Stannery Courts were held at intervals of three weeks, but that the general Court or Parliament was only called as required ; in practice, this was annually, and that notification was made by proclamation in the Market Towns ten days prior to the Assembly.

This procedure is, after all, not very different from that claimed by Anderson—the Quarterly Communication and the annual Assembly. When we go back to our own two earliest MS.—*The Regius Poem* and the *Cooke MS.*—we find the claim that they were given charges by "a worthy King in England", and that "they should make Assembly when they saw seasonable time" and "come together to hear counsel of the which charges, manners and assemble as is writ and taught in the book of our charges", "and so at such Congregations they that be made Masters should be examined of the Articles after written and be questioned whether they be able and cunning to the profit of the Lord them to serve".

"The second Article is that every Master of his art should be warned before to come to his congregation that they come duly . . . .

"When the Master and the Fellows be forewarned when to come to such congregations, if need be the Sheriff of the County or the Mayor of the city, or Alderman of the town in which the congregation is held, shall be fellows and so sit to be Master of the congregation."

From the foregoing we gather there are many practices of great similarity as between the Tinnners and the Masons. The Tinnners were directly under the King, whilst the Masons claimed that their form of assembly had been given to them by the King in Saxon times.

The periods of assembly were irregular in both cases, but in practice were held at least once in each year.

Both trades had established customs, and the men were to be of a certain proficiency in their calling.

The Tinnners were to be given ten days' notice of the meeting of their "Parliament"; the Masters and Fellows of the Masons were to be "forewarned". The Head Bailiff of the Tinnners was responsible for having the meeting "called" in each Stannery Town, and there seems a hint that in the case of the Masons this "crying" may have been ordered by the Sheriff or the Mayor.

At the Tinnners' Parliament the King's officer—the Warden or his deputy—presided, and the same provision appears to have been made for the Masons, since the Sheriff or the Mayor would be the King's representative, and he was to preside. Later we find in the *Taylor MS.* (17th century) it:—

"condescended, concluded and agreed upon by ye company and Fellowship of Freemasons" that "there shall be yearly two Wardens chosen upon ye day of ye feast of St. John, ye 27th day of December."

Other of the old Charges add further details; for example, from the *Rawlinson MS.*:—

"To come to and assemble once a year to take Counsell in their Craft, how they may work best to serve their Lord and Master for his profit and their own credit, and to Correct such amongst them as have trespassed, or offended . . . .

"You shall come to the Yearly Meeting or Assembly of Freemasons, if you know where it's kept (being within Ten miles of the place of your abode) submitting to the award of Masters and Fellows wherein you have Erred, to embrace Counsel, and reproof and to make Satisfaction, or to defend by order of the King's Laws."

Here attendance is required once a year, and the distance of ten miles coincides with the distance of the Stannary Towns from Crockern Tor. Very much later—in the seventeenth century (*Taylor MS.*)—a fine was imposed:—

"That every Mason when he is warned by the Warden, or other of the Company, and shall not come to the place accustomed and appointed, except he have a reasonable cause to show the Warden to the Company, if not so doing shall pay 6/8."

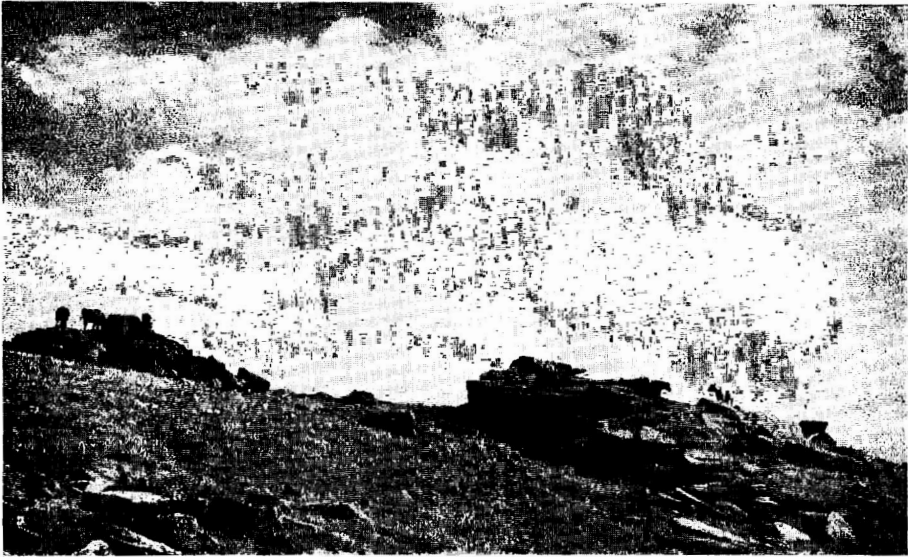
Certain fines for misdemeanours were laid down in the laws of the Tinnerns, and the Mason had to submit to the award of Masters and Fellows. The *Taylor MS.* has it that "the two Wardens shall levy and receive all such fines and penalties"; the scale of fines is set forth. The punishment for violating the oath is not given in the regulations of either trade. Freemasons claim their penalties are of time immemorial, preserved in oral tradition; but the Tinnerns' is certainly no less horrid—a teaspoonful or more of molten tin to be poured down the victim's throat!

The precise date when these Assemblies ceased to be held in such remote situations is not known, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century it became usual for the Tinnerns, "after opening commission and swearing the jurats on Crockern Tor to adjourn to one of the Stannary Towns". It is plausible to assume that the same process was also adopted by the Masons, and that this gradually led to the complete abandonment of the ancient custom.

As to why the Assemblies were held in the open, it may be the survival of tradition carried forward from Saxon times, when the Moote Courts were so assembled; or it may have been that so large a gathering of strangers (*forinsecisis*)—they would still be referred to as "foreigners" in many a Devon village—would not be allowed to enter the precincts of the City or Town.

I hope the many parallel circumstances in the two most ancient Crafts will strengthen our belief in the assembly on the heights, without crow of cock, or bark of dog, and a day's journey from a borough town.





Entering the Meeting Place



Near the Summit

CROCKERN TOR



King Solomon and the Temple ?

## “SOLOMON AND THE TEMPLE”?

BY BRO. GERARD BRETT



THE tapestry shown on the plate has recently been acquired by the Grand Lodge Museum. It measures about 8ft. by 8ft. 6ins., and was woven in Brussels in the early 17th century. Originally it had a broad border; this has since been cut off, perhaps at some time in the 18th century, when the picture was attached to a wall and surrounded with a wooden frame. The loss of the border has involved the loss of the Brussels weavers' mark, and any signature that there may once have been. This is the only known piece of its exact type, and it is impossible to tell whether it was originally a single scene or part of a set.

The subject makes one suppose the latter, but is obscured by a very common confusion of identification. The scene is taken from an engraving after the Dutch artist, Martin Heemskerck (1498-1574), showing the building of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, one of a set of eight engravings made by him of the Wonders of the World; it is repeated in all its main features on three tapestries woven at this period from one set of cartoons. The engraving is inscribed “*Dianae Ephesiae Templum*”, and there is no ground for supposing that this identification had been altered in the short time between the publication of the engraving and the weaving of the tapestry. In fact, on the front of the building, in the background of the tapestry, are two details which make this more unlikely than it would anyway be. One is a relief of Diana herself, seated on a stag, and the other a figure of Jupiter holding two thunderbolts. Foreground figures such as those here appear with varying characteristics in all the engravings and tapestries of the “Wonders of the World” set, and in many others besides; it is not likely that originally they had any significance.

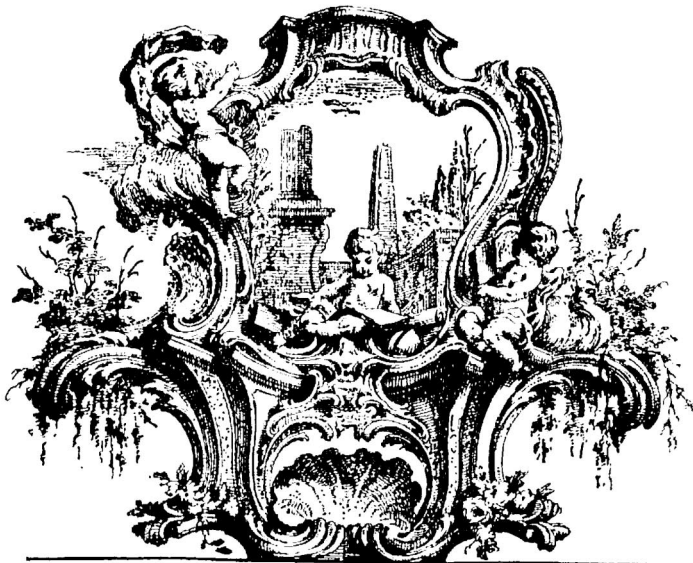
The particular fascination of this scene lies in the later history of its identification, and what it was thought to be is now of greater interest and importance than what it really was. At some time and place—we do not know when or where—the scene changed into an illustration of the Old Testament passages describing the building of Solomon's Temple (I Kings, vii; II Chron., iii). This new identification, plausible in itself and fitting in exactly with the interest in Old Testament history, was applied to two of the three known tapestries with the scene (the third at some period acquired the equally wrong identification of the Elevation of the Column of Trajan). The royal figure in the centre becomes Solomon, and the old man to the left, holding the drawing board with the column design, is Hiram Abif. The long, rectangular building behind them is, of course, the Temple; the porch shown at the spectator's end is that described in the Old Testament, and the object lying flat on the ground behind the figures is one of Hiram's two columns. Like the design on the board he holds, it is of the type of the *Columna Coclea*, familiar to us now only in the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius in Rome. The anonymous builder of the Temple of Diana has been metamorphosed into King Solomon and his Temple.

The change, in fact, was not so extraordinary as it may at first appear, for the Temple of Solomon is mentioned in a list of the Wonders of the World as early as the sixth century writer, Gregory, of Tours. Whether the idea was a permanent one, we do not know, but it reappears in and after the 12th century,

greatly strengthened by the reading of the Vision of Ezekiel and the growing belief that the Temples of Solomon and of Ezekiel were one and the same building. This notion reaches its most hyperbolic stage in the *In Ezechielem Explanatio* of the Spanish Jesuit Villalpandus, published in 1596 and 1604. The first section of this is a detailed comparison of Solomon's with Ezekiel's Temple; then there follows a mention of the accepted Wonders of the World, and a comparison of each with a part of this Temple, reaching the conclusion that "these will be considered as Wonders only by those who either have never heard of the Temple of Jerusalem, or, having heard of it, are driven by the stimuli of envy or the impiety of idolatry to obscure this Wonder of ours and elevate those others". With this as the conclusion it is not surprising to find that the comparisons end with the relegation of the accepted Wonders of the World to a very minor place.

The subject of Solomon and the building of the Temple was a comparatively common one for figure tapestries in the 16th and 17th centuries, both in England and on the Continent. Very few, however, remain, the most notable one being that in the 16th century Brussels set of the "History of Solomon" in Vienna. The Grand Lodge tapestry has been supposed to represent Solomon's Temple up to the present time, and it is tempting to suppose that this or a similar scene may have been in the mind of the original designer of the Three Grand Masters' Jewel, and perhaps of the Hiram Abif jewel illustrated in Sir Algernon Tudor-Craig's *Catalogue of the Museum at Freemasons' Hall*, 1938, pl. opp. p. 179, 2.

The identification of these and the other tapestries of the set was dealt with at greater length in my article, "The Seven Wonders of the World in the Renaissance," *Art Quarterly*, xii, 4, Detroit, Autumn, 1949, p. 339f.



## THE FRONTISPIECE



FOR the first time since Vol. ii, our *Transactions* appear without a portrait of a Master or Member as a frontispiece, and some apology may perhaps be expected for a departure from our recent practice of giving, as a frontispiece to the Volume for any particular year, a portrait of the Brother who was installed at the final meeting of that year and who presided over the Lodge throughout the following year. This has always struck me as somewhat "lop-sided"; and during 1950 I invited a discussion at one of our Committee meetings, and obtained a general approval not only of placing the portrait of the Master in the forefront of the *Transactions* of the year during which he occupied the Chair, but also of opening these *Transactions* with his Installation and Inaugural Address. Thus, for the first time, Vol. lxii will, so to speak, start and finish with the active year of the Brother whose portrait appears as the frontispiece.

So far as the portrait is concerned, the plan is, with only a few exceptions, that which prevailed throughout nearly half of our existence as a Lodge. Vol. i, which covered the period from 1886 to 1888, under the successive masterships of Warren and Gould, opened with a reproduction of a MS. miniature of the *Four Crowned Martyrs*; while the frontispiece to Vol. ii was a reproduction of a print of Frederick the Great presiding as Grand Master in a Lodge at Reinsberg, in 1740. Thereafter, up to Vol. xxviii, with only two exceptions, the frontispiece was a portrait of the Master who occupied the Chair during the year to which the *Transactions* belonged.

The two exceptions were Vol. viii (1895), belonging to the mastership of Bro. Rev. C. J. Ball, which opened with a portrait of Sir Chas. Warren, the first Master, and Vol. xx (1907), under Bro. Hamon le Strange, in which the frontispiece is a portrait of Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley. Bro. Ball's portrait actually appeared in Vol. ix, for the year after his Mastership; but that of Bro. le Strange was never included.

Portraits of our second and third Masters, Bros. R. F. Gould and W. Simpson, were included (not as frontispieces) in Vols. iv and v respectively. Thus our early volumes include portraits of all but one of our succession of Masters, the missing one being Bro. Hamon le Strange, whose portrait seems never to have been given. And the same remark applies to our thirtieth Master, Bro. W. Wonnacott, whose portrait would have been expected in Vol. xxix, where that of Bro. F. W. Levander, the Master for the following year, actually appears. I have not been able to discover any reason for this break in the continuity of the series.

But the arrangement thus commenced, whether intentional or the result of chance, in Vol. xxix, has continued uninterrupted up to Vol. lx, the portrait being given of the Master installed at the final meeting of the year, whose Inaugural Address appears at the end of the volume, and who presided over the Lodge during the following year.

A few remarks on other portraits, not used as frontispieces, may not be out of place here. From the very beginning, up to Vol. xxvii, it was customary to reproduce portraits with obituaries of Members of the Lodge; and Vol. i contains that of Bro. Rev. A. F. A. Woodford. Apart from these, and the Masters already mentioned, five of our Members have been honoured by portraits included in the volumes—Besant and Speth in Vol. iii; Hughan in Vol. iv; J. P. Rylands in Vol. v; and Songhurst in Vol. xxviii. The first two of these both died in 1901, and their portraits appeared with their obituaries in Vol. xiv. Other obituary portraits are of Irwin (Vol. vi), Kelly (Vol. vii), Richardson (Vol. x), Lane (Vol. xiii), and Hawkins (Vol. xxvii). Bro. Gould died in 1915, and his obituary

appeared in Vol. xxviii, but with no portrait; and at that date the practice of accompanying the obituary notice with a portrait ceased.

My plan now, commencing with the next volume (Vol. lxii), is to regard the years as opening with the Installation on the Festival of the Quatuor Coronati (November 8th), so that each volume will start with the Inaugural Address, and represent exactly the year of office of the Brother whose portrait appears as a frontispiece. I do not know why we should not continue to refer to it as "the volume for 1949", though it will actually open with the proceedings for 8th November, 1948.

#### No. 27, GREAT QUEEN STREET

Casting about for a substitute frontispiece, it occurred to me that there might be many Brethren, at home as well as abroad, who might be interested to see what No. 27, Great Queen Street—the home of Masonic Research—looks like.

The house itself was probably standing before the establishment of the first Grand Lodge in 1717, and certainly long before the earliest Freemasons' Tavern was built almost exactly opposite in 1775; and it appears to be, and may well be, externally the oldest house in the street—the only one of six survivors from the same date which has had no visible alterations to the frontage or roof.

The exact date of the building is not known. According to the London County Council *Survey of London* (Vol. v, 1914, pp. 34-41), apart from two houses at the west end, building commenced at the east end of the street, on the north side, in about 1603-12, and there were about six fairly large houses on that site by about 1640. The row of nine, of which No. 27 was one, seems to have been built by or before 1630, probably on a plot for which a building lease was taken in 1607.

The same authority states that "It is clear from the entries in the ratebooks that the original houses on the sites of Nos. 27 and 28 were pulled down between 1723 and 1734", and the fact that Nos. 26 and 27 contain ornamental cast lead cisterns dated respectively 1725 and 1733 is taken as corroborating the statement to some extent. If this is correct, it is a most remarkable fact that the original front of No. 27, at any rate, must have been copied exactly in the rebuilding; for little more than a glance from the steps of the door of Freemasons' Hall, on the opposite side of the street, is needed to see that the whole row of nine houses—Nos. 27 to 35—with the exception of Nos. 30 to 32, appear to have been built as a single enterprise. One hesitates to dispute the findings of such an exhaustive study as that which produced the *Survey*; but here one can only suppose that there must have been some error as to the numbers of the two houses said to have been demolished. If the view which I am putting forward is correct, then our headquarters, No. 27, can fairly claim to be, so far as the exterior is concerned, the oldest house in the street.

The neighbourhood was an aristocratic one. According to Vibert (*A.Q.C.*, xlv, 236), who made a careful study of the history of the earlier buildings in the street, No. 27 was opposite the east end of Bristol House, originally the residence of the Duke of St. Albans. This site was divided into two in 1634, and the house on the western portion was occupied in 1777 by R. B. Sheridan. In 1732 the eastern portion was again subdivided, and it is known that Boswell, the biographer of Dr. Samuel Johnson, was residing in a part of the site in 1788, while Sir Godfrey Kneller, the artist, held the house exactly opposite to No. 27 in 1799.

The house became the headquarters of Quatuor Coronati Lodge in February, 1916, the premises previously occupied having been No. 52, now demolished. For the information of those who have not been able to do us the pleasure of calling here, the basement serves to house our stocks of *Transactions* and other literature; the ground floor serves as the Accountant's office, the first floor as the Secretary's office and Library, and the second floor as the Museum; while the attic rooms above form a "flat" for a caretaker.

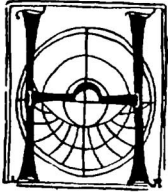
H.P.

## REVIEW

### FREEMASON'S GUIDE AND COMPENDIUM

By Bernard E. Jones

With a Foreword by J. Heron Lepper, Librarian and Curator, Freemasons' Hall  
(George G. Harrap & Company, Ltd., 30/-)



HERE at last is a book English Freemasonry has long needed. Bro. Jones claims his "real object in writing it has been to provide the young Mason with a concise, simply-worded and comprehensive guide to the Craft, an explanation of everything . . . that (with Masonic propriety) can be discussed in print". The author's point of view is amply explained in the Preface (which should not be skipped). He did not start his task until he had assured himself that what he had in mind was really needed, and, one gathers, after many consultations with our Bro. J. Heron Lepper and others. Forty-four years' membership of the Pen and Brush Lodge, 2909, for thirty of which he held the Secretaryship, and experience in the Chairs of Craft, Royal Arch and Mark, gave him a practical background.

The foundation of Bro. Jones's Masonic reading was Gould's *History of Freemasonry*, and the materials for this superstructure were quarried in *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum* and other sources. With this wide reading, the extent of which is indicated by a select bibliography, Bro. Jones has epitomised the results of at least sixty years of Masonic research, described by Bro. Lepper in his Foreword as "the essence and marrow of what has been accomplished in two generations of Masonic scholarship—generations, moreover, that have produced the greatest names in this field of study". I am glad, too, to find acknowledgment of G. M. Trevelyan's *English Social History*, an indispensable background book to the Masonic historian.

*Freemason's Guide and Compendium* runs to some six hundred pages and is amply illustrated by thirty-one plates and many line drawings. Many of the plates are reproduced by courtesy of the United Grand Lodge of England or the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, and are well chosen, though the reproduction of the well-known picture of the Inauguration of Robert Burns might have been omitted in view of the doubts cast on its authenticity.

Opening with a short account of the development of the building art, Bro. Jones describes the fluctuating fortunes of the medieval Mason. Many a theory is examined and some are ruthlessly dealt with, among these being Leader Scott. Bro. Poole's work on the migration of Masons in the fifteenth century between Carnforth and Kirkby-Malhamdale is cited; there might with advantage also have been a reference to Dr. G. G. Coulton's similar work on Norfolk. The works of Douglas Knoop and his colleagues are also used.

Passing through an account of guild development, based on the standard histories, we come to the Old MS. Charges, before passing on to the Acception in the London Company of Masons, where we find ourselves on the threshold of modern speculative Freemasonry, where Bro. Jones is obviously in his element.

"Quiet perseverance through these few chapters . . . will help us to build up a mental picture—an incomplete one, no masonic author professes to anything better—of the most fascinating but the most baffling, the formative, and therefore the most important period in speculative masonry". The complexity of the problem is not understated and there is none of the oversimplification one might fear to encounter, in fact, throughout the book, Bro. Jones has repeatedly set forth the pros and cons of rival theories, leaving the enquirer free to follow up the standard authorities, while it is gently indicated to which side the author inclines. Though religion never supplied the primary motive of the craft guild it may have been the most prominent of the subsidiary motives. Some of the religious fraternities may have gone underground, generally to die a natural death, but it is suggested that in Freemasonry we have the only surviving medieval craft esotery. At all events there can be little doubt that speculative Freemasonry was originally wholly of English growth.

What knowledge we have of seventeenth century Freemasons is discussed competently; the Rosicrucian theory is rejected, and we come to a comprehensive summary of the evolution of Scots Freemasonry. There is an interesting philological chapter on the derivation of the word "Freemason". In his Chapter on "The United Grand Lodge, 1813", Bro. Jones treads delicately on the controversial question of the ritual adopted by the Lodge of Reconciliation. What does he mean by "one essential ritual"? If, as he suggests on p. 228, the earliest printed rituals were Emulation, well, there have been changes!

Bro. Lepper's theory of the "Traditioners" is at last introduced to the wider public it deserves. Though little is known of the Scots Grand Lodge in London it might have been mentioned with the other ephemeral Grand Lodges. Bro. Jones suggests that the Passing of the Chair as late as 1824 was surprising. Lodge records and printed histories indicate that this was still not an uncommon practice twenty years later.

The Chapters on the three Degrees alone merit the inclusion of the book in any Masonic library. Of all the aspects of Freemasonry, none is more tantalising than Symbolism, and none more afflicted by "the lunatic fringe". So many seek an explanation of so much, and the enquirer generally finds he has to work out his own salvation. If there is a weakness in our present system it is the inverted symbolism that keeps creeping in—the explanation invented to fit the object. Perhaps the apron has suffered more than anything else. The only satisfactory approach is to trace back each piece of symbolical teaching and try to find when, how and why it was introduced. Without indiscretion, Bro. Jones unfolds point after point, tracing much of our ceremonial to very early Masonic days and finding counterparts in other early customs. Who copied from whom? The first artificer was mentioned in the *Old Charges* and had a place in the ritual as far back as 1743, but the interpretation now put upon his name was not known in Masonry for many years after. There is also an able dissertation on the confusion surrounding the letter "G". Later, in the chapter on the Royal Arch, Bro. Jones shows how the T over H monogram became the triple tau. (In a contribution to *Miscellanea Latomorum* some years ago I dated this change about 1825, and Bro. Chilton showed me a jewel of 1819 in which the serifs had vanished from the initial letters.) We were familiar with the F.P.O.F. long before the story of H.A.B. and this problem is stated—if not solved.

The ceremony of laying a foundation stone is described as the one remaining link between operative and speculative Masonry and its traditions—noble and inspiring on the one hand, cruel and bloodthirsty on the other—are set out. Then what are the ancient Landmarks? We have Mackey's twenty-five, with the candid comment that they provide food for thought but very little basis for agreement. As usual, we are told what is *not* a Landmark.

There is an excellent chapter on the Saints in Freemasonry—from the two Johns to the Quatuor Coronati, but I wish there could have been a reference to the North-country idiosyncrasy of associating the Festival of Saint John with the Installation ceremony.

The Royal Arch and Mark degrees are dealt with in a chapter apiece, replete with historical and symbolical information, and the book closes with a brief introduction to the additional degrees worked in this country. Unfortunately, the source from which Bro. Jones has taken this information is faulty, and this is the weakest chapter in the book.

The Index deserves a review to itself. In the course of its fifty pages it covers almost every possible point that can crop up. Whether the question is historical, symbolical or one of current practice, there is a very good chance of the answer being found in *Freemason's Guide and Compendium*, and if more than one Chapter has a bearing on the problem, the Index will provide a sure guide.

FRED L. PICK.



## NOTES

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**THE JOSEPH CHADWICKE MS.**—Yet another copy of the *Old Charges* came to light at the end of 1949, when it was discovered by Lord Kenyon, of Gredington, Co. Flint, in whose possession it remains.

This is a parchment roll, written on two sheets tacked together with thread: the first measures 25½ in. by 8½ in., and the second 14 in. by 8½ in. A small portion at the end of the roll is torn away, but only a word or two are thereby rendered

illegible.

The head of the roll is cut almost to a point in the centre, perhaps having originally had a ribbon or tape attached; and at the very top, the lines conforming to the shape of the parchment, is the heading:—

The beginning and  
foundation of the most noble  
Craft of masonrye to gether with the  
Charges & oath given here  
is expressed

followed by the name "Joseph Chadwicke", written in blacker ink probably some 30 to 50 years later than the rest of the document.

The text belongs to the Dowland Branch of the Grand Lodge Family, but its precise position in that group has not yet been determined. Its reference number will be D.52.b.

The roll was found among an assortment of deeds and documents in an old coach trunk which had long been in the possession of the family of Kenyon, for several generations Solicitors, and also Clerks of the Peace of the Duchy of Lancaster from 1611. It is not known whether any of the ancestors of Lord Kenyon were Freemasons, except his grandfather, the first Lord Harlech.

H.P.

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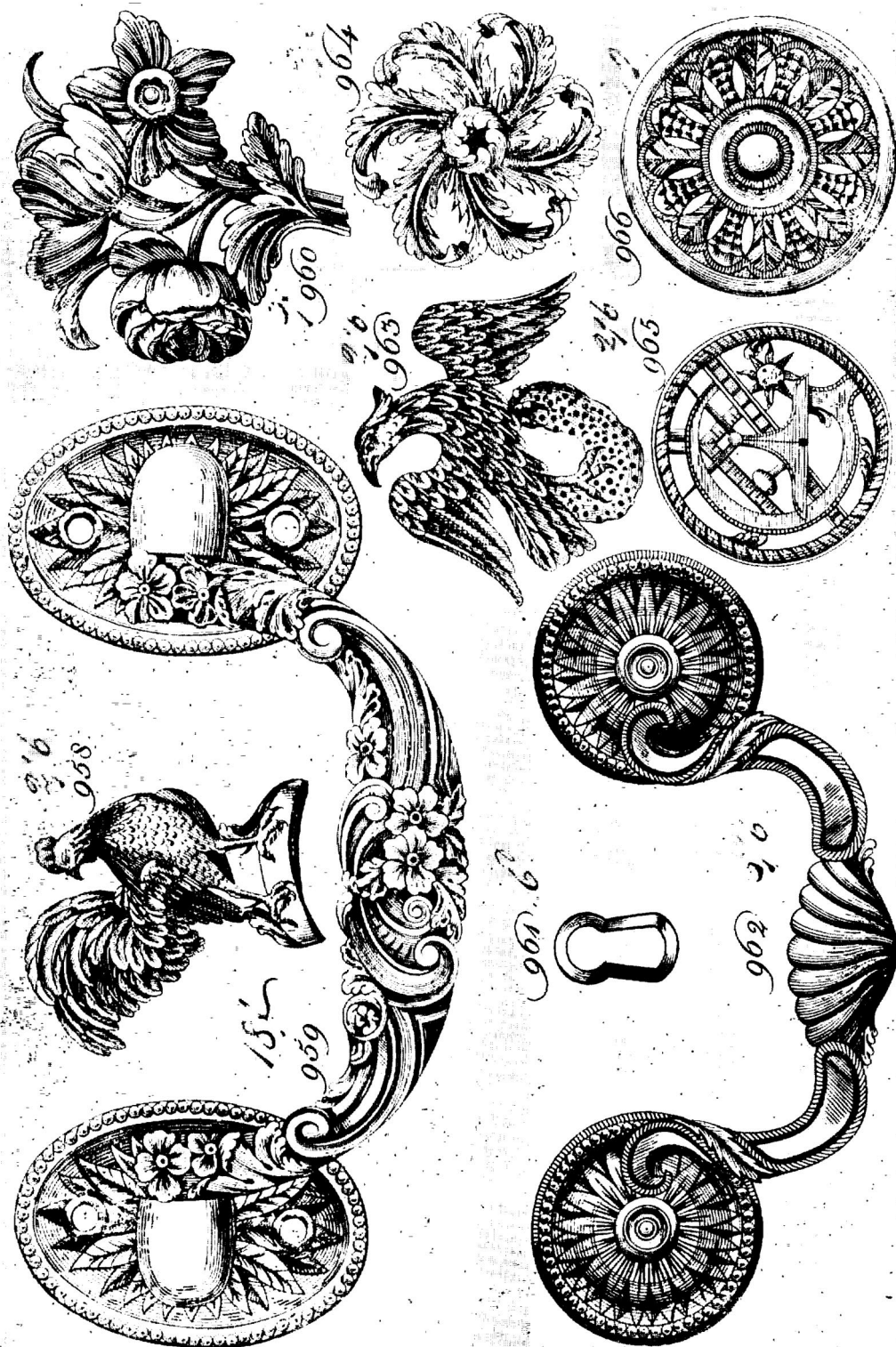
**A Page from a Catalogue.**—The accompanying plate is of a page of the specimen-book or catalogue of a late eighteenth century brass-founder, which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, by whose permission it is reproduced.

The item numbered 965 and priced in ink at 2s. 6d. represents a fairly common type of Masonic "jewel": but I cannot remember ever having seen one exactly like it, nor any such object in brass. I would be glad to hear of any specimens, or of any appearances of similar objects in other catalogues.

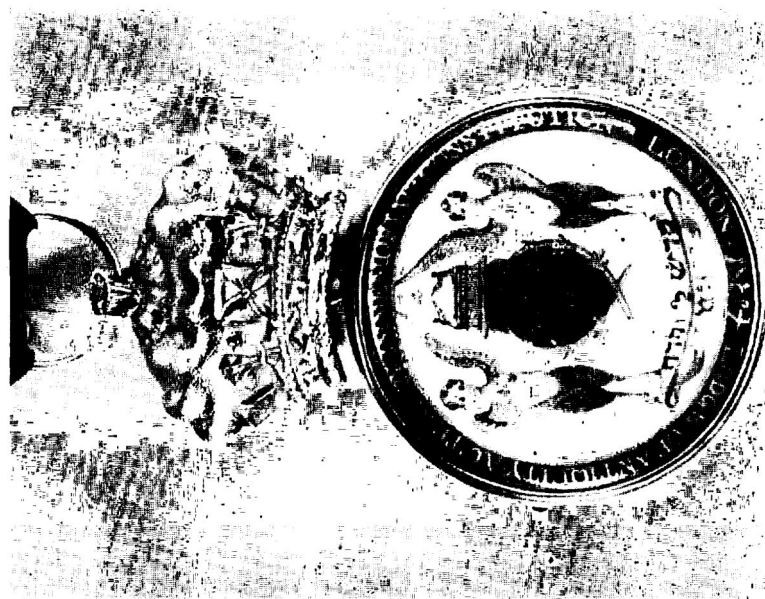
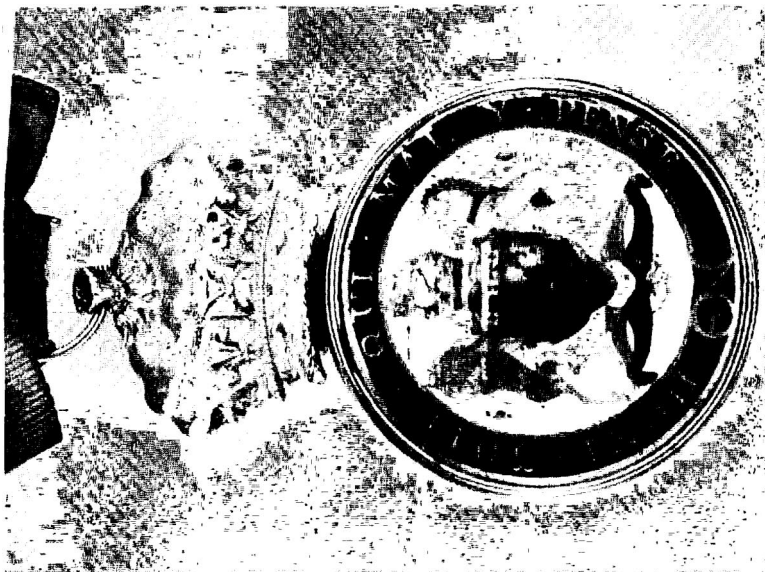
It is not quite clear what its purpose is, as it does not seem to have any means of suspension. The two objects numbered 964 and 966 are undoubtedly "Commode" handles, which usually figure largely in such pattern-books. Is it possible that the enthusiastic Freemason of the late eighteenth century carried his Masonry into everyday life to this extent?

I understand that the catalogue was probably that of a Sheffield firm, and the date about 1790.

H.P.



A Page from a Catalogue  
(Victoria and Albert Museum. Crown Copyright)



The Royal Medal of the Lodge of Antiquity. No. 2.

**The Royal Medal of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2.**—In 1812, the Duke of Sussex instituted “a mark of distinction for Master Masons raised in the Lodge of Antiquity, or, for such as, having become subscribing Members, shall have proved themselves well skilled in the three Degrees of the Order”.<sup>1</sup> This took the form of a very beautiful Medal, which was conferred only in a Lodge of Master Masons. The investiture was usually carried out by H.R.H. in person, often at a special Lodge held at Kensington Palace for the purpose.

After the death of the Duke in 1843, the Lodge obtained permission to continue the issue and use of the Medal, but with the addition of a label at the base, bearing the date, 1843.

The Medals have always been the property of the Lodge, a deposit being paid by the recipient, which was refunded to him on the return of the Medal. From the earliest time, almost to the present day, the cost of each Medal was three-and-a-half guineas, which was the amount of the deposit.

Bro. Sir Eric Studd, O.B.E., P.D.G.M., Bengal, the Secretary of the Lodge of Antiquity, has recently made an exhaustive study of the surviving specimens of the Medal, in conjunction with the entries in Minute and Cash Books relating to their presentation, the deposits made on them and the refunds on their return. These entries, between them, make possible an almost complete record; and what is known of the history of the individual specimens enables these to be related with considerable certainty to the records of the Lodge. Bro. Studd has kindly allowed me to summarise his conclusions in the following note, which is included in our *Transactions* for the sake of any Museums or private collectors who may still have specimens of the Medal; while it is also hoped that its publication may lead to the bringing to light of further examples whose location or ownership is not at present known to the Lodge.

The total number of Medals made seems to be 200:—

1813	52	Made by J. C. Burckhardt
1814/5	24	ditto
1819	13	ditto
1820	18	ditto
1822	12	ditto
1823	15	ditto

Of these, 29 survive, together with 12 to which the label bearing the date, 1843, has been added.

1873	12	Made by Jones & Co.
1881	12	ditto
1895	12	Made by Lamb & Co.
1896	6	ditto
1907	6	ditto
1920	12	ditto

Of these, 35 survive.

In its normal form, the Medal consists of two circular discs of porcelain, held together by a gold rim. In two cases, however, among the earlier specimens, the front is of metal (presumably by way of repair), while in the first 24 made by Messrs. Lamb & Co., both back and front are of metal instead of porcelain. In some cases a single disc of porcelain was used instead of two, and some unusually flat examples may have been made in this way.

There are a number of variations which so far have not been identified with any particular issue. But among those which have been dated are the following easily recognisable features.

<sup>1</sup> Firebrace, *Records*, etc., ii, p. 141.

The oldest series have the garter on the back of an orange colour, while the later examples have it in a pink or pinky-mauve.

Eleven of the earlier surviving Medals are slightly smaller than the normal, and have the front made from a transfer, though their backs are hand-painted. These seem to belong to either the second or third groups — *i.e.*, those of 1814/5 or of 1819 — or perhaps both. They have, on the front, a crimson wreath at the top and a green wreath at the base, and the motto, "Dieu et mon Droit" below it.

Among the other pre-1843 specimens, several have a ring-and-bar fastening instead of the usual pin; several are unusually flat, while a few are rather the reverse: but none of these variations have as yet been dated.

The first 24 made by Messrs. Lamb & Co., *i.e.*, those made between 1895 and 1907, are of metal both back and front, with the garter in dark red; 19 of these survive. In the whole of the post-1843 series, there are also a number of small variations, which make it difficult to classify or date them.

With the view of making the record of these Medals as complete as possible, Bro. Sir Eric Studd would be grateful for information regarding any specimens which have not so far come to the attention of the Lodge.

H.P.



## OBITUARY

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It is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

**Edward Augustus Bullmore, F.R.C.S., F.S.A.**, of Falmouth, on 29th October, 1948, aged 73 years. Bro. Bullmore held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1936.

**Frederick George Chandler**, of North Harrow, Middx., on the 8th June, 1948, aged 61 years. Bro. Chandler was a P.M. of Yarborough Lodge No. 554. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1946.

**Rev. Felix Eustace Crate**, of Colchester, Essex, on 10th July, 1948. Bro. Crate held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Chaplain and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1912.

**Albert Frisby**, of Forest Gate, London, E., on 8th September, 1948. Bro. Frisby held the rank of Past Grand Pursuivant and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1926.

**Lancelot Edey Hall, LL.D.**, of Hatch End, Middx., on the 8th October, 1948, in his 60th year. Bro. Hall held the rank of Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Standard Bearer. He was Dep. Prov. Grand Master, Middx., and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1926.

**Major John Alexander Henderson, B.A.**, of Lisbellaw, N. Ireland, on 12th June, 1948. Bro. Henderson held the rank of Past Grand Deacon (Brit. Columbia), Pr.Gr.Sec. (Tyrone and Fermanagh), and Past Grand Standard Bearer (Brit. Columbia). He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in November, 1919.

**Douglas Knoop, M.A.**, of Sheffield, on 21st October, 1948. Bro. Knoop 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, 1923, and in May, 1931, was admitted to full membership of the Lodge.

**Anton Frederick Mannel, M.D.**, of Long Island, N.Y., U.S.A., on 22nd June, 1948. Bro. Mannel was a P.M. of Lodge No. 710. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in October, 1923.

**Rev. Ernest Reginald Moore**, of London, W.C., on 12th August, 1948. Bro. Moore was a member of the Lodge of Sincerity No. 189 and of the Eastern Star Chapter No. 95. He was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1945.

**Thomas Henry Nunan, M.Sc.**, of Lisburn, N. Ireland, on 4th July, 1948. Bro. Nunan was a member of Lodge No. 178 and of the Chapter No. 178. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1947.

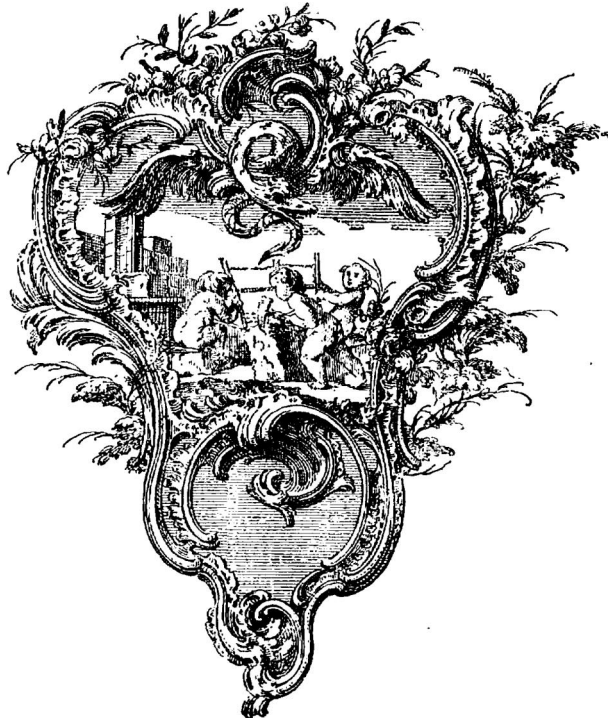
**George Mourilyan Sladden**, of Durham, on 14th August, 1948, aged 62 years. Bro. Sladden was a P.M. of Lodge of Harmony No. 255 and a member of Iris Chapter No. 255. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1928.

**David Smallwood**, of London, E.C., on 9th October, 1948, in his 76th year. Bro. Smallwood was a member of St. Mark's Lodge No. 857. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1916.

**Major Harry George Smith**, of Downham Market, Norfolk, on the 21st August, 1948, aged 80 years. Bro. Smith held the rank of P.Pr.A.G.D.C., and was a member of Philanthropic Chapter No. 107. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1921.

**F. J. Stephens**, of Paignton, Devon., in 1948. Bro. Stephens was a P.M. of St. John's Lodge No. 328 and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1938.

**Francis Robert Taylor**, *L.R.I.B.A.*, of London, W., on the 14th October, 1948, aged 84 years. Bro. Taylor was a P.M. of Hiram Lodge No. 2416 and P.Z. of Junior Engineers Chapter No. 2913. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in January, 1905.



## ST. JOHN'S CARD



THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1948:—

### LODGES, CHAPTERS, etc.

Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Restoration Lodge No. 111, Darlington.

St. Hilda Lodge No. 240, South Shields.

Prince of Wales Lodge of Instruction No. 671, Llanelly.

Philanthropy Lodge of Instruction No. 940, Stockton-on-Tees.

Crook Lodge of Instruction No. 2019, Crook, Durham.

Londonderry Lodge No. 2039, Sunderland.

Constance Lodge of Instruction No. 2135, Consett, Durham.

Universities Lodge No. 2352, Durham.

Royal Warrant Holders Lodge No. 2789, London.

Wearmouth Lodge No. 2934, Sunderland.

Mid-Kent Masters Lodge No. 3173, Chatham.

Shipcote Lodge No. 3626, Gateshead.

Imperial Cadet Lodge of Instruction No. 3824, London.

Aston Old Edwardian Lodge of Instruction No. 3857, Birmingham.

Norfolk Installed Masters Lodge No. 3905, Norwich.

Temperance Lodge No. 4115, Consett, Durham.

Lodge Stewart No. 4261, Seaham Harbour.

Caer Urfa Lodge No. 4345, South Shields.

Ardingly College Lodge No. 4410, London.

Mowbray Lodge No. 5373, Sunderland.

Centenary Lodge No. 5509, Gateshead.

Elvet Lodge No. 5631, Durham.

Yoden Lodge No. 5684, Durham.

Hayes (Kent) Lodge of Instruction No. 5929.

St. Lawrence Lodge No. 6042, South Shields.

Transvaal Jubilee Lodge No. 6143, Johannesburg.

Shropshire Installed Masters Lodge No. 6262, Shrewsbury.

Richard Linnecar Lodge No. 6413, Wakefield.

Jefferson Lodge No. 43, Jefferson City, Missouri.

Research Lodge of the Taranaki Province No. 323, New Plymouth, New Zealand.

Port Darwin Lodge No. 41, Darwin, South Australia.

The Masonic Library Association of Cleveland, Ohio.

Scottish Rite Bodies, Duluth, Minn.

Craft Fellows Travelling Library, Evanston, Ill.

Tennessee Consistory, Memphis, Tenn.

### BRETHREN

Ber Abramson, Benoni, South Africa, 112, G.E.N., 3157 (E.C.).

Frederic Adams, M.A., Wimbledon Park, S.W., 646 (I.C.).

John Frost Adams, Wanstead, E., 4100.

Montie Preston Agee, *M.D.*, Augusta, Georgia, U.S.A., *P.G.M.*, 2.

R. H. Allen, London, *S.W.*

Sidney Allport, Moorgate, *E.C.*, *P.M.* 66, *Z.* 66.

H. Allsop, Sheffield, *P.M.* 4092.

Donald Frederick Andrews, Canterbury, *P.M.* 972, *Sc.N.* 31.

Horace James Davies Ardron, Sheffield, 3779, 139.

Frederick Charles Ackary Bampton, Twickenham, *P.M.* 5730, 2032.

Goolamhusain E. Bandukwala, Bombay, *P.Dis.G.D.*

Frank Clinton Barnhill, Marshall, Missouri, *P.G.M.*, 74.

Arthur Edward Bartlett, Exeter, *P.Pr.G.D.C.*, *P.Z.* 112.

Alexander Henry Bartley, Warlingham, *P.M.* 49, *P.Z.* 3113.

Eric Frank Warner Batts, Banstead, *W.M.* 5427.

Mahlon Franklin Beach, Toronto, 230.

Leslie Percival Reed Bean, Sydney, Australia, *P.M.* 338, *P.Z.* 567 (*S.C.*).

Wallace Todd Beckwith, Harrogate, *W.M.* 4984, 837.

James Bell, Blaydon-on-Tyne, *P.M.* 3290, 3290.

Jesse Noble Benson, Everett, Washington, U.S.A., 436.

Frank Bernhart, Brighton, *L.G.R.*, 360 (*S.C.*).

Randolph Henry Blacklock, Pinner, 3244.

William C. Blaine, St. Paul, Minn.

Thomas Blakley, Bolton, *Lancs.*, *P.M.* 1723, 3788.

Stanley Alfred Bone, Falmouth, *P.M.* 5738, 75.

Cyril Arthur Bonser, Mansfield, *Notts.*, *P.Pr.G.R.*, 1852.

Hubert Gerald Booker, Orpington, 27, 27.

William Henry Bosley, *O.B.E.*, Toronto, *P.M.* 520.

William Edward Boynett, London, *W.*, *P.G.St.B.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*

Henry Albert Bradbury, Totteridge, *N.*, *P.M.* 1306.

Joseph Harold Bradley, Leeds, 306.

Maurice Braham, Stanmore, *L.G.R.*, *L.G.C.R.*

Samuel Franks Braham, London, *W.*, 3362.

Frederick Harold Bramwell, Muncaster, York, *P.Pr.G.W.*, 236.

Frederick Brewer, Herne Bay, *P.G.St.B.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*

Edmund Armstrong Bridgett, London, *S.E.*, 2579.

*Rev.* Charles Alexander Brodie Brockwell, Oxford, *P.G.Ch.* (Quebec), 1887.

*Lt.-Col.* Herbert Brookhouse, *M.V.O.*, London, *W.C.*, *P.A.G.Swd.B.*, *P.A.G.D.C.*

Alfred John Brown, Northbridge, *N.S.W.*, *P.M.* 589.

Harold David Inglis Brown, Blackpool, *P.M.* 5332, 78.

Sinclair Bruce, Sunderland, 80.

Frank Burton, Middlesbrough, 5089, 2104.

Albert Edward Butler, Wimbledon, *S.W.*, 2417.

Harry Butler, Birmingham, 4004, 3950.

Alfred J. Caithness, Kirkcaldy, 72.

Bruce Weymonth Reid Caithness, Kirkcaldy, 72.

Frederick George Callow, Plymouth, 202, 202.

Neville Cameron, Newcastle West, *N.S.W.*, 243.

Murdo Campbell, Glasgow, G. Jeweller, 189.

Thomas Alfred Caress, Carshalton, 4333.

George Herbert Carnall, Urmston, *Lancs.*, *P.M.* 5270, 5270.

Norman Carr, Buckhurst Hill, Essex, *P.M.* 1920, 7.

Albert Carson, Sheffield, 3849, 3849.

*Dr.* Dennis Chauncey John Carter, Wynberg, Cape Province, 5524 (*E.C.*), 956 (*E.C.*).

*Cmd.* Walter John Carter, *R.N.*, Endebess, Kenya Colony, *Dis.G.W.*, 5082.

Stewart Douglas Haig Cavey, Launceston, 789, 789.

- William Frederick Chandler, Carshalton, P.M. 3294.  
 Edwin John Chapman, East Sheen, S.W., L.G.R., *P.Z.* 1694.  
 James Chapman, Blyth, Northumberland, P.Pr.Dep.G.Reg., *P.Pr.G.S. Rev.* Robert Charlton, Shaurnigan Fall, Quebec, D.D.G.C.  
 William Blake Clatworthy, Taunton, P.Pr.J.G.W., *P.Pr.G.Reg.*  
 Reuben Swinburne Clymer, *M.D.*, Quakertown, Pa., 673, 302.  
 William Charles Coates, Torquay, 328, 328.  
 Elioenai James Harper Cocker, Southport, P.M. 1313, 1502.  
 Hugh Ellwood Cohen, New Malden, 6106.  
 Robert Edgar Coles, Northampton, P.Pr.A.G.S., 1764.  
 J. S. Condor, Winchmore Hill, N., W.M. 2589.  
 Herbert Stephen Cook, New Eltham, S.E., 3540.  
 Robert Henry Lewis Cooke, Hove, P.M. 5887, 1360.  
 Edward Cooper, Altrincham, P.M. 3883, 4872.  
 Erik Orson Corkett, Wallington, 5349, 3577.  
 Alpheus Frederick William Cory, West Wickham, 2417.  
 Reginald Ernest Cousens, Birmingham, 1792.  
 Herbert Harold Craggs, Northbridge, N.S.W., 481, 618 (S.C.).  
 Arthur Crick, Maidstone, P.Pr.J.G.W., *P.So.* 2046.  
 George Garibaldi Crump, *B.E.M.*, Canterbury, P.M. 1206, *P.Z.* 748.  
 Walter Cuffley, Shooters Hill, S.E., 2399, 3578.  
 Richard Frederick Cumberland, Deptford, S.E., 4241, 1816.  
 William Curnow, Plymouth, 189, 189.  
  
 Edward Andrew Davies, Harpenden, Herts., P.M. 187.  
 Francis James Davis, Wotton-under-Edge, 855.  
 Horace Albert Davis, Bournemouth, 2956, 2956.  
 Wilbur Louis Davis, *M.D.*, Martins Ferry, Ohio, 486, 173.  
 Frank William Day, Weston-super-Mare, P.M. 1222, *P.Z.* 1222.  
 Arthur John Dean, Victoria, Australia, P.G.S.W., 11.  
 Albert James De Lange, Houston, Texas, G.S.W.  
 Arthur William Denney, Beccles, Suffolk, 305, 305.  
 Kenneth Frederick Denzin, Iowa City, 4, 2.  
 Maurice de Wilde, Edgware, 6086.  
 Ernest Dickson, Birmingham, P.M. 3643.  
 James Dickson, Bristol, 3992, 3992.  
 Raymond Metcalf Dixon, Acomb, York, 1077 (S.C.), 418 (S.C.).  
 Noel Johnstone Dodd, London, W.C., P.M. 66.  
 Leonard Howard Drury, Wembley, 3994, 3994.  
 James Edwin Duffy, Portsmouth, 407.  
  
 Francis Owen Eaton, Port Elizabeth, W.M. 711 (E.C.).  
 Laurence Frederick Elvin, Forest Hill, S.E., P.M. 4958, 3537.  
 William Entwisle, Chorley, 730, 730.  
 Arthur Geoffrey Evans, London, W., P.G.D., 2546.  
 Col. Kenmure Alick Garth Evans-Gordon, Jersey, 877.  
 Henry John Everett, Montreal, Canada, 38, *P.G.P.*  
  
 William Richard Fairbrother, London, W.C., L.G.R., *P.Z.* 1716.  
 Fred Parker Farrar, Miami, Florida, 48, 3 (Ga.C.).  
 Raymond Fawcett, Glasgow, P.M. 3bis., 189.  
 Robert Stanley Fearnough, Sheffield, 4092.  
 James Finney, Birmingham, P.Pr.G.D., Warks., 74.  
 Henry Lael Oswald Flecker, *C.B.E.*, Horsham, P.G.D., *P.G.So.*  
 Rev. Canon George Paget Ford, *M.A.*, Willesden Green, N.W., Pr.A.G.Ch., Surrey.  
 John Peter Ford Putney, S.W., P.M. 3355, 1118.  
 Sydney Arthur Fordham, Beckenham, 3176, 753.

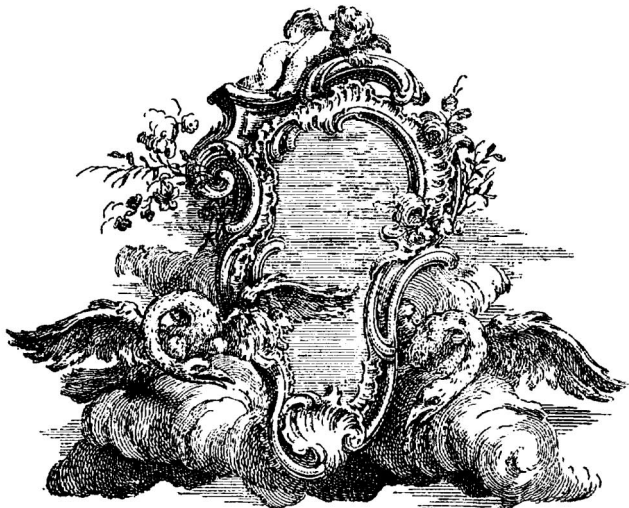
- Frederick William Friday, Canterbury, W.M. 6282.  
 Claude R. Frost, Milwaukee, Wisc., W.M. 265, 73.  
 David Hamilton Fulton, Peterborough, 2533, 442.  
 William Richard Brookbanks Gardner, Leyland, Lancs., 730.  
 John Seymour Gilbert, Aylesbury, Pr.G.St.B., Middlesex, P.Z. 739.  
 Colin Campbell Blair Gilmour, Peterborough, P.D.G.D.C., E. Arch., P.Z. 602 (S.C.).  
 Douglas Frank Goode, Welwyn Garden City, W.M. 4255.  
 Taylor Banker Grant, Long Island, New York, U.S.A., P.M. 205, 209.  
 Myril Jay Greely, Great Falls, Montana, 34, 9.  
 Leonard Griffiths, Coventry, P.M. 4209.  
 Edward Henry Gruning, Rehabari, Assam, 3127 (E.C.), 3127 (E.C.).  
 Horace Kenneth Hadler, East Dereham, Norfolk, 88, 88.  
 John Hancock, Mogadishu, B.E. Africa, 3259, 3727.  
 Harold Harold-Lord, Stockton-on-Tees, 1418.  
 Daniel Giraldus Harries, Aberystwyth, 3769, 1072.  
 John Harrison, Regents Park, N.W., P.G.D.  
 John Napthali Hart, Potters Bar, P.G. Steward, 176.  
 Samuel Thomas Harvey, Stourbridge, P.M. 5545, 498.  
 Terence Osborne Haunch, Retford, Notts., 1802, 1802.  
 Edward Charles Hawkes, Hampton, Mdx., 66, 7.  
 George Mitchell Hedges, Georgeham, Devon, P.M. 3298, *Pr.D.G.Reg., Essex*.  
 Walter J. Henson, Finchley, N., P.M. 2348.  
 Wenceslas Herian, London, N., P.M. 3707, P.Z. 7.  
 Hans Rudolf Hilfiker, Zurich, W.M. Libertas & Fraternitas.  
 Clifford Thomas Hill, Tottenham, N., 2589.  
 George Payne Hobdell, Brookmans Park, Herts., L.G.R., L.G.C.R.  
 Stuart Stephenson Hoffman, Warrenville, Ill., 557, 101 (*Calif. C.*).  
 Percy Edward Kingdon Hole, Richmond, Surrey, L.G.R., 1623.  
 Edward Arthur Holmes, Peterborough, 2533, 442.  
 Cedric Jennings Holyoake, Romford, Essex, 5067, 2749.  
 William Eley Homer, Kingswinford, Staffs., P.M. 498, 498.  
 William Doughty Hooper, Littlehampton, 56.  
 William James Horncastle, Knockholt, Kent, 2408.  
 Gordon William Howe, Plymouth, 189, 189.  
 Rev. Canon David Hughes, Chepstow, P.M. 2186, 683.  
 Henry Albert Hull, London, E., 5308.  
 Richard Claude Hull, Enfield, 5308.  
 Robert Hutler, Salford, Lancs., 5651, 325.  
 Leonard James Huxtable, Shepherd's Bush, W., 3025.  
 Charles Edward Iredell, M.D., Sutton, Surrey, P.A.G.D.C., P.G.St.B.  
 Ernest Reginald Jackson, Casino, N.S.W., 103, 69.  
 Norman Frank James, Glastonbury, 772, 814.  
 Alexander Halliday Jardine, Cape Town, S. Africa, 398 (S.C.), 86 (S.C.).  
 Herbert Josiah Jefferies, Bristol, 4666.  
 Arthur Carveth Johnson, Newport, Mon., P.Pr.G.D.C., P.Z. 7.  
 Horace William Johnson, F.R.S.A., Hayes, Middx., 5422.  
 William Johnson, Bishop Auckland, 1121, 1121.  
 Andrew Herbert Victor Johnston, Wallsend, N.S.W., P.M. 45, 72.  
 Cecil Barclay Jones, London, W., P.A.G.D.C., P.G.St.B.  
 Harry Glynn Jones, Wandsworth Common, S.W., 3771.  
 William Owen Jones, Welshpool, 998, 998.  
 John Harold Kaye, York, W.M. 236, 236.  
 Roger Keith, Boston, Mass., G.M.

- George Thomas Kelley, N. Harrow, P.M. 4265, 3079.  
 John Thomas Kelley, Grays, Essex, 1343, 1343.  
 Thomas Wilks Kendall, Putney, S.W., P.M. 858, P.Z. 858.  
 Cuthbert King, C.I.E., I.C.S., Redhill, Surrey, P.D.G.W., Punjab.  
 Alfred Richard Lane, Goroka, New Guinea, 153 (W.A.C.).  
 Thomas Henry Lawrence, Andover, Hants., 51 (S.C.), 6 (S.C.).  
 Ernest Lewis Leaf, Finchley, N., 6033.  
 Dr. Maurece Lees, Torquay, W.M. 5148, 328.  
 Francis George Legg, Bath, 4095.  
 Hubert Wilson Lemon, London, W., 5840, 5840.  
 Charles Edward Letman, Kenora, Ontario, D.D.G.M., P.G.S.  
 Frank Levick, Westgate-on-Sea, Kent, 5794.  
 Horace Lewis, Wallington, Surrey, L.G.R., L.G.C.R.  
 Ralph Connor Loney, Christchurch, N.Z., 236.  
 Arthur Tom Luker, Stroud, Glos., P.D.G.St.B. (Madras), P.D.G.A.D.C. (Madras).  
 Rudolph Archibald Luscombe-Edmonds, Southsea, Hants., 4071.  
  
 Harold Edward Mackenzie, Leytonstone, E., 6424.  
 William Pringle McAllister, Barnsley, P.M. 4643, 910.  
 Archibald McCaskill, Johannesburg, 744 (S.C.).  
 Alexander William McDowall, Plymouth, 954, 954.  
 Crawford Ballantine McWilliams, Croydon, 4597.  
 Malcolm Mallion, London, S.W., P.M. 2980, P.Z. 2980.  
 William Frank Marriage, B.Sc., A.M.I.E.E., New Maldon, P.M. 2397, 2397.  
 Richard Leslie Marsden, Chesterfield, P.A.G.D.C.  
 Edward Frederick Marsh, Sevenoaks, P.M. 4651, P.Z. 1607.  
 Jesse Marshall Marsh, Keokuk, Iowa, P.M. 12, P.H.P. 7.  
 Albert Edgar Mason, Ilford, W.M. 6253, 2157.  
 George Meikle, Farnborough, Hants., P.M. 4581, Sc.N. 2203.  
 Keith Mindelsohn, Birmingham, 43.  
 Alfred Basil Miskin, Ed Damer, Sudan, 3407, 2954.  
 Albert Wilfred Mole, Sutton Coldfield, P.Pr.G.D., Pr.G.St.B.  
 Arthur Claude Morrell, Heswall, Cheshire, P.Pr.G.W., 4274.  
 W. Morrell, Bradford, 6001.  
 Ronald William Morrow, Prudhoe, Northumberland, 5832.  
 Malcolm James Henry Morton, M.A., Grimsby, 3533.  
 Frederick Sampson Moulson, Sheffield, P.M. 4092.  
 William Augustus Mumford, Kidderminster, P.M. 377.  
 John Munro, Watlington, Oxford, P.M. 3456.  
 William Woolf Myers, Westcliff-on-Sea, L.G.R.  
  
 Thomas Lewis Nicholson, Calcutta, 813 (S.C.), 632 (S.C.).  
 William Nicholson, Carlisle, 5897, 5372.  
 Charles H. Nitsch, Philadelphia, Penna., P.M. 493.  
  
 Horace Oakley, Hindhead, Surrey, P.Pr.G.D. (Norfolk), 5193.  
 Herbert Cecil O'Bryan, Farnborough, Hants., 4330.  
 Sidney Oddy, Leeds, P.M. 306, 306.  
 Simon Offenheim, London, N.W., L.G.R., 1685.  
 William Arthur O'Mara, Ewell, Surrey, P.Pr.G.W.  
 Henry George Overett, Leytonstone, E., L.G.R., 5803.  
 Herbert Overett, Northmead, N.S.W., W.M. 439.  
  
 Albert Edward Pain, Woodford Green, Essex, 704.  
 Charles Nelson Palmer, Winterhaven, Calif., 680, 59.  
 Philip Paneth, London, N.W., 5506.  
 Percy Albert Parfitt, Cambridge, 441, 441.

- Sidney Stuart Parker, Sheffield, P.Pr.G.A.D.C., 2268.  
 Frederick William James Parsons, Wanstead, E., W.M. 3556.  
 Sidney Parsons, Birmingham, P.Pr.G.D., *P.Pr.P.G.So.*  
 Cecil Pavis, Wallington, Surrey, 5887.  
 David Payne, Oakham, Rutland, 1265, 1265.  
 Leonard William Redvers Pease, Colchester, 51, 51.  
 Ronald Lees Peate, Newcastle, N.S.W., 405.  
 Thomas Simpson Pedler, London, E.C., P.M. 3456, *P.Z.* 3456.  
 Henry Thomas Perkins, Kensington, S.W., P.G.D., *P.A.G.So.*  
 Ernest William Perrott, Kenton, Middx., 211.  
 Donald Gordon Perry, *M.A.*, Headington, Oxford, P.Pr.G.S.D., *Pr.G.S.*  
 Ian George Macdonald Petrie, Singapore, 2970, 508.  
 Robert Alexander Neill Petrie, Sutton, Surrey, 859.  
 Robert James Philips, Lyttleton, N.Z., 23.  
 Evan Albert Idris Phillips, Seaview, I. of W., L.G.R.  
 Philip Ernest Phillips, London, S.W., P.G.St.B., *P.A.G.D.C.*  
*Rev.* Francis Albert Pollard, *D.Litt.*, Bath, 379, 53.  
 Herbert George Pottinger, East Sheen, S.W., 4208, 1298.  
 Frank Powell, Walsall, 74, 74.  
 Lionel John Prince, Plymouth, 3704.  
 Vernon Baxter Prink, Portland, Oregon, 296 (Calif. C.).  
 Thomas Walter Robert Frocter, Weston-super-Mare, P.Pr.G.S.W., *P.Pr.G.Reg.*  
 John Sidney Pugsley, Bath, P.M. 906, 41.  
 Frederick Joseph Purkis, West Wickham, P.M. 3712.  
 Cyril Hubert Quinn, Blackpool, P.M. 5303, 2457.  
 John Henry Quinn, London, S.E., L.G.R.  
 Archibald George Albert Rainey, Sevenoaks, P.M. 3900, *P.Z.* 3900.  
 Henry James Ranee, Worplesdon, Surrey, 201.  
 Frederick Joseph Read, Selsdon, Surrey, 201.  
 Nelson Frederick Read, Frome, 2227, 1478.  
 Arnold John Reedman, Adamstown, N.S.W., 308, 28.  
*Rev.* Hector William Reindorp, Ruislip, Middx., *P.A.G.Ch.*, *P.G.St.B.*  
 William Rhodes, Leeds, 2922, 304.  
 Roland Everitt Richardson, *M.Sc.*, *Ph.D.*, Grimsby, 373, 3017.  
 William Edward Richardson, Ilford, Essex, P.M. 5385, 5803.  
 Eric John Ridgers, Kennington, S.E., 5017.  
 Augustus Charles Robinson, London, W.C., P.M. 3176, 4265.  
 Norman Harold Robotham, Redding, Calif., 2, 9.  
 Percy Roebuck, Hatch End, Middx., P.M. 4536, *Z.* 3900.  
 Thorold Honyel Pelly Rosedale, London, S.W., P.M. 3339.  
 Francis Hawking Rowe, Plymouth, P.M. 3704, *Sc.N.* 2025.  
 Maurick Rubens, London, W.C., 4982, 3539.  
 Justin John Rudell, Birmingham, 43.  
 Thomas Charles Rusling, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 5557 (E.C.), 5557 (E.C.).  
 Reginald Graham St. George, Birmingham, P.M. 3643, 1031.  
 John Albert Salcumbe, Wotton-under-Edge, Glos., 855, 1363.  
 Charles Ernest Salt, *M.B.*, *Ch.B.*, *J.P.*, Wrexham, Pr.G.S.W., N. Wales, 1432.  
 Frank James Sangers, Canterbury, 1449.  
 Gezá Stephen Santon, Newcastle, N.S.W., 15.  
 Ernest Alfred Sargood, London, W., 4518.  
 Brian Hampson Seddon, Blackpool, 5864.  
 Harold Joseph Senior, Sheffield, W.M. 4092.  
 Joshua Kemp Shepherd, Little Rock, Arkansas, W.M. 739, 2.  
 Ralph Reginald Shipley, Gateshead, P.Pr.G.W., *P.Pr.A.G.So.*

- David Shuttleworth, Shipley, Yorks., P.M. 265, 265.  
*Dr. J. Siebert*, Cleveland, Ohio, P.M. 388.  
A. F. R. Sims, Highgate, N., 5860.  
Thomas Sydney Sinden, Chipping Norton, 1036, 1036.  
Leslie Vernon Slater, Cambridge, P.Pr.G.St.B., *P.Z.* 441.  
Frank William George Sloggett, Wallington, Surrey, P.Pr.A.G.D.C., *P.Z.* 1360.  
Arthur George Smith, London, W., 211.  
Charles Anderson Smith, Ulverton, Lancs., 995, 995.  
Dwight Louis Smith, Indianapolis, Ind., P.G.M., G.Sec., *P.H.P.* 38.  
*Dr. Ernest Heywood Protheroe Smith*, Topsham, Devon, 112, 444.  
Edward William Smith, Romford, 1816, 2944.  
Frank Smith, Bolton, Lancs., 3716, 221.  
George Hamilton Smith, London; N.W., P.M. 211, *P.Z.* 211.  
Hubert Smith, Sutton, 5416.  
George McNeil Sonfield, Beaumont, Texas, 286, 188.  
Charles Speers, Newbury, 2682, 574.  
*Sir Reginald Arthur Spence*, Blackboys, Sussex, P.D.G.M. (Bombay).  
Charles Howard Spratly, Manchester, Conn., 47 (N.Y.C.).  
William Anderson Stewart, Long Branch, Ont., 645.  
B. S. Stiller, Bradford, P.M. 6001.  
William George Adrian Swan, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2260, 2260.  
Bertram Henry Godfrey Sweek, Edgware, Middx., 5654.
- Harold Taperell, Barnet, Herts., 1155, 5262.  
Frank Alfred Cecil Taylor, Peterborough, 2533, 442.  
John Henry Taylor, Carlisle, P.M. 5897, 5372.  
Richard Daniel Thomas, Ilford, Essex, P.M. 5705, 5099.  
William Thomas, Sturminster Newton, Dorset, P.Pr.A.G.D.C., 622.  
*Lieut. Kenneth Hugh Reginald Thresh*, R.N., Pembury, Kent, 650.  
Arthur Bland Tillotson, Normanton, Yorks., 4065.  
John Titley, Uppingham, P.M. 1265, 1265.  
Benjamin H. Trask, New York, 8.  
William James Tribe, Ewell, Surrey, 4200.  
Herbert William Guy Triggs, Shenfield, Essex, 3115, 3115.  
Angelo Tsicaliotis, Takoradi, Gold Coast, 773.  
Sidney Charles Tyrrell, Wath on Dearne, Yorks., 3397, 4282.
- Herman Unger, Brooklyn, New York, 187.
- Hubert Judson Vail, Jr., Shelby, Ohio, 350, 178.  
William Bernabe de la Bat-van Alphen, Johannesburg, 6143 (E.C.).  
Jacques Victorien van der Linde, Curacao, N.W.I., P.M. 653 (E.C.).  
Edward David Vaughan-Jones, Llanidloes, Mont., P.M. 1582, 998.
- Capt. Henry Harman Wadeson*, Mitcheldean, Glos., P.Pr.G.Reg., 839.  
John Edward Nowell Walker, Dorking, 1969, 19.  
Nevil Gowan Weybourne Walker, Farnham, Surrey, 227, 7.  
Reginald Horace Victor Walker, Bromley, Kent, 1692, 3649.  
Gilbert Ormerod Ward, Sheffield, 4092.  
G. J. W. Wareing, Northampton, P.M. 5694, 1764.  
George Appleton Warley, London, S.E., P.M. 1612, 3162.  
*Capt. Dudley Alfred Warne*, Edenbridge, Kent, P.D.G.D.D.C. (Punjab), 4439.  
Herbert Percy Warner, Shirley, Surrey, L.G.R., *P.Z.* 3900.  
Norman Erskine Watson, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 5480.  
Victor George Edward Watson, Whitley Bay, Northumberland, 3241, 48.  
Percy John Watts, London, E., L.G.R., 704.  
Edmund John Welch, Watford, 1637.

- George Edward Wells, London, S.W., P.Pr.A.G.D.C., Herts., *P.Z.* 30.  
George William Wells, Didcot, Berks., 6399, 5519.  
Lancelot Ernest William, Wells, Northampton, 360, 360.  
Alfred John West, Long Island, New York, 31, 214.  
Stuart William Whitehouse, Seattle, Washington, 87, 52.  
Alfred John Ray Whiteway, Kensington, W., P.M. 3346, 1556.  
Alec Edward Martin Wilcox, London, E.C., P.M. 3981, 2473.  
Frank Wildey, Kew Gardens, P.M. 1512, 2032.  
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John Frederick Wood, Ilford, Essex, 6254, 5803.  
William Edwin Wood, Nigeria, 3410, 726.  
Frederick Thomas Wright, Luton, Beds., 222, 1704.  
Keith George Wright, Dover, 1208.
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